How Non-Native Speakers Make Do with Words When Doing Things with Words?
– An Analysis of Communication Strategies in Storytelling by Mandarin-Speaking Learners of English

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of
the Award of Doctor of Philosophy

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July 2006

Abstract

This study employs a conversation analysis (CA) approach, which is concerned with the analysis of closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in naturally occurring settings. The study aims to describe and analyse sequences of actions generated by Native Speakers (NS) and Non-Native Speaker (NNS) in the course of telling a story.

Emergent communication problems during the talk-in-interaction were engaged with and resolved through the application of communication strategies (CS). The storyteller and her/his co-participants utilized CS in an attempt not only to overcome communication difficulties so as to reach mutual understanding, but also to co-ordinate their actions with each other, or to enhance sufficient participant engagement in order to accomplish communication goals. In addition, the range of CS used by NS and NNS during ongoing discourses are identified, illustrated, and analysed. The differences and similarities in the way NS and NNS approach interactional tasks are examined.

In addition, CS descriptions from the literature and this study are compared. CS categories and functions in the present study are shown to be more diverse and broader in shape. The conceptualisation of CS proposed in this study is thus richer than that proposed in the previous CS literature. The empirical investigation undertaken in this study shows that CS function not only as problem-solving devices or meaning-negotiation strategies, but also as meaning-creating and communication-enhancing strategies.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible if not for the assistance of a considerable number of people whom I would now like to thank.

My greatest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. D. Langford, who, throughout the writing of this thesis, has given me invaluable advice and made extensive comments on my work, without which it would not have been possible for this thesis to attain the scope that it did. To M. Ansell, my second supervisor, I would like to thank you for your support and encouragement, which enabled me to complete this study, and which was especially helpful at the very beginning when everything seemed blurred and difficult. I would also like to thank Professor J. Geake, for his assistance and efforts toward improving this work. I give much appreciation to Prof. P.Drew, Miss A. Bloomer, and Dr. P. Hinton, whose advice, and suggestions enriched this study.

I am very appreciative of the help given to me by S. Pacey and A. Thompson, respected friends, for their assistance, discussions, and infinite patience while editing this work. I also wish to extend my thanks to those friends who participated in this study for their time and friendship.

Warmest of thanks go to my husband and my son for accompanying me on this journey, as well as for their constant love, and for encouraging me to keep my spirits up, especially when the days seemed so tough!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Focus of the Investigation

During my 14 years as an English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher in Taiwan, I have developed a professional interest in the type of Communication Strategies (CS) that second language learners employ. During these years of teaching, I have observed that most of my students, who are Mandarin-speaking learners of English, have low levels of oral competence, and that they struggle when faced with difficulties in communicating in their second language. In a conversation, how does the language used by non-native speakers (NNS) in the early stages of English language acquisition accomplish a complex communicative task? What types of communicative problems may be specifically encountered by NNS who have limited linguistic resources in the target language? In order to cope with these communicative problems, what constitutes the means acceptable and available to both native speakers (NS) and learners in a communicative event? Therefore, I have chosen to explore this issue by investigating the communicative behaviour of Mandarin-speaking learners of English who have been invited to deliver a narrative in a particular kind of a conversational setting.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

ESL learners by definition have a restricted range of communicative resources available to them in any communicative activity involving the target language. This study will investigate the ways in which NNS overcome these limitations, and whether

individual approaches to overcoming them have implications for their language learning. Therefore, this study minimally attempts to describe what NNS of English do in a course of narrative construction in order to compensate for their limited linguistic resources available to them. Occasionally, an ESL learner may be able to attain communicative goals with a very limited knowledge of vocabulary and structures. On the other hand, NS may find themselves blocked in their expression, and be thus unable to complete their communicative aims, saying: "I just can't put it into words". Accordingly, the core purpose of this study is to compare NNS' strategies with evidence from talk with NS, through which they may resolve their communicative problems to reach mutual understanding, or achieve their communicative goals. A further subsidiary purpose is to assess whether NNS' CS can be enhanced through the refinement of strategies for the direct teaching of NS' strategies. In other words, this study also seeks to determine whether the CS employed by NS are useful and teachable to learners, whether NNS' strategies are equally effective, whether NNS may be able to benefit from the effective application of appropriate CS, and whether NNS' strategies can be supported as learning strategies.

Ultimately, the investigation of such phenomena may lead to important understandings that can inform practice in the support of second language learning in the classroom. If the notion of CS is theoretically valid and empirically applicable, then the systematic characterization of these strategies will make possible further investigation of their relative communicative efficacy, and their usefulness in promoting individual learning. This investigation is being undertaken to establish a baseline systematic characterization of the practices of a particular group of ESL learners. Therefore, the aim of the proposed analysis is an attempt to show how communicative difficulties in situated discourse production are dealt with by Mandarin-speaking learners of English as

a Second Language (L2). Description and analysis will focus on the discourse practices of NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners.

The following are the central hypotheses to be investigated:

- There are describable forms of CS which are typically and systematically used by Mandarin-speaking ESL learners to overcome situated instances of deficit in their communicative competence in English.
- There are differences in the communication problems confronted, and strategies used by Mandarin-speaking ESL learners to achieve an acceptable level of accuracy in a given language, in comparison to those by NS of English for the same purpose.

1.3 Method

The study, based on the CA approach of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), will investigate features of spoken discourse produced by NS of English and Mandarin-speaking learners of English respectively in order to convey their intended meaning and to reach mutual understanding. CA offers a methodology, which can focus on the real time decision-making of participants in a conversation as they encounter emergent problems with respect to the communication of that talk. In addition, CA provides a strong basis for interpreting the use of language and understanding the context within which NS and NNS convey and construct meaning through the use of CS.

Mandarin speakers' use of spoken English CS will be investigated through the description of samples of audio and video recordings of spoken interaction involving NS of English and Mandarin speakers of English interacting both together and separately. These interactions will be organized as multi-party discussions of nominated topics,

transcribed using standard CA transcription conventions and analyzed in accordance with CA principles and practice (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2001).

1.4 Definition of the Terms

In early work on CS, researchers were interested in how L2 learners tackled and overcame linguistic problems encountered during interactions. A review of the CS literature shows that two defining criteria are consistently mentioned. These are, problem-orientedness and consciousness. The majority opinion converged on regarding CS as a problem-solving activity (Tarone, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Poulisse et.al., 1984). CS were conceived of as mental plans implemented by the L2 learner reacting to an internal signal of an approaching problem, as a form of self-help that did not have to engage the interlocutor's support for resolution (e.g., Faerch and Kasper, 1983b). Therefore, Dornyei and Scott (1997, pp.182) suggest that problem-orientedness has become the "primary defining criterion for CS".

However, problem-orientedness in itself is an insufficient criterion of strategic language use unless one can take certain aspects of consciousness into account in defining CS. Consciousness has become the second major defining criterion of CS due to the notion of strategy as "being a conscious technique used to achieve a goal" put forward by Dornyei and Scott (1997, pp.184-185). Namely, an individual who uses CS is aware of the communication problem and intentionally uses CS to compensate for her/his linguistic deficiency. In addition, Tarone (1983) regarded CS as a mutual attempt by two interlocutors to bridge gaps in comprehensibility through a variety of repair strategies (Schegloff et.al.,1977; Schegloff 1987, 1992a ; Buckwalter 2001; Rieger 2003), and highlights the significance of the interactional function of CS.

Therefore, incorporating the CS definitions discussed in the literature review with, the working definition of CS used in the current study, the result is as follows:

"Strategies are employed by speakers or their participants to compensate for breakdowns in communication, mainly due to the lack of linguistic knowledge, or to enhance mutual understanding in a joint negotiation with each other, or to collaboratively achieve communicative goals."

In a word, CS are those things speakers or their participants do, not only to overcome difficulties faced ,in reaching mutual understanding when they have limited linguistic resources available to them in their target language, but also to co-ordinate actions, or to enhance participant engagement in communication during a talk-in-interaction.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

There are six chapters in this study. The first chapter introduces the focus of the study and the purpose of investigating the CS used by ESL learners to convey their intended meaning in the face of communication breakdown, or to accomplish communicative tasks. In addition, the definition of CS and three major defining criteria are also briefly discussed. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical perspectives and issues surrounding CS put forward by researchers in the last two decades in an attempt to clarify the nature of CS. Empirical studies documented on the use of CS by L2 learners are reviewed. Above all, the implication for the present study is that CS research should return to the "more humble approach" (Yule and Tarone, 1990) of describing both input and learner performance in action on the basis of naturalistic data. On a methodological level, Chapter 3 provides an overview of the CA approach, adopted in the present study to transcribe and to analyse CS features in the narrative. Chapter 4 focuses on investigating the sequential analyses of talk-in-interaction through an analysis of storytelling involving NS and NNS. The

similarities and differences between NS and NNS data in the way that the storyteller and her/his participants interact with each other in order to reach mutual understanding, co-ordinate actions, or enhance participant engagement, are illustrated and analysed. Chapter 5 concentrates on the description, identification and comparison of CS use by NS and NNS during an ongoing discourse in the current study. In addition, a commentary on CS use both according to the literature, and the findings of the present study, is also provided. The conclusion begins by summarizing the findings of the present study, and then notes the implications for pedagogy in second language teaching. It finally discusses the limitations of this study, and ends with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The study of communication strategies (CS) has become increasingly popular and attracted researchers in Second Language Acquisition, since Selinker (1972) introduced the term CS in interlanguage (IL) research. In the early days of CS, research was primarily focused on the conceptualizations and description of CS. In more recent years, there have been many empirical studies conducted to investigate various factors affecting CS use. Theoretical issues, empirical research raised in the literature concerning the conceptualizations, definitions and taxonomies of CS and their implications for the present study will be discussed in this chapter.

There has been a general agreement that language is used for communication by real, live people for their own purposes and within their limitations. Users receive satisfaction from successful communication when they use language. When people talk, they intend to communicate something to somebody. It does not mean that users actually always communicate what they set out to. Moreover, it has been observed quite often that they 'mean' more than what they actually say. Based on the concept of speaker meaning, the philosopher Grice (1957, 1968) suggests a particular view of human communication focusing on intention. Grice (1957) distinguishes natural meaning from non-natural meaning (meaning-nn). The former is without intentionality while the latter is roughly equivalent to intentional communication. A crucial feature of meaning-nn is that it is intended to be recognized in a particular way by a recipient. As Grice (p.58) states: " 'A meant-nn something by x' is (roughly) equivalent to 'A intended the utterance

of x to produce some effect in an audience by means of the recognition of this intention'."

The Gricean view of communication involves three intentions:

(a) S's utterance of x to produce a certain response r in a certain audience A

(b) A to recognize S's intention.

(c) A's recognition of S's intention (a) to function as at least part of A's reason for A's response r.

It is only when the three intentions are realized, that communication has occurred. In addition, Grice (1975) proposes the cooperative principle (CP) which consists of four more specific maxims. By operating the CP and its attendant maxims, speakers are able to lead their hearers to interpretations of their communicative intent (speaker meaning) that go beyond the logical meanings of what they "say" (Schiffrin 2000).

According to Austin (1962), the fundamental insight of language is to perform actions: its focus is communicative acts performed through speech. When one examines utterances from the viewpoint of the performative function, the first concern with them is not their veracity, but whether they are successful in communication or not (Plessis, 1991). In *How to Do Things with Words* (Austin, 1962), the title contains an implicit question, the answer to which is certainly that people communicate with each other (and themselves) by means of language, instead of that people should form correct sentences or compose logically valid utterances (Mey, 1993). Austin explains that all utterances perform speech acts that can be divided in to three aspects. They are locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. The locutionary act is the production of sounds and words with meanings; the illocutionary act is the issuing of an utterance with conventional communicative force achieved "in saying" and the perlocutionary act is the actual effect achieved "by saying". By producing

language (the locution) with a specific purpose (illocution) the speaker attains a specific effect or consequence with his utterance (perlocution). In order to yield a much richer message and successful communication, it is essential to examine three acts that one is doing in the course of producing an utterance. Austin's focus on the fact that words execute actions helps us to realize that there is a difference between what is said and why it is said. With an analysis of meaning linking language with its context, Austin opened the way to interest in the pragmatics of language and communication.

Searle's (1969) Speech Acts builds on Austin's work and views speech acts as the basic unit of communication. In addition, he observes that "speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behavior" (p.12). He proposes a special type of rules called constitutive in contrast to regulative rules. According to these constitutive rules, speaker and hearer share knowledge of how to identify and classify an utterance as a particular "type" of act. Therefore, communication occurs when people recognize and classify others' speech acts.

Hymes (1972, 1974) was among the first to recognize the importance of communicative competence and the first to use the term. The term Hymes has suggested for a knowledge of the rules for understanding and producing both the referential and the social meaning of language is 'communicative competence'. For Hymes, the ability to speak competently not only involves knowing the grammatical rules of a language, but also knowing what to say to whom in what circumstances and how to say it. He recognizes the importance of the creativity of the language being used for communication. His concept of competence emphasizes the importance of the rules that fit speech for the social context in which it occurs. So, he refers to communicative competence as the ability to convey and interpret messages and to negotiate meanings interpersonally within

specific contexts. Savignon (1983) notes that "communicative competence is relative, not absolute, and depends on the cooperation of all the participants involved"(p.9). It is a dynamic, interpersonal construct that can be investigated only by way of the overt performance of all participants in a truly communicative setting (Brown, 2000).

As a concept used in the field of L2 learning and teaching, Canale and Swain (1980) and later Canale (1983) put forward a theoretical framework of communicative competence. In their view, learners' communicative competence is composed of four different components. These include grammatical competence, which is related to the ability to master the linguistic code of a language and the knowledge of the rules of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics; discourse competence, which involves the mastery of connecting sentences in stretches of discourse and interpreting a series of utterances to form a meaningful whole; sociolinguistic competence, which comprises socio-cultural rules and rules of discourse and is associated with the knowledge of the social adequacy of rules of language use. The ability to master verbal and nonverbal CS is the strategic competence. These CS generally have been defined as devices employed by second language (L2) learners for the following reasons: firstly to compensate for breakdowns in communication mainly due to insufficient competence in one or more of the other areas of communicative competence of performance variables; and secondly, to enhance the effectiveness of communication. Tarone and Yule (1987) define learners' strategic competence as:

> "the ability to transmit information to a hearer to correctly interpret information received, and includes the mastery of communication strategies, used to deal with problems which may arise in the transmission of this information" (p.50).

They claim that the research on the strategic competence of L2 learners may investigate (1)

the overall skill of a speaker in successfully transmitting information to a hearer; and (2) the CS used by a speaker when encountering problems in the process of attempting to transmit information. Moreover, Yule and Tarone (1990) regard strategic competence as "an ability to select an effective means of performing a communicative act that enables the listener/hearer to identify the intended referent"(p.181). As a matter of fact, strategic competence is the way we manage language in order to achieve communicative goals and it is the competence underlying one's ability to make repairs, to cope with imperfect knowledge and to sustain communication by the use of different kinds of CS.

In a model of communicative competence suggested by Bachman (1990) ten years later, he recognized and elaborated upon the earlier proposal by Canale and Swain (1980). In his model, two main components of language competence are theorized as organizational competence and pragmatic competence. The former includes grammatical and discourse (renamed "textual") competence, and the latter was subdivided into illocutionary and sociolinguistic competence. In addition, Bachman placed strategic competence as an entirely separate element of communicative language ability. Strategic competence operates on all of these components and serves as the "exclusive" function of making the final "decision", among many possible options, on wording, phrasing and other productive and receptive means for meaning negotiation.

On the whole, there was little research on the development of strategic competence in a second language. Neither did Hymes' theories of communicative competence include a strategic component, obviously not because NS do not have strategic competence, but because this was not a salient issue from Hymes' sociolinguistic point of view. It is quite ironic that strategic competence, which was added by Canale and Swain (1980) due to its prominence in NNS' communicative ability, was kept and expanded by Bachman (1990) for

the same reason. Thus far, it has only partially been investigated. However, researchers have come to realize the importance of strategic competence, given the fact that learners may be able to communicate their intended meanings very successfully without necessarily demonstrating a high degree of mastery of a grammatical form. Alternatively, learners may be able to produce accurate linguistic forms but may fail to achieve success in communicating their intended meanings. Bachman's (1990) theoretical model was later refined by Bachman and Palmer (1996). They conceive of strategic competence as 'a set of metacognitive components, or strategies, which can be thought of as higher order executive processes that provide a cognitive management function in language use' (p.70).

Since language use is always strategic (Bialystok, 1984; Dechert, 1983; Wagner, 1983), and all CS may be thought of as arising out of a person's strategic competence, the CS used comprise an essential and major element of learners' strategic competence. In order to deal with imperfect knowledge, to carry on communication, L2 learners have to use verbal or nonverbal CS to select effective means of performing a communicative act to accomplish communicative goals. The devices and behaviours, which L2 learners employ to solve receptive and productive problems and to achieve communication, meaning negotiation and mutual understanding, are commonly referred to as CS.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives and Issues

During the past two decades, researchers have attempted to clarify the nature of CS and to delineate their implementation. But so far, there is no universally accepted definition of CS, which may be the reason why generalizations made by those studies are often based on (partly) different language phenomena. As a consequence, the CS approaches have varied according to the researchers' general orientations toward language analysis. This diversity is reflected in the various conceptualizations behind definitions of CS, as well as taxonomies.

I. Conceptual CS Definitions

(1) The interactional view

In early work, CS were regarded as a 'means' or as 'verbal or non-verbal plans' which are used to compensate for gaps in communication. This view is reflected in Tarone's (1977) and Faerch and Kasper's (1983b) definitions. In subsequent discussion, Tarone (1980) introduces an "interactional" perspective to define CS. According to this, a CS is defined as:

> "a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared."(p.420)

Based on this definition, CS are viewed as 'tools' used in a joint negotiation of meaning where both interlocutors are attempting to solve communication problems cooperatively and interactionally so as to reach a communicative goal. In Tarone's interactional definition, CS involve a joint effort of both the speaker and the listener to overcome the communication problems. This was criticised by Faerch and Kasper (1980, 1983b, 1984). One reason, they argue, is that the use of CS to cope with communication problems does not necessarily

involve a joint effort by the interlocutor. Specifically, it was found that the interlocutor did not help the speaker (or learner) out when s/he was struggling to get a meaning across. In other words, even in a two-way and face-to-face communication, without the listener's cooperation and without her/his noticing the existence of the problem, the speaker can resolve a problem to make a meaning understood.

Moreover, according to the notion of Tarone's interactional definition, Faerch and Kasper (1984) have also pointed out that this view restricts the use of CS to the type of discourse that allows immediate feedback by a listener, i.e. moment-to-moment, two-way and on-line communication. Namely, the interactional definition applies only to the oral aspect of speech production and it cannot be applied to the one-way communicative situations where feedback is not provided or is delayed as in writing, communication with audiences or observers, and so on.

On the basis of Tarone's definition, CS have to be shown in performance data and be identified from the analyst's viewpoint. This view means that the signals or signs from these learners' performance data could indicate to the analyst the communication problems experienced by these learners. However, some researchers have maintained that the use of CS does not necessarily show in performance data. Faerch and Kasper (1980) claim that L2 learners, especially advanced learners, often predict their communication problems and attempt to solve them in advance. This implies that CS must be identified from the learner's point of view instead of the analyst's. Ellis (1986) also argues that the application of CS normally occurs without any overt indication that a CS has been used, i.e. learners organize and change their production plans beforehand without leaving any clues in their linguistic product indicating the use of CS. CS must thus be identified from the learner's point of view rather than the analyst's. This can be achieved not only through performance

data, but through introspective techniques, particularly 'immediate retrospection' (Cohen and Hosenfeld 1981; and Faerch and Kasper 1987).

(2) Psycholinguistic view

In order to explain powerfully and persuasively a description of L2 learning and interlanguage communication, Faerch and Kasper (1980) state that the researcher has to take the learner's perspective in finding the mental processes/strategies in learning and communication. For the purpose of defining CS, they work on a general psycholinguistic model of speech production developed by Clark and Clark (1977). This model distinguishes two main phases in speech production: (1) a planning phase, in which a plan is developed to achieve a goal and (2) an execution phase, in which the developed plan is executed as a result of an action. In the planning phase, L2 learners select appropriate rules and items to establish a plan oriented towards the communicative goal. The execution of the plan in the execution phase depends on some psychological processes, such as CS responsible for producing both verbal and non-verbal behaviours. Based on this model of speech production, CS' function is characterised through their relationship to 'processes' and 'plans'.

Faerch and Kasper's (1983b) define CS as "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal"(p.36). Bialystok (1990) and the Nijmegen Group (i.e., Poulisse Bongaerts, and Kellerman, 1987) also employ similar definitions, and argue that CS are inherently mental procedures. They suggest that CS research should investigate the cognitive processes underlying strategic language use. Accordingly, they regard CS as primarily mental events and adopt a cognitive psychological approach to their analysis.

Bialystok (1990) integrates CS within a general framework of language processing which accounts for psycholinguistic processes that regulate both language learning and language use. Accordingly, she presents a model of language proficiency which consists of two processing components, analysis of knowledge and control processing. The former is the process by which mental representations of information become increasingly structured, i.e. by which linguistic knowledge is made more explicit. The latter governs the attentional procedures necessary for performance. These two processing components describe operations applied to mental representations during language learning and use (Kellerman and Bialystok, 1997).

The Nijmegen Group account for CS by integrating them in a framework of language production. According to them, there are two options in the processing that generate the linguistic product characterized as strategic. In order to come as close as possible to expressing their original intention, learners can either manipulate the concept so that it becomes expressible through their available linguistic resources, or they can manipulate encoding media, that is, the strategic behaviour of learners can be described in terms of two processes only – conceptual and code. Following this, Poulisse (1993) developed the psycholinguistic perspective by integrating CS in Levelt's (1989) model of speech production, which allows for a more detailed psycholinguistic analysis of strategic language behaviour than was possible before. As a consequence, Poulisse reviews some aspects of her earlier work as part of the Nijmegen Group and puts forward a modified process-oriented cognitive taxonomy.

In conclusion, based on the cognitive processes underlying strategic language use, the psycholinguistic perspective defines CS as mental procedure in learning and communication. In contrast, the interactional view, on the basis of interaction, defines CS as tools used by

both interlocutors in a joint meaning negotiation to solve communication problems cooperatively and interactionally to reach a communicative goal. Since language learning is regarded not just as a potentially predicable developmental process, but is also related to the creation of meaning through interactive negotiation among learners, the present study, based on the framework of the CA approach, adopts the interactional definition of CS and attempts to extend it more widely so that the study of CS categories are broader and more diverse, and the notion of CS more expansive than those proposed in the previous literature.

II. Criteria for Defining CS

A review of the CS literature reveals that investigations of CS have elicited diverse approaches due to the diversity of defining criteria. There are three main defining criteria incorporated implicitly or explicitly into the diverse definitions as characteristic of CS: problem (Jordens, 1977; Kellerman, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a, Poulisse, 1990), consciousness (Tarone, 1977;Varadi, 1980; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Poulisse, 1990) and interactionality (Tarone, 1980). Though it seems that they can capture the essence of strategic language behaviour, their lack of explicitness is the reason for the diversity in CS research (Dornyei and Scott, 1997).

(1) Problem

Initially CS were generally viewed as attempts to solve problems in communication. Several researchers explicitly suggest that the application of CS implies the notion of problem. Jordens (1977), for example, states that "strategies can only be applied when something is acknowledged as problematic" (p.14). Kellerman (1977) characterizes a strategy as "a well-organized approach to a problem" (p.93). Faerch and Kasper (1983a)

maintain that 'problem-orientedness' is an important criterion for distinguishing strategic from non-strategic behaviour. "Problematicity" termed by Bialystok (1984, 1990) has become a primary defining criterion for CS, which refers to "the idea that strategies are used only when a speaker perceives that there is a problem which may interrupt communication" (Bialystok, 1990, p.3). According to Varadi (1992), "the original insight into CS is based on a mismatch between communicative intention and linguistic resources" (p.437).

Generally speaking, the majority opinion converged on regarding CS as a problem-solving activity. In addition, several researchers including Dornyei and Scott, suggest that three types of communication problems have to be handled: own-performance problems associated with various types of self-repair, self-rephrasing and self-editing mechanisms, other-performance problems related to meaning negotiation strategies and problems of processing time pressure regarding strategies such as the use for fillers.

(2) Consciousness

The secondary criterion: 'consciousness', is thought of as the most problematic of the three criteria because the role of consciousness in behaviour is still an unresolved issue in the field of cognition itself. That consciousness should not be a criterion has been put forward in various arguments. Sharwood (1979), for instance, suggests that the question of consciousness should be left aside in any definition of strategy due to the inexplicit psycholinguistic account of learners' internal processes. In fact, to regard CS as "consciously used devices" mixes several meanings of the term. This leads to the main problem with using consciousness. 'Consciousness' can refer to a language problem, the intent/attempt to solve this problem, the repertoire of CS and the goal a CS may achieve. In order to differentiate between the multiple meanings the single word 'consciousness' can carry, Schmidt (1990,1994) suggest that the term 'consciousness' should be deconstructed

into four basic senses of consciousness, that is, intentionality, attention, awareness and control. He notes that the most common ambiguity in the use of the term consciousness is that it refers either to awareness of a communication difficulty or to the language users' intentional control over the selection and implementation of strategies or to both.

Bialystok (1984, 1990) argues against the consciousness criterion. She claims that conscious monitoring is not possible for pre-metacognitive children. Moreover, it is not self-evident that language users are indeed aware of their strategic uses of language and that their choices may be made without conscious consideration. Therefore, Bialystok (1990) also separates consciousness from intentionality or the goal-orientedness referred to by Faerch and Kasper (1983a). She defines the latter as the "learner's control over a repertoire of strategies so that particular ones may be selected from the range of options and deliberately applied to achieve certain effects" (p.5). Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) also maintain that consciousness as awareness of the problem, as intentionality and as awareness of strategic language use are particularly relevant to CS. However, they claim that consciousness as control should not necessarily be a defining criterion of CS because one purpose of CS training is to enhance automatization.

The other problem with the consciousness criterion observed by other researchers is that it is a matter of degree rather than that of either-or (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a). On the one hand, it poses the problem of how to measure the degree of consciousness with which behaviour occurs. Tarone (1980) excludes the term from her definition to avoid the question of consciousness. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) suggest that CS are only 'potentially' conscious. On the other hand, it reflects the fact that in most cases a speaker consciously selects only certain elements in a plan. As pointed out by Gass and Selinker (1994), the small set of strategies people employ in different problem situations encountered

can become routinized or automatized. In addition, Wiemann and Daly (1994) argue that some strategies may become highly automatized or fossilized devices without full consciousness due to being overlearned.

(3) Interactionality

On the basis of the observation that language is "not an object which is used", but "a living organism created by both speaker and hearer" (p.64), Tarone (1983) highlights the importance of the interactional function of CS again which has been overlooked. The following are the necessary criteria on which her interactional definition is based:

1. A speaker desires to communicate a meaning X to a listener;
2. The speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning X is unavailable or is not shared with the listener;
3. The speaker chooses to:
   a. avoid – not attempt to communicate meaning X or
   b. attempt alternate means to communicate meaning X. The speaker stops trying alternatives when it seems clear to the speaker that there is shared meaning (Tarone, 1980, p.419)

With respect to the interactional criteria, negotiation of meanings between the interactants influences the speaker's performance of tasks. However, it was also brought up as a critique by some other researchers (Faerch and Kasper, 1980, 1984 and Ellis, 1986) as discussed in the interactional view section.

In defining CS, problem-orientedness is considered to be the basic and primary criterion

by the vast majority of CS researchers. With respect to the criterion of consciousness, it is difficult to take certain aspects of consciousness into account due to the lack of a clear understanding of its role within speech production. However, if the criterion of consciousness is related to three aspects - consciousness as awareness of the problem, consciousness as intentionality, and consciousness as awareness of strategic language use - then one can take the criterion of consciousness into account in defining CS (Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b). Therefore, in order to better understand the L2 learner's strategic language behaviour, this study takes problem-orientedness, interactionality and consciousness as criteria of strategic language use in defining CS.

III. Taxonomy

The conceptual differences among CS researchers have resulted in various taxonomies being developed to provide a framework within which to define and explain the phenomenon. In empirical research into different types of data, new taxonomies have often been established to modify the pre-existing ones due to their inadequacies (see Tarone 1977; Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Paribakht, 1982). However, in recent developments of CS research, there have been attempts to establish a general taxonomy suitable for any type of data (e.g. Bialystok and Kellerman, 1987; Kellerman et at.,1987; Bongaerts et al.,1987; Poulisse, 1990; Kellerman et al., 1990; Bialystok, 1990; and Poulisse, 1993) This has resulted in a distinction between two approaches to the description of CS: the product-oriented and the process-oriented approach respectively. The former is interested in describing the linguistic products of strategy use, and proposing additional categories, maintaining and expanding existing taxonomies (e.g. Tarone and Yule, 1987). By contrast, the latter denies the value of existing taxonomies and proposes a substantial reduction in the number of categories of analysis (e.g. Bongaerts et al., 1987). For a detailed discussion of

product-and process-oriented approaches to strategy classification, and their underlying theoretical orientations, the reader is referred forward to Section 5.2.

The controversial and contestable issue on conceptual CS definition, criteria for defining CS, CS taxonomy, and teachability between product-and process-oriented approaches repeatedly arises in the literature of CS studies. As summarized by Yule and Tarone (1997), the noted divergence in the duality of approaches taken by researchers – the "pros" following the product-oriented approach and the "cons" taking a primarily process-oriented stance are as follows:

> "The taxonomic approach of the Pros focuses on descriptions of the language produced by L2 learners, essentially characterizing the means used to accomplish reference in terms of the observed forms. It is primarily a description of observed forms in L2 output, with implicit inferences being made about the differences in the psychological processing that produced them. The alternative approach of the Cons, taking a primarily psychological stance, focuses on a description of the psychological processes used by L2 learners, essentially characterizing the cognitive decisions humans make in order to accomplish reference. It is primarily a description of cognitive processing, with implicit inferences being made about the inherent similarity of linguistically different forms observed in the L2 output" (p.19).

In sum, the process-oriented approach is interested in describing internal cognitive processes both in L1 and L2 learners, and emphasizes the generalizability and psychological plausibility of its categories. The product-oriented approach centers on describing the forms used by L2 learners to accomplish reference in a given language, and compares this to the forms used by NS for the same purpose, and exhibits a preference for investigating variability in linguistic performance. The two approaches differ not only in the number of strategies considered relevant but also in relation to methodological and pedagogical issues. They take up different positions with respect to the teachability of CS. The product-oriented approach typically is in favor of teaching the use of some CS

(e.g.,Tarone, 1984) and the process-oriented approach expresses a strong opposition to any teaching (e.g., Kellerman, 1991).

A summary of the theoretical differences between interactional and psycholinguistic views, as well as definitions and taxonomies of CS, is shown in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1 Summary of differences between the interactional and psycholinguistic views

	Product-oriented approach	**Process-oriented approach**
1. Conceptual CS definition	- Based on interactional function CS as tools for meaning-negotiation	- Based on cognitive processes CS as mental procedure
2. Criteria for defining CS	- Interactionality	- Problem and Consciousness*
3. Taxonomy**	- Profligate, liberal expansion of categories - Describing observed forms in outp external and interactive	- Conservative, parsimonious reduction of categories - Describing a psychological processing, internal and cognitive
4. Teachability	- Prefer teaching some CS	- Oppose CS teaching

* A number of researchers have argued against consciousness as a criterion for defining CS. Some representative studies include those by Bialystok (1984, 1990) and Wiemann and Daly (1994).

** Yule and Tarone (1997, p.28).

In the past few years, investigations of CS have adopted the perspective of interactional sociolinguistics which views all communicative events as socially situated. On the basis of analyses of talking involving NNS in different social and institutional settings, they

problematize the traditional beliefs in the literature on second language acquisition and use and suggest various ways of expanding the notion of CS. For example, Kasper (1997) suggests that the dominant research practice in Applied Linguistics limited the investigation of strategic competence to referential and lexical problems and their solutions. Therefore, he argues that the research should extend its focus on the pragmatics of interpersonal rhetoric. Wagner and Firth (1997) suggest that CS should be studied within a broader remit, one that specifically and centrally adopts the interactional facets and the cognitive. Williams, Inscoe and Tasker (1997), adopting the framework of interactional modification, show that CS use is strongly constrained by the institutional setting, participants' roles and the goals to be achieved in the laboratory task. Hitherto, many studies spanning a wide range of approaches to talk and social interaction have shown that participants attempt to use all available information in a conversation as a resource to create and continually (re)negotiate interpersonal meaning. Therefore, various formats such as pauses and other markers and mechanisms such as repairs, formulations and control checks are employed by participants to clarify whether there is a shared meaning. However, how and whether the interactional, social perspectives can be reconciled with the psychological and cognitive perspectives as CS use at present is still an unsettled question, worthy of further investigation.

IV. CS and Repair Strategies

Tarone (1980) regards CS as a mutual attempt by two interlocutors to bridge gaps in comprehensibility through a variety of repair strategies (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; Schegloff, 1987, 1992a; Buckwalter, 2001). Schegloff et al., observe that an 'organization of repair' operates in everyday conversation, addressed to recurrent problems in speaking, hearing and understanding. According to Schegloff et al., (1977), there are two separate classes of interactive repair processes of native speaker discourse, namely, self-repair and

other-repair. The former is the repair procedure in which the trouble is produced and addressed by the same interlocutor, while the latter by a participant other than the one who produces it. Two further classes are distinguished in each of the above: self-initiated and other-initiated.

Schwartz (1977) defines repair as "a strategy for achieving understanding when there is some kind of breakdown or trouble or some is anticipated" (p.4). The definition seems identical to Tarone's (1980) of communication strategy. In theory one can repair an utterance to move it either (a) closer to correspondence with intended meaning or (b) close to correspondence with socially accepted form. Repair occurs primarily when the speaker observes that the first-attempt utterance consists of a linguistic or sociolinguistic structure not communicating an intended meaning X closely enough to ensure that there will be shared meaning.

Faerch and Kasper (1983b) state that "self-repairs reveal that the speaker runs into some difficulty in executing his plan, or that he considers the already executed plan insufficient as a means of communicating his intended meaning" (p.215). They regard self-repairs as one of the performance features used as strategy markers. In addition, Ellis (1994) notes that repair occurs when there is an 'incomplete understanding'. It takes the form of negotiation of meaning – the collaborative work which speakers undertake to achieve mutual understanding.

Most researchers on conversation analysis agree to define repairs as "aligning actions" (Stokes and Hewitt, 1976) or special techniques used by conversational parties to deal with problems or troubles presented in conversation (McLaughlin, 1984). According to Schegloff et al. (1977), the term repair is a more neutral word which seems to "capture the

more general domain of occurrences…that nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class of 'repairable'" (p.363). Therefore, repair sequences in conversation are regarded as not only real violations of communication rules, but also as infractions perceived and felt by participants in an exchange, or as elements hindering communication, or undesired effect produced on the listener(s) (Piazza, 1998).

Tarone (1980) distinguishes repair strategies from CS. Repair strategies are used in an attempt to repair utterances faulty in phonological or morphological form but not faulty in terms of communicating intended meaning. As a result, they should be viewed as attempts to send a social message, or a meta-communication. Nevertheless, CS have been used to refer only to the negotiation of referential or sociolinguistic meaning. Tarone suggests that repairs focusing on correction of linguistic form rather than better communication of intended meaning are not communication strategies. Moreover, analysis in terms of repair has mainly focused on (a) the discoursal rules for who corrects whom, when and (b) the correction of linguistic form as well as negotiation of intended meaning. Only (b) potentially overlaps with work on CS.

Although the research on CS and repair strategies in interlanguage have, in many cases, focused on the same phenomenon in communication and overlap somewhat, they have been different on the whole. Tarone points out that the concept referred by "repair" is broader than that by "CS" because the former incorporates corrections of both form and content while the latter only correction of content. In reality, it can be argued that an utterance which is faulty in phonological or morphological form, particularly in L2 learning and use, can also lead to the situations of misunderstanding in which an intended meaning is not shared. In other words, sometimes, it seems that the way learners communicate is often problematized through the negotiation of form as a means of negotiating meaning.

Moreover, the notion of CS has been used to date to refer not only to negotiation of referential or sociolinguistic meaning, but also to the identity of "social group membership" meaning. As pointed out by Trosset (1986), language processing plainly involves not only a movement between linguistic structure and referential propositions, but also participants' orientation to the social relationships and identities indexed by the linguistic code. This can affect the course of interaction and lead learners to experience difficulty. Rampton (1997) shows that L2 status played an important symbolic role and it was elaborated in a set of wide CS. As a matter of fact, 'social meanings' itself can present learners with difficulties. Given this fact, if by using a strategy, either the purpose of the repair is to move the utterance closer to intended meaning, or closer to socially accepted form, the mutual understanding can be achieved. Then, repair strategies function as CS. Consequently, in the present study the framework of repairs was used because it provided a neat and easy way to deal with friends' interaction. Repair strategies which share many discourse features such as pause fillers, may serve as CS in the interactive repair processes.

2.3 Empirical Studies

During the last two decades, a considerable number of experimental studies have accumulated on the use of CS by L2 learners. Researchers have investigated factors affecting the CS use, such as the type of tasks (Tarone, 1977; Tarone and Yule, 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Poulisse et al., 1984; Rampton, 1991, 1995, 1997; Gallagher, 2001; Littlemore, 2001 etc.), learner variables, particularly on L2 learners' proficiency level of the target language (Tarone, 1977, Galvan and Campbell, 1979; Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Paribakht, 1982; Poulisse, 1987; Corrales and Call, 1989, Chen 1990; Khanji 1996), the effectiveness of CS in achieving communication goals (Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Poulisse, 1990), similarities and differences between L1 and L2 CS (Bongaerts and Poulissee,

1989; Poulissee, 1990; Kellerman et al., 1990) and the teachability of CS (Shepardson, 2002; Gallagher 2001; Gilfert & Croker, 1997; Ogane, 1998; House, 1996; Rose, 1994, 1997; Dornyei, 1995; Dornyei and Thurrell, 1991; Mosiori, 1991; Nattinger, 1988; Tarone, 1984; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Willems, 1987; Frescura 1987).

Empirical studies have focused on elicited data derived from closed or open task performance, which has been constructed so as to push the speaker beyond the limit of their linguistic competence. The closed tasks require lexical knowledge beyond subjects' linguistic repertoire, thus forcing them to use CS on the content of the message. The open tasks require subjects to engage in spontaneous, non-controlled interactional communications (Galvan and Campbell, 1979; Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983; Poulisse et al., 1984; Corrales and Call, 1989; Rampton 1991, 1995, 1997; William, Inscoe and Tasker, 1997; Wagner 1995a, 1995b; Wagner and Firth, 1997). There are advantages and disadvantages in both methods of data collection. The closed tasks allow the investigators to control variables and the comparison of subjects, but may result in artificiality due to unnatural communication between subjects. By contrast, spontaneous data allows access to strategies as they occur in a real communication in real life, but less control over variables is allowed.

The closed tasks used for data collection here included picture-description (Tarone, 1977; Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Glahn 1980; Frescura 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Littlemore 2001), picture-reconstruction (Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Bialystok, 1983), object description (Poulisse et al; 1984; Tarone and Yule, 1987; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Yule and Tarone 1990), story-retelling (Poulisse et al., 1984), concept-identification (Paribakht, 1982; Chen, 1990) and instruction (Poulisse et al., 1984; Tarone and Yule, 1987; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Yule and Tarone, 1990). Open tasks used in data collection are integrating (Galvan and Campbell, 1979), interviewing (Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983; Poulisse et al., 1984;

Khanji 1993; King 1999), simulated conversation (Corrales and Call, 1989; Rampton 1991, 1995, 1997; Williams, Inscoe and Tasker 1997; Wagner, 1995a, 1995b; Wagner and Firth, 1997) and role-play (Khanji, 1996; Gallagher, 2001).

Among learner variables such as linguistic background, personality and proficiency level etc., proficiency level has received most of the attention and been systematically investigated. Based on a picture-description task, Tarone (1977) showed that strategy performance and L2 proficiency level may be related. Followed by Bialystok's (1983) data from subjects, it was found that more proficient learners tended to use more L2-based strategies than less proficient learners who were found to resort to L1-based strategies. Therefore, she concluded that learners' proficiency in the target language is a determining factor of the types of CS being used by these learners. To examine this relationship, Paribakht (1982, 1985) worked with one group of NS of English and two groups of Persian learners of English, who were of two different proficiency levels (intermediate and advanced). Analysing her data on the basis of a concept-identification task, she reported that NS and the members of advanced group relied more on the linguistic approach (L2-based strategies), while intermediate learners on conceptual strategies (L1-based strategies). In addition, Paribakht noted that the difference between types of strategies adopted by learners in her study should be attributed to less proficient learners' limited exposure to L2 culture as well as their proficiency level in the target language. Chen's (1990) findings was also confirmed those of Paribakht's.

Like Paribakht (1982) and Bialystok (1983), Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) were interested in investigating the relationship between learners' proficiency level in the target language and their CS use. Eight Danish learners of English were selected to converse with a native speaker of English on various topics. The CS were identified by means of

'communication disruptions' such as repairs, clarifications and repetitions and so on. Based on Faerch and Kasper's taxonomy, they found that differences existed among eight subjects in terms of the CS used to cope with communication problems. That is, the learners in the less academic context were over-dependent on their L1-based strategies, while advanced learners were dependant on L2-based strategies. Thus, they also suggested that the assessment of oral proficiency should include CS.

In the Nijmegen project, Poulisse (1984) and Poulisse et al., (1987) attempted to examine whether the factor of L2 proficiency level influenced learners' CS choice. They compared three groups of Dutch learners of English at three different proficiency levels. The results of this project showed that compensatory strategies used by Dutch learners of English are significantly related to their proficiency level in English. But the proficiency-related difference was not consistent across the three tasks used in the study (description, story-retelling, interview). The difference was not significant for the interview. However, with respect to the use of conceptual strategies, Poulisse (1990) found there were proficiency-related differences, the most proficient group used significantly more holistic strategies in the story-retelling task and in the interview than the other two groups.

Khanji (1996) divided thirty-six Jordanian EFL students into three categories, i.e. low, intermediate and advanced, and investigated the relationship between their CS use and the proficiency level based on the Strategic Interaction (SI) approach developed by Di Pietro (1987). He concluded that a high percentage of reduction strategies were used by low-level students due to their inability to overcome communicative problems and that they resorted to using reduction strategies. However, Khanji attempted to combine an interactional perspective and psycholinguistic approach in describing CS to account for the social origins of mental functions and argued that the learners' flexibility in the typology of CS is not

characterised by their language proficiency.

The studies discussed above have been concerned with the interaction between L2 learners and L1 interlocutors. Tarone and Yule (1987) undertook a project to examine the use of CS by NNS of English from different native language backgrounds on the basis of the object-description, instruction for a series of actions and story-narration tasks. To evaluate the communicative effectiveness of those subjects, they also studied the CS used by nine NS performing the same tasks. After a detailed analysis, they found that NNS differed from NS in terms of the level of detail or 'specificity'. The results showed that NNS, in spite of their language background, gave more details than the NS whose CS use were found to be more precise and economic.

In sum, the studies discussed above examined the frequency of use and choice of CS. Most of the findings suggested that the quantity and choice of CS are proficiency-related. The least proficient learners use more L1-based strategies than the advanced ones. It is not surprising that the less able learners opt for these strategies due to their limited linguistic resources. On the other hand, the high-proficiency learners with a richer L2 vocabulary prefer L2-based strategies.

Besides the studies of L2 learners' CS use and their proficiency level, the relationship between L2 learners' proficiency level and the effectiveness of types of CS in achieving a communicative goal were also investigated (Bialystok and Frohlich, 1980; Poulisse, 1990; and Chen, 1990). In Bialystok and Frohlich's study, based on a six-point scale range, seventeen NS of the target language were asked to rank those CS used by forty French learners of English in terms of effectiveness of strategies in conveying the intended meaning. The results indicated that the functional description was ranked as the most effective

strategies and language-switch as the least effective. But a large overlap between the most effective strategies and the ones frequently selected by subjects for a particular item does exist. The findings of this study also showed that the most advanced group's strategies were approximately equally effective, while those used by intermediate and the low proficiency groups were not equally effective in conveying the meanings of the item. Therefore, they concluded that high proficiency is a factor in using the most appropriate strategies with greater success. However, they also suggested that successful communication sometimes resulted from the cumulative use of different strategies.

Poulisse (1990) used guessing and judgement tasks carried out by NS of English to measure the effectiveness of different types of CS. The findings of her study showed that on the whole, there exist differences in the effectiveness of different types of strategies. Combination of holistic and analytic strategies was the most effective, and was followed by analytic strategies. Transfer strategies and holistic strategies were the least effective. However, holistic strategies seem to be more effective if they are specific rather than general. The strategy of language-switches tends to be successful in the case of a formal correspondence between the L1 word and its L2 equivalent.

With respect to the teachability of CS, the two approaches also take up different positions. On the one hand, proponents of the psychological approach strongly oppose the teaching of CS (Bialystok, 1990; Kellerman, 1991). In their research, they perceived CS employed in creating L2 reference as an essentially cognitive process and thus teaching them would amount to teaching cognitive processing. It is believed that the cognitive processing of adult learners has already matured through their L1 experience, and therefore need not be taught. That is, L2 learners are already assumed to have sufficient competence from L1 learning to accomplish their chosen strategies. On the other hand, the interactional

approach typically preferred teaching the use of some CS (Dornyei, 1995; Dornyei and Thurrell, 1991; Rost and Ross, 1991; Nattinger, 1988; Tarone, 1984; Tarone and Yule, 1989; Willems, 1987). They are concerned to provide classroom activities and tasks in which learners develop different types of CS. They claim that it not only promotes greater awareness, less inhibition and purposeful language practice, but also provides relevant learner-produced L2 linguistic performance to support later focus on forms.

There have been a few studies designed to assess the value of CS teaching. In one early study carried out by Brodersen and Gibson (1982, cited in Yule and Tarone, 1997), they proposed a three-month pedagogical experiment in teaching CS to Danish learners of English. The results of the experiment showed that learners were observed to use more achievement and fewer reduction strategies. Especially, learners with an intermediate level of proficiency had made particular progress toward using appropriate strategies after sessions discussing the effectiveness of strategies used by themselves in tasks which had been videotaped. They also implied that they were more willing to take a risk when facing communication problems. Frescura (1987) conducted a one-month experiment in teaching CS to advanced adult learners of Italian as foreign language. The results of the experiment also suggested that teaching CS has a positive effect on the learners' ability to cope with difficulties of a lexical nature.

Mosiori (1991) investigated the effects of consciousness-raising about CS on adult learners' second language strategic performance. Focusing on only higher-order categories, he reported that effects from this experimental study involving consciousness-raising about CS use among American undergraduates learning French were not significant. By contrast, Dornyei et al., (1992) and Dornyei (1995) revealed that there was a significant improvement in oral skills among Hungarian learners of English after training in lower-level CS use.

Gallagher (2001), after conducting an eight-week project in which CS were taught to beginners in German, suggested that a range of strategic phrases could be successfully taught to most learners, regardless of their use, dependent on task and context. Additionally, she concluded that beginners employ various problem-solving skills to maintain spoken communication in a foreign language. Positive research recently results from teaching CS explicitly have gained its support (Gilfert and Croker, 1997; Ogane, 1998; House, 1996; Rose, 1994, 1997; Gallagher 2001; Dula, 2001; Shepardson, 2002; Nakatani, 2005). In particular, Dula (2001) and Rossiter (2001) suggest some potential benefit in the direct instruction of some CS as devices of helping learners avoid communication breakdowns. Shepardson's (2002) findings also show an advantage for a CS treatment and justify the teaching of CS in the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classroom. Nakatani's (2005) findings revealed that the improvements of Japanese participants in a strategy training group in their oral proficiency test scores were significant, while those made by participants in the control group were not. Although these different results from teaching CS use may reflect different training situations and different categories of analysis, the definite study on the value of communicative strategy teaching remains a crucial topic to be investigated.

Currently, researchers have worked at the tasks, in various ways, to identify the psychological process underlying CS use (Littlemore 1998, 2001). For instance, Kellerman and Bialystok (1997) offered a taxonomy on the basis of the psychological processes of analysis and control (Bialystok,1990). Khanji (1996) adopted a Vygotskyan perspective which takes the social origins of mental functions into consideration. However, researchers from the sociolinguistic perspective view have criticised the fact that much of the research conducted on CS has been rather narrow in that it has predominantly focused on learners' gaps in lexis and has been conducted almost exclusively using elicitation tasks. Thus, they emphasized the need for naturalistic data and focused on achievement of comprehension and

the mutual construction of discourse rather than on individual production. For example, Wagner's (1983) pattern theory took into account the situated nature of real communication by examining the effectiveness of CS use in facilitating communication. Wagner and Firth (1997) examined lingua franca interaction in a business setting by means of a CA approach. Williams, Inscoe and Tasker (1997) adopted the framework of the interactional modification proposed by Long (1981) and examined how participants collaborated in achieving mutual comprehension in a laboratory task. Yule and Tarone (1997) have compared the 'psycholinguistic' and 'interactional' approach, and Aston (1993) the 'intra-organism' vs 'inter-organism' perspective on communication difficulty resolution. It is precisely this duality of these two approaches that has given rise to theoretical problems surrounding the issue of compatibility. The reconciliation between an interactional/social and cognitive/individualistic (CS) perspective on language is still the point at issue and needs more efforts to bridge the gap between them.

2.4 Implications for the present study

In the CS literature, there has been a divergence of opinion into the two approaches that currently dominate the field, i.e. the psycholingusitc (process-oriented) approach and the interactional (product-oriented) approach. These two approaches are different both in the number of strategies considered relevant and in relation to methodological and pedagogical issues. This study adopted the interactional definition of CS due to the fact that it is useful to compare the linguistic forms used by L2 learners and NS of the target language because firstly this comparison yields information about the learner's interlanguage grammar/lexis as compared to that of the NS of the target language. That is, the general features and patterns in talk revealed from this analysis of NS may inform some interesting and interactionally relevant observations in NNS. Secondly, this information is helpful in understanding the

relative success or effectiveness of learners' CS used in interactions. Finally, this information is conducive to the elicitation of the relevant 'negotiated input' from others (Yule and Tarone, 1991, 1997).

The psycholinguistic approach to CS is interested in speech production, while the interactional approach investigates how communication is accomplished as a situated, contingent, 'locally managed' achievement (Sacks et al., 1974, p.729). As a consequence, an interactional approach defines CS as elements of the interaction, whereas psycholinguistic approaches define CS as elements of the speaker's cognitive process. The controversial and contestable discrepancy between these two approaches has been raised frequently in the literature of CS studies. Yule and Tarone (1991) argue for a return "to the "more humble approach" of describing both input and learner performance in interaction and refraining from making claims about acquisition which are based upon untested assumptions' (p.170). In addition, Rampton (1997) suggests that the domain of CS research should be expanded beyond the particular kinds of psycholinguistic and interactional approach that dominate the field. Therefore, this study, based on Yule and Tarone's suggestion, attempts to describe the NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners' CS use in interactive repair processes and to look at both sides of the conversational exchange.

The main theoretical issues concerning conceptualizations of CS and the criteria on which the proposed definitions are based have been addressed in 2.2. In order to capture the essence of strategic language behavior of CS use, the three criteria, i.e. problem-orientedness or problematicity, consciousness, and interactionality are crucial to the methodology of this research. The CS research agenda has been laid out by more psycholinguistically oriented approaches; on the other hand, the interactional perspective to the CS study has been found too narrow to be able to shed light on the strategic language

behaviors of CS usage because it restricts the use of CS only to the problem-solving strategies. This study, on the basis of the CA approach, is in an attempt to extend it more widely to provide a new insight into the roles of CS use on the storytelling in an ongoing talk-in-interaction, so that language is regarded as part of a broader range of systems underlying the organization of social life and human conduct.

The present study employed the CA approach to analyse the ways in which people manage and accomplish the sequential order of talk-in-interaction through the use of CS in storytelling. The CA is an approach which emerged from the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the 1970s. It is the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations involving human interaction: talk-in-interaction. Previous CA studies drew upon the work of Goffman and Garfinkel, but quickly developed a distinctive set of methods and analytic questions specifically adapted to the organization of talk-in-interaction (Heritage, 1984). Today CA is practised by researchers across a range of fields including sociology and anthropology, linguistics, psychology and communication studies. CA research is carried out on the basis of recordings (audio or audio-video) of human interaction. Moreover, CA relies on unmotivated observation. In other words, the researcher tries to describe conversations that were observed without any preconceived notions about what should be found. It is this methodology that distinguishes CA most obviously from other approaches.

While previous studies were interested in conversational 'adjustments' made by speakers in NS-NNS communication, the spoken discourse element of this study will investigate L2 learners' use of spoken English CS through the description of audio and video recordings of spoken interaction involving NS-NS of English and NNS-NNS-NS in separate and shared interactions. Interactions will be organised as multiparty discussions

of nominated topics, transcribed using standard CA transcription conventions and analysed in accordance with CA principles and practice (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2001).

Early researches conducted on CS have been narrow in that they have focused predominantly on learners' gaps in lexis and have been conducted using elicitation tasks. As indicated by the review of empirical research in CS above, most of them are picture-description, concept-identification based tasks, and they are in the form of context-reduced communication. Besides, they have also focused on individual production. As pointed out by Poulisse (1990), the results of her study showed that the context plays an important role in the comprehensibility of CS. The spoken discourse of this study is based on friends' talk in a relaxed environment. The naturalistic data expands the notion of CS more widely to adjust the communicative goal to the situation rather than being strictly a response to a 'problem'. In general, CS data bases collected from the pre-arranged setting or tasks have been rather artificial. In fact, the use of CS in 'naturally occurring' interaction is rather more diverse because the selection of CS is determined by the nature of situation; that is, CS have a specifically context-sensitive function for all interactants (Wagner 1983). Moreover, according to Sacks (1984), he argues that theory ought to be data driven, rather than data being used to support theory (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2001). In this light, the CS analysis from naturalistic data adopted in this study may be able to represent the tip of the iceberg in the L2 learner's strategic language behaviour.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Chapter Aims and Objectives

This chapter aims to describe the analytical method employed in this study. This study utilises a 'single case analysis' technique to analyse the storytelling of participants in conversations. Conversation is regarded as an activity oriented toward the fulfillment of not only social goals, such as the establishment of roles, or the presentation of self, but also linguistic goals, including the communication of meanings. Humans spend a large part of their lives engaged in conversation. Conversation is more than a series of information exchanges. When participants take part in a conversation, they contribute to it in a variety of ways, including sharing assumptions, expectations, and interpreting each other's utterances, as well as giving and receiving information, and in doing so participants reach mutual understanding. Therefore, the conversation analysis (CA) approach, which is the most often employed and influential form of ethnomethodological research, is conducted in this study to analyse the ways in which people manage and accomplish the sequential order of talk-in-interaction via the use of CS. The goal of CA is to describe how sequences of action are organized and situated in a particular instance of activity. In addition, CA emphasises the analysis of moment-by-moment and turn-by-turn transcripts of the actions in each encounter. This explains why CA is chosen as the most suitable analytical instrument for this study. The study uses the CA approach, which focuses on the detailed analyses of particular sequences of utterances that have actually occurred. In this study of the CS used in the storytelling taking place in the natural conversations of two separate groups (NS and NNS of English), the aim is to

identify the communication problems they encountered, and how CS are applied by these two groups during on-going interactions through the framework of the CA approach.

I begin in section 3.2 with a description of the CA approach, which is concerned with human-to-human interaction, and which aims to examine social interactions so as to reveal organized practices or patterns of actions, under the fundamental assumption that interaction is structurally organized. The reasons for adopting the CA approach as the analytical instrument in this study are also included in this section. Section 3.3 provides a description of the empirical design, including a description of the subjects, the task, and the method of data collection. Section 3.4 consists of the description of the transcription system used in this study.

3.2 Conversation Analysis (CA) Approach

The CA approach, developed from the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the 1970s, is an approach to the study of language-in-interaction that avoids a priori assumptions regarding language use. Data in CA constitute the audio- and/or videotape natural conversations, which are then finely transcribed using special transcription conventions. According to Sacks et al. (1974), there are two central concepts within the CA approach. They are the speaking turn and adjacency pair. The speaking turn indicates that it takes two turns to have a conversation. The study of its patterns allows one to describe how speakers manage sequences, and the principle of taking turns in conversation is claimed to be general enough to be universal to talk. The concept of turn-taking can be described as a set of rules with ordered options that operate on a turn-by-turn basis as a locally and sequentially managed system. The system explains the ways in which speakers gain the floor, speaking rights are negotiated and interactionally managed, the next speaker is nominated, and speakers solve problems in comprehension and miscommunication so as to reach mutual understanding. The basic idea of the adjacency pair is that turns minimally come in pairs and the first of a pair creates certain expectations which constrain the possibilities for a second. Speakers in their present turn interpret, analyse, display their understanding of the previous turn, and reveal their expectations about the sequential 'next' turn to come. Adjacency pairs can further be characterized by the occurrence of preferred or dispreferred seconds. Talk from the CA perspective is regarded as consisting of series of turns, which speakers interactively and collaboratively build one after another. This enables them to create different types of sequences of talk for various pragmatic goals. In other words, evolving sequences of turn are evidence that speakers co-operatively achieve pragmatic ends through interactive use of language.

CA also pays close attention to the details of interaction, especially the composition and construction of turns; that is, a turn at talk is constructed with turn-constructional units (TCUs) that are mapped onto syntactic, lexical, intonational, and pragmatic units. TCUs bring to the feature of 'transition-relevance places' (TRPs), which occur at point of potential turn completion and allow for a change of speaker. Moreover, CA is equally concerned with the temporal organization of interaction at the microlevel of verbal and nonverbal conduct, as well as the temporal, prosodic, and linguistic composition of interlocutor's input and output. In sum, what distinguishes CA most obviously from other approaches is its methodology. CA research insists on analysing the real, recorded data, segmented into turns of talk that are carefully transcribed. In addition, CA relies on unmotivated observation, and focuses on conversational moves, such as repairs, turn-taking, and turn organization, in order to understand how people make sense in real time, how their practices construct identity, and how mutual understanding is accomplished.

E`arly work in CA drew upon the sociologies of Goffman and Garfinkel but quickly took on a distinctive set of methods and analytic questions specifically adapted to its chosen subject matter – the organization of talk-in-interaction (Heritage, 1984). Today CA has captured researchers' attention and is practiced within a vibrant, international community of researchers distributed across a wide range of fields including sociology and anthropology, linguistics, psychology and communication studies. Studies have focused particularly on the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Schwartz, 1977; Markee, 2000; Olsher, 2004; He, 2004; Mori, 2004), Applied Linguistics (Seedhouse 1994, 1997, 1999; 2005; Wong, 2000, 2002; Drew, 2005), health care and counselling (Heritage and Maynard, 2005; Heritage and Sefi, 1992; Koshik, 2000; Barnes, 2005), as well as of the modern world of communication focusing on the computer-based chatrooms (Murray,

1989; Hirst, 1991; Garcia, and Jacobs, 1999; Hutchby, 2001).

The CA model, first developed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), has been used in this study for a number of reasons. First of all, it is a 'bottom-up' approach that is not constrained by prior theoretical assumptions. In terms of methodology, CA emphasizes that analysis should be based entirely on closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in naturally occurring settings. As a result, it is able to reveal the tactic reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2001). In addition, the analysis of sequences of utterances may uncover how participants themselves interpret the talk, and what strategies they may employ in order to resolve their communication problems during the interaction, and thus reach mutual understanding. Through the detailed sequential analyses of the telling of a 'scary experience' by NS and NNS, the present study aims to investigate the communication difficulties encountered by these two separate groups, the ways by which speakers attempt to convey their intended meanings, and the display of their analysis and understanding of the prior turn's content. Therefore, the relationship between turns during talk-in-interaction shows how the participants themselves analyze the ongoing production of talk in order to negotiate their own, situated participation in it (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2001).

Secondly, the CA approach seeks to interpret talk rather than to impose a model upon it. That is, CA aims to generate hypotheses from the data rather than approach it with any a priori interpretations. This is different from techniques in which a hypothesis is first developed and then tested using a large collection of data. The CA approach is also opposed to the activities being prearranged or set up in laboratories. CA has developed

as a method for analyzing naturally occurring speech in minute detail. Sacks (1984) has argued that theory has to be data *driven*, rather than simply be supported by data. Instead of going out to collect questionnaires, data collected in this study is based on the recounting scary narratives by two separate groups of Mandarin-speaking learners of English and NS of English. Their actual talk is produced and recorded in naturally situated settings, and then transcribed on the basis of CA notations.

Thirdly, CA seeks to analyze data from the participants' standpoint, and emphasizes the production and interpretation of talk-in-interaction as an orderly mutual accomplishment that is participant-oriented. In other words, CA seeks to reveal the organization of talk from the perspective of how the participants display for one another their understanding of the talk, rather than being based only on the assumptions of the analyst, or external observer. By adopting the CA approach, participants in this study may display their analysis, repair, understanding or appreciation of the prior turn's talk in their sequentially 'next' turns. In contrast, the CA approach can also be viewed as a top-down approach. On the basis of the CA framework, we may perceive the mutual accomplishments participants have made as a result of their application of CS device.

The fourth reason for adopting a CA approach has to do more specifically with the study of communicative difficulty and the application of CS. In order to describe and explain the sense of difficulty contained in NS/NNS discourse, it was necessary to use a model that did not restrict its attention to communication problems themselves. Establishing and maintaining mutual understanding was as important as the solution of the communication problems themselves. By looking at what participants actually do when a problem occurs during an interaction, and the way in which participants solve it, we are able to see how participants orient to the orderliness of that interaction. Thus, by the

way of both the sequential patterns and procedures participants display in the talk-in-interaction, and how they orient to those procedures, we can identify communication problems they encounter and their application of CS devices.

In conclusion, CA is characterized by the view that the production of talk, and the meanings of that talk are determined by the practical, social and interactional accomplishments of the participant's culture. Talk is not regarded simply as the product of two 'speaker-hearers' who attempt to exchange information, or convey messages to each other. Rather, participants in conversations are seen as mutually orienting to, and collaborating in order to achieve, orderly and meaningful communication. The objective of CA is thus to reveal the tacit, organized reasoning procedures, methods and resources that are tied to the context in which they are produced. CA also aims to explicate these procedures, on which speakers rely to produce utterances, and the ways by which they make sense of other speakers' talk. The analytic method employed in this study uses the detailed 'single case analysis' technique, which demonstrates fundamental procedures and analytical strengths of CA, to analyse the storytelling of a 'scary experience' in two separate conversations. One conversation was between a group of NS of English, the other was between a group of NNS of English, whose native language was Mandarin. Based upon the four reasons mentioned above, the CA approach is adopted in the present study. Through the detailed analysis of sequences of utterances in storytelling by NS of English and Mandarin-speaking learners of English respectively, we may reveal how participants interact or communicate with one another in order to solve their problems in communication through their use of CS, and thus understand or respond to one another in their turns at talk. The CA approach to the analysis of CS is fruitful since it enables the study of CS to identify broader categories of strategies, including meaning-creating and communication-enhancing strategies, rather than just the problem-solving strategies as

described in the literature.

3.3 Empirical Design

3.3.1 Subjects

The participants chosen for this study consisted of two separate groups. The first group included five NS of English, who were undergraduate students at a British University. Their majors included Music, Law, English and Psychology, and they attended the same church. Besides, they are old acquaintances and were therefore comfortable with each other. The second group included five Mandarin-speaking ESL learners along with an American NS of English, a missionary. He was working with students and teaching them about Christianity in the U.K. The purpose of his presence was to make the communication among the NNS group more natural and to motivate Mandarin-speaking ESL learners to talk in English. The Mandarin speakers came from various locations in Mainland China and Taiwan. Two of the Taiwanese subjects were Ph.D. candidates, while the rest of the native Mandarin speakers were studying English at private language institutes. Their proficiency in spoken English varied according to the length of time they had spent in the U.K., however, all of the NNS of English had studied English as a second language for at least ten years, in their home countries or abroad. Most of them were studying English to further their career prospects. They were all church-goers at a Mandarin-speaking church. The reason for the constitution of the NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL groups was that Mandarin is the investigator's mother tongue. On the other hand, English is her teaching language. Only two groups were chosen to carry out this study: the NS of English, and the Mandarin-speaking ESL learners. This may not be enough to establish the generalisability. Further research is required to include more groups of NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners, so as to enhance the generalisability of the results.

Both of these two groups were invited separately to relate narratives to other group members on the topic of 'a scary experience'. The topic was nominated by the investigator and was not given to these two groups in advance. The talk-in-interaction of the first group took place at a church hall after a Sunday service. The five NS of English were members of the same church congregation as the investigator. I thus had time to establish personal relationships with the pastors and participants in my study, who all provided invaluable support and assistance, as well as permission to carry out this study. The Mandarin-speaking learners of English were invited to the investigator's home, because both they and the investigator belonged to the Mandarin-speaking Chinese Christian fellowship in the U.K. After having a meal together, they started to relate to one another their personal 'scary experiences' in a relaxing, friendly, and comfortable setting.

3.3.2 Task

Researchers on storytelling have long been fascinated by its features. Sacks (1992) shows that the tellability of a story is often equated with 'local news' by tellers and listeners. There has been much research conducted on the collaborative telling of shared past experiences by scholars of oral narrative. Watson (1975), Schiffrin (1984), Boggs (1985), Duranti (1986), C. Goodwin (1986) and Schegloff (1992b) have explored the influence of listeners and co-tellers on the trajectory of a narrative through differential interest in and knowledge of the details of talk. M.H. Goodwin (1997) has shown how the presentation of a story can be affected by the byplay among audience members. Tannen (1978) has demonstrated the importance of differing expectations about what counts as a story and how this can result in dissonance between co-narrators. Quasthoff (1980, cited in Norrick, 2004) identified various strategies by which listeners become

co-tellers, and described both supportive and antagonistic uses of these strategies. Falk (1980) has described 'conversational duets' between two co-narrators who present a single shared story for a third party; she has pointed out how turn-taking and related matters such as simultaneous speech are affected by collaborative telling. Norrick (1997, 2000) has demonstrated co-narration in a wide range of story types. However, there has been no research into the ways in which CS are used by NS and NNS in the activity of storytelling, on the basis of a CA perspective.

The task undertaken in this study, which was nominated by the investigator, was to invite NS and NNS to recount stories about their personal scary experiences. The topic of "scary experiences" was chosen because it is a familiar one. A familiar topic can assist learners' fluency (Butterworth, 1980), and has a significant impact on the fluency of the participants' oral production (Chang, 1997). Even NS differ among themselves in fluency according to the topic (Lennon, 1989). Moreover, the whole world is full of storytellers (Wright, 1995, p.16). Anecdotes and personal narratives are frequently heard in day-to-day human interaction, and thus storytelling plays a significant role in everyday conversation. Through the co-construction of stories, the story teller and recipients are able to accomplish interpersonal activities and to enact relationships and identities (Mandelbaum, 1987, 1989). According to Polanyi (1985, p.10), stories are considered to be "specific, affirmative, past time narratives which tell about a series of events which did take place at specific unique moments in a unique past time world", and which are told to others to make a point or transmit a message. Moreover, stories must be locally occasioned and recipient designed (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). Speakers must take care to tell stories which are relevant to their listeners (locally occasioned), and provide opportunities for recipients to react to, display understanding of, or become involved in the telling. In particular, the "scary stories" were chosen because they are able to

illustrate the dynamic interactions between group participants. This allows the researcher to investigate how the story teller shapes her/his narratives, and identify the CS used to overcome her/his communication problems so as to reach a mutual understanding, or to negotiate meanings so as to achieve communicative goals during ongoing conversations.

The activity of storytelling is a common aspect of talk-in-interaction, which may be examined through a detailed 'single case analysis' that involves looking at a single conversation or a section of one (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2001). 'Single case analysis' is a technique that can be applied to analyse extended sequences of talk. The position of a 'single case analysis' within the methodological framework has been frequently highlighted. According to Lazaraton (2003), the goal of CA is "to build a convincing and comprehensive analysis of a single case, and then to search for other similar cases in order to build a collection of cases that represent some interactional phenomenon" (p.3). Finally, she concluded that "the locus of interest for CA is the single case" (p.5). In contrast, Gardner and Wagner (2004) stated that "the real power of a CA argument is based on the regularity of behavior as documented in the collection of cases" (p.7). However, they also noted that " 'single case analysis' may illustrate the interplay of activities in their sequential placement, or they may relate to very extended samples of a very 'large' size" (p.8). In summary, a single case analysis is described as a prerequisite for making a collection. By applying the technique of single case analysis, we can track in detail the production of an extract of talk, drawn from the interactional context of stories, to observe how the speaker and her/his participants manage interaction in single cases or extended sequences to accomplish activities, and thus establish mutual understanding.

Focusing on the sequential management of talk in some instances of stories, one may find how the pervasive orderliness of interaction is, and the CS used by the teller and her/his participants can be detected and identified in singular sequences, simply by describing, in detail, the turn-by-turn unfolding talk. In this sense, the use of various CS devices is a method of communication executed in the design of utterances on a turn-by-turn or extended turn basis. The study used a CA approach, which involved soliciting stories from groups of NS and NNS by asking them informally to recall their personal 'scary experiences'. One story recounted by NS involved incidents on the river, and the narratiave by NNS involved a motorcycle accident. On the basis of sequential analyses of storytelling, this study will investigate the communication problems encountered by NS and NNS speakers during ongoing conversations, and what devices they utilize, and implement in order to overcome their difficulties in communication so as to establish mutual comprehension, or accomplish communicative actions or goals.

3.3.3 Data Collection

Sacks (1984) has argued that theory ought to be data driven. Instead of creating a research idea and then seeking data which supports it, the data in this study was taken from tape recordings and videotapings of two 60 minute conversations taking place in naturally occurring settings. This is different from other approaches of going out to collect data, e.g. questionaires. Audiotaping sessions for the NS and NNS' talk-in-interactions were conducted separately at different times and in different settings; the former was conducted in a church hall, and the latter in the investigator's house. English was specifically chosen as the storytelling language for the present study is because it was the investigator's teaching language. The recording equipment consisted of a small Sony cassette tape recorder, and a Sony digital DCR-TRV320 NTSC video camera, both of which were placed unobtrusively. The investigator also took field notes on the nonverbal behaviors of both the current speaker and her/his participant. Thus salient features involved in the management of interaction, such as gaze direction (Goodwin 1981) and hand gestures (Schegloff, 1984) were not missed out. It is possible that many subtle nonverbal behaviors were not collected as data; nevertheless, the audio and video data combined with field notes are sufficient to demonstrate the dynamics of group interactions. Each group engaged in a 60-minute, face-to-face conversations; these two separate conversations were then transcribed and analyzed.

The data for this study was collected in the following way. First, the investigator expressed to the subjects her appreciation for their participation, and explained to them the purpose of the meeting. She subsequently proposed the topic of their conversation: 'a scary experience'. Turn-taking was not pre-allocated; that is, participants nominated themselves as speakers, instead of being pre-allocated. Interestingly, however, after the self-selection, there seemed to emerge a tacit convention that the person next to the

current speaker should take up the next turn. After the storytelling, a questionnaire was given to the participants in order to acquire their background information.

During the interaction, throughout the process the investigator remained as an observer rather than a participant in the NS group. More specifically, the investigator observed the activity of the storytelling; she did not actually participate in it. By contrast, the investigator was both an observer and a participant in the NNS group's conversation. This may be due to the fact that the investigator and her participants have the same mother tongue - Mandarin. This unexpectedly led to the participants' active contribution to the topic. Although the investigator was present during the interactions, this was only because they took place in her house after dinner (which she had provided.). Her interaction with the participants during the storytelling – part of the evening, was inadvertent and limited only to the instance when she used a clarification request (she asked whether Lily had a driver's license due to her engagement in the subject matter). This situation also happened in Lambrou's (2003) study, in which the interviewer also inadvertently used a clarification request.

3.4 Transcription

CA emphasizes the use of extracts from transcriptions of tape-recorded, naturally occurring interaction in its research. Additionally, CA is concerned with how people manage and accomplish the sequential order of talk-in-interaction. Transcription serves as a tool in an attempt to capture talk as it actually occurs. From the standpoint of CA, transcription conventions, however, are aimed at not only producing accurate representations of talk, but are also designed to highlight analytically relevant features of talk-in-interaction.

CA has developed a distinctive style of transcription, which involves a comprehensive range of standardized conventions. This system, developed principally by Jefferson, continues to evolve in response to current research interests. No transcription system is perfect. That is, no transcription system exists which is able to, or even lays claim to being able to, capture all the possible features of talk that may be observable. Any set of conventions represents a compromise between accuracy and readability, between standard orthography and special symbols (Norrick, 2004). Kendon (1982) suggests that there is no truly neutral transcription system, that can be used to produce transcriptions suitable for any kind of investigation. Similarly, Ochs (1979, p.44) describes transcription as 'a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions'. The present study, based on the sequential analyses of narratives involving NS and NNS, focuses on identifying communication problems encountered by these two groups, and which were resolved through the application of CS during ongoing interactions. Therefore, I use Jefferson's (1979) transcription system, because it seeks to capture the features of turn-taking, including precise details of overlap, gaps and pauses, and audible breathing; as well as characteristics of speech delivery, including stress, enunciation,

intonation and pitch. Since the present study is directly concerned with the analysis of these features of speech, Jefferson's transcription system has been utilized. In addition, Jefferson's system is in general use by conversation analysts, working in many different countries on widely varying forms of recorded interaction.

There were six stories produced and recorded one after another by the NNS group, and 5 stories by the NS group in a time period lasting almost 60 minutes respectively. The middle 20 minutes of the sequences in each group in this study were selected for transcription. These sequences are significant because they are the most participatory sections of the talk, providing ample instances of interaction relevant to this study. The beginnings and ends of the conversations were not selected since they did not include much interaction between the participants. This was more of a problem among Mandarin-speaking learners of English. It seems that they were not confident enough to talk in public in a language, which the range of communicative resource available to them is restricted and limited. In addition, they were afraid they would be embarrassed when they made mistakes, and that their friends would thus know how poor their language competence was. Another reason the *final* section of the interaction contained little participation may have been that the subjects were fatigued after speaking for one hour.

Following CA transcription procedures, I audio recorded and transcribed the conversation as precisely as possible. However, I did not indicate the quality of laughter, which can range from a nasal exhalation at the end of a word to a booming *ha ha*. I instead transcribed audible laughter using the normal orthographic conventions of English, in the spirit of Jefferson (1979, 1984, 1985). I did, however, differentiate between 'chuckling' and 'laughter'. In the interest of simplicity, I limited myself to differentiating between these two approximate forms of laughter only. The transcribing

job can be highly complex when the recorded talk involves more than two people laughing together. The resulting transcripts may thus be quite complicated. In addition, the timings of pauses are very important features of transcripts including in the present study. Conversation analysts have timed intervals in the stream of talk in tenths of a second, but there are no generally accepted definitions of what should be the minimum length of a pause if it is to be regarded as such. If NS or NNS had a long pause during the talk, it may reflect the difficulty they were experiencing in expressing themselves. This may be due to a momentary lapse of memory, the process of decision-making, or her/his limited linguistic competence in L2. They may have needed to gain time to search for the required words, plan subsequent speech units, or execute self-initiated self-repairs. Therefore, timing the pauses, rather than using a catch-all device such as writing 'pause' in the transcript, would have enabled the detection of many of the finer analytic points contained in the talk. The transcription conventions used in this study are summarized in Appendix 1.

Chapter 4

Data Analyses of Storytellings in NS and NNS talk-in-interaction

4.1 Chapter Aims and objectives

A possible location for the use of CS in talk-in-interaction is in extended storytelling. CS are likely to be used in such storytelling to anticipate and deal with a range of problems in communication. This chapter is based on analysis of talk in interaction. It takes on a narrative or series of narratives and aims to use sequential analyses to investigate the CS employed by NS and NNS when they encounter communication problems. The narrative identified concerns the telling of scary stories and here occurs as a series or sequence of tellings. Communication problems in talk are displayed and dealt with in the course of the tellings as they are told.

I begin in section 4.2 by presenting a sample of sequential analyses of a narrative, which focuses on how sequences of actions are constructed, and how participants interact and interpret conversation as an ongoing, developing and related succession of utterances. By offering detailed sequential analyses of the construction of stories involving NS and NNS as a basis for identifying the kinds of CS used, this section illustrates how a story teller and her/his participants collaboratively manage their talk in an attempt to achieve participant engagement, co-ordinate their actions and reach mutual understanding by utilizing the device of CS. In addition, any similarities or differences in the CS used by either NS or NNS will also be examined. Section 4.3 summarises the findings.

4.2 Sequential Analyses of Storytelling in NS and NNS

Storytelling requires extended, multi-unit turns at talk, and their telling is always situated within interactional and sequential contexts (Sacks, 1992, in Hutchy and Wooffitt, 2001, pp.131). Although the linguists Labov and Waletsky (1967) were among the first to analyze the stories told in conversations, they were interested in 'recurrent patterns characteristic of narrative from the clause level to the complete simple narrative' (p.12). As a result, their main focus is on the story as a unit, which is isolated from the situated surrounding sequential context. However, in CA work on stories, the focus is different and production of a story in fact always occurs in some specific interactional context. For Sacks, two issues are central to the analysis of storytelling. First, how are stories occasioned in the sequential unfolding of the talk? That is, how do story tellers start telling a story? Secondly, how do story recipients respond to the storytelling? This section focuses on the production of storytelling sequences in natural conversation. The approach used in this study primarily involved NS' and NNS' telling 'scary experiences', as nominated by the investigator in informal friendly talk. The overall structure of these stories is recounted in a 'semi-natural' situation. The analytic method is of a detailed single case analysis of a story told in conversation. The general features and patterns in talk revealed from this analysis of NS storytelling may inform some interesting and interactionally relevant observations in NNS. Using the CA approach, we are able to describe in a detailed way how such interactions are sequentially and thus socially constructed.

Throughout the course of storytelling, in each turn, speakers display an analysis and understanding of the prior turn's content – in other words, what it is intended to convey. Their understanding may or may not turn out to coincide with what the prior speaker

intended. In either case, it will be displayed in the next turn in the sequence (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Therefore, the relationship between turns during talk-in-interaction reveals how the participants themselves analyze the ongoing production of talk in order to negotiate their own, situated participation in it (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2001, p.38). A detailed sequential analysis allows speakers to establish coherence in interaction.

In order to display the single case methodology, this section focuses on how sequences of actions in a storytelling are generated by NS of English, and how participants interact with each other, and interpret conversation as an ongoing, developing and related succession of utterances. Based on sequential analyses of a storytelling, this study will examine what communication problems NS may encounter during a conversation, and what devices they can employ and implement in order to deal with their difficulties in communication so as to achieve participant engagement, and show their support or alignment, to co-ordinate their actions with those of their conversational partners, or to facilitate mutual understanding. This will be illustrated through a selection of fragments and they are parts of a consecutive narrative, which is based on a nominated topic: 'scary experience'. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (2001) point out, "Single case analysis involves looking at a single conversation, or section of one, in order to track in detail the various conversational strategies and devices which inform and drive its production" (p.121).

As noted, Sacks had two concerns about the way stories in conversation can be built, namely, how do stories get to be told in the first place, and how do story recipients respond to the storytelling? In this section, through a sequential analysis of a storytelling, I will begin in extract (1) with an illustration of how participants manage to achieve a transfer of story teller role. Then, I will carry on describing how the story teller seeks to

establish her/his scene setting for her/his story through a confirmation check in an attempt to achieve participant engagement in extract (2), and in order to avoid describing things too precisely by using hedge markers or vague expressions, e.g. 'sort of', 'kind of' and 'like' so as to achieve mutual understanding in extract (3). Next, I will focus on how the story recipients co-ordinate their actions with those of the story teller by requesting clarifications in extract (4), through collaborative overlaps in extracts (5) and (6), and finally via supportive interruptions and collaborative completion in extracts (7) to (9). Additionally, similarities and differences in the way NS and NNS approach interactional tasks will also be examined in this section.

Extract (1) illustrates the work participants do in achieving a transfer of storyteller role. According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) turn-taking model, turns in conversation are distributed in systematic ways among speakers. Therefore, they propose a simple set of rules describing the practices of how turns come to be allocated at TRPs. At the initial TRP of a turn, the current speaker could nominate, or select, a particular next speaker, then that speaker should take a turn at that place. If no such selection or nomination has been made, then any next speaker may self-select at that point. In the following extract, the group of NS know they are there to tell stories. The question is how are they organized? When Ralph finishes his story, he seeks to transfer the role of the story teller to Rachel. It seems that there emerges a tacit convention that the person next to the current speaker should take up the next turn. That may be the reason why Ralph attempts to nominate Rachel as the next story teller. This can be shown in extract (1).

(1)

1. Rh: so it was Ha ha – got you there (0.3) you ↓Haven't Don:e

2. (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <
3. **RI:** ↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could
4. that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English
5. now [(0.5)] that brought to MInd (laugh through) =
6. **Others:** [((chuckle))]
7. **RI:** = er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8. was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to
9. Ecuador (1.0) { }
10. **Others** Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:
11. **Rh:** Yeah [yay]
12. **RI:** [I went to]
13. Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent
14. ONe night (.) in the Amazon rain forest (2.0) Er:m (1.0)
15. Oh:. YEAh (.) it's coming BAck to me now (0.5)
16. an' we GOt there an' it was quite DARk (.) an:d (.)

Initially, the story here consists of Ralph describing an incident that occurred on a trip, which he had expected to be a calm voyage down part of the Nile river, but which turned out to be the most frightening experience of his life. After he describes how terrified he was of rafting on the dangerous whitewater, he creates an opportunity for Rachel to take a turn by saying:

→ 1: *you Haven't Don:e (1.5)*
→ 2: *sailing or rafting or > anything like that <*

in which Ralph pauses for one-and-a-half seconds, turning to and looking at Rachel. He seems to provide an opportunity for his next speaker, Rachel, to come in to take the floor and the topic. This can be seen as an implied invitation to ask Rachel whether she is available to take on the story teller role, whether she has a basis for taking on the story teller role which links to aspects of his (the just finished) story, and whether the experience of water can be a basis for her story of her 'scary experience'. In such a way, Ralph attempts to provide a second opportunity for Rachel to self-select as a story narrator via the use of the type structure of a confirmation check. Although Ralph's

utterance does have some of the character of a confirmation check, it is more than this. Ralph is trying to achieve the transfer of a story teller role, but in a way which minimizes pressure on Rachel. This also allow Rachel the possibility of a 'NO' response, i.e. declining Ralph's nomination as the next story teller. Here, Rachel immediately responds to Ralph's confirmation check, saying:

→ 3: *↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could*

in a noticeably louder voice, Rachel thus seems to display a lack of readiness to assume her speakership. This can be seen from her initial response *'NO'*, which probably implies both that she does not have the basis to tell her story as prepared by Ralph, and that she does not think she has a story to tell, which is relating to sailing or rafting. However, she subsequently utters and repeats the words *'the only'* twice in her talk, by which she tries to minimize the relevance of the possible topic continuation.

If now we consider a transfer of storyteller role from NNS data as a contrast to the NS data above, we find the following:

1. **C:** >particularly I remembered in the higher
2. mountain< (1.5) HE:lp
3. **Others:** ((laughter))
4. **C:** that's it
5. **L:** It's my turn (0.5) I don't want speak
6. **Others:** ((laughter))
7. **J:** CAn NOt (0.5) you've eatn my FOOd Already
8. **Others:** ((more loud laughter))
9. **L:** oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0) I think it was (1.5) it was (4.0)
10. FIVE years ago (0.5)
11. **J:** Five years ago

Connie describes her field trip to the top of the mountain, which she had expected to

be short, but which had turned into a scary experience because her group of people could not find their way back. Finally she concludes her narrative by saying:

→ 4: *that's it*

a conversation closing device to indicate her topic is being closed, and attempts to pass the floor to Lily. The tacit convention in this group for transfer of the turn to the next door person also occurs in Lily's case. Lily then realizes that it is her turn to recount her own story, but she subsequently shows her reluctance to take her turn. This can be shown in her utterance:

→ 5: *It's my turn I don't want speak*

However, she starts her turn with an attempt to display to her participants her lack of readiness to assume her speakership:

→ 9: *oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0)*

This illustrates a similarity in how people can respond to an invitation in the transfer of a story teller role whether they are NS or NNS when they are nominated as next story tellers, and display reluctance to accept the role of being story tellers. Nevertheless, there is a distinction in the way the current speaker displays the transfer of the story teller role. With NNS Lily, Jane acts as an informal chair directly and effectively nominates Lily to speak, while Ralph is indirectly inviting Rachel as a next speaker by using a declarative negative format, which seems to reduce pressure on Rachel and allows her to refuse.

Although Rachel initially produces a negative response to Ralph's implied invitation, and displays a lack of readiness to assume her speakership, she then tries to make her contribution to this conversation after a micropause. Firstly, she attempts to minimize

the relevance of the possible topic continuation, then to account for reasons for her reluctance of being the next speaker, though she abandons the trajectory mid-way. After making a joke about her language of communication, she searches for her own narrative and then proceeds with her talk. This conforms to the Gricean "cooperative principle" (CP) of communication, in which Grice states that participants will:

> " Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (Grice, 1975, p.45).

The maxim of quantity in Grice's CP requires that the contribution be as informative as is required for the momentary purposes of the exchange. It seems that Rachel's short negative response: *'↓NO'* can be interpreted as a response both to Ralph's confirmation check and to his invitation to be the next story teller. However, Rachel is flouting the maxim of quantity, and she seems to realize the amount of information this provides is not sufficient to meet her participants' expectations. She then begins to search for more information relevant to the context in which her negative response was situated.

Following her short negative response:

→ 3: *↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could*
→ 4: *that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English*
→ 5: *now (0.5) that brought to MInd (laugh through),*

Rachel starts her talk with '*the only (.)*', which may signal that a projected noun phrase is imminent. However, after a micropause, the trajectory of the projected noun phrase is abandoned. Instead, she tries to insert her reason. This is prefaced by *'cause'*, followed by a one-and-a-half-a-second unfilled pause, which serves as a time-gaining strategy. Again, she abandons her talk midway, and restarts her turn by retracing the definite article and adjective *'only'*. She attempts to minimize the relevance of the

possible topic continuation again, and says that the only thing Ralph's story brought to her mind at that moment was a canoe trip she once took in the Amazon rain forest, as she states:

→ 7: *er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water*
→ 8: *was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0).*

Rachel bubbles over with either excitement or frustration, and experiences a momentary lapse of memory, as can be seen from her later turn:

→ 15: *Oh:: ~~YEAh~~ (.) it's coming BAck to me now (0.5)".*

Consequently, she replaces her talk by joking about her language of communication in order to mitigate the embarrassment of the situation, and follows with laughter:

→ 4: *that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English*
→ 5: *now (0.5) that brought to MInd (laugh through)*

At this point, she hesitates and attempts to search for her own narrative, which can then be regarded as relevant in the context of Ralph's story.

However, Rachel's joke succeeds in eliciting a response from her participants – chuckles – which may imply their appreciation, understanding, and support of her. After her participants laugh, she retraces her talk back to the word: *'the Only'*, in an emphatic and louder voice, in which she tends to minimize the relevance of the possible topic continuation on her third attempt. She then executes a self-repair 'thing' into 'experience', and proceeds with a narrative of a trip she once took to Ecuador. When she mentions it, her participants use her one-second pause to mark their recognition with the initiation of *'Ohh'*, followed by repeated backchannels in an excited and enthusiastic voice:

→ 10: *Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:*

'Ohh' displays Rachel's participants' recognition of familiar information when Rachel prompts another into recall. This response, followed by the repeated backchannels *' Yeah Yea: yea:'*, seems to represent a sudden recall, because it is made in a very tense and excited tone of voice which overlaps with Ralph's. The tone of their voices may signal that her participants acknowledge the receipt of her message, and ratify her role of being a story teller; moreover, it may indicate that Rachel's participants may know that she has been to the Amazon, and thus encourage her to talk on this topic. Another point is that it may imply that some of them may have experienced similar adventures to that of Rachel. This can be seen from

→ 24: *DIdju you GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5) (look at Claire),*

in which Rachel asks Claire with a falling intonation for a confirmation check of having been to the Amazon. This downward intonation may show that Rachel is quite sure Claire has been there too. Evidence can be shown from Claire's positive response:

→ 25: *A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5).*

Here Rachel succeeds in achieving her participant's engagement by the use of a confirmation check. This will be illustrated in more detail later in extract (2).

The backchannels uttered by Rachel's participants function not only to facilitate a successful conversation, but also to indicate that they validate the choice of Rachel's trip to Ecuador as an encouragement for her storytelling. In such a way, they show their coordination with Rachel's talk. It is noticeable that Rachael prefaces her anecdote by narrowing it down that 'the only' scary experience of water that she had was on her trip to Ecuador. Alternatively, perhaps this way of proposing to tell of her 'only'

life-threatening experience may have aroused her participants' interest. Clearly, this provides opportunities for her participants to engage in, and to align themselves as story recipients by inviting Rachel to continue. Their '*Ohh Yeah Yea: yea'*, which function as backchannels, implying not only their active participation: interest and desire to hear her story, but also their ratification of Rachel's role as the story teller, and their shared knowledge in common which will help Rachel to shape her story to take that into account.

In contrast, Jane, Lily's participant, indicates her encouragement and interest in hearing Lily's story by a repetition of Lily's time phrase:

→ 9: L *oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0) I think it was (1.5) it was (4.0)*
→ 10: *FIVE years ago (0.5)*
→ 11: J *five years ago*

in a soft and quiet tone. This is constructed as a confirmation check, and may serve as an invitation to Lily to continue her narrative.

Having secured the appropriate backchannels, Rachel proceeds with her talk by repeating her previous statement *'I went to Ecuador'*:

→ 12: *I went to*
→ 13: *Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent*
→ 14: *ONe night (.) in the Amazon rain forest (2.0) Er:m (1.0)*

This partially overlaps with Ralph's backchannels '*Yeah yay*', which signal his interest and participation. Rachel's use of repetition as a CS may be an attempt to bring her participants' attention back to the narrative she is trying to relate after their active collaboration. In addition, it serves as a tying strategy to link back to her earlier utterance in line 8, so that she can regain the floor and continue her talk. Rachel's repetition of '*we spent*' may again serve as a self-initiated self-repair strategy,

emphasizing that they 'only' spent one night in the Amazon rain forest. Through the self-repair strategy, Rachel tries to provide more accurate information for her participants to better understand her content.

It is interesting to note that Ralph designs his talk as an invitation to pass the floor. In terms of a 'preference' organization (Pomerantz, 1984), Rachel does not immediately perform a preferred action in her first utterance:

→ 3: *↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could*
→ 4: *that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English*
→ 5: *now (0.5) that brought to MInd (laugh through),*
→ 7: *er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water was (.)*
→ 8: *when I was in the Amazon (2.0). uh I went to*
→ 9: *Ecuador (1.0)',*

and does not do so until her second utterance is produced:

→ 15: *Oh:: YEAh (.) it's coming BAck to me now (0.5)*
→ 16: *an' we GOt there an' it was quite DARk (.)*

By addressing her experience of a momentary memory lapse, she then commits herself as a story-teller to proceeding with her narrative. Rachel's first response is typical of a dispreferred response which she then later makes into a preferred response. According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (2001), "preferred actions are characteristically performed straightforwardly and without delay, while dispreferred actions are delayed, qualified and accounted for" (p.45). In this case, Rachel's preferred response is delayed and not produced early in the turn. However, this also illustrates the process by which Rachel tries to display her co-ordination with Ralph not only within the interactional and sequential context, but also within the context of the topic.

Extract (2) illustrates that Rachel seeks to establish what kind of scene setting for her story will be adequate to the needs of her story recipients or audience. Then she utilizes the device of a confirmation check, which takes the form of an 'insertion sequence' (Sacks, 1992, p.528, Schegloff, 1972) in an attempt to achieve participant engagement.

(2)

21.	RI:	(0.5) .hhh WHat we had to do was go to
22.		visit this (.) like (0.5) um NAtive Indian village
23.		on the Other side(1.0)
24.		DIdju you GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5) (look at Claire)
25.	Ce:	A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5)
26.	RI:	So we PRObably went to exactly the same place (.)

Rachel describes the little wooden huts they stay in after their arrival. When she relates to her participants the purpose of her mission trip, Rachel looks at Claire. As she does so, she inserts a confirmation check with a falling intonation into her ongoing utterance followed by a half-a-second pause. She puts an emphasis on *'GO'* during the ongoing discourse:

→ 24: *DIdju you GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5).*

What is noticeable here is that Rachel is assessing how much information she needs in order to set up a theme for her story, and to establish shared understanding and knowledge of the context with her participants. Through the use of a confirmation check on her participant's presence in the Amazon, she can adjust, repair or shape her on-going story accordingly. On receiving Claire's positive response to her confirmation check:

→ 25: *A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5)*

Rachel becomes more aware of her illustration of the village she visited. For example, she describes it first as the

→ 22: *Native Indian village,*

but then as

→ 28: *a tourist attraction,*

and finally

→ 30: *the native Ecuadorian jungle inhabitant.*

Knowing Claire has probably been to the same place as she has, she provides more detail. Thus Rachel's confirmation check serves as a CS, which then enables her to establish a story scene setting adequate to her participants' needs. Another point may be that if Rachel knows Claire went on the same route as she did, she would feel more comfortable and confident in continuing her story because someone is present who understands what she has been through. Rachel's embedded confirmation check also serves as a CS to ensure Claire's alignment and support during her extended turn.

Claire displays her solidarity by responding to Rachel's confirmation check with a positive response, saying in a very quiet voice: *'A:h we went to the jungle'*, followed by '*yeah'* and a one-and-a-half second unfilled pause. It is interesting to note that Claire extends her statement with *'yeah'*, which may be taken as further confirmation that she took a trip, or as lending added force to her statement of support. Rachel should have started her turn right after Claire's confirmation marker *'yeah'*, which is viewed as a possible warranted TRP. Rachel instead hesitates for one-and-a-half seconds. This may indicate that she seems to provide an opportunity for Claire to make her contribution in the development of this topic, even when Claire has obviously finished her turn, and Rachel is able to project a TRP at the end of what was a possibly complete TCU by Claire. However Claire, who seems to recognize that she is playing the role of listener during

Rachel's primary speakership, does not take the floor, but instead relinquishes her turn to Rachel. This shows that Claire tries to co-ordinate and to collaborate with Rachel by giving up her turn to Rachel, the primary speaker of the narrative. If we refer immediately to Lily's instance from NNS data, it is noticeable that she does not establish any kind of scene setting for her story which will be adequate to meet her participant's needs by using a confirmation check. In fact, when examined closely, there are several opportunities for Lily to set up a story theme for her narrative via the use of a confirmation check. For example, Lily says that the working time in the bank is different from that of other organizations:

→ 20 L our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
→ 21 *catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike*
→ 22 *because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =*

This may be the major reason why most people there ride motorbike to work. At this point, she could insert a confirmation check, as Rachel did, by asking her participants: 'did you know people who ride motorbike to work?' or 'did any of you go to work by motorbike?'. However, Lily does not do this. It is likely that due to her limited linguistic competence in the L2, she concentrates only on how to express her meaning, or convey her message to her participants in spontaneous speech with an inadequate grasp of the target language. In contrast, Rachel, a native speaker, focuses on remembering what happens in her story, and tries to present it to her participants as interesting, or scary.

Rachel acknowledges the receipt of Claire's confirmation, and then constructs a conclusion, saying:

→ 26: *So we PRObably went to exactly the same place (.),*

which is prefaced by *'so'*. Rachel may have entered this conversation with initial

assumptions about whether Claire has been to the jungle, as is shown by her insertion of a confirmation check. Claire's confirmation causes information to be made available to the participants. Rachel then uses this as a basis on which to draw her inference. *'So'* thus functions as an inference marker to indicate that the speaker draws upon a particular piece of information displayed by a listener as evidence for general conclusions.

Alternatively, *'so'* may mark the speaker's continued turn and allow her to sustain holding the floor. With the use of the preface of *'so'*, Rachel is able to regain the floor to resume her narrative. It is clear that Rachel's use of *'so'* as an inference marker shows that she draws a conclusion from Claire's confirmation. In addition, it also serves as a communication-maintenance strategy for Rachel to continue her turn and to link back to her previous topic.

Extract (3) illustrates that Rachel seeks to establish mutual understanding of the object she is referring to by using of feature analysis, hedge markers (Partridge, 1984), or vague expressions (Crystal and Davy, 1975), such as 'like', 'kind of' and 'sort of'.

(3)

32. **Rl:** = but TO GEt there you had to get on to this little
33. sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out
34. tree trunk { } [WE HA:d about
35. **Rh:** Oh we did th at]
36. **Rl:** = eight people in it (1.0)
37. **Ce:** ↑yeah

Rachel tries to explain that they had to take a 'canoe thing' to reach the village Here, the noun phrase 'canoe thing' is preceded by a discourse marker *'sort of'*. Rachel indicates that she does not know what type the boat was, but that it appeared similar to a canoe. By placing the hedge marker, or vague language *'sort of'*, before the noun phrase 'canoe thing', which is followed by a micropause, Rachel may signal that she is being less

accurate in the description of the canoe than she would like, or that she lacks of the specific knowledge about the type of the canoe. Rachel makes use of the hedge marker, or vagueness using *'sort of'*, to convey the concept of 'canoe thing', she wishes to express, in an attempt to achieve mutual understanding with participants.

Another similar example occurs in the data, where Rachel says:

→ 17: *we were like staying in these BEA:utiful kind of (2.0)*
→ 18: *just like WHAt you iMagine these little like (0.5)*
→ 19: *wooden: Huts*

It seems that she does not describe the degree to which she finds the wooden huts fascinating, and indicates she does not know the exact material out of which they were constructed. She adds hedge markers, or vague language: *'kind of' and 'like'*, followed by the adjective clause *'WHAt you iMAgine these little'* before *'huts'*. Expressions such as *'WHAt you iMAgine'* may imply that she is being vague and is leaving the details to her participants' imagination. Similarly, *'like'* in *'like wooden huts'* may imply that the description of the material the wood huts are made of is less only approximate in meaning, and may not convey her intended meaning perfectly or appropriately. Partridge's (1984) conceptualization of 'hedges' is similar to Dornyei and Scott's (1995a, 1995b) conception of 'strategy markers'. It refers to warning signals or "verbal inverted commas" (Harper 1985, p.91) that indicate to the interlocutor that a strategy is being used to elicit attentive cooperation, thereby helping to achieve mutual understanding. By contrast, another of Rachel's utterances:

→ 22: *visit this (.) like (0.5) um Native Indian village*

there is a micropause before the word *'like'*, followed by a half-a-second unfilled pause and a filled pause *'um'*. It seems that Rachel does not have a descriptive term for the

village. Here, the word *'like'*, therefore serves as a time-gaining strategy, rather than a hedge marker for Rachel to gain time to choose words appropriate to describe the village. Rachel also utilizes the unfilled and filled pauses for this purpose.

In contrast, if we look at the data from NNS, none of the speakers tries to achieve mutual understanding of her/his participants by using hedge markers or vague language to signal that s/he is being less precise in the description of a subject or concept. Moreover, no instance can be found in NNS data to show their use of hedge markers or vague expressions to describe or to talk about a subject or object s/he refers to, or lacks the specific knowledge of.

Similarly, Rachel may not exactly know what to call the canoe but she attempts to make her participants understand what the canoe looks like by describing its shape and material:

→ 32: *this little*
→ 33: *sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out*
→ 34: *tree trunk*

This describes the canoe. Therefore, Rachel employs a feature analysis as a CS to describe the componential features of the canoe. In comparison, when analysed closely, data from NNS shows that none of them attempts to employ feature analysis as their CS in order to achieve mutual understanding of their participants in the storytelling. However, with NNS Lily, she attempts to utilize a synonym as a CS to replace a more specific expression, as exemplified in the following:

16. L: in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)
17. to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TOld (1.0)
18. he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)

19. buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5) because (0.5)

Lily tries to describe her first day at work in the bank, saying her father had taken her there. The bank manager told her father that he needed to buy her a motorbike. Before she says 'the master' in

→ 17: *to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TOld (1.0),*

there is unclear talk and a one-and-a-half-a-second pause, which may be a problem indicator, reflecting the difficulty she was having at this point in her narrative. However, after a time-gaining pause, she employs a synonym, 'the master', as a CS, using it to replace the more specific expression 'the bank manager' as a way of solving her communication problem. Via the device of synonym, Lily attempts to achieve mutual understanding by her co-participants.

In line 34, Rachel's talk in describing the canoe could constitute a possibly complete turn, since it is a technically complete sentence and Ralph seems to be able to project an upcoming TRP.

→ 33: **Rl** *sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out*
→ 34: *tree trunk { } [WE HA:d about*
→ 35: **Rh** *↑Oh we did th[at*

At this point, he inserts his utterance into Rachel's ongoing narrative to show his recognition of the information Rachel shares, by saying in an excited voice

→ 35: *↑Oh we did that*

Here, the *'oh'* signals Ralph's recognition and receipt of the ongoing discourse's information. This also indicates that Rachel's description of the canoe has refreshed Ralph's memory; he thus remembers a similar experience of paddling in a canoe, and then

engages with Rachel's narrative. In the process, his insertion makes a contribution which accords with his ideas of how a participant should behave. This shows his recognition of the value of his contribution to Rachel's talk, and his interest and rapport simultaneously. In a word, Ralph's insertion displays him as an active recipient of information, acknowledging and integrating information as it is provided. With the initiation of *'↑Oh'* and his memory of a shared experience, Ralph opportunely shows his alignment with Rachel, the speaker.

As noted above, the story teller may try to employ different kinds of device to manage communication problems encountered during the talk-in-interaction in order to achieve participant engagement, co-ordinate her/his own action with those of her/his participants' actions, or reach mutual understanding. Evidently, there are also a number of ways in a storytelling, by which story recipients are able to react to, display understanding of, or become involved in the telling. This includes the kinds of actions produced by both a story teller and the recipients during the storytelling itself. The following extracts will show how story recipients interact with and co-ordinate their actions to the story teller.

Extract (4) displays how a story recipient indicates her/his understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story by the use of a clarification request, and how the story teller tries to co-ordinate her/his actions in response to a clarification request.

(4)

146.	**RI:**	were FAlling out an' the WHOLE boat's SCREA:MING (.)
147.		an' I just kept trying to tell them to shut up 'cause I really
148.		didn't think it's HElping the situation ((laugh through))
149.		(0.5) .hhh AN' ↑THEN (.) ((chuckling)) =
150.	**Rh:**	were (.) were they enjoying
151.		it Or were they { }

152. **Rl:** = oh yeah well I absolutely lovedit
153. we all really lovedit (.) [but] it was the:: ONLY (.) =
154. **Rh:** Oh [right]
155. **Rl:** = it's the kindaf love (.) HAte (.) FEAr excitement kind of
156. BARrier (.) an' it's only 'cause you're Absolutely
157. PEtrified that you actually really think it's amazing (0.5) =
158. **Rh:** right

Here Rachel provides a narrative account of a noteworthy incident. It is embedded within a more extended series of incidents that occurred during a boat trip on the Amazon River. She constructs her narrative so as to contrast the panic of others on the boat with her own role as a calming influence. It is, in fact, presented as a form of near disaster story, in which the narrator is also a participant observer. However, when Rachel reaches a possible turn completion point:

→ 146: *were FAlling out an' the WHOLE boat's SCREA:MING (.)*
→ 147: *an' I just kept trying to tell them to shut up 'cause I really*
→ 148: *didn't think it's HElping the situation ((laugh through))*
→ 149: *(0.5) .hhh AN'↑THEN (.) ((chuckling))* =

she laughs through the last three of her own words. This is a typical device for signaling to other participants how to take an offered narrative – e.g. as a sad story, funny story, scary story etc. What occurs immediately after Rachel's laughter is that she takes a short pause, followed by an audible intake of breath: '*.hhh*'. Audible breath intakes signal turn continuation or wish to hold the floor. The continuation is prefaced with an emphatic '↑*THEN*', to signal chronological development within the narrative. This continuer is followed immediately by a micropause and the current speaker's laughter, i.e. the laughter is constructed as an activity within the continuing turn. This again is a signal that allows recipients to know how to regard the unfolding story, in this case, as an amusing one.

Having heard Rachel's chuckling, Ralph takes this as a 'cue' to display his understanding of the narrative so far and a possible hearing of it, i.e. as an incident amusing to the participants. Talk is initiated which turns out to be in overlap, which is perhaps a 'post continuation onset' (Jefferson, 1986), in which "a recipient would start up just after the current speaker had produced a clear indication of going on, following a possible completion" (p.159). Then Ralph inserts into the ongoing narrative an utterance, which in its interrogative format displays understanding of the narrative and of how it is to be taken, whilst at the same time returning the floor to the narrator of the story –

→ 150: *were (.) were they enjoyingt*
→ 151: *it Or were they { }*

We can see that in order to display his understanding of Rachel's narrative of the boat trip on the Amazon River, Ralph inserts a question in the interrogative form. An insertion could be used to achieve improved linguistic accuracy, as well as for a number of other purposes. In fact, Ralph's utterance is inserted into an extended speaking turn made up of a number of TCUs. It can legitimately be seen as a request for clarification that also displays understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story (i.e. the contrast between enjoyment and fear). The purpose is to display understanding of the ongoing talk, and the device used to implement it is to insert a clarification request into the extended speaking turn.

The overall purpose is to show that Ralph is an active and appreciative partner in the interaction. This could be realized in a number of ways, for example, by smiling, nodding and backchanneling, but here he displays understanding and appreciation of the narrative via the device of the clarification request, which paradoxically implies he does not know what is going on when actually he does. Typically this also requires a

follow-up turn to acknowledge the clarification response, i.e. a 'news receipt'. This is *"Oh right"*, (line 154) which links back to the clarification request and both binds the sequence together and completes it. It is part of the strategy for being a good listener. This sequence exemplifies how the participants orient naturally to the constraints on the interaction.

Ralph's clarification request in the interrogative form is followed by an emphatic conjunction *'Or'*. The conjunction projects a negative alternative. Rachel comes in at a point where continuation of talk had been projected, and responds collaboratively to it:

→ 151: **Rh** *it Or were they { }*
→ 152: **Rl** *oh yeah well I absolutely lovedit*
→ 153: *we all really lovedit (.)* [*but* *it was the:: ONLY (.)* =
→ 154: **Rh** *Oh* [*right*]

Rachel has evidently caught the gist of what Ralph is saying. She starts her talk at that point in order to demonstrate cooperatively her recognition of the point. This can be seen in her next statement: '*oh yeah well*'. In her response to Ralph's question, Rachel substitutes the subject 'I' with 'we' in her partially repeated second utterance. Clearly, she emphasizes the subject 'we' to support her individual point of view that the incident was very enjoyable, even though the outcome may have been disastrous, as she recalled afterwards.

After Ralph's acknowledgement '*Oh right*', Rachel continues her previous utterance, marked here by the use of 'but', which overlaps with Ralph. This indicates that she is trying to formulate a point, describing to her participants her mixed emotion. She starts her utterance with "*but it was the:: ONLY (.)*" (line 153), in which she lengthens the definite article 'the' and emphasizes the word 'ONLY' in an observably louder voice,

followed by a micropause. This signals that a projected noun phrase is imminent. However, after the micropause the trajectory of the projected noun phrase is abandoned. Instead, there is a restart where Rachel goes back to a point where she can change the projected utterance and provide an insertion:

→ 155: *it's the kindof love (.) HAte (.) FEAr excitement kind of*
→ 156: *BARrier (.) an' it's only 'cause you are Absolutely*
→ 157: PEtrified that you actually really think it's amazing (0.5)

The insertion provides an explanation of her prior talk, following '*and it's only 'cause'*. This trajectory is abandoned as shown by the tense change, the more generic nature of her talk and the descriptive rather than referential content. She abandons the first projection and reformulates. This is to respond further to the clarification request. Rachel realizes she has not provided sufficient explanation, and the change in trajectory after *'ONLY'* picks up on her previous utterance, i.e. '*lovedi'*, which is repeated as '*the kind of love... '*.

Thus Rachel's turn is not an insertion, but rather it is an extended response to the clarification request, which Ralph acknowledges the receipt of with

→ 158: *right*

This is the end of the insertion related to the clarification request. Therefore, the sequences of clarification request of talk-in-interaction in this extract have been identified as follows:

Narrative Sequence:

Talk as narrative
Clarification request
Initial Response
1st Acknowledgement Receipt
Continuation of talk as narrative
Response Extension
2nd Acknowledgement Receipt

It is noticeable that Ralph is not only oriented to the turn-taking rules of the talk-in-interaction, but also demonstrates his co-ordination with Rachel. This text shows a support strategy employed by Ralph, in which he supports Rachel's extended turn by eliciting more information via the use of a clarification request strategy. If we refer back to Lily's case from the data of NNS, we find there is a similarity between NS and NNS in the way they show their interest and appreciation of the overall point of the story by the use of requesting clarification. This extract is drawn from NNS data:

99. L: after that (.) my dad didn't allow me to rid a bi:cycle (2.0)
100. motorbike (1.0) sorry that's why after [( )
101. J: do ↑you have a (2.0)]
102. motorbike ↑license
103. L: (1.0) yes I got just boughtit (0.5) just I { }
104. J: [you ↑BOUGHTIT
105. A: you (1.0) you]
106. Others: ((laughter))

After her motorbike's accident, Lily says that her father has not allowed her to ride a motorbike since then. At this point, Jane subsequently interrupts her by asking

100: L: *motorbike (1.0) sorry that's why after* [*( )*
→ 101: J: *do ↑you have a (2.0)*]
→ 102: *motorbike ↑license*

which partially overlaps with Lily's unclear utterance. This is constructed as a clarification request, by which she displays her interest, and conveys her involvement in the narrative events and their effects. Consequently, this not only leads to the shift of the topic to 'not having a motorbike driver license', but also triggers a significant following response from the story recipients in the form of overlaps, interruptions and laughter. What is a significant difference here is that Lily's co-participants seldom respond to or

show their involvement in her talk until Jane's clarification request. After that, each of them is eager to make his contribution to the topic by telling his individual experiences, jokes or personal remarks in the form of overlaps and interruptions (see as Appendix 3).

Participants may co-ordinate their actions and align themselves with the current speaker in the storytelling by using the device of overlapping, which is viewed as a feature of 'rapport talk' by Tannen (1990). Extract (5) and (6) illustrate how story recipients closely align with the story teller by using the device of overlapping. In this case, this resolves the speaker's communication problems with searching for a specific scientific term for microscopic creatures, as shown in extract (5).

(5)

57. **Rh:** = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. very [nasty...] BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. **Rl:** [BIlHArzia]
63. **Rh:** = so (.) you you kinda get a little bit .hh (.)
64. they've also got a variety of FLY
65. that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will
66. lay its eggs in your open [wound ( )
67. **JD:** [A:hhh !
68. **Rl:** [WArgh::!]
69. **Rh:** ((laughter)) [((laughter))
70. **Others:** [((laughter))]

Ralph starts to say that there was something nasty in Lake Vic. Before he is able to say the name of the lake, he repeats the definite article 'the', and pauses twice. These utterances serve as time-gaining strategies for Ralph to recall the name of the lake. Ralph then tries to say the exact names of the small creatures in the lake:

→ 58: *they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic*
→ 59: *SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)*

He elongates the filled pause 'er:m::', and follows with a half-a-second unfilled pause. He then retraces the definite article followed by a micropause. The filled pause and unfilled silence here both are problem indicators, which signal that Ralph faces a situation, in which he is not able to name the microscopic creatures. On the other hand, they serve as time-gaining strategies for Ralph to remember the correct scientific terms. However, he fails to recall them. He then attempts to describe the attributes of the creature, which is related to a kind of flatworm that inhabits snails: '*microscopic SNAils*'. Ralph uses features analysis of a lexical item as his CS to illustrate the properties or features of the microscopic creatures. Nevertheless, it seems that Ralph is not satisfied with the term he has used. He tries to make an effort to think of the exact name of the microscopic creature. After the two half-a-second silence and the non-lexicalized filled pause *'Ah'*, Ralph then makes an indirect request to the participants for help:

→ 59: *I can't ah (.) er:m (.)*
→ 60: *what's it called (.)*

Ralph's use of indirect appeal functions as his CS in an attempt to ask for his participants' assistance in finding the exact scientific term for the creature. The unfilled pause and the filled pause, such as *'ah'*, *'er:m'*, signify his hesitation and allow him to gain time to remember the term.

Abandoning his struggle to remember the creature's name, Ralph then tries to describe the relationship between the flatworm, the parasite, and snails (which are the host organisms) in order to illustrate the condition the small creature can cause. After Ralph self-initiates a repair: '*what's it called (.)*', he does not wait for other-completion and

subsequently attempts to describe the condition caused by the parasitic flatworms infecting snails:

→ 60: **Rh** *what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do*
→ 61: *very* [*nasty...* / *BIlHArzia*] *BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =*
→ 62 : **Rl**

Just as Ralph says the word: '*nasty*, Rachel overlaps him and says '*Bilharzia'*. Using the information Ralph has provided, Rachel works out the scientific term for the microsopic creatures which Ralph is referring to, and responds to Ralph's request for help. This illustrates a self-initiated other-repair strategy. Ralph's reference to his trouble remembering the scientific term for the microsopic creatures initiates Rachel's repair.

In comparison, we may refer to Lily's case from NNS data, where there is a noticeable difference in the way help is requested from NS:

49. L: = just I really scared (.) but (0.5) AT THAT time
50. I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)
51. I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)

Lily states that she was very frightened by her motorcycle crash. She was scared the accident would occur, however, she was not really scared during the accident, itself although she thought she should have been. Lily subsequently tries to explain why she was not really scared at that time by inserting her reason, which is prefaced by the word "because" (line 50). The reason embedded in Lily's explanation may be that she imagines that she could 'fly over' the scene in the same way cars often do in action films. This expectation of flying over, although it did not in fact happen, may have mitigated her fear of crashing. However, the trajectory of her explanation prefaced by 'because' is abandoned mid-way:

→ 50: *because (0.5)*

→ 51: *I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5)*

Her abandoned utterance is produced in a quieter, lower voice with falling intonation, and is followed by a one-and-a-half-a-second pause. This occurs at a point where Lily is searching for a way to express herself, and might reflect the difficulty she is having at this point of her narration. The reason she gives up her utterance might be due to the limitations imposed by the shared linguistic knowledge in Lily's second language repertoire. She then directly makes an explicit appeal for help from her participants:

→ 51: *how to say (2.0),*

which is then followed by a two-second hesitation pause. Schegloff et al., (1977) suggest that an appeal can be characterized as self-initiated other-repair. However, none of her participants takes over her turn and assists her with her communication problem, even after her two-second pause. This may be because Lily abandons her utterance mid-way, and thus her participants do not have enough information to establish a mutual understanding of the context to which she refers. On the other hand, most of Lily's participants are NNS of English, except for Paul, who is American, and due to the limitations imposed by their linguistic abilities, they do not know how to take over her turn and give her assistance. However, even Paul, the NS of English, does not assist her. As a result, she switches her language code from English, the target language, into her mother tongue, Mandarin, in order to avoid a breakdown in communication. In a word, Lily has to deal with her own communication problems alone. By contrast, Rachel collaboratively helps Ralph with providing the requisite word and as a result with solving his communication problem. Rachel's use of overlapping strategy signifies her high level of involvement and co-participation.

In line 61, after Rachel's overlapping, Ralph confirms that this is the name of the organism by repeating Rachel's utterance: *'Bilharzia'*.

→ 61: *very* [*nasty...*] *BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =*
→ 62: **RI** [*BIlHArzia*]

This follows a one-second pause which may serve as a device to signify Ralph's decision-making process. After this unfilled silence, Ralph's use of the word *'yeah'* reconfirms his decision to adopt Rachel's term, and also shows that her message is being received. Ralph's subsequent pause after *'yeah'* has been taken as a legitimate TRP. He thus relinquishes the floor back to the main speaker, Rachel. This may indicate that he is sensitive to the speakership. However, none of them claims the floor or takes over his turn, and it appears that his participants' silence, a signal of encouragement, encourages him to continue his narrative. More than that, after his description of how the small creature, Bilharzia, causes the unpleasant condition, his participants do not react to his talk in the way he expects or attempts to achieve, as that shown in lines 67 and 68: a reaction of horrified fascination. Therefore, by prefacing his sentence with *'so'*, Ralph simultaneously resumes his narrative:

→ 63: *so (.) you you kinda get a little bit .hh (.)*

However, he abandons his talk half-way, and follows an audible inhale *'.hh'*, which signals the continuation of his turn. The reason for the termination of his utterance is to come up with another grotesque example: a variety of fly which he considers more able to convincingly illustrate the presence of parasitic organisms, as shown in his subsequent talk:

→ 64: *they've also got a variety of FLY*
→ 65: *that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will*

→ 66: *lay its eggs in your open wound ( )*

Ralph's description of the fly's unpleasant breeding process, in which he says that it lays eggs in the open wounds of human beings, is more detailed and lively compared to his description of Bilhazaria. The flatworm is described only as being very nasty; a rather general description. However, the fly's behaviour is described in much greater detail. Ralph says the fly lays eggs in one's open wound, which Ralph has already built a clearer picture of as being disgusting in the minds of his participants. There is an unfilled one-second pause, followed by a false start when he says 'will'; Ralph subsequently self-repairs and repeats it. This may signify that Ralph is getting more excited about relating the most grotesque part of his narrative. The use of the pause, together with the repetition, may allow Ralph to subsequently create an atmosphere appropriate to the highlight of his story. The immediate and dramatic effect is achieved with his participants' subsequent exaggerated outburst: 'A:hhh!' and 'WArgh', which overlaps with Ralph's usage of the word: 'wound'. Upon hearing Ralph's laughter in line 69, his participants then join in. This demonstrates that they are enthusiastically co-participating in the discourse and are able to successfully collaborate with Ralph's narrative.

Further example of the use of overlapping is found in extract (6), which displays how a story recipient collaborates with Rachel by uttering identical words to hers simultaneously.

(6)

199.	**RI:**	= but that's 'cause I just didn't look (1.0) er:m there were
200.		like giant (.) 'cause we HArdly went very far really (.)
201.		there were like GIant insects (1.0) erm (1.0) an' (.) like
202.		BEAUTiful butterflies and BEAUTiful parrots (.)
203.		I mean we WEnt to this little bit where they (0.5) kind of

204. like a zoo in the middle of the Amazon Rain Forest (0.5)
205. an' they HA:da (0.5) monkeys(.)[an' anteaters] =
206. **Ce:** [things anteaters]
207. **RI:** = an' (.) VARious (0.5) kind of caged > they WERen't
208. caged up < but they weren't like running loose sort of thing

Rachel says that they went to a place like a kind of a zoo in the middle of the Amazon rainforest, which had many giant insects. Then she starts to provide examples:

→ 205: **RI** *an' they HA:da (0.5) monkeys(.)*[*an' anteaters*] =
→ 206: **Ce:** [*things anteaters*]

As she says: ' *and anteaters'*, Claire's utterance: '*things anteater'* overlaps with it. Rachel and Claire are not only communicating the same idea, but also producing simultaneous speech with almost identical content. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that this does not just happen by accident. After the first syllable of Rachel's utterance: '*an'* has been identified, Claire no sooner and no later takes it as a 'cue' and simultaneously produces almost the same utterance as Rachel does. Claire's overlapping shows that she is attuned to Rachel's narrative, and that she is actively co-ordinating her action according to this cue so as to be collaborative with and supportive of Rachel. Therefore, their talk is closely matched both in timing and content. This overlap may signal that both speakers are on the same 'wavelength', and are thus able to "promote the solidarity" (James and Clarke, 1992, p.289) between them.

Similarly, when referring to the NNS data in the use of overlapping,

66. **L:** where: (.) ((laughter)) WHERE I am just (.) just (.) my
67. mo (.)mo (.) motorbike's broken(.) suddenly { } =
68. **P:** Wahh..
69. **L:** = because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the BOdy (.) just made by
70. [plastic]

71. **P:** plastic

Lily attempts to indicate the fragility of the motorbike, which was broken after the accident, by describing what material it was made of:

→ 69: **L:** *because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the Body (.) just made by*
→ 70: [*plastic*
→ 71: **P:** *plastic*]

Before Lily proceeds to produce an appropriate linguistic item in the target language to describe the material, she pauses for a second, which one might initially think that it may signal the difficulty she experienced in selecting a word. However, she subsequently inserts the prepositional phrase: 'to the (.) the BOdy' into her narrative as a referential content in an attempt to communicate her intended meaning, and follows with a micropause and recycling of the item preceding the point where she encountered the problem. In fact, the above analysis and interpretation do not hold true if one carefully examines the overlap Paul and Lily collaboratively produce in lines 70 and 71. An interesting aspect of that collaboration may be noted when they simultaneously utter the same word: 'plastic'. This collaborative overlap shows that Lily's one-second pause is neither a time-gaining strategy nor a signal of difficulty with the following problematic word because she can easily articulate it with Paul at the same time. Lily inserts a prepositional phrase into the ongoing narrative before saying that it is made of 'plastic'. This may indicate that Lily seems to emphasize only the body of the motorbike rather than the whole of it, which is made of plastic. Therefore, it may be noted that the insertion is listener-oriented and that Lily, the L2 learner, is trying to draw on various resources to create conversational cues so that she may communicate her intended meaning and help her participants to understand her narrative. As a result, what is noticeable is that the effect is achieved by Paul's instant and collaborative overlap with Lily's. Paul

successfully projects and elicits the specific word 'plastic' by using 'broken' and 'to the body' as contextualisation cues to draw his inference. They simultaneously produce the word 'plastic' and overlap with each other. This shows their mutual support and well co-ordination of actions between participants and the current speaker.

Although there are two instances in the NNS data, which show collaborative overlaps, it is interesting that they are all performed by Paul, an NS, among NNS participants. Most of the instances of overlapping in NNS data tend to focus on individual stories, personal experiences, or evaluative comments, rather than to collaboratively produce an overlapping response, which is matched and finely tuned to the story teller's talk. By contrast, the evidence shown in extract (5), (6) and the rest of NS data display high frequency of story recipients' coordination and collaboration with the story teller via the device of overlaps.

In addition to overlaps, interruptions are another type of simultaneous speech. They tend to be traditionally regarded as rude, intrusive and disrespectful acts, and are assumed to be power-oriented interruption (Folger and Sillars, 1978; Bennett 1981 and Murray 1987 etc.). However, interruptions in this study are other features of simultaneous speech among high-involvement speakers. The following extracts (7) to (9) display the participants' highly collaborative and supportive talk via the use of collaborative overlaps and supportive interruptions.

(7)

44. **Rl:** distance of this room (.) .hh an' we went MI:les
45. in that direction just to get SUcked all the way
46. [back up](1.0) an' I was like terrified that there's =
47. **Rh:** [Ha ha]
48. **Rl:** = going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA[:nhas (.)] =
49. **Rh:** [Oh right]

50. **Rl:** = an' ALL: an' LEE[hE:s (1.0)]=
51. **Rh:** [LEEches]
52. **Rl:** = ~~OU...gh~~ (.) just loads of horrible things (.)
53. an' I'm sure (.) it was all OK (1.5)
54. but (0.5) { }
55. **Rh:** it's the LIttle creepy crawlies though (1.0) =

Rachel begins with a description of how the strong current sucked them all the way back up the river, and how hard the little boy had to paddle upstream. It is noticeable that Rachel gives emphasis to this particular narrative by raising her voice on emphatic words. For example, *'SUcked'*, *'MI:es'*, *'SNAkes'*, *'PIRA:nhas'* and *'LEEchE:s'*. In order for her participants to better understand her narrative, Rachel foregrounds the lexical items she considers to convey significant and necessary information.

When Rachel relates how they were pulled all the way back up by the strong current:

→ 45: **Rl** *in that direction just to get SUcked all the way*
→ 46: [*back up*] *(1.0)*,
→ 47: **Rh** [*Ha ha*]

Ralph responds immediately with laughter: *'Ha ha'*, which overlaps with Rachel's '*back up'*. Although Ralph's response *'Ha ha'* seems not to be an adequate response, it, in fact, functions as a backchannel, to show that he is empathetic with Rachel's terrifying, exciting, and dangerous situation, because he had had a similar experience to that of Rachel. This is made apparent in his previous turn: "↑*Oh we did that*" (line 35). There is a one-second pause following the overlap. This may indicate that Ralph was going to make his contribution to this part of the narrative, and that she was ready to relinquish the floor to him. However, none of her participants, including Ralph, takes over the floor at this point. After this one-second silence, she carries on with her narrative instead. Rachel begins telling her participants why she was frightened:

→ 46: **Rl** *an' I was like terrified that there's*
→ 48: *going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA::nhas (.)*
→ 49: **Rh** *Oh right*

Her words *'piranhas'* partially overlaps with Ralph's second backchannel: *'Oh right'*, which is probably a 'last-item' onset (Jefferson, 1986). This co-ordinates to his first backchannel *'Ha ha'*, to show Rachel's message is appropriately being received this time after she provides additional and more specific information about her fear: terrifying aquatic creatures in the water. On the other hand, this signals that Ralph appreciates the kind of story Rachel is telling, and agrees with her that there are snakes and piranhas in the water. In other words, by using the backchannel *'Oh right'*, Ralph aligns himself with Rachel.

After Rachel gives examples of some terrifying aquatic creatures, she concludes by mentioning the creatures she thought would be in the water:

→ 50: **Rl** *an' ALL: an' LEEchE:s (1.0)*
→ 51: LEEches
→ 52: **Rh** *OU:::gh (.) just loads of horrible things (.)*

However, Rachel prolongs her utterance of the word *'ALL:'* in this utterance. She subsequently inserts the word *'leeches'*, adding one more example to her list in order to validate her statement that there are many worrying creatures in the water. At this point, Ralph joins in by repeating Rachel's *'leeches'*, and partially overlaps with Rachel. In fact, Ralph's repetition is another form of feedback response to Rachel. The repetition Ralph provides also serves as his backchannel to signal his interest in the conversation and his enthusiasm for engaging in the discourse. It is interesting to note that Ralph displays his active participation by giving special feedback signals such as: *'Ha ha'*, *'Oh right'*, and providing collaborative repetition. These overlaps and collaborative

repetition function as a form of backchanneling that signals his co-participation, rapport, and support for the speaker in the conversation.

Ralph's repetition of the word *'leeches'*, which partially overlaps with Rachel, may serve as confirmation that Ralph agrees with and supports her opinion that leeches are really unpleasant. Therefore, after their overlap, Rachel expresses her disgust by emitting the: *'OU:::gh'* in an exaggerated voice, which thereby concludes her narrative. Although Rachel says that she is scared of things such as snakes, piranhas and leeches, she convinces herself and her participants that there was in fact no danger because she was on a structured trip:

→ 53: *an' I'm sure (.) it was all OK (1.5)*
→ 54: *but (0.5) { }*

This follows a one-and-a-half-a-second pause, which may imply that Rachel is waiting for her participants' contributions. However, none of them takes up her turn, and she then resumes her talk by saying the word *'but'*. This marks an upcoming unit as a contrasting idea, in an attempt to make additional expressions on her topic. Rachel's utterance prefaced by *'but'*, which signifies that her following remark will contrast with her prior point. Crucially, Ralph takes the word *'but'* as a cue, and is able to perceive the development of Rachel's topic. He then interrupts Rachel, inserts his own comments, and performs a collaborative completion (Lerner, 1991) for Rachel by saying:

→ 55: *it's the LIttle creepy crawlies though (1.0)*

This implies that he knows where Rachel's utterance is headed, and supports her by aligning himself with her thought. Ralph's collaborative interruption gives a very clear

indication not only his attentiveness and enthusiastic interest in the discourse, but also his active involvement.

Extract (8) displays that the fine tuning of the collaborative completion between Rachel and Ralph highlights the highly collaborative and supportive nature of their conversation. There are close similarities here with our focus extract (7):

(8)

209. **Rl:** (1.0) er:m (1.0) but I remember in the NIghts (0.5)
210. 'cause you're all like in our bunk beds there with
211. mosquito nets an' { } > ↑OF course I was TERrified =
212. **Rh:** ( )
213. **Rl:** = of mos QUItoes as well 'cause I thought (0.5) I'm not
214. going to get malaria (.) .hh { }< er:m { }
215. **Rh:** err mos mosquitoes are
216. awful 'cause they wait till you just go to sleep an' then
217. ((buzzing [{ } noise))] [((laughter)) =
218. **Rl:** [an' then they] STAR:t (.) [
219. **Others:** ((laughter))]
220. **Rh:** = hə roun (.) round your ear y' know (.) huh (.) you're awake ((laughter))

In extract (8), Rachel says that she was petrified of mosquitoes because she was afraid of getting malaria. In the environment of what Jefferson called 'legitimate TRPs', Ralph makes three attempts to insert his contribution to the discussion on mosquitoes. He successfully inserts it into Rachel's extended turn on his third attempt, although she signifies twice the continuation of her turn by inhaling: '*.hh*' and uttering: '*er:m*', which are tokens of continuers (Schegloff 1982, p.80). They are used in this course of the extended turn to show that she, though at a possible completion of a TCU, is understood not to be at a TRP. In spite of the tokens of Rachel's continuers: '*.hh*' and '*er:m*', which imply that her turn-in-progress is not complete, Ralph makes use of this chance to come in, and puts forward his personal experience or informative remarks regarding mosquitoes:

→	214:	**Rl**	*going to get malaria (.) .hh { }<er:m { }*
→	215:	**Rh**	*err mos mosquitoes are*
→	216:		*awful 'cause they wait till you just go to sleep an' then*

By telling this mini-stories about mosquitoes, Ralph demonstrates his understanding of Rachel's point. In addition, he adds sound effects, such as a '*buzzing noise*', as a way of validating both Rachel's and his own experience.

Goldberg (1990) distinguishes between rapport-oriented and power-oriented interruptions. In rapport interruptions, the interruptor stays on-topic and the interruptee is expected to temporarily relinquish her/his speakership rights. Once the interruptor completes the discourse and it is returned to its pre-interruption state, the interrupted speaker is 'allowed' to continue where s/he left off. After Ralph's interruptions, Rachel temporarily defers to Ralph and restarts her utterance by repeating Ralph's last two words: '*and then*'. As a matter of fact, Ralph still stays on the topic of mosquitoes. His interruption doesn't gain him the floor, or allow him to control the discourse, but rather to display his contribution to the development of the dialogue by inserting his informative comments on mosquitoes. Therefore, Ralph's contribution can be interpreted as a cooperative gesture, which shows he has reached a level of rapport and understanding with Rachel. Together they display their joint enthusiasm for, involvement with, and understanding of the issue at hand.

Rachel overlaps Ralph's imitation of mosquitoes' buzzing noise by a repeat of his last utterance: *'an' then'*, taking the floor, and continues her story from the point Ralph left off before she came in:

→	216:		*awful 'cause they wait till you just go to sleep an' then*
→	217:	**Rh**	((buzzing [{ } noise)) STAR:t (.) [((laughter)) =
→	218:	**Rl**	an' then they] [
→	219:	**Others**	((laughter))]

→ 220 **Rh** = hə roun (.) round your ear y' know (.) huh (.) you're awake ((laughter))

Rachel may be attempting to bring her participants' attention back to her story after Ralph's interruption, so she emphasizes the word *'STAR:t'* in a noticeably louder voice and elongates it. Interestingly, at this point, Ralph comes in again and subsequently takes over turn by repeating his first own word: *'round'* in a joking and excited voice. This is not only suitable within the context of Rachel's utterance, he also collaboratively completes it for her.

Dunne and Ng (1994) observe that a simultaneity frequently involves both speakers communicating the same idea. In this occurrence, it may not be necessary for both speakers to use the same actual words; however, the idea they communicate is the same. This occurs in two ways. Firstly, both speakers may speak a similar utterance, responding to what someone else has said. Secondly, speakers can produce simultaneous speech with identical content when the second speaker joins in to finish the first one's utterance. The second type of simultaneous speech has been termed "completion overlap" by Coates (1988, p.109). It seems that these completion overlaps function either to assist a speaker when s/he appears to be faltering or to demonstrate that the second speaker understands what the first speaker means and that they are attuned to each other's utterances. Of particular interest here is the way Ralph and Rachel take turns in making contributions to the framework of the collaborative completion by using the device of interruption. The fine tuning of the collaborative completion through interruptions between Rachel and Ralph highlights the highly collaborative and supportive nature of their conversation.

Similarly, the participant, Ralph, himself in extract (9) uses sequential development as an interpretive resource, and interrupts the speaker's on-going talk in order to draw an

inference. This may display his active collaboration with the speaker, and shows her that "my mind is with you" (Sacks, 1995, p.257).

(9)

80. **Rh:** = we couldn't get them to go strAIght (0.5) =
81. **RI:** ((laughter))
82. **Rh:** = were you actually PAddling
83. **RI:** NO: we just had (.) ONe guide { } ( )
84. **Rh:** HE PRObably
85. could (0.5) do more than the rest of you put together

Ralph had earlier mentioned the 'muzungo cork screw', which is a slang term referring to a group of Caucasians who are unable to paddle their canoes in a straight line on the river; instead only spinning around in a stationary position. Rachel responds to Ralph's talk with laughter, in which he used this term in reference to a similar amusing situation. This displays Rachel's understanding and sympathy for Ralph due to her similar experience. What occurs immediately after Rachel's laughter is that Ralph inserts a question in the interrogative form, which can be seen as a check for confirmation:

→ 82: *were you actually PAddling*

This indicates that Ralph seeks to determine the reason for them not moving forward. On the other hand, he may be able to predict who is doing the paddling and thus make his inference, as seen in:

→ 84: *HE PRObably*
→ 85: *could (0.5) do more than the rest of you put together*

More importantly, Ralph reinitiates a story which Rachel told earlier via a confirmation check. His confirmation check may imply 'are you available to take on the story teller

role?', 'do you have a basis for taking on the story teller role which links to aspects of my (just finished) story – canoe trip?', and 'can experience of paddling be your basis for your story of your 'scary experience?'. In such a way, Ralph attempts to manage the transition to the next story teller by reinitiating a story for Rachel to make her contribution to align with his talk through a confirmation check.

Responding to Ralph's confirmation check, Rachel says:

→ 83: **Rl:** *NO: we just had (.) ONe guide { } ( ),*
→ 84: **Rh:** HE PRObably

in which Rachel may account for the reason why they do not paddle by themselves.

Ralph does not wait for Rachel to complete her talk and interjects her after her words: *'ONe guide'*. Evidently, Ralph is prompted by this, and catches the gist of what Rachel is going to say. He starts his talk at this point in order to present to others his inference that it is the guide who is actually doing the paddling, as evidenced by his emphatic word on *'HE'*. He also adds his personal remark – the evaluation of the guide's and Rachel's group performance – that even all of the people in the canoe could not paddle better than the guide himself. Ralph's use of the interruption strategy displays his collaborative recognition of Rachel's talk and his personal evaluation. It also provides an opportunity for Ralph to insert his prediction and inference drawn from the cue of Rachel's negative response.

It is worth pointing out that there is no instance in NNS data of using interruptions between the story teller and her/his participants to collaboratively complete each other's talk, or to draw an inference. Most brief response statements (Drummond, 1989), such as, "mm", "Ohh" used by her/his co-participants function as backchanneling, or as a

collaborative feedback, to signal their sympathy, understanding of the current speaker's turn and their collaborative participation. The following extract from NNS data exemplifies this:

36. L: just that (0.5) nearly o:ne MOnth (.) I think (1.5) after I
37. FInish wor:k (2.0) oh I gave (.) I gave to my (.) my
38. colleague a lift (1.0) he was sitting (1.0) SHE was
39. sitting (1.0) my back (0.5) so (1.0) when we >TAlk talking
40. talking just (.) < one (1.0) CAR (1.0) just try to =
41. P: mm
42. L: = he wants to CROoss road (0.5)to uh side of (.) restaurant
43. so (0.5) I wasn't see that (1.0) so (0.5) SUDdenly =
44. P: Mm
45. L: = we crashed (2.0) =
46. P: /ɻ/ Ohhh
47. L: = my gosh (0.5) =
48. P: Ohh

Here Lily tries to describe what happened to her car accident by inserting a string of 'reasons', which are initiated by 'pauses' and the word 'so'. When Lily relates the key elements of the narrative, her American friend Paul, immediately shows his understanding by uttering the backchannel 'mm'. For example, when Lily says that there is a car coming across the road, she puts emphasis on the word: "CAR" (line 40), followed by a one-second pause. At this point, Paul is apparently able to predict the outcome of the story, and he signifies this by uttering "mm" (line 41), serving as a backchannel to show

→ 40: L: *talking just (.) < one (1.0) CAR (1.0) just try to =*
→ 41: P: *mm*
→ 42: L: *= he wants to CROoss road (0.5)to uh side of (.) restaurant*
→ 43: *so (0.5) I wasn't see that (1.0) so (0.5) SUDdenly =*
→ 44: P: *Mm*

his collaborative feedback. This seems to generally be the case in line 44. However, Paul's use of backchannel here is more of an intensifier than that in line 41. In particular, when Lily concludes her story, which finishes with her crashing,

→ 45: L: = *we crashed (2.0)* =

→ 46: P: /ʇ/ *Ohhh*

Paul immediately gives his affective response to her narrative with a voiceless alveolar click: "/ ʇ/ "(line 46), followed by the extended exclamation 'Ohhh' to indicate his regret and sympathy. Here, by the device of his feedback behaviour - backchannels, Paul shows not only his acknowledgement of the receipt of Lily's message, but also his collaborative feedback: his sympathy and understanding. In addition, he shows himself to be a concerned listener who opportunely displays his collaborative participation and understanding of the current speaker's turn.

In sum, through a single case analysis of a storytelling involving NS and NNS, the various CS, or communication devices are tracked and identified in order to achieve participant engagement, co-ordinate each other's actions and effect mutual understanding. In addition, similarities and differences in the use of CS by either NS or NNS have been investigated and illustrated.

4.3 Findings

The sequential analyses of talk-in-interaction through an analysis of the storytellings involving NS and NNS has been illustrated and investigated. Using sequential analyses of a storytelling, the transfer of story teller role has been first discussed. I have pointed out that there emerges a tacit convention in both NS and NNS narrative, that is, the person next to the current speaker should take up the next turn. In addition, both the NS and NNS have displayed their lack of readiness to assume their speakership as the next story teller. As demonstrated, the NS story teller seeks to establish her/his scene setting for her/his story by a confirmation check in an attempt to achieve participant engagement, that is, to establish shared understanding and knowledge of the context with participants. The story teller may try not to describe things too precisely by the device of hedge markers or vague expressions, e.g. 'sort of', 'kind of' and 'like' in order to achieve mutual understanding. In contrast, there is no evidence shown from NNS data of the setting up of a story theme, or using hedge markers or vague language for the purpose of describing things in less detailed.

The focus of this chapter has also been to illustrate the similarities and differences between NS and NNS data in the way that the story recipient co-ordinates her/his actions with a current speaker's. It has been observed that the NS story recipient collaboratively displays her/his co-ordination with a story teller by requesting clarifications in order to indicate her/his appreciation of the overall point of the story. Similarly, an NNS conveys her/his involvement in the narrative events and their effects by a clarification request, which triggers off a significant subsequent response and interaction between the speaker and participants. Through the device of collaborative overlaps, completion and supportive interruptions, NS story recipients are able to make their contribution, display their active listenership, indicate their attentiveness and enthusiastic interest, draw an

inference or collaboratively resolve the problems. In comparison to the analysis of NNS data, although it has also shown that the story recipients indicate their co-participation and collaboration through the device of overlapping talk, this is performed only by one NS participant among the group of NNS. Most of the instances of overlapping by NNS have the tendency to focus on individual stories, personal experiences, or evaluation remarks, rather than to collaboratively construct an overlapping response, which is matched and finely tuned to the story teller's talk. In addition, it has been noted that there is no instance in the NNS data of using interruptions between the story teller and her/his co-participants to collaboratively complete each other's talk, or to draw an inference. Most interruptions used by participants serve as backchannels, or collaborative feedbacks, to signal their sympathy and comprehension of the current speaker's talk.

Chapter 5

The Construction of Stories in Interactions and the Use of CS by NS and NNS

5.1 Chapter Aims and Objectives

This chapter, which is based on the results of sequential analyses of narratives, focuses on the description, identification and comparison of CS used by NS and NNS during an ongoing discourse. Apart from the investigation and analysis of CS use by participants attempting convey their intended messages to each other when faced with communication breakdowns, the current study which adopts the framework of a CA approach, aims to reveal how NS and NNS in talk-in-interaction mutually orient towards and collaborate in order to achieve orderly and meaningful communication through the application of CS.

CS data in past research has been collected using elicitation or referential tasks which were administered to participants in pre-arranged situations or in laboratory settings. These studies centered predominantly on gaps in learners' lexis, while the present study adopts a CA approach, which emphasizes empirical observations of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. This approach has shown that CS are employed by interlocutors not only to establish the shared knowledge required to solve communication problems and thus reach a mutual understanding, but are also employed to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker, and achieve sufficient participant engagement to accomplish their communication goal during a naturally occurring discourse. Therefore,

a commentary on CS use both according to the literature, and to the findings of the present study is provided in this chapter.

I begin in section 5.2 with a description of CS use, and the CS taxonomies identified in the literature. Section 5.3, which is based on the sequential analyses of the narratives involving NS and NNS in section 4.2, focuses on identifying communication problems encountered by NS and NNS, and which were resolved through the application of CS during on-ongoing interactions. Since language use is basically a conjoint activity, conversationalists manage the problems encountered by monitoring and repairing them individually and collaboratively. CS are employed by both NS and NNS not only to deal with problems of resource deficit in communication and thus to reach mutual understanding, but also to share assumptions and expectations that lead them to interpret each other's utterances as contributions to conversation. In such a way, they are able to achieve participant engagement and co-ordinate actions with a current speaker. Therefore, the taxonomies of CS used by NS and NNS are identified, illustrated and analyzed. In addition, the comparison of the critical features and taxonomy of CS use developed from the present study and those proposed in the literature on CS is outlined in section 5.4. Section 5.5 summarises the findings.

5.2 Taxonomy of CS Derived from the Literature

The diversity of taxonomies of CS in the literature is due to the conceptual differences in analytic perspective. According to the researchers' general orientations towards language analysis, there are two markedly different approaches to describe CS; that is, product-oriented and process-oriented approaches.

(1) Product-oriented approach

The product-oriented approach, which centers on the interaction, defines CS as tools used by both interlocutors in a joint meaning negotiation, the aim of which is to solve communication problems cooperatively and interactionally, and to therefore reach a communicative goal (Tarone, 1977; Tarone and Yule,1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b). Therefore, the classification of CS in the product-oriented approach is to describe the linguistic products of strategy use. The taxonomies resulting from this approach vary in their organization criteria and in detail of description. Tarone (1977) was the first to attempt to identify and classify CS into five major categories. They are avoidance, paraphrase, conscious transfer, appeal for assistance and mime. In addition, Tarone and Yule (1987) identify three new types of CS which are repetition, explication and over-explicitness. Incorporating notions of both learner-centered and interactionist perspectives, Dornyei and Scott (1997) provide a more detailed classification system of strategies. They categorize CS as being direct, indirect and interactional. Furthermore, four types of communication problems are related to these three main categories: resource deficit, processing time pressure, own-performance problems, and other-performance problems. However, Faerch and Kasper (1980, 1983a), who adopt a psycholinguistic approach, distinguish two main classes of CS based on the language user's risk-taking

behaviour: achievement strategies and reduction strategies. Achievement strategies which sometimes are called "compensatory strategies" have been identified as attempts to solve communication problems in spite of the linguistic deficiencies by extending or manipulating their communicative resources. By contrast, reduction strategies have been identified as attempts made by learners to tailor their message to their resources by altering, reducing or completely abandoning the original content. As a matter of fact, "reduction strategies" in Faerch and Kasper's classification are called "avoidance strategies" by Tarone and could also be labelled "risk-avoidance strategies" (also termed 'message adjustment strategies') by Corder (1981). As for the "achievement strategies", Corder terms them " resource expansion strategies" and considers them "risking-taking strategies" since by using them the speaker takes a certain risk that they are not capable of conveying the message.

(2) Process-oriented approach

The process-oriented approach, based on the cognitive processes underlying strategic language use, describes internal cognitive processing mechanisms underlying the use of CS, and focuses on the parsimony, generalizability and psychological plausibility of its categories (Bialystok and Kellerman, 1987). Parsimony requires that there should be as few discrete strategy types as possible proposed to classify the data. The generalizability condition is met if the taxonomy can be applied to analyse any type of data, tasks, languages and learners. Psychological plausibility (most important) achieved if any proposed taxonomy of strategies could be linked to describe language processing, cognition and problem-solving behaviour.

According to these three requirements, there are some different approaches to describe the processing mechanisms underlying the use of CS. In an attempt to place CS in a parsimonious cognitive framework, Kellerman et al., (see Bongaerts et al., 1987; Kellerman

et al., 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Kellerman et al., 1990) present a two strategy taxonomy and divide compensatory strategies only into two main categories: "conceptual" and "linguistic" strategies. The conceptual strategies are used to manipulate the individual's knowledge of properties of the concept itself so that it becomes expressible through available linguistic (or mimetic) resources (Kellerman 1991, p.149). The linguistic strategies were retermed "code strategies" in order to extend the category's scope to include nonverbal strategies. They are applied to manipulate the user's linguistic knowledge via languages other than L2-transfer or via derivational rules with L2-morphological creativity (Kellerman, 1991; Kellerman and Bialystok, 1997). Moreover, two types of conceptual strategies are distinguished: holistic strategies and analytic strategies. Using the former, the speaker exploits a substitute referent which shares characteristics with the target item. The relationship between the substitute referent and the target item can be superordinate, subordinate or at the same hierarchical level. When using an analytic strategy, the speaker analyses the concept into its constituent features. Conceptual strategies include product-oriented categories e.g. approximation, circumlocution and semantic word-coinage are included in linguistic/code strategies.

Bialystok (1990) proposes two types of strategies in order to develop a psychologically plausible system of CS: analysis-based strategies and control-based strategies. The former involve attempts to manipulate the intended concept by examining analysed linguistic and conceptual knowledge, e.g., by providing a definition. Bialystok includes in this category some types of strategies identified by the traditional product-oriented approach, such as, circumlocution, literal translation; semantic word-coinage, and mime. The latter are used when the learner switches attention from the linguistic system being used to another representational system so that it is possible to convey the information relevant to the identity of the intended concept to achieve the same communicative function, for example by

language-switch or by changing from verbal to non-verbal communication.

Obviously, the two taxonomies have their similarities and differences in how they categorise strategies derived from the product-oriented approach. For example, mime in the Nijmegen group's taxonomy was classified into the conceptual category while into both control-based and analysis-based categories in Bialystok's approach. The difficulty resulting from Bialystok's approach lies in the suitability for classification of CS rather than in the theoretical basis of the control vs. analysis processing. According to Poulisse (1993), the Nijmegen group's taxonomy is psychologically plausible, compatible with Bialystok's (1990) two-component model of language processing, but it gave insufficient thought to the process involved in speech production carried out on the bilingual lexicon and second language speech data. It shows that holistic conceptual strategies and transfer strategies represent the same psychological processes. Therefore, Poulisse proposes a new and modified taxonomy of compensatory strategies in which there are three types of CS: substitution strategies, substitution plus and reconceptualization strategies. However, Kellerman and Bialystok (1997) argue that Poulisse's tripartite model seems not able to distinguish between substitution and reconceptualization strategies. Based on the Nijmegen taxonomy, Littlemore (2001) describes analytic conceptual strategies as description-based strategies but holistic conceptual strategies as comparison-based strategies. Her study demonstrates that individual differences in patterns of CS use can be attributed to cognitive style.

Based on Yule and Tarone's (1991) call for a return to the 'more humble approach' of describing both input and learner performance in action, and avoiding untested assumptions that come into play when making claims about language acquisition, this study takes the interactional perspective and adopts the CA approach in an attempt to

describe NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners' use of CS in 'naturally occurring' interaction, and to look at both sides of the conversational exchange. As a consequence, only the classification of CS in the product-oriented approach will be discussed in this section. Therefore, only the taxonomies of CS categorized by Tarone (1977, 1980), Faerch and Kasper (1983a, 1983b), Tarone and Yule (1987), and Dornyei and Scott (1995) will be reviewed here.

In Tarone's (1977) early work, CS are regarded as 'mean' or 'verbal or non-verbal plans' used to compensate for gaps in communication, and also as any solution to problems of linguistic competency . Accordingly, she has classified CS into five major categories, which are intended to overcome the differences between the learner's and native speaker's linguistic knowledge. These are: paraphrase, conscious transfer, appeal for assistance, avoidance and mime. They are summarized below:

1. **Paraphrase:** refers to the rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable, target language construction, in order to avoid a more difficult form or construction.

   Paraphrase is subdivided into:

(1) approximation – the learner uses a single target language vocabulary item or structure. Although s/he knows it is not correct, it shares enough semantic features as the desired item to satisfy the speaker (e.g. pipe for waterpipe).

(2) word coinage – the learner invents a new word in order to communicate a desired concept (e.g. airball for balloon).

(3) circumlocution – the learner describes the properties or characteristics of the object or action rather than use the appropriate target language item or structure (e.g. 'it's oval and shiny').

2. **Conscious transfer:** involves translating words from the native language or the use of

a native language term. It is subdivided into:

(1) literal translation – the learner translates word for word from her/his native language (e.g. He invites him to drink, for They toast one another).

(2) language switch – the learner switches her/his language code into her/his L1.

3. **Appeal for assistance:** the learner explicitly requests the correct term (e.g. 'What is this?).

4. **Avoidance:** the learner decides not to say anything in order to avoid communication problems. There are two possibilities:

(1) topic avoidance – the learner tries to totally evade communication about topics for which the target language item or structure is not known.

(2) message abandonment – the learner starts to refer to an object but is unable to continue, and gives up mid-way because it is too difficult.

5. **Mime:** the learner uses non-verbal strategies to replace lexical items or actions (e.g. clapping one's hands to illustrate applause).

In a subsequent discussion, Tarone (1980) introduces an interactional perspective in which CS "are seen as tools used in a joint negotiation of meaning where both interlocutors are attempting to agree as to a communicative" (p.420). This expands on her previous (1977) learner-focused definition of CS. This perspective allows Tarone to include as CS those strategies that are used to clarify the meaning of both learners' and interlocutors' speech (e.g. clarification requests, or comprehension checks) in addition to those used to correct forms. Tarone and Yule (1987) identify three new types of CS: repetition, explication and over-explicitness. They are illustrated below:

1. **Repetition:** occurs when the learner tries to find a word or phrase to convey the message.

2. **Explication:** the speaker provides an alternative identifying term to reinforce the

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first term used.

3. **Over-explicitness:** the speaker divides the event sequence into sets of actions involving each individual character. It refers to the greater use of detail in an attempt to make sure that everything observed is presented to the listener.

The CS identified by Tarone, and Yule are summarized in Charts 1 and 2.

The idea that CS can be 'verbal' or 'nonverbal devices' that are employed by learners to compensate for gaps in communication is also reflected in Faerch and Kasper's (1983b) taxonomy. They locate CS in a model of speech production, which has two phases. The first is a planning phase in which an individual experiences a problem in constructing a plan which s/he considers an appropriate mean for reaching her/his goal; the second is an execution phase where the learner may anticipate or experience problems in the execution of a plan. When faced with problems in communication, learners might either avoid them, which leads to a change of the communicative goal and 'reduction strategies', or face problems and thus develop an alternative plan, which leads to 'achievement strategies'. Reduction strategies are subdivided into 'formal reduction' and 'function reduction'. In 'formal reduction', the learner communicates by means of a system that has been phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, or lexically reduced, while 'function reduction' involves a reduced communicative goal to avoid the problem.

Besides Tarone's (1977) 'topic avoidance' and 'message abandonment', Faerch and Kasper (1983a, 1983b) also include 'meaning replacement' as a functional reduction. The use of a 'meaning replacement' strategy implies a more general reference to the subject. Achievement strategies can either be focused on solving problems in the planning phase due to insufficient linguistic resources ('compensatory strategies'), or on

obtaining the required term, ('retrieval strategies'). The subtypes of 'compensatory strategies' are based on a different code ('code switching' and 'interlingual transfer'), a different code and the interlanguage (IL) code simultaneously ('inter-/intralingual transfer'), the IL code exclusively ('generalization', 'paraphrase', 'word coinage' and 'restructuring), discourse phenomena ('cooperative strategies') and non-linguistic communication ('mime' and 'gestures'). 'Generalization', 'paraphrase' and 'word coinage' correspond approximately to Tarone's 'approximation', 'circumlocution' and 'word coinage' respectively. The typology of Faerch and Kasper's (1983a, 1983b) CS is shown in Chart 3.

Nevertheless, there are some major organizational flaws in Faerch and Kasper's taxonomy. Firstly, there is no clear distinction between reduction strategies and achievement strategies at the organizational level; that is, whether they are equally or hierarchically organized. Actually, a close examination at a lower organizational level suggests that achievement strategies constitute a subset of reduction strategies. Secondly, if "the learner says almost what he wants to say about a given topic" (Faerch and Kasper, 1983a, p.44) can be equated to using an alternative way to express one's meaning, then message replacement should not be classified as a reduction strategy but as an achievement as pointed out by Poulisse (1990). Additionally, as argued by Rampton (1997), 'avoidance' and 'achievement' strategies don't actually include all of the ways in which people overcome the difficulties that they experience using an L2, for example, L2 learners usually react with hostility to the problematic communicative situations they encounter, i.e., they might use hostility strategies such as hostile silence or resistance to respond to the problematic communicative situation.

Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) provide a more detailed classification system of strategies. Apart from the implicit recognition of the achievement-reduction duality, they categorize CS as being direct, indirect and interactional, according to the manner of problem-management. Direct strategies involve speakers' providing an alternative, manageable, and self-contained means of getting the (sometimes modified) meaning across, such as circumlocution to compensate for the lack of a word. Most traditional CS which have been identified fall under this category (Dornyei and Scott, 1997, p.198). Indirect strategies function as facilitating the conveyance of meaning indirectly by creating the conditions in order to achieve mutual understanding; that is, to avoid breakdowns and keep the communication channel open, or indicate less-than-accurate forms. In interactional strategies, participants perform trouble-shooting exchanges cooperatively, such as, appealing

for and granting help, or requesting for and providing clarification. Therefore, they may arrive at a mutual understanding by successfully executing both parts of the exchange. Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) also relate these three main categories to four types of communication problems: resource deficit, processing time pressure, own-performance problems, and other-performance problems. The CS identified by Dorneyi and Scott (1995a, 1995b) are summarized in Chart 4.

In general, researchers of CS agree that the main purpose of CS use is to manage communication problems. The only exception is that Canale (1983) extends the scope of CS to include communication-enhancing devices. According to Dornyei and Scott (1997), communication-enhancing strategies are not problem-solving devices. Therefore, they should be treated separately. CS literature recognizes a basic duality in strategy use: 'achievement strategies' and 'reduction strategies'. The former are utilized by L2 learners in an attempt to convey the intended message by expanding their communicative resources. The latter, on the other hand, employed by L2 learners attempt to solve problems in communication by changing or reducing their original communicative goals. Although Tarone (1980) considers CS to be tools used not only to simply correct linguistic form, but also to clarify intended meaning, she herself never extends the scope of her CS taxonomy to include interactional trouble-shooting mechanisms. However, Dornyei and Scott's (1995a, 1995b) interactional strategies, which include various repair mechanisms to clarify the intended meaning, make Tarone's (1980) interactional perspective on CS more complete and specific.

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5.3 Taxonomy of CS Developed from Sequential Analyses of Stories by NS and NNS

CS are generally regarded as attempts to solve problems in communication. The literature review in Chapter 2 shows that researchers have explicitly suggested that the application of CS implies the notion of problem. Therefore, an orientation toward problem-solving has become the primary criterion for CS. Since language use is fundamentally a joint activity, conversationalists manage the problems they encounter by monitoring and repairing them as they may arise individually and collaboratively. In this study, CS are employed by both NS and NNS not only to handle problems of resource deficit, but also to achieve participant engagement, co-ordinate actions with a current speaker's and reach mutual understanding.

Mandarin-speaking learners of English in this study are attempting to communicate using English, which is their L2. This situation is different from that of children learning their first language. In learning the first language, mental and social developments go hand in hand with language development. L2 learners, unlike L1 children, constantly seek to express things for which they do not have the means in the L2 language. Although they lack wide-ranging vocabulary, control of grammar and discourse skills, they may draw on every kind of resource available to communicate. On the basis of sequential analyses of the narratives involving NS and NNS in section 4.2, communication problems encountered by NS and NNS have been identified and resolved through the application of CS during on-going interactions. The narrative related by NS (Appendix 2) in the present study was a more extended series of incidents occurring during a boat trip on the Amazon River, while the story by NNS (Appendix 3) involved an incident on a motorcycle. The motorbike narrative led to their co-participants making

contributions to affirm the speaker's role or signal appreciation of the scary nature of the incident.

This section will focus on the identification of the types of CS used by NS and NNS in order to resolve difficulties in communication, or to achieve their communicative goals. The typology was developed from the sequential analyses in section 4.2, and the extracts used to discuss the display of CS in this section are also drawn from section 4.2. They are presented again for the convenience of the reader. In addition, any similarities or differences in the categories of CS use between NS and NNS will also be illustrated and examined.

In what follows CS are employed by NS and NNS:

I. to achieve participant engagement, in which the use of CS includes: confirmation checks.

II. to co-ordinate actions with a current speaker's, in which CS use involves: clarification requests, backchannels, the 'fishing' strategy: laughter, collaborative overlaps and interruptions.

III. to reach mutual understanding, in which CS use comprises the repetition strategy, hedge markers/vague expressions, feature analysis, the reassembly strategy, synonyms, the appealling strategy, coinage, code-switching, the preface strategy, the foreground strategy and the time-gaining strategy: pauses.

These strategies will be discussed and illustrated in more detail as follows.

I. To achieve participant engagement

In order to enhance the achievement of participant engagement, the speaker employs confirmation checks as a CS.

(i) Confirmation Checks

The term 'confirmation checks' has been used in previous research on interactional adjustments. They are used to describe speakers' utterances which seek to confirm understanding or hearing the information contained in an interlocutor's previous utterance (Long, 1981; Pica and Doughty, 1985). In other words, confirmation checks are defined as any expressions by the speaker immediately following an utterance by the interlocutor. They are designed to elicit confirmation that the interlocutor's utterance has been correctly heard or understood by the speaker.

The confirmation checks in this study are addressed to both one's own talk and to another's talk. The speaker's questions address issues that extend far beyond the immediately preceding utterance, so they are defined as utterances seeking confirmation of anything contained in the speaker's entire preceding speech. They involve not only the check of the listeners' hearing or understanding, but also the transfer of a role of a story teller. More than that, they are utilized by the speaker in an attempt to establish the scene setting for her/his narrative. In addition, in spite of the fact that confirmation checks are used to superficially relinquish the conversation floor by the speaker, s/he, in fact, employs them to also draw her/his inference. This is considerably broader than the definitions contained in earlier studies, in that it either hinges on the confirmation or disconfirmation of information in the common domain (though see Woken and Swales, 1989) or is designed to elicit confirmation that the interlocutor's utterance has been correctly heard or understood by the speaker (Long,1983).

The following extracts will display how the story teller attempts to achieve participant achievement through the use of the type structure of a confirmation check. Its function can be categorized as follows: (A) to nominate one of her/his participants as the next story teller, (B) to establish a scene setting for her/his narrative adequate to the needs of her story recipients, or (C) to draw his inference and to reinitiate a story for his participant in an attempt to manage the transition to the next story teller.

(A) to nominate the next story teller

Extract (1) shows that, the speaker attempts to achieve participant engagement by employing a confirmation check as an implied invitation to nominate her/his participant as the next story teller.

(1)

1. →**Rh:** it was like (.)Ha ha ( ) got you there (3.0) you ↓Haven't Don:e
2. → (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <
3. **RI:** ↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could
4. that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English
5. now [(0.5)] that brought to MInd (laugh through) =
6. **Others:** [((chuckle))]
7. **RI:** = er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8. was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to

Ralph seems to provide an opportunity for Rachel to self-nominate as a story narrator by the device of a confirmation check when he describes how terrified he was of rafting on the dangerous whitewater:

→ 1: *you Haven't Don:e (1.5)*
→ 2: *sailing or rafting or > anything like that <*

Instead of only checking his participants' understanding of his previous talk: 'rafting on the dangerous whitewater', Ralph seeks to pass the floor to them. Probably, due to the emergence of a tacit convention that the person next to the current speaker should take up the next turn, Ralph attempts to create an opportunity for Rachel to self-nominate as the next story teller by using a confirmation check. This can be regarded as an implied invitation to ask Rachel to take on the story teller role and the topic. The use of the type structure of a confirmation check allows Ralph to achieve the transfer of the story teller role to Rachel, but in a way which minimizes pressure on Rachel.

(B) to set up a scene setting

By using a confirmation check, the speaker seeks to establish a scene setting for her/his narrative adequate to the needs of her story recipients, as shown in extract (2).

(2)

21.	**Rl:**	(0.5) .hhh WHat we had to do was go to
22.		visit this (.) like (0.5) um NAtive Indian village
23.		on the Other side(1.0)
24.	→	DIdju GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5) (look at Claire)
25.	**Ce:**	A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5)
26.	**Rl:**	So we PRObably went to exactly the same place (.)

Rachel may have entered this conversation with initial assumptions that Claire has been to the jungle too, as evidenced by Claire's positive response later in line 25. In order to set up a theme for her story, Rachel is making assessments on how much information adequate for her participants with which she needs to provide. Therefore, she inserts a confirmation check into her ongoing utterance:

→ 24: *DIdju you GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5)*

In this case, she is able to establish shared understanding and knowledge of the context with her participants so as to construct a scene setting for her story. Knowing that Claire has probably been to the same place as she has, she becomes more conscious of her description of her narrative. For example, she describes the village she visited first as the 'native Indian village', then as 'a tourist attraction', and finally 'the native Ecuadorian jungle inhabitant'. Therefore, the use of a confirmation check on her participants' presence in the Amazon allows Rachel to adjust, repair or reshape her on-going story accordingly. Rachel's embedded confirmation check functioning as a CS enables her to establish a scene setting to shape her narrative, and to seek her participant's alignment and support during her extended turn, instead of only eliciting confirmation that her talk has been correctly heard or understood by her participants.

(C) to draw an inference and reinitiate a story

In extract (9), Ralph employs a confirmation check as a CS to draw his inference and to reinitiate a story for his participant in an attempt to manage the transition to the next story teller.

(9)

80. **Rh:** = we couldn't get them to go strAIght (0.5) =
81. **Rl:** ((laughter))
82. →**Rh:** = were you actually PAddling
83. **Rl:** NO: we just had (.) ONe guide { } ( )
84. **Rh:** HE PRObably
85. could (0.5) do more than the rest of you put together

Ralph tries to describe the efforts they made in order to get the canoe to move forward. Instead, they spin around. Following Rachel's laughter in line 81, Ralph returns the floor to her by using a confirmation check in an interrogative format:

→ 82: *were you actually PAddling*

Ralph utilizes it as a CS both to draw his inference from Rachel's response and to evaluate the paddling performance, because he assumes that the reason they could not move forward is with regard to their paddling. On the other hand, Ralph employs a confirmation check as a CS to reinitiate a story which Rachel told earlier. His confirmation check may function as an implied invitation to ask Rachel to take on the story teller role. Therefore, through the use of a confirmation check, Ralph is able to manage the transition to the next story teller by reinitiating a story for Rachel to make her contribution to align with his talk.

In comparison, referring immediately to NNS data, it is worth noting that NNS do not transfer a role of the story teller to their participants, or draw an inference by using the type structure of a confirmation check. It seems that the emergence of tacit convention may also be identified as a way for the NNS group to transfer the turn to the next door person to take the story teller role. In addition, Lily does not use a confirmation check to establish any kind of scene setting adequate to her participants' needs for her story by using a confirmation check. If examined closely, Lily, in fact, has many opportunities for using confirmation checks to set up a story theme for her narrative to achieve participant engagement. For example, when she starts relating that she works at the bank five years ago:

→ 14: *I think it's five years ago(2.0) just just start (1.0)*
→ 15: *working on the (.) in BA:nk (2.0) got in the fir:st (1.0)wha:*

she could have inserted a confirmation check by asking her participants: 'do you remember I worked at the bank five years ago?' or 'did I tell you that I worked at the bank five years ago?' In this case, she may be able to set up a scene for her story, and then she

could adjust or reshape her narrative. However, due to the limitations imposed by her linguistic competence in the L2, she concentrates her efforts and attention only on how to express her intended meaning, or convey her message to her participants in spontaneous speech, despite an inadequate grasp of the target language. Therefore, she does not employ confirmation checks as a CS to achieve participant engagement. By contrast, Rachel, an NS, who can always have at her disposal the language of English, focuses on remembering the occurrence of her story, and attempts to present it to her participants as amusing, entertaining, or terrifying. Through the device of confirmation checks, NS are able to enhance the achievement of participant engagement.

II. To co-ordinate actions with a current speaker's.

In order to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker's, participants attempt to use clarification requests, backchannels, laughter, collaborative overlaps and interruptions as CS.

(i) Clarification Requests

The term 'clarification requests' is borrowed from the literature on interactional modifications in second language learner conversations (Long, 1981; Pica and Doughty, 1985). They are defined as any expression by a speaker designed to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance(s). This is similar to confirmation checks, and the definition of clarification requests in this study is broader than that of the previous studies. In this study, clarification requests can be addressed to another's talk simply because they presume a lack of understanding in what another has said. Therefore, they are defined as utterances or expressions requesting clarification or explanation of anything contained in

the whole preceding spoken discourse.

It may be difficult to distinguish confirmation checks from clarification requests. The two types of questions can be especially difficult to differentiate because they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, one reason why people might check their reception of another's utterance (a confirmation check) is that it is unclear to them (a clarification request). However, there are differences in these two categories. Firstly, according to Schiffrin (1994), confirmation checks can be addressed either to one's own talk or to another's talk, while clarification requests are addressed only to another's talk, simply because they presume there is a lack of understanding in what another has said.

Secondly, from a repair perspective, Schiffin (1987) observes that the use of contrastive stress on an item which is identified as a repairable can differentiate clarification checks from confirmation requests. Finally, the results of Williams, et al. (1997) suggest that if a response is presented with information for the listener to confirm, it would be classified as a confirmation check. Clarification requests do not present the listener with information to respond to. However, in this study, a clarification request involves participants' request from the speaker for clarifying a topic, which is new but relevant to the speaker's previous one.

Via the device of a clarification request, the story recipient displays her/his understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story in an attempt to co-ordinate her/his actions with the current speaker, as shown in extract (4).

(4)

146. RI: were FAlling out an' the WHOLE boat's SCREA:MING (.)
147. an' I just kept trying to tell them to shut up 'cause I really
148. didn't think it's HElping the situation ((laugh through))

149. (0.5) .hhh AN' ↑THEN (.) ((chuckling)) =
150.→ Rh: were (.) were they enjoying
151.→ it Or were they { }
152. Rl: = oh yeah well I absolutely lovedit

Rachel describes her boat trip on the Amazon River and presents it as a form of near disaster story. Her laughter is embedded as an activity within the continuing turn. This may signal to her participants how to respond and regard the unfolding story, in this case, as an amusing one. Ralph takes this as a 'cue' to show his understanding of Rachel's narrative, and then overlaps Rachel's chuckling by inserting into the ongoing narrative a request for clarification:

→ 150: *were (.) were they enjoying*
→ 151: *it Or were they { }*

Through the device of a clarification request into the extended speaking turn, Ralph displays his understanding of the ongoing talk and appreciation of the overall point of the story (i.e. the contrast between enjoyment and fear).

Referring to Lily's case in the NNS data, there is a similarity between NS and NNS in the use of a clarification request as a CS to show their interest and appreciation of the overall point of the story in order to display their co-ordination with each other's actions. This extract drawn from NNS data illustrates this as below:

99. L: after that (.) my dad didn't allow me to rid a bi:cycle (2.0)
100. motorbike (1.0) sorry that's why after ( )
101. J: do ↑you have a (2.0)
102. motorbike ↑license
103. L: (1.0) yes I got just boughtit (0.5) just I { }

Lily says that her father has not allowed her to ride a motorbike after she had the car

accident. Subsequently Jane interrupts her by requesting a clarification, which partially overlaps with Lily's unclear utterance:

→	100:	**L**	*motorbike (1.0) sorry that's why after* [( )
→	101:	**J**	[*do ↑you have a (2.0)*]
→	102:		*motorbike ↑license*

By using a clarification request as a CS, Jane initiates a topic: 'motorbike driver license', which is new but relevant to Lily's prior topic 'motorbike crash'. This signals her interest, and conveys her involvement in the narrative events and their effects. As a result, this not only results in the shift of the topic to 'not having a motorbike driver license', but also triggers off a significant subsequent response, and active discussion provoked by story recipients in the form of overlaps, interruptions and laughter.

It is noticeable that whether they are NS or NNS, participants co-ordinate their actions with their speaker by using clarification requests as CS to elicit more information to support their speakers' extend turn, and demonstrate their collaboration, high level of involvement and co-participation.

(ii) Backchannels

Listener responses are aptly named *backchannels* by Yngve (1970) who reports his observations on the backchannel phenomenon in English conversation. The term indicates that there exist two channels in conversation that operate simultaneously. The speaker sends messages through the 'main' channel, while the listener gives useful information without claiming the floor over the 'back' channel. The term backchannel includes nonverbal forms, e.g., head nods, smile and eye contact etc., and verbal expressions, such as 'm-hm', 'uh huh' and yeah' etc., but this study will examine only

vocal responses. According to White's (1989), and Dittmann and Llewellyn's (1968) studies, visual and auditory backchannels tend to co-occur at roughly the same points. Therefore, in the light of these findings and the practical difficulties and obtrusiveness of videotaping as opposed to audiotaping, nonverbal responses were not taken into consideration for this study.

Backchanneling is a significant discourse activity. In fact, a successful conversation requires active collaboration by both the speaker and the listener. When communication proceeds, one of the listener's responsibilities is to facilitate conversation by making contingent comments or by asking questions (Hess and Johnston 1988). If the listener does not want to capture the communication channel, she/he may choose to provide nonintrusive feedback, such as backchannels. 'Backchannel' feedback implies that the listener abandons a turn to allow the speaker an opportunity to provide more information, while commenting on her/ his own ability to follow the topic development. The definition of 'backchannels' used in this study is short, verbal expression, and lexical repetitions of the current speaker produced by participants who are primarily playing listeners' roles during the primary speaker's speakership. This general trend emerged in the pattern of backchannel responses associated with various speaker cues. Therefore, participants may utilize the strategy of backchannels to signal their attentiveness, their receipt of the message, comprehension, interest and encouragement so as to co-ordinate with the speaker's actions. This seems to indicate participants' awareness of the reciprocity needed for successful interaction.

The functions of backchannels in this study used by participants as a CS to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker's talk are observed as follows:

(A) continuer marker

From Schegloff's (1982, p.80) point of view, backchannel tokens such as 'uh', 'hum' etc. are treated as 'continuers'. This implies that they serve to pass an opportunity to the current speaker, and signals that the listener expects the primary speaker to continue talking. Extract (3) shows that the participant uses backchannels as a CS to signal the speaker to continue her/his talk.

(3)

32. RI: = but TO GEt there you had to get on to this little
33. sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out
34. tree trunk { } [WE HA:d about
35. Rh: Oh we did th[at
36. RI: = eight people in it (1.0)
37. Ce: ↑yeah
38. RI: = WEll we wanted to get from there to THEre (.)

Rachel describes her canoe trip which included eight people. Her description of the eight people in the canoe is followed by a one-second pause, which is taken as a possible TRP. Claire then takes this opportunity to show her continued attentiveness to Rachel's narrative by using a collaborative backchannel, as the token of a continuer:

→ 36 RI: = *eight people in it (1.0)*
→ 37: Ce: *↑yeah*
→ 38: RI: = *WEll we wanted to get from there to THEre (.)*

This signals that Claire not only is interested in Rachel's talk and expects Rachel to continue her narrative, but also validates Rachel's statement that a dug-out tree trunk canoe can accommodate eight people, because Claire has been there too, as evidenced by her prior turn in line 25: ' A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5)'.

(B) acknowledgement of message

Backchannels serve not only as a continuer, but also as the recognition of familiar information and to acknowledge of message, shown as extract (1)

(1)

7. **Rl:** = er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8. was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to
9. Ecuador (1.0) { }
10. → **Others** Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:
11. → **Rh:** Yeah[yay
12. **Rl:** I went to]
13. Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent

When Rachel mentions the trip she once took to Ecuador, her co-participants mark their recognition with the initiation of 'Ohh', a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984), followed by repeated backchannels in excited and enthusiastic tone of voices:

→ 10: *Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:*

This implies not only that her co-participants acknowledgement of the receipt of her message, and validate her role being a story-teller, but also that they may know that Rachel has been to the Amazon, and then encourage her to talk. Another point is that it may indicate that some of them have experienced similar adventures to that of Rachel, as evidenced by Claire's response to Rachel's confirmation check. Their backchannels function not only to facilitate a successful conversation, but also to indicate that they may recognize, and acknowledge the receipt of the message.

When referring to the NNS data, through the use of backchannels as CS, NNS participants also co-ordinate their actions with the current speaker in order to show their acknowledgement of the receipt of a message, and their encouragement to continue telling the narrative, as shown in the following extracts.

20. our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
21. catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike
22. because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =
23. →**Others:** mm m-hm
24. **L:** = go to work so (1.0) I just (1.5) I JUst (1.0) I JUst (1.0) I JUst
25. (1.0) don't want me (.) rid bicycle (.) BI- (0.5) MOtorbike I mean (0.5)
26. because there lots of (0.5) uh a:cci (1.0) accident =
27. →**J:** Hm [m
28. →**P:** [mm

Lily describes the reason why the bank manager told her father that she needs to ride a motorbike to work just like most of the people do at the bank. Following Lily's one-second pause in line 22, her participants take this opportunity to display their collaborative feedback by uttering '*mm m-hm*':

→ 22: **L** *because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =*
→ 23: **Others** *mm m-hm*

This functions as a backchannel to signal their acknowledgement and encouragement to her telling of the incident. Upon the completion of her participants' backchannels, Lily proceeds with her talk. This seems to generally be the case as in lines 27 and 28:

→ 26: **L** *because there lots of (0.5) uh a:cci (1.0) accident =*
→ 27: **J** *Hm [m*
→ 28: **P** *[mm*

in which Jane's backchannel partially overlaps with Paul's to signal their interest and comprehension of her message that the high frequency of accidents is her father's main concern for not buying her a motorbike; on the other hand, their backchannel token serves as a 'continuer', which implies they do not seem to claim the floor.

Another example shows the same use of backchannels.

29. L: = so (.) AFter one (0.5) I think one month (2.0.) I thought (.)
30. I really need one (0.5) because this (.) this is not very (.)
31. convenience for me (1.0) because (.) all time (0.5) my
32. COlleague (0.5) give me a LIft (1.0) so (2.0) so they decide:d
33. to (2.0) offer me a bike (.) motorbike =
34. J: hmm

Similarly, Lily attempts to explain that her father finally decided to buy her a motorcycle due to the inconvenience to her. Subsequently Jane's use of the backchannel token 'hmm' acknowledges the receipt of Lily's message, and shows her understanding of the situation in which Lily needs to have a motorbike for work.

(C) validation

Another characteristic backchannel function is to display the listeners' validation or support to the current speaker's statement so that they may align themselves with her/him, as illustrated in extract (7).

(7)
44. RI: distance of this room (.) .hh an' we went MI:les
45. in that direction just to get SUcked all the way
46. [back up] (1.0) an' I was like terrified that there's =
47. →Rh: [Ha ha]
48. RI: = going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA[:nhas (.)] =
49. →Rh: [Oh right]
50. RI: = an' ALL: an' LEEcl[E:s (1.0)] =
51. →Rh: [LEEches]
52. RI: = ~~OU...:~~gh (.) just loads of horrible things (.)

When Rachel relates how they were pulled back up the stream by the strong current, Ralph responds immediately with laughter, which overlaps with Rachel's words 'back up':

→ 45: **Rl** *in that direction just to get SUcked all the way*
→ 46: [*back up*] *(1.0)* an' I was like terrified that there's
→ 47: **Rh** [*Ha ha*]

Ralph's laughter, in fact, serves as a backchannel, showing that he validates Rachel's scary experience of getting sucked back up the river by the strong current. He is empathetic with Rachel's emotions while in the terrifying, exciting, and dangerous situation, because he had had a similar experience to that of Rachel. This is made apparent in his previous turn in line 35: "↑Oh we did that".

Rachel starts to tell her participants why she was frightened and lists some aquatic creatures. Her utterance 'piranhas' partially overlaps with Ralph's second backchannel: 'Oh right':

→ 46: **Rl** [*back up*] *(1.0) an' I was like terrified that there's =*
→ 47: **Rh** [*Ha ha*]
→ 48: **Rl** *= going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA:[nhas (.)*
→ 49: **Rh** [*Oh right*]

This co-ordinates to his first backchannel 'Ha ha', and shows Rachel that her message is being received appropriately after her additional information is provided. Ralph's response: 'Oh right', which is an equivalent backchanneling device to 'Oh yeah', signals that he agrees with Rachel and validates her statement that there were snakes and piranhas in the water. By using the backchannel 'Oh right', Ralph shows his co-ordination with Rachel's actions.

Afterwards, Rachel adds one more example of some terrifying water creatures to her list: 'LEEchE:s'. At this point, Ralph joins in by repeating Rachel's utterance 'leeches', and partially overlaps with Rachel. In this case, Ralph's repetition may be seen as

another form of feedback response to Rachel. The repetition Ralph provides may also serve as his backchannel to validate Rachel' statement that leeches are also worrying creatures in the water. On the other hand, by the use of the repetition of the current speaker's words as a backchannel token, Ralph signals his interest in the conversation, and his enthusiasm for engaging in the discourse.

It is notable to note that Ralph shows his active participation by giving special feedback signals such as: 'Ha ha', 'Oh right', and collaborative repetition 'leeches'. In this instance, collaborative repetition functions as a form of backchannelling, which indicates his high level of involvement with, and support for the speaker in the conversation by validating the speaker's statement. This same feature of using backchannels can also be found in the NNS data, as shown in the following extract.

39. L: sitting (1.0) my back (0.5) so (1.0) when we >TAlk talking
40. talking just (.) < one (1.0) CAR (1.0) just try to =
41. P: mm
42. L: = he wants to CROoss road (0.5)to uh side of (.) restaurant
43. so (0.5) I wasn't see that (1.0) so (0.5) SUDdenly =
44. P: Mm
45. L: = we CRAshed (2.0) =
46. P: /ɻ/ Ohhh
47. L: = my GOsh (0.5) =
48. P: Ohh

Lily tries to explain to her participants why the motorbike crash happened to her. When she stresses the key elements of her narrative, such as "CAR" (line 40), "CRAshed" (line 45) and "GOsh" (line 47), Paul is apparently able to predict the outcome of the story, and comes in to signify this by the use of backchannels, such as "mm" (line 41), "Mm"

(line 44), "/ɻ / Ohhh" (line 46) and "Ohh" (line 48). In sum, Paul, the listener, uses backchannels as a CS to respond to Lily, the primary speaker, to signal his acknowledgement, comprehension, and sympathy with her message. Moreover, by the device of his feedback behaviour – backchannels, Paul not only displays his collaborative feedback, and but also co-ordinates his actions with Lily's. The use of backchannels enables Paul to create and maintain a smooth, harmonious and co-ordinated English conversation.

What is noticeable here is that during course of conversation, Paul, the American-English speaker, produces a fairly large number of backchannels. The Mandarin participants except Jane, by contrast, seldom give any backchannel response. According to Tao and Thompson's (1991) study, Mandarin makes much less frequent use of backchannels as a conversation strategy than does English. Additionally, Mandarin speakers hardly ever use a backchannel token within another speaker's turn, whereas English speakers often overlap other speaker's turn with their backchannel token. As noted above, the findings of this study are consistent with Tao and Thompson's observation that Mandarin speakers, unlike English speakers, seldom use backchannels as continuers and tend not to overlap their primary speaker's turn. Two explanations are provided here. The first possible explanation for the infrequency of Mandarin speakers to use backchannel tokens may be culturally specific. Chinese people are taught when they are young that it is impolite to interrupt the current speaker during the conversation, especially to interrupt the older or higher status members of the community in the public setting. In other words, it is expected and important that they keep silent, without using any backchannel tokens, to pay respect to the current speaker during their interaction with one another. The second possible explanation is that the low frequency of backchanneling may be constrained by the lack of fluency of the Mandarin participants in English. It can be understood that Paul, the

American and Jane, the Mandarin investigator of this study, are more attuned to the requirements of a harmonious English conversation, and further, may be in a positive and superior position to make contributions to the development of a co-ordinated conversation. Therefore, they desire to encourage Lily, the reticent Mandarin interlocutor, to continue talking and to indicate their comprehension, especially since Mandarin participants are not fluent speakers of English and certainly do not have strong confidence in their English skill. As a consequence, Paul and Jane, use the listener responses - backchannels as a CS – more often than the other participants.

One way this study differs over the previous investigation is in the way it categorizes backchannels. Tao and Thompson (1991) treat the English non-lexical verbal expressions *aha, uh huh, mhm, yeah* primarily as typical backchannels tokens. In this study, besides the backchannel tokens mentioned above, they are understood to include as well the use of other expressions, such as, the voiceless alveolar click: '/ ǂ / ' and various kind of extended exclamation: 'Ohhh', which function as CS to indicate the sorrow and sympathy for her/his interlocutor.

(iii) 'Fishing' Strategy – Laughter

According to Jefferson's (1979; 1985; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff, 1987) observations, laughter is a finely co-ordinated interactional phenomenon when it occurs in talk-in-interaction. Most laughing that occurs in talk is not oriented to 'one at a time'. As Jefferson (1979) suggests, there seems to be an orientation toward laughing together rather than alone. This signals rapport between speakers who use laughter actively to create interpersonal involvement. Moreover, laughter may function as an interactional strategy of 'fishing' (Pomerantz ,1980). Pomerantz points out that speakers may

indirectly request for information by providing a factual report on the relevant events viewed from their point of view in order to 'invite' the recipient to provide the sought-after information by telling their side of events. Therefore, the first laugh token may be signaled as an 'invitation' to elicit or 'fish' the others' join in laughing.

As the following analysis in extract (5) shows, Ralph and his participants co-ordinate a matched response with their laughing to indicate their alignment and understanding.

(5)

64. **Rh:** they've also got a variety of FLY
65. that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will
66. lay its eggs in your open [wound ( )
67. → **JD:** [A:hhh !
68. → **RI:** [WArgh::! [((laughter))
69. → **Rh:** ((laughter))
70. → **Others:** [((laughter))]

Following his participants' exaggerated exclamations and laughter in lines 67 and 68, Ralph shows that he agrees that the condition was unpleasant by laughing. What occurs immediately after Ralph's laughter is his participants' join in, overlapping each other's laughter with their own:

→ 68: **RI** WArgh::! [((laughter))
→ 69 **Rh** ((laughter))
→ 70: **Others** [((laughter))]

Ralph's laughter signals to his participants how to regard his narrative. As a result, his participants then know that the appropriate way to react is with laughter. In other words, his own laughter elicits the laughter of his participants. In this sense, Ralph's initial laughter tokens can be seen as an 'invitation' to others to laugh as well. Intriguingly, Ralph successfully 'fishes', then elicits, the laughter of his participants. This demonstrates not only their cognitive agreement, but also their shared affect and

co-participation in this framework of action. By using the 'fishing' strategy – laughter, Ralph succeeds in co-ordinating their actions to achieve interpersonal involvement.

In comparison, referring to the NNS data, we found that via the device of laughter, the speaker and participants co-ordinate their actions with one another to display their co-participation, as shown by the following extract.

51. **L:** I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)
53. **C:** ((laugh[ter))
54. **L:** [((LAUGHter))]
55. **Others:** [((laughter))]
56. **L:** 我爲甚麼沒有飛過去呢 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))
57. **J:** [((laughter))
58. **C:** 我爲甚麼沒有飛過[去 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))
59. **P:** [it's HARd to translate that ((laughter))
60. **Others:** [((laughter))]
61. **L:** I just (.) I just (.) suddenly my (.) motor [bike]=
62. **C:** [you]thought
63. you are James Bond [((laughter))
64. **Others:** [((laughter))]

After Lily's code-switching in line 52, Connie, without being nominated in this multiparty interaction, selects herself as the next speaker and subsequently bursts out laughing:

→ 53: **C** ((laugh [ter))
→ 54: **L** [((LAUGHTER))
→ 55: **Others** [((laughter))]

Her laughter may signal that she considers Lily's way of expressing herself in Mandarin as being very funny, as evidenced from her comments later in lines 62 to 63: " you thought you are James Bond ((laughter))", in which Connie tries to display her

attentiveness as well as make a contribution to the discourse. Crucially, Connie's laughter, playing a significant part in this discourse, subsequently and successfully elicits Lily's laughter, which partially overlaps with hers. Lily may feel embarrassed and nervous after making a code-switch, but when Connie responds with laughter in line 53, which succeeds in 'inviting' Lily's laughter, Lily feels relieved and easy, as shown by partially overlapping her laughter with Connie's in line 54.

As soon as the other participants hear Connie's and Lily's co-ordinated laughter, they are subsequently able to become involved in the telling by laughing out loud to display their understanding and alignment. More generally, Lily's laughter makes her participants' laughter especially relevant as a demonstration of attention, understanding or affiliation, while laughter initiated by Connie displays her shared affect and co-participation in this framework of action. As a consequence, the mutual laughter displays a multi-party consensus about how the on-going narrative should be interpreted.

Therefore, the intricate and collaborative laughter shown by the above extracts is consistent with Jefferson's (1979, 1985, 1987) work on laughter, in particular, in the NNS data, collaborative laughter is predominant. In sum, by using the 'fishing' strategy – laughter, the speaker and her/his participants whether NS or NNS are able to finely co-ordinate their actions with one another's.

(iv) Overlaps

According to Sacks, et al., (1974), transitions from one speaker to the next may involve overlaps, in which the second speaker begins to talk just before the first speaker completes, and then continues to finish the utterance after the first speaker has completed

his/her own. Jefferson (1986) suggests that overlaps can be regarded as a byproduct of two activities: (a) a recipient starts to talk upon possible completion, while (b) the current speaker keeps going. Zimmerman and West (1975) define overlap as "instances of simultaneous speech where a speaker other than the current speaker begins to speak at or very close to a possible transition place in a current speaker's utterance" (p.114). They make a distinction between overlap and interruption, in that interruption does not occur on or near a transition place. In this study, an overlap is considered to be an instance of short simultaneous talk, in which the second speaker starts speaking at or very near a possible TRP in a current speaker's utterance of an ongoing turn. The second speaker's purpose in overlapping is to make her/his contribution, while not seizing or forcing the current speaker to drop her/his turn. The second speaker stops talking after the overlap and relinquishes the floor to the current speaker, who then appears to perfectly have the right to complete her/his talk.

Jefferson (2004) notices that overlapping talk is the preliminary indication of intense co-attention and orderliness (Schegloff, 2000), instead of a messy chaotic matter. Tannen (1990) identifies overlap as being a potentially positive feature of conversations, in particular among high-involvement speakers. It is a form of team talking or 'rapport talk' that implies support. Coates (1995) points out that where there are more than two participants, or where the participants are in very close or longstanding relationships, interaction may be relaxed, leading to a much greater degree of gap and especially overlap. For example, in family conversations or in conversations among close friends, participants may talk at the same time as a way of encouraging the main speaker (Hatch, 1992). Additionally, Hutchby and Woffitt (2001) observe that overlaps indicate collaboration amongst participants. In this study, overlapping talk indicates the recipient's active

listenership and co-participation. Participants also show alignment, support and collaboration through the use of overlapping talk.

Extract (5) shows that participants use the device of overlaps as a CS in an attempt to co-ordinate their actions with the speaker.

(5)

57. Rh: = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. → very [nasty... BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. → Rl: [BIlHArzia
63. Rh: = so (.) you you kinda get a little bit .hh (.)

Ralph attempts to describe the condition caused by the parasitic flatworms infecting snails as part of his effort to search for the scientific name of the microsopic creatures:

→ 60: Rh *what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do*
→ 61: *very [nasty... BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =*
→ 62: Rl *[BIlHArzia*

According to the 'conversation cues' Ralph provides, Rachel works out the scientific term for the microsopic creatures Ralph is referring to (Biharzia), and responds to his request for help. Rachel's utterance of the term 'Bilharzia' overlaps with Ralph's utterance: 'nasty'. This may signal that she understands his talk, and that she seeks to collaborate with, support and become involved in his ongoing narrative. Rachel's overlapping talk implies her active listenership and cooperation in the joint construction of the interaction. It helps not only to resolve the problem, but also to create a feeling of camaraderie.

Another example of using overlapping talk as a CS can be found in extract (6).

(6)

203. **RI:** I mean we WEnt to this little bit where they (0.5) kind of
204. like a zoo in the middle of the Amazon Rain Forest (0.5)
205.→ an' they HA:da (0.5) monkeys(.)[an' anteaters] =
206.→ **Ce:** [things anteaters]
207. **RI:** = an' (.) VARious (0.5) kind of caged > they WERen't
208. caged up < but they weren't like running loose sort of thing

Rachel tries to exemplify animals of the zoo in the Amazon Rain Forest. Her utterance: 'and anteaters' overlaps with Claire's: 'things anteaters':

→ 205: **RI** *an' they HA:da (0.5) monkeys(.)[an' anteaters]* =
→ 206: **Ce** *[things anteaters]*

This evidently does not just happen by chance. It is likely that Claire takes the first syllable of Rachel's utterance: 'an' as a 'cue' and simultaneously produces information almost identical to Rachel's. Their overlapping talk is closely matched both in timing and content, and may signal that both speakers are on the same 'wavelength', and are thus able to "promote the solidarity" (James and Clarke, 1992, p.289). By using the overlapping device, Claire shows her attentiveness to Rachel's narrative, and her collaboration with and support of Rachel in an attempt to co-ordinate her actions with the speaker.

When referring to the use of overlapping in the NNS data, the following extract shows that NS employ overlaps as a CS to co-ordinate their actions with the current speaker in a way similar to that of NS:

66. L: where: (.) ((laughter)) WHERE I am just (.) just (.) my
67. mo (.)mo (.) motorbike's broken(.) suddenly { } =
68. P: Wahh..
69. L: = because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the BOdy (.) just made by
70. [plastic]
71. P: [plastic]

Lily tries to explain that reason the motorbike was broken was due to the fragile plastic, out of which it was made:

→	69:	**L**	*because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the Body (.) just made by*
→	70:		[*plastic*
→	71:	**P**	*plastic*]

By using 'contextualization cues', Lily's participant, Paul, successfully projects and elicits the same word as Lily (plastic), simultaneously overlapping with her. Paul thus shows his support as well as co-ordination with the current speaker by way of the collaborative overlapping device.

It is worth noting that only a few instances in the NNS data show collaborative overlaps and are all performed by Paul, an NS, among NNS participants (except once in 1ines 166 and 167, in which the collaborative overlap is performed by an NNS). Rather than collaboratively produce an overlapping response, which is matched and finely tuned to the speaker's talk, most of the instances of overlapping in the NNS data tend to focus on individual stories, personal experiences, or evaluative comments. By contrast, the NS data shown above displays a high level of coordination among participants and collaboration with the speaker via the overlapping device.

(v) Interruptions

Another feature of simultaneous speech among high-involvement speakers is interruption. In terms of the way they are evaluated as features of interactions, interruptions tend to be traditionally viewed as rude, intrusive and disrespectful acts, conveying the interruptor's antipathy, aggression and hostility. They are correlatively

assumed to be power-oriented (Folger and Sillars, 1978; Bennett, 1981; and Murray 1987) aimed at gaining immediate control of the discourse. However, studies show that some interruptions are associated with the interactants' respective participatory rights and obligations (Agrawal, 1976; Bennett, 1981; Murray, 1985). In addition, a number of studies suggest that rapport-oriented interruptions may convey one's level of cooperation, camaraderie, or rapport with the interrupted speaker. It appears that these interruptions are triggered by the interruptors' enthusiastic interest and active involvement in the discourse. (Ervin-Tripp, 1979; Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985; Kennedy and Camden 1983). Jefferson (1986) notes that recipient start ups, for various reasons, can occur before the current speaker's utterances are in any way near completed or transition-ready. She uses a neutral term 'interjacent' to describe this incursion into the utterance in progress where the incoming speaker does not initiate talk at a possible transition space.

In this study, the discourse is performed in a collaborative style by close friends who attend the same church. Most interruptions that occurred here are viewed as acts of collaboration, cooperation, and encouragement of the development of the current speaker's talk. As a consequence, an interruption is defined as any instance of short simultaneous talk, occurring as the second speaker starts speaking at a non-possible TRP during a current speaker's utterance in an ongoing turn. The second speaker attempts to make a contribution, or to demonstrate her/his understanding of the other's point by telling mini-stories, filling in information gaps, or elaborating on her/his topic. In this case, the current speaker usually temporarily relinquishes her /his floor to the second speaker after being interrupted. The second speaker then takes this opportunity to complete her/his turn.

(A) to indicate attentiveness and enthusiastic interest

Extract (7) shows that participants indicate their attentiveness and enthusiastic interest in the conversation in order to co-ordinate with and support the speaker's talk via the use of interruptions.

(7)

52. **Rl:** = OU:::gh (.) just loads of horrible things (.)
53. an' I'm sure (.) it was all OK (1.5)
54. but (0.5) { }
55. → **Rh:** it's the LIttle creepy crawlies [though (1.0)
56. **Rl:** [Eew:::!

Rachel knows that she was safe because they were on a structured trip. Her 'but', a discourse coordinator, may indicate that she is continuing her talk and her upcoming point is in contrast with her preceding one. This provides Ralph with a conversational cue, allowing him to perceive the development of Rachel's topic. He then interrupts Rachel in order to insert his response. As a result, he performs a collaborative completion for Rachel. This implies that Ralph knows where Rachel's utterance is headed, and conveys his level of cooperation, or rapport with her, the current speaker. The use of collaborative interruptions as a CS enables Ralph not only to indicate his awareness of the development of the narrative, and enthusiastic interest in the discourse, but also his co-ordination with the speaker's actions.

(B) to perform a collaborative completion.

Another instance of the use of collaborative interruptions occurs in extract (8). By using rapport-oriented interruptions as CS in order to co-ordinate with their actions, the speaker and her/his participants are able to perform a collaborative completion (Lerner, 1991) to display their joint enthusiasm for, involvement with, and understanding of the issue at hand, as well as their contribution to the development of the dialogue. The

phenomenon of the collaborative completion is the collaborative production of a single syntactic unit, such as a sentence, by two participants who are engaged in conversation. That is, the recipient of an ongoing turn produces a completion for the current speaker, who has not completed her/his utterance.

(8)

213. **Rl:** = of mos QUItoes as well 'cause I thought (0.5) I'm not
214. going to get malaria (.) .hh { }< er:m { }
215. **Rh:** err mosquitoes are
216. awful 'cause they wait till you just go to sleep an' then
217. ((buzzing [noise))] [((laughter)) =
218. **Rl:** [an' then they STAR:t]
219. **Others:** ((laughter))]
220. **Rh:** = round your ear y' know (.) huh (.) you're awake

Ralph successfully inserts his contribution into Rachel's extended turn on his third attempt. Via the use of interjacent incoming, Ralph tells mini-stories about mosquitoes, and demonstrate his understanding of Rachel's point. Then, Rachel gains the floor by overlapping Ralph's imitation of the mosquitoes' buzzing noise and continues her story by repeating his last utterance: 'an' then'. Subsequently, Ralph interjacently comes in again, and collaboratively completes the narrative for her. Each interruption shows that the interruptor stays on-topic, and does not take over the floor in order to control the discourse. Their interruptions may be categorized as rapport-oriented, in line with the findings of Goldberg (1990). The way which Ralph and Rachel take turns to interjacently come in by inserting their informative comments on mosquitoes displays their contribution to the development of the dialogue. Therefore, by using the interruption device as a CS, Rachel and Ralph make contributions to the framework of the collaborative completion. Through interruptions, the fine tuning of their collaborative completion shows that they are attuned to each other's utterance. It also highlights their

joint enthusiasm for, and interpersonal involvement with the topic. In particular, it indicates the highly collaborative and supportive nature of their conversation.

(C) to draw an inference

Extract (9) is another example showing participants' co-ordination with their speaker's actions by using interruptions as a CS to draw an inference.

(9)

80. **Rh:** = we couldn't get them to go strAIght (0.5) =
81. **RI:** ((laughter))
82. **Rh:** = were you actually PAdd\ing
83. **RI:** NO: we just had (.) ONe guide{ } ( )
84. **Rh:** HE PRObably
85. could (0.5) do more than the rest of you put together

Assuming that it was the guide who was actually doing the paddling, Ralph inserts a confirmation check to determine whether or not Rachel and her group were also paddling. Rachel provides a negative answer in response to Ralph's confirmation check. However, he does not wait for Rachel to complete her talk and interrupts her by drawing his inference. Via the use of interruptions as a CS, Ralph is able to make his inference and his personal comment – his evaluation of the guide's and Rachel's group performance. Ralph's use of the interruption strategy provides an opportunity for him to display his collaborative recognition of Rachel's talk, and co-ordinate his actions with her on the basis of her negative response to his confirmation check.

After careful analysis, most of the instances of using the interruption strategy in the NNS data show that it is usually employed by participants and functions as a form of backchanneling, or collaborative feedback, to signal their sympathy or understanding of

the current speaker's turn, rather than to collaboratively complete each other's talk, or draw an inference. However, interruption strategies in the NNS data are performed only by one NS and one NNS researcher respectively.

III. To reach mutual understanding

Participants attempt to achieve mutual understanding by employing these strategies as CS, such as the repetition strategy, hedge markers/vague expressions, feature analysis, the reassemble strategy, synonyms, appealling strategy, coinage, code-switching, the preface strategy, the foreground strategy and the time-gaining strategy: pauses.

(i) Repetition Strategy

Repetition occurs in all kinds of discourse. Speakers not only repeat their own words and phrases at the level of the turn, and their own turns at the discourse level, but they also echo the wordings, rhythms and the turn of their interlocutor. Repetition in spoken language has often been characterized in linguistics as indicating defective, hesitant, disfluent, or redundant speech (Blankership and Kay 1964; Shimanoff and Brunak 1977; Scollon and Scollon 2001). However, when focusing on the social production of language, linguistic research has found that repetition is an important element in understanding discourse cohesion, language production and linguistic knowledge (Bolinger 1961, 1976; Jefferson 1972; Goffman 1974; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; Norrick1987; Tannen 1987, 1989; Simpson 1994; Schegloff 1996). Tannen (1987) argues that repetitions are not a negative feature, a waste of breath, or a mark of having nothing to say, and that in fact, they are a limitless resource for individual creativity and interpersonal involvement and are thus a central

linguistic meaning-making strategy.

By repeating her/his own prior lexical items or talk, the speaker in this study attempts to focus her/his participants' attention, link back to her/his earlier topic, execute self-repairs, or highlight part of the narrative in order to achieve mutual understanding. Collaborative repetition indicates that her/his participants continue to provide a high level of involvement and support. Moreover, the use of repetitions, together with the use of the pause as a CS, may create an atmosphere appropriate to the highlight of the story.

(A) to execute self-repairs

Extract (1) shows that participants employ the repetition strategy as a CS to link back their earlier topic, and to reformulate the story in order to execute a self-repair.

(1)

7.	**RI:**	= er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8.		was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to
9.		Ecuador (1.0) { }
10.	**Others:**	Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:
11.	**Rh:**	Yeah [yea ( )
12. →	**RI:**	[I went to
13. →		Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent
14.		ONe night (.) in the Amazon rain forest (2.0) Er:m (1.0)

After her participants' active backchannels, Rachel proceeds with her story, first repeating her prior statement, which partially overlaps with Ralph's backchannels:

→	11: **Rh**	*Yeah [yea ( )*
→	12: **RI**	*[I went to*
→	13:	*Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent*

It is likely that the use of repetition as a CS enables Rachel to bring her participants'

attention back to the narrative as well as, serves as a tying strategy to link back her earlier speech. This is in accord with Wong's (2000) findings, in which she proposes a particular form of repetition used by NS as a storytelling technique in the accomplishment of the action of resumption. More importantly, it functions as a self-initiated self-repair strategy to reformulate her story and to emphasize that the trip to Ecuador was part of a church proselytization. This seems to be the same as in line 13, in which Rachel executes a self-initiated self-repair 'we spent' into 'we only spent' by using a repetition strategy.

(B) to function as a backchannel response

Extract (7) demonstrates that Rachel's co-participant attempts to support and validate her statement by repeating her utterance, which may function as a form of backchannelling.

(7)

46. **RI:** [back up] (1.0) an' I was like terrified that there's =
47. **Rh:** [Ha ha]
48. **RI:** = going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA[:nhas (.)] =
49. **Rh:** [Oh right]
50. **RI:** = an' ALL: an' LEEcl[E:s (1.0)] =
51. →**Rh:** [LEEches]
52. **RI:** = ~~OU...gh~~ (.) just loads of horrible things (.)

Rachel provides two more examples of some terrifying aquatic creatures in an attempt to emphasize that horrible things exist in the water. Ralph collaboratively repeats Rachel's word and partially overlaps with her. Ralph's repetition of the word 'leeches' may serve to confirm that he agrees with and supports Rachel's opinion that leeches are unpleasant creatures. Ralph's repetition is also another form of feedback response to Rachel. Through this collaborative repetition, which also serves as a backchannel, Ralph shows his interest in the conversation, and his enthusiasm for

engaging in the discourse. In this instance, collaborative repetition functions as a backchannel to indicate Ralph's high level of involvement, and support for the speaker in the conversation.

(C) to highlight parts of the narrative

The speaker creates an atmosphere to highlight her/his story by the use of the repetition strategy, as shown : extract (5)

(5)

64.	**Rh:**	they've also got a variety of FLY	
65. →		that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will	
66.		lay its eggs in your open [wound ( )	
67.	**JD:**	[A:hhh !	
68.	**Rl:**	WArgh::!]	((laughter))

When Ralph says:

→ 64: *that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will*
→ 65: *lay its eggs in your open wound*

there is an unfilled one-second pause followed by a false start: 'wil'. Ralph subsequently self-repairs 'wil' into 'will' and repeats it. This may signify that Ralph is getting more excited about relating the most grotesque part of his narrative. The use of the pause, together with the repetition, may allow Ralph to subsequently create an atmosphere appropriate to the highlight of his story. The immediate and dramatic effect is achieved, as shown by his participants' subsequent exaggerated outburst. This demonstrates that they are enthusiastically co-participating in the discourse and are able to successfully collaborate with Ralph's narrative so as to co-ordinate their actions with the current speaker.

When referring to the NNS data, speakers also use the repetition strategy in an attempt to reinforce her message, create a dramatic effect. This is illustrated as below:

(A) to reinforce the message and create a dramatic effect

51 L: I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)
53. C: ((laugh[ter))
54. L: [((LAUGHter))]
55. Others: [((laughter))]
56. →L: 我爲甚麼沒有飛過去呢 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))
57. J: [((laughter))
58. →C: 我爲甚麼沒有飛過 去 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))]

Lily obtains her turn in line 56 by partially repeating her prior utterance in her L1, and laughs through it in an excited voice, with a rising intonation: "我爲甚麼沒有飛過去呢 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))". Apparently, Lily's code-switching into Mandarin in line 52 achieves the result of her participants' collaborative laughing and she might like to produce the same result, with the choice of the same language as in her preceding turn, to reinforce her message as well as to give it a dramatic effect. On the other hand, Lily may be attempting to draw her participants' attention back to the message she is trying to convey after their laughter.

(B) to execute self-repairs

Additionally, Lily' repetition of 飛過去 (fly or sail over) in line 56 serves as a tying function linking back to her prior utterance in line 52: "好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去" (as if a flying car could fly or sail over) as well as a self-initiated self-repair to it. Rieger (2003) suggests that if repetition functions as gaining linguistic and/or cognitive planning time for the speaker, or when used to delay the TRP, repetitions of one or several lexical items

are considered part of the self-repair organization. However, Lily's repetition with the addition of new elements in line 56: "我爲甚麼沒有" (why didn't I) serves neither to gain linguistic and/or cognitive planning time for herself nor to delay the possible TRP. It serves as a tying strategy to link back the earlier utterance and can be semantically considered as a self-repair strategy to emphasize and elaborate more explicitly the fact that she feels regret for not flying over, although she thinks that she could have flown over in her illusion.

(C) to create an interpersonal involvement and show support

Lily's partial repetition in line 56: "飛過去" (fly over), with its rising intonation, can be viewed as an indirect request inviting her participants to provide their comments or suggestions. As a result, it successfully accomplishes in eliciting a response from Connie, who selects herself as the next speaker. By echoing Lily's wordings in the preceding turn but with a falling intonation in line 58: "我爲甚麼沒有飛過去" (Why didn't I fly over?), Connie actively creates an interpersonal involvement to signal her rapport with Lily's invitation. Aligning with Lily's choice of language, Connie has an opportunity to take over the floor and to show her participation and listenership. The fact is that Connie's repetition, with its falling intonation, is not only simply a way of emphasizing part of this message, but also of displaying a kind of friendly mockery. This can be observed from Connie's comments three turns later in line 62: "you thought you are James Bond ((laughter))".

Lily employs repetition as a self-repair strategy in order to reinforce her message: "我爲甚麼沒有飛過去呢" (Why didn't I fly over?). In addition, her self-repetition with rising intonation functions as an indirect request, in which she attempts either to invite her

participants to attend to this interaction or to evaluate her participants' reaction to her code-switching. Meanwhile, Connie gains the floor by echoing Lily's words and aligns with Lily's choice of language to show her friendly mocking of Lily as well as a response to the indirect request. Therefore, repetition here is not like that which has traditionally been characterized in linguistics as indicating defective, hesitant or disfluent language Instead, it is a central linguistic meaning-making strategy and signals rapport between speakers who use repetition actively to create interpersonal involvement.

(D) to plan a subsequent utterance

The following extract shows another example of using a repetition strategy to gain time for the speaker to plan a subsequent utterance. Meanwhile, through the device of a repetition strategy, the story recipient shows her interpersonal involvement and rapport at talk-in-interaction.

9→ L: oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0) I think it was (1.5) it was (4.0)
10 ↓FIVE years ago (0.5)
11 → J: Five years ago

Lily constructs her narrative by recycling the pronoun and the verb 'to be': "it was (1.5) it was (4.0)" (line 9). It seems that the recycling here serves as time-gaining device for Lily, allowing her to search for a suitable noun phrase with which to begin her narrative. After a four-second silence, Lily goes on with her narrative with the time phrase, which she emphasizes with high amplitude: "↓FIVE years ago (0.5)" (line 10). Subsequently, Jane takes the chance to repeat Lily's time phrase. This is constructed as a clarification check, and may serve as an invitation encouraging Lily to carry on her narrative, while at the same time returning the floor to Lily, the narrator of the story.

(ii) Hedge Markers or Vague Language

In her narrative, Rachel often precedes upcoming noun phrases with discourse markers, such as *'like'*, *'kind of'* and *'sort of'*, which Partridge (1984) treats as hedges. Similarly, Clark (1994) claims that 'hedges' are used by the speaker to indicate that they are being less accurate and to prevent anticipated problems of understanding, or the interpretation of certain words or phrases too literally. Crystal and Davy (1975), call these discourse markers 'vague language'. They "are frequently used to express approximation, when precision is not of primary concern" (p.116). They claim that "lack of precision is one of the most important features of the vocabulary of informal conversation" (p.111). They give four reasons for vagueness: (a) memory loss (the speaker is unable to remember the correct word); (b) there is no suitable exact word in the language, or the speaker does not know it; (c) the subject of the conversation does not require precision, and an approximation or characterization is sufficient; and (d) vague items are deliberately chosen to maintain a certain atmosphere. Accordingly, they conclude that NS continually manipulate their language in this way in informal speech and that vagueness is both intrinsic, and important, in the language system of English (Channell, 1994).

In an attempt to achieve mutual understanding, the following extracts show that the speaker uses hedge markers or vague language as a CS to express approximation, indicate the lack of specific knowledge regarding the object, or show one being the less precise in describing the concept, and thus to leave it to the participants' imagination.

(3)

32. RI: = but TO GEt there you had to get on to this little

33. sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out
34. tree trunk { } [WE HA:d about
35. **Rh:** Oh we did th[at
36. **RI:** = eight people in it (1.0)
37. **Ce:** ↑yeah

Rachel precedes her utterance 'canoe thing 'with the discourse marker *'sort of'* to indicate that she does not know what the canoe was called, but that it appeared similar to a boat. Employing the hedge marker, or vague language *'sort of'* as a CS, Rachel may signal that the description of the word 'canoe' does not carry her intended meaning perfectly, and may only express approximation, or that she lacks some specific knowledge about what type of boat it is. Analogous to Dornyei and Scott's (1995a, 1995b) notion of 'strategy markers', the conceptualization of 'hedges' refers to warning signals or "verbal inverted commas" (Harper 1985, p.91) that indicate to the interlocutor that a strategy is being used to elicit attentive cooperation, thereby helping to achieve mutual understanding.

Similarly, the following example also demonstrates the use of hedge markers or vague expressions as CS to indicate the speaker's being less precise in describing the concept s/he is referring to.

→ 17: *we were like staying in these BEA:utiful kind of (2.0)*
→ 18: *just like WHAt you iMAgine these little like (0.5)*
→ 19: *wooden: Huts*

Rachel adds hedge markers, or vague language: *'kind of'* and *'like'*, followed by the adjective clause *'WHAt you iMAgine these little'* to describe what she calls 'huts'. It is likely that Rachel tries to describe the degree to which she finds the wooden huts fascinating, and the exact material out of which they were constructed. Expressions such as *'WHAt you iMAgine'* may imply that she is being vague and leaving the general image

of the buildings to her participants' imagination. In addition, the use of *'like'* in *'like wooden huts'* enables Rachel to describe at a very general level of detail only the material out of which the wooden huts are made. Therefore, 'wooden' is only approximate in meaning. This differs from the instance in which 'like' is used by Rachel as a time-gaining strategy in:

→ 22: *visit this (.) like (0.5) um Native Indian village*

It seems that Rachel does not remember the name of the village. The word 'like' here has a function equivalent to a filled or unfilled pause, serving as a time-gaining strategy. In a word, via the use of hedge markers or vague expressions as a CS, Rachel attempts to facilitate mutual understanding between her and her participants through actually being less accurate in her description of the objects she refers to.

(iii) Feature Analysis

The speaker provides a description of the componential features of the concept, such as different parts of the object or its underlying semantic elements, including its function, shape, color, material, locational property or historical property. In the following extracts, the speaker uses feature analysis as a CS in an attempt to produce an image of an object or concept, or search for a specific term in order to convey her/his intended meaning.

(A) to produce an image of concepts or objects

In extract (3), Rachel attempts to employ the strategy of feature analysis as a CS to describe the canoe as part of her effort to achieve mutual understanding between her and

her participants.

(3)

32. RI: = but TO GEt there you had to get on to this little
33. → sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out
34. → tree trunk { } WE HA:d about eight people =

The hedge marker or vague expression 'sort of' precedes 'canoe thing', and indicates that Rachel is being less accurate in the description of the canoe than she could be. She subsequently adds an adjective clause: 'which is basically a dug out tree trunk' to describe the canoe. By describing the canoe's shape and material: 'a dug out tree trunk', Rachel tries to make her participants better understand what the canoe looks like. Therefore, Rachel's use of the feature analysis as a CS to describe the componential features of the canoe is an attempt to convey her intended meaning to her participants and help them to produce an image of the canoe.

(B) to search for a specific term

In extract (5), Ralph utilizes the feature analysis as a CS to search for the specific term for microscopic creatures. In this respect, it is similar to extract (3).

(5)

57. Rh: = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. → they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. → SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. very [nasty...] BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. RI: [BIlHArzia]

In attempting to describe the attributes of the creature, which is related to a kind of flatworm that infects snails, Ralph uses a feature analysis as his CS to illustrate the properties or features of the microscopic creatures. First, it seems that Ralph is not

satisfied with the term he used: 'microscopic snails'. He then tries to illustrate the displeasing condition the small creature can cause by describing the relationship between the flatworm, the parasite, and the snails (which are the host organisms). As a consequence, Ralph succeeds in eliciting Rachel's answer to his question. Ralph's successful use of the feature analysis serves as a CS which is not only able to help his participants to better understand the object he is referring to, but also to achieve a collaborative completion of the communication task: to work out the scientific term for the organism.

Although there is no instance in the NNS data in which the speaker uses hedge markers or vague expressions, or feature analysis as CS to achieve mutual understanding with her/his participants, NNS attempt to employ the reassembly strategy and synonym strategy to enhance mutual understanding.

(iv) Reassembly Strategy

In the reassembly strategy, an NNS speaker constructs her/his turns, which comprise small turn units clearly separated by a large number of pauses, and then gradually refines the typically fractured syntax and imprecise meaning of these units through a process of iteration across the turn. In such a way, the speaker is then able to reassemble these prefabricated chunks in her utterances to form a cohesive and coherent narrative. Numerous examples can be found through all of Lily's utterances. The following extracts are two examples among many.

14. L: I think it's five years ago (2.0) just just start (1.0)
15. working on the (.) in BA:nk (2.0) got in the fir:st (1.0) wha:
16. in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)

17. to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld (1.0)
18. he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)
19. buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5) because (0.5)
20. our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
21. catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike
22. because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (3.0) =

Lily tries to recall that on her first day at work the bank manager spoke to her father about the need for buying her a motorbike:

→ 16: *in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)*
→ 17: *to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld*
→ 18: *(1.0) he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)*
→ 19: *buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5)*

There are a considerable number of prefabricated chunks in Lily's utterances. Lily prospectively builds up her speaking turn in units, and sometimes but not always, in recycled units. That is, she carefully breaks the syntax into small units separated by pauses and then builds on them in iterative ways. During the process of iteration, Lily gradually refines the fractured syntax and lack of semantic precision in these units, i.e. she executes the operation of self-repair. Nevertheless, she is trying to produce the best possible version of her story, though she sometimes encounters difficulties with the construction of her narrative in a language that is not natural or easy for her.

Similarly, in lines 29 to 33, Lily uses small units of talk embedded within pauses, and sometimes incorporates self- repair into the current turn unit:

29. L: = so (.) AFter one (0.5) I think one month (2.0.) I thought (.)
30. I really need one (0.5) because this (.) this is not very (.)
31. convenience for me (1.0) because (.) all time (0.5) my
32. COlleague (0.5) give me a LIft (1.0) so (2.0) so they decide:d

33. to (2.0) offer me a bike (.) motorbike =
34. J: hmm

By assembling these segments which are characterized by her use of fractured syntax as a CS, Lily is able to convey her intended meaning and to work toward a cohesive and coherent narrative in order to help her participants to better understand her narrative.

(v) Synonyms

Wonderly (1968) considered the use of 'common-level' or 'familiar' synonyms as the easiest solution for the lexical problems that arise in preparing Bible translations for popular use. They are also used in simplified reading texts for language learners to replace register-marked but infrequent words. The use of synonyms is aimed at improving readability by increasing the number of familiar words. It is also a strategy used by the L2 learner during interaction to provide or substitute a term that shares certain semantic features with the concept or that is reasonably close in meaning to the one intended. This is illustrated in the following NNS extract:

14. L: I think it's five years ago(2.0) just just start (1.0)
15. working on the (.) in BA:nk (2.0) got in the fir:st (1.0)wha:
16. in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)
17. → to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld (1.0)
18. he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)
19. buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5) because (0.5)

Lily tries to relate that the bank manager told her father why he needed to buy her a motorbike. She seems not to know at that moment the appropriate title of the person in charge of the bank. After a one-and-a-half-a-second pause, she attempts to substitute a synonym 'the master'. This seems to share the same components of meaning as 'the

bank manager', and provides a way of dealing with her communication problem. Accordingly, Lily's use of a synonym serves as a CS to complete and achieve her communicative task.

(vi) Appeal Strategy

The speaker tries to elicit help from her/his participants indirectly by expressing lack of a needed item either verbally or nonverbally during the talk-in-interaction. This normally co-occurs with other performance features, such as lengthy pauses, repeats, and intonation contours. Extract (5) illustrates Ralph's success in eliciting his participant's help in resolving his problem via the use of an indirect appeal strategy.

(5)

57. **Rh:** = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. → what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. very [nasty ( )] BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. **Rl:** [BIlHArzia]

Ralph struggles to remember the exact scientific term for the microscopic creature but fails. Although he tries to invent a term for it through the use of feature analysis as a CS, it appears as though he is not satisfied with it. After the two half-a-second silences and the non-lexicalized filled pause 'Ah', at first, none of his participants moves to assist him. Ralph then makes an indirect request to the participants for help:

→ 59: *SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)*
→ 60: *what's it called (.)*

Ralph's use of the indirect appeal functions as his CS in an attempt to ask for his participants' assistance in finding the exact scientific name for the creature. According to Sacks (1972), when making an indirect request, the need for assistance is not as high as when making a direct request. The other possible explanation for this may be that Bilharzia is the scientific term, and it is unlikely that most people have acquired the requisite level of biological expertise to be able to name the organism. Therefore, his participants can not provide him with assistance. However, when Ralph describes the condition caused by the parasitic flatworms infecting snails, Rachel consequently responds to Ralph's indirect appeal for help by naming the scientific term of the microscopic creature: Bilharzia. Ralph's use of the indirect appeal strategy as a CS successfully elicits his participants' assistance to solve the problem of the required scientific term.

NNS also employ appeal strategies as a CS to solve their problems in communication and reach mutual understanding. According to Faerch and Kasper (1983b), when learners encounter a problem in communicating their intended meaning, there are three ways in which they indicate that they are experiencing difficulties during the talk-in-interaction:

1. by an implicit signal of uncertainty: through performance features, such as pauses;
2. by an explicit signal of uncertainty: 'handicap signals' (Beneke 1975, cited in Faerch and Kasper, 1983b), such as *I don't know how to say this, I can't say/explain that*;
3. by the learner addressing his interlocutor directly, such as *What is the X ?*

From the recipient's point of view, the above three types of problem indicators can

all be interpreted as appeals for assistance. It normally co-occurs with other performance features, such as lengthy pauses, repeats, and intonation contours. It may be due to the characteristics of Lily's personality and the multiparty nature of the discourse type (i.e. five Mandarin-speaking learners of English and one native speaker of English) that Lily did not use the third type of problem indicator. Throughout her talk, Lily only uses an explicit signal of uncertainty once: 'how to say', in addition to pauses, when she runs into difficulties, as shown in the following extract.

49. L: = just I really scared (.) but (0.5) AT THAT time
50. I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)
51. I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)
53. **C:** ((laugh[ter [ ))
54. **L:** ((LAUGHter))]
55. **Others:** ((laughter))]

Lily's participants do not react to her two implicit signals of uncertainty, a half-a-second pause and a one-and-a-half-a-second pause, by providing her with the appropriate expressions in the following extract:

→ 50: *I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)*
→ 51: *I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)*

These two implicit signals of uncertainty may indicate that Lily is experiencing in linguistic difficulty and serve as a time-gaining strategy to plan her subsequent utterance. Consequently, she then might either address herself for help or make an explicit signal of uncertainty, thus requqesting for help from her participants: 'how to say'. This explicit signal of uncertainty, similar to Beneke's (1975) 'handicap signal', functions as a way of appealing to her participants for help in finding an appropriate expression.

Schegloff et al. (1977) suggest that an appeal can be characterized as self-initiated

other-repair. However, Lily's explicit appeal for help: 'how to say' and a two-second pause, do not elicit her participants' assistance. Apparently, Lily's communicative problem cannot be resolved by either her implicit or explicit appeal strategies. The reason may be that firstly her participants are unable to predict the result of Lily's narrative due to insufficient cues to establish a mutual understanding of the context to which she refers. Secondly, she uses pauses as implicit signals of uncertainty and seems to abandon her projected turn, with the result that the possibility of assistance from her participants is low.

In comparison, NS employed an indirect appeal strategy as a CS to perform a word-searching task. This led to a collaborative overlap, and elicited help from her participants. However, the use of an appeal strategy did not enable an NNS to reach her communicative goal. As a result, she chose a different approach to deal with her problem, that is, she switched her language into her mother tongue: Mandarin.

(vii) Code-switching Strategy

Code-switching in this study is defined as when the L2 learner transports a native word or expression, untranslated into the interlanguage utterance. It refers to "a process in which a speech community gives up a language in favour of another" (Li, 2000, p.497). Milroy and Muysken (1995, p.7) define the phenomenon of code-switching as the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation. However, Millar (2002) observes that code-switching is dynamic and creative, rather than static and predetermined. In communication involving foreign languages, the possibility of switching from L2 to L1 is always there. Due to the limits imposed by Lily's shared linguistic knowledge, the possibility of switching code arises when her communicative

problems crop up. The extract below is the same as that used in the appeal strategy.

(A) to avoid a breakdown in communication

49. **L:** =just I really scared (.) but (0.5) AT THAT time
50. I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)
51. I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)
53. **C:** ((laugh[ter [ ))
54. **L:** [(LAUG[Hter])]
55. **Others:** (([laughter))]

Lily abandons the trajectory of her explanation prefaced by 'because" mid-way due to her limited linguistic competence in her L2. At this point in time, Lily faces a situation, in which she needs to communicate the meanings of concepts and ideas for which she lacks the requisite linguistic knowledge. After her appeal strategy 'how to say' followed by a two-second hesitation pause, Lily switches her code into her mother tongue, Mandarin, in order to avoid a breakdown in communication:

→ 52: *好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)*

Apparently, Lily uses code-switching as a strategy to maintain or to rescue her narrative. This may be due to her early stage of bilingualism, where she tends to rely more on her L1. On the other hand, she switches English into Mandarin in the hope of being better understood by her participants, because most of her participants are NS of Mandarin. The first language is always accessed faster and is always the primary language, unless one lives in the L2 country and is a proficient L2 speaker.

(B) to hit the punch line of a story

Alternatively, Lily's code-switching may display her language preference for Mandarin. At the moment of Lily's motorcycle accident, she was under an illusion that she was an actor who could fly over the scene. Meanwhile, in line 49, she states that she was frightened by her motorcycle crash. As a matter of fact, it was her father's reaction she was mainly frightened of, as evidenced from her later turns in:

→ 73: L *so this I say (.) oh god what I should DO(.) if my dad mad's (1.0)*
→ 96: L *just I just scared (0.5) my dad*

As a result, she becomes so overwhelmed by her communication problems that she switches her language into Mandarin in order to make her participants better understand her narrative. In addition, Lily's code-switching into Mandarin may imply her preference for Mandarin over English because she is more easily able to hit the punch line of the story and dramatize her narrative, as evidenced from lines 53 to 55, in which she succeeds in eliciting her participants' laughter.

Lily's code-switching into Mandarin might therefore be interpreted as being related to either her lacking linguistic competence in English, or her preference for Mandarin over English. By using code-switching as a strategy, Lily may keep the communication channel open and compensate for lack of language proficiency, or reach the climax of the story and give a dramatic effect to her storytelling at the pivotal point of time. By contrast, it is unlikely for NS to use code-switching as a CS to achieve mutual understanding because English is their L1, unless participants have the same L2. However, NS attempt to employ coinage as a CS in order to reach mutual understanding with their participants. Although coinage strategy is not a CS developed from section 4.2, it can also be found in line 239 of the NS data. Its unique features and function of the coinage strategy as used by NS make a clear contrast with the code-switching strategy

used by NNS.

(viii) Coinage Strategy

In Tarone's classification, 'word coinage' is defined as when "the speaker makes up a new word in order to communicate a desired concept" (1983, p.62). There are a number of ways in which new words can enter a language. New words may be formed by compounds, acronyms, blends, abbreviations, and back-formations in order to fit some purpose. The speaker in this study coins a new term by combining two existing words together to create a new term with a new meaning. The meaning of the compound includes, at least to some extent, the meanings of the individual parts. In this case, the speaker is able to solve her/his communication problem, and conveys to the participants the intended meaning. Through the use of coinage strategy, the speaker is able to produce the vocabulary required to make her/his participants better understand the object being described, and then to contribute to the conversation. In addition, it may allow the speaker to create an amusing atmosphere for her/his participants. This is illustrated in the following extract:

239.→ **Rh:** 'cause Cla (.) Clair's fear was was the sausage flies that
240. was the: (.) { } =
241. **Rl:** what are they
242. **Rh:** = well she just like she developed irrational (.) hatred
243. of these very common (.) ↓FLY: > kind of things < (0.5)
244. they had kind of ↓sausage (0.5) bits towards them
245. so that (.) and she just she couldn't ↓HAndle it sorry
246. this is Clair (.) Thompson from the Uganda lot she wasn't
247. > afraid of the water she was afraid of < these ↓flies
248. they were just (.) they were just like ↓big flies um (.)

After Rachel concludes her narrative, Ralph proceeds with his talk on a new topic: 'sausage flies', which in fact, is linked to Rachel's previous topic (mosquitoes). Coates (2001) argues that "sequential storytelling is valued by men precisely because it makes possible the display of mutual understanding" (p.96). Telling a relevant story by co-participants shows "my mind is with you" (Sacks, 1992, p.257). In order to display his mutual understanding and alignment with Rachel's narrative, Ralph subsequently contributes his mini-story, in which he coins a term to describe a kind of fly.

→ 239: **Rh** *'cause Cla (.) Clair's fear was was the sausage flies that*

By combing two existent words together: 'sausage' and 'flies', Ralph makes up a new term. In response to Rachel's clarification request in line 241, Ralph elaborates on what the flies are. In fact, they are actually big flies, whose shape resembles a sausage (lines 244 and 248). It is apparent that Ralph's coinage is formed by the process of compounding. This is a very common and frequent strategy for enlarging the vocabulary of all languages, and abounds in first language use. Ralph uses the coinage strategy in this instance perhaps because he lacks the lexical term required to denote the flies. On the other hand, he may be attempting to create an amusing atmosphere, so as to focus his participants' attention and to arouse their curiosity. This succeeds in eliciting Rachel's immediate response, a clarification request, which is interjacently positioned. Via the coinage strategy device, Ralph is successful in conveying his desired concept to his participants so as to be able to display mutual understanding, and simultaneously make his contribution – a side incident.

(ix) Preface Strategy

Storytelling can involve a story preface which consists of an offer or request from the

prospective teller for a chance to tell a story (Sacks' unpublished lectures in 1970, 1971; Jefferson, 1978). Sacks observes that "stories routinely take more than one turn to tell" in a series of his lectures on storytelling in conversation (1992, p.222). In other words, the storytelling turn consists of more than one TCU, and the teller usually holds the conversational floor longer than the basic rules of turn-taking ordinarily allow. Therefore, producing a story preface is the most usual way to indicate to the recipient that such an extended turn is underway. On the other hand, this can prevent her/ him from taking the floor themselves at what might otherwise be a legitimate TRP. Following the preface, the recipient can then respond by indicating whether or not they wish to hear the story. Finally, the story can be told with the recipients appropriately aligned.

Extract (1) shows that the speaker uses the preface strategy to tell a story in an attempt to make her/his participants understand that s/he needs an extended turn (Jefferson, 1978) for her/his narrative. In such a way, this may prevent her/his participants from taking the floor.

(1)

1. **Rh:** it was like (.)Ha ha ( ) got you there (3.0) you ↓Haven't Don:e
2. (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <
3. **RI:** ↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could
4. that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English
5. now [(0.5) that brought to MInd (laugh through) =
6. **Others:** [((chuckle))
7. **RI:** = er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8. was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to
9. Eccuador (1.0) { }
10. **Others** Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:
11. **Rh:** Yeah[yay
12. **RI:** [I went to
13. Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent
14. ONe night (.) in the Amazon rain forest (2.0) Er:m (1.0)

Rachel constructs her narrative around the following tasks: 1) making her participants understand when and where the events occur, 2) the outcome of the events, 3) who took part in the events and their reasons for getting involved, 4) what happened, and what the consequences of their actions were. Apparently, Ralph elicits Rachel's narrative with the type structure of a confirmation check, which provides a turn for her to recall a story. She then begins to relate the incident, prefacing it in such a way so as to indicate that her narrative will require an extended turn. She tries to minimize the relevance of the possible topic continuation, saying:

→ 7 **RI** *er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water*
→ 8 *was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0) uh I went to*
→ 9. *Eccuador (1.0)*

This indicates that Rachel is going to tell a story, and implies that she will continue to hold the conversational floor. Rachael prefaces her anecdote by emphasizing that the 'only' scary experience of water she had was on her trip to Ecuador. Perhaps Rachel feels that this way of proposing to tell of her 'only' life-threatening experience may arouse her participants' interest. Clearly, this also provides opportunities for her participants to align themselves as story recipients by inviting Rachel to continue. This can be seen in line 10: "Ohh Yeah Yea: yea" and line 11: "Yeah yay" which is uttered by her participants in an enthusiastic tone. This may validate her role of being a narrator, and also imply their interest in and desire to hear her story which Rachel then relates. By the use of a preface strategy, Rachel reaches a mutual understanding with her participants that her storytelling turn is composed of more than one TCU so as to prevent them from seizing the floor at or near a warranted TRP.

When referring to the NNS data, the notable feature of Lily's telling of the incident is that she does not preface it in any way as the type of incident telling, which she has been

invited to design it as. This is to say that her telling of the incident displays the assumption that her recipients are expecting it to be a retold incident of a certain kind, namely 'A Scary Incident'. She does not, for example, preface what she has to say with a TCU, which indicates how what she is about to say is to be heard or, indeed, that what is about to be said requires an extended turn.

(x) Foreground Strategy

The speaker foregrounds the lexical items which s/he considers to convey significant and necessary information by raising her/his volume, increasing the pitch of her/his voice, or pace. Sometimes, s/he even emphasizes the information by changing the tempo of her/his utterance during the execution of self-repair. Quite often s/he may suddenly cut off her/his talk-in-progress, elongate or stretch some next sound. Frequently, s/he just repeats the previous element. The following extract shows that the speaker employs the foreground strategy in order for her/his participants to better understand her/his narrative.

39. **RI:** but the CUrrent was so strong in THAt direction
40. that you got (.) TOtally (.) SUcked in that direction (0.5)
41. then the little BOy had to just PAddle you all the way
42. back up STREam (.) an' the DIstance you were trying to
43. go (.) was probably only about TWIce (laugh through)
44. distance of this room (.) .hh an' we went MI:les

Rachel describes how the current sucked them back up the river, and how hard the boy had to paddle upstream. Rachel lends emphasis to her narrative by raising her voice on emphatic words. For example, " CUrrent", "THAt" (line 39),"TOtally (.) SUcked" (line 40), "BOy", "PAddle" (line 41), and "STREam (.)", "DIstance" (line 42) and "TWIce" (line 43). In order for her participants to better understand her story, Rachel

foregrounds the lexical items she considers to convey significant and necessary information.

When referring to the NNS data, NNS also employ the foreground strategy as a CS in an attempt to arrive at a mutual understanding with their participants. This is shown in the following extracts.

16. L: in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)
17. to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld (1.0)
18. he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)
19. buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5) because (0.5)
20. our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
21. catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike
22. because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =
23. **Others:** mm m-hm

Lily says that the bank manager tries to explain to her father the reason for needing to buy her a motorbike. What is noticeable about this particular narrative is the way in which Lily places emphasis on a few words in a noticeably louder voice, for example, "FIRST" (line 16), and "TO:ld (1.0)" (line 17) ,"(.) LOcal" (line 20), "(1.0) MOtorbike" (line 21) and "(0.5) MOst" (line 22). This might indicate either that Lily views these recycled or emphatic words as the correct choices after doing a self-repair or that Lily is trying to regain her participants' attention, which lapsed after a short silence during her narration. More importantly, it seems that Lily tries to get her meaning across to her participants by foregrounding these lexical items, which she considers to be conveying the information that she thinks is really significant for her participants to better understand her narrative. Moreover, she even changes the tempo of her utterance in line

→ 18: *he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)*

to foreground the tellability of her message in order to help her participants better understand and to justify the telling of her story.

Another example of using the foreground strategy as a CS is shown as bellow:

73. L: so this I say (.) oh god what I should DO (.) if my dad
74. mad's (1.0) I just THink about that (0.5) I didn't (.) =
75. P: mm
76. L: = wasn't think of my HURt (.) how hurt of my [↓LE:g
77. **Others:** [((laughter))

Instead of worrying about how seriously her leg hurts, Lily's major concern is her father's anger after her car crash and broken motorbike. Lily stresses these key words: "DO" (line 73), THInk" (line 74), "HURt" and LE:g" (line 76) with sound emphasis and elongation to foreground the information that she considers to be very important as well as to strengthen the communicative power of what she is saying. By foregrounding these significant lexical words, her participants may be able to project what the result of the story will be, and how to make their response to it in an appropriate way so as to maintain and to facilitate communication.

In comparison, NNS use the foreground strategy to convey information they consider is significant more frequently than NS do. This may be due to the limitations imposed by NNS' linguistic competence in the L2. As a result, they foreground the information by raising the volume or pitch of their voice, cutting off their talk-in-progress, prolonging or stretching out sounds, or even increasing the tempo of their utterance during self-repair operations in an attempt to get their intended meaning across to their participants, and thus to reach a mutual understanding with them.

(xi) Time-gaining Strategy: pauses

Speakers pause to breathe – but they also pause to plan what to say next and how to do so. According to their various functions, there are four types of pauses which are roughly identified: articulatory pauses due to stop consonants, inhalatory pauses used for breathing, conventional pauses which are necessary for the correct linguistic interpretation of an utterance, and hesitation pauses (Faerch and Kasper, 1983b). Only the latter type of pauses, indicating the underlying speech planning, will be discussed in this study. As demonstrated by Goldman-Eisler (1968, 1972) and Rochester (1973), hesitation pauses tend to occur both at constituent boundaries and at lexical selection points. Moreover, Pike's (1945) thorough description of nonsegmental systems suggests that pauses and other prosodic features are not incidental but rather necessary to linguistic description.

In this study, the speaker employs pauses as strategic devices to gain time in order to (A) resolve her/his memory problem of searching for a requisite vocabulary, (B) do decision-making, (C) execute a self-initiated self-repair and (D) plan subsequent speech units.

(A) to search for words

Extract (5) shows that Ralph utilizes the pause strategy to search for a scientific term for the aquatic creatures.

(5)

57.→**Rh:** = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. → they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. → SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. → very [nasty... BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. **Rl:** [BIlHArzia]

Ralph starts to say that there was something unpleasant in 'Lake Vic', repeating the definite article 'the', and micropausing twice. These utterances serve as time-gaining

strategies for Ralph to recall the name of the lake. Similarly, in line 58, Ralph tries to tell his participants the names of the small creatures in the lake:

→ 58: *they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic*

He elongates the filled pause 'er:m::', and follows with a half-a-second unfilled pause. He then retraces the definite article followed by a micropause. The filled pause and the unfilled silence both serve as time-gaining strategies for Ralph to remember the correct scientific terms for the creatures in the lake.

In the NNS data, Lily also uses the pause strategy to search for the needed words, as illustrated as the following extract:

→ 16 *in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)*
→ 17 *to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld (1.0)*

When Lily says that her father took her to work in the bank on the first day, a pause for one-and-a half seconds occurs before the words 'the master'. This may be a problem indicator, which reflects the difficulty she was having at this point and her need to have time to do her word search. Therefore, after the pause, which serves as a time-gaining device, she subsequently employs a synonym, "the master" (line 17), as a communication strategy, using it to replace the more specific expression 'the bank manager' as a way of dealing with her communication problem.

Although NS and NNS try to resolve their word-searching problem by using the pause strategy, there is a difference between them. The former use the pause strategy to search for the requisite words primarily due to the momentary lapse of memory, or lack of the scientific term, while for the latter it is due to the limitation of their linguistic competency in L2.

(B) to make decision

Unfilled pauses are employed by speakers as a device not only for searching for appropriate words or expressions, but also for making decisions, as shown in extract (5). On the basis of Ralph's description of the small creatures, Rachel suggests the scientific name: "Bilharzia", in line 62.

→ 61: **Rh:** *very* [*nasty...*] *BIlHArzia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =*
→ 62: **Rl:** [*BIlHArzia*]

This illustrates a self-initiated other-repair strategy. Ralph subsequently confirms that this is the name of the organism by repeating Rachel's utterance: 'Bilharzia' in line 61. This follows a one-second pause which may serve as a device to signify Ralph's decision-making process. After this unfilled silence, Ralph's use of the word 'yeah' reconfirms his decision to adopt Rachel's term 'Bilharzia', and also shows that her message is being received. By utilizing time-gaining strategies, Ralph is able to refresh his memory and search for appropriate words or expression, and do decision-making.

Similarly, referring to the NNS data, we found Lily also uses the pause strategy to do decision-making. This is illustrated as below:

66. **L:** where: (.) ((laughter)) WHERE I am just (.) just (.) my
67. mo (.)mo (.) motorbike's broken(.) suddenly { } =
68. **P:** Wahh..
69. **L:** = because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the BOdy (.) just made by
70. [plastic
71. **P:** [plastic

Lily attempts to relate that the fragile plastic, which the motorbike is made of, was

the main cause for the break up of the motorbike after the accident. Before inserting the prepositional phrase: 'to the (.) the BOdy' into her ongoing narrative as a referential content, Lily pauses for one-second, which is neither a time-gaining strategy nor a signal of difficulty with the following problematic word. In fact, if we carefully examine the overlap, Paul and Lily collaboratively and simultaneously produce: "plastic" in lines 70 and 71. Therefore, Lily's pause here reflects the process of her decision-making at this particular time. Her decision to insert a prepositional phrase into the ongoing narrative before saying that it is made of 'plastic' may indicate that Lily seems to emphasize that only the body of the motorbike is made of plastic and not the whole of it.

(C) to execute a self-initiated self-repair

Both NS and NNS speakers utilize the pause device to execute a self-initiated self-repair. As shown in Extract (1), when Ralph seems to nominate Rachel as the next story narrator, she attempts to minimize the relevance of the possible topic continuation by giving a negative response. However, she subsequently tries to insert her reasons, prefaced by '*cause*' (line 3) followed by a one-and-a-half-a-second pause.

(1)

1. **Rh:** so it was like (.) Ha ha (.) got you there (3.0)you ↓Haven't Don:e
2. (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <
3. →**RI:** ↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could
4. that that tha...((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English

The pause, which serves as a time-gaining strategy, allows Rachel to execute a self-initiated self-repair. She is able to restart her turn by retracing her preceding utterances: '*the only*' and continue her talk.

Lily also utilizes the pause strategy to execute a self-initiated self-repair in her talk:

20. **L:** our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
21. → catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike
22. → because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =
23. **Others:** mm m-hm
24. **L:** go to work so (1.0) I just (1.5) I JUst (1.0) I JUst (1.0) I JUst
25. → (1.0) don't want me (.) rid bicycle (.) BI- (0.5) MOtorbike I mean (0.5)
26. → because there lots of (0.5) uh a:cci (1.0) accident =

The bank manager tells Lily's father the reason why he needs to buy her a motorbike. It is interesting to note that there is always a false start and a pause placed before the 'trouble source': the motorbike, which is the leading cause of this accident.

→ 21: *catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) Motorbike*
→ 22: *because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =*
→ 25: *(1.0) don't want me (.) rid bicycle (.) BI- (0.5) MOtorbike I mean (0.5)*

The frequency of using the false start 'bicycle' by Lily could indicate that it is highly automatized and is semantically related to her intended concept: 'motorbike' when she executes her aritculatory plans. However, the pause precedes the repaired item: 'motorbike' functioning as being a strategy for Lily to gain time to execute a self-initiated self-repair. Apparently, Lily's use of pauses serves as a device for her to gain time to do a self-repair. Similarly, in

→ 26: *because there lots of (0.5) uh a:cci (1.0) accident =,*

Lily says that the possibility of having an accident is her father's main reason for not buying her a motorbike. There are: a short silence for a half-a-second pause; a filled pause and a false start, which is abandoned mid-way through its production. Lily's self-initiated self repair occurs immediately after the one-second pause, which gains her

time to substitute with the correct item ('a:cci' to 'accident') to communicate her intended meaning.

NS and NNS try to execute a self-initiated self-repair via the use of the pause strategy, but there is a difference between them. The item to be self-repaired by NNS is mostly connected with a lexical selection or syntactic constituents, while that by NS tends to be connected more often with the information or meaning they intend to communicate.

(D) to plan subsequent speech units

Another function of using the pause strategy by NS and NNS speakers is to gain time to plan a subsequent speech unit, as shown in the following. Extract (1) shows that before making a confirmation check: '*you ↓Haven't Don:e (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <* ', Ralph pauses for three seconds, which serves as a time-gaining strategy for him to plan his subsequent utterances.

(1)

1. →**Rh:** so it was like (.) Ha ha (.) got you there (3.0)you ↓Haven't Don:e
2. (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <

This also provides an opportunity for his participant to self-nominate as a story narrator.

Similary, in extract (2), before inserting into her ongoing talk a confirmation check: '*DIdju GO: into the Amazon ↓(0.5) (look at Claire)*', Rachel pauses for one second, a time-gaining strategy, which allows Rachel to plan her subsequent speech units: a confirmation check, to set up a scene setting.

(2)

21. **RI:** (0.5) .hhh WHat we had to do was go to
22. visit this (.) like (0.5) um NAtive Indian village
23. → on the Other side (1.0)

24. DIdju GO: into the Amazon↓(0.5) (look at Claire)

When referring to NNS data, NNS speakers also use pauses as a time-gaining strategy in an attempt to plan their subsequent utterances.

49. L: = just I really scared (.) but (0.5) AT THAT time
50. → I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)
51. → I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)

Lily says that she should have been very frightened by her motorcycle crash during the moment of the accident. However, she tries to explain why she was not really scared of the accident itself by inserting her reason, which is prefaced by the word 'because' followed by a half-a-second pause (line 50). The pause allows Lily to gain time to plan her subsequent talk: to embed the reasons for her not being scared during the car accident, but she fails after the half-a-second pause. Again, in line

→ 52: *how to say (2.0)好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去*
(as if flying cars could fly or sail over),

a lengthy silence of about two seconds follows an appeal strategy for help: 'how to say' may indicate that she is having difficulty in communication, and may need some time to deal with her communication problem. However, this may be due to the limitation imposed by the shared linguistic knowledge in her second language repertoire. Therefore, through the use of the pause strategy, Lily gains time to choose code-switching as an approach to maintain her narrative.

The following extract shows up the same features:

9. → L: *oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0) I think it was (1.5) it was (4.0)*
10. *↓FIVE years ago (0.5)*

Adjusting herself to the task of delivering the narrative, Lily starts constructing her narrative by recycling the pronoun and BE verb: "it was (1.5) it was (4.0)" (line 9). Two pauses occur in-between and at the end respectively. The use of the recycling and pauses as time-gaining devices may reduce Lily's anxiety about her speakership role, and also enable her to plan her subsequent speech unit. After the second long four-second pause, Lily continues her narrative with a time phrase: '↓FIVE years ago (0.5) spoken with a high amplitude, instead of a place phrase. This differs from Paul's narrative,

→ **P:** *oh I (.) I told one last night (1.0) in our (0.5) erm (0.5) little (1.5) er (0.5) fellowship (2.0) hhh it happened in 蘭州 (1.0),*

in which he starts his telling of the scary incident with a place phrase: '蘭州', which is situated in the north of Mainland China. By using pauses as a time-gaining strategy, Lily is able to plan her subsequent talk during the on-going discourse.

Moreover, in the NS data, Rachel also uses the word 'like' as a time-gaining strategy to recall a name. In line 22:

→ 22: **RI** *visit this (.) like (0.5) um.NAtive Indian village*

the word 'like' is preceded by a micropause and followed by a half-a-second unfilled pause and a filled pause 'um'. This seems to indicate that Rachel does not recall the name of the village. The word 'like', the function of which here is equivalent to a filled pause, serves as a time-gaining strategy. The use of 'like' grants Rachel with time to remember the name of the village. However, NNS employ repeats, which have the same function as pauses, allowing NNS to gain time for the planning of subsequent speech units or for resolving problems when they encounter difficulty in communicating their intended meaning, as illustrated in the following:

24. →L: = go to work so (1.0) I just (1.5) I JUst (1.0) I JUst (1.0) I JUst
25. (1.0) don't want me (.) rid bicycle (.) BI- (0.5) MOtorbike I mean (0.5)

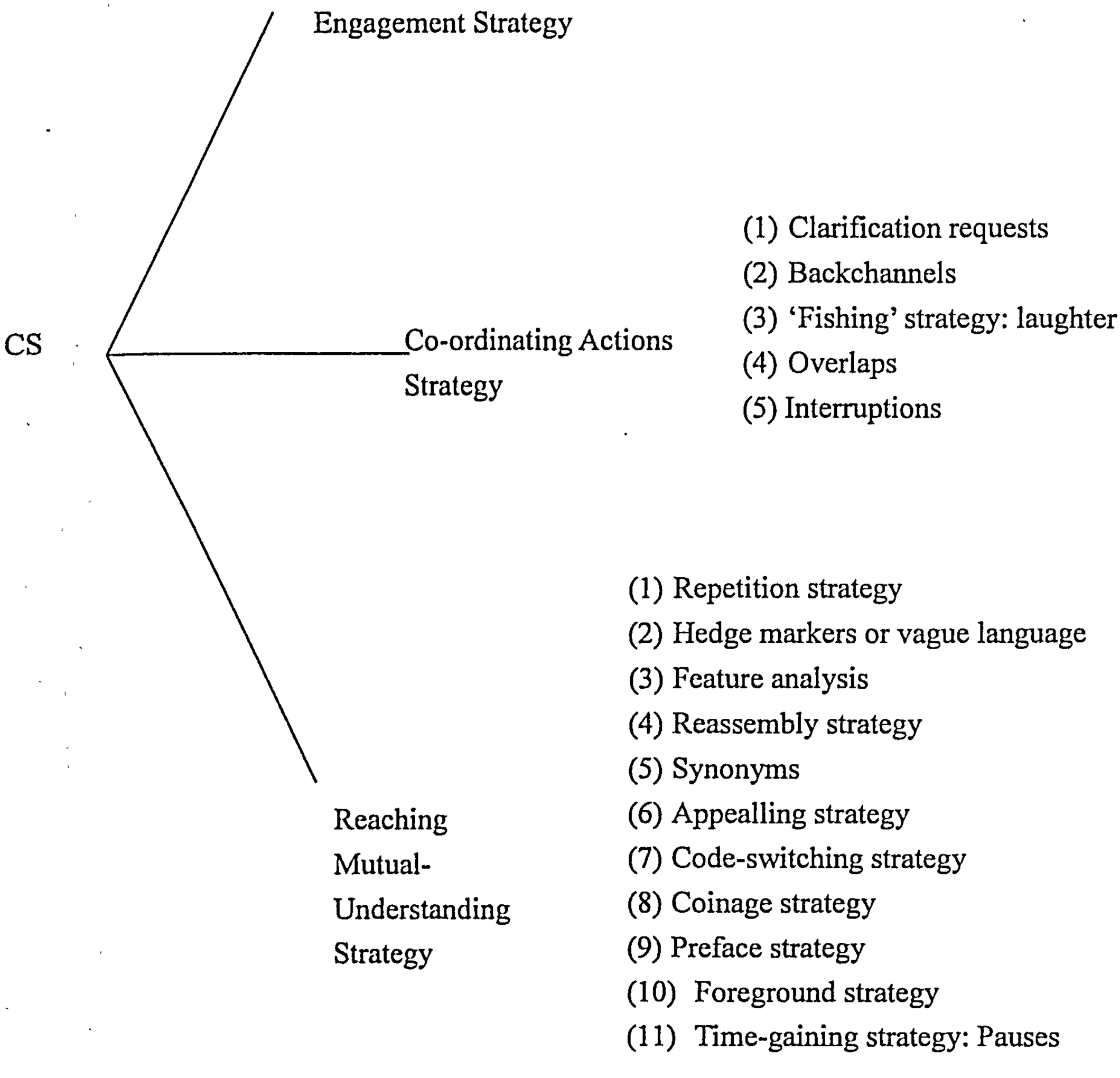
37. →L: FInish wor:k (2.0) oh I gave (.) I gave to my (.) my
38. colleague a lift (1.0) he was sitting (1.0) SHE was

Lily repeats the lexical items 'just' in line 24, as well as 'gave',and 'my' in line 37 in order to plan her subsequent speech units.

In comparison, there is a noticeable difference in the use of pauses as a CS between the NS and NNS. Upon close examination of the data, it is clear that both the use of pauses, and the way they are used, as a CS by NNS is more extensive and pervasive than those by NS.

The taxonomy of CS developed from the sequential analyses of stories by NS and NNS in this study is presented in chart form below.

Chart 5 — CS developed in this study



5.4 Comparison between CS Use by NS and NNS as Described in Previous Literature and This Study

Previous literature on CS tends to regard it as a problem-solving activity. Therefore, problem-orientedness has been considered to be the most essential feature of CS by the vast majority of CS researchers in the past. CS data bases were collected using elicitation or referential tasks administered to participants in pre-arranged situations or the setting-up laboratories. These studies focused predominantly on gaps in learners' lexis. Consequently, CS have been categorized either as 'compensatory strategies' or 'problem-solving strategies'. They are used to compensate for missing lexical items and prevent breakdowns in communication. Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) extend the conceptualization of CS taxonomy, according to the manner of problem-management, and include 'interactional strategies', in which participants perform trouble-shooting exchanges cooperatively. This focuses on how CS contribute to resolving conflicts and achieving mutual understanding.

However, the analysis and an investigation of CS in the present study is based on a framework of CA approach, which emphasizes the analysis of closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in naturally occurring settings. Through a detailed description of the turn-by-turn unfolding of talk in storytelling, and investigation of how communication is accomplished as a situated, contingent, and 'locally managed' achievement (Sacks et al., 1974, p.729), it has been shown that CS are used by participants to not only exchange information or convey messages to each other, but also mutually and collaboratively achieve an orderly and meaningful communication. Therefore, this study has shown how CS are not only tools employed by interlocutors to establish the shared knowledge required to solve communication problems and thus reach

a mutual understanding, but are also used by participants to collaboratively co-ordinate their actions and achieve sufficient participant engagement to accomplish their communication goal during naturally occurring discourse. As a result, it has been shown that the CS categories in the present study are broader and more diverse, and the notion of CS more expansive than those proposed in the previous literature. The comparison of CS use as described in the literature and this study is summarized in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 - Comparison of CS Use as Described in the Literature and the Present Study[1]

CS	The purpose of CS use by participants in the present study	The purpose of CS use by participants in the literature
A. Similarities		
1. Confirmation Checks	**NS** (1) to nominate the next story teller. (2) to set up a scene setting. (3) to draw their inference and to reinitiate a story.	(1) to elicit confirmation that the interlocutor's utterance has been correctly heard or understood by the speaker. (Long, 1981, 1983; Pica and Doughty, 1985; Willems, 1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b)
2. Clarification Requests	**NS and NNS** (1) to display an understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story. (2) to elicit more information to support their speakers' extend turn, and demonstrate their collaboration, high level of involvement, and co-participation. (3) to initiate a new but relevant topic.	(1) to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance(s). (Long, 1981, 1983; Pica and Doughty, 1985; Willems, 1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b)
	NS	

[1] Alternative CS terminologies employed by other researchers are included in brackets after the reference to their study in the Table.

3. Repetition Strategy	(1) to gain time to execute self-repairs: reformulate and emphasize the story. (2) to function as a backchannel response: indicate involvement and support. (3) to highlight part of the narrative. (4) to link back to her/his earlier topic. **NNS** (1) to reinforce her/his message and create a dramatic effect. (2) to gain time to execute self-repairs. (3) to create an interpersonal involvement and to show support. (4) to gain time to plan a subsequent utterance. (5) to link back to her/his earlier topic.	(1) to gain time to execute self-repairs. (2) to gain time to search for words to indicate linguistic incompetence in L2. (Tarone and Yule, 1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b)
4. Code-switching Strategy	**NNS** (1) to avoid a breakdown in communication. (2) to make participants better understand her/his narrative. (3) to be more easily able to hit the punch line of the story and to dramatize it.	(1) to compensate for the insufficient linguistic resources in L2. * including L1/L3 words with L1/L3 pronunciation in L2 speech; this may involve of discourse ranging in length from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns. (Tarone, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Willems, 1987; Bialystok, 1983; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b. Nijmegen Group: under 'transfer').
5. Coinage Strategy	**NS** (1) to produce the vocabulary required to contribute to the conversation. (2) to create an amusing atmosphere in order to arouse participants' curiosity.	(1) to communicate a desired concept. *creating a non-existing L2 word by applying a supposed L2 rule to an existing L2 word. (Tarone, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Willems, 1987; Bialystok, 1983; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b. Nijmegen Group: appr. 'morphological creativity')
6. Feature analysis	**NS** (1) to help to produce an image of a concept or object. (2) to search for a specific term. (3) to help participants better understand the speaker's intended concept.	(1) to solve the problem of requisite words. (Paribakht, 1985: under 'constituent features'. Faerch and Kasper, 1983a;

		Willems, 1987; and Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b: under either 'pararphrase' or 'circumlocution'. Chen, 1990: under 'componential analysis').
7. Time-gaining Strategy: Pauses	**NS and NNS** (1) to gain time to recall a desired lexical or scientific term. (2) to do decision-making. (3) to execute a self-initiated self-repair. (4) to plan subsequent speech units. (NS also use the word 'like' as a time-gaining strategy, while NNS use 'repeats'.)	(1) to find an appropriate word. (2) to meet certain stylistic standards. (3) to function as an appeal for help from the interlocutor. (4) to reflect the cognitive difficulty and situational anxiety. (Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b)
8. Synonyms	**NNS** (1) to solve the problems of lexical inadequacy.	(1) to solve a retrieval problem by means of a more general expression. (Paribakht, 1985. Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Willems, 1987: under meaning replacement.
9. Appeal Strategy	**NS and NNS** (1) to elicit participants' help in resolving communication problems.	(1) to elicit help from the interlocutor directly or indirectly by expressing lack of a needed L2 item verbally or nonverbally. (Tarone, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983a; Willems, 1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b).
B. Differences		
1. Backchannels	**NS** (1) to signal for the speaker to continue talking. **NS and NNS** (1) to show their acknowledgement of message. (2) to validate the speaker's statement.	
2. 'Fishing' Strategy:	**NS and NNS** (1) to display their co-participation. (2) to indicate their alignment and	

Laughter	understanding.	
3. Overlaps (collaborative overlaps)	**NS** (1) to make their contribution. (2) to display their active listenership. (3) to collaboratively resolve a problem of searching for a scientific term. (4) to show that both the speaker and the listener are attuned to each other.	
4. Interruptions	**NS** (1) to indicate their attentiveness and enthusiastic interest. (2) to perform a collaborative completion. (3) to display their contribution to the development of the dialogue. (4) to draw an inference. **NNS** (1) to serve as a form of backchanneling, or collaborative feedback.	
5. Hedge Markers or Vague Language	**NS** (1) to express approximation. (2) to indicate the lack of specific knowledge regarding the object. (3) to show one being the less precise in describing the concept, and thus to leave it to the participants' imagination. **NNS**	
6. Reassembly Strategy	(1) to form a cohesive and coherent narrative. (2) to produce the best possible version of a story.	
7. Preface Strategy	**NS** (1) to prevent participants from taking the floor. (2) to provide opportunities for participants to align themselves with the speaker. **NS and NNS**	

8. **Foreground Strategy**	(1) to convey significant and necessary information. (2) to emphasize the information.	

Table 5-1 compares the purposes of CS use by participants that have been identified in the present study. It separates CS use into two categories. Part A (similarities) contains taxonomies of CS proposed in the literature. Part B (differences) extends the conceptualization of CS' scope to include communication-enhancing devices that are not generally found in CS literature, and are only identified in the present study. The CS in Part A (similarities) include: confirmation checks, clarification requests, repetition strategy, synonyms, appeal strategy, code-switching strategy, coinage strategy, time-gaining strategy: pauses, and feature analysis. According to the literature, the main purpose of CS use is to manage or avoid communication problems. Although these CS fall within the traditional categories, the CA approach employed in this study shows that their functions are in fact more diverse than those that have been identified in the literature. CS in Part B (differences) includes: backchannel strategy, 'fishing' strategy: laughter, overlaps, interruptions, hedge markers or vague language, reassembly strategy, preface strategy and foreground strategy. These CS with features and properties of discourse are used by interlocutors to show how they individually or conjointly interact with each other, and interpret their utterances not only for the purpose of negotiation, but also to create meaning and enhance communication in a naturally occurring and on-going narrative. Canale contends that CS include any attempt to "enhance the effectiveness of communication" (1983, p.11). The concept of 'CS' in this study should potentially be extended to include the interpretation of communication-enhancing strategies. This is partly because CS is a prominent and important element of natural discourse, and thus

deserves to be studied within a broader remit. Its definition should not be restricted only to problem-solving devices. The second reason is that a central feature of conversation is that participants continuously attempt to use all available information in a conversation as a resource collaboratively and interactively, to create and (re) negotiate the shared meaning. Therefore, communication-enhancing strategies are included in the present study because they involve not only the management of potentially difficult discourse situations so as to reach a mutual understanding, but also the co-ordination of actions with a main speaker, or the achievement of participant engagement. The similarities and differences between traditional categories of CS use and those employed in this study will be outlined below.

A. Similarities between traditional categories of CS use and categories employed in this study

1. Confirmation checks

According to the literature, the purpose of using confirmation checks as CS is to elicit confirmation that the interlocutor's utterance has been correctly heard or understood by the speaker, while in this study the NS speaker employs confirmation checks as CS to nominate the next story teller, to establish a scene setting, to draw an inference, and to re-initiate a story. Although the NNS has many opportunities to use confirmation checks to fulfill the function mentioned above, s/he does not employ confirmation checks as a CS to achieve participant engagement due to the limitations imposed by her linguistic competence in the L2. Through the use of confirmation check, the speaker attempts to achieve participant engagement.

2. Clarification requests

Similarly, according to the previous research, the aim of utilizing clarification requests as a CS is to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance. In the present study, participants use clarification requests as a CS to display an understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story, to elicit more information to support their speakers' extend turn, demonstrate their collaboration, high level of involvement and co-participation, as well as to initiate a new (but relevant) topic. By using clarification requests as CS, participants are able to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker's.

3. Repetition strategy

According to the existing body of literature, besides functioning to gain time to execute self-repairs, to search for words, or to indicate linguistic incompetence in L2, repetition strategy serves as a CS to provide a backchannel response, highlight part of the narrative, indicate involvement and support, reinforce a message, create a dramatic effect, link back to an earlier topic, or to gain time to plan a subsequent utterance. Through the sequential analyses in the present study, it can be seen that repetition strategy should not only be characterized as a repair feature or as reflecting linguistic incompetence in L2. Instead, it provides limitless scope for individual creativity and interpersonal involvement, and is thus a central linguistic meaning-making strategy (Tannen,1987).

4. Code-switching strategy

The literature indicates that the use of code-switching strategy as CS includes the use of L1/L3 (the third language) words with L1/L3 pronunciation in L2 speech. This may involve of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns. In such a way, L2 learners are able to compensate for their

insufficient linguistic resources in their L2. The code-switching strategy is used only by Mandarin-speaking learners of English in this study, and only includes L1 words with L1 pronunciation in L2 talk. It aims to avoid a breakdown in communication, to help participants better to understand their narrative, and to enable a speaker to more easily hit the line of a story and to dramatize it.

5. Coinage strategy

The existing literature indicates that in coinage strategy, the learner creatively produces new terms, which do not exist in the target language, in order to communicate a desired concept. Speakers create a non-existant L2 word by applying a supposed L2 rule to an existing L2 word. In this study, coinage strategy is used only once by an NS who combines two existent L1 words together to create a new term. Through the use of coinage strategy, the NS is able to produce the vocabulary required to contribute to the conversation, and to create an amusing atmosphere in an attempt to arouse his participants' curiosity.

6. Feature analysis

According to the literature, feature analysis is a CS used by speakers attempting to convey an image of a concept or object by describing the componential features of the concept, such as different parts of the object or its underlying semantic elements, including its function, shape, color, material, locational property or historical property. Although the terminologies used in the literature and their levels of specificity vary a great deal (Paribakht, 1985: under 'constituent features'; Faerch and Kasper, 1983b; Willems, 1987; and Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b: under either 'pararphrase' or 'circumlocution'; Chen, 1990: under 'componential analysis'), their function as a CS (a search for requisite vocabulary) is similar to the way it is

used in this study. Feature analysis is employed by L2 learners as a CS when they lack the L2 vocabulary required to communicate a concept, while the device is used by an NS as a CS convey her/his intended meaning to participants and help them to produce an image of the object, or to search for a specific term to reach a mutual understanding.

7. Time-gaining: pauses

Pause fillers, in Tarone's (1980) framework, would be categorized under 'production' rather than CS. The reason is that production strategies "are not used for the primary purpose of negotiating meaning" (p.420). Faerch and Kasper (1983b) regard pause fillers as temporal variables rather than strategic devices. However, Dornyei (1995a, 1995b) suggests an extension of the definition of this CS and considers stalling strategies (for example, the use of lexicalized pause-fillers and hesitation gambits) to be problem-solving strategies, because they help speakers gain time to keep the communication open. Although in the literature, pauses are viewed as one of the learners' excessive uses of temporal variables, they are considered to be a strategic device used by NS and NNS in this study. The reason is that a speaker may use the 'pause' device to signal to her/his participants that s/he needs time to resolve a problem for searching for a requisite vocabulary item due to a momentary lapse of memory, or their limited linguistic competence L2. The literature also indicates that pauses reflect speakers' cognitive difficulty and situational anxiety, and thus function as an appeal for help from the interlocutor to find an appropriate word. In addition, via the use of the pause device, the NS and NNS speakers in this study are able to execute self-initiated self-repairs, plan her/his subsequent speech, or do decision-making.

8. Synonyms and Appeal Strategy

There is no difference described in the literature and the present study between the use of the synonyms and appeal strategy as a CS. In both cases, it is used to solve problems of lexical inadequacy, or to elicit participants' help in resolving communication problems. However, in the literature, synonyms and appeal strategy are used by L2 learners, while in the current study, the former is employed by NS, and the latter by both NS and NNS.

B. CS categories identified in the present study

1. Backchannels

'Backchannels' in this study are defined as short, verbal expressions; they are lexical repetitions of the current speaker's speech by participants, who primarily play the role of listeners during periods of the primary speaker's speakership. NS and NNS use backchannels strategy as a CS to show their acknowledgement of message and to validate the speaker's statement, whereas only NS use them to signal for the speaker to continue talking. Mandarin speakers, unlike English speakers, seldom use backchannels as continuers and tend not to overlap their primary speaker's turn. Two explanations are provided here. The first possible explanation for the infrequency of Mandarin speakers to use backchannel tokens may be culturally specific. The second possible explanation is that the low frequency of backchanneling may be constrained by the lack of fluency of the Mandarin participants in English. The use of backchannels strategy indicates the participants' awareness of the reciprocity needed for successful interaction.

2. 'Fishing' strategy: Laughter

Laughter is a finely co-ordinated interactional phenomenon when it occurs in talk-in-interaction (Jefferson,1979; 1985; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff, 1987). In general, there seems to be an orientation toward laughing together rather than alone. Therefore, the first laugh token may be regarded as an 'invitation', or a way of 'fishing' for the other participants' laughter. NS and NNS co-ordinate a matched response with their laughing to indicate their co-participation, alignment and understanding.

3. Overlaps

An overlap, in this study, is viewed as an instance of short simultaneous talk, in which the second speaker continues speaking at or very near a possible TRP in a current speaker's utterance during an ongoing turn. The second speaker's purpose in overlapping is to make her/his contribution, instead of seizing or forcing the current speaker to drop her/his turn. Through the device of overlapping talk, NS participants imply their active listenership and cooperation in the joint construction of the interaction. It helps not only to collaboratively resolve the problem, but also to create a feeling of camaraderie and show that both speakers and listeners are attuned to each other. Instead of collaboratively producing an overlapping response, which is matched and finely tuned to the speaker's talk, most of the instances of overlapping in the NNS data tend to focus on individual stories, personal experiences, or evaluative comments. In contrast, the NS data shown above displays a high level of coordination among participants and collaboration with the speaker via the overlapping device.

4. Interruptions

An interruption in this study is defined as any instance of short simultaneous talk, occurring when the second speaker starts speaking at a non-possible TRP during a current speaker's utterance in an ongoing turn. Via the use of the interruptions device, NS participants are able to indicate their attentiveness and enthusiastic interest in the conversation, perform a collaborative completion, and draw inferences in an attempt to co-ordinate with and support the speaker's talk. However, NNS participants employ interruptions as a form of backchanneling, or collaborative feedback.

5. Hedge markers or vague language

Partridge (1984) treats discourse markers, such as *'like'*, *'kind of'* and *'sort of'*, as hedges. Clark (1994) claims that 'hedges' are used by speakers to indicate that they are being less accurate in their description or to signal that the certain words or phrases should not be interpreted too literally in her/his speech, in order to prevent anticipated problems of understanding. The NS speaker uses hedge markers or vague language as a CS in an attempt to express approximation in description, indicate the lack of some specific knowledge regarding the object, or to signal that s/he is being less precise in the description of the concept, and is thus deliberately leaving it to the participant's imagination.

6. Reassembly strategy

Usage of the 'reassembly strategy' involves the construction, by an NNS, of her/his turns out of smaller turn units. These smaller turn units are clearly separated by a large number of pauses. S/He then gradually refines the typically fractured syntax and imprecise meaning of these units through a process of iteration across the turn. In such a way, the speaker is then able to reassemble these prefabricated chunks in

her/his utterances to form a cohesive and coherent narrative. Simultaneously, the speaker can execute self-repair operations in an attempt to produce the best possible version of her/his story.

7. Preface strategy

Prefacing a story is the most usual way to indicate to the recipient that an extended turn is underway. S/he, thus, will in a sense limit her/his participation to actions such as continuers (Schegloff, 1982; C. Goodwin, 1986) and other forms of story recipiency that sustain the delivery of the story and do not derail it. NS may employ the preface strategy as a CS in order to prevent their participants from taking the floor at what might otherwise be a legitimate TRP. On the other hand, this also provides opportunities for participants to align themselves as story recipients by inviting the speaker to continue her/his narrative. Unlike NS, the NNS concentrates her/his efforts and attention only on how to express her intended meaning, or convey her message to her participants in spontaneous speech. As a result, they do not make use of the preface strategy to avoid the floor being taken by participants. It may be due to their limited linguistic competence in the L2.

8. Foreground strategy

Foreground strategy involves the emphasis of the lexical items, by the speaker, that s/he considers to convey significant and necessary information, through the raising of her/his volume, or by increasing the pitch or pace of her/his voice. Sometimes, s/he even changes the tempo of her/his utterance during the execution of self-repair operations. In order to strengthen the communicative power of what s/he is saying, s/he may suddenly cut off her/his talk-in-progress, or elongate or stretch the next sound. As a result, participants may be able to project the result of the story, and

thus adjust their response to it in an appropriate way for the maintenance and facilitation of communication.

By adopting a CA approach, which emphasizes that analysis should be based entirely on closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in a naturally occurring setting, we are able to scrutinize the ways in which participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, and devices they employ to manage difficulties in communication, reach mutual comprehension, co-ordinate their actions, and achieve participant engagement. Rather than limiting the scope of analysis to code-based gaps in the NNS' knowledge, this study expands the notion and categories of CS beyond the scope of their definitions in the previous literature. As a consequence, some of the CS in this study fall within the traditional categories, but retain more diverse functions than those described in the literature. In addition, this study has shown that some CS characterized by features and properties of discourse are communication-enhancing strategies. They are used by participants to collaboratively co-ordinate actions with current speakers, and also achieve sufficient participant engagement to accomplish communication goals, and not just to establish the shared knowledge required to solve communication problems, as the previous studies have shown.

In sum, based on empirical observations of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interactions in this study, it may be concluded that speakers are more oriented towards meaning creation and sense-making than towards linguistic form. Additionally, the features and purposes of CS use investigated in this study have been greatly expanded. Since CS are considered to be elements of the interaction in the ongoing and contingent meaning-creating process of communication (Wagner and

Firth, 1997), they are not only problem-solving strategies, or meaning-negotiations, but also meaning-creating, and communication-enhancing strategies.

5.5 Findings

That CS are used by L2 learners to compensate for gaps in communication, and also as solution to problems of linguistic competency when faced with communication breakdowns, has been established in the literature (Tarone, 1977). Tarone introduces an interactional perspective in which CS "are seen as tools used in a joint negotiation of meaning where both interlocutors are attempting to agree as to a communicative goal" (1980, p.420). This expands on her previous (1977) learner-centered definition of CS. The current study takes the interactional perspective. It adopts the CA approach in an attempt to describe NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners' use of CS in 'naturally occurring' interactions. It also looks at both sides of the conversational exchange. Only the classification of CS adopted in the interactional perspective has been reviewed.

Tarone (1977) has classified CS into five major categories: paraphrase, conscious transfer, appeal for assistance, avoidance and mime. These CS are intended to overcome the differences between the learner's and native speaker's linguistic knowledge. Tarone and Yule (1987) identified three new types of CS: repetition, explication, and over-explicitness. Faerch and Kasper (1983a) locate CS in a model of speech production, which has two phases. Accordingly, they recognize a duality in strategy use: 'reduction strategy' and 'achievement strategy'. When faced with difficulties in communication, L2 learners might either avoid them, which leads to a change of the communicative goal ('reduction strategies'), or deal with problems and thus develop an alternative plan ('achievement strategies'). Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) categorize CS as being direct, indirect, and interactional, depending on the manner of problem-management. This provides a more detailed classification of strategies than the achievement-reduction

duality. In addition, they also relate these three main categories to four types of communication problems: resource deficit, processing time pressure, own-performance problems, and other-performance problems.

Previous research on CS generally takes the view that the main purpose of CS use is the management of communication problems. A basic duality in strategy use in CS literature is recognized. CS are used by L2 learners either to take a risk, or to avoid a risk in conveying their intended message. Dornyei and Scott (1995a, 1995b) extend the scope of Tarone's (1980) CS taxonomy to include interactional trouble-shooting mechanisms. Their interactional strategies include various repair mechanisms to clarify intended meanings. This makes Tarone's (1980) interactional perspective on CS more complete and specific.

In the present study, CS employed by both NS and NNS, on the basis of sequential analyses of the narratives, have been identified not only as problem-solving devices, but also as tools to enable participant engagement, co-ordination of actions with a current speaker, and mutual understanding. Similarities or differences in CS use by NS and NNS, as described in the literature and the current study, have been illustrated and examined.

In order to achieve participant engagement, NS attempt to employ the structure of confirmation checks as a CS. The purpose of these confirmation checks include: (A) to nominate one of her/his participants as the next story teller, (B) to establish a scene setting for her/his narrative adequate to the needs of her story recipients, or (C) to draw her/his inference and to reinitiate a story for his participant in an attempt to manage the transition to the next story teller. The NNS in the present study fails to use confirmation checks as a CS to perform the above functions, though s/he has many opportunities to do so. However, the

purpose of using confirmation checks as a CS in the literature is only to elicit confirmation that the interlocutor's utterance has been correctly heard or understood by the speaker.

NS and NNS, by using clarification requests, backchannels, the 'fishing' strategy: laughter, collaborative overlaps, and interruptions, attempt to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker's. Only the clarification requests strategy is included in the CS literature, in which L2 learners try to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance. However, both NS and NNS in the current study utilize clarification requests as a CS in an attempt to display an understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story, to elicit more information to support a speaker's extend turn, and to initiate a new but relevant topic. These strategies, except clarification requests, belong to the category of communication-enhancing strategies, which have not been considered in the previous CS literature. NS and NNS utilize the backchannel strategy to signal their attentiveness, comprehension, interest and encouragement, acknowledge their receipt of the message, and validate the speaker's statement so as to co-ordinate with the speaker's actions. However, the low frequency of using backchannels as continuers, or of overlapping a primary speaker's turn, may be due to either the NNS' cultural-specific factors, or their lack of fluency in English. The 'Fishing' strategy: laughter is used by both NS and NNS to display their co-participation, alignment, and understanding. Only NS use overlapping devices as a CS to make their contribution, display their active listenership, collaboratively resolve problems, and ensure that both speakers and listeners are attuned to each other. Rather than construct an overlapping response to match and finely tune the listener response to the story teller's talk, NNS participants' use of the overlapping strategy tends to focus on individual stories, personal experiences, or evaluative remarks. Apart from employing the interruptions device as a CS to serve as a form of backchanneling, or collaborative feedback, NNS, unlike NS, do not indicate their attentiveness and enthusiastic interest, perform collaborative

completions, display their contributions to the development of the dialogue, or draw inferences through the use of the interruptions strategy.

Participants also employ CS to reach mutual understanding. These strategies include: repetition strategy, feature analysis, synonyms, the appealing strategy, coinage, code-switching, time-gaining strategy: pauses, the reassembly strategy, hedge markers/vague expressions, the preface strategy, and the foreground strategy. The terminologies of the first seven strategies correspond to those proposed in the literature, but many differences still exist. In addition to the functions described in the literature, such as the use of repetition strategy as a CS to gain time in order to execute self-repair, search for words, or indicate linguistic incompetence in L2, NS participants employ the repetition strategy in an attempt to provide a backchannel response, highlight part of the narrative, or indicate their involvement and support. NNS participants may reinforce her/his message and create a dramatic effect, plan a subsequent utterance, create an interpersonal involvement, or link back to her/his earlier topic through the use of the repetition strategy. In the literature, L2 learners try to utilize feature analysis as a CS to solve the problem of the lack of requisite words, while in the current study, it is used only by NS in order to search for a specific term, help participants better understand an intended concept, or produce an image of a concept or object.

With regards to the use of synonyms, or the appeal strategy as a CS, there is no difference in the use of both strategies as a CS between descriptions provided in the literature and the present study. In both cases, it is used to solve problems of lexical inadequacy, or elicit participants' help in resolving communication problems. In the literature, time-gaining strategy: pauses, are used by L2 learners to gain time in order to find an appropriate word, meet certain stylistic standards, function as an appeal for help from the interlocutor, or reflect cognitive difficulty and situational anxiety. The present study has

shown that pauses are strategic devices used by NS and NNS not only as a repair mechanism, but also to show that a speaker is engaged in decision-making, or in planning subsequent speech units. As has shown in the past research, the present study indicates that L2 learners use code-switching strategy to compensate for their linguistic incompetence in L2, and to avoid a breakdown in communication. In addition, the use of code-switching strategy enables an NNS speaker to more easily hit the punchline of a story and thus dramatize it. According to the literature, L2 learners use the coinage strategy to create new terms that did not exist in the target language previously, while in the present study, it is used by NS to produce the vocabulary required to contribute to the conversation, and create an amusing atmosphere to arouse participants' curiosity.

Another four strategies employed by participants aim to achieve mutual understanding. These are the reassembly strategy, hedge markers/vague language, the preface strategy and the foreground strategy. These strategies have not been identified in the previous literature, and belong to the category of communication-enhancing strategies. An NNS constructs an extended speaking turn embedded within which are a large number of pauses which are not taken as TRPs. By reassembly prefabricated chunks in her/his utterances, the NNS is able to produce a cohesive and coherent narrative, and perform self-repair operations so as to form the best possible version of her/his story. Unlike NNS, an NS, who always has English at her/his disposal, is able to employ the preface strategy as a CS to prevent her/his participants from taking the floor at what might otherwise be legitimate TRPs. Through the use of the preface strategy, the NS also provides opportunities for her/his participants to align themselves as story recipients by inviting the speaker to continue her/his narrative. The use of hedge markers or vague language indicates that NS are being less accurate or precise in describing a concept, thus leaving it to the participants' imagination. In addition, NS may employ vague language to express approximation, or indicate their lack of specific

knowledge regarding the object. Both NS and NNS utilize the foreground strategy to emphasize information they consider to be significant and necessary, so that participants may adjust their responses in a way appropriate for the facilitation and maintenance of communication.

To summarise, the present study adopts a CA approach, which emphasizes that analysis should be based entirely on closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in a naturally occurring setting. This study expands the notion and categories of CS beyond the scope of the definitions in the previous literature. Consequently, although some of the CS fall within the traditional categories, this study shows that they retain more diverse functions than those described in the literature. Additionally, some CS characterized by features and properties of discourse are communication-enhancing strategies. According to this empirical investigation, and the expanded notion of CS use, categories, and function in the present study, CS are considered to be not only problem-solving devices, or meaning-negotiation strategies, but also meaning-creating , and communication-enhancing strategies.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Conclusion

NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners were invited separately to relate narratives to one another on a nominated topic: 'a scary experience', in naturally occurring settings. Their use of spoken English CS was investigated through the description of audio and video recorded samples of their separate and shared spoken interactions. The production of storytelling sequences was transcribed and then analyzed using the CA approach. On the basis of this methodology, interactions which are sequentially and thus socially constructed were revealed and described in detail.

This study has illustrated and analyzed sequences of actions generated by NS and NNS in storytelling situations, their interactions with each other, and interpretations of conversations as ongoing, developing, and related successions of utterances. Consequently, emergent communication problems during talk were highlighted and dealt with in the course of the tellings. The kinds of CS used in the discourse were identified through sequential analyses of the construction of stories involving NS and NNS. This has shown that a story teller and her/his participants collaboratively manage their talk in an attempt to achieve participant engagement, co-ordinate their actions and reach mutual understanding by utilizing CS devices. Therefore, taxonomies of CS used by NS and NNS in this study were described, identified, and analysed.

NNS utilized repetition strategy, the time-gaining strategy: pauses, the appealing strategy, code-switching, the reassembly strategy, synonyms, and the foreground strategy

in order to reach mutual understanding. Through the use of clarification requests, backchannels, the 'fishing' strategy: laughter, collaborative overlaps, and interruptions, NNS attempted to co-ordinate their actions with those of the current speaker. The identification of CS categories and the purpose of the CS used by NNS were described in detail in section 5.3. This confirms the first hypothesis of the current study, that there are describable forms of CS which are typically and systematically used by Mandarin-speaking ESL learners to overcome situated instances of deficit in their communicative competence in English.

The similarities or differences in the types of CS used by the NS and NNS were also examined and shown in Table 5-1. In order to achieve successful participant engagement, NS employed the structure of confirmation checks as a CS. *This means that they tried to* establish a shared understanding and knowledge of the context with participants via the use of confirmation checks. However, while the NNS had many opportunities as the NS did, to use confirmation checks as a CS to nominate the next story teller, to establish the scene, to draw an inference, or re-initiate a story, the NNS failed to employ this CS probably due to her/his limited linguistic competence in English. NS employed the repetition strategy, the time-gaining strategy: pauses, the appealing strategy, feature analysis, coinage, hedge markers/vague expressions, the preface strategy, and the foreground strategy so as to reach a mutual understanding. Additionally, via the use of clarification requests, backchannels, the 'fishing' strategy: laughter, collaborative overlaps, and interruptions as CS, both NS and NNS attempted to co-ordinate their actions with those of the current speaker. This is consistent with this study's second hypothesis; that there are differences in the communication problems confronted, and strategies used by Mandarin-speaking ESL learners to achieve an acceptable level of accuracy in a given language, in comparison to those by NS of English for the same purpose.

In terms of the notion of CS, the notion of CS described in the literature is that CS are used by L2 learners to compensate for gaps in communication, and also as solution to problems of linguistic competency when faced with communication breakdowns (Tarone, 1977), while the notion of CS described in the present study is that CS employed by both NS and NNS, on the basis of sequential analyses of the narratives, have been identified not only as problem-solving devices, but also as tools to enable participant engagement, co-ordination of actions with a current speaker, and mutual understanding. That is, the latter extends the conceptualization of CS' scope to include communication-enhancing devices that are not generally found in the CS literature, and are only identified in the present study.

Concerning the taxonomies and functions of CS identified, some CS identified in the present study, e.g. confirmation checks, clarification requests, the repetition strategy, the code-switching, the coinage strategy, feature analysis, the time-gaining strategy: pause, synonyms, and the appeal strategy, fell within the categories already identified in the previous literature. However, the CA approach employed in this study shows that they retained more diverse functions than those described thus far. For example, in order to co-ordinate actions with the current speaker, participants use clarification requests as a CS to display an understanding and appreciation of the overall point of the story, to elicit more information to support their speakers' extend turn, demonstrate their collaboration, high level of involvement and co-participation, as well as to initiate a new (but relevant) topic. However, the purpose of using clarification requests as a CS by L2 learners in the literature (Long 1981, 1983; Pica and Doughty, 1985; Willems, 1987; Dornyei and Scott, 1995a, 1995b) is only to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance.

Some interactive strategies characterized by features and properties of discourse are communication-enhancing strategies, which have not been included in the previous CS

literature. They are backchannels, the 'fishing' strategy: laughter, collaborative overlaps, interruptions, hedge markers or vague language, the reassembly strategy, the preface strategy and the foreground strategy. They were employed to show the way in which participants individually or conjointly interact with each other, and interpret their utterances not only for the purpose of negotiation, but also to create meaning and enhance communication in a naturally occurring and on-going narrative. For example, NS and NNS utilize the backchannel strategy in the current study to signal their attentiveness, comprehension, interest and encouragement, acknowledge their receipt of the message, and validate the speaker's statement so as to co-ordinate with the speaker's actions; instead of being used as an nonintrusive feedback or continuer marker in the CS literature (Yngve 1970; Schegloff, 1982).

The CS taxonomies developed by previous researchers, as well as their definitions and descriptions were reviewed in this study. Rather than focusing predominantly on learners' gaps in lexis, and individual production, as well as using elicitation or referential tasks which were administered to participants in pre-arranged situations or in laboratory settings as has been done in the past CS research, this study adopted a CA approach, which places a great deal of emphasis on empirical observations of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. As a result, the approach employed in the present study has shown that CS are employed by interlocutors not only to establish the shared knowledge required to solve communication problems, or to compensate for linguistic incompetence in an L2, as the previous studies suggested, and thus reach a mutual understanding, but also to efficiently co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker, and achieve sufficient participant engagement to accomplish their communication goal during a naturally occurring discourse. Consequently, a commentary on CS use both according to the previous literature, and the findings of the present study was provided.

In sum, the present study conducted on the basis of a CA approach, which emphasizes analysis of closely transcribed examples of actual talk recorded in naturally occurring settings. It has shown that the concept of 'CS' in the current study has extended to include the interpretation of communication-enhancing strategies suggested by Canale (1983), instead of CS use being restricted only to problem-solving devices. Additionally, the present study has displayed a central feature of conversation, that is, participants continuously attempt to use all available information in a conversation as a resource collaboratively and interactively to create and (re)negotiate the shared meaning. Therefore, this study expanded the notion and categories of CS beyond the scope of their definitions in the previous literature, and provided a new insight into the roles of CS in the storytelling in an ongoing talk-in-interaction. According to this empirical investigation, and the expanded notion of CS use, categories, and functions in the current study, CS have been found to be not only problem-solving devices, or meaning-negotiation strategies, but also meaning-creating, and communication-enhancing strategies.

6.2 Implications for Pedagogy

Opinions on the teachability of CS vary widely, and several researchers (Poulisse, 1990; Bialystok, 1990; Kellerman, 1991) have questioned the validity of strategy instruction. However, research into the practice of teaching CS explicitly has yielded positive results, and gained support (Gilfert and Croker, 1997; Ogane, 1998; House, 1996; Rose, 1994, 1997; Gallagher, 2001). They claim that strategy training gives learners more of a sense to control over their L2 learning, and that could lead to an improvement in the self-esteem of low achievers and greater learner autonomy (Macaro, 1997, p.117). Seidlhofer (2005) suggests that if teachers can make valuable teaching time for more general awareness and CS, then 'these may have more "mileage" for learners than striving for mastery of fine nuances of native speaker language use that are communicatively redundant or even counter-productive in lingua franca settings' (p.340). I agree with the view adopted by the interactional approach that strategy instruction not only promotes greater awareness, less inhibition, and purposeful language practice, but also provides relevant learner-produced L2 linguistic performance to support later focus on forms. The findings of this study are considered to have obvious implications and applications for pedagogy in the field of foreign language teaching.

Traditional syllabus design has been built upon the idealistic but impracticable expectation that it should be possible to predict and therefore include all learners' communicative needs. However, the exact nature of communicative situations in which L2 learners may find themselves is highly unpredictable. Therefore, it is important to develop learners' 'strategic competence': the ability to master verbal and nonverbal CS to overcome various communicative problems when encountered. Since 'strategic competence' has been theoretically recognized as one of the integral components of

'communicative competence' in the literature, CS are viewed as an essential component of the 'strategic competence' that Canale and Swain (1980) refer to. Accordingly, syllabuses today should be designed to include CS instruction programs. They should be designed to pose problems and incorporate ways to deal with them, instead of removing problems in advance by providing vocabulary definitions, grammatical rules, or glossaries, as has been done in traditional syllabuses. The development of learners' 'strategic competence' will not be able to benefit from such syllabuses because it is CS that learners employ when problems occur.

In addition, syllabuses should create interactive conditions which can contribute to the development of learners' 'strategic competence'. For example, educators may design role-play activities, or arrange interviews with NS, as regular parts of a course, if possible. In this way, learners could actively be involved in activities in a genuine communicative setting. The discourse features characterized by NS' CS or tactics in the conversation, such as, initiating topics, nominating the next speaker, holding the floor, checking comprehension, requesting clarifications, or foregrounding key information, will help learners increase their 'strategic competence'.

The results of this study show that much of NS' and NNS' talk relies on prefabricated or pre-made chunks during the talk-in-interaction. If the instruction on the formation of prefabricated chunks could be provided for learners in classroom, this may be able to raise the awareness of learners regarding the usefulness of the reassembly strategy at times of communicative difficulty and in reducing the processing load so as to achieve language fluency and accuracy. Therefore, attention to or consciousness raising about lexical chunking should be integrated into the syllabus to support development of more natural levels of fluency and receptive understanding of NS. When learners want to gain more

thinking time to plan subsequent units, or search for words, and lack control of simple gambits, such as 'erm..what's it called', they may lose their turn in the discourse. Training in the use of time-gaining strategies, or hedge markers/vague expressions, like 'kind of', or 'sort of', or the strategy of appealing for assistance, could prevent learners from feeling handicapped and keep their communication channels open. As is suggested by the work of Dula (2001) and Rossiter (2001), direct CS instruction can assist learners to avoid communication breakdowns. If learners could be exposed to a wide range of CS, such as, feature analysis strategy, or synonyms strategy, and have these at their command when they need to provide descriptions of lexical items, they may be more capable of conveying their intended meaning, or fulfilling their communicative needs, and thus reach mutual comprehension. This was also demonstrated by Frescura's (1987) study, which showed that after undergoing CS instruction for one month, learners were more able to cope with lexical difficulties.

Interactive strategies with various features of conversation should also be emphasized and instructed in a second language course. For instance, if learners are able to make use of interruptions strategy, by using openers such as, 'Sorry, may I ask a question…'or 'May I add something', or clarification requests, such as, 'Do you enjoy…', 'which one…', or minimal form clarification request markers and elliptical repeats, such as ' ↑ pardon ↑ ' , 'what' , 'I don't know. ' 'I don't follow.', or 'what do you mean ?' etc. (Langford, 1981), they may be more able to co-ordinate their actions with a current speaker and thus more effectively make contributions or influence the course of the interaction. Even the teaching of backchannel strategy could equip learners to be comfortable and appropriate conversationalists, maintain smooth and harmonious conversations, and show their alignment and support for a current speaker. Additionally, the training of confirmation checks, such as, 'Is this…', 'Did you say…'or repetition of

all or part of the interlocutor's preceding utterance, can help interlocutors actively participate in the engagement of an ongoing discourse.

In fact, language teachers should firstly provide learners with a repertoire of phrases, sets of expressions, or prefabricated chunks, which are appropriate for the learners' level. Instructors should then give them a chance to practice these before participating in activities in which the L2 will be used. In such a way, learners will at least have the resources available in the target language to express what they want to say, instead of remaining silent if they cannot produce grammatically accurate forms. Similarly, an experiment by Gallagher (2001) has shown that it can be benefit in teaching a range of strategic phrases to beginners to help them maintain communication in a foreign language. NNS are often thought to be overly passive in conversation with NS, and are only capable of using short replies, for instance, answering questions with yes or no, acknowledging compliments or offers with thanks, and responding but never initiating. However, this situation could be improved if teachers could encourage NNS to use CS. For example, learners could be shown how to initiate a new topic via the use of clarification requests. Therefore, teachers' instruction on how CS can be implemented in the second language, and their encouragement to use CS, will help learners not only to expand their repertoire of L2 language, but also increase for themselves chances to learn the target language.

The inclusion of CS instruction in foreign language teaching syllabuses, as well as teachers' positive attitudes towards CS training and their encouragement, would therefore be very beneficial to learners. Educators thus need to design classroom activities and tasks in which introduce and foster different types of CS. As games are considered to more effectively encourage the use of strategies (Gallagher, 2001), it might be necessary to regard them as significant in developing learners' strategic competence instead of being only

entertainment breaks. In addition, pairwork is highly recommended by Phipps, who based on learners' positive views, describes it as a 'very efficient way to learn' (1999, p.1). Macaro (1997, p.135) in his report on the Tarclindy Data, also finds that the 'joint responsibility' of learners involved in collaborative learning does lead to better remembering and understanding. Furthermore, due to the research result of recent interest in CA, educators have to provide and increase the usage of authentic texts incorporating strategy use in language classes in order to promote greater awareness of learners' using CS. They may include actual, unscripted conversations, including hesitations, backchannels, collaborative overlaps, interruptions, and even natural grammatical errors for listening comprehension and speaking practice. Also, although the use of drilling or any other forms of language activity in the language classroom may not be as natural as face-to-face conversational interactions, it provides opportunities for learners to practice the use of CS, and thus to build up their confidence in the target language. For some students these practised exchanges may then be available for them to use in real encounters.

The findings of this present study, conducted on the basis of the CA approach, suggest that the different categories of CS employed by NS or NNS during interactions, are used as problem-solving devices or meaning-negotiation strategies to promote mutual understanding as have been identified, illustrated and analyzed in the literature. More importantly, they are employed as meaning-creating and communication-enhancing strategies to help co-ordinate actions with current speakers, and also assist in achieving participant engagement. It would be advantageous to incorporate a CS program into teaching syllabuses or curriculum; learners attempting to engage in talk-in-interaction with NS of English would greatly benefit from the effective application of appropriate CS. Successful and skilful use of CS by learners would help them cope with communication breakdowns, deal with problem-solving, and allow them to maintain conversations. Above all, it may assist learners to be more

confident, relaxed and motivated in their success in talk-in-interaction, and also to be more able to cultivate a harmonious relationship between speakers and interlocutors through co-participation in an ongoing discourse.

6.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Study

The present study only investigates CS used in informal friendly talk. This study involved NS of English and Mandarin-speaking learners of English, whose topic, 'scary experiences', was nominated by the investigator. These stories were recounted in a 'semi-natural' situation. The emphasis was on the analysis of single cases of stories told in conversation. Therefore, studies focusing on CS only by one individual in one situation and with one language certainly have their limitations. I therefore suggest a few possible directions for further studies below.

Firstly, the current study was conducted in merely a 'semi-natural' situation in which CS devices were used by NS and NNS. This setting may not be 'natural' enough. In order to extend the research, it would be necessary to administer different types of tasks that are more interactive and contextualized. Therefore, an investigation of problems and CS use in interactions under different naturally occurring contexts should be conducted. This could include different discourse domains and speech events, such as, those occurring in politics, business, family conversation, or live TV broadcast settings. Analyses of talk involving NS and NNS in different social and institutional settings would also be able to expand the categories, functions, and notion of CS.

Secondly, this study was concerned with interactions, and thus the CS, used only among friends. A further research agenda on CS should address problems and strategies in different interlocutor constellations. For example, (a) boss(es) and (an) employee(s), (a) parent(s) and child(ren), (a) barber(s) and (a) customer(s), or (a) pastor(s) and (a) church-goer(s). Social class, status, ethnicity, age, gender, and linguistic background may also influence the choice of CS. This may lead to a more

marked difference in the patterns of CS used in different interlocutor constellations. It might be interesting to investigate the way in which the relationship between different interlocutor constellations and CS usage varies according to the spontaneity of the task. Moreover, there were only two groups chosen in the current study: the NS of English, and the Mandarin-speaking ESL learners. This may not be enough to establish the generalisability. Further research should include more groups of NS of English and Mandarin-speaking ESL learners, so as to enhance the generalisability of the results.

The topic chosen for this study is "scary experiences" which may mostly be involved people creating tension in their storytelling. Alternative topics such as incidents of people's life might shape the natural discourse and enrich the description of CS or have a wide-range of CS taxonomy.

Finally, the choice of CS and success in using them may also vary with different languages. This study only takes one language – English - into investigation and compares the differences in CS use between NS and NNS. According to Raupach's (1983) study, not only the distribution, but also the nature of some hesitation phenomena and CS does not seem to be the same in L1 and L2 performance. Some language-specific use of phenomena can be observed in L1 performance but may not usually be mastered by L2 learners. In contrast, some forms of communicative behaviour are mostly learner-specific; these are rarely used by NS. Many factors constituting a learner's fluency in her/his L1 (Fillmore 1979) are likely to occur, in one form or another, in the learner's L2 performance. It is thus possible that some forms of communicative behaviour in a learner's L2 performance can be adequately interpreted only in light of her/his L1 behaviour. It might also be interesting to examine the ways in which CS used by the same L2 learners varies according to whether they use their L1

or L2. In addition, language is also culture-specific. Further research is now required to extend it to the rest of the CS taxonomy, and to investigate whether or not the features of different languages might account for cultural differences in the participants' choice of different linguistic CS.

In sum, a more comprehensive account of CS would need to include analyses of CS usage by participants carrying out different types of tasks, and in both natural and contextualized settings. The choice of CS may be learner-specific, so CS use may be constrained by participants' roles and the overall and local goals that need to be achieved for them to be able to carry out the tasks. Research into CS employed by different interlocutor constellations might further increase our understanding of CS features, categories, and functions. Furthermore, future analysis should be carried out with reference to other relevant data - the learner's own L1 behaviour being one of the most valuable sources of information. CS usage in interactions between bilinguals and monolinguals may also be a fruitful avenue for further research.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Transcription Conventions

(0.5) Pauses are timed when they illustrate a certain point made. The number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.

(.) A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates a pause in the talk of less than two-tenths of a second.

(( )) A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity in the conversation, e.g. ((knock)), or various characterisations of the talk, e.g. ((laugh)), or other details of the conversational scene, e.g. ((look at Claire)).

( ) Empty parentheses indicate a doubtful transcription or indecipherable part of conversation

[ ] Square brackets between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicate the onset and end of a spate of overlapping talk.

.hh A dot before an 'h' indicates speaker in-breath. The more h's, the longer the in-breath.

hh An 'h' indicates an out-breath. The more h's the longer the breath.

= The 'equal' sign indicates a single person's utterance which is a continuous flow of speech but has been separated graphically to accommodate intervening interruption.

↑↓ Pointed arrows indicate a marked falling or rising intonational shift. They are placed immediately before the onset of the shift.

{ } Attempted utterance: an utterance which was started but abandoned because of interruption, overlap or insertion.

: Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more colons are, the greater the extent of the stretching is.

→ Arrows in the left margin point to specific parts of an extract discussed in the text.

>< 'More than' and 'less than' signs indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably more quickly than the surrounding talk.

Capital Words in capital mark a section of speech in very emphatic stress or noticeably louder than that surrounding it.

! Exclamation marks are used to indicate an animated or emphatic tone

° ° Degree signs are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk.

Appendix 2

Data Transcripts of NS of *English*

1. **Rh:** so it was like (.) Ha ha (.) got you there (3.0)you ↓Haven't Don:e
2. (1.5) sailing or rafting or > anything like that <
3. **Rl:** ↓NO (.) the only (.) 'cause (1.5) the only thing I could
4. that that tha…((myuha !)) – I Can't even TAlk English
5. now [(0.5) that brought to MInd (laugh through) =
6. **Others:** [((chuckle))]
7. **Rl:** = er:m the ONly experience that (0.5) I've had of water
8. was (.) when I was in the Amazon (2.0). uh I went to
9. Ecuador (1.0) { }
10. **Other** Ohh Yeah Yea: yea:
11. **Rh:** Yeah [yay]
12. **Rl:** [I went to]
13. Ecuador on mission A:nd we spent (.) we ONly spent
14. ONe night (.) in the Amazon rain forest (2.0) Er:m (1.0)
15. Oh:. YEAh (.) it's coming BAck to me now (0.5)
16. an' we GOt there an' it was quite DARk (.) an:d (.)
17. we were like staying in these BEA:utiful kind of (2.0)
18. just like WHAt you iMAgine these little like (0.5)
19. wooden: HUts on ((laugh through)) the edge of
20. the Amazon an' we stayed overnight there
21. (0.5) .hhh WHat we had to do was go to
22. visit this (.) like (0.5) um.NAtive Indian village
23. on the Other side(1.0).
24. DIdju GO: into the Amazon ↓ (0.5) (look at Claire)
25. **Ce:** A:h we went to the jungle yeah (1.5)
26. **Rl:** So we PRObably went to exactly the same place (.)
27. an' BAsically (1.0) we went over to this village (.)
28. an' (1.0) er:h yeah I'm sure they were basically a tourist
29. attraction but (.) they claimed to be (.) y' know (.)
30. the native [Ecuadorian jungle inhabitant] =
31. **Others:** [((laughter))]
32. **Rl:** = but TO GEt there you had to get on to this little

33. sort of (.) canoe thing which is basically a dug out
34. tree trunk { } [WE HA:d about
35. **Rh:** Oh we did th[at
36. **Rl:** = eight people in it (1.0)
37. **Ce:** ↑ yeah
38. **Rl:** = WEll we wanted to get from there to THEre (.)
39. but the CUrrent was so strong in THAt direction
40. that you got (.) TOtally (.) SUcked in that direction (0.5)
41. then the little BOy had to just PAddle you all the way
42. back up STREam (.) an' the DIstance you were trying to
43. go (.) was probably only about TWIce (laugh through)
44. distance of this room (.) .hh an' we went MI:les
45. in that direction just to get SUcked all the way
46. [back up] (1.0) an' I was like terrified that there's =
47. **Rh:** [Ha ha]
48. **Rl:** = going to be SNAkes (.) an' PIRA:[:nhas (.)] =
49. **Rh:** [Oh right]
50. **Rl:** = an' ALL: an' LEEchE:s (1.0) =
51. **Rh:** [LEEches]
52. **Rl:** = OU:::gh (.) just loads of horrible things (.)
53. an' I'm sure (.) it was all OK (1.5)
54. but (0.5) { }
55. **Rh:** it's the LIttle creepy crawlies [though] (1.0) =
56. **Rl:** [Eew:::!]
57. **Rh:** = 'cause you get the (.) the (.) the Lake Vic (0.5)
58. they've got the er:m::(0.5) the (.) microscopic
59. SNAils (0.5) Ah (0.5) I can't ah (.) er:m (.)
60. what's it called (.) that condition (1.0) which do
61. very [nasty...] Bilhazia (1.0) yeah (1.0) =
62. **Rl:** [Bilharzia]
63. **Rh:** = so (.) you you kinda get a little bit .hh (.)
64. they've also got a variety of FLY
65. that if you have a wou:nd (1.0) wil will will
66. lay its eggs in your open [wound ( )]
67. **JD:** [A:hhh !]
68. **Rl:** WArgh::! [((laughter))]
69. **Rh:** ((laughter))
70. **Others:** [((laughter))]

71. **Rh:** QUIte (.) NA:sty er:m(2.0) but (0.5) those those
72. canoes with the: (.) the > dug out canoes we
73. went on them< (0.5) they had this REally funny thing
74. called the muzungo (0.5) COrk screw (.) .hhh were all
75. these white guys (.) try to get on (0.5) in (.) in the canoes
76. an' erm: (1.5) get them to go strAIght (.) but
77. just spin them aROund an' that is EXActly what
78. we did (.) [we need ( ) ((laugh through)) =
79. **Rl:** [((laughter]))
80. **Rh:** = we couldn't get them to go strAIght (0.5) =
81. **Rl:** ((laughter))
82. **Rh:** = were you actually Paddling
83. **Rl:** NO: we just had (.) ONe guide [{ } ( )
84. **Rh:** HE PRObably]
85. could (0.5) do more than the rest [of you put together
86. **Rl:** ALthough the] GUIdes
87. were just (.) just (.) incredible (0.5) an' it's
88. very SHAllow water { } Anyway (0.5) .hhh it was =
89. **Rh:** m..
90. **Rl;** = just extremely FAst flowing (1.0) an' THEen (.)
91. it did get even More TERrifying (.) 'cause then we got
92. onto the other side (.) an' we were just like (.) y' know
93. this' our FIR:st evening in the jungle (0.5) .hh y' know
94. walking through the bush an' I was thinkin' there are
95. probably TARantulas an' LEOpards an'
96. [what ever else you have in jungles about to LEAp out] ((laugh =
97. **Rh:** [((laughter))]
98. = through)) at me (2.0) °I don't think you get leopards
99. in jungles° do you but (.) anyway (1.5) an' THEn
100. we came to this like (.) little VI:llage there (1.5)
101. °an' um the:n (0.5) I then just ° SAW (.) this GREat (.)
102. MAssive (.) SNAke an' I just was (.) ABsolutely
103. (.) RI:gid with fear (0.5) ABsolutely PEtrified (0.5)
104. .hh an' then WHAt we were doing: was like (.) HOlding
105. this erm (.) boa constrictor round our NEcks (0.5) an'
106. so we all like (.) POsed an' had our photo(1.0) .hh an'
107. I wasn't (.) > I DIdn't realize < I was SCAred of
108. SNAkes (0.5) until then (.) an' > I just thought =

109. **Rh:** right
110. = I've got a boa constrictor round my neck< this is like
111. TERrifying .hhh(0.5) an' then later on (.) they said
112. Oh! it's OK so long as it's Eaten (1.0) an' I was like
113. 'has it eaten' (.) an' they were like NO (0.5) I think
114. it was just going to EA:t me (1.5) Er:m an' so that was =
115. **Ce:** ha
116. **Rl:** = quite Terrifying (.) an' then on the way BAck (.)
117. EVeryone Else had got into a CAnoe (.) an' I had
118. just got like (.) LEft on the BAnk with about Eight (.)
119. ((laugh through))Ecuadorian TOur guides (.) .hhh
120. an' they WERen't like very CON:erned about their
121. own SAfety (.) 'cause they all thought (.) it would be
122. ° FI:.ne ° (.) so I was just like left (.) Oh! my GOd an'
123. I really was praying like mad (1.5) 'cause I just thought (.) =
124. **Rh:** mm
125. **Rl:** = y' know (.) they're (0.5) they're so not going to CAre
126. whether they CApsize with me in (0.5) an' they just
127. like REally MEssed ARO:und an' we went HURt (.)
128. an' this was it was Pitch BLAck (.) absolutely
129. everywhere 'cause there is no elecTRIcity in the jungle (1.0)
130. we STArted at like seven [o'clock at night] (.) an' we just =
131. **Rh:** [yea]
132. **Rl:** = went HURtling DOwn the Amazon just over
133. these rapids(1.0).hh but then it GOt WOrse (.)
134. the following day (.) we actually went for like (.)
135. quite a LO:ng journey (0.5) down the (.) on these
136. little canoes (1.5) an' the RApids were just INcredible
137. an' I was (1.0) probably FAlsely (.) PEtrified of there
138. being piranhas (1.5) an' various things (.) that I just
139. heard that (.) y' know (.) a few piranhas can like (.) skin
140. a cow alive in thirty seconds (.) an' > I'm thinking (.)
141. [I'm not the half size of a COw how long is it going to =
142. **Rh:** [((laughter
143. **Rl:** = take them (.) to do me] < .hh (2.5) ER:m (0.5) an' SO we =
144. **Rh:**]))
145. **Rl:** = were going over these RApids (.) an' it LIterally were you
146. were FAlling out an' the WHOLE boat's SCREA:MING (.)

147. an' I just kept trying to tell them to shut up 'cause I really
148. didn't think it's HElping the situation ((laugh through))
149. (0.5) .hhh AN' ↑ THEN (.) ((chuckling)) =
150. **Rh:** were (.) were they enjoying
151. it Or were they { }
152. **RI:** = oh yeah well I absolutely lovedit
153. we all really lovedit { } but it was the:: ONLY (.) =
154. **Rh:** OH right
155. **RI:** = it's the kindaf love (.) HAte (.) FEAr excitement kind of
156. BARrier (.) an' it's only 'cause you're Absolutely
157. PEtrified that you actually really think it's amazing (0.5) =
158. Rh: right
159. **RI:** = an' I kept thinking (.) I'm in *the BRI:GHT* sunshine (1.0)
160. y' know (.) hurtling down the Amazon river this *is really*
161. quite cool (0.5) BUt THEn: ((laugh)) this other > little
162. 'cause there was about three of us in these canoes (.) < this
163. other one like HUrtled PAst us an' they were all (.) REA:lly
164. screaming 'cause they'd lost their guide (2.5) =
165. **Others:** ((laughter
166. **RI:** = an' then we're CRASHing over these like (0.5.) =
167. **Others:**))
168. **RI:** = RApids they were like (.) PLEA:SE ↑ (.)PLEA:SE ↑
169. >come and help us<.an' their GUI:de was like (.)
170. SWI:Mming behind them (1.0) so (.) =
171. **Others:** ((laughter))
172. **RI:** = OBviously there weren't many piranhas in (.) 'cause
173. the guides didn't seem especially fussed (0.5) an' they rescued
174. them in the end an' it was all Ok (.) an' I mean (0.5){ } =
175. **Rh:** THAt is
176. terrifying !
177. **RI:** ((laugh ter))
178. **Others:** ((laughter))
179. **RI:** = we WEre a bit (1.0) I've got these wonderful photos
180. of just like (.) BAcks of people' HEAds like (0.5) =
181. **Others:** ((laughter))
182. **RI:** = behind me in the boat (.) an' these MASsive WA:ves
183. as like as we were going through (0.5) an' then we did (.)
184. we trekked through the Amazon rain forest (.) which was

185. just the most awesome experience of my entire life (.)
186. but (.) the WHOle time (2.0) an' like all the NIght (.)
187. I was just REA:lly (1.0) I don't know whether you found
188. this just TEnse with FEAr (.) I was just like (.) the
189. adrenalin was just PUmping SO: much I've never been
190. like (.) SO: Awake (.) an' SO: alert (.) the whole
191. time (0.5) so I'm just conscious that (.) y' know (.)
192. any (1.0) { } sort of HORRible creature could just =
193. **J:** ((laughter))
194. **Rl:** = LAnd on me from any Angle I just thought (.) what
195. kind of (0.5) animals ARE there (.) In this place
196. **Ce:** what else didja Actually see
197. **Rl:** I DIdn't really see [that much] =
198. **Others:** [((laughter))]
199. **Rl:** = but that's 'cause I just didn't look (1.0) er:m there were
200. like giant (.) 'cause we HArdly went very far really (.)
201. there were like GIant insects (1.0) erm (1.0) an' (.) like
202. BEAUTiful butterflies and BEAUTiful parrots (.)
203. I mean we WEnt to this little bit where they (0.5) kind of
204. like a zoo in the middle of the Amazon Rain Forest (0.5)
205. an' they HA:da (0.5) monkeys(.)[an' anteaters] =
206. **Ce:** [things anteaters]
207. **Rl:** = an' (.) VARious (0.5) kind of caged > they WERen't
208. caged up < but they weren't like running loose sort of thing
209. (1.0) er:m (1.0) but I remember in the NIghts (0.5)
210. 'cause you're all like in our bunk beds there with
211. mosquito nets an' { } > ↑OF course I was TERrified =
212. **Rh:** ( )
213. **Rl:** = of mos QUItoes as well 'cause I thought (0.5) I'm not
214. going to get malaria (.) .hh { }< er:m { }
215. **Rh:** err mosquitoes are
216. awful 'cause they wait till you just go to sleep an' then
217. ((buzzing [noise)) [((laughter)) =
218. **Rl:** [an' then they STAR:t]
219. **Others:** [((laughter))]
220. **Rh:** = hə roun (.) round your ear y' know (.) huh (.) [you're awake] ((laughter))
221. **Rl:** [you're right]
222. about four o'clock in the morning my friend was like

223. ↑ RAchel ↑ RAchel ↑there's one in the bottom of your bed
224. an' I was like <↑A:Hhh (.) an' eventually we worked out
225. it was probably my FEEt (1.0) ( ) my HEAd (0.5) but
226. **Others:** ((laughter))
227. **RI:** = then for the REst of the NIght I just lay there with
228. my TOrch 'cause I was on the top bunk an' I just did it
229. BAck*fards an' forwards with my TOrch (0.5) =
230. **Others:** ⌈((laughter
231. **RI:** ⌊= CHEcking (0.5) ((laugh through)) that there WEREN't
232. any SPIders or SNAkes on the roof about to COme an' land
233. on me ((laugh through)) ⌉
234. **Others:**)) ((sigh))
235. **Rh:** ((laughter))
236. **RI:** so yeah (.) that (.) that was my (0.5) ah fearful time but it was
237. linked (.) to being the most awesome time (0.5) as well
238. **Claire:** ⌈er:m erm ⌉
239. **Rh:** ⌊'cause Cla (.)⌋ Claire's fear was was the sausage flies, that
240. was the: (.){ } =
241. **RI:** what are they
242. **Rh:** = well she just like she developed irrational (.) hatred
243. of these very common (.) ↓FLY: > kind of things < (0.5)
244. they had kind of ↓sausage (0.5) bits towards them
245. so that (.) and she just she couldn't ↓HAndle it sorry
246. this is Clair (.) Thompson from the Uganda lot she wasn't
247. > afraid of the water she was afraid of < these ↓flies
248. they were just (.) they were just like ↓big flies um (.)
249. they they weren't bite or anything you know (.) she just (.)
250. couldn't ↓handle it 'cause she's got like ↓BIG hair (1.5)
251. sorry I interrupted

Appendix 3

Data Transcripts of NNS of English

1. **C:** > particularly I remembered in the higher
2. mountain< (1.5) HE:lp
3. **Others:** ((laughter))
4. **C:** that's it
5. **L:** It's my turn (0.5) I don't want speak
6. **Others:** ((laughter))
7. **J:** CAn NOt (0.5) you've eatn my FOOd Already
8. **Others:** ((more loud laughter))
9. **L:** oh (.) my gosh (.) how can I say (1.0) I think it was (1.5) it was (4.0)
10. FIVE years ago (0.5)
11. **J:** Five years ago
12. **L:** no don't ((laughter)) please (.)
13. **P:** ((laughter))
14. **L:** I think it's five years ago(2.0) just just start (1.0)
15. working on the (.) in BA:nk (2.0) got in the fir:st (1.0)wha:
16. in the FIRST day: (0.5) was (0.5) my dad (1.0) took me (2.0)
17. to the bank ?(1.5) the master was tell my fa (0.5) was TO:ld (1.0)
18. he >TELling my father so (0.5) < you have to (1.0)
19. buy your daughter (.) a motorbike (0.5) because (0.5)
20. our working time is different than (.) LOcal time so you can't
21. catch the bus (1.5) so you needed real bis (1.0) MOtorbike
22. because (0.5) MOst people they rid bi (1.0) MOtorbike (1.0) { } =
23. **Others:** mm m-hm
24. **L:** = go to work so (1.0) I just (1.5) I JUst (1.0) I JUst (1.0) I JUst
25. don't want me (.) rid bicycle (.) BI- (0.5) MOtorbike I mean (0.5)
26. because there lots of (0.5) uh a:cci (1.0) accident =
27. **J:** Hm[m
28. **P:** [mm]
29. **L:** = so (.) AFter one (0.5) I think one month (2.0.) I thought (.)
30. I really need one (0.5) because this (.) this is not very (.)
31. convenience for me (1.0) because (.) all time (0.5) my
32. COlleague (0.5) give me a LIft (1.0) so (2.0) so they decide:d

33. to (2.0) offer me a bike (.) motorbike =
34. J: hmm
35. L: = BUT (1.5) just (0.5) a:after bought me a motorbike
36. just that (0.5) nearly o:ne MOnth (.) I think (1.5) after I
37. FInish wor:k (2.0) oh I gave (.) I gave to my (.) my
38. colleague a lift (1.0) he was sitting (1.0) SHE was
39. sitting (1.0) my back (0.5) so (1.0) when we >TAlk talking
40. talking just (.) < one (1.0) CAR (1.0) just try to =
41. P: mm
42. L: = he wants to CROoss road (0.5)to uh side of (.) restaurant
43. so (0.5) I wasn't see that (1.0) so (0.5) SUDdenly =
44. P: Mm
45. L: = we CRAshed (2.0) =
46. P: /ɻ/Ohhh
47. L: = my GOsh (0.5) =
48. P: Ohh
49. L: = just I really scared (.) but (0.5) AT THAT time
50. I didn't were (.) I WAsn't very scared because (0.5)
51. I just so WHY I'm NOT (1.5) how to say (2.0)
52. 好像飛車一樣(.)飛過去 (as if flying cars could fly or sail over)
53. C: ((laugh [ter))
54. L: [((LAUGHter))
55. Others: (([laughter))
56. L: 我爲甚麼沒有飛過去呢 (Why didn't I fly over?) ((laughter))
57. J: [((laughter))
58. C: 我爲甚麼沒有飛過 [去 (Why didn't I fly over?) [((laughter))
59. P: [it's HARd to translate that [((laughter))
60. Others: [((laughter))
61. L: I just (.) I just (.) suddenly my (.) motor [bike]=
62. C: [you] thought
63. you are James Bond [((laughter))
64. Others: [((laughter))
65. L: [= I know I just (.) stay aSTAy (.)
66. where: (.) ((laughter)) WHERE I am just (.) just (.) my
67. mo (.)mo (.) motorbike's broken(.) suddenly { } =
68. P: Wahh..
69. L: = because it's made (1.0) to the (.) the BOdy (.) just made by

70. [plastic
71. P: plastic]
72. J: plastic ((laughter))
73. L: so this I say (.) oh god what I should DO (.) if my dad
74. mad's (1.0) I just THink about that (0.5) I didn't (.) =
75. P: mm
76. L: = wasn't think of my HURt (.) how hurt of my [↓LE:g
77. Others: [((laughter))]
78. L: >↑I all think about my motorbike was ↓BROKEN+
79. ((laughter)) < so (0.5) because I wasn't know
80. whose fault because I think (0.5) I thought should my
81. fault [( )] yeah so I just (2.0) I phone my parents (0.5) =
82. P: [yes]
83. L: = and say that (1.0) I am (1.5) maybe I should (0.5)
84. later (3.0) I (.)I I got some emergency (1.0) so (.) after that
85. they they take (0.5) took me to the hospital together (1.0)
86. I said no problem I can go home
87. P: umm
88. L: wha (3.0) why (0.5) [when] I just (1.0) open the door (1.0)
89. all my family was watching TV (.) and some (0.5) guests
90. as well (1.0) so (.) just suddenly I told my parents I got
91. accident (1.0) they say ↓WHAT (1.0) I said I um I my my
92. motor motorbike was broken my (.) dad just starts (.)
93. angry with me so I..I so scared but after that he fixed my
94. motorbike ( )
95. Others: umm um
96. L: just I just scared (0.5) my dad
97. J: ((laughter)) you just ↓SCARed of your dad
98. P: where is your dad
99. L: after that (.) my dad didn't allow me to rid a bi:cycle (2.0)
100. motorbike (1.0) sorry that's why after [( )
101. J: [do ↑you have a (2.0)]
102. motorbike ↑license
103. L: (1.0) yes I got just boughtit (0.5) just I { }
104. J: [you ↑BOUGHTIT
105. A: [you (1.0) you]
106. Others: ((laughter))

107. **L:** *yeah I boughdit (0.5) just (.) I bough*[dit.
108. **S:** ↓*INTEResting*
109. **J:** Oh ↓*really (1.0)*
110. you didn't ↑PASS (.) you didn't ↑PA:SS the ex. { }
111. **L:** I didn't I didn't
112. [actually take it
113. **A:** you you didn't] take the ↓test
114. **L:** I take { }
115. **H:** but you get the (0.5) ↓ license
116. **L:** 對 (right) Yeah 兩件事嘛 (two different stories)
117. **S:** [Wahhhh....
118. **A:** ((laughter))]
119. **J:** you can ↓bu:y it
120. **Others:** ((laughter))
121. **A:** OH it's so ↓UNFAIR [((laughter))
122. **Others:** ((laughter))]
123. **C:** it's [terrible
124. **S:** it it it is] not very easy in Beijing
125. **Others:** ((laughter))
126. **J:** nd your colleague give you a ↓LIFT ((laughter))
127. **L:** yeah (0.5) I just say (.) um (0.5) very (0.5) but (.) actually
128. I drive too fast (0.5) that is why { }=
129. **Others:** ((laughter and talking))
130. **L:** =just my colleague in (.) in just in the (0.5)
131. the lunch time he taught me how to drive (0.5) { }
132. **Others:** ((laughter))
133. **L:** after that { } >after FINISH ↓DROVE to home < ((laughter))
134. **Others:** ((laughter))
135. **Others:** ((laughter))
136. **S:** Uhhh ((sigh))
137. **C:** scary woman
138. **L:** just like that (.) the fir:st day (.) the first time I slowly
139. ver very slowly (0.5) just like try to (2.0)
140. **J:** is it the common situation (1.0) I mean for (1.0.)
141. for people living in (0.5) Mainland China { } =
142. **C:** ↑No
143. **J:** = they they bought { }
144. **Others:** ((laughter))

145. **A:** they bought the ↓LICENSE
146. **Others:** ((laughter))
147. **P:** 方便直跑 (It is so convenient to run away)
148. **Others:** ((laughter))
149. **L:** my (.) my (.) but but (.) becau:se it's very easy to
150. drive (1.0) motorbike so that { }
151. **C:** is it↑
152. **J:** of course but the umm { }
153. **P:** so you don't need ↓LICEnse
154. **L:** you ↓DO: [need
155. **A:** you] ↓NEED license but { }
156. **L:** [they want ↓CHE:CK [some licen ( ) =
157. **S:** you ↓BU:Y it.]
158. **A:** you can buy one]
159. **L:** =( ) the 交警隊 (traffic officer)(3.0)
160. **J:** 交警隊 (traffic officer)
161. **L:** they'll check (1.0) if you cat.(0.5) 那個(that) *catched it(0.5)
162. you have to pay: (1.0) =
163. **J:** [you have to pay::
164. **L:** tw] two hundred yen
165. **J:** but can they ↓TELL (.) > this is the uh this is
166. th[e license you bought =
167. **A:** license you bought]
168. **J:** = or you (.) you you < [you get it legally
169. **L:** ↓No]
170. **L:** = it's doesn't matter you you bought (.) or you
171. just pass it (.) 這個 (this) but there's > no lesson
172. thing < (.) no lesson < you can take it and pass it < (.)
173. but just no (.) just no (0.5) just we needit (1.5)
174. but they don't (1.0) =
175. **J:** = don't [checkit
176. **L:** actually] a.a:ctual actually
177. I've got that test (1.0) to pass you can get driver license
178. **J:** but (.) but when the policeman (0.5) I mean the po police
179. officer (1.5) OK caught you right (1.5) { } and then
180. **L:** yeh
181. **J:** can he ↓TELL this is the { } =
182. **H:** oh yes yes yes

183. **J:** = ↓REAL { }
184. **H:** the fake one is ( )
185. **S:** [it's the ↓REA:L (1.0) license
186. **L:** [no its it it doesn't matter] it's real or fake
187. just you ↓HAVE it just all right
188. **Others:** ((laughter))
189. **L:** nobody knows it fake or (.) or real one
190. **Others:** ((laughter)) Ohhhh...
191. **L:** it's awful yeah (.) really awful
192. **Others:** ((laughter))
193. **L:** it's why I got (.) the accident happened
194. **Others:** ((laughter))
195. **J:** ( ) why accident happened
196. **P:** that's the ↓REA:SON for law (1.0) that is the reason
197. [why] we have [law]
198. **L:** [wha] [every] body broke the law
199. because the cor:: er { } =
200. **C** ↓Everybody got ↓accident
201. **L:** = the cor:...ruption
202. **P:** ↓corruption yeah
203. **L:** corruption
204. **P:** Wahh
205. **L:** that just like that
206. **P:** just you pay
207. **L:** I was { }
208. **A:** how about the the driving license (1.0) by the car (1.0)
209. [↓YOU also buy (.)] you also buy (0.5)
210. **H:** [you can buy]
211. **A:** buy you're your [driving] license
212. **S:** [car]
213. **L:** ↓NO as it's dependit (0.5) some people they ↓TAKEit
214. **Others:** ((laughter))
215. **L:** ( ) they just CAN (1.0) pass the real just (1.0) by
216. [writing]
217. **P:** [writing]
218. **S:** [Oh just uh (.) the ↓Paper]
219. **L:** [they just do there]
220. **L:** yes (.) some people take it (.) 也可以 (you may)

221. [if you get] people working there{ }
222. **S:** [paper test] (2.0) ↓PAper Test (1.0)
223. no:ta:: ↓DRIver test =
224. **A:** yea
225. **J:** = not the ↓ROAD test
226. **S:** Um yes
227. **L:** but some people they ↓BOUGHT
228. **P:** you still can buy it ((shake his head))
229. **Others:** ((laughter))
230. **A:** you also can ↓buy: it
231. **S:** [Wahhaa
232. **L:** Yehha (1.5) yes (1.0) that's true (.) some people (.)
233. Wha go (got) (.) in my area (.) lots just ever every week
234. they got accident (.) some people they died ( )
235. **J:** ohhhh.....
236. **S:** oh ↓Yes yes I:n Be[jing (2.0)] if you you
237. **L:** ( ) ter[rible]
238. **J:** [It's terrible]
239. **S:** want to get a (2.5) a license driver license (1.0)
240. from Bei from from Beijing from Beijing (1.0)
241. you ↓MUsta (2.0) take a (2.0) paper test and
242. [driver (.) road test (0.5)] =
243. **H:** driv road [test
244. **J:** road test]
245. **S:** = but if you (1.0) if you ↓didn't want to have test (1.0)
246. you ↓CAN (1.5) you ↓CAN ask[some] =
247. **Others:** [((laughter))]
248. **S:** some friend (0.5)[help you (0.5)]
249. **Others:** [((laughter))]
250. **S:** = to ↓BU:Y [err (1.0)] a license (1.0) { }
251. **A:** [yeah]
252. **C:** ((laughter))
253. **S:** = from (1.0) > other place (.) ↓O:THER ci[ty < (1.0)]
254. **J:** [oh I see]
255. **S:** = and you get it and you ↓CAN (0.5) drive your car
256. in Beijing =
257. **J:** oh Paul(.) you had better: ((laughter))
258. **Others:** ((laughter))

259. **J:** if you go to Mainland China you had better not drive
260. **Others:** ((laughter))
261. **S:** = but you ↓CAN't you ↓CAN't buy a license (1.5)
262. of Beijing (0.5) Beijing license you ↓CAN't get it you
263. ↓MUST buy: it (1.0) but ↓O:ther city you can buy
264. **H:** ( )
265. **L:** we ↓HAVE but just nobody follow that
266. **J:** Ohhh I see
267. **L:** because [corruption ( ) but corruption
268. **C:** [I ↓follow it ((laughter))(2.0) ( )don't say]
269. nobody (.) ↓YOU
270. **L:** most people follow that but some people don't
271. **A:** so so uh you can buy the license from other city the:n
272. ↓DRIVE in (.) [Beijing
273. **Others:** [Beijing]
274. **J:** in Beijing
275. **A:** ↓YE:S yes (1.5) yea so it's still dangerous
276. **Others:** ((laughter))
277. **J:** = very dangerous (.) better walk
278. **S:** no:t ↓VER:ry much
279. **Others:** ((laughter))
280. **L:** lots lots of acci accident
281. **P:** that's interesting I never heard that before
282. **Others:** ((laughter))
283. **S:** buta: ↓MOst of them (1.5)[most of them
284. **P:** I (0.5) [now (1.0) now] I (.)
285. I assumed that (1.0) maybe people probably drove
286. wi ↓THOU:t licenses (1.5) { } you know
287. **Others:** ((laughter))
288. **L:** ↓YEAH (1.0) { } yeah you migh hear if you =
289. **A:** ( )
290. **L:** heard of some people (1.0)
291. [got motorbike especially you:ng MAN (1.0) if]they got { }
292. **A:** [but it is more dangerous you bought { }] you
293. **P:** Yeah ((laughter)) people ( )
294. **L :** acci accident is very (0.5) don't be > don't be
295. don't be shock(0.5) <
296. **J:** don't be so surprised

297. **L:** yea (.) don't be so sur( )
298. **J:** nd ↓HOW about the ↓insurance?
299. **L:** yea.. th [at's the problem
300. **J:** [you ↓DON'T have] any insurance
301. **Others:** ((laughter))
302. **S:** [insurance (.) yeah yea (.) we have
303. **L:** [yeah (.) that's the problem (.) that's the problem (.)]
304. yeah (0.5) they also check the insurance (1.0) but
305. just (0.5) nobody buy it (.) so .hhh { } (1.0) so (.)
306. the policeman just (.) in the morning (.) early morning =
307. **A:** ((laughter))
308. **L:** they're stand on the road (0.5) then (1.0) if the (.) people
309. they just (.) you know (.) drive (.) drove on drive drive
310. on the motorbike { } just stop you (.) and =
311. **H:** right
312. **L:** = check you (.) if someone (.)no (.) no no no insurance
313. 的話 (if) (2.0) 加速(people might speed up and run away)
314. **H:** speed up
315. **S:** ↓O:hh yeah ↓RU:N =
316. **L:** = ↓RU:N away
317. **P:** yeah that's right
318. **J:** ↑Overspeed you mean
319. **L:** yeah
320. **S:** [you know
321. **C:** [this is in China] (.) the traffic light does no work (1.0) { } =
322. **J:** oh
323. **C:** = only the policeman work
324. **J:** oh I see just on (0.5) only for reference ((laughter))
325. **P:** yeah (.) only for reference(0.5) yeah
326. **Others:** ((laughter))
327. **S:** you know in in[I want to say ( )
328. **L:** [you can see in my] area lots lots (1.0)
329. motorbike in the car (.) big car they got lots accident because
330. with no insurance(.) my car was (1.0) was taken by them
331. as well(her car without insurance was checked once and towed away)
332. **P:** Wahh
333. **L:** just ( )[insurance
334. **S:** [in: in in] China Ehh (1.0) the the insurance

335. is not (.) not like ↓here(0.5) is (1.5) for (0.5) person (1.0)
336. ↓You: are (.) a ↓DRIVER (0.5) you ↓MUst (.) buy
337. insurance for your ↓SELF (1.5) but in in China (.) you
338. you you ↓MUst buy insurance for your ↓CAR < (4.0)
339. **A:** oh boy
340. **S:** but you didn't have to buy insurance for [↓YOU / the insurance]
341. **L:** ( )
342. **L:** just like how to say (2.0) just like [tax (1.5) ( ) for the =
343. **J:** [= road test
344. **L:** [road test
345. **S:** so(.) if you have license (0.5)you
346. **L:** road (3.0)
347. **S:** can drive(.)] Any:where (1.5) you can bor: borrow (0.5)
348. a car from your friend (2.0) and drive it to (1.0) to (1.5)
349. go go go [(.) everywhere / in in Taiwan]
350. **A:** you must buy (1.0)
351. the insurance for your passenger (1.5) ((laughter))
352. not for: (0.5)[yourself (.) but for you're your ( )
353. **P:** right (.) that's right (.) why you have to ( )]
354. that's right
355. **S:** but ↓here: is for (0.5) ↓PEOPLE
356. **P:** ↓NO
357. **S:** person =
358. **A:** = how come
359. **P:** we buy for (0.5) generally we (.) the ↓LAW is you
360. have to buy insurance for (.) for the other person
361. **H:** yeah
362. **S:** for the ↓OTHER person
363. **P:** you don't have to buy for yourself
364. **S:** uhhh other person
365. **P:** you have to buy (.) it's the law (.) you have to buy
366. **Others:** ( )
367. **P:** what what is the 法理情 (law, logic and humaneness)
368. 那個 (that) (3.0) err (4.0) I (.) what is it err (4.5) when
369. I was studying Chinese I learned about this er (3.0) it's
370. law (0.5) logic (1.0) =
371. **H:** = 情理法 (humaneness, logic, law)
372. **P:** 情理法(humaneness, logic, law)

Appendix 4

Background questionnaire of Participants

NS of English (in the UK)

1. Rachel

   Age: 21 Sex: Female

   Department: Psychology and Physiology

2. Claire

   Age: 21 Sex: Female

   Department: English

3. Clare

   Age: 20 Sex: Female

   Department: Music

4. JD

   Age: 22 Sex: Male

   Department: Physics

5. Ralph

   Age: 22 Sex: Male

   Department: Law

NNS of English

1. Lily

   Age: 26 Sex: Female

   Country: Mainland China Major: Accounting

   The length of staying in the U.K.: two years and ten months

   The length of studying English: ten years

   The major problem of communicating with NS: no confidence

2. I-Hsuan

   Age: 29 Sex: Female

   Country: Taiwan Major: Immunobiology

   The length of staying in the U.K.: one year and two months

   The length of studying English: over nine years

   The major problem of communicating with NS: register (language style)

3. Connie

Age: 20 Sex: Female

Country: Mainland China Major: Town and Country Planning

The length of staying in the U.K.: five years

The length of studying English: eight years

The major problem of communicating with NS: vocabulary

4. Ruoxin

Age: 25 Sex: male

Country: Mainland China Major: Graphic Design and Printing

The length of staying in the U.K.: five months

The length of studying English: ten years

The major problem of communicating with NS: vocabulary

5. Wei

Age: 27 Sex: male

Country: Taiwan Major: Property Investment

The length of staying in the U.K. : five years

The length of studying English: 17 years

The major problem of communicating with NS: accent

6. Paul (NS)

Age: 43 Sex: male

Country: America Occupation: missionary