	TURN-TAKING IN AN EFL DISCUSSION TASK
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Abstract

This paper begins with a discussion of the importance of socio-linguistic, discourse, and strategic competence, and turn-taking in particular, in EFL small group discussion activities. Data from a transcript of an audio-cassette recording of a 13-minute task-based discussion between four pre-intermediate level Japanese adult learners is analyzed to reveal how turn-taking mechanisms are realized. Additional data was obtained from observations about the non-verbal behaviour of the participants during the task and also notes taken during an interview with them after the task was completed. Following an assessment of how well the participants fulfilled the task in terms of content, or ideas presented, "real world" constraints which may have affected their performance are examined. Socio-cultural factors affecting turn-taking are also described. Despite these factors and constraints, there is evidence to suggest that the participants do not manage turn-taking effectively. Finally, implications for the classroom are discussed.

Introduction

Boxer and Pickering (1995.52) cite the following from Canale and Swain (1980): "the achievement of communicative competence involves not only linguistic but socio-linguistic, discourse, and strategic compe-

tence as well". The extent to which the latter three competences are coterminous has been subject of some debate and there is also some overlap with the notion of pragmatic competence. However, for the purposes of this paper, they will be taken broadly to mean the learner's ability to take part in discussions effectively and appropriately, conforming to norms of language use. Turn-taking, or methods used and rules followed to determine or allow speaker selection or change, is therefore a key interactive mechanism for managing participation in discussion. Since the importance of these competences has gone unchallenged and appears to be universally accepted, it is interesting to note that many language tests, TOEIC for example, fail to assess this aspect of a learner's performance in oral examinations. One notable exception is the UCLES suite of oral examinations, PET (Preliminary English Test) and FCE (First Certificate of English) for example, which include simulated situations for discussion, and it is here that the candidate's socio-linguistic, discourse, and strategic competence is assessed. On the assessment scale for FCE, part of one band descriptor for a good pass describes the candidate as "showing sensitivity to turn-taking".

The text I have chosen for analysis is a transcript of four Japanese speakers doing one of these tasks from the Cambridge PET oral examination. The instructions for the task are as follows.

Your nextdoor neighbour is a very nice old lady of eighty years of age. She doesn't walk very well. She became a widow last year, so she's a bit lonely. She says she'd like a pet and asks you for advice. Discuss the ideas in the picture below and choose a pet for her. Try to talk about all of the ideas for pets, in English of course, discussing the good points and bad points of each one and

> then make a decision about which would be best.
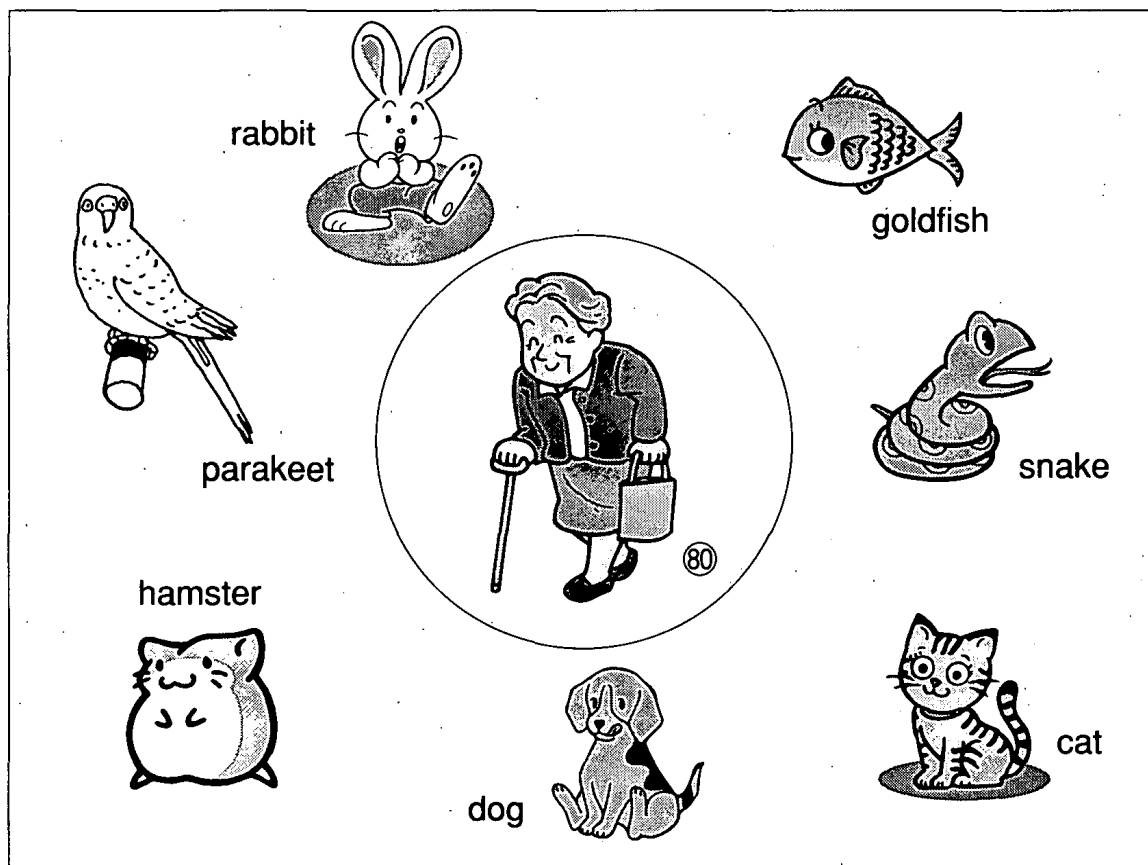
I have selected this type of task because it requires the students to work towards a conclusion without prompting from the interlocutor. This allowed me both to avoid intervention and to observe, and note down, the non-verbal strategies employed by the students in holding and passing the floor. From the evidence of my analysis of the transcript (see Appendix) and my notes, I hope to assess the success and naturalness of the conversation from the following perspectives.

(i) How well did they fulfill the task?

(ii) How does the "real world" context affect their performance?

(iii) How do socio-cultural factors affect turn-taking in their conversation?

(iv) How effectively are turn-taking strategies managed?

(v) What implications do the findings of this analysis have for the classroom?

(i) How well did they fulfill the task?

The ideas mentioned by the speakers, as detailed in Table1, are

Table 1   Analysis of merits and demerits of each pet as mentioned by speakers

The dotted lines (-----) signifies that no evidence or justification was provided

<u>Key to speakers</u> 1. Yasuda   2. Kaori   3. Kyoko   4. Keiko

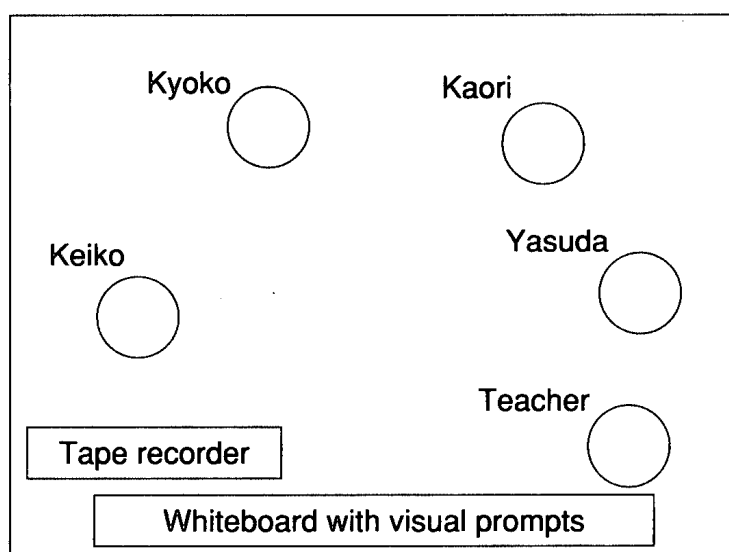| Pet option	Merit	Demerit
dog (general)	(1) healthy (1) good for walking (1) clever, can help her	(4) need a lot of food (4) need to take it for walks
small dog	(1) lovely (3) good for walking (4) easy to take care of	(1) too noisy, barking a lot (1) can't feel at peace at home (1) fussy about food
big dog	(1) doesn't move quickly (1) doesn't climb or bark much (1) not fussy about food	-----------
snake	(3) friends will want to come and see it	(1) bad (1) ladies don't like snakes
goldfish	-----------	(1) die soon, she will cry.
parakeet	(3) cheerful singing (4) no need to take it for walks (4) don't need much food	(1) too loud (noisy)
hamster	-----------	(1) die soon (3) active at night, sleep in day
rabbit	-----------	(1) not good for indoors
cat	(1) companionship lifestyle (1) easy to look after (4) no need to take walks (4) don't need much food	(1) have many babies
salamander	-----------	-----------

impressive in both quantity and quality. Purely in terms of content, I would conclude that the conversation is successful. Although the speakers do not arrive at a conclusion, I would not view this as a failing. Indeed, I regard it as a positive feature, evidence that the discussion could continue for longer, evidence that the speakers display an ability to constantly re-initiate. In view of this, it is surprising that the students claimed that their lack of interest in and experience of pets was the biggest single problem they faced when doing the task.

(ii) How does the "real world" context affect their performance?

Is it possible to achieve "naturalness" in the real world context of the English language classroom? Levinson (1983.284) claims that natural conversation "occurs outside specific institutional settings like..... classrooms..". Ellis (1994.581) also points out that many studies show that natural discourse rarely takes place in the classroom. Another point which emerged during an interview with the students following task completion was the influence of the tape-recorder, the "second biggest problem", they said. Although the classroom setting is private and familiar, the conversation is being recorded leading to nervousness amongst some of the speakers. Keiko claimed that sitting right next to the tape-recorder made her especially reluctant to speak. See Table 2 below.

Although Yasuda said he was unaffected by the recording process, he confessed to being put off by the silence of the teacher, sitting to his left, who furiously scribbled notes while staring intently at everybody. Efforts to involve me in the conversation, with eye contact, failed and interrupted the flow of the conversation. Two clear instances of this are noted in the transcript (in turns 4 and 8), although more instances went unrecorded.

Table 2 Plan of classroom

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                   │
│     Kyoko   ◯        Kaori   ◯                    │
│                                                   │
│                                                   │
│     Keiko            Yasuda   ◯                   │
│       ◯                                           │
│                                                   │
│                          Teacher  ◯               │
│  ┌──────────────┐                                 │
│  │ Tape recorder │                                │
│  └──────────────┘                                 │
│     ┌─────────────────────────────────┐           │
│     │ Whiteboard with visual prompts  │           │
│     └─────────────────────────────────┘           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Hoey (1991: 66) says that "if the teacher knows what a natural conversation involves, he or she will be in a better position to assess whether their learners are succeeding in developing the conversational skills that they need in order to be effective speakers of the target language". However, when the real world context constrains the participants, as we have seen above, from the outset we cannot expect natural conversation to be achieved.   The goal is, by nature, unattainable.

(iii) How do socio-cultural factors affect turn-taking in their conversation?

The students performance, and by extension the success of their conversation, may also be constrained by the artificiality of the task. The speakers are unable to draw on personal knowledge of the old lady in order to make well-reasoned choices. This was the third biggest problem the students complained of.   Furthermore, my insistence that they speak English is an artificial requirement since they share a common first language.

Not only do they share the same language, but they also share the same cultural values. In what ways do Japanese cultural norms of conversational behaviour influence the patterns of interaction in the discourse? The following two points emerge in the analysis of the transcript. Firstly, as Reischauer (1988.183) observes: "Japan is still definitely a 'man's world', with women confined to a secondary position." This male dominance is very much in evidence in the discourse and supports the view that "men in general have more talking time than men" (Robinson 1998). Statistical analysis (see Tables 3 and 4) reveals that Mr. Yasuda, compared with his three female classmates, enjoys only fractionally less than 50% of the total talking time in which he contributes 17 of the 31 ideas mentioned by the speakers. Although he

Table 3　Number of ideas presented, turns taken, and time taken by each speaker

Analysis of number of ideas presented by each speaker

1. Yasuda	17 (includes the suggestion of the salamander)
2. Kaori	2
3. Kyoko	4
4. Keiko	8 (includes 2 demerits for dogs which are only implied)
Total	31

Number of turns taken by each speaker (excluding interruptions)

1. Yasuda	6
2. Kaori	5
3. Kyoko	4
4. Keiko	2
Total	17

Total time of utterances spoken by each speaker

1. Yasuda	6' 18" (6 minutes 18 seconds)
2. Kaori	2' 12"
3. Kyoko	2' 18"
4. Keiko	2' 01"
Total	12' 49"

Table 4   Length of each turn in minutes and seconds.

Column A= turn number
Column B= turn length in minutes and seconds
T= Total time

Yasuda		Kaori		Kyoko		Keiko	
A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
2	.03	5	.34	1	.05	9	1.58
4	3.31	7	.12	3	.03	12	.03
6	.03	11	.08	8	.54	T	2.01
10	2.30	13	1.09	16	1.16		
14	.03	15	.09	T	2.18		
17	.08	T	2.12				
T	6.18						

takes only 6 turns out of the total 17, two of the turns are the longest, and, at 3'31" and 2'30" each, they combine to dominate nearly 45% of the whole conversation.   He also elicits more laughter (12 out of 16 instances) and more phatic noises of agreement than any other speaker (13 out of 16 instances).   Furthermore, at transitional relevance places (points in the conversation where it is appropriate to pass the turn), he self-selects and holds the floor more than any other speaker (24 out of 46 instances).   Leaving aside the aspect of gender, Mr. Yasuda is also clearly flouting one of Grice's maxims of conversation (1975. 79), which appears, in his words, "under the category of Manner", namely "be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)".

However, although the domination of the discourse by one speaker may be undesirable, it is a feature which can be observed in natural conversation among native speakers of English.   Furthermore, we cannot lay the blame for prolixity entirely at Mr. Yasuda's feet.   He is selected as N by Kyoko in turn 1: "Yasuda *san*, what do you think?" Moreover, laughter and supportive phatic noises ("mm") from the listeners seem to confirm what Cook (1989: 56) describes as his "right to

a longer turn". Furthermore, in his longest turn (4) he makes several unsuccessful attempts to yield the floor with *sou demonai*? (don't you think?) and later, addressing N directly, "do you understand?" and finally with the desperate plea "next please!". N (Kaori) indicates reluctance to speak with *"komatta na"* (oh no!) in turn 5 suggesting strongly that she hadn't wanted Yasuda to finish speaking and pass the turn to her anyway.

Secondly, the assumption that N in turn 5 should be Kaori can also be explained in part by patterns of turn-taking observed in Japanese society. When groups of people introduce themselves in Western cultures, "tennis-type" exchanges often develop. For example,

A   Where do you live, John?

B   Scunthorpe, yourself?

A   Just down the road.

In Japan, people sit in a circle and introduce themselves with a short speech, including details of age, hometown, job, marital status, and hobbies before passing the turn to their right. This is more like bowling where personal information is rolled out and the ball doesn't come back to the speaker. In addition, Japanese business meetings often follow similar patterns of interaction. Participants state their view then formally pass the turn round the table, thus avoiding direct challenges or disagreements.

This circularity of turn-taking is also apparent in the learner data (see Table 5).

The conversation generally moves in an anti-clockwise direction with 8 out of 16 turn-passings (high-lighted in bold) effected anti-clockwise to the person sitting next to C. In addition, turns 6 through 11 are realised in a continuous circular line. There is the feeling that it would continue as such until Keiko challenges Kaori's ineffectual

Table 5   Turn-taking flowchart.
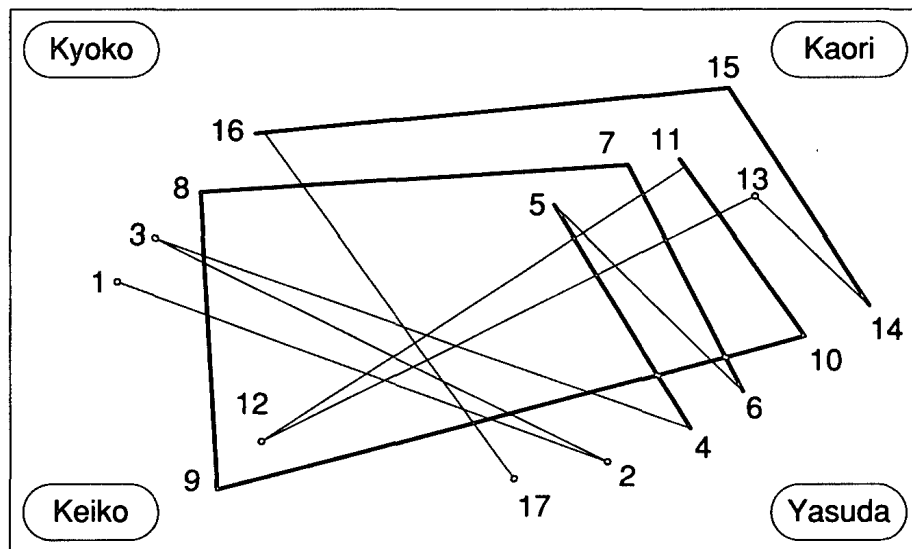
contribution in turn 12 with "That is the best?" in turn 13, thereby breaking the circularity. Kyoko also anticipates that Keiko will become N by gazing towards her at the end of turn 16, but Yasuda intervened instead following a pause of 9 seconds. In the course of interview with the speakers after task completion, when asked why this pattern was being adhered to, they responded that it was the most simple way of managing the discussion and involving everybody. In some ways, I would have to agree. Some alternatives, such as a preponderance of adjacency pairs, with one pair of speakers locked in lengthy exchange, or even two independent and simultaneous conversations, would be less favourable in a group of 4 participants.

(iv) How effectively are turn-taking strategies managed?

Clearly circular turn-taking has the potential to affect the success or naturalness of a conversation. Levinson (1983: 284) claims that conversation is the "...kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking". In this discourse, participation and turn-taking is free only to a limited extent and the circularity phenome-

non leads to unnatural turn-taking in three key ways.

Firstly, Hoey (1991: 82) points out that "in naturally occurring dialogue, people usually have something to say" but when the floor is passed to Kaori in turn 11, she unfortunately has nothing to say ("What, what about......? Yaa"). The conversation appears to be like a train stopping at Kaori's station. Nobody gets off, nobody gets on, and passengers wait impatiently, but at least the opportunity to use the service, the opportunity to speak, remains.

Secondly, it appears that among the twelve possible channels of inter-speaker communication existing in this, or any, group of four speakers, three of them, excepting one small interruption, remain unaccessed in the discourse. See Table 6 below.

These channels are situated along the unpopular clockwise route between Yasuda, Keiko, Kyoko and Kaori. It is along these clockwise channels that one might hope to hear some challenges and counter-initiation. For example, Yasuda in turn 10 counters the recommenda-

Table 6   Channels of communication

The number of turns passed along the main anti-clockwise channels are highlighted in bold.
The number of turns passed along clockwise channels are not highlighted.
The number of interruptions along the channels are included in brackets.

Yasuda	to Kaori	4
	to Kyoko	1
	to Keiko	0
Kaori	to Kyoko	2
	to Keiko	1
	to Yasuda	2 (2)
Kyoko	to Keiko	1
	to Yasuda	3 (1)
	to Kaori	0
Keiko	to Yasuda	1 (1)
	to Kaori	1 (2)
	to Kyoko	0 (1)

tion of a small dog by the two preceding speakers, Kyoko in 8 and Keiko in 9, and insists that large dogs are easier to look after. The opportunity for Kyoko or Keiko to counter-challenge Yasuda appears to be denied by the anti-clockwise circularity of the discourse. Thereagain, as Reischauer (1977: 136) says, "to operate their group system successfully, the Japanese have found it necessary to avoid open confrontations". When Kaori also supports the idea of a small dog in turn 13, Yasuda, with three females expressing opinions conflicting his, retreats to the shelter of his dictionary. Although Hoey finds that "in naturally occurring dialogue, speakers combine exchanges that make the dialogue complex and flexible", in this conversation, perhaps disappointingly, the exchanges are not very complex, neither are they flexible.

The third and final point concerns self-selection. Robinson (1998) says that "If C does not select, then any listener may self-select and begin speaking". Genuine incidences of spontaneous self-selection are rare in this conversation perhaps because of the predictability of the circular turn-taking practice. Nevertheless, Yasuda, in turn 6, initiates with the remark: * "Cat is fit for your lifestyle, no?" and Keiko does the same with "That is the best?" in turn 12. For this group, any development towards more natural conversation in discussion activities would have to include more of this type of contribution. Thereagain, that's another teaching goal which is hard to achieve.

However, damage to the naturalness of the conversation is limited because half of the turn transitions, 8 in total, are directed outside the circular framework. If it weren't for this fifty-fifty balance, on this point alone, I would have to conclude that the conversation was highly unnatural.

(v) What implications do the findings of this analysis have for the classroom?

The key pedagogical implication seems to be that teachers should encourage more freedom and flexibility in turn-taking in group discussions in the classroom. One activity which might heighten student awareness of turn-taking might be to ask the students, in the lesson following the performance of the task, to join up the dots indicating the flow of their conversation, as in Table 7, then interview them about it. Who had the most turns? Which students did you speak to? Which students didn't you speak to? Why? Isn't it strange just to pass the turn to your right?

The success of this approach will be limited if...

(i) the students don't notice the features that the teacher has identified, or if...

(ii) the students don't agree that freedom of participation is restricted and that more flexibility is desirable, or if...

(iii) the students then expect the teacher, who seems to know best, to

Table 7   Join the dots
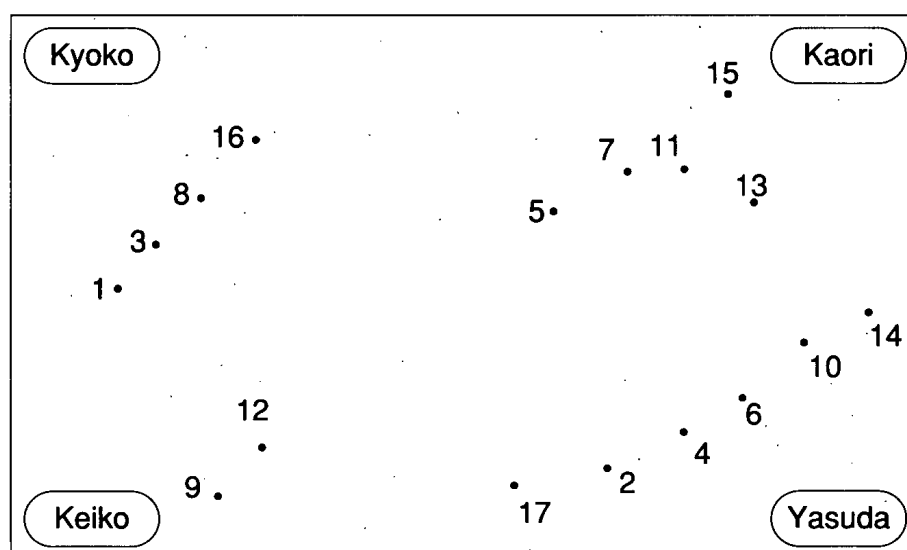
teach them where and how the turns should be passed.

A similar activity called "Drawing Conversations" could raise learner awareness of turn-taking. Each group of 3 or 4 students chooses a recorder to draw the conversation and make notes about participant behaviour in a task discussion activity.

"Recorders do not talk at all. First, they write the participants' names on a piece of paper, showing the seating location of each student and recording the time when the conversation begins. The recorder's major responsibility is to draw a picture of the flow of conversations with arrows indicating the number of statements and their directions".

From Leveille, 1997.

I would agree with Cook's conclusion (1989: 117) that "the problem is that conversation analysis is an academic study not a pedagogic one, and some of the mechanisms which it reveals, because they happen at speed and are among the features of language which are least accessible to consciousness, are extremely difficult to teach". However, if we wish to encourage flexibility and freedom in turn-taking in the classroom, we should consider the following two points.

Firstly, regarding setting, it is possible that seating arrangements, and proxemics, may influence patterns of interaction (see Table 2). Participants in conversation usually prefer channels which are shorter in distance. The busiest channels in the transcript are between the two speakers sitting nearest each other, namely Kaori and Yasuda, with 6 turn transitions, out of a total of 16, effected between them (see Table 6). Although the space between Yasuda and Kyoko is equal to the distance between Yasuda and Keiko, the latter channel is only utilized

once, making it the least favoured channel. It is obviously difficult to prove, but the location of the tape-recorder, the whiteboard and the teacher could well be inhibiting the flow of conversation along the Yasuda -Keiko channel. Seating the students around a table (see Table 8) may add some flexibility to turn-taking in the discussion.

Secondly, I must admit that the circular pattern may be the result of my own teaching practice where I often nominate students, one after the other, to answer grammar questions in a textbook exercise in exactly the same anti-clockwise pattern that I don't wish to observe in discussion. Similarly, I often invite students to answer questions in class with hand gestures and I notice in the transcript that this a popular method of turn-taking, with six recorded instances, which I consider unnatural. In this respect, the teacher is partly to blame for his students' awkward style.

What other problems with unnatural turn-taking mechanisms can be identified? Firstly, regarding the selection of N, as we have seen, the infrequency of spontaneous self-selection is a point of dissatisfaction, but how successfully does C select N? Kyoko invites Yasuda to

Table 8 Preferred seating plan.
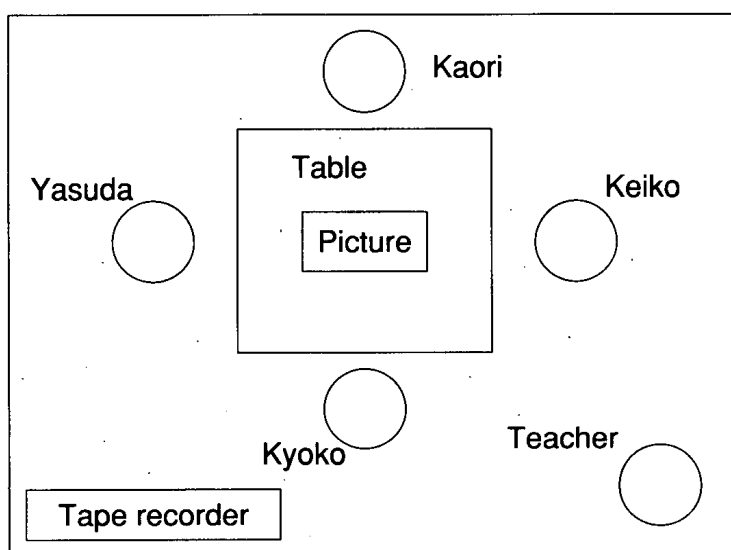
contribute with: "Yasuda *san*. What do you think?" in turn 1 and challenges him in turn 3 with * "Dog? Why?". Yasuda asks Kaori * "Cat is fit for your lifestyle, no?" and Keiko prompts Kaori in turn 12 with "That is the best?" All questions are accompanied by eye contact with N, and are perfectly acceptable. However, there are some cruder examples of turn-passing involving the use of phrases, such as: "Next please!" in turn 4 when Yasuda finds it hard to exit his rather long turn, and Kaori's "pass!" in turn 7. They evoke what Cook (1989: 57) refers to as "the sensation of floundering in conversation....".

Secondly, the speakers' efforts to pass the floor are accompanied by cumbersome combinations of verbal and non-verbal devices. For example, between turns 9 and 10, Keiko panics when nobody appears to react to at least eight different signals which she uses to stop speaking and pass the turn (see Table 9). They are: syntactical completion of turn, falling intonation, relaxing back from a tensed forward position, which she does twice, nodding, using a Japanese turn-passing formula, using eye contact, hand gestures, and a conclusive nervous laugh.

One wonders why all these mechanisms are employed when it is already implied by the anti-clockwise rule that N will be Yasuda. Clearly, it would be wrong to conclude that the way C signals intent to pass the turn is ineffective simply because N does not pick up the floor promptly. Non-fluency, compounded by a reluctance to take the floor among the listeners may mean that even the use of several turn-passing strategies will not result in smooth or speedy transition.

Thirdly, overall, the speakers appear to rely too much on body language signals to indicate that they wish to stop speaking and hand the turn over. In fact, body language is entirely absent in only two out of sixteen turn-passings in the discourse (see Table 10). Although there are six recorded cases of falling intonation between turn-

Table 9   Turn-taking mechanisms used by the speakers in the conversation
In addition to those used on the transcript, the following symbols are used.
Quotation marks indicate quotations from Robinson (1998).

Q   Question. "C may select N..by asking him or her a question".
Nm   Nomination. "C may select N-by using his or her name or title"
Sx   Syntax: "completion of the grammatical clause"
T of HG   "termination of hand gestures"
UP.   "use of phrases"
F I   Falling intonation "..which indicates the end of the clause".
CS   Code-switching

To stop speaking	To pass the turn
1.	Q, Nm, and EC.
2. Sx.	EC.
3.	Q, EC.
4. T of HG (pen), F I, UP	EC, HG.
5. R, Sx.	
6.	Q, EC and HG.
7.	UP, EC and HG
8. F I, Sx	EC, HG
9. F I, Sx, R, Nods, CL, UP, CS	EC, HG
10. F I, Sx, T of HG	
11. F I , R	
12.	EC, Q.
13. CS	Q
14.	EC
15.	
16. Sx, F I	EC

construction units, the speakers rarely depend solely on the use of phonetic signals, such as "paralanguage: drawling on the final stressed syllable of the clause", or "a drop in pitch or loudness" (Robinson, 1998). This suggests the speakers have limited faith in purely phonetic signals, perhaps because non-fluency and quietness produce the following consequences.

(i)   Clear conclusive, falling intonation is difficult to recognize if speech is slow and faltering.

(ii) When many mid-sentence utterances are also drawled, it's difficult

Table 1 O   Expressions for turn-passing, concluding speech, and hesitating

	Japanese	English
To pass the turn	*dou omoimasuka?* *kimi wa dou dai?* *dou desuka?*	What do you think, Keiko? How about you, Keiko? What about that, Keiko?
To stop speaking	*te iu koto desu dane?* *janai desuka?* *ka nanika wakaru?* *kanaa.* *sou demonai?*	that's all. init? don't you think? or something. if you see what I mean. perhaps. isn't that right?
To begin speaking	*hai, hai* *sou sou sou* *ano ne!*	yeah, yeah uh huh, uh huh. listen!
Hesitation devices	*eto* *unto*	um, err, ah. so.

to recognize the final utterance-terminating drawl.

(iii) If speech is very quiet anyway, a drop in pitch or loudness is hard to pick up on.

Finally, perhaps the largest missing piece in the discourse is the total absence of any signals from the listeners to indicate a willingness to take the floor from the speaker.   In natural conversation, one would expect to find instances of for example the increase in the "rate of back-channeling: 'mm', 'yeah', etc." (Robinson 1998).   One could conclude that the participants are generally unwilling to speak, particularly while being recorded, and only do so perhaps because circularity implies a duty to contribute or because they find the silence uncomfortable.

How can a teacher overcome these obstacles to the enactment of more natural conversation?   Firstly, with the aim of encouraging self-selection during discussion activities with this group of students, I

would ask that the following were avoided:

(i) Circular turn-taking beyond three turns.

(ii) The use of hand gestures, phrases like "next please!" and perhaps nomination to pass turns.

(iii) Long turns of more than four or five utterances.

Secondly, Hoey (1991: 75) believes that "the learner has to be encouraged to transfer exchange combining skills from his or her first language". In other words, we need to tap into the learners L1 resources. Table 10 contains a worksheet of formulae which Japanese students could use to build their turn-taking skills.

In discussion activities students could be given one point for each successful use of a turn-taking phrase, and congratulate the student who accrues the most points during the course of a conversation.

However, Cook (1989: 117) quotes Patterson (1987: 244) as saying "learners feel hampered in expressing their opinions by the need to use prescribed formulae, if they are not ready to use them naturally". Although I partly agree, I still feel that some, but not all, students respond quite well to this "atomistic" approach, and it could help alleviate problems of code-switching, where students use Japanese instead of English, to pass the turn eg. Yasuda in turn 4 *"sou demonai?"* ("isn't that right?").

Conclusion

It is unreasonable to expect students of English to produce natural conversation when the artificiality of the task and the real-world context of the conversation combine to inhibit the speakers. Furthermore, our efforts to physically collect and transcribe learner data, with tape-recorders and silent note-taking interlocutors, will likely add to

the constraints the speakers experience. Fluency, motivation, and confidence, more than turn-taking strategies, are lacking.

To sum up, Cook (1989: 123) says that: "More than any other discourse type, conversation raises the vexed issue of the need and justification for effecting cultural as well as linguistic changes in student behaviour". Do I need to effect changes in these students? Although I have noticed many problems with turn-taking, they have not claimed to experience difficulties in this area. Even though I strongly feel that my students would encounter significant problems in taking part in conversations including two or more native speakers, or speakers of English from other cultural groups, the situation has not arisen, and will never arise in my mono-lingual, mono-cultural class-room. Certainly, if one member of this group planned to study in England, some form of sensitization to develop awareness of cultural differences in turn-taking may be justified. However, it would be a poor substitute to the knowledge that the learner could gain through "real life" experience of cross-cultural communication.

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*denotes the page numbers in "The Discourse Reader" ed. Jaworski, A, pub. Routledge (1999).

Appendix. Transcript with symbols

Transcript of four speakers discussing what pet would be suitable for an 80 year-old lady (including length of pauses and body language)

After receiving their task instructions there follows a pause of 23 seconds **(23)** before Keiko gestures **[HG]** to Yasuda to invite him to begin.

SP make EC with N

1. Kyoko Yasuda *san?** [**Keiko** Yasuda *sensei!*] What do you think?

F I and EC with N.

2. Yasuda = I choose dog.

EC with N.

3. **Kyoko** = Dog?*Why?

　　　TF　　　**holding pen, angle 45 degrees upward**

4. **Yasuda** = Err, first err dog is err dog is very use for her, for example, err

　　　　　　circular movements with pen

the dog is health for her *[**Keiko** Healthy?] If she wants to go out she er

take the dog take the dog to outdoors ah and dog is clever, * [**m**] if she can't

move, the dog helped her help her, I suppose. * [**m**] But um the snake was

bad. * [**L**]

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　EC with T, SP

er I...I suppose a lady er doesn't like doesn't like snakes, no? * And goldfish

goldfishes er die die soon * [**L**] and she she crying more * [**m and L**], and

para parakeet is ah loudly * [**Kyoko** Loud?] [**L**] loudly. * [**Kaori** Aha ha ha

ha] * Hamster, hamster dies * [**L**] and the rabbit is er not good for indoor

in the

　　　　　　　　　　　EC with SP

house. * It's difficult to look after, no? * *Sou demonai?* * Cat cat if cat is lady

if the cat is a woman, girl, lady, she got many child, I think * [**L**] Do you

　　　　　　　EC and HG (with pen) to N

understand? * [**Kaori** *Wakaranai*] Baby, baby cat, baby cat * [**Kaori** aha ha

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　F I

ha ha ha] She got many child *, so the eighty old lady get angry * [**L**] oh

no ! *

　　　　　　　　　　EC and HG to N.

[**L**] Next please!

Yasuda clasps pen horizontally between two hands and movement stops.

　　　　　　　　　　TF

5. **Kaori** = Err..*komatta na,* I think I think *unto* cat is *unto* nice nice for old

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　R

woman because *unto unto ne* like like a like a lifestyle. [**L**]

　　(10)　　　　　**EC and HG to N**

6. **Yasuda**　Cat is fit for your lifestyle, no? [**L**]

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　EC and HG to N

7. **Kaori** = Ya err...**(10)** eating and sleeping [**L**]....pass!

(9)

Yasuda has begun CD and is therefore not available for selection by SP with HG or EC.

8. **Kyoko** I think a small bird is best friend for lonely her because if she likes singing [**m**] she will be cheered by bird singing but [**m**] parrot or parakeet are not good at singing then I hope recommend another kind of bird * and if she likes take a walk outside I recommend I want to present her a small size dog * [**m**] because if she take a walk with her every day she will

<div align="center">

F I and EC to T then EC and HG to N.

</div>

keep the good health for a long long time with the dog * [**m**]

(5)

9. **Keiko** That's good! * [L] (4) At first, I think hm we have to choose hm to easy to take care hm some pet hm because she was she is so old hm.* Kyoko *san* said hm small size dog is good choice, I think so hm or I think parakeet or cat hm.* Cat is easy to take care *ano* hm because hm it is not need to take a walk so long time. * [**m**] Dog is need it and parakeet is not take a walk * [L] the food is the food is not to need so *takusan* more. * I think

<div align="center">

F I and R   **TF**   **R**

</div>

cat or parakeet or small size dog * (5) so.... (5) *mitomete kudasai* [C L]

C nods between "so" and "*mitomete kudasai*" with EC and HG, both palms opened out, to SP, with look of panic, finally EC and HG to Yasuda.

10. **Yasuda** = My grandfather and mother had two dogs, one is very small

<div align="center">

Hand movements, with pen, begin again

</div>

and another one is very big * [**m**] and small one er hmm move very quickly raa raa raa! [C makes dog noises]* [L] so they said er they can't er they they hm don't feel at peace in the room but big dog is er big dog is isn't doesn't move quickly dog is always sitting * [L] and a big dog is Japanese dog *akitaken* he he he can't climb, he doesn't barking so er and but he but he he needs er walking sometimes and a small dog er has er small dog is food is very er difficult because er food is very er if some er some food doesn't fit the small dog so er my er grandmother had to choose many dog

<div align="center">

F I

</div>

food * [**m**] but big one doesn't need for choosing good food. [L]

C clasps pen horizontally between both hands to conclude hand movements.

(15)   EC to C

11. Kaori What, what about...? * [Keiko *Nani?*]

    F I and R

    Yaa.

EC with N

12. Keiko = That is the best?

13. Kaori = Best? * *Pet no uchi?* * [Keiko Pet.] (25) Small dog *wa* is nice *kamo ano dake desu kawaii* lovely *desu.* * (8) *Eigo de nanteiu wakaran nan dakedo* * *natsu-ku?*

Yasuda looks up the word *natsuku* in his bilingual dictionary

(9)   EC *to* N

14. Yasuda *Natsu-ku.* Be tamed, be tamed.

CD with Yasuda

15. Kaori = Be tamed? * *Honto da* *. Be tamed.

(24)

16. Kyoko Hamster is moving I think in midnight. * [m] Daytime they will be asleep. * [m] If she spends all day long in sitting on the sofa I present her snake because if she wants to talk about her pet with her friends her friends will come to see snake and she can conversation about her pet many her friends, *

F I and EC with Keiko

and they spend a....(17) a good time with her friends. [m]

(9)   EC with SP.

17. Yasuda How about salamander? * [L] *Sanshoho.*

Keiko and Kyoko lower their heads and avoid EC from Yasuda.

Key to symbols in superscript.

Elinor Ochs (1979: 175) writes: "We do not want a transcript that discourages the reader from integrating verbal and non-verbal acts" and recommends the use of "superscripts to locate where verbal and non-verbal acts (co-) occur".

The following symbols are used to describe turn-taking mechanisms. This non-verbal data usually appears **in bold** above the relevant part of the transcript to indicate co-occurrence. In cases where descriptions of more than one line are necessary, they appear **in bold** at the end of the speaker's turn.

C   Current speaker.

CD   Consulting dictionary.

CL   Current speaker laughs

EC   C makes eye contact with N, T or SP

F I   Falling intonation, which indicates the end of the clause.

HG   C uses hand gestures towards SP or N to indicate passing of turn.

L   Laughter from SP

N   Next speaker.

R   Relaxing from a tensed position.

SP   The other speakers.

T   Teacher.

TF   C tenses forward.

(17)   A pause which continues for 17 seconds, for example.

       The length of the pause in seconds is marked where it occurs in the utterance, or on the line below the utterance to indicate a pause between C terminating and N initiating.

      *TRP or transitional relevance place.

       This is preferred to the use of "/" to indicate an utterance boundary. The symbol * denotes "any point in the stream of speech where it would be possible and appropriate for C to stop speaking and for N to take over". (Robinson) The symbol is used only when transition from C to N does not occur.

Neither is it used when, following completion of one grammatical clause, there is no significant pause which could allow N to take over from C or when C indicates a willingness to continue by the use of hesitation devices such as "err.

Italics   Words written in italics are in Japanese.

Refer to glossary below for English translations.

Symbols inserted in transcript.

[m]　"mm" or general noises of agreement coming from SP.

[L]　Laughter from SP

[**Keiko** Healthy?]　Keiko interrupts and says "healthy".

This is preferred to the use of / /, with the interruptor's utterrance appearing on the line below the interrrupted speaker's utterance. Any utterance which is less than 2 seconds long and results in re-initiation, or continuation, by C is counted as an interruption.

=　The equal sign indicates that a pause of less than 2 seconds separates C's termination and N's initiation, as recommended in Jefferson's transcript notation, described by Atkinson and Heritage (1984: 159)

There are no significant occurrences of over-lapping speech, or simultaneous utterances, apart from **Hm and L.**

Glossary of Japanese words and expressions, in alphabetical order, used by the speakers.

akitaken	large Japanese husky
ano	so
desu	is
eigo de nanteiu wakaran nan dakedo	I don't know how to say it in English
honto da	so it is
kamo ano dake desu, kawaii	maybe that's it, just cute
komatta na	Oh no !
mitomete kudasai	I hope you'll go along with that.
nani?	what?
natsu-ku	become attached to
ne	isn't it?
pet no uchi?	talking about pets?
-san	Mr. Mrs. or Ms.
-sensei	teacher
sou demonai?	isn't that right?
takusan	a lot
sanshoho	little salamander

unto	umm
wa	as for
wakaranai	I don't understand