

An Episodic Transcription of a NNS-NNS English Conversation

Timothy Gould

One of the projects that students are required to complete in my Second Language Acquisition class is the transcription and analysis of a video based on an English conversation in which they are participants. Each video session consists of three participants sitting around a small desk with a microphone and a digital timer placed in front of them. The topics are chosen by the participants and are meant to be casual and unscripted, and the participants are asked to speak English as much as possible, but otherwise there are no strict rules governing how they conduct the conversation. The video is taken in a classroom with only the three students. The participants do not bring dictionaries or any other items into the room. The students in each group are self-selected, so many of them know each other before the project begins and are friends with the other students in their group.

Before the video sessions are conducted, the students in each group have had three or four opportunities during class to talk together freely. Most of the students, even the ones that know each other, do not regularly interact with each other in English, so this gives them a chance to get used to interacting in English. In those cases where participants are first meeting, or do not know each other well, they are asked to exchange introductory type information so that when the actual video session begins, this type of interactional work will already be completed. The class-time sessions are explicitly not meant to be “practice” sessions for the participants to rehearse the topics they plan to talk about. The purpose of these pre-video conversations is to familiarize the students with the format of the video session, to create a situation where they are relaxed and have developed a rapport with each other in English, and, again, to reduce the likelihood that the video session is dominated by self-introductions, which reduce the interactional elements of the conversation. While the fact that their conversations will be recorded tends to create some anxiety for the participants, this is reduced by giving the students a thorough explanation of the project and reiterating that the conversation itself will not be evaluated for content, grammar, pronunciation or any other metric.

This paper contains the full transcription, presented in simplified transcription notation to improve readability, of one of these video sessions. Rather than presenting excerpts to illustrate specific interactional behavior, the purpose of this full representation is to provide students with a complete overview of some of the pragmatic, discourse, and communication resources that non-native speakers of

English deploy as they create a social space essentially from scratch. This particular video session was chosen at random, with the express intent of providing students with real data on which to practice the analytic skills they will be asked to bring to bear on the transcripts they make of their own video sessions. The students who use this transcript, then, will have participated in their own video conversation and will be preparing to make a transcript and analyze the results of their own efforts. The project that the students are asked to complete is based on videos in which the students participate, and consists of transcribing excerpts of the conversation totaling about five minutes and analyzing the parts of the conversation they have transcribed. The transcript below, along with the provisional analyses and attendant questions and comments are meant both to provide some basic examples for the students' own work and to provoke a level of critical thinking about their conversations that can be used as input to their analyses.

While Conversation Analysis (CA), developed by Harvey Sacks (1992), is not the focus of the class, nor is it explicitly taught in-depth, one of its main tenets, that through "close looking at the world you can find things that [you] couldn't, by imagination, assert were there," (Sacks 1992, p.420) is a fundamental component of this transcription project. Rather than generating hypothetical examples of second language, students are able to use "transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequence" to provide a sound "basis for theorizing" (Sacks 1984, p.25). Additionally, the premise, held in CA, that "ordinary conversation between peers represents a fundamental domain for analysis" (Heritage & Clayman 2010, p.12), provides a rationale for giving even novice students data that is immediately relevant (because of their personal involvement) and which helps them link information from their Second Language Acquisition readings and lectures to their own language use, while at the same time, I hope, helping them develop critical thinking skills.

The transcription notations I have used in the version of the transcript that appears below are a small subset of those developed by Gail Jefferson (2004) for conversation analysis combined with some used in discourse analysis (Egins & Slade 2001). A fully detailed transcript is in many ways difficult to read without significant practice, and for our purposes would also be much too long. In the early sections of the transcript, I written comments and placed them after the relevant section, in the same way I expect the students to make their own comments and analyses. In later sections, I leave the commentary embedded in the transcript, close to the activity being commented upon, and students will practice on their own using these sections before they embark on transcribing the video conversation in which they are participants. Following are the transcription symbols that appear:

Transcription Notation (adapted from Jefferson 2004 and Egins & Slade 2001)

[beginning of overlapping speech. Where possible, the brackets are aligned to indicate speech that begins at the same time. Appears in pairs with right brackets.

-] end of overlapping speech. Appears in pairs with left brackets.
- : lengthening of the preceding sound. More colons equals longer lengthening. In this transcript, one colon equals one 'beat' in the speaker's normal speaking rate.
- # indicates a pause of one 'beat.' A 'normal' pause for breath would not receive this. Think of a breath and extend it. More number signs mean a longer pause.
- ? rising intonation or question.
- . falling intonation, as in completion of clause or utterance.
- £ "breathy" laughter in speech.
- hhh laughter. Each set of "h's" is one burst of laughter.
- = latching. One utterance follows another with no discernible pause or break. Appears in pairs.
- (()) transcriber's comments and notes/gaze direction/description of gestures. These double parentheses are used here, as stated above, to mark intonation, speed, laughter, and other conversational features for which notation conventions exist, but are excluded for readability.
- () incomplete word or transcriber's best guess (if x's, unable to transcribe).
- // reformulation, repetition, or false start.

Spaces in many cases a response token such as a discourse marker will appear spatially in the subsequent line roughly equivalent to where the token was uttered in relation to the original.

The transcript has been divided into titled sections, each marked by a number within parentheses along with a representative title. These section breaks generally coincide with topic shifts or natural breaks in the conversation, but are also meant to assist with readability and to provide reference points when the transcript is used during class. The breaks are emphatically not theoretical barriers creating analytical "islands." It is perfectly acceptable and expected for analyses to refer to multiple sections, regardless of their adjacency. As stated above, after the early sections, I have included comments focusing on some aspect of the participants' interaction. The comments often include a description of physical

gestures, gaze (the direction and focus of a person's eyes), and are meant to provoke noticing and preliminary analyses by students.

The participants' real names are not used in the transcript for privacy reasons. In the transcript the participants are anonymized as A, B, and C, from right to left as they appear in the video.

(1) Setting the stage

- 1 T: did you press it? ((referring to the timer, which the students
2 press to start the session))
3 C: un [yes] ((gives okay sign))
4 T: [okay]
5 T: see you.
6 C: see you.
7 B: [see you]
8 A: [see you]

In line 1 above, T (teacher) asks C a question to confirm that the timer has been started. In line 3, C responds with a Japanese affirmative discourse token (example of something), which she then augments with "yes" and the "okay" hand gesture. Any one of these three affirmative tokens would have sufficed to convey her meaning. In subsequent sections, we will see many more examples of redundant confirmations of understanding. In lines 3 and 4, we see an illustrative example of the use of square brackets indicating that C's "yes" and T's "okay" are overlapping speech. In this case, T responds to the affirmative token "un" at the same time C, in line 3, provides the supplemental English affirmative "yes." Since C's original meaning was successfully conveyed by the original Japanese token, no meaning was lost in the overlap.

(2) Topic 1: Weekend (past)

- 9 C: o:h. ((sighs quietly with high to low intonation))
10 A: kay. ((gaze directed at 3))
11 A: What did you do on your weekend?
12 B: hhh hhh hhh
13 C: e::? a: # [my]
14 A: [we::]were same and uh ano speech contest. ((waves her
15 hand back and forth between herself and C. When she says "ano" she
16 points out and to the right))
17 A: [yeah] yeah a:
18 C: [a::] ((makes okay sign at A))

19 B: [a::]= ((looks from A to C, waving her hand back and forth between
20 them.))

After T leaves the room, none of the participants have immediate eye contact with each other. As they make the utterances in lines 9 and 10, A brings her gaze up to C and begins with her question in line 11. The pound sterling symbol indicates that she has a measure of laughter in her voice as she speaks, which B continues as a full laugh. As B laughs, she lowers her head and puts her hand over her mouth quickly dropping her head in an exaggerated ‘collapse from laughter’ attitude. She maintains this position during the time when the floor is open and a response to A’s question would be expected. Her gaze remains down until she raises her gaze to C and then to A at the beginning of line 14.

In lines 13 and 14, A and C begin to answer A’s question from line 11 at the same time. C, responding to A’s question, instantly defers and allows A to take the floor, but notice that A does not take the turn in order to answer her own question. In line 14, A shows that she already knows how C spent at least part of her weekend, because she and A were together. In lines 17, 18, and 19, all participants are reacting to this new information. A responds with confirmation tokens “yeah,” and B and C respond with “a:::” Line 19 and 21 show an example of “latching.” Immediately after the “a:::” of line 19, B starts with the response transcribed in line 21.

(3) Part-time job

21 B: =past time job-u.
22 A: [a::.]
23 C: [a::.]
24 B u::n
25 C: two // to go two days-u?
26 B: yes. Two days. Sunday and Saturday.
27 C: o:hn.
28 A: ((nods repeatedly))

In line 21, B suddenly takes the floor in an utterance latched to her previous comprehension discourse marker from line 19. She says, “past time job, but she clearly means “part-time job.” Notice that both A and C accept and seem to understand “past time job” and neither one corrects her. B’s gaze lowers as she utters line 21, and at the same time she raises her hand, which is pulled inside of her sleeve, up to her mouth. By the end of line 21 her gaze is directed towards the table, away from the other participants. As soon as A and C provide responses, her gaze snaps up, first to A, then to C as C begins her question in line 25. Some points to notice here: First, B’s utterance in line 21 is to A’s original

question from line 11. She chooses not to orient to the intervening interaction that has taken place between A and C and this choice seems to disrupt the flow of the conversation. Next, both A and C give non-lexical discourse responses to B's utterance in line 21, which is then confirmed and closed by B's "u:n" in line 24.

Notice that there is no question in line 21, simply the noun "past time job." A and C, however, respond in a way that displays understanding. In the same way, C's question in line 25 does not have the shape of a grammatical English question, yet B clearly understands and responds. Nevertheless, the conversation collapses at this point. By "collapse," I mean an extended pause in the conversation in which there is no open turn waiting for someone to take the floor. In this case, after C's response in line 27, A begins to nod her head repeatedly affirmatively. At the beginning of the first nod she's looking at B, and with each nod her head moves a bit to the right, past C and then away from the table and the other participants. Suddenly, all the participants 'crack up' laughing at exactly the same time.

(4) Mother's birthday

- 29 C: a:. ((claps hands together under chin)) Sunday my mother's birthday.
30 A: a:: [happy birthday]
31 B: [happy birthday] ((claps vigorously eight times)).
32 C: a: chigau. no. yesterday was // I // nandarou // congrate # her on
33 sunday.
34 A: ah. yesterday.
35 B: ah.
36 A: a::h.
37 C: un.
38 B: ((claps seven times under chin with base of palms touching, gaze
39 directed at C))
40 A: e::.
41 A: ((looks up and to right)) November se // six.
42 B: six.
43 C: November six. ((confirms with affirmative head nod))
44 A: six. ah.
45 B: six six
46 B: e::

In line 33, C creates the verb "congrate," based, it seems, on "congratulate." The other participants accept and proceed as if they understand this new word and do not remark on it. Notice that just before she utters "congrate," C uses Japanese to possibly indicate that she senses some trouble with the

following word.

After the initial “Happy Birthday” by A and B in lines 31 and 32, significant time is spent by C clarifying the exact date of her mother’s birthday. As each bit of information is delivered, A and B respond with discourse markers and gestures confirming the information. In line 42, A offers the calendar date, which C repeats and confirms with a positive nod of her head.

(5) Mother’s birthday present

47 C: so I took her # out # ((flings hand loosely from center to left))
48 A: un._un._un. ((nods head vigorously))
49 C: for dinner
50 A: [a:]
51 B: [o:]
52 C: and I gave present.
53 A B: [o:h]

In (5), I have transcribed the delivery of this utterance by C to try and give a graphic sense of how the discourse markers from A and B dovetail and support C, filling pauses as she makes a relatively long (about 7 seconds) statement. Notice the gesture in line 48.

(6) Preserved flowers

54 B: [a:] what's what's present?
55 C: do you know preserved flower?
56 A: un._un._un. yes yes I
57 B: u:u:n. ((said with rising and falling intonation. slight negative
58 head shake))
59 C: u::n.
60 B: gomen. ((gaze directed at A and raises right hand towards A))
61 A: a.
62 B: a hhh hhh.
63 C: nandarou. ((raises hand to mouth))
64 A: ano ro // rose? ((both A and B are looking at C, A confirms
65 'preserved flowers' with C))
66 C: ya un ((right hand goes back to in front of her mouth))
67 B: just flower? ((makes a back and forth gesture with her hand which I
68 interpret as symbolizing the stem of flowers))

69 C: no u:n.
70 A: un ((puzzled look to right, away from group))
71 C: nantte ieba iin darou?
72 A: [dat] ((that))
73 C: [pre] // prevent =
74 A: un_un_un ((gaze directed at C, indicating that 'prevent' is
75 correct))
76 C: = a // the # flower # can prevent-u? ((notice that she does not
77 use "prevent" even though the verb she needs is in the katakana:
78 "preserve"))
79 A: u:n.
80 C: hozon? (("preserve"))
81 B: [un]((nods head affirmative))
82 A: [un]((makes 'blooming' gesture with both hands))
83 C: about // about? // for? // for two or three years. ((she tries out
84 the prepositions 'about' and 'for' before choosing 'for.' Note that
85 the negotiation of meaning that they do has the effect of
86 disconnecting the syntactic elements of the sentence one from the
87 other, they seem to arrive at meaning by the cumulative semantic
88 effect of individual words rather than a function of understanding a
89 full sentence syntactically or grammatically.as she finishes this
90 utterance, she's looking directly at B and B is returning her gaze.))
91 B: (xxx xxx)
92 B: u::n. ((although eye contact is happening between B and C, A is
93 very involved in agreeing with the outcome here.))
94 B: [wa: very] long (('wa:' is like 'wow.' After this utterance she
95 turns to look at A, who is starting to speak. she continues to make
96 gestures of what she must intend to be a flower with a stem))
97 A: yes so # still ((I think she wants to say that it's still alive.
98 She gives up when C produces the Japanese in line 101.))
99 C: sou.
100 C: karenai karenai [nantte iu no]. ((then she, too, makes the same
101 'blooming' gesture))
102 B: [ah really?]
103 A: die // don't die.
104 C: don't die.
105 B: [a::h]

106 A: [u:n]
107 C: [u:n]
108 B: ah. not ## nandake ## dry flower? ((as she says 'not' her gaze is
109 at C, then during the pause she looks down, and returns her gaze to C
110 as she says 'dry flower.'))
111 B: [ja nakute?] ((she seems to use Japanese when there is real
112 meaningful information she wants to confirm))
113 C: [u:n]
114 C: chigau. ((much of the conversation in this part is Japanese. Notice
115 how A tries to bring it back to English in line 121.))
116 A: a: cho((tto - maybe this is what she was going to say. and it's
117 actually at the same time as B's previous 'chigau.'))
118 B: he:: ((very low pitched, moving to high. sign of surprise or new
119 information))
120 A: it looks like the real # flower
121 C: yeah yeah
122 B: u:n ((strongly rising intonation))
123 A: e:: ((strongly rising intonation. her next turn latches onto
124 this sound. Note the matching intonation patterns B and A display
125 here.))

(7) Happy mother

126 A: a: so your mother may # be happy.
127 C: yes.
128 A: yfeah.
129 B: ya:.
130 C: I'm happy too. ((gestures at herself))
131 B: un.

(8) Topic trouble

132 B: hhh ah. yeah. ((she's looking down and to her right, a gaze that is
133 away from the group, and the other two seem to be looking at the table
134 around where the mic is.))
135 ((B begins to laugh and immediately the other participants start
136 laughing as well. The conversation topic about flowers ended with no

137 turn projected. A reaches out for the timer))

(9) Time check

138 A: u:n ((looking at timer in her hand and C is also looking at it))

139 C: seven minutes.

140 A: seven minutes.

141 B: seven minutes.

(10) New topic search

142 A: e:: nante ieba ii ka? ((spoken quietly. Leans back.))

143 B: gomen. sorry. ((She does not look at the other participants as she
144 says this, her gaze is directed at the middle of the table.))

145 A: e::: (('What should we do now?' or 'what can we talk about?'))

(11) Weekend (future)

146 C: what's ## your # plan for this weekend?

147 B: [this weekend?]

148 A: [this weekend?]

149 C: un.

150 A: a:: ((rising and lowering intonation. looking up and right))

151 B: a:. ((with quick and sharp clap of hands. She clearly takes the
152 floor as A and C orient gazes towards her.))

153 B: Saturday guidance? ## guidance? ((she looks from one to the other.

154 She does not add any content to this utterance, she points back and

155 forth between A and C.))

156 A: ah. # do you // # are you going to go to guidance? ((she receives
157 the floor from B, but then directs her question, by gaze, to C.))

158 A: of # ano ((continuing previous utterance))

159 B: ((gaze directed at A, while pointing index finger at C.))

160 C: a:: ((with rising intonation of comprehension))

161 A: transfer.

162 B: (xxx).

163 C: yeah. ((nods affirmative.))

164 A: a:: yes ((she is not answering an open turn question here, she is

165 the one who asked the question. She seems very interested in
166 expressing and confirming understanding. Note that throughout, much of
167 this conversation involves the participants showing each other that
168 they understand each other, although when, for example, B did not
169 understand about the preserved flowers, she did not hesitate to say
170 so.))
171 C: a:: ((Both A and B have their gazes directed at C.))
172 A: so
173 B: so

(12) Karaoke

174 A: after that we are going to go to karaoke
175 B: aft(er) we: to the karaoke ((spoken very quickly. she
176 ends this 'utterance' with rising volume and then takes the floor))
177 C: o:: o:h ((this 'oh' is very long, and it is not unusual in this
178 conversation. Participants often sustain long non-lexical single or
179 intonating vowel sounds.))
180 B: and-o # ((shifts gaze from C to A in what looks like a move to
181 confirm that she is about to divulge information and wants
182 confirmation that she may continue))
183 A: u:n. ((A returns B's gaze and nods assent))
184 B: maybe # dinner? ((this utterance, which started out as a statement
185 about what they were going to do 'after' has now become something of a
186 confirmation of plans between A and B. As B finishes, the intonation
187 goes up to give the shape of a question, and B's gaze rests directly
188 on A, giving her a chance at a turn and offering her the floor.))
189 C: u:n ((although other participants are not looking at her, and it is
190 not her turn, C provides comprehension feedback.))
191 A: and have dinner. ((this is the completion of the utterance she
192 started on line 175, but now it seems to also serve as a response to
193 B's uncertainty, her request for confirmation about their dinner
194 plans.))
195 B: [yes]hhh hhh.
196 C: [nice]. ((making small clapping motions with her hands under her
197 chin, close to her chest.))
198 A B C: ((light laughing))

Lines 175 and 176 are difficult to transcribe accurately. B copies A's utterance in a process I have elsewhere termed "affiliative mimesis" (Gould 2010). B's utterance "piggybacks" directly on A's. In other words, B says almost exactly the same thing as A, just milliseconds later.

(13) Karaoke: how often?

- 199 A: ((nodding her head and looking away as she did earlier when having
200 topic trouble. This time, however, at the end of this gesture, she
201 moves her head and gaze towards C, establishing eye contact.))
202 A: e do you go to karaoke often? or.
203 C: a::.. ## yesterday.
204 A: ah. [yesterday?] a:h. ((loud, excited voice. a:h with falling
205 intonation))
206 B: ah.[yesterday]. ((B says this much faster than surrounding speech,
207 as if trying to catch up with A's utterance to make them seem
208 simultaneous. This strategy may enhance her sense of participation. As
209 if, if she makes an utterance fast enough, and close enough to the
210 originators utterance, that it will be considered by the others as
211 'her' contribution. The other speakers do not orient to this.))
212 B: a: that's good. ((at the end of her comment her gaze is straight
213 down into her lap, taking herself out of possible next turn position.
214 She looks up, makes this evaluatory comment, and looks down again,
215 removing herself from a possible next turn.))
216 C: a: yesterday? ((gaze up and to left, away from others. This
217 utterance is questioning the accuracy of her own statement - "was it
218 actually yesterday?" Now the topic becomes about if she actually went
219 to karaoke yesterday or if she got the day wrong. Compare this to her
220 turn in (4), Mother's birthday. As C speaks, B's gaze comes up from
221 the table and goes directly to C.))
222 C: a: yesterday. ((selects herself for the next turn and keeps the
223 floor to confirm her earlier question.
224 A: a: a: a: ((these three 'a:' are connected with rising and lowering
225 intonation))
226 A: e:
227 A: eto. we // [we]
228 B: ((looks down and starts laughing. Compare to previous laughter,

229 where all join in. This time, B's laughing draws A and C's gaze
230 momentarily, but they do not join in the laughter and C continues her
231 turn.))
232 C: [but] not often
233 A: u:n.
234 C: about u:n ## nandarou # once a two months gurai.
235 B: u: u: u:
236 A: u:n # same as me.
237 C: un. yeah # yeah ((both of these said in a quieter voice, trailing
238 off with gaze down and to the right, away from participants. Possibly
239 searching for next topic.))

(14) Karaoke: how long?

240 A: how long did you sing?
241 C: three hours? ((completed with rising intonation, not a question,
242 but uncertainty seems to be expressed.))
243 A: a:h.
244 B: a:h. ((A responds first and B mimics her response.))
245 C: because # it's start at eleven.
246 A: a: [at night?]
247 B: [eleven?] ((Compare the different communication strategies
248 between A and B in their questions to C in lines 247 and 248
249 respectively. A asks a question to elicit additional information,
250 while B asks a confirmation question, which is constructed by
251 repeating the final word of C's utterance.))
252 C: u:n at night. ((She responds to both A and B's questions.))
253 A: a: at night?
254 B: at night a:. ((she says this very quickly, looking like she wants
255 to get it into the same response time frame as A.))
256 C: so I'm sleepy.
257 A: [a:h]
258 B: [a:h]
259 C: ((laughs))

(15) Maneki Neko karaoke

260 A: n::n ((she is looking away and to the right, nodding her head, but
261 not making eye contact. At this moment there is no eye contact between
262 any of the participants and the floor is open. A's gaze is down and to
263 the right, which may be her way of giving the others a chance to take
264 the floor, and if the opportunity is not seized by another participant,
265 she will provide a new topic.))
266 A: so we gonna go to Maneki Neko.((completed with rising intonation
267 only on "Maneki Neko."))
268 C: Maneki Neko?
269 A: a: do you know the name of the karaoke? ((during this utterance B
270 makes some kind of comment - not sure exactly what it is now.
271 significant?))
272 C: e:::! ((with strongly rising intonation. Note the level of surprise
273 in her voice.))
274 A: un.
275 B: do you? ((incomplete question. Copies first part of line
276 270))
277 C: I [don't] know. ((her gaze moves to B during this utterance.))
278 B: d'y'know? ((uttered very quickly to provide a completed turn-taking,
279 although the incomplete question from A's previous utterance has
280 already elicited an appropriate response from C.))
281 A: a: really?
282 B: really? ((she starts her utterance just after A and she says
283 it at a very high rate.))
284 C: u:n.
285 A: it's on hada(no)// near # here. ((her right finger is extended and
286 she is pointing off to the right in a waving manner.))
287 C: e:: ((this discourse marker of surprise/new
288 information fits exactly into the pause in A's line 286 utterance.))
289 B: here.
290 C: Maneki Neko? ((confirmation of the name. As she does this, she
291 raises her right hand in the sign of a cat's paw. As soon as she does
292 this, the other two participants do the same thing. Highly
293 confirmational action. Everyone repeats the same action.))
294 A: un Maneki Neko.
295 B: [neko]. ((repeating A's utterance. C provides a lot of return eye
296 contact to B, even when A is the main interlocutor. This is an

297 inclusion strategy to make sure participation is equal and everyone is
298 included in the conversation.))
299 C: [e:]!
300 C: sou na no? ((this is a response to 'neko' from B's previous
301 utterance. Notice the use of Japanese. Try to formulate an explanation
302 for why Japanese appears when it does.))
303 B: un.

(16) Cheap karaoke

304 A: e:to I recommend that karaoke because it's very cheap.
305 C: un
306 B: and # very # nandake # ice cream. ((while she is saying this she's
307 looking back and forth between A and C.))
308 C: ice cream?
309 B: ice cream. yes. ((nodding her head with her gaze at C. What about
310 ice cream? A, who has been very active in the negotiation of meaning,
311 goes surprisingly still. She's looking at B, who has taken the floor,
312 but maybe is not sure how to proceed with this open turn situation.))
313 C: e:: ((this is said in the tone of 'really?', but at this moment C
314 turns her gaze from B to A, and A looks back at her. Possibly sensing
315 a turn in trouble, B continues to hold the floor. Note the high
316 tolerance for grammatically uncertain content.))
317 A: un. ((nods affirmative.))
318 B: ice cream and drinking // drinks.
319 C: a:h.
320 A: un.
321 B: so da yo ne. ((her gaze goes to A as if looking for confirmation,
322 then it goes down to the table and snaps up to C as C begins her next
323 utterance.))
324 C: cheap. ((she says this with a statement intonation, but leans her
325 head to her right in a way that indicates confusion, or seeking
326 clarification. The question is not in the auditory signal; it is
327 encoded, or attached, as part of her physical actions. The other
328 participants orient to this as a request for clarification in their
329 next utterances.))
330 A: very cheap.

(17) Maneki Neko: time price details

- 331 A: so, on the week // weekday // weekday the e:(to) eleven o'clock to
332 six o'clock is uh daytime.
333 A: daytime is only 50 yen. ((B's gaze alternates between the right of
334 center, off into the distance, and back again to A with short quick
335 glances.))
336 C: he::!
337 A: un. ((nods head)) per one hour.
338 C: a:h.
339 A: but we have to e: # drink one // one // have to order one drink.
340 C: [un]
341 B: [un] one drink ((quietly))
342 A: yeah but, it's very cheap.
343 C: e::
344 A: un. ((this is acknowledgment of C's previous 'e:'. So it proceeds
345 like this: utterance -- surprise discourse marker -- acknowledgement
346 discourse marker.))

(18) Maneki Neko night price

- 347 A: but at night it's not so cheap but e: un. ((she gets lost during
348 this utterance. the final 'un' has the intonation of 'that's' how it
349 is, a turn completion marker. B takes it as such because her next
350 utterance is asking in Japanese about the price.))
351 C: un un
352 B: ikura da kke? ((she is speaking Japanese and very quietly. A does
353 not orient herself to the Japanese, and asks a clarifying question to
354 bring the conversation back into English.))
355 A: at night? ((A orients her gaze at B, and after a long pause, where
356 A is looking at B, she asks this clarifying question.))
357 B: un.
358 A: a: maybe five hundred yen ## per hour.
359 B: a: [so ka]. ((B makes her confirmation of understanding in
360 Japanese.))
361 C: [per hour]? ((Notice that 'per hour' was enunciated very clearly

362 by A, so this clarification request by C, using the final two words of
363 A's previous utterance, may have another purpose in this context.
364 Extending turns in this way may be part of the turn-taking economy
365 that emerges in this type of environment. Turns may be seen as
366 valuable when they are going smoothly and content is easy, but may
367 become "toxic" (to be avoided) when troubles arise.))
368 A: un. so it's very different.
369 C: a[:]
370 A: [diff]erent bet(ween) un. ((she uses 'un,' with lowering
371 intonation, as a turn closing, signaling that she is giving up her
372 intent to further clarify or improve on her previous utterance. She
373 made her point and starts to embellish, but stops and lets it stand.
374 This also has the effect of creating a vacuum in terms of projecting a
375 next turn. She relinquishes the floor, but does not indicate a
376 recipient for the next turn.))
377 C: yeah.
378 A: un yeah.
379 A: but u:n it // I recommend ## because if we sing e: more than three
380 hours. ((ends with rising intonation. This is not a question, but
381 seems to be a very effective way of eliciting a comprehension marker
382 of understanding for this relatively long stretch of speech. B is
383 looking down at the table now, makes the slightest head nod.))
384 C: un
385 C: u::n.
386 A: we only ## e: // we only pay five ((A provides many discourse
387 markers encouraging A to continue.))
388 C: m::m ((continues nodding her head affirmative.))
389 A: un. ((confirms the confirmation of 'we only pay five.' Lines 387-
390 390 form a three part confirmation 'set' consisting of a comment in
391 the first turn, a discourse marker of surprise or understanding in the
392 next, and a discourse marker of agreement by the original commenter in
393 the third turn.))
394 A: less than five hundred [yen].
395 C: [a::]
396 A: u:n. sou.
397 B: me too. ((this utterance does not fit with any of the ongoing turns
398 or previous turns that may have been left open. Compare with earlier

399 turns. Just before this utterance, she was looking down and maybe
400 preparing for this comment.))
401 A: u:n.
402 C: cheap.

(19) Topic trouble

403 A: u:n.
404 C: un. ((here is an example of a turn that participants do not orient
405 to, and do not move to clarify the problem. none of the participants
406 orient to B's "me too" utterance. B glances up at C to see if she will
407 take up the turn, but C is looking down at the table, A is looking off
408 to the right, and B, while she is trying to engage the other
409 participants, has her head partly down with her eyes looking up.))
410 A: yeah. ((said in a low whispered voice))
411 C: yeah. ((also said in a low voice, just above a whisper, head
412 nodding. None of their sight lines are converging and the conversation
413 has obviously stalled.))
414 ((B laughs first, in an uncomfortable way, then they all join in the
415 laughter.))

(20) Time check and next topic search with Japanese help

416 C: four minutes. ((while laughing, she has leaned forward until the
417 clock is visible to her.))
418 A: four minutes ## e:.. ((she says four minutes in a close to whisper
419 voice. The tone of 'e:' is rising intonation, my guess at the meaning
420 is 'we still have a long way to go.'))
421 B: ato? ((uses Japanese again. We can see from her question that she
422 understood 'four minutes,' but she wants to clarify whether it means
423 four minutes have elapsed or four minutes have passed. Her gaze as she
424 performs this utterance slowly lifts to her left until she makes eye
425 contact with C.))
426 C: ((nods her head slightly in the affirmative, as if confirming bad
427 news.))
428 B: very long. ((as she speaks, she drops her head. Her gaze is now
429 directly towards the table, no eye contact with others.))

430 ((this is a relatively long section where they do not say anything,
431 and A is visibly struggling to find a new topic.))

432 B: nani ga ii ka na?

433 C: nani ga ii ka na?

434 ((they take about fifteen seconds before B says line 437))

(21) Christmas and Disneyland

435 B: Christmas? ((she is holding her head between her hands and looking
436 up and to the right at A as she offers this topic suggestion.))

437 A: [Christmas]

438 C: [Christmas]

439 B: ((laughing with her head completely down and her hands up against
440 the side of her head.))

441 A: I don't have any plans. ((she is laughing too, as if this is a
442 strange topic.))

443 C: (xxx) me too.

444 B: a: Dis // Disneyland // Disneyland is Christmas be half ## nanka
445 terebi mita? ((As she starts this utterance, she is clapping her hands
446 together as if she has just remembered something important. She has
447 taken the initiative and tried to start a new turn, but by the end of
448 it, after struggling to put together the words she needed, she reverts
449 to Japanese.))

450 A: a: I d(on't) ((this utterance trails off, she gives up. Meanwhile B
451 is still trying.))

452 B: did you # watch # TV? ((B asks this question, which neither of the
453 other participants seem sure of how to proceed with. B looks at both
454 of them, but at the end of this turn she is looking directly at C.))

455 C: no. ((she answers the question, but she may not know why B has
456 brought up TV or what the question refers to. Her answer is
457 straightforward, but C gives the minimum information. She does not
458 pursue the reasoning that must be behind the question. She does not
459 initiate any negotiation of meaning. If C asks B a clarifying question
460 that B is unable to understand or answer, that may be worse for her at
461 this point than letting this strange question go at face value. A will
462 take up the process of negotiating the full meaning of this question
463 in line 468.))

464 B: no? ((she moves her head back while maintaining eye contact with C
465 as she says 'no'. She looks surprised at this 'no' response and it has
466 the intonation of 'really?' A immediately takes the floor.))
467 A: about Disneyland? ((at the beginning of this turn, although C had
468 just completed a negative response, she is nodding her head in what
469 seems to be an affirmative way towards B. now B is oriented towards
470 A.))
471 B: yes. yes. [yes].
472 A: [a:].
473 A: I don't know. (The original question was 'did you watch tv?' which
474 was then clarified to 'did you watch tv about disneyland?' but the
475 answer that A gives here, 'I don't know' is not an answer to either
476 question, but to the question that is perhaps implied: 'do you know
477 anything recent about Disneyland that may be semi common knowledge, or
478 something you might be expected to know?'))
479 B: Disneyland and Disney Sea ## eto ne ## ((she starts off this
480 utterance energetically, but then switches away from English and
481 begins to look down as she switches to Japanese and appears to
482 struggle to continue.))
483 B: maybe kaie n goju shuunen? ((Her gaze is directed down, her chin is
484 in her right hand, the elbow of which is supported by her left hand,
485 and she maintains this position during her entire utterance, looking
486 up only at the end of the utterance, as she says 'shuunen' and raises
487 her gaze to C.))
488 B: [anniversary]?
489 A: [go // goju] sh(uunen). (B's gaze goes from C to A back to C as
490 they respond to her utterance. A basically repeats the Japanese, and C
491 translates the Japanese to English.))
492 B: yes. anniversary. ((nodding her head and looking at C, who
493 previously said anniversary. At this point they do not seem to be
494 negotiating meaning as much as confirming that the word 'shuunen' is
495 'anniversary' and that that is what B said. They are not moving
496 towards any particular meaning, but the process looks the same as if
497 they had been.))
498 C: m::: (with rising intonation, this long discourse marker has the
499 sound of indicating surprising new information. this cannot be,
500 however, as there has been no information provided, except to confirm

501 that there is something about an anniversary at Disneyland or Disney
502 Sea.))
503 A: ((nodding affirmative as well.))
504 B: (xxx).

(22) Disneyland at Christmas time

505 A: have you been to the Disneyland on the # Christmas time?
506 B: Disney Sea?
507 C: Christmas # time? ((gestures with both hands palm up indicating
508 some uncertainty about this utterance.))
509 A: Christmas ((she gestures with her hands, spreading apart her left
510 and her right hands, as if to show the meaning 'range,' which is
511 correctly interpreted by C in the following utterance. Here A has used
512 a word that is correct, but the other two do not seem to understand
513 her, and A ends up apologizing as if she has made a mistake.))
514 B: [season]
515 C: [season]
516 A: a: sorry, season.
517 C: a:h
518 C: yes, I have.
519 A: I haven't been.
520 C: a:
521 A: and how about you? ((she makes a gesture towards B and catches B's
522 gaze. This may be a consolation turn to make up for the fact that B
523 raised the topic but could not 'initialize' it, or make it her topic,
524 A had to step in and take over. B looks surprised to be the recipient
525 of this turn.))
526 B: a: no. ((with falling intonation and vigorous negative head
527 shake.))
528 A: a: ((with long comprehensive affirmative head movement.))
529 B: un.

(23) Disneyland at Halloween

530 C: but I want to go Halloween season.
531 A: a: yeah

532 B: a: yeah me too // me too.
533 C: I have ne // I have never been to Halloween season.
534 B: e: uso. (('no way, that can't be
535 true.' B uses Japanese, and her "uso" is uttered immediately after "I
536 have never been," so she is using information from line 531.))
537 A: a: yeah ((she too makes some
538 affirmative sounds responding to C's previous comment.))
539 C: un.
540 A: un.
541 B: un. ((very quietly))
542 C: sou. ((Japanese confirmation))
543 A: have you?
544 B: yes. yes. Halloween // Halloween season in high school.
545 A: un
546 B: I was high school student.
547 A: [u:n] ((both with rising intonation, distinctively Japanese
548 discourse markers.))
549 C: [u:n]
550 A: e: so I // I have only been to Disneyland only e:to two times. she
551 laughs self-consciously at the end, as if this is strange, and in line
552 555, B orients as if it is.))
553 C: a::h.
554 B: really! ((shocking!))
555 A: un. because it's really far from my hometown. yeah.
556 C: un
557 B: a::: a:::
558 A: this year I want to go.
559 C: un.
560 B: a:..

(24) From Fukuoka

561 C: Fukuoka no? ((this "no" is the Japanese nominalizer, not the
562 English negative. are you from Fukuoka? Notice the use of Japanese to
563 learn "real" information.))
564 A: un. Fukuoka. sou.
565 C: so far.

566 A: un.
567 ((pause with some "un" confirmation discourse markers and then B
568 starts again.))

(25) Return to Disney

569 B: I have many times go Disneyland and Disney Sea.
570 C: e:
571 A: un.
572 C: how often do you go ## there?
573 B: a: hhh hhh
574 B: how often?
575 C: un.
576 B: e::? ### he:: how often? ((covering her mouth and acting very
577 surprised by this question.))
578 C: daitai? ((C provides a Japanese word, which is then confirmed by B.
579 Note that the Japanese word that C gives is not a translation of "how
580 often." Both participants certainly know the word 'about' that
581 students would generally use under these circumstances.))
582 B: daitai? ((she says this in a very slight voice.))
583 C: ((nods her head in assent to B's question 'daitai.'))
584 B: nen # jikkai gurai. ("about ten times per year. C later
585 characterizes the frequency of B's visits as once a year, and B does
586 not argue that point. she may feel under pressure here and the change
587 from her initially energetic start at the beginning of this segment is
588 striking. She started out with a confirmation and laugh in a big voice
589 and now that the turn is fully hers and she has been asked to give
590 information, she is quiet and reticent. This may be because she
591 expressed disbelief that A had only been to Disneyland twice, and now
592 she may not feel comfortable disclosing her frequency of visits.))
593 C: a:.
594 A: un.
595 A: ((nods her head while looking away, her classic 'conversational
596 collapse' response. C tries to continue with her next utterance.)
597 C: once # a [year]? ((in this line and the following two utterances,
598 they are all saying 'once a year' at about the same time.))
599 B: once a year.

600 C: [once] a year.
601 C: (xxx)
602 A: and how about you?
603 C: me too.
604 C: un.
605 B: [really] ((will she let this slide? thinking that she really goes
606 ten times a year, and having herself compared with someone who goes
607 once a year? she has allowed herself to be placed in the wrong
608 category of Disneyland fandom and I wonder if the inclination to
609 assert her 'identity', or Disney loving character is enough to
610 override her willingness to accept wrong information or not wanting to
611 correct the situation (until later perhaps) because it's in English.))
612 A: [u:n]
613 B: xxx
614 A: u:n.

(26) Topic trouble and time check

615 ((another long pause and they look at the clock. The clock itself
616 becomes a topic when they are unable to sustain the conversation.
617 usually the clock is placed face down to prevent it from becoming a
618 topic of conversation.))
619 A: a: one minute. ((they are all leaning forward in order to see the
620 timer.))
621 A: one minute.
622 B: one minute.
623 A: ((short laugh))

(27) Fujikyuu Highland

624 C: have you ever been to Fujikyuu Highland?
625 B: a: yes.
626 A: I // I really want to go=
627 C: e::.
628 A: =someday but I haven't. ((this is a continuation of her earlier
629 utterance that was marked at its halfway point by the long 'e:' of
630 C.))

631 B: [really]?

632 A: [have you]? ((A extends her hand towards and locks her gaze onto C,
633 making it clear that she is giving her the turn. At the same time,
634 however, B's comment - 'really?' is directed towards A's comment that
635 she has never been to the amusement park. A is projecting the turn to
636 C, and B is attempting to initiate a turn transition to A. So A self-
637 selects herself, or maybe maintains the same turn in which she
638 completes her first part, 'I really want to go,' with the final
639 'someday' comment, and since she has the floor, she poses a question
640 which moves the turn to C, but B misses all this, and maybe thinks she
641 has the floor from her affirmative answer 'yes' to the question about
642 if she's been to Highlands.))

643 C: yeah. ((B now shifts her gaze quickly to C and points to her by
644 extending her index finger from the fist that she has been using to
645 rest her chin in.))

646 A: a: how is it?

647 C: very # interesting. ((Fujikyuu is a theme park of rollercoasters,
648 so this seems a bit of an understatement. Between very and interesting
649 there is a pause where C switches her gaze from A to B, as if she does
650 not want to say anything that B would not want to confirm. She is also
651 making a gesture with her right hand that appears to be a thumbs up,
652 but never quite makes it to the full expression of the gesture.))

653 B: un. very interesting.

654 A: ((vigorously nodding her head.))

(28) Roller coasters

655 B: an(d) I want to go // jan(ai) // I want to ride # Takabisha. ((she
656 is making a gesture straight up and down with her right hand with her
657 index finger extended. My interpretation is that this means Takabisha
658 is a roller coaster that has extreme up and down ride elements.))

659 C: he:::.

660 A: un.

661 B: (xxx) right down. ((continues making the roller coaster hill
662 gesture.))

663 C: a:::.

664 B: I like the # roll // rolling coaster // rolling coaster? ((A asks

665 for confirmation of this lexical item.))
666 C: un
667 C: roller coas[ter]? ((she shifts her gaze from A to B to confirm
668 this.))
669 A: [roll]er coaster. ((she is also making up and down gestures to
670 indicate roller coaster. Much physical confirmation here.))
671 A: yeah. so ((this utterance is incomplete here, she wants to
672 continue.))
673 C: me too, me too.
674 A: u::n.
675 A: I want to. ((her complete utterance is 'yeah, so I want to (ride
676 it.)
677 A: Fujikyuu has ## many coasters?
678 C: u:n
679 B: yes. yes.
680 A: a: I want to # go. ((utterance becomes quieter as she proceeds and
681 ends with her looking down, so the floor is open and she has not
682 designated the next turn. Notice how turns are delegated throughout
683 this conversation.))
684 B: e: I want to ride xxx
685 C: a:
686 C: me too.
687 A: [(xxx) like] (xxx) coaster?
688 B: yes.
689 A: ((nods her head as if she understands, but maybe not.))
690 C: I like Fujiyama.
691 B: ((bursts out laughing and covers her mouth with her hand.))
692 A: Fujiyama.
693 B: a: me too, me too. ((B and C have direct eye contact with each
694 other at this point.))
695 A: I have heard only the name, but what is it? a coaster?
696 C: a:
697 B: coaster. coaster.
698 A: also coaster.
699 B: it's very # fast.
700 C: fast and long. ((she makes weaving motion with her hand as she says
701 'long'.))

702 B: long long long long. ((said very quickly, with the final 'g' of the
703 final instance of 'long' articulated as a hard 'g'.))
704 A: u:n.
705 B: (shuun) ((she is describing the swooping speed of the roller
706 coaster.))
707 C: u:n.

(29) Haunted house

708 A: I heard the obake yashiki was renewal. ((obake yashiki is 'haunted
709 house'))
710 B: u::n.
711 B: I // I was go. ((points at herself. Although she is having trouble
712 communicating, she seems to be the expert in terms of content
713 knowledge about this particular topic.))
714 C: E::::! ((C says this louder than the surrounding speech while
715 covering her mouth and leaning away and to the left, showing what I
716 interpret as B is so brave for going into the obake yashiki that C can
717 not believe it.))
718 A: after renewal? ((B's gaze shifts from C, who was giving a very
719 physical and vocal response, to A, who has asked a quite detailed
720 question. C's response shows that she knows what it means to go into
721 this obake yashiki - and that it takes a 'brave' person, and A asks a
722 very mundane question, but gets the attention.))
723 B: a: ((B quickly looks down, and her hand goes up to cover her mouth
724 while C, since her outburst was not oriented to, becomes silent.))
725 A: a: before? ((A, perhaps realizing she has put B in a jam, is trying,
726 as quickly as possible, to supply enough information to help B answer
727 a question, the understanding of which may be beyond her reach.))
728 B: a: ((her mouth is completely covered by her hand and she is looking
729 down at the center of the table. This may be because she really does
730 not know if she was in the haunted house before or after the
731 renovation, or because she does not understand the question. Even if
732 she did not have the vocabulary to construct a good answer, she could
733 use 'before' or 'after' to escape.))
734 A: I heard in July the ((the timer beeps that the conversation is over
735 while she is trying to explain. they say 'yay' and they can't wait to

736 get up and go.))

737 B: yeah.

Works Cited

- Eggin, Suzanne, and Diana Slade. 2001. *Analysing Casual Conversation*. London: Continuum.
- Gould, Timothy. 2008. "Topic Development, Affiliative Mimesis and L1 Use in a Novice-Novice L2 English Conversation." *Sophia Junior College Faculty Journal* (28): 9–26.
- Jefferson, Gail. 2004. "Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction." In *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*, edited by Gene H. Lerner, 13–31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*. 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1984. "Notes on Methodology." In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, edited by J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, 21–27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.