# THE PROCESS OF GROUNDING BY NATIVE AND NONNATIVE SPEAKERS OF JAPANESE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

It is considered that a number of factors, such as the external social structure, language proficiency, and relative knowledge of the content domain, affect interaction. Therefore, one of the participants is thought to play a more important role in interaction and to dominate the conversation. However, some studies have illustrated that both participants in a conversation actively contribute to interaction regardless of the pre-existing attributes of the participants. This study examines participants' contributions to establish mutual understandings in interactions between native and non-native speakers and also investigates whether nativeness and topic expertise affect their contributions to the discourse. The data consisted of five tape-recorded interactions between native and non-native speakers of Japanese and were analyzed using collaborative theory. Analysis revealed that both participants, native and non-native speakers, adjusted assumptions about mutual beliefs at any point in interactions, seek what kind of and how much information their interlocutor needed, and coordinated their responses by using acknowledgment, demonstration, completion, and refashioning. At the same time, this study demonstrated that the collaborative theory is an effective tool for the analysis of discourse where non-native speakers are engaged, in addition to where only native speakers are engaged.

#### INTRODUCTION

When researchers analyze discourse, they tend to bring in pre-existing attributes of people from outside of the discourse and make use of this background knowledge. For example, when investigating institutional settings, people believe that the person in the role of an institutional representative, say a doctor, acts in certain ways and the interlocutor, the patient, also acts in expected ways. However, as Heritage (1997) has pointed out, conversation analysis holds that context is constructed and invoked through interaction by the participants, and knowledge about social structure and culture tends to guide the analyst to a generalization too quickly. Some studies have illustrated that participants contribute to interaction in a way that they are expected to, based on the categorization determined by the external social structure, but the hierarchical status does not necessarily affect the interaction all the time (Drew, 1991; Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991; Munger, 1996).

In addition, linguistic factors sometimes affect the interaction. Some SLA studies have revealed that non-native speakers' (NNSs') grammar, pronunciation, and discourse may be the source of miscommunication (Tyler, 1992, 1996; Williams, 1992), but a lack of competence in these areas does not always cause communication problems. In a study of negotiation of meaning, Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos, and Linnell (1996) revealed that NNSs can modify input from other interlocutors and provide it to others as output, which means that NNSs are competent to negotiate meaning by using interactional modification like native speakers (NSs) do. Their research illustrated that, in interaction, NNSs can contribute to making communication successful.

The purpose of the present study is to examine interactions between NNSs and NSs and to demonstrate that NNSs actively contribute to interaction and play an important role in establishing mutual understanding. At the same time, this study will demonstrate how utterances constitute the relationship between participants in unfolding interaction, going beyond external social and cultural factors. The result of the study will reveal how interaction is dynamically constituted.

#### Asymmetries of Knowledge in Interactions

Participants in an interaction generally have different amounts of knowledge about any topic under discussion, and they employ a variety of conversational strategies to establish shared reference ('common ground') in ongoing talk (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; Wilkes-Gibbs, 1997). This collaborative work has directed researchers' attention to the discourse of interactions where knowledge that is asymmetrically distributed at the beginning of a conversation must be adjusted through the building of common ground throughout the interaction.

Isaacs and Clark (1987) investigated how experts and novices accommodated each other's expertise through the arrangement of pictures. In this study, there were two groups: directors and matchers. In each case, the directors had a set of pictures of New York City in a particular order in front of them. The matchers also had a set of identical pictures, but they were not in order. The directors helped matchers put their pictures in the same order as theirs, using only verbal commands. Experts, who were familiar with New York City, and novices, who were not, took turns as director and matcher. Regardless of their expertise, directors adjusted to the expertise of their matcher through local assessment of the matcher's expertise. Interestingly, in response to a novice's description, expert matchers supplied proper names of the landmarks in the picture to their partners, who did not have knowledge of them. Directors and matchers cooperated with one another to establish common ground.

In institutional settings, such as hospitals and schools, doctors and academic counselors are regarded as experts over patients and students, respectively, who are in turn considered to be novices. There is a common assumption that the pattern of interaction between those groups of people is predictable from the predefined expertise. However, some studies have illustrated that the expert-novice relationship is not so rigid.

He and Keating (1991) conducted research on an interaction between a counselor and student at a counseling session. Their study revealed that the counselor did not take on the role of expert all the time; sometimes the student displayed expertise on such topics as addressing her own academic problems by the use of an adverbial of certainty (e.g., "certainly") and superlative degree (e.g., "the most important thing for me is"). Also, the counselor demonstrated lack of expertise by using modal verbs to express uncertainty, and expertise was constantly reconstituted through the interaction depending on the topic at hand. Similarly, Munger (1996) illustrated that some tutor-student relationships at a writing center did not follow the stereotypical expert-novice relationship. He analyzed questions made by both the tutor and student, in which the student sometimes played a role of indexing expertise by asking questions or responding to the tutor's questions.

Some conversation analysts have come to the same conclusion, since, from the conversation analysis perspective, an expert-novice relationship is negotiated in ongoing interaction and is different from a traditional and predefined relationship derived from social power or authority (Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991). Jacoby and Gonzales (1991) analyzed interactional sequences from meetings of a university physics research group. The group consisted of one professor, three post-doctoral fellows, and three doctoral students. It might be assumed that the ones with the highest professional status would display their expertise in interaction. However, it turned out that the constitution of expert-novice was shifting moment by moment. The authors concluded that each participant had a macro and micro level of expert/novice identity; a "macro level expert" may become a "micro level novice" at a certain moment of interaction.

It is important to realize that there is no simple relationship between 'no/less knowledge of something' and 'being dominated interactionally.' Drew (1991) showed an extract, taken from a conversation between a mother and health visitor. The health visitor had privileged access to authoritative knowledge about the procedures for registering with a doctor and health clinic, but the mother still managed to gain her space in the interaction since she also had resources for obtaining access to knowledge about the topic from the unfolding interaction. Those studies above illustrated that interactions between experts and novices are not fixed; rather they are dynamic, and the expert-novice relationship is sometimes negotiated in ongoing interaction.

#### Collaborative Theory

In their 1986 study, Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs proposed collaborative theory, based on an assumption that, for successful communication, it is necessary for participants to collaborate on establishing common grounds of reference. According to this theory, participants have the mutual responsibility to establish the knowledge or belief necessary to understand utterances. Therefore, the speaker presents the identity of a referent to the hearer, and if the speaker thinks it will not be accepted by the hearer, the speaker should change or expand what was contributed. Also, the hearer has to try to understand what the speaker has presented, and hearers are responsible for letting speakers know whether they understand what the speakers have uttered. The speaker and the hearer continue grounding until they have established mutual belief.

The process of grounding consists of two phases: presentation and acceptance (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; Wilkes-Gibbs, 1997). The basic unit of grounding, the contribution, starts with a presentation phase. The speaker presents a contribution and adds to the common ground of both the speaker and hearer. Then, the process enters an acceptance phase, where the hearer must accept what the speaker says and both participants must recognize that they have established mutual belief. If the hearer cannot accept what the speaker has presented, the hearer should display lack of comprehension to the speaker. Otherwise the speaker believes that the hearer has understood and accepted what was presented.

When the hearer signals problems in accepting what has been presented, the speaker must refashion the initial presentation. Refashioning is accomplished mainly in three ways (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986): repair, expansion, and replacement. It is often the case, where several turns are taken to refashion the initial presentation until both parties believe, that what is presented is mutually understood.

#### ITA Research

In the field of SLA, one notable context in which asymmetries of knowledge in interaction occurs is classroom interaction between international teaching assistants (ITAs) and their students. ITAs' difficulties in communicating with their students have caused serious problems, and many studies have mainly examined ITAs' pronunciation and syntax as causes of the problem. However, some researchers have pointed out that those communication problems are also related to ITAs' discourse. With regard to the difference between ITAs' discourse and that of native speaker teaching assistants, Williams (1992) illustrated that ITAs employed fewer discourse markers, which mark key statements, than native speaker teaching assistants, and she proposed that their

infrequent use of discourse markers lead to incomprehensibility among the ITAs' students.

Tyler (1992) also stated that the incomprehensibility of ITAs' production was caused by their inappropriate language use at the discourse level. She conducted a qualitative discourse analysis of the planned spoken English discourse of one Chinese ITA and the discourse of a teaching assistant who was a native English speaker. She asked a native speaker of English to read the transcriptions of the two texts to an audience, which consisted of fifteen English native speakers, to obtain judgments regarding their comprehensibility. The result of the judgment by the audience showed that none of them made a positive remark about the ITAs' discourse. A qualitative discourse analysis revealed that the ITA's discourse lacked establishment of a synonym set, which seems to be important for structuring discourse, and that the ITA used discourse markers in an ambiguous way. In another study, Tyler (1996) also illustrated that cross-cultural miscommunication between a Korean ITA and his student, who was a native speaker of English, was caused by the ITA's transfer of a Koran conversational routine and mismatches in discourse management strategies and contextualization cues.

Although the studies mentioned above investigated ITAs' discourse and shed light on a new aspect of ITAs' problems, He (1998) has objected that they ignored the effect of input from interlocutors. She emphasized the importance of considering ITAs' problems at the discourse level in their conversational contexts. A study conducted by Williams, Inscoe, and Tasker (1997) supports He's recommendation. Williams et al. examined the negotiation of meaning between ITAs and their students, who were native speakers (NSs) of English in a chemistry laboratory setting. In contrast to other ITA studies, their study showed that communication between ITAs and their students was successful, and they seemed to reach a point where they mutually understood each other. What made communication successful was the NS's active engagement in the interaction. NS students frequently employed confirmation checks and clarification requests to correct information needed to complete the experiment.

Some data which displayed relatively longer sequences in the study of Williams et al. (1997) showed that the NS students and ITA had gone through the process of grounding to establish mutual knowledge. The efforts by both participants and the relatively equal distribution of their participation confirmed that expertise shifted throughout the conversations. With regard to the knowledge of a topic, ITAs were the experts, and it was expected that the flow of information would go from the ITAs to their NS students. On the other hand, regarding language proficiency, NS students played the role of the expert. Therefore, as is stated in the former section, their discourse verified that the expert-novice relationship is revealed as the participants play multiple roles in the interaction.

There are also studies that have examined the effect of relative knowledge of content expertise in NS-NNS interactions (Woken & Swales; Zuengler, 1989; Zuengler & Bent, 1991). In contrast to studies by Long (1981) and Pica (1987), which illustrated that NNSs played a subordinate role in conversation, Zuengler and Bent demonstrated that there was no clear NNS dominance of interactions and relative knowledge of the content domain seemed to have a greater influence on participation patterns in conversations. As Zuengler and Bent's research showed, linguistic proficiency alone does not always explain the amount of conversational participation. Therefore, it is important to consider content expertise in interactions where content knowledge is interactionally negotiated and participants try to establish mutual understanding of the knowledge since the participants are playing multiple roles.

The primary focus of Williams et al.'s (1997) study was negotiation of meaning (see Long, 1996 for a review), and they only analyzed individual turns which included interactional modifications. However, one cannot analyze only individual turns since the meaning of the utterance is influenced by all the surroundings, previous utterances, and forthcoming utterances. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate sequences of utterances. Collaborative theory, which says that participants collaboratively develop mutual beliefs in the grounding process, seems more applicable in understanding how participants in interaction accommodate each other to ground a reference. However, to my knowledge, none of the existing studies in SLA has adopted collaborative theory. I believe that collaborative theory is one of the best frameworks in examining interactional sequences where information flow occurs constantly and the relationship of the participants is dynamically co-constructed.

To explore how NNSs engage in establishing mutual knowledge with NSs, the following research questions are investigated:

- 1. How do participants in interaction coordinate with one another to establish mutual understanding in the grounding process?
- 2. Do participants' proficiency levels (native-nonnative) influence how they contribute to grounding process?

#### **METHOD**

#### **Participants**

Five native speakers of Japanese and five American learners of Japanese participated in this study. The Japanese participants consisted of three women and two men and ranged in length of stay in Hawai'i from one to nine months. None of them were currently enrolled in either undergraduate or graduate programs at university: four of them were studying English at a language institute, and the other was a visitor. However,

two of them had already graduated from university. The American learners of Japanese involved two women and three men. All of them were undergraduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa: four of them were taking Japanese 301 (third year Japanese) and the other participant was taking 400 level (fourth year Japanese). Two of them had lived in Japan, and the length of stay varied from one to two years.

#### Materials and Procedures

Since the aim of the current study is to examine a naturally occurring interaction, it was crucial to trigger spontaneous speech between the participants. Authentic materials were chosen as a communicative task for this study, and a specific goal of the task was presented to the participants: American learners of Japanese were asked to help native speakers of Japanese, who were told to use Japanese in playing the role of an applicant for the Master's program, to complete an application form. The reason why this task was chosen is that this task would reveal a gap in each participant's knowledge about the system of American higher education and increase the number of occasions when the participants would try to establish mutual understanding. The materials were: the graduate admissions application of the University of Hawai'i, the information and instruction booklet (for academic year 2000-2001), and the information leaflet about financial support for graduate students in the Department of English as a Second Language.

The booklet and application form consisted of four parts: general information about the graduate school, information about admission process, information on the application form, and the application forms themselves. The application forms included a graduate admissions application, residency declaration form, financial information form, and statement of objectives. The leaflet contained information about financial support and an application form. The application forms of the booklet and information leaflet about financial support for ESL graduate students are shown in Appendix A.

Each native speaker of Japanese was paired with an American learner of Japanese. Japanese native speakers were told to imagine that they planned to apply to the Master's program in English as a Second Language (ESL) at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Since none of them fulfilled the application requirements for the graduate program, the following information written in Japanese was given to make use of as their own background for filling out the application form (The original Japanese instructions are in Appendix B):

- 1. You entered the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in January 1998 and graduated in May 1999 with the degree of bachelor of arts in English.
- 2. You took the written TOEFL in July 1999, and you scored 600 points on that test.

- 3. You would like to apply to the Master's program in ESL for fall semester 2000.
- 4. You currently have a student visa (F-1) issued in Tokyo, Japan.
- 5. You have 20,000 dollars in your account at Tokyo Bank, but you would like to get some financial assistance.

Other than the information given above, the participants were told to use their own information. The information in number one was fabricated because some of the participants had not graduated from any college or university but had to pretend that they were applying to graduate school. Therefore, the information in number one was created in order to solve a time conflict and create a convenient scenario for the study.

The Japanese native speakers were informed that they could ask for any assistance from their interlocutor, an American leaner of Japanese. American learners of Japanese were not given this information. They were asked to help a native speaker of Japanese who was applying to graduate school to complete the application form. They were told to use Japanese for the interaction.

#### Analysis

Each pair of participants performed this task alone, without the researcher present. All interactions were tape-recorded. The data consisted of five tape-recorded interactions, lasting about forty to sixty minutes each. The data were transcribed according to the transcription conventions developed for conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; see Appendix C for a brief guide to the conventions employed in the transcripts of this study). Excerpts included in the following texts include approximate English translations. However, these translations include complicated problems. Since the structures of the two languages, Japanese and English, are different, where to place pauses and overlaps which occurred in the original Japanese interactions in the English translations is often problematic. Therefore, the English translations may lack naturalness.

The task that the participants of this study were given required that the participants build common ground to complete the task of filling out the application forms. Consequently, participants underwent the process of grounding until they believed they had reached mutual understanding that both of them could accept. In order to examine this establishment of mutual understanding and the dynamic co-construction of participants' roles, the data were analyzed using collaborative theory (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986).

To establish common ground, Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) state that both participants must accept mutual responsibility for collaboration in contributing to discourse with each other. The speaker (referred to below as Mary) has to believe that

what Mary is going to say will become part of her and her listener's (referred to below as Tom) common ground. Therefore, she must try to say what she wants Tom to understand in a way that she believes is easy for him to accept. As mentioned earlier, this is the presentation phase. Once she has initiated a contribution, and she believes he may not understand, or he lets her know that he did not understand what she said, she has to attempt to repair the problem. It is the speakers' responsibility to contribute to grounding.

There are several contributions that hearers are responsible for. After Mary has uttered what she wanted to add to their common ground, Tom is required to inform her whether he has understood her or not in the acceptance phase. There are several ways to show that he has accepted what she had said. Clark and Schaefer (1989) introduced five main types of evidence of understanding:

Table 1
Evidence of understanding (Clark & Schaefer, 1989, pp. 267)

Continued attention	Hearers show they are continuing to attend and, therefore,
	remain satisfied with speakers' presentation.
Initiation of the	Hearers start in on the next contribution that would be relevant
relevant	at a level as high as the current one.
next contribution	
Acknowledgment	Hearers nod or say "uh huh," "yeah," or the like.
Demonstration	Hearers demonstrate all or part of what they have understood
	speakers to mean.
Display	Hearers display verbatim all or part of speakers' presentation.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) also paid attention to acknowledgment, which they called "continuers." They mentioned that by inserting continuers, hearers are showing that they realize speakers' turn is still underway. Additionally, hearers imply that they have understood what speakers had said. Therefore, by using "acknowledgment" or "continuer," hearers show their understanding without taking the floor.

Another way to show hearers' understanding is what Wilkes-Gibbs (1995) called "completion." Completion takes place when speakers signal their difficulty in the previous utterances and solicit a completion from hearers by the use of pauses or hedges. Then, the hearers offer a completion to fulfill their responsibilities in a joint activity. Hearers do not always successfully present what speakers are trying to say. However, as Wilkes-Gibbs (1995) illustrated, hearers can offer completions at the lexical, phrasal, and sentential levels, showing that hearers have identified what speakers are going to say by

the incomplete sentences or phrases. Therefore, completion can be evidence that display hearers' understanding.

When the hearer, Tom, has a problem accepting what the speaker, Mary, said, Tom must let Mary know he has not accepted her presentation. Unless he shows his incomprehension, Mary believes that he understands what she has uttered. There are several ways to give evidence of trouble in understanding. Refashioning, as mentioned earlier, is one of the ways to do it. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) illustrated that refashioning is accomplished in three main ways:

Table 2
Types of refashioning (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986)

	Initiated by	
Repair	The addresser	Presenting the alternatives
Expansion	The addresser and	Judging the initial presentation to be
	addressee	inadequate and adding a word/phrase/clause
		to improve it
Replacement	The addressee	Rejecting the initial presentation and
		presenting the alternatives

That the hearers expand or replace the speakers' presentation shows that the hearers are not satisfied with the speakers' presentation, and the hearers cannot add it to their common ground. Hence, by expanding or replacing the initial presentation, the hearers display their state of understanding, and they begin to solve the problem collaboratively.

As stated above, not only the speakers, but also the hearers are responsible for the grounding process, and there are many ways in which the speakers and hearers contribute to establishing common ground. Therefore, in order to shed light on participants' collaboration on the grounding process, the data will be analyzed based on the contribution made by each of the speakers and hearers in interaction to establish mutual understanding, as proposed by collaborative theory.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Both American and Japanese participants contributed to the grounding process in order to establish mutual understanding in various ways. The data demonstrated four main types of participants' contribution to reach mutual understanding about the meaning which underlies the utterances: acknowledgment, demonstration, completion, and

refashioning. Some of them were used not only when participants confronted the problem of producing or understanding utterances, but also when they believed that the use of them would help the interlocutor to understand what they were going to say.

### Acknowledgment

Clark and Schaefer (1989) categorized acknowledgment (*uh huh*, *yeah* in English) as evidence of understanding, and as for Japanese, Kitagawa (1980) stated that Japanese *hai*, which is often translated into English as *uh huh* and *yeah* as in Cook (1999) and Maynard (1986), is used as a polite signal to the speaker to display that the listener has understood (or heard) what the speaker said to the listener. However, as the present study shows, it can signal the speaker to continue talking. Showing acknowledgment plays an important role in interaction since speakers believe that the hearers accept the speakers' presentation, which lets the speakers proceed to the next contribution. In this sense, acknowledgment encourages the speakers to *say more*. The data of this study demonstrated that the hearers helped the speakers to continue talking by using *hai* or *un* when they signaled some difficulties of expressing what they wanted to say. The following sequence occurred when they reached the section where applicants were supposed to list courses in progress if they were currently enrolled at a college or university (see Appendix C for the transcription conventions):

Excerpt 1 (Pair 1 - American learner of Japanese: Ellen; native Japanese speaker: Aiko)

1 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

2 Ellen: Ano kono hako wa ano

Uh, this box is uh

3 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

4 Ellen: Ano nanka

Uh, well

5 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

6 Ellen: Nanimo nakereba

If there is nothing

7 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

8 Ellen: Ano hai nashi to

Uh, yeah, nothing ((non applicable))

9 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

10 Ellen: Kaita hou ga iito omoimasu

It is better to write, I think

11 Aiko: Hai

Yeah

Displaying acknowledgment by the use of *hai* can be found throughout the data. However, there are some differences between *hai* illustrated above and *hai* which was obviously recognized as showing the hearers' understanding. As in the excerpt, once the speakers signaled their difficulty by hesitation, false start, or filled pause, the hearers started to backchannel more frequently. With regard to the signals of difficulty, the data of this study demonstrated that what American learners were more likely to employ were lexicalized fillers, such as *ano*, *etto*, and *sono*. In addition to those, they used some words, ...*toka* (something like...) and *ka nanka* (something like that), through which they signaled their uncertainty of a prior assumption. As shown in excerpt 1, once the American participant, Ellen, signaled her difficulty, by using *ano*, in verbalizing what she wanted to contribute, the Japanese participant, Aiko, took more turns to say *hai*. The number of words in Ellen's turn was relatively small, and, syntactically speaking, what Ellen produced took the form of a word and phrase: forms at sentential level hardly appeared in that sequence.

Therefore, it is more suitable that this extensive use of *hai* should be interpreted as encouraging the speakers to speak more or *keep going* rather than as displaying acknowledgment. In the following excerpt, this pair was trying to fill out the application form of financial support for graduate students in the Department of ESL.

Excerpt 2 (Pair 4 - American: Jill; Japanese: Takashi)

1 Jill: Okay

OK

2 Takashi: Un

Yeah

3 Jill: Acceptance wa ano kouiu financial aid financial aid tte kouiu ano [okane toka

Acceptance, uh, this financial aid, talking of financial aid, this, uh, [money

4 Takashi: [Un un un

[Yeah, yeah, yeah

5 Jill: Tetsudattekureteru ano so ano graduate scholarship toka

((It)) helps you ((pay)), uh, yeah, uh, something like graduate scholarship

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6 Takashi: Un Un
            Yeah, yeah
7 Jill:
            Scholarship toka fellowship toka traineeship toka assistantship ano morauyouni
            To get ((like)) scholarship, fellowship, traineeship, and assistantship
8 Takashi: Un
            Yeah
9 Jill:
            Suruno
            You do
10 Takashi: Un (1) ett?
            Yeah (1) huh?
11 Jill: ((laugh)) Okay okay
                     OK, OK
12 Takashi: Uh
           Uh
13 Jill: Kore wa
            This is
(( A4 started to explain the same part, again.))
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In excerpt 2, the Japanese participant, Takashi, took extensive turns to say *un*. However, it is revealed in line 10 that the Japanese participant did not understand what the American participant, Jill, had contributed so far. This excerpt shows that expressing *un* does not necessarily imply that the hearers understand what has been presented in interaction. Therefore, although the *hai* presented in the excerpts may display acknowledgment, it seems to function as encouraging the speaker to keep going in these examples. One tends to think that in order to fill information gaps, those who have the information keep talking, and the hearers only express that they have understood or have not understood what the speakers said. However, in real interaction, the hearer also contributes to obtaining the information in order to establish mutual understanding. As shown in the excerpt, the hearers can coordinate with the speakers to build common ground by use of *hai*, with which the hearers can speak without taking the floor.

It is found that Japanese native speakers used *hai* which encouraged American participants to continue to talk when the Americans signaled a problem in producing an utterance. However, no examples that the Americans employed this *hai* to make grounding proceed were found in the data. Interestingly, when participants in pair 4 codeswitched to English, the American participant, Jill, used *uh huh* and *yeah* in the same way. They were filling out the financial aid application for ESL graduate students, and they reached the section where it said, "please attach the following information: check each box that is included." Jill read the sentences in English, and the Japanese

participant, Takashi, demonstrated his understanding through offering a Japanese phrase, *gaitou surumono* (something that is true of you), which Jill did not understand.

#### Excerpt 3 (Pair 4 again)

1 Takashi: Gaitou surumono ne

Something that is true ((of you)), right?

2 Jill: Gai gaitou surumono

Tru true ((of you))

3 Takashi: *Uhm like uh* (.5)

4 Jill: Yeah

5 Takashi: Gaitou suru uhm (1) I read this

6 Jill: Uh huh
7 Takashi: And it's yes
8 Jill: Uh huh yes
9 Takashi: Check

10 Jill: Yeah

11 Takashi: *Check here* 12 Jill: *Uh huh* (1) *okay* 

The tendency to use *hai* discussed above holds true in this case: Takashi signaled his difficulty in articulating his idea (in lines 3 and 5), and his utterances were relatively short (in lines 5, 7, and 9). In this sequence, Jill displayed her acknowledgement by using *uh huh* and *yeah* in the same way Japanese participants used *hai* in their response tokens demonstrated earlier. Through examining the evidence above, it can be assumed that the use of *hai* which functions as encouragement to keep talking was triggered by Japanese participants' belief that their interlocutors, Americans, were not proficient in Japanese and would have a linguistic problem translating their ideas into words.

#### Completion

Another way for the hearers to contribute to grounding which was repeatedly used in the data is what Wilkes-Gibbs (1995) called "a spontaneous completion." In the following excerpt, the American participant, Mark, was trying to explain the box that applicants check if they are current University of Hawai'i at Manoa graduate students changing their field of study to another program.

Excerpt 4 (Pair 3 - American: Mark; Japanese: Saki)

1 Mark: Ano ima senmon ano yatt yatteru senmon o

Uh, your major now, uh, stud studying your major

2 Saki: [Hai

[Yeah

3 Mark: [Chigau senmon ni uh

[To different major, uh

4 Saki: Kaeru toki

When ((you)) change

5 Mark: Hai

Yeah

As shown in excerpt 4, completion took place when one participant signaled difficulty in the previous utterances and solicited a completion from the other participant by the use of pauses or hedges. Then, the hearers offered a completion to fulfill their responsibilities in a joint activity. This is similar to the activity identified as scaffolding by Donato (1994). Scaffolding is also collaborative work to reach the learners' goal of producing a correct form. In order to accomplish it, participants offer scaffolded help to compensate for a lack of knowledge.

Interestingly, in completion, participants need to coordinate linguistically to produce coherent structures, which encourages them to coordinate their interpretations of the contribution. The fact that linguistic coordination is necessary for successful completion leads people to believe that it is difficult for those who are less proficient in a certain language to offer a completion in conversation in the target language. However, completions initiated by non-native speakers were found in the data, as in the following excerpt, in which the Japanese participant, Nana, was giving her educational history to her American interlocutor, Gary.

Excerpt 5 (Pair 5 - American: Gary; Japanese: Nana)

1 Nana: Uh hawai daigaku no English department o uh

Uh English department at the University of Hawai'i

2 Gary: Sotsugyoo [shita

Gradua[ted

3 Nana: [Sotsugyoo shita

[Graduated

Repeating Gary's presentation in line three indicated that Nana accepted what Gary had said, and they successfully established a mutual understanding in a collective way. The fact of successful grounding through completions offered by the Americans demonstrated

that those who are deficient in Japanese proficiency can collaborate with their Japanese counterparts and contribute to grounding process in a dynamic context.

#### Demonstration

Clark and Schaeffer (1989) stated that demonstration provides relatively stronger evidence of understanding. Participants in this study frequently employed demonstration at the lexical level to show their understanding. In the following sequence, Jenn and Ken came to the section where applicants were supposed to list courses in progress if they were currently enrolled at a college or university:

Excerpt 6 (Pair 2 - American: Jenn; Japanese: Ken)

1 Jenn: Kore kakanakute iikamo shirenai

You may not need to write this

2 Ken: Blank

3 Jenn: Hai

Yes

In the following excerpt, this pair was trying to establish a mutual understanding about the tuition waiver.

Excerpt 7 (Pair 4)

1 Jill: Kouiu waiver ano motto yasuku

The waiver uh cheaper

2 Takashi: Ah hai hai

Uh yes yes

3 Jill: Nareru

Can become

4 Takashi: Discount surunoka

((The university) discounts

5 Jill: Un discount

Yes discount

As illustrated in the excerpts, the Japanese participants demonstrated what they understood in English. Code-switching from Japanese to English was employed by both Japanese and American participants throughout the conversation. However, with regard to demonstration, most of the examples of code-switching were made by Japanese participants. This is rather surprising since the English proficiency of Japanese

participants was at the beginning level. Thus, cognitively, code-switching should put a heavy burden on them. Also, the conversation was held in Japanese, and they could have conveyed their understanding by demonstrating it in Japanese. From the point of view of collaborative theory, a principle of least collaborative effort (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986) accounts for this code-switching. This principle will be described in detail in the next section.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that demonstration at the sentence level was also found in the data. Here, the pair had finished filling out the admission application form, and Gary tried to explain what the recommendation was to Nana. Finally, they established mutual understanding about the recommendation:

#### Excerpt 8 (Pair 5)

1 Nana: Sorede kore to isshoni daigaku ni teishutsu

Then, ((I)) submit this to the university with it.

2 Gary: Hai ma zenbu dasunoga ii desu desuyone ikkai ni

Yes, it is better to submit all of them at once.

Demonstration appeared at various levels as well as completion, and it was executed by both native and non-native Japanese speakers. This is another piece of the evidence that those who are less proficient in a language than their counterparts can contribute to grounding successfully.

#### Refashioning

When an initial presentation is believed to be unacceptable by either the speaker or hearer, either of them can initiate refashioning. Refashioning will continue until they establish a version with which they are satisfied. Refashioning is a collective activity to solve a problem collaboratively. Therefore, refashioning involves grounding. Refashioning is accomplished in several ways, and throughout the data, refashioning took several forms. First, refashioning initiated by the speaker, what Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs called "repair," will be examined. The following excerpt was drawn from a sequence where the American participant was trying to ask how her Japanese interlocutor, Ken, learned about the University of Hawai'i graduate programs:

#### Excerpt 9 (Pair 2)

Ken: Etto daigakuno jibun ni toki ni kikimashita Well, college time, when in college, I heard The word, *jibun*, has two meanings: one is *self*, and the other is *the time*. The former is more frequently used in colloquial conversations, and the latter is relatively formal. Ken may think that the word, *jibun*, might be confusing, and his interlocutor might not have learned the latter meaning of *jibun*. Therefore, he repaired his initial presentation and used the word (*toki*) which was easy to understand, even though he did not state that there was something wrong.

There is another interesting repair made by the American:

Excerpt 10 (Pair 2)

Jenn: *Ja ja jibun no ethnic background dakara nationality o kakun desukedo*Well, well you are going to write your ethnic background, that is your nationality.

Strictly speaking, ethnic background is one thing, and nationality is another. However, Jenn repaired what she had said first, and presented a new word, nationality. This may arise from two factors. One is that the Japanese participant, Ken, had a problem in understanding ethnic background before this sequence. She was trying to explain what ethnic background was, however, it was not successful. She ended up with saying, "Japanese to kaite kudasai" (Please write "Japanese"):

#### Excerpt 11 (Pair 2)

1 Jenn: Ano ethnicity to iuno wa ano donnan jin

Well, ethnicity is well, what kind of people

2 Ken: *Ah?* 

Uh?

3 Jenn: *Att donna hito* 

Uh, what kind of people

4 Ken: Kokuseki

**Nationality** 

5 Jenn: No att um donnan jin ni atarukao kaite (1) Japanese to kaite kudasai

No, uh, uhm, write what kind of people, (1) please write Japanese.

The other is that for most Japanese people, both ethnic background and nationality will be the same. Based on these facts, she may make such a statement as above.

In addition to repairing, expansion was also commonly used by both Japanese and Americans. According to Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986), expansion is initiated by not

only the speaker, but the hearer. However, in this study most expansions were made by speakers: they added a word, phrase, or sentence to improve the initial presentation. The following is an example, where they were filling out applicant's current and mailing address:

Excerpt 12 (Pair 3)

Mark: De tsugino wa ano permanent mailing address (.) sore wa ano nihon no juusho Then, next is well permanent mailing address (.) that is uh your address in Japan

Here, Mark did not simply translate English into Japanese, but added more information to make his presentation become more adequate for the purpose at hand (filling out the application) by using his background knowledge that his interlocutor comes from Japan and she was studying in Hawai'i.

In expanding the initial presentation, the speaker sometimes used what had been added to the speaker and hearer's common ground in order to avoid a problem. After excerpt 7, the following utterance was made by the American participant, Jill, when they, once again, came across the phrase, *tuition waiver*:

Excerpt 13 (Pair 4)

Jill: *Kore wa tuition waiver desu discount naru*This is tuition waiver. Do discount.

Although, in excerpt 7, the Japanese, Takashi, seemed to understand what tuition waiver was, Jill presented her contribution with the word that he presented before. This may be because *tuition wavier* was added to their common ground in the previous sequence, and so was *discount*. Therefore, she expanded what she initially presented in order to avoid a problem which may have caused them to take more turns to solve.

As stated in the demonstration section, code-switching was one of the strategies used by Japanese participants in order to avoid their interlocutors' comprehension problems. Accordingly, expansion which was made by Japanese participants frequently contained code-switching as in the following excerpt, where Gary explained what the educational and professional goals were, and Nana demonstrated her understanding by showing examples of what she believed were considered to be professional goals:

Excerpt 14 (Pair 5)

1 Gerry: Shoorai no gambou toka

Future dream or

2 Nana: Ah shoorai nani shitaika

Uh, what do you want to do in the future

3 Gerry: Nani shitaika souiu ano hatara dokode

What you want to do, something like, well, wor((k)) where

4 Nana: Hatara[kitai

Want [to work

5 Gerry: [Hatarakitai toka

[Want to work or

6 Nana: Dokkano kenkyuushitsu ni ikitai [toka

Want to go to some research group [or

7 Gary: [Hai sore

[Yes, that's it

8 Nana: Kyooju (.) professor ni naritai toka

Professor (.) you want to be a professor or

Collaborative theory can account for why Japanese participants often code-switched to English, even though conversations were held in Japanese and it may have been easier for them to use Japanese. Also, the reason why participants frequently expanded their initial presentation within their turn can be explained in the collaborative view. According to the principle of least collaborative effort (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986), participants try to minimize the collective process of grounding to which both the speaker and hearer contribute from initial presentation through acceptance. Therefore, the more effort is made to make an initial presentation clearer, the less refashioning is likely to be required (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986). Code-switching, self-repair by the speaker, and expansion of the initial presentation are the efforts that participants used to make a contribution more acceptable, which leads to minimizing collaborative effort in the grounding process.

As illustrated above, NNSs as well as NSs actively engaged in interaction and contributed to building their common ground. Interestingly, participants' proficiency levels did not seem to influence how they contributed to the discourse in the grounding process, and there seemed no difference in type of contribution employed in interaction between NSs and NNSs. Correspondingly, the participants adjusted assumptions about mutual beliefs in their contributions to on-going interaction and established their common ground in a collective way.

#### Application of Collaborative Theory to SLA Studies

A large number of studies on interaction in the field of SLA have been conducted. Many of them focused on modifying interaction through interactional modifications (see Long, 1996 for review) since interactional modifications and negotiation are thought to be crucial for the process of second language learning. Those studies illustrated that incomprehensible utterances triggered negotiation work, which is believed to benefit learners' language acquisition. Therefore, the researchers who conducted the studies on interactional modifications focused on whether input and output of learners were linguistically comprehensible. They have analyzed interactional modifications, which were "interactional adjustments by the NS or more competent interlocutor" (Long, 1996, p. 451). Those who have conducted research on interactional negotiation consider the language acquisition process as rather unidirectional (Long, 1983; Pica, 1987,1988; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, & Morgenthaler, 1989), and research on negotiation of meaning has not focused on NNSs' and novice learners' contributions to interactions in a NS-NNS and learner-learner dyad, respectively.

However, research conducted along the lines of sociocultural theory (Donato, 1994; Ohta 1995, 1996) revealed that "interactional adjustments" are made bidirectionally: linguistically more proficient people (e.g., NSs or advanced learners) to less proficient people and vice versa. Collaborative interaction between those people, where scaffolded help took place, created an ideal environment for the language acquisition process. Previous research showed that many interactions were constructed in a collaborative way. Therefore, it is important to investigate both participants' contributions to conversation, something collaborative theory also proposes to do.

The present study has demonstrated results that are similar to those found in research based on sociocultural theory: NNSs (novices regarding language proficiency) could adjust assumptions about mutual beliefs at any point in interactions, seek what kind of and how much information their interlocutor needed, and coordinate their responses as illustrated in the *Completion* section. Collaborative theory can account for those NNSs' contributions in NS-NNS conversations, which interactional modifications cannot explain. This theory has been applied to studies on first language interactions, but has not been adopted in the field of SLA. Further investigation is recommended using the framework of collaborative theory in order to better understand how NNSs collaborate with their interlocutors to construct interactions, but this study has at least shown that collaborative theory is applicable to the analysis of discourse where NNSs are engaged.

#### **CONCLUSION**

This study attempted to investigate participants' contributions to interaction. The contribution of this study has been to illustrate how participants coordinate with each other in interaction to reach their shared goal. The study found that both participants used the same kinds of strategies, including acknowledgement, completion, demonstration, and refashioning regardless of nativeness and topic expertise, and that NSs and NNSs coordinated their action. Interestingly, NNSs, who were less proficient in Japanese than NSs, also showed their linguistic coordination in completion.

This study was a small case study. However, it sheds light on how people establish common ground and construct interactions in a collective way. Correspondingly, collaborative theory is an effective tool to analyze the data of NNS interaction and should be given more attention in future studies of interaction in SLA.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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# APPENDIX A

# The Application Forms and Information Leaflet About Financial Support

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#### FINANCIAL INFORMATION FORM FOR INTERNATIONAL APPLICANTS

Graduate Admissions Office • University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

2540 Maile Way, Spalding 354 • Honolulu, HI 96822 Telephone: (808) 956-8544 • TTY: (808) 956-4257 • Web: www.hawaii.edu/graduate/

Federal laws of the United States require that non-immigrant students show financial responsibility for the duration of their studies. Therefore, the Graduate Division can admit only non-immigrant applicants who have been awarded a full scholarship or who have established their ability to pay all of their expenses (including those of any accompanying spouse or children) either personally or through a sponsor. Complete this form even if you may receive a teaching or research assistantship or other awards. The visa document will be issued only after the financial support form has been received with the appropriate financial documentation and approved by the UHM International Student Services Office, and you have been offered admission. IMPORTANT NOTES AND REQUIREMENTS REGARDING OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION: All documents must be in English and in equivalent U.S. dollars (or the current exchange rate must be supplied by the bank). If not possible, translations of the documents will be accepted if signed and sealed by an appropriate government or bank official. Official and original documents must be provided. Photocopies and faxed documents are not accepted. You may wish to keep additional original documentation for your own use. Original financial documents must not be more than two months old from the date of submission. Attach a copy of your I-20 or IAP66 from the last U.S. institution attended, if applicable

for the 2000-2001 ESTIMATED STUDENT BUDGET FOR 2000-2001 ACADEMIC YEAR (See instructions, page 5.) academic year were not established at time of publication. Non-resident Tuition and Fees for academic year (Fall 1999/Spring 2000) U.S. \$10,078.00\* Rent, Utilities, and Food (12 months) 9.944.00 Personal Expenses 1,524.00 OR EACH YEAR Health Insurance 662.00 Books and Supplies 925.00 In-state Transportation 300.00 \$23,433.00 2000-2001 Non-resident Graduate Nursing Tultion \$12,216.00

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I am applying for the Fall 2000 Spring 2001 semester.	Student I.D
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# FINANCIAL INFORMATION FORM - To be Completed by International Applicants Only ALDIANIE

SOURCES OF SUPPORT - If you request and do not get financial assistance from the University of Hawai'i, will you have sufficient funding for each academic year of proposed study? 

Yes No If yes, list your sources of funding for the first two years of study.

COMPLETE BOTH YEARS. Give amounts in U.S. Dollars.	First Year	Second Year
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This certification is executed on the behalf of: Name Law (behalf)	Fee	Make Training Accorded
I, the undersigned, intend to provide the amount of U.S. \$ the above named person at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. (If not provide	each year for a total of fing financial support, stat	year(s) for the support of te exact nature and duration
of the contribution you intend to make).	100000	April - 6000000
I understand that this certification is binding upon me for the duration of stay of attaching a current bank statement (not more than two months old) and the support. I certify the information given is complete and accurate. Sponsor's Name.	for evidence of the avail	ability of funds specified for
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APPLICANTS SIGNATUREX	IQ-1 Visa, My LAPIOS WILL IN	LOJ am curanty in the US

University of Hawaii Department of English as a Second Language 1890 East-West Road Honolulu, HI 96822

### FINANCIAL AID/LECTURESHIP APPLICATION

Deadlines:	for Spring Semester (begins in January)	October 1st
	for Summer Session (begins in May)	February 1st
	for Fall Semester (begins in August)	February 1st

Name: Las	+	First	Middle
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		(Office use only)	
Current GPR: Cu GRE: V: Q: Previous support:	mulative GPR:	Previous GPR:P/ TOEFL:	AS eligibility

(4/95)

#### Tuition Walvers

A student who is awarded a tuition waiver pays no tuition, but does pay student fees. Waivers are awarded for one semester at a time. During the time a waiver is granted, a student must take at least the minimum fulltime course load: 8 credits if one or more courses are numbered 600 or above, or 12 credits otherwise. The course load minimum refers to ESL core or elective courses, approved electives from other departments, ESL 699 credits (variable) or thesis credits. Physical education and other non-program courses are not counted. A student may not increase the number of thesis credits beyond the Plan A requirement of 6 credits simply to quality for a waiver.

#### Graduate Assistantships

A student may be awarded either a half-time assistantship (10 hours per week, or 1 course), or a full-time assistantship (20 hours per week, or 2 courses). The duties can include either teaching, research, or program assistance. With a 20-hour assistantship, the student will receive a full tuition waiver, medical benefits, and must take at least 6 credits. With a 10-hour assistantship, the student will receive a half tuition waiver, no medical benefits, and must take a minimum of 6-8 credits, depending on the type. A student with a 10-hour assistantship can also be considered for a half tuition waiver. Assistantship stipends are paid over a six-month period for each semester of the award (see course catalog or program brochure for amounts).

#### Lectureships

A student may be awarded either a 3-credit (1 course) or 6-credit (2 course) lectureship, often only a few days before the start of instruction. Lectureships do not include a tuition waiver or medical benefits, and recipients do not have to be students in the program. A student with a lectureship can also apply for a tuition waiver. Lectureship stipends are paid during the time the course is offered.

#### Announcements

The first round of announcements is made after March 15 for the Fall semester and Summer Session, or after November 15 for the Spring semester. A waiting list is established at that point, so later awards are still possible. For tuition waivers, as soon as semester grades are turned in, all students in the program are re-ranked on the waiting list.

#### Acceptance

Acceptance of an offer of financial aid (such as graduate scholarship, fellowship, traineeship, or assistantship) for the next academic year by an actual or prospective graduate student completes an agreement which both student and graduate school expect to honor. In those instances in which the student accepts the offer before April 15 (for Fall semester) and subsequently desires to withdraw, the student may submit in writing a resignation of the appointment at any time through April 15. However, an acceptance given or left in force after April 15 commits the student not to accept another offer without first obtaining a written release from the institution to which a commitment has been made. Similarly, an offer by an institution after April 15 is conditional on presentation by the student of the written release from any previously accepted offer.

I agree to these conditions.

Signature of applicant:	 Date:

# **APPENDIX B The Original Japanese Instructions**

- 1 つりそ大学セノア校は1998年1月に大学、1999年の3月は"English" の学士を取って事業した。
- 2 1999年の6日にTOEELを受け、その時の点数はもりり点だった。
- 3 2000年の例が関からESLの修士練程を始めたい。
- 2 現在、東京で発わされた学生ビザド 打を持っている。
- 2 現在、東京総行の行分の1 (株は20,000ドル野金があるが、できれば間分金をも らいたい。

#### **APPENDIX C**

### **Transcription Conventions**

- [ The point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk
- (0.0) Length of silence in seconds and tenth of seconds
- (.) Micro-pause
- Sudden cut-off of the current sound
- = Latched utterances, with no interval between them
- ? Rising intonation
- . Falling intonation
- , Continuing intonation
- (()) Comments by the transcriber

Yuka Murakami Department of Second Language Studies 1890 East-West Road Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822

yuka1020@aol.com