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1   Introduction

There is a multitude of stereotypes concerning typical conversational styles of men and women. When looking at gender differences in communication within an English as a .foreign language (EFL) context, one must consider its institutional framework. Nowadays, it appears to be common knowledge that girls are better in foreign languages than boys. Francis (2000: 19), for instance, claims that "if we are to believe the impression given by the media, any gender disadvantaged experienced by girls has now transferred to boys, reflecting a whole new set of relationships in the classroom". Although it is too simple to reiterate the portrayal of girls continually outperforming boys academically, especially in languages, as other factor such as students' social and ethnic background play a huge role too, it cannot be denied completely that the current educational situation appears to favour girls (Francis 2000). This poses the question whether girls' supposed superior performance in foreign languages has an impact on differences in EFL conversations according to gender. Additionally, in order to shed light on another aspect of gender differences in interactions, I have asked myself if the stereotypical notions of a "male communicative style" as competitive and mainly focussing on problem-solving and a "female communicative style" as more cooperative and being primarily targeted towards fulfilling supportive and social functions (Talbot 2010: 92) play a role in the interactions between EFL learners.

To explore this broad subject matter of potential gender differences in EFL interactions, I decided to focus on the negotiation of meaning. Pica (1992: 202-203) states that "because negotiation is an activity focused on comprehension, feedback, and modified production, it has therefore served as a particularly fruitful area of research on SLA [Second Language Acquisition]". This suggests that meaning negotiation might be an interesting phenomenon to investigate, as the assumed gender differences in foreign language performance could result in different ways of how male and female EFL students communicate in general and also negotiate meaning. Furthermore, research on the relationship between language and gender overall has been particularly fruitful in the past years and academics have shown more and more interest into these issues (Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003: 1). The stereotypical perceptions of a male and female conversational style allows

for the question if they also impact female and male EFL leaners' ways to negotiate meaning.

Varonis and Gass (1986) were among the first linguists to investigate gender differences in negotiation of meaning. On the grounds of their study, they demanded more research in this field of inquiry. However, this call appears to have remained relatively unheard as there has not been a considerably amount of scholars examining the influence of gender on meaning negotiation. Thus, this thesis aims at exploring these potential gender differences in meaning negotiation within an EFL context. Are male students actually more successful in negotiating meaning because of their focus on problem-solving, or female students because of their social strengths and cooperative attitudes? Respectively, to remove this evaluative factor of "which gender is more successful in negotiating meaning", do male and female EFL students negotiate meaning in different ways? Do they use different strategies to initiate negotiation of meaning and to respond to it, or do they employ it for different purposes? These questions constitute the foundation of my study on gender differences in the meaning negotiation of EFL learners. It is based on the language data gathered through the recordings and transcriptions of conversations between students who are learning English as a foreign language at school. The analysis of these interactions should reveal if and how girls and boys between the age of 12 and 14 deal with meaning negotiation in EFL conversations. My thesis presents the results of this study, its discussion and embedding in the significant research on related topics so far.

This thesis is divided into two basic parts, one reviewing the literature relevant for the subject of the paper, the other one outlining the design of the study as well as its results and their interpretation. The second chapter focuses on the linguistic phenomenon of inquiry, negotiation of meaning. After defining the concept and relating it to the notion of the interaction hypothesis in which it is embedded, a model of how to determine and categorise negotiation of meaning within an interaction will be proposed and different strategies to negotiate meaning will be introduced. This chapter will be concluded with a review of significant literature on various factors promoting meaning negotiation such as task types which has served as a valuable resource for the design of the study. The third chapter then concentrates on several aspects of the relationship between gender and interaction. It does not claim to be a complete review of this complex and wide matter, but only summarises those points which are important for the thesis' subject and the interpretation of the study's results. Among these are a brief overview of approaches towards the

scholarly examination of the ways gender might influence interactions as well as the establishment of a cooperative female and a competitive male conversational style. Given the close connection of meaning negotiation to second language acquisition conceptualised in the interaction hypothesis, another section will cover the possible effects gender might have on second language acquisition and on foreign language learning in educational contexts, which draws the theoretical part of the thesis to an end.

The second part centres on my study and its results. After a detailed description of its methodology including information on the participants, the procedure and data collection as well as the framework of analysis, the results will be presented according to the sequence of my research questions and then discussed and interpreted in the subsequent chapter.

2 Negotiation of meaning

2.1 Definitions

Negotiation of meaning generally describes the phenomenon of L2 speakers employing different techniques and strategies to prevent or overcome misunderstandings and communication breakdowns in interactions which are usually quite common in L2 interactions (Ellis 2008: 973; Lightbown & Spada 2013: 221). Ellis (2008: 973) defines negotiation of meaning as "interactional work to secure mutual understanding" which is "characterized by *interactional modifications*". These interactional modifications can take the form of, for instance, comprehension checks or requests for clarification. In essence, they are adaptions of speech and linguistic forms to ensure that one is able to make oneself understood and that any problems in interaction are either avoided or dealt with in a manner that communication may resume. Moreover, these modifications can be phonological, lexical or morphosyntactic (Pica 1992: 200).

Lightbown and Spada (2013: 220-221) refer to the defining feature of meaning negotiation as "modified interaction". While they provide the same examples as Ellis (2008: 973), they offer a more restricted definition, describing it as "adapted conversation

patterns that proficient speakers use in addressing language learners so that the learner will be able to understand" (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 220). By stating that only the skilled and more experienced L2 speakers utilise modified interaction in conversation with less advanced L2 learners, Lightbown and Spada (2013: 220), thus, appear to limit negotiation of meaning considerably in contrast to Ellis' broader understanding of interactional modifications, which can appear in conversations between L2 learners regardless of their level of proficiency. Lightbown and Spada's (2013: 220) understanding of modified interaction seems to be based on a terminological issue, as already Long (1983a: 127) distinguishes it from modified input which he actually defines in the same way Lightbown and Spada (2013: 220) explain modified interaction, while Long's (1983a: 127) description of modified interaction corresponds to Ellis' (2006: 973) interactional modifications. Long (1983a: 127) speaks in relation to modified input and modified interactions of "related but distinguishable phenomena".

The element that appears to distinguish these "phenomena" (Long 1983a: 127) is that of collaboration. As Ellis (2008: 224) points out, "NEGOTIATION OF MEANING takes place through the collaborative work which speakers undertake to achieve mutual understanding when there is some kind of communication problem". Likewise, Pica (1992: 200) calls negotiation of meaning a "mutual activity". In that sense, modified interaction reveals itself to be a more appropriate term than modified input to describe the core element of meaning negotiation, as it stresses the fact that both speakers in a conversation need to adapt to each other and may modify their speech in order to ensure comprehension on both sides.

In the classroom context, Lightbown and Spada's (2013: 220) "modified interaction" would refer to interactions between the teacher and the students in that the teacher is the more proficient speaker adapting his or her speech in a way that the learners can understand. This, however, seems to be a rather one-sided view of meaning negotiation which disregards the cooperative aspect of it stressed in Ellis' (2008: 973) and Pica's (1992: 200) definitions. Ellis (2008: 973) specifically points out that negotiation of meaning entails "interactional work" involving "one or more of the participants [in the conversation]". In that sense, "interactional work" may be shared among the interactants and does not only require the more advanced L2 speaker to adapt his or her speech to his or her less-advanced partner in conversation. Additionally, it opens up the possibility for meaning negotiation to happen in interactions between L2 learners who are at roughly the same level of proficiency as well and does not presuppose a hierarchy of language level

as does Lightbown and Spada's understanding of modified interaction. For these reasons, Lightbown and Spada's (2013) notion of meaning negotiation, although its differences from the other given definitions appear marginal at the first glance, reveals itself to be rather inappropriate and does not capture the full scope of the concept.

Ellis (2008: 223) also puts negotiation of meaning in the context of discourse repair which is needed when there is – vaguely put – some sort of difficulty in an interaction. In that context one can distinguish between negotiation of meaning and negotiation of form. Previously, it has already been established that negotiation of meaning occurs when there is a problem in communication. Negotiation of form, on the other hand, does not presuppose a communication problem, but a solely linguistic one which does not threaten to impede or inhibit understanding. Similar to Ellis, Lightbown and Spada (2013: 220) define negotiation of form as "an interaction in which language learners work toward the correct form in a context where meaning is understood". In contrast to negotiation of meaning, negotiation of form does presuppose a hierarchy of language skills, as it usually occurs in a pattern in which the more advanced speaker draws his or her interaction partner's attention to a specific linguistic form. It thus fulfils a special role in the classroom context, with the teacher not simply supplying the students with the correct form, but rather supporting them in finding it themselves (Lightbown & Spada 2013: 220). Usually, there is a focus on accuracy in these lessons (Ellis 2008: 224). Ellis (2008: 973) actually even goes so far as to claim that negotiation of form nearly exclusively happens in classroom contexts, while it is extremely rare in authentic everyday conversations. However, he points out that often negotiation of meaning and form occur in conjunction (Ellis 2008: 223).

To sum up, negotiation of meaning needs to be distinguished from negotiation of form and can be defined as

> the process in which, in an effort to communicate, learners and competent speakers provide and interpret signals of their own and their interlocutor's perceived comprehension, thus provoking adjustments to linguistic form, conversational structure, message content, or all three, until an acceptable level of understanding is achieved. (Long 1996: 418)

Long's understanding of meaning negotiation is interesting in so far as it points towards an important theoretical context negotiation of meaning is embedded in: Long's (1983a, 1996) Interaction Hypothesis, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2   Negotiation of meaning in the context of the Interaction Hypothesis

The notion of meaning negotiation is closely related to and partly originates from Long's (1983a, 1996) Interaction Hypothesis. In essence, this theory suggests that "engaging in interpersonal oral interaction in which communication problems arise and are negotiated *facilitates* incidental language acquisition" (Ellis 2006: 253). Thus, the negotiation of meaning is supposed to promote second language acquisition in that the interactional modifications which serve the purpose of resolving any difficulties in communication typical for such negotiations provide the learners with interactive and comprehensible input vital for second language acquisition processes. These interactional modifications result in "interactionally modified input" which may aid the learner in acquiring the second language (Ellis 2006: 253-254). In that sense, the interaction hypotheses draws heavily on both Krashen's (1982, 1985) input hypothesis and Swain's (1985, 1995, 2005) output hypothesis. Krashen (1982, 1985) claims that input needs to be comprehensible in order to enable learners to acquire a second language, as they can only adapt their interlanguage to new structures and forms if the understand their meaning. Ideally, this input would be slightly above the learners' language level. Swain (1985, 1995, 2005), on the other hand, complemented this hypothesis by stressing that the production of comprehensible output is equally important for accessing comprehensible input, as the production of modified output may make speakers aware of any differences in their interlanguage to the target language and may also lead to the automatization of the concerned linguistic structures. The interaction hypothesis then combines and expands on the assumptions of these two theories in that it "considers exposure to language (input), production of language (output), and feedback on production (through interaction) as constructs that are important for understanding how second language learning takes place" (Gass & Mackey 2006: 3).

Long (1996: 451-452) thus concludes that "*negotiation for meaning*, especially negotiation work that triggers *interactional adjustments* […], facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways". This output is modified, as it is a result of the feedback a speaker has received in the process of meaning negotiation, and should be more comprehensible than the initial utterance (Mackey 2012: 16). In that sense, Lightbown and

Spada's (2013: 220-221) understanding of modified interaction as defining feature of meaning negotiation appears to be incomplete, as it does not suffice to make negotiation of meaning supportive of language acquisition. The combination of modified input, interaction and modified output in meaning negotiation is what distinguishes it as crucial element in second language acquisition. A study by Pica, Young, and Doughty (1987) on interaction between native and non-native speakers of English confirms the superiority of interactionally modified input, i.e. modified interaction, over (pre-)modified input. In the investigation, native speakers of English had to give directions to non-native speakers. In order to fulfil this task, one group of native speakers provided the non-native speakers with modified input, while another group had to fulfil the task within a condition of interactionally modified input. The results revealed that comprehension in the second scenario was considerably better, as the speakers had the possibility of interacting with each other and negotiate meaning. Furthermore, Pica (1994: 514) stresses the importance of meaning negotiation as an opportunity to produce comprehensible output, which also promotes second language acquisition in that it draws the learner's attention towards his or her interlanguage system. The feedback speakers obtain in the process of negotiating meaning offer them a valuable possibility to become aware of problems they still have with the second language (Mackey 2012: 12).

Although the Interaction Hypothesis is based on the assumption that comprehensible input on its own is not enough to lead to successful second language acquisition, it does acknowledge its value. Long (1983b: 210) does not deny that exposure to comprehensible input is a prerequisite to both first and second language acquisition. In relation to that, Long (1996: 413-414) discusses the importance of positive as well as negative evidence, which both occur together in the negotiation of meaning. Leeman (2007: 112) describes evidence in general as linguistic information on whether certain structures are correct or incorrect and adds that it is important to differentiate between evidence and feedback. While evidence will be briefly described at this stage, feedback will be addressed later on in section 2.4.1. Positive evidence is defined as "models of what is grammatical and acceptable […] in the L2" and promotes language learning considerably, when it consists of comprehensible and possibly modified input (Gass & Mackay 2015: 182). Negative evidence, on the other hand, "provide[s] direct or indirect information about what is ungrammatical" and may be especially useful in the acquisition of L2 vocabulary, morphology or syntax (Long 1996: 413-414). Gass (1997: 144) suggests that

the provision of negative evidence can lead to negotiation in that it draws the speaker's attention to the fact that some kind of communication problem has arisen.

Pica (1992: 205) summarizes how, according to the Interaction Hypothesis, negotiation of meaning promotes second language acquisition, in that it

> provides learners with (1) L2 input adjusted or modified for their comprehension needs; (2) feedback on semantic and structural features of interlanguage; (3) opportunities to adjust, manipulate, or modify semantic and structural features of their interlanguage; and (3) a source of L2 data that highlights L2 semantic and structural relationships.

Through comprehensible input as well as feedback on their utterances, learners are encouraged to reflect on their language use, improve it and make it more comprehensible. Eventually, these processes may make the learner aware of a "gap" between their interlanguage and the actual L2 and trigger the acquisition of the specific language feature this gap is referring to (Mackay 2012: 17).

2.3   A model for negotiation of meaning

Varonis and Gass (1985) proposed an extensive model for describing how negotiation of meaning takes place in a conversation. It is based on the assumption that negotiation of meaning takes place when a speaker has to deviate from the linear progression in a conversation because he or she needs something to be clarified before proceeding with the next turn (Gass & Varonis 1985: 151). Gass and Varonis (1985: 151) use the term non-understanding routines for these negotiations. The model can either be applied to sequences in which non-understandings are negotiated or some sort of non-understanding has happened, but it is ignored rather than addressed. They describe "non-understanding routines" in which the speakers are confronted with non-understanding as "*exchanges in which there is some overt indication that understanding between participants has not been complete*". These routines usually revolve around one or more clarifications (Varonis & Gass 1985: 73) provided that the non-understanding is actually noticed and dealt with and not simply disregarded. Gass (1997: 109), however, points out that the expression "nonunderstanding routine" is technically incorrect, as the trigger for such a routine may be either a non-understanding or a partial understanding. These different types of miscommunication and how they are related to negotiation of meaning will be explained in more detail in section 2.4.1.

Varonis and Gass' (1985) model consisting of two basic sequences is visualised in figure 1 below:

Figure 1. Model for negotiation of meaning, based on Varonis & Gass (1985: 74)

Figure 1 shows how negotiation of meaning is prompted by a trigger T which represents the first part of this model. In essence, the trigger is the origin of any non-understanding in the conversation, which may lead to the necessity of negotiating meaning. It can either be ignored so that there will not be any resolution of the non-understanding, or it is followed by the second part of the model, the resolution. The resolution itself is comprised of three intermediate steps: an indicator I, a response R, and a reaction to the response RR, with the last one, the RR, not being compulsory. Through an indicator I one of the interlocutors signals his or her non-understanding. While the trigger is the cause of the non-understanding, the indicator is its actual expression in the conversation which should make the interlocutor aware of the fact that the listener has not completely understood the message and needs some further clarification. It "halts the horizontal progression of the conversation and begins the downward progression, having the effect of 'pushing down the conversation rather than impelling it forward". Thus, rather than proceeding the conversation, the speaker whose utterance has triggered the non-understanding is basically impelled to address this fact and respond to it in some way, which represents the second stage of the resolution, the response R. The response R may also be followed by a further, but only optional step: the reaction of the speaker who indicated his or her non-understanding to the response RR (Varonis & Gass 1985: 74-75). It is important to point out that Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, and Newman (1990) as well as Pica (1994: 497), use the term 'signal' instead of 'indicator' in relation to the rather problematic identification of a speaker's intentionality which is sometimes difficult to access and disclose for researchers when showing a problem in understanding

Varonis and Gass (1985: 75) note, however, that this model only represents an idealised version of how negotiation of meaning functions in a conversation and that in real interactions it does not always strictly follow this pattern. In fact, speakers can break off the negotiation after every step in the model. However, it shall be noted that interrupting negotiation of meaning after the indicator, thereby refusing to acknowledge that some non-understanding has occurred and should be clarified, is generally considered to be profoundly uncooperative. Furthermore, the individual steps not necessarily always appear in the exact same sequence as the model proposes. Nonetheless, Varonis and Gass' (1985) model of negotiation of meaning clearly shows under which conditions meaning is negotiated, namely "when there is some recognized asymmetry between message transmission and reception and when both participants are willing to attempt a resolution of the difficulty" (Gass 1997: 108).

In addition to their model for negotiation of meaning, Varonis and Gass (1985) resume with providing lists and examples of different kinds of triggers, indicators, responses and responses to responses. Triggers and their connection to miscommunication as well as examples of indicators and responses shall be discussed and compared to other taxonomies of meaning negotiation strategies in the next chapter. As responses to responses are only optional in meaning negotiation routines and mainly serve the purpose of "tying up the routine before the speakers pop back up to the main flow of conversation" (Varonis & Gass 1985: 77), they will not be discussed in detail.

2.4   Meaning negotiation strategies

According to Gass and Mackey (2015: 187) "negotiation for meaning has traditionally been viewed and coded in terms of the "three Cs"", which are confirmation checks, clarification requests and comprehension checks. Mackey (2012: 13), however, points out that meaning negotiation is not restricted to these three strategies, but can also take on other forms, even explicit ones. Mackey (2012: 113-114) speaks of "discourse moves" which are part of meaning negotiation routines and mentions comprehension checks, confirmation checks, clarification requests, modified output, and interactional feedback, but also recasts and language-related episodes. The latter can be defined as "any part of the

dialogue where learners talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or correct themselves or others" (Swain & Lapkin 1998: 326).

Long (1983b: 212) mentions – among others – confirmation checks, clarification requests, self- and other-repetitions as well as expansions as typical interactional modifications in conversations between native and non-native speakers. Long (1996: 418) later completes this list with reformulations, simultaneously pointing out that negotiation strategies can be employed to both prevent communication breakdowns as well as deal with problems in interaction and understanding and eventually overcome them. Correspondent to these two purposes of modified interaction, Long (1983a: 132) distinguishes between strategies to avoid communication breakdowns and tactics to repair them. However, what he calls tactics seem to be more appropriate to be subsumed under meaning negotiation strategies in this thesis, which is why a few of these, namely clarification requests, comprehension checks as well as the repetition of one's own and of the other speaker's utterances shall be mentioned.

In the following, meaning negotiation strategies will be described and, in concordance with Varonis and Gass' (1985) model of negotiating meaning, grouped according to whether they are indicators or responses. Before that, a short section on triggers will be added to outline their connection to miscommunication. It is, however, important to keep in mind that these categorisations of meaning negotiation strategies are not set in stone. There is still room for a considerable amount of variability and overlaps (Ellis 2008: 232).

2.4.1 Triggers and miscommunication

The notion of Varonis and Gass' (1985) trigger as part of a meaning negotiation routine is closely related to that of miscommunication. In general, miscommunication is defined as the "mismatch between the speaker's intention and the hearer's interpretation (Milroy 1986: 18) and involves misunderstandings, incomplete understandings and non-understandings. In misunderstandings, the hearer has not understood correctly what the speaker meant, but thinks he or she did indeed grasp the intended message (Tzanne 2000: 33). According to Milroy (1986: 25), instances like these happen very frequently in everyday conversations and might not even be acknowledged every time. In incomplete understandings and non-understandings, on the other hand, the hearer is aware that he or she has not fully understood what the speaker wanted to express. If these incomplete under-

standings or non-understandings are not resolved, for instance through meaning negotiation routines, they may lead to a breakdown in communication (Milroy 1986: 25). Thus, the main difference between misunderstandings and incomplete understandings or non-understandings lies in the awareness of the interactants that there has emerged a problem of understanding in their conversation and in the attempt or neglection of solving this problem (Gass & Varonis 1991: 124-125). In terms of meaning negotiation, this means that negotiation routines are usually triggered by non-understanding or an incomplete understanding rather than a misunderstanding, as in misunderstandings the speakers do not realise the communication problem and hence cannot try to overcome it.

Concerning types of triggers, Varonis and Gass (1985: 75-76) only identify three relatively vague forms they can take in relation to their model of meaning negotiation outlined in section 2.3: a question, an answer to a question or neither of those. It can be quite difficult to identify a trigger of a non-understanding, if it is not followed by some kind of indicator. Thus, Varonis and Gass (1985: 76) suggest that "a trigger is recognized only in retrospect".

2.4.2 Indicators

Indicators are essentially feedback from the listener that advert the speaker to a specific problem in communication. The latter term suggests clear intentionality on the side of the speaker. In contrast to evidence, which can be defined as linguistic information on the correctness or incorrectness of an utterance, feedback can be described as the "mechanism" to provide this information. In that sense, positive feedback means that a specific construction was successful, while negative feedback indicates that the construction was not successful. In that case, negative feedback can take the form of either positive or negative evidence (Leeman 2007: 112), although Gass and Mackey (2006: 7) suggest that negative feedback usually also means negative evidence. In the context of meaning negotiation, especially negative feedback is of interest as it signals that there has been a problem in communication. Furthermore, feedback can either be explicit or implicit. Explicit feedback openly adverts the speaker to the error, while implicit feedback only alludes to it (Ellis, Loewen & Erlam 2006: 340-341). Gass & Mackey (2015: 186-187), however, claim that only implicit feedback such as confirmation checks, clarification requests or recasts, can be part of negotiation routines. Ellis' (2008: 226-227) categorisation

of negotiation strategies into implicit and explicit ones, on the other hand, clearly contradict this statement. He too mentions the same examples for implicit feedback, but also acknowledges explicit strategies, for example metalinguistic feedback or explicit corrections, as potential part of negotiation routines. In these cases where explicit strategies are employed, the negotiation of form is probably foregrounded and not the negotiation of meaning. Similar to this distinction into implicit and explicit feedback, Gass and Varonis (1985), in reference to their model of negotiation of meaning (Varonis & Gass 1985), distinguish between direct and indirect indicators. While indirect indicators do not openly show that there is a problem in communication and instead only allude to it, direct indicators "directly express unaccepted input" significantly more harshly (Gass & Varonis 1985: 154). This categorisation reveals another crucial difference between negotiation of meaning and form. While strategies to negotiate meaning are implicit and indirect by nature, as they do not aim at eliciting a specific linguistic feature, but at ensuring understanding, strategies to negotiate form, such as metalinguistic feedback, elicitation and explicit correction, are explicit and direct in that they overtly correct the mistakes of the learner (Ellis 2008: 226-228).

According to Elis (2008: 226) the three most typical negotiation strategies are requests for clarifications, confirmation checks, and recasts. A clarification request can be described as "an utterance that elicits clarification of the preceding utterance" (Ellis 2008: 227), as it indicates that the speaker's utterance has not been completely comprehensible without offering a correct version (Mackey 2012: 117). In a second language learning environment, these kinds of feedback, with the exception of recasts, can be referred to as 'prompts' which, according to Lyster (2004: 405), "withhold correct forms (and other signs of approval) and instead offer learners an opportunity to self-repair, but, at the same time, withhold the target-like form". Other example for prompts except clarification requests are repetitions which signal the learner's error, metalinguistic clues which point towards the erroneous structure and elicitations (Lyster 2004: 405).

Clarification requests are supposed to motivate the other speaker to clarify what he or she has previously stated and usually take on the form of questions. In contrast to confirmation checks, however, with clarification requests the speaker does not assume that the listener has comprehended everything, which is why they can either be open, closed, uninverted or tag questions. Confirmation checks, on the other side, promptly come after the speaker's statement and should simply confirm that comprehension was right and complete. Consequently, the form of confirmation checks is different to that of

clarification requests. They generally consist of questions with a rising intonation and reiterate the whole or parts of the previous message. If the utterance was actually understood correctly, the speaker does not have to offer any new information; a short phrase indicating approval suffices (Long 1983a: 137).

While the definition of clarification requests is quite straightforward, the differences between confirmation checks and recasts are more subtle and not always immediately obvious. In general, confirmation checks are usually questions that, by fully or partially repeating what has been said before, aim at making sure that the speaker has understood correctly what his or her conversation partner has uttered. Recasts, on the other hand, can be compared to rephrases, as the speaker repeats what has been said in different words, but still capturing the original meaning, in order to ensure that he or she has not misunderstood anything (Ellis 2008: 227). Sometimes, these two strategies are difficult to distinguish, because the only difference between them may lie in the intonation of the phrase – the confirmation check as a question ending in rising intonation, the recast ending in falling intonation (Ellis 2008: 226).

Recasts are a type of implicit feedback and thus do not interrupt the flow of the conversation as harshly as direct corrections (Gor & Long 2009: 451). They can be defined as "utterances that repeat a learner's incorrect utterance, making only the changes necessary to produce a correct utterance, without changing the meaning" (Nicholas, Lightbown & Spada 2001: 733). These changes may be more or less marginal and include repetitions of or elaborations on the speaker's original statement (Gass & Mackay 2015: 189). Thus, Gass and Mackay (2015: 189) speak of "interactional moves through which learners are provided with more linguistically target-like reformulations of what they have just said". In that way, recasts do not only provide negative feedback in that they draw the learner's attention to a problematic utterance, but they can also be considered positive evidence, as they pose an example of accurate language use at the same time (Gass & Mackay 2015: 189). The efficacy of recasts, however, has sparked considerable discussion. As learners do not necessarily perceive recasts as a form of negative evidence which serves as a correction to their previous incorrect utterance, but may also understand them as a simple rephrase of what they have said without any evaluation of linguistic accuracy, they do not always react to recasts. This naturally minimises the potential of recasts to contribute to language learning (Gass & Mackay 2006: 9). Mackey (2012: 14-15) questions whether recasts can be subsumed under meaning negotiation strategies because recasts do not require the same speaker involvement as other meaning negotiation

strategies such as clarification requests. This may have to do with the simultaneous presence of positive and negative evidence in recasts. As recasts also provide the learners with a model of how a correct version of their utterance would look, they also do not have to engage with the message as intensively as compared to other negotiation strategies. Long (2007: 77), however, stresses in his definition of recasts that in interactions in that recasts occur "the focus of the interlocutors is on *meaning*, not language as object", which is why recasts shall be treated as a strategy to negotiate meaning in this thesis.

Varonis and Gass (1985: 77) add to this list of indicators, consisting of the three most important ones – clarification requests, confirmation checks and recasts – explicit indications of non-understanding, echo words or phrases from previous utterances, non-verbal responses such as silence, summaries, surprise reactions, inappropriate responses, and overt corrections. Additionally, the third of the previously mentioned "three Cs" (Gass & Mackkey 2015: 187), comprehension checks, can be subsumed under indicators. Dörnyei and Kormos (1998: 375-376) complete this with further meaning negotiation strategies that they include in their larger framework of problem-solving mechanisms. These are asking for repetition, confirmation or clarification, expressing non-understanding, giving an interpretive summary, guessing, other-repair, and feigning understanding, which means that the interlocutor who has not fully understood an utterance tries to continue the conversation despite the communication problem. Feigning understanding is regarded as "zero-negotiation", as this strategy does not really involve any negotiation of meaning since the trouble-causing part of an utterance is simply ignored. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 1984) mention clarification requests, confirmation checks, recasts and other repetitions on their list of indicator moves in meaning negotiation. They describe other repetitions as a simple exact repetition of what has been previously said by the interlocutor which could possibly include highlighting the part of the utterance triggering the communication problem.

2.4.3 Responses

The response to the indicator signalling a problem in understanding may take a plethora of different forms as its only purpose is to attempt at clarifying a previous utterance that has not or only partially been understood. Zainal and Ching (2016: 100) point out that, in general, a response to an indicator signalling a problem in understanding with the previous message may either involve "repeating or modifying the message". As examples they

list "replacing, rephrasing and adding lexical items to the phrase or even […] substitution of its [the message's] original form" (Zainal & Ching 2016: 100). Varonis & Gass (1985: 77) mention for instance repetitions, expansions, rephrasings, acknowledgements and reductions. This list, however, is certainly not complete. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 186) include acknowledgement, provision of information and repetition in their list of responses in meaning negotiation sequences. With acknowledgement Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 186) mean a supple answer to a confirmation check indicating whether the interlocutor has grasped the meaning that was supposed to be conveyed correctly. Thus, acknowledgement may often only take the form of a simple "yes" or "no". In provision of information the speaker responds to the indicator by providing the interlocutor with more information which should help his or her understanding. By responding with a repetition the speaker simply repeats parts of his or her whole previous utterance which initially triggered the need for meaning negotiation (Ellis & Barkuizen 2005: 186). As Dörnyei and Kormos (1998 : 350) point out the relationship between meaning negotiation and communication strategies, which both aim at overcoming problems in communication, one can assume that responses may also take on the form of various communication strategies.

In general, responses can be either more simple or more elaborated in comparison to the original utterance, as, according to Long (1996: 422-423), interactional modifications help making input more comprehensible through both simplification and elaboration. If the input is simplified through the reduction of information, the learner is supported in his understanding in that he or she has to deal with less and easier information. On the other hand, input can also be simplified through measures that allow the learner to take more time to understand and react to the message. In contrast to simplification, elaboration aids understanding through supplying the learner with more information than the speaker has originally deemed necessary (Gass 1997: 77). Likewise, Long (1996: 421-422) points out that modified input which corresponds to Lightbown and Spada's (2013) definition of modified interaction given in section 2.1 usually leads to a simplification of language, while interactional modifications may also result in elaboration in order to make input easier to comprehend.

Pica (1994: 510) points out that the majority of interactional modifications in negotiation of meaning supposed to clarify previous input which has not been fully understood are lexical. The reason for that is that they are concerned with individual problematic vocabulary items and deal with them through repetitions, replacements or definitions.

However, responses can also take the form of structural interactional modifications in the sense that the difficult parts of an utterance are separated from the initial statement and either repeated on their own or relocated to a different position within the phrase. Additionally, combinations of lexical and structural interactional modifications are possible.

In the classroom context, responses to feedback or indicators in meaning negotiation processes are also called 'uptake' (Mackey 2012: 17). Lyster and Ranta (1997: 49) define uptake as "a student's utterance that immediately follows the teacher's feedback and that constitutes a reaction in some way to the teacher's intention to draw attention to some aspect of the student's initial utterance". However, the term uptake is mostly used in negotiation of form rather than meaning.

2.5   Factors promoting negotiation of meaning

Although the value of meaning negotiation for second language acquisition has now been clarified, it is important to note that meaning negotiation is not an essential part of interactions. In conversations in which either the topic or the speakers are very familiar, the negotiation of meaning often is not necessary to achieve mutual understanding. Contrary to this, speakers sometimes are not willing to make the effort to negotiate meaning and thus simply ignore problems in communication and, for instance, change the subject of the discourse instead of trying to find a solution. Furthermore, learners of a second language sometimes hesitate to indicate that they have not fully comprehended their opposite (Pica 1992: 203). Thus, there has been a plethora of research and empirical studies on factors that promote negotiation of meaning. The most important variable in encouraging learners to negotiate meaning is the type of task they have to fulfil while interacting, there are, however, a multitude of other additional factors.

2.4.1   Task types

Before establishing which kinds of tasks are most likely to promote negotiation of meaning, one must determine what the crucial characteristics of a task are. Ellis (2008: 818-819) highlights four defining features of a task:

  1   There is a primary focus on meaning (as opposed to form).

2   There is some kind of gap (information, opinion, or reasoning), which needs to be filled through performance of the task.

3   Learners need to use their own linguistic resources to perform the task.

4   There is clearly defined communicative outcome other then [sic!] the display of 'correct' language.

These four attributes already include the two reasons which, according to Pica (1992: 203-204), identifiy tasks as superior to other forms of activities with regard to encouraging negotiation of meaning. First, learners must work on tasks independently and thus must utilise their own second language capacities; and second, tasks are designed to have a specific objective that the learners are supposed to reach.

Tasks can be distinguished into one-way and two-way tasks, which are defined as such:

> In a one-way task, the information flows from one person to the other, as when a learner describes a picture to her partner. In other words, the information that is being conveyed is held by one person. In a two-way task, there is an information exchange whereby both parties (or however many participants there are in a task) hold information that is vital to the resolution of the task. (…) Each type of task may produce different kinds of interaction, with different opportunities for feedback and output. (Gass & Mackey 2015: 192-193)

In short, one-way and two-way tasks are different in terms of who is in charge of the information and how this information is distributed among the speakers. Long (1996: 418) states that negotiation of meaning occurs especially frequently in two-way tasks in which the speakers have to exchange information that was distributed among them, with each interlocutor holding a different set of information. One-way tasks, on the other end, in which only one speaker has the information he or she has to share in the conversation seem to trigger considerably less meaning negotiation. In relation to this distinction, Long (1983b: 214) presented a "model of the relationship between type of conversational task and language acquisition". Although it focuses on conversations between native and non-native speakers or, more generally speaking, between a more proficient and a less proficient speaker, it may be applicable to interactions between students of roughly the same language levels as well. The model shows how two-way tasks ultimately promote language acquisition. As these types of tasks, in contrast to one-way tasks, provide speakers with the chance to signal when he or she has not sufficiently understood something, they are more inclined to interactionally modify their utterances and negotiate meaning, leading to comprehensible input which is, as we have already established in the previous chapters, beneficial to language acquisition (Long 1983b: 214).

Varonis and Gass (1985: 87) also confirm the superiority of two-way tasks by stressing that "control of information is an important variable to consider; interlocutors *seeking* particular information are more likely to initiate negotiation than interlocutors

holding the information". In contrast to Long's (1996) claim, however, Gass and Varonis (1985) found in their investigation of different effects of one- and two-way tasks that the produced language output did not differ notably and that the conversations triggered by the two-way tasks in fact did not involve more modified interactions than by the one-way tasks. Foster's (1998) study on negotiation of meaning in the second language classroom also only shows a slight tendency of two-way tasks producing more meaning negotiation.

Similar to the distinction between one-way and two-way tasks, Doughty and Pica's (1986) study focussed on optional information exchange tasks and required information exchange tasks in three different group constellations: teacher-students, small groups and pairs. The results revealed that required information exchange is essential to trigger interactional modifications and negotiation of meaning, which would also support Long's (1983b; 1996) claims. Additionally, negotiation patterns were found considerably more frequently in the conversations in small groups and pairs, while they did not appear that often in teacher-students interactions. Mohamadi (2015) detected a difference in the quality of interactional modifications and modified output produced in tasks with required or optional information exchange. Although required information exchange led to more meaning negotiation in general, there were more instances of clarification requests in the optional information exchange tasks, as these negotiation routines were more concerned with discourse moves. In contrast to the distinction between one- and two-way tasks, Duff (1986) focussed on convergent tasks, which are essentially problem-solving tasks in that the participants have to reach some sort of common ground, and divergent tasks, which in the case of this study was a discussion in that no agreement had to be achieved. The gathered language data revealed that, while in the divergent tasks speakers produced considerably longer and more complex stretches of discourse, negotiation routines occurred more frequently in problem-solving tasks.

Concerning the goals and possible outcomes of tasks, Pica Kanagy, and Falodun (1993: 15) point out that participants in an activity supposed to train negotiation of meaning should have the same or at least convergent goals and further note that tasks which only have one possible correct outcome are to be preferred. They present the following four conditions of a task which would make it suitable for practicing meaning negotiation as it would create opportunities for modified input and output:

1 Each interactant holds a different information which must be exchanged and manipulated in order to reach the task outcome.
2 Both interactants are required to request and supply this information to each other.
3 Both interactants have the same or convergent goals.

4   Only one acceptable outcome is possible from their attempts to meet this goal.
    (Pica, Kanagy & Falodun 1993: 17)

While Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) seem to agree with the research on the relationship between negotiation of meaning and tasks reviewed so far with regard to the first two points, they contradict other scholars in terms of the request for the same goal and only one correct outcome of a task which others have not considered mandatory.

Nation and Newton (2009: 101) propose a slightly different categorisation of four types of tasks according to the distribution of information among students:

- cooperating arrangement: all students have the same information
- split information: students have distinct important bits of information
- superior-inferior arrangement: one single student has the entire information, the rest of the students have to find out this information
- all of the students have the same information, but each one has to complete a different activity.

They identify the first two types – cooperating arrangements and split information arrangements – as the most effective ones to encourage learners to negotiate meaning. Nation and Newton (2009: 106) additionally note that speaking tasks among pairs of students often result in more negotiation of meaning than in larger groups. Furthermore, students appear to negotiate vocabulary more frequently in cooperating arrangement tasks than in split-information tasks, which also produce a considerable amount of negotiation of meaning, but not all of it is concerned with semantic meaning.

Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 31) differentiate between information-gap and opinion-gap tasks; their distinct characteristics are summarized in table 1 below:

Table 1. Features of information-gap and opinion-gap tasks (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 31-32).

information-gap tasks	opinion-gap tasks
exchange of information	exchange of opinions, involves reasoning
split information	shared information
required information exchange	optional information exchange
one-way or two-way information exchange	two-way information exchange
only one possible solution or several ones	only one possible solution or several ones

Table 1 compares features of information-gap and opinion-gap tasks. As an important distinction between those two kinds of tasks is based on the distribution of information, the previously discussed cooperating arrangement and split information, tasks which are

supposed to be beneficial for negotiating meaning, can be assigned to these two new categories. Cooperating arrangement tasks are clearly opinion-gap tasks, as the information is shared among the speakers, while split information tasks naturally have a built-in information-gap due to the division of information among the speakers. Thus, I would conclude that both information-gap and opinion-gap tasks are useful in practicing negotiation of meaning as well. In his investigation of incidental vocabulary learning of unknown words through communication tasks, Newton (2013) found that, while learners tend to negotiate form more frequently in information-gap tasks, they rather negotiated meaning in opinion-gap tasks. Nakahama, Tyler and van Lier (2001) compared meaning negotiation in a fairly free conversation between L2 learners and in a two-way information-gap task, concluding that more negotiation exchange occurred in the structured task.

2.4.2 Gender

Varonis and Gass' (1986) study is among the first ones to investigate gender differences in meaning negotiation. It revealed that men were more willing to show non-understanding in picture describing tasks, while women did the same in a conversation task. Gass and Varonis (1985: 157) found that, over all, men employed indicators in negotiation of meaning more frequently than women. Additionally, men used more direct indicators than indirect ones, especially in one-way information tasks. They conclude that men are less hesitant in signalling non-understanding compared to women. However, Gass and Varonis (1985: 159-160) also mention the possibility that women simply did have fewer problems in interactions and thus did not need to negotiate meaning that often. Pica, Berducci, Holliday, Lewis, and Newman (1990: 53) discovered some gender differences in negotiation routines between native speakers and non-native speakers:

> Male and female NNSs [non-native speakers] make and receive a comparable number of opportunities to request L2 input and modify interlanguage output during interaction with female NSs [native speakers]. During interaction with male NSs, these opportunities are significantly lower for female than for male NNs.

This suggests that, while female native speakers were willing to negotiate meaning with both male and female non-native speakers, male native speakers appeared to prefer non-native speakers of their gender, granting them more opportunities to request further explanations and clarify ambiguous statements than female non-native speakers.

Zainal and Ching's (2016) research on how males and females negotiate meaning in mixed-gender pairs showed that "the males took greater advantage of the conversation

by producing semantic modification as in more 'talk' for comprehensible output whereas females utilized the conversation more for comprehensible input" (Zainal & Ching 2016: 99). As males contributed a slightly higher number of both turns and words to the negotiation routines than females, Zainal and Ching (2016: 112) concluded that men were "more eager to negotiate meaning talk as in producing a greater amount of 'talk'". However, females produced more indicators to signal a problem in understanding than men, and their preferred type of indicator differed from that of the men (Zainal & Ching 2016: 113-114), too. As a logical consequence, males provided a slightly higher number of responses to these indicators than women (Zainal & Ching 2016: 115), which implies that men focus on the production of comprehensible output in negotiation routines. Women, on the other hand, more frequently responded in ways which showed their comprehension and thus allowed the conversation to resume more easily and without any further interruptions (Zainal & Ching 2016: 119).

Oliver (2002) found in her study of different factors influencing negotiation of meaning in interactions between children of the age between 8 and 13 that gender, in contrast to adult conversations, did not play a major in role in determining the amount and quality of meaning negotiation. In general, it seems that "male language learners tend to dominate conversations and produce more language output while females tend to initiate more conversations and receive more input" (Pílar García Mayo & Alcón Coler 2013: 227).

2.4.3   Other factors

Other variables except task types and gender which may have an impact on negotiation of meaning include the individual traits of the interactants as well as "participatory structure" (Ellis 2008: 226). Foster (1998), for instance, found that, in general, considerably more interaction and thus also negotiation happens in pairs rather than in small groups, as some students remain silent in these participant structures. Varonis and Gass (1985: 87) complement Ellis' list with ethnicity, native language, the role of the speakers as well as their status, sex, age, the number of participants in the conversation and its subject. While the early research on negotiation of meaning between 1970 and 1990 primarily focused on interactions between native and non-native speakers (Gor & Long 2009: 445), this changed throughout the years, as Varonis and Gass (1985: 84) suggest that "the greater the degree of difference which exists in the backgrounds of the conversational

participants, the greater the amount of negotiation in the conversation between two non-native speakers". They thus conclude that negotiation of meaning occurs considerably more frequently in conversations between non-native speakers than in non-native – native speaker or even native – native speaker constellations. The reason for this may lie in their "shared incompetence", as in interactions between non-native speakers all participants are aware that their conversation partner has probably – like themselves – not yet mastered the L2 and thus they might not feel the same hesitation or shame to signal non-understanding (Varonis & Gass 1985: 71). Moreover, the likelihood that a need for negotiation of meaning arises in conversation between non-native speakers is also considerably higher (Gass & Varonis 1991: 136). A study conducted by Oliver (2002) on negotiation of meaning in interactions between children also confirmed the general assumption that the fewer commonalities the speakers have, the more frequently they have to negotiate meaning.

Status differences appear to play an important role in negotiation of meaning as well. Gass (1997: 122) concludes that significant differences in status may prevent or at least considerably impede negotiation of meaning. These differences can be exacerbated when the speaker of a higher status is a native speaker. Pica (1987: 4) also strengthens this claim, as she investigates negotiation of meaning in a classroom context, where she reveals the unequal status of teacher and students to impede negotiation of meaning. Another important factor influencing negotiation of meaning poses familiarity between speakers. Plough and Gass (1993) compared the negotiation routines occurring in conversations between speaker pairs who knew each other and speaker pairs who had not met previously to the study. Their results revealed that conversations between unfamiliar speakers show significantly fewer indicators of non-understanding and thus less negotiation of meaning. Plough and Gass (1993: 46) thus conclude that it is more important for unfamiliar speaker pairs to prevent communication breakdowns, which is why they tended to avoid showing non-understanding and thereby potentially initiating negotiation of meaning.

3 Aspects of gender and interaction

When dealing with gender differences, regardless of the exact matter, it is crucial to draw a distinction between sex and gender: "sex is biologically founded, whereas gender is learned behaviour" (Talbot 2010: 7). Although the biological determination of sex has already been questioned by Butler in the early 1990s (Butler: 2010 [2007]), the nature of gender as a socially constructed concept is of utmost importance when investigating the relationship between gender and language, as it means that people acquire and emulate certain speech patterns according to whether they identify as male or female (Talbot 2010: 7). There has been some debate about biological factors influencing differences in the language of men and women. Talbot (2010: 10-11), however, concludes that these discussions do not really contribute any valuable insights into the matter, as interacting with each other is a learned behaviour:

> In dealing with learned kinds of activity, such as linguistic interaction, we can only speak with any certainty about gendered behaviour. Linguistic interaction is obviously behaviour which has been learned, and there is little point in trying to account for it by talking about innate qualities. In societies with sex-exclusive differences in language use, choice from among a range of lexicogrammatical options is part of gender performance. The word 'choice' is perhaps not the right one, since the forms for use by women and men are enforced by prescriptive rule. […] Gender, then, is not biological but psycho-social; it should always be considered in the context of social relations between people. (Talbot 2010: 11-12)

This understanding of gender as socially conditioned and acquired set of behaviour which also includes linguistic features of interaction shall constitute the theoretical foundation of my investigation of gender differences in meaning negotiation.

This chapter first provides a brief historical overview on approaches to investigating the relationship between language and gender. Subsequently, a section on general assumptions concerning a male and female conversational style illustrates how women are often seen as more cooperative in interactions, while men are said to employ more competitive conversational strategies. Finally, the potential connections between second language learning and gender are summarised to possibly establish ties with the subject of this thesis, gender and meaning negotiation, as Long (1996) closely relates it to second language acquisition.

3.1 Approaches to gender and interaction: a brief overview

Scholars have found relations between gender and language early on, even before the ideas of feminism emerged (Sunderland 2006: 2). However, the theories and research important for this thesis emerged in the 1970s in the course of 'second wave' feminism and has continued until today (Sunderland 2006: 10). Talbot (2010: 98) mentions three early frameworks which theorised the relationship between language and gender: deficit, dominance and difference. It is important to note, however, that these approaches cannot be strictly separated from each other and do indeed overlap and influence each other. Furthermore, the chronological sequence suggested by this short list does only partly correspond to reality (Talbot 2010: 99). In addition, a fourth approach, the dynamic approach, rejects the idea of binary gender differences and considers the relationship between gender and language as one embedded in the concepts of performativity and community of practice (Cameron 2005). The female deficit, male dominance, cultural difference, and dynamic approach shall be briefly described in the following sections.

3.1.1 Female deficit approach

Talbot (2010: 98) states that "according to the deficit framework, women are disadvantaged as language users. They present themselves as uncertain, as lacking in authority". One of the first researchers who investigated differences between the ways men and women speak was Robin Lakoff (1973). She claimed that women do indeed have their own distinct interaction style which is "characterized by excessive politeness, lack of confidence and eagerness to please" (Talbot 2010: 34). Other typical features include "hedges, 'empty' adjectives like *charming, divine,* nice, and 'talking in italics' (exaggerated intonation contours" (Coates 2016 [2004]: 6). Talbot (2010: 38) points out that this view is a rather stereotypical one, marking the female speaking style as inferior and deficient in comparison to the way men interact. In that sense, it did not question the categories of gender, but rather "reproduce[d] gender sexist stereotypes" (Talbot 2003: 468). In the field of linguistics, the expression "stereotype" usually describes "prescriptions or unstated expectations of behaviour, rather than specifically [to] representational practices" (Talbott 2003: 472). Still, Talbot (2010: 41-42) admits that some features, for instance tag questions which Lakoff (1973) has identified as typical female are indeed used

more often in conversations by women in specific settings. Her comparison of them to male speech, however, and her conclusion that the female speech style is inferior to the male one are more than problematic and support gender stereotypes rather than question them.

3.1.2 Male dominance approach

Talbot (2010: 98) summarises that in the male dominance approach "language patterns are interpreted as manifestation of a patriarchal social order. Hence asymmetries in the language use of men and women are interpreted as enactments of male privilege". It "sees women as an oppressed group and interprets linguistic differences in women's and men's speech in terms of men's dominance and women's subordination" (Coates 2016 [2004]: 6). Probably the most famous academic exploring gender language differences within this framework was Dale Spender who adapts an approach similar to linguistic determinism and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis towards language, perceiving it as an instrument to gain access to reality. Her main message is that "the English language has been literally man made and that it is still primarily under male control" (Spender 1985: 12). As, according to Spender (1985), the English language is shaped by men, it is nearly impossible for women to find their place in it and make themselves understood, which may essentially result in their silencing. This is the reason, why men are usually the dominant part in mixed gender interactions who interrupt their interlocutors more frequently and determine the content of the conversation (Sunderland 2006: 14).

Another scholar conducting a study within the paradigm of the male dominance approach was Pamela Fishman. Fishman (1978) investigated how hierarchies are constituted in everyday conversations between men and women. The results of her study showed that the "work" of interaction is unequally distributed among men and women. Women, for instance, tend to pose considerably more questions than men (Fishman 1978: 400). This observation has been previously made by Lakoff (1973) as well. On the contrary, men uttered more than twice as many statements than women. In most cases, they also received a reaction to their statement, which was not the case for statements produced by women (Fishman 1973: 402). Moreover, Fishman (1978: 402) found a difference in the way men and women utilise minimal responses such as "yeah", "umm" or "huh". While men mainly use them to indicate their fading interest in the conversation, women employed them to do the exact opposite. The majority of minimal responses uttered by

women served what Fishman (1978: 402) calls "support work". They are supposed to be encouraging the speaker and displaying active engagement in the conversation. Fishman (1978: 404) summarises her findings as such:

> There is an unequal distribution of work in conversation. We can see from the differential use of strategies that the women are more actively engaged in insuring interaction than the men. They ask more questions and use attention beginnings. Women do support work while the men are talking and generally do active maintenance and continuation work in conversations. The men, on the other hand, do much less active work when they begin or participate in interactions. They rely on statements, which they assume will get responses, when they want interaction. Men much more often discourage interactions initiated by women than vice-versa.

Overall, Fishman describes women as more cooperative in conversation who mainly ensure that communication can unfold smoothly and continuously. Fisherman's (1978: 397) underlying assumption is that "verbal interaction helps to construct and maintain the hierarchical relations between men and women".

According to Sunderland (2006: 16), criticism on the dominance approach and Spender's (1985) stance mainly focused on her linguistic determinism as she viewed language as shaping and creating reality for people, thereby refusing to acknowledge that meaning cannot be fixed. As Talbot (2010: 100) points out, the female deficit and male dominant approach may influence and round off each other, as both men and women are socialised to be part of a gendered "subculture". In addition, men and women recognise the impact of patriarchal structures, although men primarily gain advantages through them while women do not.

3.1.3   Cultural difference approach

The cultural difference approach originated from Gumperz' (1982) research on miscommunication between different cultures (Talbot 2010: 99) and was also heavily influenced by Maltz and Borker's (1982) work on miscommunication between men and women adapting a cultural approach (Sunderland 2006: 19). This view on linguistic gender differences is based on the assumption that people grow up in "gender-specific cultures", which means that both girls and boys spend their childhood and adolescence in distinct subcultures where they acquire societal norms and behaviours from their friends rather than their parents. In that way, the cultural difference approach suggests a "'two cultures' account of male and female socialization" (Talbot 2010: 99). Thus, according to Cameron (2005: 484), "linguistic differences are explained in terms of overarching structures,

e.g. male dominance or separate gender subcultures". As it frames misunderstandings between men and women as a cross-cultural problem rooted in the different expectations they have of conversations, the cultural difference approach is often utilised to analyse and interpret miscommunication between the genders (Talbot 2010: 99).

Interestingly, within this approach the differences between women's and men's ways to interact were perceived as positive, especially female speech. Thus, scholars adopting the cultural difference approach highlighted, for instance, women's cooperativeness in interactions. Cameron (1995: 39) relates the emergence of the male dominance and cultural difference approach to the feminist movement in society at the time, illustrating an interesting interdependence between linguistics and political and social change:

> Both dominance and difference represented particular moments in feminism: dominance was the moment of feminist outrage, of bearing witness to oppression in all aspects of women's lives, while difference was the moment of feminist celebration, reclaiming and revaluing women's distinctive cultural traditions.

This quote clearly evaluates the differences between women's and men's language and supports the search for these differences. Additionally, Cameron (2005: 486) points out that both the male dominance and the cultural difference approach do indeed show many commonalities in their most important arguments, as they are both based on the assumption that there are certain linguistic differences between men and women, constructing the group of male and female speakers fairly homogeneously.

3.1.4   Dynamic approach

In the 1990s a change started to emerge regarding the perception of gender as a dichotomy of male and female. The focus shifted towards the existence of diverse gender identities and practices (Cameron 2005: 482). The dynamic approach is the most recent one under the conceptualisations of the relationship between language and gender. It stresses the dynamics of interaction and is based on a social constructionist perspective. Gender is perceived as a social construct which is performed, for instance through interaction. In that sense one can speak of 'doing gender' (Coates 2016 [2004]: 6-7). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003: 11) add that

> gender is treated as the accomplishment and product of social interaction. The focus is on the way individual "do" or "perform" their gender identity in interaction with others […] Gender emerges over time in interaction with others. Language is a resource which can be drawn on creatively to perform different aspects of one's social identity at different points in an interaction. Speakers sensitively respond to the on-

> going process of interaction, including changes of attitude and mood, and their linguistic choices may emphasize different aspects of their social identity and indicate a different orientation to their audience from moment to moment.

Thus, language is not only influenced by gender, but language is also a medium through which one may show their belonging to a specific gender.

According to Cameron (2005: 484), the dynamic approach also accounts for local differences in the establishment of oneself as man or woman, as this process is always dependent on the cultural and social context it takes place in. In that sense, "masculinities and femininities are produced in specific contexts or 'communities of practice', in relation to local social arrangements" (Cameron 2005: 484). A community of practice can be defined as "social grouping which is constituted by engagement in some joint endeavour" (Cameron 2005: 488), for instance a language classroom; through these common practices gender is performed (Cameron 2005: 488).

> The relationship of language to gender is conceived in terms of the local practices women and men participate in and the terms on which they participate. If women and men in a given community typically participate in a different range of CoPs [communities of practices], or participate in the same ones on different terms, their ways of using language will be related to the different things they are doing, and to that extent will tend to differ. (Cameron 2005: 489)

Similar to the notion of performing gender, people can use language to show their participation in a community of practice and thus their gender.

In contrast to the dominance and difference approach, the ultimate goal is not to establish a group of differences that distinguish male and female speech from each other anymore. The dynamic approach is based on the assumption of multiple masculinities and femininities instead of one ideal of them which are also influenced by variables like age, ethnicity, or class (Cameron 2005: 487). Despite these more recent theoretical conceptions of gender as diverse and non-binary, a majority of research on gender in second language acquisition still focuses on the dichotomy of man and woman (Cameron 2005: 483).

3.2 Competitive vs. cooperative: general assumptions on differences between a male and female conversational style

Meunier (1994: 49) highlights that "gender-specific linguistic differences lead to gender-specific conversational strategies", which is why it can be assumed that men and women

differ from each other in how they interact with other people. Research in the 1970s and 1980s identified the female conversational style as "cooperative rather than competitive" (Coates 2016 [2004]: 126), while the male conversational style is said to be more competitive than cooperative (Coates 2016 [2004]: 133). Aries (1996: 164) characterises men as being perceived as "leaders, as dominant, aggressive, independent, objective, and competitive", while women are believed to be "emotional, subjective, tactful, aware of the feelings of others, and as having their feelings easily hurt" in their interactions. In that sense, these stereotypes correspond to the models of a male competitive and a female cooperative conversational style.

Some scholars also believe in biological reasons accounting for differences in the way men and women talk. According to these arguments, "women are said to have superior language and communication skills because of the survival advantage conferred on early humans if females were good at empathizing, social networking, and nurturing"; skills which apparently were not as important for men (Cameron 2005: 500). Oberzaucher (2013: 345) suggests that

> based on the predictions of evolutionary theory and empirical findings, the social skills of women should be more elaborate than those of men regarding sex differences found in cognition, perception, and behaviour. Thus, women should be more likely to choose successful strategies […] On the other hand, men should be more successful in securing immediate profit.

This claim appears to support the separation of a typically female and a typically male conversational style with their individual characteristic features and relates them to gender differences in strategic language use, which also includes the negotiation of meaning.

There is a multitude of aspects which illustrate how the male and female conversational styles differ from each other; the main points will be briefly summarised in the following. Meunier (1994: 53) states that, in general, women focus on keeping the conversation channel open, for example through tag questions, and on creating harmonic relationship through interactions. Tag questions have already been identified as characteristic of women's conversational style by Lakoff (1973: 54) who concludes from women's increased usage that they apparently prefer tag questions because they seem less assertive. Actually, it has been shown that women use tag questions only slightly more often than men, however, the difference is significantly greater when a woman takes on the role as "facilitator", meaning that she is in charge of the conversation and needs to make sure that the interaction functions properly (Coates 2016 [2004]: 92). Furthermore, women

use, for instance, minimal responses or back-channels such as *yeah, right* or *mhm* considerably more frequently and in a more adequate manner in order to signal attentiveness and encouragement than men (Coates 2016 [2004]: 86-87). Coates (2016 [2004]: 93) summarizes that "research findings so far suggest that women use interrogative forms more than men and that this may reflect women's relative weakness in interactive situations: they exploit questions and tag questions in order to keep conversation going". However, she also points out that asking the questions puts the women in so far in a position of power as she is the one who controls the way the conversation is heading towards and what her interlocutor is able to say next. In contexts of higher status, however, even if men and women are equal conversation partners, the men still tend to pose more questions than women (Coates 2016 [2004]: 84).

Maltz and Borker (1982: 198) identify men as more prone to interrupting their conversation partners and to challenging or even ignoring their utterances. Corson (1997: 146) mentions the following characteristics of male speech in contrast to female interaction style which marks it as more competitive than cooperative:

> males more often interpret questions as requests for information; they often ignore the comments of pevious speakers; they more frequently make declarations of fact and opinion; and they talk more often, and at greater length men also use taboo expressions in their speech more often.

Additionally, Corson (1997: 146) points out that men tend to change the subject of the conversation faster and more frequently and interpret their conversation partner's recounts of problematic situations as request for suggestions of how to solve them. Women, on the other hand, utilise questions more often to maintain the conversation.

Aries (1996: 27-28) reports that, when confronted with specific tasks, men attempt at answering questions more frequently, while women show more positive reactions than men. However, "to say that men proact and women react must not be taken to mean that women do not direct the majority of their interaction to task behaviour, or that men do not engage in social-emotional behaviour". Generally, in group conversations one can detect more orientation towards instrumental/task behaviour in male speech and more orientation towards expressive/social-emotional behaviour in female speech. Nonetheless, this does not mean that women do not show any task orientation or men do not act socially at all in interactions (Aries 1996: 38). Moreover, Aries (1996: 36) points out that gender differences are often more salient and clear in conversations whose participants are all of the same gender than in mixed gender groups. She reports on a study by Linda Carli (1982) who conducted a study to explore the assumption that women are more social

and men more task-oriented in interactions for which she observed same-gender as well as mixed-gender dyads. While men appeared more social, women were more task-oriented in the mixed-gender conversations. Conversely, women showed more social behaviour and men more task-orientation in the same-gender conversations (Aries 1996: 37). Everything considered, women are predominantly perceived as more social and considerate of their conversation partners than men who tend to be straightforward and curt in their conversational style.

Talbot (2010: 95) summarises that "women tend to focus on rapport and the affective, supportive function of conversation; broadly speaking, to be oriented towards the interpersonal. Men on the other hand tend to focus on report and the informational function of conversation." At the same time, however, she points out that one must be careful with establishing such clear dichotomies, as reality usually is not as simple as they suggest and they are always placed on a sort of continuum (Talbot 2010: 95). Coates (2016 [2004]: 138) slightly dilutes this separation between a male competitive and a female cooperative conversational style as she points out that both genders have to cooperate with their conversational partner to some extent if they want to communicate effectively. She points out that

> the goal of friendly talk for both women and men is solidarity, but that women and men adopt very different strategies to achieve this. For many men, connection with others is accomplished through playful conflict and competition, in contrast to the mirroring self-disclosure more typical of women friends. […] cooperation and competition as talking styles cannot be simplistically separated out and attributed to one gender or the other. At one level, all speakers have to cooperate if conversations is to be sustained. (Coates 2016 [2004]: 138)

This quote suggests that all interactions require a basic level of cooperation, which is why the attribution of men as competitive rather than cooperative needs to be challenged.

Hewitt (1997) also questions the seemingly clear distinction into the cooperative communicative style of women and the competitive one of men. He argues that each interaction has a declarative aspect, i.e. is oriented towards the individual, and a coordinative one, i.e. is oriented towards the collective. Cooperation is usually demonstrated coordinatively, when the speaker stresses his or her connection to the interlocutor. Both cooperation and competition can be shown in different ways in conversations, even through forms which do not immediately appear competitive or cooperative. Swann (2003: 627) argues that, despite some ambiguity in Hewitt's (1997) theories, his more complex conceptualisation of competition and cooperation in interaction highlights that

these two categories are not clearly distinct from each other and can thus not be exclusively ascribed to the conversational style of one specific gender. It rather seems to suggest that men may show cooperation through different forms than women. Sheldon (1997: 228-229) supports this claim in that she also questions this distinction into female cooperative and male competitive speaking style. She states that girls do indeed also engage in competitive interactions, however, they employ different strategies in doing so which are also dependent on context and their cultural backgrounds. Girls are only considered as typically adapting a cooperative style, as they are measured against boys' speech as a standard, which makes theirs appear less competitive. Sheldon (1997: 230) also suggests that girls frequently include both cooperative and competitive features in their language at the same time.

Talbot (2003: 483-484) points out that, since the emergence of the deficit approach to account for differences between male and female conversational styles, the perception of women as "deficient communicators" has actually changed to the opposite. Talbot (2010:109) claims that in the last twenty years research on gender and language has focussed too much on the differences between men and women, although there is indeed a plethora of similarities too. Women are now seen as having better communication skills at their disposal than men. Still, this binary distinction into male and female communication style and the ascription of good and bad communicators to a specific gender needs to be questioned. Thus, Główka (2014: 619-620) suggests that "individuals may create their gendered identities in different ways. Consequently, gendered linguistic behaviour may differ within individuals of the same sex in a given context (e.g., community, culture)".

3.3   Gender and second language learning

3.3.1   Gender and second language acquisition

In the past decade scholars have complained about the negligence of studying possible influences of gender on second language acquisition. Piller and Pavlenko (2011: 3) point out that there is a lack of research into the relationship between gender and second language acquisition and accuse scholars in this field of being "gender-blind". Moreover,

Slik, Hout and Schepens (2015: 1) also claim that there is comparably little research on the ways gender might influence second language acquisition in contrast to first language acquisition . They believe the reason for this circumstance lies in the stereotypical assumption that girls are better language learners than boys, which appears to be an immensely widespread idea many people hold. They point out, however, that this assumption is a social construct.

One of the main questions in the issue of gender difference in both first and second language acquisition focuses on whether these variations are results of system-internal factors or system-external factors, i.e. whether they can be accounted for by nature or nurture. Scholars who are in favour of system-internal factors base their argumentation on gender differences in learning styles or on cognitive approaches. However, only considering system-internal factors as origin of gender differences in second language acquisition falsely naturalizes them (Meunier 1994: 47). Overall, system-external factors definitely play an important role in this issue as well, as the learners' socialisation also influences their learning styles. Moreover, gender differences which are found in first language conversations are often transferred to second language use (Meunier 1994: 48). Biological attempts at accounting for gender differences in boys' and girls' language acquisition have also been rejected for the reason that these differences are not consistent and vary according to time and location (Driessen & Langen 2013: 71).

Ellis (2008: 313) starts to explore the relationship between gender and second language acquisition on the basis of Labov's (1991) findings on the differences between men's and women's language. Labov (1991: 206-207) states that

> (I) In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women.
> (II) In the majority of linguistic changes, women use a higher frequency of the incoming forms than men.

These two principles seem to contradict each other, as, on the one hand, women include less nonstandard expressions in their speech than men in certain contexts, while, on the other hand, they use more innovative forms than men in other circumstances. Ellis (2008: 313) nonetheless concludes from these two observations that women might possibly acquire a second language more easily than men. In relation to that, Głowka (2014: 631) points out that women are more open to new, incoming forms and, at the same time, use a higher frequency of standard or prestigious forms than do men in their native language. Adapting these conclusions to foreign language learning, she also hypothesizes that female learners reject interlanguage forms which are different from target language norms

and incorporate new linguistic forms in the foreign or second language input more readily than men.

There are numerous studies which appear to support the assumption that women are better in learning a second language than men. Boyle (1987) investigated the English proficiency of Chinese students by testing their skills in vocabulary listening, with female students achieving higher scores on this test than male students. Davies (2004) found that girls proficiency in French was better than that of boys in Great Britain. In their study on gender differences in the second language learning of immigrants in the Netherlands, Slik, Hout and Schepens (2015: 1) found that women achieved better results in speaking and writing proficiency than men, even when other factors which could possibly affect the second language learning process such as education or age were included in the evaluation. Concerning listening and reading, however, no gender differences were detected. They conclude that "the available evidence, though sparse, agrees with results found in first language acquisition, female language learners outperforming male learners" and suggest that the reason for that may lie in women's attitudes towards learning a second language. In general, they appear to have more motivation for second language learning and are also more willing to engage with the respective culture and nation of a language than men (2015: 2-3). There are, however, some studies that seem to suggest the opposite, i.e. that men are in fact better in learning a second or foreign language or that no significant difference in second language acquisition according to gender exists (Ellis 2008: 314). Bacon's (1992) study on listening skills, for instance, indicated neither gender differences in performance nor in the attitude towards the foreign language.

The relationship between gender and second language learning is frequently investigated in connection with attitudes towards L2 acquisition and language learning motivation (Menard-Warwick, Mori & Williams 2014: 480-481). A study conducted by Wach, Spengler, Gottschling and Spinath (2015: 111) supports the assumption that motivation is an important factor in language performance, as it showed that girls not only felt secure and self-assured in their language skills, but also received higher grades in the respective subject. Other studies, for example by Kobayashi (2002) or Kissau, Quach Kolano and Wang (2009), however, revealed conflicting results. Either female students showed a more positive attitude towards learning English in comparison to their male peers, for example in a Japanese high school (Kobayashi 2002), or boys were more motivated than girls such as in Canadian same-sex classes (Kissau, Quach Kolano & Wang 2009). Ludwig (1983) suggests that male students show a higher degree of instrumental

motivation, which means that they learn a language for pragmatic reasons and with a specific purpose in mind, rather than out of interest or passion. Overall, Menard-Warwick, Mori and Williams (2014: 481) report that

> with some exceptions, attitude and motivation research for both mixed- and same-sex language instruction confirms the common notion that girls are more likely to study foreign languages, and more likely to make an effort to succeed. However, in many studies, gender differences turn out to be minor.

Regarding these fairly conflicting results, Ellis (2008: 314) points out that gender is not the only factor determining one's ability to learn a second language, but it interacts with other social and cultural aspects. To illustrate his point, he uses the example of Asian men and women in Great Britain. In this specific case, Asian men are frequently more proficient in the second language then women, as they are confronted with it more regularly in their everyday lives and at their workplace, while women tend to stay at home due to cultural expectations and norms. Thus, it is important to note that, while gender might play a role in one's ability to attain high proficiency in a second language, the cultural contexts in which acquisition takes place poses an important variable as well (Ellis 2008: 315).

3.2.2   Gender and second language learning in educational contexts

When examining how gender and second language acquisition are related, it is important to distinguish different environments in which learning is taking place, as gender might have other effects in an educational context. Many people regard the assumption of girls being better in language subjects, while boys achieve higher grades in maths and sciences, as a fact, and numerous studies actually appear to confirm this idea. In the 1970 and 1980s, research on issues related to gender in education appeared to reveal the discrimination against girls accounting for their worse performance in maths and science in comparison to boys. Notwithstanding the attempts of some researches at drawing attention to the fact that, while girls did indeed underachieve in the aforementioned subjects, male students did not perform as well as female students in language subjects, this matter was overlooked at that time. (Francis 2000: 19-20). More recently, the OECD outlines how, in general, girls have outperformed boys in terms of school success, especially in subjects related to languages, in the past twenty years. They receive better grades and are more likely to successfully complete an education in the tertiary sector (Salvi del Pero &

Bytchkova 2013). Francis (2000: 21) reports, with reference to the British system of education, that girls have in fact now overtaken the boys regarding their performance in science subjects and do equally well or even better in those, while still achieving better grades in languages. Burstall's (1975) study on English students learning French as a foreign language in primary school revealed that girls achieved better results than boys and were also more motivated in learning the language. Driessen & Langen (2013: 82) found in their study on gender related performance differences in primary and secondary schools that girls indeed have been able to achieve better results in reading and languages than boys. In a study by Głowka (2014: 631-632) on Polish students learning English as a second language female students also significantly outperformed male students. However, she also found that both students and teachers thought that gender would not be an important indicator for performance in second language acquisition.

Christ (1996: 21-23) points out that girls are more likely to learn a second language so well that they were able to attend more advanced courses in language subjects. Although many believe that girls are naturally more talented in languages, the reasons for that fact may lie in historic and social perceptions of gender roles. It is often not as widely acceptable for boys to be interested in foreign languages and strive to improve their skills in that department, as maths and the sciences have more prestige among their peers. Moreover, girls seem to better adapt to the school environment and do show better behaviour in lessons, obeying the teachers' rules and not disturbing the classes, which is why teachers sometimes appear to favour girls in their grading, especially in language subjects. Driessen and Langen (2013: 71-72) also point out that in relation to the underperformance of boys the assumption of teachers preferring girls and female students being better adapted to the school environment is often brought forward. In this context, Carvalho (2016: 55) summarises that

> dissimilar patterns of academic and social expectations for males and females, as well as from influences of socialization in the formation of gendered behaviors accordingly with the cultural norms for masculinity and femininity, may cause different patterns of school behaviors and, consequently, also different patterns of achievement.

This would mean that, as girls are traditionally perceived as better language learners and second language learning in general is seen as feminine, male and female students internalise these cultural norms and are thus predisposed to behave accordingly.

Spinath, Eckert and Steinmayr (2014: 239) also point out that female students appear to adapt to the educational context at school more easily than male students, which

might influence school success and account for the gender differences in academic performance. Furthermore, they suggest that intelligence, personality and motivation are important factors and possible reasons for why girls generally outperform boys academically. The OECD itself also acknowledges the influence of attitudes towards certain subjects and self-image of one's abilities which are also a product of societal expectations and roles on gender differences in students' academic performances (Salvi del Pero & Bytchkova 2013: 4). Likewise, Driessen and Langen (2013: 71) point out the importance of variables related to attitudes towards a subject, for instance interest or motivation.

Another variable scholars have frequently investigated in order to account for gender differences in second language performance is classroom interaction. Menard-Warwick, Mori and Williams (2014: 471) explain the significance of discourse in educational contexts by stating that

> since so much of education, and so much of identity development, is mediated through language, a great deal of the educational research on gender examines linguistic practices. Although this research has not demonstrated that gendered linguistic practices stand in relevant relationship to educational (dis)advantages in all contexts.

In this view, language is the medium with which gender difference may surface. However, they also stress that it is not the only one. Nonetheless, Menard-Warwick, Mori and Williams (2014: 471) still urge to perceive this relationship as a potential option which is worth exploring.

Numerous studies explored the differences between male and female students' roles they play in classroom discourse, thereby emphasising the way the utterances were made rather than their content (Menward-Warwick, Mori & Williams 2014: 473-474). Swann (2003: 625) points out that research on the relationship between gender and classroom interaction in the 1970s mainly focussed on how boys were more dominant in the classroom and participated more in the interaction than girls due to their different conversational style. However, nearly all of them focus on teacher-student/student-teacher interactions, which is why they will not be discussed in this thesis concentrating on conversations between L2 learners. For a brief but quite comprehensive overview see Decke-Cornill's (2007) article *The Issue of Gender and Interaction in the L2 Classroom*.

Pavlenko (2004: 58) challenges the studies sketching the male students as more dominant and talkative in the language classroom and in mixed-gender interactions than female students because they tended to interrupt their conversation partners more frequently and willingly. With this portrayal of male students, she dismisses the underlying

basic idea of previous research that more speech time equals better performances. She appears to agree with the assumption outlined above that female students outperform male students because they are better adapted to the educational environment at school, as Pavlenko (2004: 59) states that

> classroom interaction practices are assigned values in the context of local ideologies of language, class, and gender. Consequently, learners whose participation patterns are aligned with the dominant culture of learning may be evaluated higher than those who espouse alternative beliefs about appropriate classroom behaviors.

However, she does not assume that girls are inherently better at second language learning, but rather that they are perceived by, for instance, teachers to be superior in their language skills due to the patterns of behaviour they show in class. Furthermore, not only gender determines this perception of good or bad performance, but also class. In that context, Francis (2000: 23) also remarks that gender is not the only factor influencing differences in academic performances of students, as race and social class plays an important role in this issue as well.

To relate the issue of gender differences in second language learning to the assumption of a typically male and female conversational style discussed in section 3.2, Swann (2003: 624) describes how these gender specific styles in speaking may not only have consequences in the second language classroom, but may also be a product of being educated in this formal context:

> Through their participation in diverse educational language events, girls and boys develop certain ways of using language; they also become certain kinds of students, and, more generally, certain kinds of people. Insofar as gender is "done" in educational settings it is done, to a large extent, through language, and insofar as language is gendered in educational settings, this will affect girls' and boys' development as "schooled subjects", their experiences of education, and what they get out of it. (Swann 2003: 624).

In that sense, the language classroom appears as a place were gendered linguistic behaviours are passed on, which in turn influence how male and female students adhere to specific gender roles in educational contexts but also outside of school.

Although the study presented in this thesis did not technically take place in an educational context, but in a tutoring institute, which constitutes a more relaxed environment, it is still important to keep these gender differences in mind, as the probably influence the learners behaviour there too. The methodology of the study will be presented in the following chapter.

4 Methodology

4.1 Research questions

Based on the general assumptions presented in chapter 3 that, on the one hand, there is a feminine cooperative and a male competitive interactional style, and, on the other hand, female students tend to outperform male students in subjects related to foreign languages at school, I asked myself if and how gender and negotiation of meaning might interact and be interdependent, especially in a foreign language learning context. Thus, my diploma thesis seeks to explore the gender differences in the way EFL learners negotiate meaning. For the investigation of this subject matter, the following research questions served as a guideline for my study:

1. How often do EFL learners negotiate meaning? Are there any gender differences concerning the frequency of instances in which they negotiate meaning?

2. Which strategies do male and female learners employ to negotiate meaning? Are there any differences in their usage and choice of meaning negotiation strategies?

3. For which purposes do male and female learners negotiate meaning and do these purposes differ according to the students' gender?

4. How successful are EFL learners' efforts to negotiate meaning? Is it possible to determine whether male or female learners are more successful in the negotiation of meaning?

To explore these questions I designed four different tasks according to the factors promoting negotiation of meaning outlined in section 2.5 and recorded EFL learners while they were working on them in pairs. The transcripts of these conversations constitute the database of my study which was examined by means of interaction analysis. In the following sections my method of collecting and analysing the language data will be described in detail. First, I will summarise the most important information concerning the participants of my study. I will then continue with outlining the procedure of collecting the data as well as the tasks designed to trigger negotiation of meaning. Finally, the methodology and theoretical frameworks used to analyse the data will be described in detail.

4.2   Participants

The participants partaking in my study were all students of mine in a tutoring institute where they attended English lessons. Five of them were male and six female; the pairings in the recordings, however, which will be discussed in section 4.3, slightly compensated for this gender imbalance, as not all female students worked on every task. As Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 24-25) stress the importance of considering certain variables of speakers when investigating learner language, I will discuss these in relation to the learners whom I recorded while they were working on my designed tasks. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 24-25) identify the mother tongue, other known languages, age, gender, education, social economic status and opportunities for naturalistic language acquisition of participants as crucial aspects the researchers should take into account in their data analysis. Based on this list of learner variables, I designed a questionnaire the students had to complete prior to the recordings. It was written in German in order to prevent any language difficulties or misunderstandings and was aimed at collecting some general personal information of the students such as name or age as well as information about their attitude towards the English language. The full questionnaire can be seen in appendix A; the information gathered through these questionnaires is summarized in tables 2 and 3:

Table 2. Male students' profiles.

	age	L1	school type	a)	b)	c)	d)
Sm1	14	German	AHS[1]	5	3	5	films, TV shows, video games, websites
Sm2	14	German	AHS	5	4	5	films, TV shows, video games
Sm3	14	German	NMS[2]	3	2	2	video games
Sm4	12	German	AHS	4	3	1	-
Sm5	14	German	AHS	3	3	4	TV shows, video games

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[1] AHS = Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule
[2] NMS = Neue Mittelschule

Table 3. Female students' profiles.

	age	*L1*	*school type*	*a)*	*b)*	*c)*	*d)*
Sf1	14	German	AHS	5	3	3	films, TV shows, websites
Sf2	14	German	AHS	4	3	3	books, games on the mobile phone
Sf3	14	Hungarian	NMS	5	3	2	films, TV shows, books
Sf4	12	German	AHS	4	3	2	-
Sf5	14	German	AHS	5	3	2	websites
Sf6	13	German	AHS	3	3	4	films, TV shows

The first three columns in table 2 and 3 show the male (Sm 1-5) and female (Sf 1-6) learners' age, L1 and school type. In this regard, the students are fairly homogeneous. All of them are between the age of 12 and 14, attend an AHS and speak German as their L1. Only one girl's L1 is Hungarian, but German is her main language used in educational contexts and she has been living in Austria for the past several years. One female and one male student attend a NMS instead of an AHS. The other four columns a), b) c), and d) describe the students' attitude towards the English language and posed the following questions:

a) I think that English is an important subject at school.
b) I am good at English.
c) I sometimes engage with the English language in my leisure time (for example through English films, TV shows, books or video games).
d) Indicate which kind(s) of media you occasionally use in English: films, TV shows, video games, websites, others (indicate which ones), none.

Questions a) to c) had to be answered by indicating a number on a scale from 1 (I don't agree) to 5 (I totally agree), while in d) the learners simply had to tick the suitable possibilities. The tables show that all students perceive English to be a more or less important subject – at least nobody thinks it is utterly redundant. They are even more similar in their self-assessment of their English skills, as they all think they are okay, but not exactly brilliant, which can be assumed due to the fact that they needed tutoring lessons in the first place. The answers concerning c), students' engagement with the English language outside the classroom, seem to be of greater variability. While one half of the male students frequently surrounds themselves with English in their everyday lives, the other half

hardly does so. Female students' responses were similar, however, the contrast is not as harsh: one half sometimes use English media, the other half only rarely. These differences, however, do not appear to be a matter of gender but rather of age, as the older students tend to engage with the English language outside of school more frequently than younger students. When students interact with English in their everyday lives, they mainly do so through films, TV shows and – especially in the case of the male students – video games.

Despite the assumption that, in general, the less people have in common the more they negotiate meaning, see section 2.4.1, the participants in this study actually do exhibit a significant amount of similar features as they are all EFL learners. On the one hand, this is necessary because of my research interest which lies on a specific group of people naturally sharing some commonalities, namely learners of English as a foreign language. On the other hand, when focussing on gender differences, the participants of a study should not be too diverse in order to achieve valid and comparable results, as otherwise any potential dissimilarity could also be attributed to different variables than gender. Cameron (2005: 488) points out that

> for generalizations about the impact of gender on language learning to be meaningful, you would need to establish that the women or the men in your sample have relevant things in common rather than simply reading that off from their membership of the global categories 'women' and 'men'.

Thus, this relative homogeneity of the participants is important in order to determine gender differences concerning meaning negotiation, although that simultaneously means that there would be more negotiation in a more heterogeneous group.

4.3   Procedure and data collection

The language data constituting the subject of analysis was collected by means of clinical elicitation. This means that the production of language is triggered in some way, but the researcher does not have a specific language feature in mind which is supposed to occur. A typical method to clinically elicit language production is by making speakers work on tasks that mainly focus on conveying meaning and reaching some kind of goal. In that sense, the language produced in clinical elicitation tasks should resemble natural language occurring in everyday situations, as "message conveyance" clearly is the central purpose

of communication (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 23-24), although it was still collected "specifically for the purpose of research" (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 30). Clinical elicitation may be either used to gather general or focused samples. In this study, I collected general samples, which means that "the elicitation instrument is designed to provide a context for learners to speak or write in the L2 in a purposeful manner", and did not try to elicit specific linguistic structures in the form of focused samples. A typical instrument to generate general samples of learner language are tasks (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 29-30).

Therefore, I designed four different tasks the learners had to work on in pairs. According to Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 31), tasks which are constructed around some sort of 'gap' are the most common ones in the collection of general samples. Usually, these are information-gap and opinion-gap activities, which are very similar to Nation and Newton's (2009: 101) notion of split information and cooperating arrangement tasks. Furthermore, task can be either authentic or pedagogic according to Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 30):

> A task can be 'authentic' (i.e. correspond to some real-world activity) or 'pedagogic' (i.e. only be found in an instructional setting). Both kinds of tasks, however, can lay claim to 'some sort of relationship with the real world' in that they involve the kinds of communicative processes involved in the real-world (for example, repairing, non- or mis-understanding).

Based on these statements, I created the following four tasks whose features are summarised in table 4:

Table 4. Features of designed tasks.

1) Giving advice	2) Deserted island	3) What to do on the weekend	4) Where to have lunch
opinion-gap	opinion-gap	information-gap	information-gap
cooperating arrangement	cooperating arrangement	split information	split information
pedagogic	pedagogic	authentic	authentic

As table 4 shows, both opinion-gap tasks are pedagogic and have a cooperating arrangement, while the information is naturally split in the information-gap tasks which are also designed authentically. The four tasks shall be described in more detail in the following:

1 "Giving advice": In the first task, the students were given a fictional entry in an internet forum in that an anonymous student asked for advice. The students should first read the text and discuss possible solutions for the writer's problem with each

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other and what kind of advice they would give him or her. It is also clearly indicated that the students are supposed to reach some sort of agreement on what they could answer the original poster. As both students are provided with the same kind of information and their basic task is to share their opinions on the subject matter, this activity clearly is an opinion-gap task in a cooperating arrangement. Although it is pedagogic due to the constructed text the task is based on, it is still somehow related to the everyday lives of the students too, because the described problem in the forum entry – problems at school and failed exams – are topics students are able to emphasize with and are regularly confronted with themselves.

2 "Deserted island": In the second task, students had to come up with a list of ten things they would take with them to a deserted island and should also reason why they chose these particular items. The goal of the task was that the pairs would have one joint list at the end of the interaction. In order to succeed, students thus had to argue in favour of their chosen items and make decisions on what to keep and what to leave. This presentation of one's arguments and opinions identifies this task as an opinion-gap task. Again, it is put within a cooperating arrangement as both students have the same amount of information at their disposal. This task is exclusively pedagogic, as there admittedly is no relation to the students' everyday lives.

3 "What to do on the weekend": This task is an information-gap activity in the form of a role-play with a split information arrangement, as both students got assigned different timetable as well as two personal preferences on what they like and do not like doing. Based on this information, they had to organise a meet up with each other on the weekend. The students needed to agree on when they would like to meet, where, for how long and what they want to do. As this setting resembles real-world situations, it can be called an authentic task.

4 "Where to a have lunch": The last task consists of a roleplay in that the students had to decide on a restaurant in which they would like to go for lunch together. Both students were provided with same list of different restaurant options, however, they also received a role card indicating their individual food preferences they had to assume for the role-play. Thus, this task too is an information-gap activity with a split information arrangement.

To sum up, the learners had to work on four different tasks designed by me in which they had to achieve a specific, clearly formulated goal. Two of them were opinion-gap tasks in a cooperating arrangement, and the other two were information-gap tasks with a split information arrangement. The original task descriptions which were handed out to the students can be read in appendix B.

As I have already touched upon, the four tasks were completed in pairs. I paired those students who knew already knew each other and who were at roughly the same age in order to prevent any inhibitions to speak due to shyness or awkwardness. Thus, there are same-gender as well as mixed-gender pairs. The exact pairings of the students for each task is visualised in table 5:

Table 5. Pairings of students in each task.

1) Giving advice	2) Deserted island	3) What to do on the weekend	4) Where to have lunch
Sm1 + Sm2	Sm1 + Sm2	Sm1 + Sm2	Sm1 + Sm2
Sf2 + Sm5	Sf1 + Sm5		Sf1 + Sm5
Sm3 + Sf3	Sm3 + Sf3	Sm3 + Sf3	Sm3 + Sf3
	Sm4 + Sf4	Sm4 + Sf4	Sm4 + Sf4
Sf5 + Sf6	Sf5 + Sf6	Sf5 + Sf6	Sf5 + Sf6

In table 5 it becomes evident that, for the most part, the pairings were stable and the learners always worked on the task with the same partner, with the exception of the interactions between Sf1, Sf2, and Sm5. This was caused by unplanned absences of the students, which is why the pairings had to be switched among these three and they did not work on task 3). The pair of Sm4 and Sf4 did not complete task 1) as I realised in the process of doing the recordings that it was still a bit too difficult for them. As a result, I was able to garner 18 recordings in sum, constituting the language data I used for my analysis. The recordings were transcribed with the transcriptions software Exmaralda and transcription conventions adapted from and based on HIAT (Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen, English: semi-interpretative workings transcriptions) proposed by Rehbein, Schmidt, Meyer, Watzke and Herkenrath (2004). The applied transcription conventions can be found in appendix C and the transcripts themselves in appendix D.

4.4 Method and framework of analysis

In attempting to answer my research questions outlined in section 4.1, the analysis of my collected data is based on the principles of interaction analysis. Furthermore, the results revealed by this analysis were compared according to whether they shed light on any gender differences connected with the linguistic phenomena of interest. Interaction analysis has always been an important approach in the research of negotiation of meaning, as it is a method to investigate discourse, and thus considers both

> semantic and pragmatic aspects of discourse (i.e. what individual utterances mean in their contexts of use) and the sequential organization of utterances in texts (i.e. how utterances combine to form continuous texts) (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 165).

It is defined as "means of describing the interactions in which learners participate. It tells us what kinds of functions learners perform when they interact with other learners or native speakers in different contexts and the structural properties of these conversations" (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 166). In order to identify negotiation routines as well as negotiation strategies in the recorded interactions I adapted a system-based approach, which means that specific categories are defined and fixed before the analysis (Walsh 2011: 75). It is important to note, that this approach of interaction analysis has certain limitations due to its predetermined framework that naturally predetermines the results to some extent and could therefore possibly falsify them (Walsh 2011: 75-77). However, I nonetheless chose this approach in order to prevent any random classification and assignment of language data and apply well-established categories related to meaning negotiation.

To start my analysis of the collected language material I identified the negotiation routines in the student interactions. In doing so, I utilised Varonis and Gass (1985) model for negotiation of meaning described in section 2.3 and determined triggers, indicators, responses and potential responses to responses. To determine any gender differences, I, compared the number of negotiation routines in the same gender and mixed gender pairs on the one hand, and, on the other hand, examined the distribution of negotiation moves in the conversations of the mixed gender pairs. Within the four categories of negotiation moves, I had a closer look at indicators and responses to determine which meaning negotiation strategies learners used in the conversations. To create these classifications I heavily drew on the literature reviewed in section 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 and included those kinds of indicators and responses which were frequently mentioned and investigated in the research to comprise a framework of analysis. The different indicators with their definitions

– clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, recasts, other repetition, and interpretive summary – are listed in table 6:

Table 6. Classification of indicators.

clarification requests	"an utterance that elicits clarification of the preceeding utterance" (Ellis 2008: 227)
confirmation checks	"Any expression immediately following the previous speaker's utterance intended to confirm that the utterance was understood or heard correctly. A confirmation check is interrogative in form. Often it includes a question tag." (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 184)
comprehension checks	"Asking questions to check that the interlocutor can follow you." (Dörnyei & Scott 1997: 192)
recasts	"utterances that repeat a learner's incorrect utterance, making only the changes necessary to produce a correct utterance, without changing the meaning" (Nicholas, Lightbown & Spada 2001: 733)
other repetition	"An utterance that repeats the previous speaker's utterance without changing any sentence component. A repetition has the same form as the preceding utterance and may or may not be accompanied with emphasis on the word causing the problem." (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 184)
interpretive summary	"Extended paraphrase of the interlocutor's message to check that the speaker has understood correctly." (Dörnyei & Kormos 1998: 375)

The left column of the table specifies the name of the respective kind of indicator, while the definition is given in the right one.

The different kinds of responses – acknowledgement, expansion, rephrasing, reduction, and repetition – and their definitions are given in table 7:

Table 7. Classification of responses.

acknowledgement	"An utterance responding to a confirmation check by confirming or disconfirming that the previous speaker has understood correctly. This typically consists of 'yes' or 'no'." (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 186)
expansion	"Putting the problem word/issue into a larger context." (Dörnyei & Scott 1997: 192) and "An utterance responding to a request for clarification by providing new information". (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 186)
rephrasing	"Repeating a term, but not quite as it is, but by adding something or using a paraphrase." (Dörnyei & Scott 1997: 190)
reduction	"Reducing the message by avoiding certain language structures or topics considered problematic languagewise or by leaving out some intended elements for a lack of linguistic resources." (Dörnyei & Kormos 1998: 359)
repetition	"An utterance that repeats the whole or part of the trigger in response to a request for clarification." (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 186)

Again, the name of the respective kind of response is indicated in the left column, the corresponding definition in the right one. Ellis and Barkuizen's (2005: 186) term for expansion differs from the one used by Dörnyei and Scott (1997: 1992), as they refer to it as "provision of information". They do, however, clearly describe the same phenomenon and the definitions complement each other, which is why I included both of them in my classification, but subsumed them under the term "expansion".

To explore the purpose and success of meaning negotiation in the learners' conversations it is necessary to look closer at the context these routines are embedded in, which is why it is harder to constitute a fixed set of categories for the analysis in advance. Thus, the investigation of meaning negotiation routines' purposes and success was not based on a pre-established framework similar to the ones employed in the first two steps of the analysis, as "analysts cannot know beforehand what the learners' understandings and practices will be in that particular context and make prior assumptions would more than likely put blinkers on the analysis (Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 210). Moreover, the question of purposes and success of meaning negotiation does not leave space for extensive classifications. Negotiation of meaning is often nearly exclusively lined with the negotiation of incomprehensible vocabulary items in the research, which is why I want to investigate whether female and male L2 learners do indeed only negotiate the meaning of

words or phrases, or if they also negotiate about, for instance, discourse structure or content, or even use meaning negotiation to fulfil an entirely different purpose. These purposes will be categorised in the course of the analysis and introduced in combination with the presentation of the results. On the contrary, the success of meaning negotiation does not require exhaustive classifications, as it poses a simple Yes- or No-Question. Hence, to answer this final research questions, the meaning negotiation routines will be examined according to whether they appear to have resulted in a solution of the communication problem mutual understanding or not, for example because the indicator signalling the need for meaning negotiation was ignored.

The results of the analysis will be quantified and presented in the following chapter. As some researchers doubt the validity of merely translating the outcomes of an interactional study into numbers, a more discursive description supported by a number of representative examples taken from the language data will be included in the discussion part in chapter 6. Due to the focus of the analysis on gender differences, the study is embedded within the cultural difference approach to the relationship between gender and interaction.

5   Results

5.1   Frequency and distribution of meaning negotiation routines and moves

In the transcripts of the EFL learners' pair discussions I identified a total of 82 meaning negotiation routines, consisting of the moves Varonis and Gass (1985) proposed: triggers, indicators, responses, and responses to responses (RRs). 50 of those occurred in mixed gender pairs and 32 in same gender pairs, within the same gender pairs 22 instances of meaning negotiation routines were found in the discussions between two male learners and 10 in conversations involving two female learners. The distribution of meaning negotiation routines according to the pairs' gender constellations in percentages is shown in figure 2:
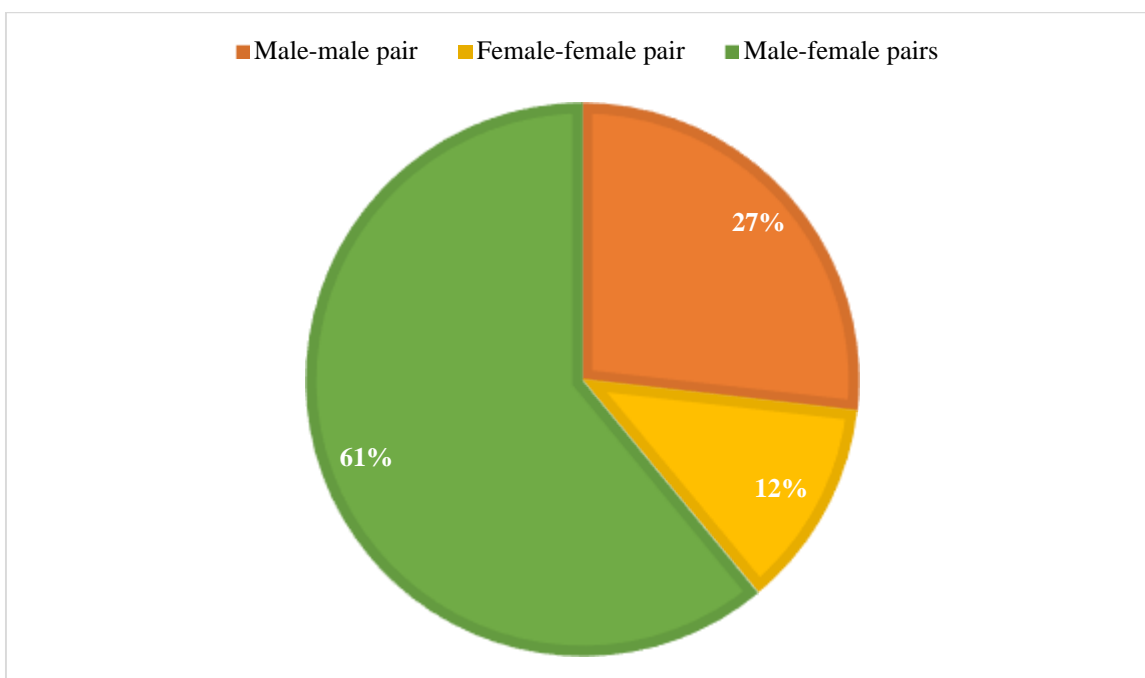
Figure 2. Distribution of meaning negotiation routines according to pairs' gender constellation in percentages.

In figure 2 it becomes evident that 61% of meaning negotiation routines occurred in the interactions of the mixed gender pairs, 27% in that of the male pair and 12% in that of the female pair. As there were ten recordings of mixed gender pairs' discussions and only eight of same gender pairs, it could be expected that more negotiation routines would be identified in the mixed gender pairs' conversations. However, despite this slight imbalance in amount of recordings, a striking difference in amount of negotiation routines between male only and female only pairs can be detected, as the male only pair initiated more than double the amount of negotiation routines than the female only pair. Moreover, there are four recordings of the male only and the female only pair each, which means that the amount of language data generated from the mixed gender pairs constitutes more than twice the amount of language data. Simultaneously, the number of negotiation routines found in the male only pairs' conversations is only a little less than half the number of negotiation routines in the mixed gender pairs' discussions. These results suggest that the majority of meaning negotiation occurs in mixed gender and male only pairs. Furthermore, one could assume that male learners tend to initiate negotiation of meaning more frequently than female learners.

The assumption that, in general, the male learners negotiate meaning more often than female learners, especially in same gender pairs, is further supported by the average

percentage of how much of the recorded conversation was used to negotiate meaning. This is visualised in figure 3:
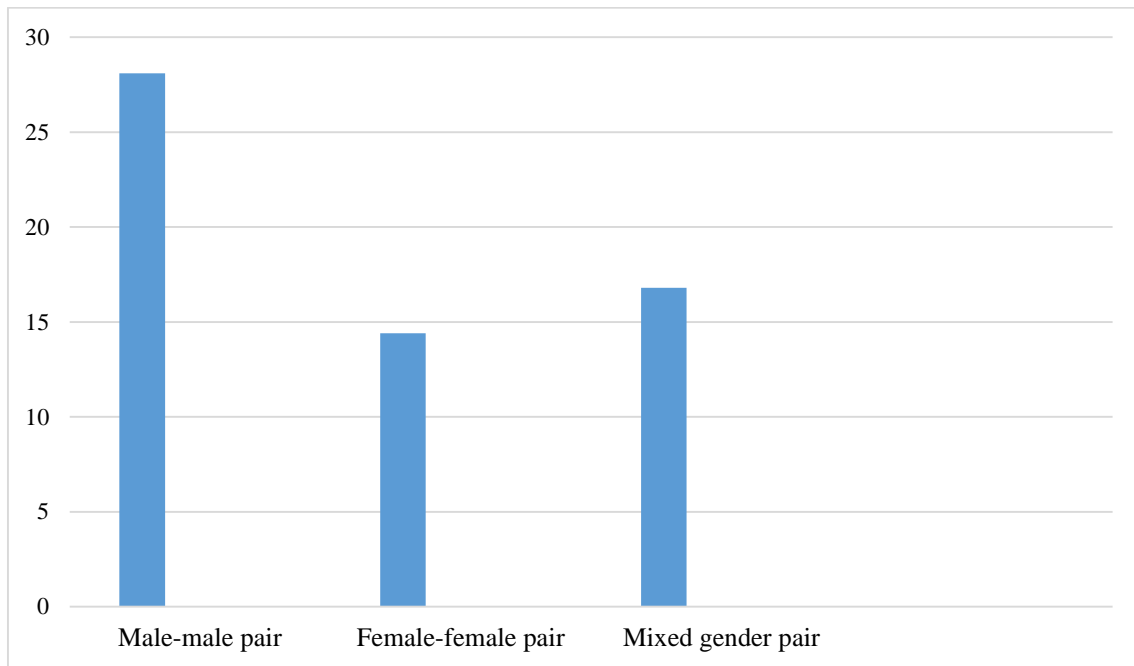
Figure 3. Average percentages of meaning negotiation in the conversations according to pair constellation.

Figure 3 shows that, on average, 28.1% of the interactions in the same gender male pair was spent on meaning negotiation. This is double the amount of meaning negotiation in the same gender female pair, which only used 14.4% of their speaking time for negotiating meaning. Mixed gender pairs attributed a slightly bigger percentage of their conversation time on negotiation of meaning: about 16.8%.

The negotiation routines identified in the first step of my analysis were then further investigated in order to identify the triggers, indicators, responses, and possibly RRs and determine which moves were preferred by male and female students. To make this process more transparent example 1 illustrates one meaning negotiation routine consisting of a trigger, an indicator, a response and a RR:

Example 1 (Transcript 2a: 38-40[3]).

		108 [04:51.1]	109 [04:53.8]	110 [05:03.4]
Sm1 [v]	• better than a • • fire stone. ((1)) I think.			
Sm2 [sup]			*with a very low voice.*	
Sm2 [v]			Maybe.	Ähm, I would also bring a

	111 [05:05.2]	112 [05:09.8]	113 [05:11.3]
Sm1 [v]		You mean • • waterproof?• • proof proof.	
Sm2 [v]	• • • waterproof • • ähm (( )) shoes.		Yes.

	..115 [05:13.1]	116 [05:19.7] 117 [05:20.1]
Sm1 [v]		Yeah. ((1)) or you ähm • • I will
Sm2 [v]	((1)) that my ähm • • foot • didn't/ can't get wet.	

In this example, Sm2 triggers the negotiation routine with his utterance *Ähm, I would also bring a waterproof ähm shoes*. Sm1 then indicates that he apparently is not sure whether he has understood his conversation partner correctly and asks *You mean waterproof?*, which Sm2 then confirms by responding *Yes. that ähm foot didn't/can't get wet*. This routine also includes a RR, as Sm1 answers to Sm2's response with a simple *Yeah*.

All the negotiation routines found in the transcripts were analysed according to this pattern to determine the numbers of triggers, indicators, responses, and RRs uttered by male and female students and their distribution among learners according to gender. Table 8 presents how often which negotiation move was used in mixed gender pairs by male and female students as well as in total:

Table 8. Numbers of meaning negotiation moves in mixed gender pairs according to gender.

	Triggers	Indicators	Responses	RRs
male students	23	28	20	9
female students	26	24	21	8
all	49	52	41	17

The numbers given in table 8 already suggest a fairly even distribution of negotiation move types among male and female learners, with boys using slightly more indicators and RRs than girls and girls a little more triggers and responses than boys. Figure 4 displays this balanced division of negotiation moves in mixed gender pairs even more clearly:

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[3] The examples will be cited in this way, indicating the number of the transcript they are taken from and the numbers of the paragraphs in which they can be found.
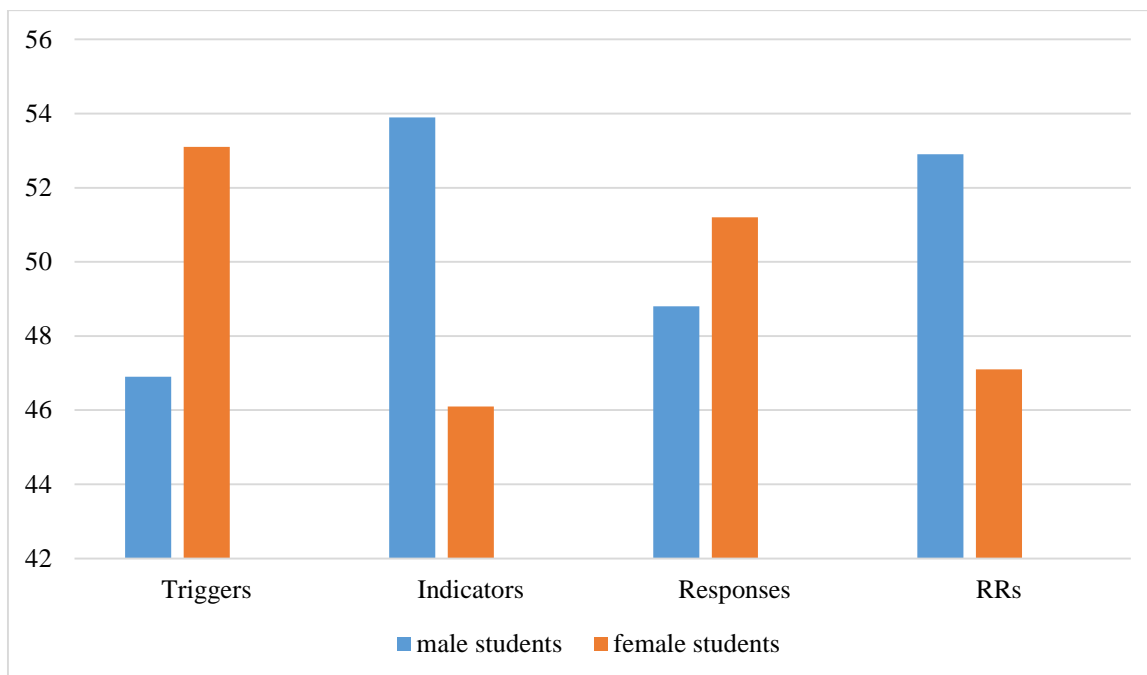
Figure 4. Distribution of meaning negotiation moves in mixed gender pairs according to gender in percentages.

46.9% of all triggers were uttered by boys, while slightly more with 53.1% were produced by girls. This logically results in male students indicating the need for meaning negotiation slightly more frequently than girls, as the amount of boys' indicators amounted to 53.9 % and those of girls' to 46.1%. The number of responses was nearly evenly distributed among male and female learners, as girls produced a response in 51.2% and boys in 48.8% of all cases. With regard to RRs, 52.9% of them were found in male learner's speech and 47.1% in female learners speech. This fairly even distribution of triggers, indicators, responses and RRs among girls and boys suggest that there are no significant gender differences concerning negotiation moves of EFL learners.

Table 9 shows the number of triggers, indicators, responses and RRs in same gender and mixed gender pairs according to gender as well as in total:

Table 9. Numbers of meaning negotiation moves in all pairs according to gender

	Triggers	Indicators	Responses	RRs
male students	45	52	41	19
female students	35	34	29	11
all	80	86	70	30

In table 9 it becomes evident that male students used more of each negotiation move than female students when taking meaning negotiation routines in mixed and same gender pairs into account. This circumstance appears only logical when considering that overall boys seemed to negotiate meaning more often than girls, as has already been revealed at the beginning of this section, and further supports this assumption. Although it has been previously stated that 82 meaning negotiation routines were identified, there were still 86 responses, which simply accounts for the fact that some routines included more than one indicator as the resolution of the communication problem required more negotiating. Likewise, the amount of all responses was smaller than that of negotiation routines, which suggest that some indicators were ignored and not responded to. This observation will be further explored in section 5.4 on the success of meaning negotiation. In short, while the data indicates that there are no significant gender differences in the distribution of triggers, indicators, responses and RRs, male learners in general appear to negotiate meaning more often than girls.

5.2   Distribution of meaning negotiation strategies

5.2.1   Indicators

As stated in section 5.1, 86 indicators within meaning negotiation routines were identified in the transcripts. They were classified into clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, recasts, other repetitions, and interpretive summaries. The analysis of the data revealed that combinations of these strategies to indicate the need for meaning negotiation were also used by the students, namely clarification requests combined with confirmation checks, confirmation checks combined with interpretive summaries, and other repetitions combined with interpretive summaries.

Overall, confirmation checks were by far the most frequently used indicators with 31 occurrences total. The total number of how often each indicator type was identified in the transcripts is illustrated in figure 5:
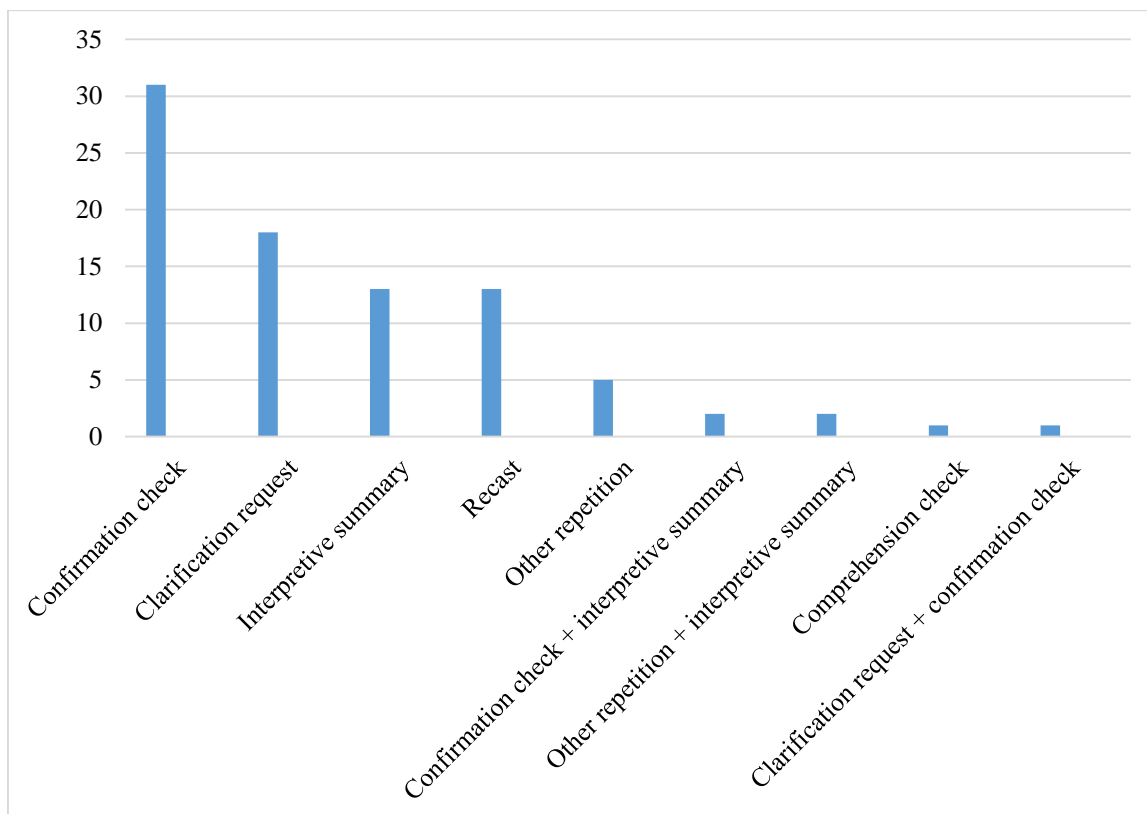
Figure 5. Distribution of indicator types in absolute numbers.

Clarification requests were the second most used indicators, amounting to 18 instances, followed by interpretive summaries and recasts with 13 and other repetitions with 5 occurrences. The combinations of confirmation checks with interpretive summaries and of other repetitions with interpretive summaries were both used twice, while the connection of a clarification request and a confirmation request was only identified once. Interestingly, students also did not seem to favour comprehension checks, which were only used once.

The comparison of how often male and female students employed each type of indicator reveals that both genders clearly favour confirmation checks. Figure 6 presents and compares how frequently male and female students used the specific indicator categories in percentages, i.e. what the percentage of one indicator type is of the total number of indicators.
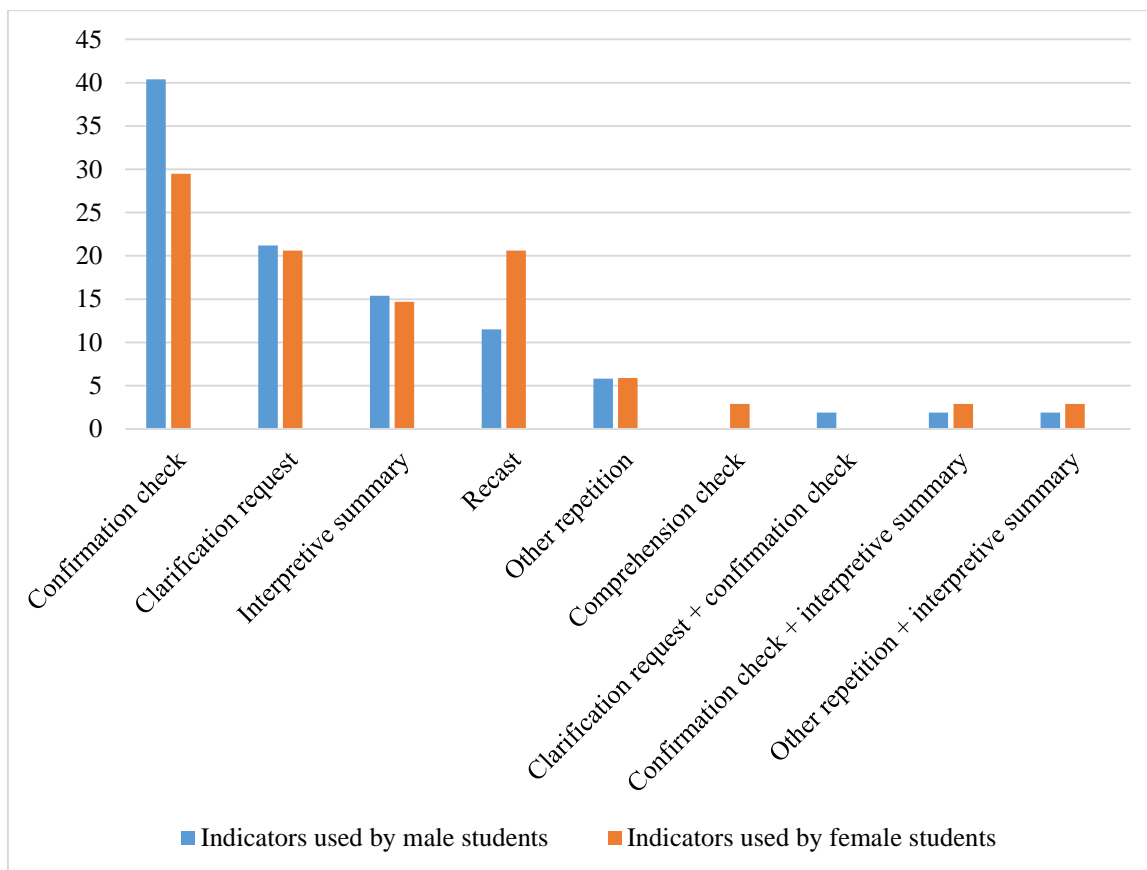
Figure 6. Male and female students' selection of indicator types in percentages.

Figure 6 shows that, although both genders appeared to prefer confirmation checks to indicate the need for meaning negotiation, male students employed them even more frequently than female students. In 40.4 % of the cases boys indicating a problem in communication they reverted to a confirmation check, while girls used confirmation checks less often: this type of indicator only accounts for 29.5% of indicators. Clarification requests were the second most frequently employed indicator in both boys' and girls' speech and was used nearly the same amount of times by both genders. Clarification requests amount to 21.2% of indicators used by male students and 20.6% of indicators used by female students. While boys' usage of interpretive summaries nearly equalled that of girls with interpretive summaries making up 15.4% respectively 14.7% of indicators, girls, in contrast to boys, clearly favoured recasts over interpretive summaries and employed them nearly twice as often as boys. Girls used recasts in 20,6% of all instances in which they signalled non-understanding, while boys' recasts only account for 11.5% of these instances. Regarding the use of other repetitions no gender differences can be determined, as they amount to 5.8% of boys' and 5.9% of girls' indicators. The combination of confirmation checks with interpretive summaries and other repetitions with interpretive

summaries were used equally rarely by boys and girls, with each of them making up 1.9% of boys' and 2.9% of girls' total number of indicators. Clarification requests in connection with confirmation checks only occurred once in male students' speech, while the only comprehension check identified in the transcripts was uttered by a female student.

To sum up, both genders clearly favoured the same indicator type, namely confirmation checks, with boys using it even more often in contrast to other kind of indicators than girls. Besides the usage of confirmation checks the biggest gender difference concerning strategies to signal a need for meaning negotiation lies in the employment of recasts. Not only did female students use them over 6% more frequently than male students, they also slightly preferred recasts to interpretive summaries, while male students rather gave interpretive summaries than uttering a recast.

5.2.2 Responses

The 70 responses identified in section 5.1 were grouped into acknowledgements, expansions, rephrasings, reductions, and repetitions. Similar to the classification of indicators, the analysis of responses showed that the previously established types of responses also occurred in different combinations, mainly in combination with with acknowledgement. Acknowledgements were combined with rephrasings, expansions, reductions, and repetitions in a few instances.

In general, acknowledgement (on its own) was the most frequently chosen way of responding to an indicator signalling the need for meaning negotiation with a total amount of 26 occurrences. Figure 7 shows the instances of each response type in absolute numbers:
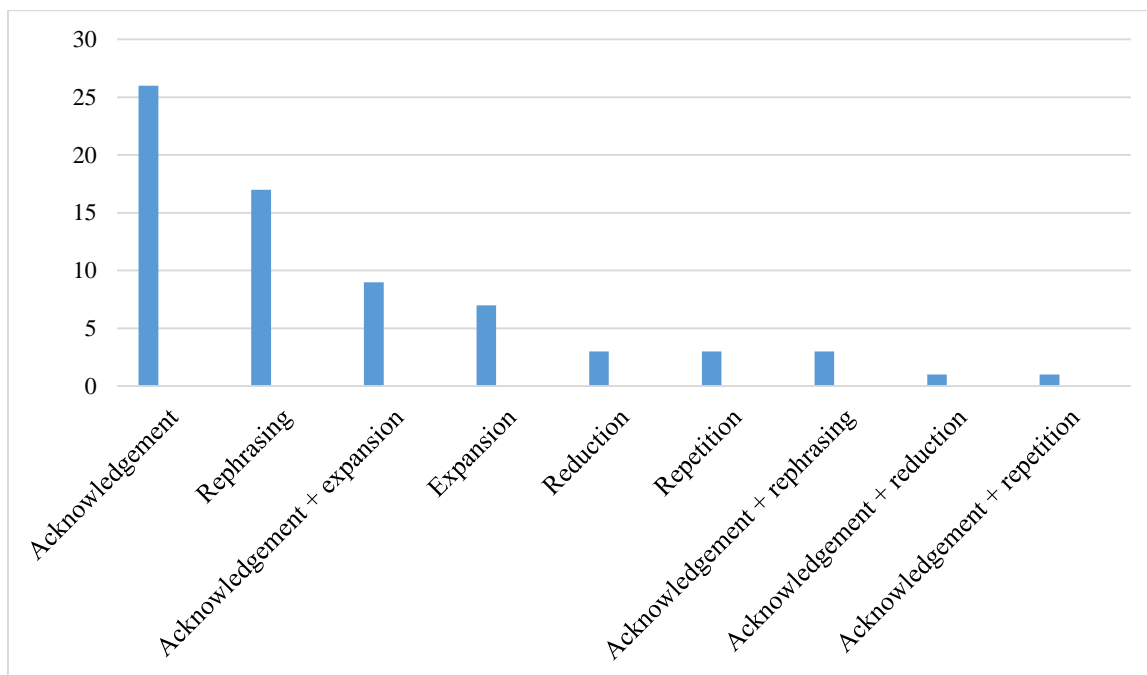
Figure 7. Distribution of response types in absolute numbers.

Rephrasing was used 17 times as a response, thus making it the second most common response type. Interestingly, the combination of acknowledgement with expansion occurred with 9 instances more often than expansion on its own with only 7 instances. These types of responses were followed by the combination of acknowledgement with rephrasing, reduction and repetitions with three occurrences each. Acknowledgement in connection with reduction or repetition was only identified once each in the transcripts.

To compare male and female students' usage of response types figure 8 indicates the percentage each type of response made up of the total amount of responses uttered by boys and girls:
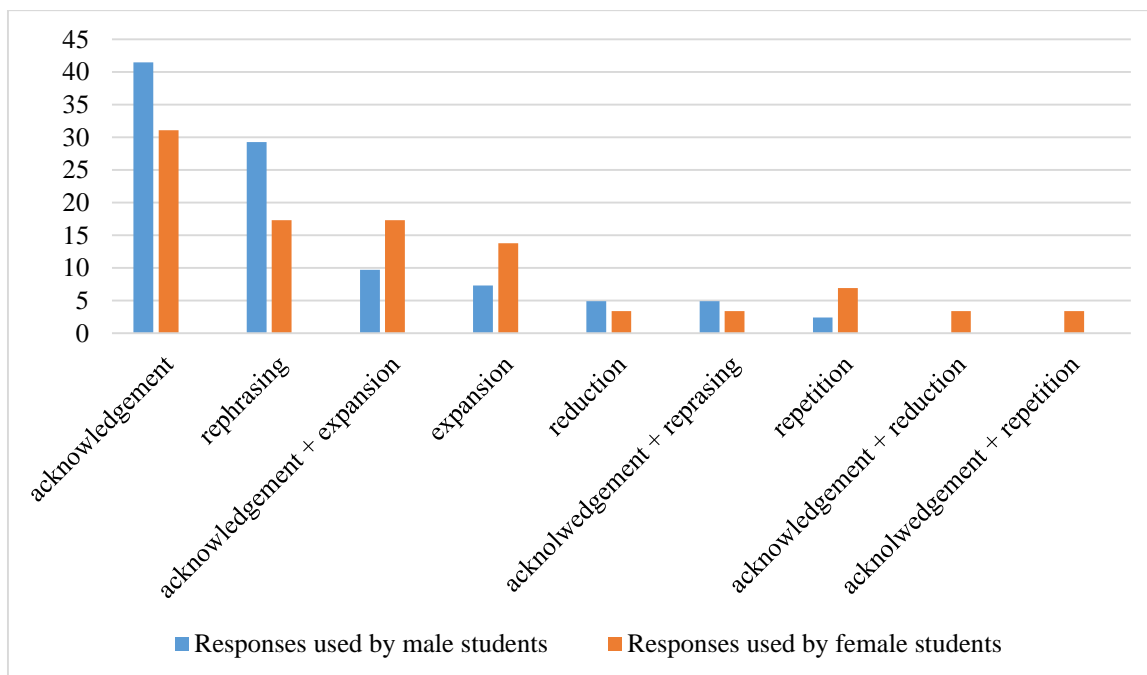
Figure 8. Male and female students' selection of response types in percentages.

Figure 8 clearly shows that, again, male and female students seem to prefer the same type of response, namely acknowledgement, however, girls still used it significantly less frequently than boys. Acknowledgement accounts for 41.5% of all responses uttered by male students, but only for 31,1% of female students' responses. While boys clearly preferred rephrasing to the combination of acknowledgement with expansion by selecting the former in 29.3% and the latter in only 9.7% of their responses, girls used both of these response types an equal amount of times with them amounting to 17.3% of their responses. Girls also chose expansions to respond to indicators twice as often than boys with 13.8% in comparison to only 7.3%. Male and female students appeared to use reductions and the combination of acknowledgements with rephrasings equally seldom, as both these strategies only account for 4.9% in boys' responses and 3.4% in girls' responses. Repetitions were more frequently employed by female students, namely in 6.9% of all instances, while male students only used them in 2.4% all cases in that they responded to an indicator. The combinations of acknowledgement with reduction or repetition was only used once each by girls, and never by boys.

Overall, girls appear to have a larger repertoire of different strategies to respond to indicators signalling the need for meaning negotiation than boys, as boys mainly stuck to acknowledgement, sometimes in combinations with other response types, and re-

phrasings, while girls' choice of responses was more equally distributed among the different types. Furthermore, male students generally used acknowledgement on its own and not in conjunction with other response types, while female students actually appeared to prefer complementing acknowledgements with a second response strategy, for instance expansions. Figure 9 illustrates the differences of boys' and girls' usage of acknowledgement and expansion:
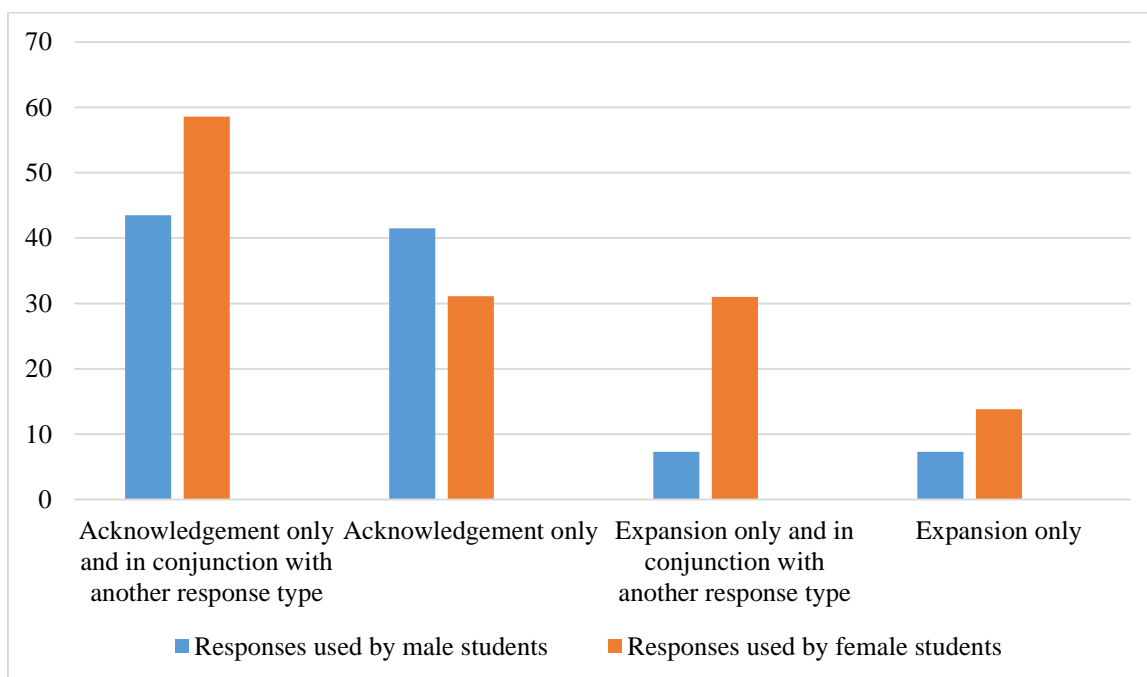
Figure 9. Male and female students' use of response types involving acknowledgement and expansion in percentages.

While male students used acknowledgements on their own significantly more often than female students, which has already been indicated, girls' in fact employed acknowledgements more often than boys when factoring in the instances in which they combined them with another response strategy. Considering all occurrences of acknowledgement, in conjunction with or without another response type, girls chose this strategy in 58.6% of all cases in which they respond to an indicator, while they only account for 43.5% of boys' responses. Likewise, though female definitely used more expansions than boys when considering exclusively those instances in which they are not combined with another response type, this contrast becomes even more significant if one also regards expansions connected to acknowledgements. Girls employed an expansion on its own or in conjunction with another response type in 31% of their responses, while this percentage only amounts to 17% in the boys' responses.

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5.3   Purposes of meaning negotiation routines

Before summarising the results of my analysis concerning the purposes of meaning negotiation routines, Long's (1996: 418) definition of meaning negotiation should be restated:

> the process in which, in an effort to communicate, learners and competent speakers provide and interpret signals of their own and their interlocutor's perceived comprehension, thus provoking adjustments to linguistic form, conversational structure, message content, or all three, until an acceptable level of understanding is achieved.

Through this quote Long (1996: 418) opens up the possibility of meaning negotiation routines to not be exclusively employed to negotiate about the semantic meaning of an expression, but more generally to clarify statements or proposing solutions to communication problems until mutual understanding between the interlocutors is reached. Thus, I asked myself the question whether EFL learners indicate the need for meaning negotiation only for the "classic" purpose of clarifying the meaning of a specific word or phrase, or if they also initiate them for other reasons. My analysis revealed that, while students still mainly negotiated meaning in order to gain clarifications and ensure that they have correctly understood certain utterances, in some cases the purpose was foregrounded of offering support to their conversation partner who seemingly struggled bringing across his or her intended message as well as of showing orientation to the task. Before revealing the results of this part of my analysis, it is these three purposes of meaning negotiation that were identified in the transcripts and will be described in more details through the examination of some specific examples.

Example 2 illustrates the classic case of meaning negotiation for ensuring that an utterance made by one interlocutor has been correctly understood by the other one:

Example 2 (Transcript 2d: 12-13): Clarification of a specific word or phrase.

The negotiation routine starts with Sm4's statement *the last thing we need is a … a hat, a hat!*. Sf4 appears to be triggered by this utterance and indicates the need to negotiate

meaning and ensure mutual understanding with the confirmation check *A hat?*. Sm4 then responds to this indicator, rephrasing his initial statement as *Against the sun. a hat against the sun.* In this case, the communication problem clearly originated from the utterance concerning the *hat* by Sm4, which apparently was not either fully understood by Sf4 or she wanted to make sure that she had grasped its correct meaning to prevent any further communication problems that could arise from a misunderstanding in the course of the interaction.

Apart from ensuring accurate understanding, meaning negotiation routines were initiated to show some kind of support to the interlocutor when he or she appeared to struggle with expressing what he or she wanted to say and offering a possible way of stating it by drawing from clues from the context and what has been said previously in the conversation. Such a case is demonstrated in example 3:

Example 3 (Transcript 1a: 13-17): Showing support.

	28 [01:40.2]	29 [01:42.4]
Sm2 [v]	even • • • if it's hard she should ahm • • maybe ((1)) should ahm learn every day	
	30 [01:47.1]	31 [01:48.7] 32 [01:49.2]
Sm1 [v]	she should take longer time.	• • for school and • • don't äh
Sm2 [v]	that ((they did))	Yeah.
	33 [01:52.8] 34 [01:53.6]	35 [01:56.0] 36 [01:56.6]
Sm1 [v]	don't play so computer games or something.	
Sm2 [v]	Yeah.	so much. no, and yes, she
		37 [02:00.5]
Sm2 [v]	should take longer periods of learning. and • then she would • • then I think she	
	38 [02:04.5]	39 [02:07.8]
Sm1 [v]	And then she should ähm ((1)) she should apologize by her Dad and	
Sm2 [v]	would make it.	

In this case, the beginning of the negotiation routine is marked by Sm2's utterance *if it's hard she should ahm maybe ((1)) should ahm learn every day that ((they did))*, however, the trigger is not what he is saying itself but rather that Sm1 perceived Sm2 as having some difficulties with conveying his intended message in this turn and indicated the need for meaning negotiation with an interpretive summary. The indicator *she should take longer time for school and don't äh don't play so computer games or something,* on the one hand, summarises what Sm1 has taken away from Sm2's utterance and, on the other hand, proposes an alternative way of expressing it in order to show support of his inter-locutor and maybe even aid him in elaborating on what he wanted to say. Sm2 responds to this indicator by acknowledging the interpretive summary as accurately reflecting his

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intended message and rephrasing what he has uttered in the trigger, also drawing on phrases Sm1 utilised in the indicator, as *Yeah. so much. no, and yes, she should take longer periods of learning*. I decided to put negotiation routines like these into a different category of purpose due to the absence of a specific word or phrase triggering them like in example 2. Instead, the "collaborative work" to attain "mutual understanding" Ellis (2008: 224) highlights as essential aspect of meaning negotiation is foregrounded, as one interlocutor supports the other one and they work together in communicating his or her intended message. Interestingly, the meaning negotiation routines initiated for this purpose were nearly always indicated by an interpretive summary.

Finally, there have been a few instances of meaning negotiation routines involving the use of learners' first language, German, that appear to have been caused by students' orientation to the task rather than a problem of understanding. One of these instances is shown in example 4 below:

Example 4 (Transcript 2b: 22): Task orientation.

	59 [03:10.4]	60 [03:11.2]	61 [03:12.5]
Sf1 [sup]	*whispered*		
Sf1 [v]	(German) Sonnencreme? (/German)		Suncream, yes!
Sm5 [v]		Sun/ sun cream!	
Notes [v]	nobody speaks		

Here, the meaning negotiation is triggered by Sf1's use of her first language. Apparently, she did not know the correct English term for what she wanted to mention or could not think of it at the time and thus reverted to the German word *Sonnencreme*. Sm5 indicates the need for meaning negotiation by providing what he thinks is the English word Sf1 has intended in form of a recast, to which Sf1 responds by positively acknowledging it. As German is both students' first language, the purpose of meaning negotiation in this example cannot be achieving mutual understanding. However, I assumed that Sm5 initiated a negotiation routine to agree with Sf1 on the appropriate English expression out of his orientation to the task which he knew was based on them holding a conversation in this foreign language. The negotiation routines serving this purpose always involved a recast as indicator providing the speaker who uttered the trigger with the correct word in English. While these instances could probably also be regarded as explicit feedback and more focussed on negotiating form rather than meaning, I classified them as recasts because these samples feature a "more linguistically target-like reformulation of what they [the

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conversation partner] have just said" (Gass & Mackay 2015: 189), which in this case takes on the form of the appropriate English term. Furthermore, "the focus of the interlocutors is on *meaning*, not language as object" (Long 2007: 77), which is an important characteristic of recasts according to Long (2007: 77). Thus, the third purpose of meaning negotiation detected in the language data is based on fulfilling the task the learners were given.

Overall, most of the meaning negotiation routines served the "traditional" purpose of ensuring mutual understanding, as 59 of the 82 were initiated for this reason. Twelve negotiation routines focussed more on supporting the apparently struggling conversation partner and collaboratively working on conveying one of the speakers' intended message and eleven originated from the students' goal of properly performing the task they were working on. Figure 10 illustrates this distribution of meaning negotiation purposes in percentages:
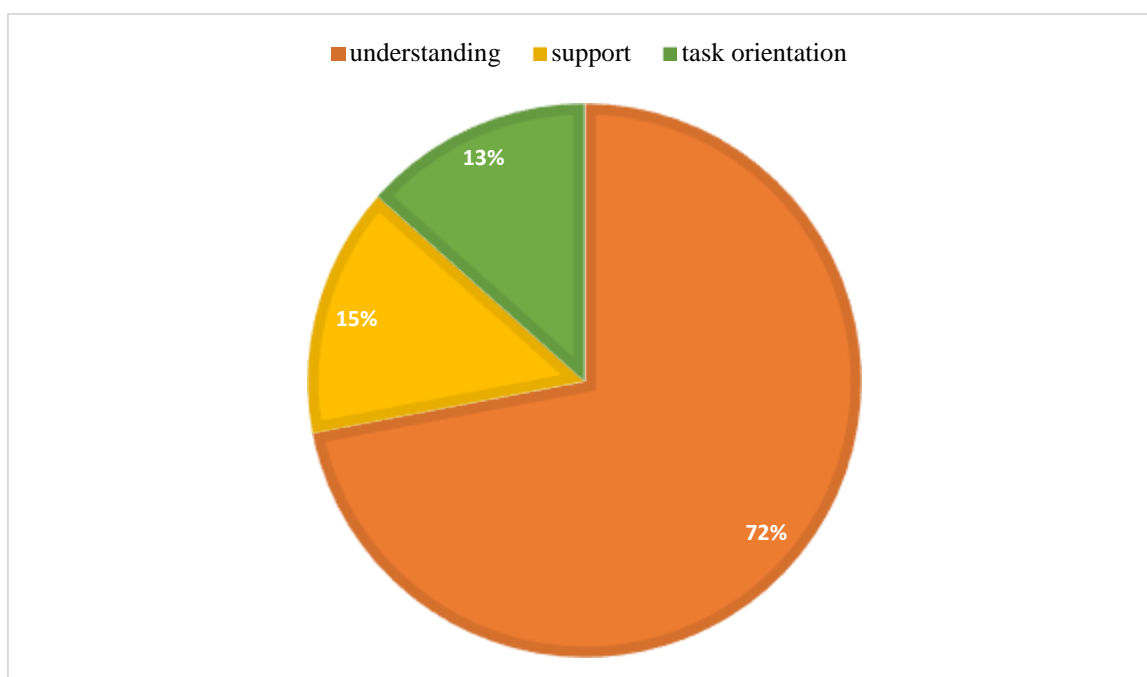
Figure 10. Distribution of meaning negotiation purposes in percentages.

As is apparent in figure 10, 72% of all meaning negotiation routines served fulfilled the "classic" purpose of ensuring mutual understanding and clarifying potential misunderstandings. The remaining cases were fairly equally distributed among the other two established categories. 15% of the meaning negotiation routines were instigated to support a conversation partner having problems with adequately articulating what he or she actually wanted to say and 13% to demonstrate task orientation.

In order to reveal potential gender differences regarding the purposes of meaning negotiation routines I investigated who indicated the need for meaning negotiation in the first place, as this person ultimately initiates the routine and it can thus be concluded that he or she also determines its purpose. Figure 11 illustrates for which purposes male and female learners initiated meaning negotiation routines in percentages:
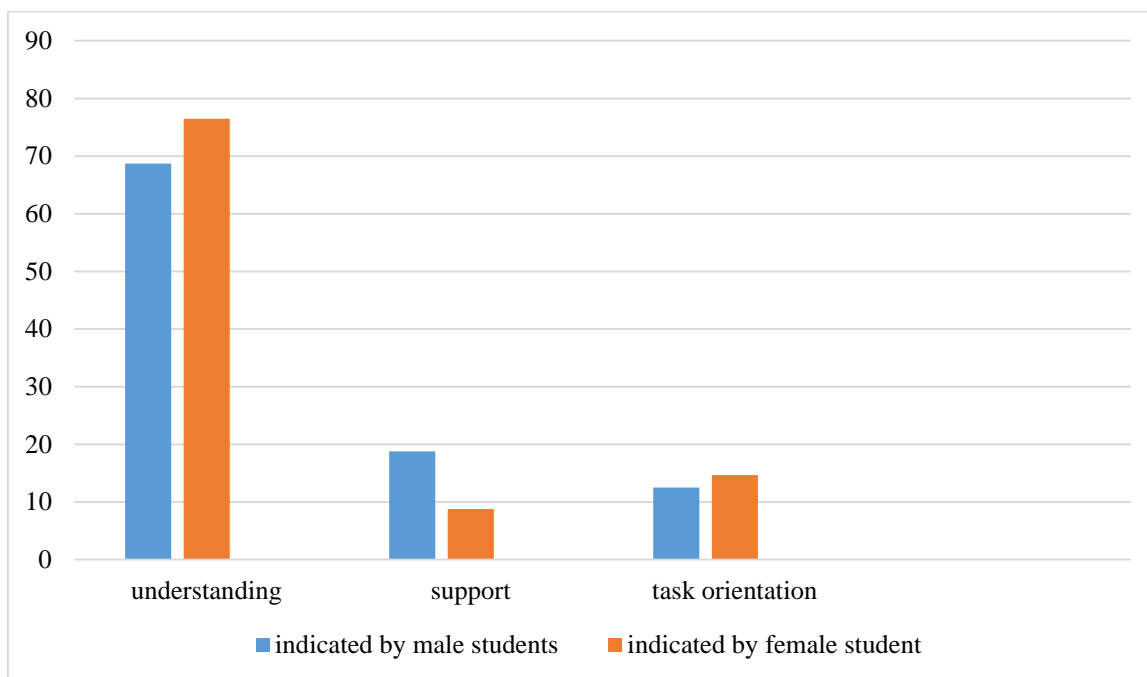
Figure 11. Purposes of indicating the need for meaning negotiation according to gender in percentages.

Both male and female learners primarily indicated meaning negotiation to clarify a specific triggering expression, though boys with 68.7% cases did so slightly less than girls with 76.5%. In addition, male and female learners initiated meaning negotiation for task fulfilment purposes nearly equally frequently, namely male ones in 12.5% and female ones in 14.7%. The main gender difference concerning meaning negotiation purposes becomes evident in the routines indicated to demonstrate support towards a conversation partner. While girls were triggered to instigate meaning negotiation in 8.8% of all instances, boys used interpretive summaries to indicate the need for meaning negotiation more than twice as often with 18.8%.

5.4 Success of meaning negotiation routines

Negotiation routines were identified as unsuccessful when there was a trigger and an indicator expressing the need for some further explanation of what has been said before but the response was missing and the communication problem remained unaddressed. Out of all 82 meaning negotiation routines only eight were unsuccessful, which accounts for about 9,8%. Overall, both male and female learners' meaning negotiation appeared to have provided the needed clarification and mutual understanding. An instance of a case of unsuccessful meaning negotiation can be found in example 5:

Example 5 (Transcript 2d: 7).

	..	23 [01:44.0]	24 [01:44.8]	25 [01:49.3]	26 [01:53.7]	27 [02:08.0]28 [02:08.5]
Sm4 [v]		fire maker?				Floß?
Sf4 [v]			A fire maker? ((3,5)) Stone?			
Notes [v]	and chuckling		Students laugh.		long pause	Students

Despite Sf4 using a confirmation check to examine whether she had correctly understood Sm4's triggering phrase *fire maker?*, Sm4 continues within the conversation flow, ignoring Sf4's indicator and preventing a meaning negotiation routine from unfolding. Nearly all of failed attempts at meaning negotiation were of this kind except for one, which is given in example 6:

Example 6 (Transcript 3c: 2-3).

	..	4 [00:12.5]	5 [00:14.8]
Sm4 [v]	time • on • Friday?		(German) Ich frag am Freitag, und du sagst
Sf4 [sup]		stretched	
Sf4 [v]		On Saturday ...	

	..	6 [00:18.0]	7 [00:19.2]
Sm4 [v]	(/German) saturday!		
Sf4 [v]			No ähm • • • I • have school • • and • then
Notes [v]		students laugh	

Here, Sf4 has apparently misunderstood Sm4's previous statement as she starts answering his question with *On Saturday* although he actually meant Friday. Sm4, however, does not use this chance to negotiate meaning in a constructive way, but eradicates this possibility from the beginning by switching to his first language and directly pointing out Sf4's error in a rather mockingly appearing way.

Regarding the distribution of these unsuccessful meaning negotiation routines it was determined that three of them were caused by male students and five by female learners. This information is visualised in percentages in figure 12:
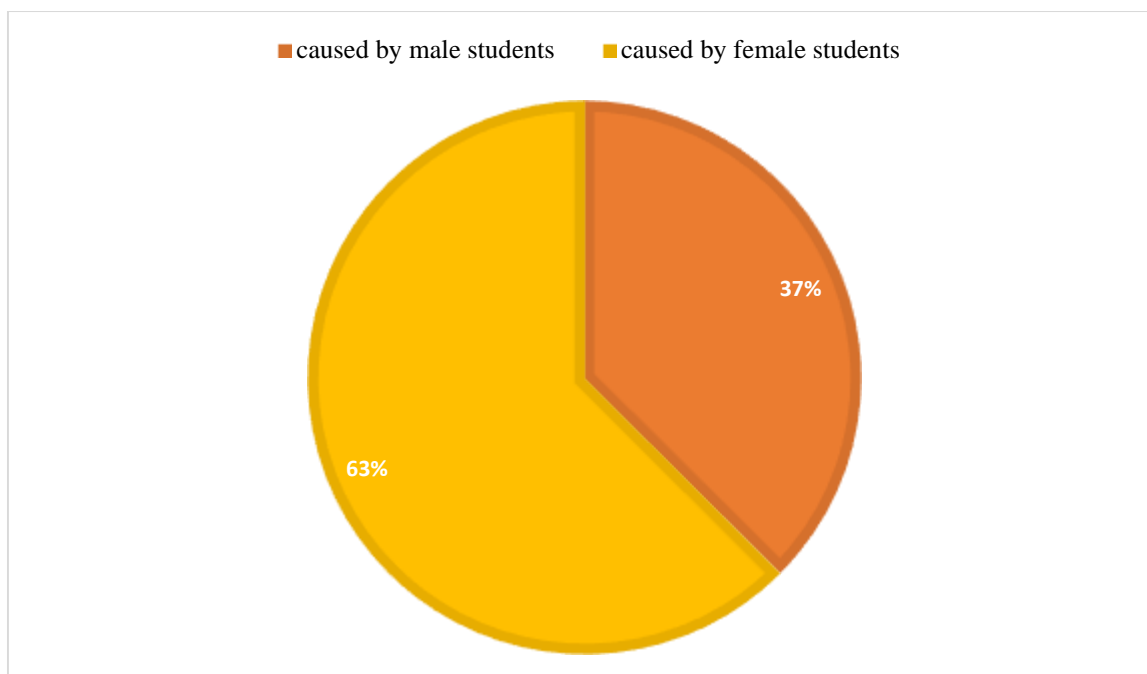
Figure 12. Unsuccessful meaning negotiation routines caused by male and female students in percentages.

Figure 12 shows that 63% of all unsuccessful meaning negotiation routines were caused by female students who failed to respond to an indicator uttered by their conversation partner and 37% by male students. Nonetheless, it is not possible to claim that girls are more likely to reject their interlocutors' attempts at initiating meaning negotiation routines by ignoring the specific indicators than boys, as the absolute numbers in this case are simply too low.

6   Discussion

Before the findings described in chapter 5 can be discussed, the limitations of the present study need to be addressed. It is crucial to note that this study is of a relatively small scale with only a few participants, which makes it difficult to generalise and even more im-

portant to contemplate its result within its specific context and circumstances of implementation. However, the study's results may still highlight interesting questions for further research, for example, if and how students' performance is related to the ways they negotiate meaning and which role gender plays in this potential interdependence. Furthermore, task types also considerably influence students' openness to meaning negotiation, but this aspect could not be taken into account as it would have gone beyond the scope of a diploma thesis.

6.1 Frequency and distribution of meaning negotiation routines and moves

The analysis in 5.1 revealed that, overall, female students appeared to be less inclined to negotiate meaning than male students, as the number of meaning negotiation routines in the conversations between the female only pair was only half as high as in those between the male only pair. In section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 it was outlined that girls are generally considered to be better language learners than boys and also achieve higher grades in language subjects at school, from which one could conclude that a possible reason for the less pressing need for meaning negotiation observed in interactions between female students is a result of their higher English competence. As they are more advanced and fluent in English, it could be assumed that situations in which one speaker has not fully understood the other due to own- or other-performance related problems arise less frequently and thus meaning negotiation is not necessary as often as in interactions between male students or between mixed gender pairs. Gass and Varonis (1985: 159-160) who in a similar study also find that women tend to negotiate meaning less frequently than men likewise interpret these results as a possible indicator for women having fewer problems in communication. On the other hand, the relatively low number of meaning negotiation routines in the interactions between the two girls in the female same gender pair could also be accounted for by a possibly close familiarity between the two. Gass and Varonis (1991: 122) state that

> the more participants in a conversation know about each other, the less the likelihood of significant instances of miscommunication. Conversely, when participants have little shared background (be it cultural, linguistic, or personal), the conversation is likely to be peppered with interruptions for clarification of content or language form.

Varonis and Gass (1985: 84) mention the factor of familiarity and difference between the speakers as important variable in predicting the frequency of meaning negotiation. However, considering that all students participating in the study were paired according to whether they already knew each other or not in order to prevent any inhibitions to speak, this argument does not seem completely valid in this case. The learners in the mixed-gender and the male only pair were familiar with each other too and still initiated a considerably higher number of meaning negotiation routines. Plough and Gass (1993) actually suggest the opposite to Gass and Varonis (1991: 122) and Varonis and Gass (1985: 84), namely that speakers who are unfamiliar with each other are more inhibited to show non-understanding and thus negotiate meaning less frequently. Foster (1998) as well as Foster and Snyder Ohta (2005) suggest that EFL learners are not naturally inclined to negotiate meaning when confronted with a problem in communication in general, as in her study students did not initiate a considerable amount of meaning negotiation routines despite the tasks being specifically designed to trigger this mechanism. This conclusion, however, can only explain the female same gender pair's disinclination to negotiate meaning.

The fact that a considerable amount of meaning negotiation took place in the conversations of the mixed-gender pairs appears to support the underlying assumption of the cultural difference approach towards the relationship between language and gender and Maltz and Borker (1982). In their view, an increased need for meaning negotiation would confirm the idea of communication between genders being comparable to cross-cultural communication which causes many misunderstandings and occasions in which utterances have to be clarified to ensure mutual understanding due to a different cultural and social upbringing.

In investigating the distribution of meaning negotiation moves such as triggers, indicators, responses and RRs in the mixed gender pairs it was demonstrated that no considerable gender differences exist concerning this subject matter. While girls produced slightly more triggers and boys thus slightly more indicators, the distribution of meaning negotiation moves according to gender appears to be fairly even. Surprisingly, these results contradict a number of studies which were already reviewed in section 2.4.2, for example Gass and Varonis (1985) and Zainal and Ching (2016). Gass and Varonis (1985) found that men tend to signal the need for meaning negotiation more often than women, while women are more reluctant to indicate that a communication problem has arisen.

Zainal and Ching (2016), on the other hand, observed that females initiated meaning negotiation more frequently than male EFL learners. Both these findings do not truly correspond with the findings of my study, although the tendency of men to produce more indicators determined by Gass and Varonis (1985) may also be slightly adumbrated by the results of this study.

Men have been established as rather uncooperative in conversations in Fishman's (1978) claims that women make considerably more effort to ensure that communication is maintained than men. Likewise, concerning an educational context, Meunier (1994: 58) points out that in mixed-gender groups boys usually speak more and for longer periods of time, while female students speak less and mainly react to and give feedback on what the male students have said. Again, these statements cannot be affirmed in the light of this study's results, as both male and female EFL learners provided feedback in the form of indicators within meaning negotiation routines in a nearly equal number of instances.

Moreover, some research suggests that the influence of gender on meaning negotiation might be overestimated and that both male and female second language learners produce a comparable amount of indicators. Tannen (1994: 105-106), for example, noticed in her observations of male and female sixth-graders that the boys also engage in negotiations in order to reach consensus on a specific topic, although this behaviour is usually perceived as stereotypically female. In this light, the male students in my study appear as equally cooperative as the female students, because both showed a comparable likelihood and willingness to negotiate meaning when a potential problem in communication has been identified. Likewise, Oliver's study (2002) suggests that age might be an important variable in evaluating the relationship between gender and meaning negotiation. While she did not find any considerable gender differences in the meaning negotiation between children who were between eight and 13 years old, adult men and women did in fact negotiate meaning differently from each other. As the participants of this study were of the age between twelve and 14, age might also be a possible reason for the equal distribution of negotiation moves among male and female students.

6.2 Distribution of meaning negotiation strategies

6.2.1 Indicators

Concerning the choice of indicators, both genders clearly favoured confirmation checks, but male students used them about 10% more often than female students. This strategy of communicating the need for meaning negotiation is not suitable for promoting language learning, as Long (1996: 451-452) deems those indicators especially valuable which elicit "*interactional adjustments*". Confirmation checks, however, do not generate much opportunity for the production of extended output in the response stage, as becomes evident in example 7:

Example 7 (Transcript 3a: 9-11).

	23 [00:53.2]
Sm2 [v]	football game, so there we can't met • • • so maybe • • we can/ we could met on

	24 [00:58.0]	25 [01:02.1]	26 [01:02.8]
Sm1 [v]		Saturday?	
Sm2 [v]	Sssaturday ähm ((2,5)) on Saturday ähm (German) ja (/German)		

	27 [01:04.0]	28 [01:07.8]
Sm1 [v]	Äh • • • how • long have you time?	
Sm2 [v]	(German) ja (/German)	Ähm I have time from •

The most obvious and simple response to the comprehension check *Saturday?* in example 7 is a basic acknowledgement, taking on the form of a German *ja* in this case, and does not allow for much expansion on the triggering expression. At the first glance, this observation appears to support Zainal and Ching's (2016: 99) finding that women were more focussed on gaining comprehensible input and men on producing comprehensible output in meaning negotiation. As male students used confirmation checks more often than female learners, one could expect that their conversational partners would not have as much opportunity to utter more extended responses, while girls apparently allow for longer answers and more interactional modifications as they employ confirmation checks less frequently. The fact that the investigation of response strategies does not fulfil these expectations will be addressed in 6.2.2.

Both male and female learners used interpretive summaries equally frequently. On the one hand, interpretive summaries already provide the speaker who has uttered the triggering expression with some comprehensible input, as it basically is a more or less

extended paraphrase of the trigger. On the other hand, the speaker expressing the indictor, who usually requires his or her conversation partner to reply with some more output, can already produce some output him- or herself, as one needs more language skills to construct an interpretive summary than, for instance, a basic confirmation check. Example 8 illustrates how an interpretive summary does not only trigger output, but also requires producing it:

Example 8 (Transcript 2a: 25-27).

	57 [02:58.2]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah prob ... ähm it can't be that the teacher can't talk to the • ähm talk
Sm2 [v]	would do.

	58 [03:03.3]	59 [03:10.5]
Sm1 [v]	to the parent. ((1)) to the family • • in all • • • and then	
Sm2 [v]		So that they can hear her

	60 [03:13.4] 61 [03:20.3] 62 [03:22.2]	63 [03:26.7]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah. I think they are first afraid of it but then they ((1,5)) not,	
Sm2 [v]	opinion. And ...	

Here, Sm 2 responds to the triggering phrase with the interpretive summary *So that they can hear her opinion*, which already constitutes a considerable amount of output as well. As girls used interpretative summaries as often as boys, Zainal and Ching's (2016) claim that female students primarily focus on obtaining comprehensible input in meaning negotiation routines is considerably weakened. Furthermore, one might conclude that interpretive summaries are an especially effective way of indicating the need for meaning negotiation, as it provides the speakers with both comprehensible input and output.

The most apparent gender difference concerning indicator types lies in the students' usage of recasts. Girls actually used recasts twice as often as boys. One instance of a recast is shown in example 9:

Example 9 (Transcript 1d: 7-8).

	16 [00:56.3*]	17 [00:57.9]	18 [00:59.0]
Sf5 [sup]			*correctly pronounced*
Sf5 [v]			Parents?
Sf6 [sup]		*pronounced /ˈpʌrənts/*	*correctly pronounced*
Sf6 [v]	course it's ... ((2)) Yes • • the parents ...		The parents • • ähm

19 [01:00.9]	20 [01:05.1]	21 [01:09.3]
Sf5 [v]		So
Sf6 [v]	• • • find out the truth • about the • failed test. ((1)) and ((1)) it's ... ((3)) yeah.

This recast is targeted towards Sf6's pronunciation of the word *parents*. As she apparently pronounced it in a wrong way, Sf5 provides her with the correct pronunciation, which her conversation partner then takes up and continues talking by integrating the correctly pronounced word in her turn. The increased usage of recasts by girls in comparison to boys might be an argument supporting the claims that girls are better in second language subjects, as recasts are a form of negative and direct feedback (Mackey 2012: 12), which makes the learner aware of a problematic expression by providing him or her with the accurate version of the incorrect utterance. The ability to detect such problematic expressions and then basically correct them, however, already requires a decent knowledge of the second language. Additionally, Głowka (2014: 631) suggests that girls are keener to produce linguistically correct forms and more actively avoid interlanguage expressions which differ from the target language. This would further explain why the girls are more likely to use recasts as indicators than the boys.

6.2.2 Responses

The examination of response types employed by male and female students revealed that girls appear to have a wider repertoire of response strategies at their disposal than the boys. Zhao and Intaraprasert's (2013: 52) study on communication strategies, a subject closely related to meaning negotiation strategies, as they partially overlap, generated similar results. They too found that female students employ a wider variety of different communication strategies than male students, which makes them seem more cooperative in conversations and more interested in ensuring that they have been understood by everyone.

In the present study, the most used response type by both boys and girls was acknowledgement, although male students used this strategy 10% more frequently. Acknowledgement is not a considerably efficient strategy in terms of promoting second language acquisition through meaning negotiation as it does not trigger a high amount of output. Usually, a simple yes or no or a basic repetition of the indicator suffices to solve the communication problem. This is illustrated in example 10:

Example 10 (Transcript 3a: 14-15).

	34 [01:28.0]	35 [01:29.4]	36 [01:29.8] 37 [01:31.0]
Sm1 [v]	lessons. • you know I'm a really good		musicer.
Sm2 [v]		yeah yeah	So maybe we could met/ meet

	38 [01:36.0]	39 [01:37.1] 40 [01:37.7]	
Sm1 [v]	Sunday?	I haave • • until • • two o'clock nothing.
Sm2 [v]	on ah • Sunday afternoon?	Yes.

This example illustrates how acknowledgement does not involve much output, as the indicator *Sunday* can be easily and adequately responded to with one word – *yes*. In contrast to male EFL learners, female students appeared to focus more on producing a higher amount of output, as they preferred to combine simple acknowledgements with other response strategies, especially expansions, and also used expansions on their own more often than boys. Such an instance of acknowledgement in combination with expansion is provided in example 11:

Example 11 (Transcript 1b: 4-7).

	9 [00:25.9]	10 [00:30.3]
Sf2 [sup]		*rather slowly, a bit hesitating*
Sf2 [v]	They āhm • • I think when she say it • her parents ((1)) that now • • • then •	
notes [v]	laugh	

	11 [00:38.3]	12 [00:43.1]
Sf2 [sup]	*stretched*	
Sf2 [v]	they aren't so angry when they • • ahm, when they ...	
Sm5 [v]		Because you think they're

	13 [00:45.2] 14 [00:45.6]	15 [00:47.6]16 [00:47.9]
Sf2 [v]	when they yeah, and when they	got the ((und understandable)) from,
Sm5 [v]	angrier later?	Okay.

	17 [00:52.6]	18 [00:56.0]19 [00:56.3] 20 [01:00.2]
Sf2 [v]	from her teacher, not from her. • • from her dot/ daughter.	
Sm5 [sup]		*stretched*
Sm5 [v]		Okay. ((2)) Öhf.

Here, the indicator in the form of an interpretive summary *Because you think theye're angrier later?* the response does not end with the acknowledgement *yeah*, but resumes with a concise expansion of the initially intended message Sf2 wanted to convey and which triggered the negotiation routine, resulting in a considerable amount of modified output. Again, the outcomes of this study seem to contradict Zainal and Ching's (2016) conclusions that male rather than female learners produce more comprehensible output

as response to an indicator. In addition, they suggested that female learners prefer to employ responses such as acknowledgement which hardly interfere with the conversation flow. This preference, however, appears to be reversed in this study. Similar to Zainhal and Ching (2016), Pílar García and Alcón Coler (2013) believe that male students are more dominant in conversations, producing more output, while female students focus on maintaining conversation an obtaining input. The results of this study, however, clearly indicate that female EFL learners are making more effort to produce modified and comprehensible output when involved in meaning negotiation routines than male EFL learners. On the one hand, this could be explained by the assumption that girls generally are better in foreign languages than boys, as has been discussed in section 3.2. As girls are ascribed higher foreign language skills, it could be expected that they are more likely to be able to modify their output in order to make it easier to comprehend for their conversation partner and to construct more complex utterances than a basic one-word phrase of acknowledgement. On the other hand, girls' efforts to expand on their triggering phrases to clarify any misunderstandings may also be interpreted as a signal of their cooperativeness. Instead of limiting themselves to a simple and short acknowledgement of the indicator within a meaning negotiation routine, they attempt at clarifying their triggering utterance further to guarantee mutual understanding and avoid misunderstandings, which could not have been eradicated by an acknowledgement on its own.

Moreover, the preference of response strategies which involve the production of more modified output such as expansions may be perceived as more risky than sticking to acknowledgements alone. In connection to second language learning strategies and styles, Maubach and Morgen (2001: 46) claim that male students generally show a greater "willingness to take risks" and "to speak spontaneously in the foreign language". Conversely, Bui and Intaraprasert (2012: 4-5) conclude from their study on ways in which male and female EFL learners react and handle communication breakdowns that female students use more risk-taking strategies than male. They propose three potential reasons for this outcome. First, they ascribed female learners' greater willingness to take risks to their higher cooperativeness and engagement in interactions. Secondly, they pointed towards female students' increased motivation to learn English and successfully interact in the foreign language. This motivation could also be a result of society's expectation of girls to be more skilled in communication. Finally, Bui and Intaraprasert (2012-4-5) suggest that male EFL learners are more likely to overestimate their oral foreign language skills. As a result, they are often not able to handle breakdowns in communication in an

adequate way and have to make use of risk-avoiding strategies instead. In that sense, only acknowledging a problem in communication which has been indicated by the conversation partner would be risk-avoiding, as the students do not have to produce a higher amount of output.

Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to claim that male EFL learners never attempted at modifying their output more diligently, as they employed rephrasings more frequently than female learners to react to the indication of the demand for meaning negotiation. Example 12 illustrates how a male student uses a rephrasing clarifying a triggering phrase and thereby modifying his initial output:

Example 12 (Transcript 2c: 15-17).

	45 [02:18.9]	46 [02:22.6]
Sm3 [v]	strings • what's with • strings?	
Sf3 [v]		Hm, I don't know ((1)) what are they?
notes [v]	few times	
	47 [02:26.5]	48 [02:30.8]
Sf3 [v]	((3,5)) what are they? ((1)) I don't know what this is, I don't know what this is.	
	49 [02:34.1] 50 [02:36.3]	51 [02:40.3]
Sm3 [v]	It's a rope.	Okay ((3)) and ...
Sf3 [v]	A rope, aha okay • no • • I think we don't need this.	

As Sf3 clearly shows non-understanding of Sm3's trigger *strings what's with strings*, he offers her a clarification with the rephrasing *It's a rope*, modifying the initial utterance to make it easier to understand and thus producing modified output. Thus, despite female learners appear to utter more modified output, male students did also do so to some extent.

6.3   Purposes and success of meaning negotiation routines

Concerning the purposes of meaning negotiation routines, both girls and boys primarily initiated meaning negotiation to show non-understanding of a specific expression or phrase, however, female students negotiated meaning for this purpose in 10% more of the cases than boys. This observation would contradict Gass and Varonis' (198: 157) claim that men are less hesitant than women to indicate that they have encountered a communication problem or have not fully understood what their conversation partner has uttered.

Moreover, it may challenge the stereotypical perception of girls as the better second language learners, because they negotiate meaning even more often for the reason that they are having trouble understanding what the interlocutor has stated.

The second purpose for which meaning negotiation routines were employed by the EFL learners was that of supporting the conversation partner when he or she was struggling to convey his or her intended message in an adequate fashion. Interestingly, a majority of these cases were initiated by boys. Example 13 shows such an instance:

Example 13 (Transcript 1a: 21-22

		48 [02:33.7]	49 [02:34.7]
Sm1 [v]		And then	• she should respected • • their
Sm2 [v]	and she should always be honest. with her parents.		

	50 [02:37.8]	51 [02:40.3]	52 [02:41.8]	53 [02:42.8]
Sm1 [v]	parents • the elders, because • • äh((1)) ähm			Yeah, that she
Sm2 [sup]				
Sm2 [v]			They have been honest.	

This meaning negotiation routine is not triggered by a certain phrase, but rather by Sm1's problem to articulate what he wants to say, which becomes overt through his *äh ((1)) äm* and the pauses. Sm2 recognizes it and indicates that he is willing to negotiate meaning by providing Sm1 with an interpretive summary of what he has said so far concerning this topic and what he believes his conversation partner could actually be trying to say. This inference of Sm1's intended message requires Sm2 to heavily rely on the context of this conversation. Such negotiation routines show that male EFL learners indeed act cooperatively in interactions, contrary to what the stereotypes outlined in section 3.2 might have suggested. Through supporting their conversation partners by helping them to express their intended message male students actually prevent communication problems and even breakdowns rather than try to solve them when they have already happened, which, according to Long (1996: 418), is a way of negotiating meaning as well. These results demonstrate that male students are very willing to cooperate in interactions in order to avoid difficulties in communication. Additionally, they appear to support Coates' (2016 [2004]: 138) suggestion that both men and women display cooperativeness in interactions as this is a precondition for successful communication, they just exhibit it differently.

The third purpose of meaning negotiation by EFL learners has been identified as showcasing orientation towards the task, which in this case involves recasts to provide

the interlocutor with the appropriate English term for the triggering expression in the students' first language, German. One case of a meaning negotiation routine initiated for this purpose is given in example 14:

Example 14 (Transcript 2c: 77-78).

		236 [11:11.8] 237 [11:12.3]	238 [11:13.5]
Sm3 [v]	good?	Why? why?	
Sf3 [v]		Leaves?	Because they are ((1,5)) (German) doof (/German)).
	239 [11:18.4]	240 [11:20.5]	241 [11:22.0] 242 [11:23.8]
Sm3 [v]	Stupid, you mean?		Okay.
Sf3 [v]		I think yeah.	So, we need bed, write it down. • • it's very

Here, Sm3 uses a recast which is represented by the appropriate English term for *doof* to react to Sf3's trigger. Instead of just ignoring the use of the first language, which would not have inhibited understanding or cause any communication problems, Sm3 chooses to address it and initiate meaning negotiation by proposing the what he believes to be the adequate expression in the target language in the form of a recast. This clearly shows orientation towards the task which is based on holding a conversation in the students' second language, English. As girls and boys both employed meaning negotiation for nearly an equal percentage of cases in which they uttered the indicators, female students appear to be as task-oriented as male students, which goes against the stereotypical assumption of Aries (1996: 38) that men display more language targeted towards fulfilling a specific tasks than women. Furthermore, male and female students' inclination to use English throughout the conversation and negotiate meaning about expressions they could not think of in the target language suggests that boys also adapt themselves to the educational environment at school. Contrary to Spinath, Eckert and Steinmayr's (2014: 239) claim that girls are better adjusted to the demands of educational institutions, the male students in this study also adhered to the specific framework and conditions the tasks they are given require, which meant that they would make an active effort to interact in their foreign language.

Ellis (1992: 25) identifies the usage of the first language as achievement behaviour, which in this case becomes evident in that it is reacted to with a recast providing an opportunity to deepen the understanding of the second language. Recasts offer both negative feedback and positive evidence, pointing the learner to the incorrect part of the utterance and at the same time displaying an example of how it would have been expressed

appropriately. Thus, through their usage of recasts it becomes evident that both girls and boys encourage their conversation partner to further engage with the target language and incorporate new forms into their interlanguage by seizing the opportunity to initiate meaning negotiation instead of ignoring the German expression which would not have caused any communication problems. Newton's (2013: 164) finding that unknown items of vocabulary which are negotiated in interactions between EFL learners are more easily acquired further support the assumption that meaning negotiation routines involving the use of the first language and recasts may indeed be valuable in the second language learning process.

Regarding the success of meaning negotiation, no significant gender differences have been determined. Although female students inhibited the negotiation of meaning through ignoring the utterance of an indicator more often than male students percentagewise, the relative low number of instances necessitates the question whether they are representative to claim that boys have negotiated meaning more successfully than girls. In addition, it is not always clear whether a meaning negotiation was actually successful or not. As Hawkins (1985) suggests, students often feign comprehension when meaning is negotiated in an interaction, although they do in fact still have problems with understanding. For that reason it is important to note that only those meaning negotiation routines were deemed unsuccessful in which the negotiation was clearly rejected, for example through ignoring an indicator. Moreover, those meaning negotiation routines which could fully unravel were not followed by any obvious misunderstandings or communication problems caused by the initial trigger, which is why one could assume that they were indeed successful. According to this categorisation, however, the study has revealed that in general both male and female students appear to negotiate meaning successfully, which disputes the potential assumption of girls being possibly better in meaning negotiation due to their supposed superiority in second language learning and more cooperative conversational style.

7   Conclusion

This thesis has presented the findings of my study on gender differences in the meaning negotiation of EFL learners and related it to the relevant literature regarding this subject matter. In the study, male and female students engaged pair-wise in different EFL tasks which were designed to encourage meaning negotiation. The conversations were recorded, transcribed and then analysed according to established categories relating to negotiation of meaning. First, meaning negotiation routines were identified as well as their distinct building blocks: triggers, indicators, responses and responses to responses. Indicators and responses were then further categorised into different indicator and response types. To conclude the analysis, it was determined which purposes the meaning negotiation routines fulfilled and if they were successful or not.

The hypothesis that there are differences in the ways male and female EFL learners negotiate meaning was based on assumptions of girls' superiority in second language acquisition and of a female cooperative and a male competitive conversational style. The actual gender differences which were detected in the study, however, at least partly appear to contest these stereotypes. Talbot (2010: 109) criticizes that a large part of academic research on the relationship between gender and language focusses on differences between men and women rather than similarities. Therefore, I want to point out that, although this thesis foregrounded the differences in male and female EFL learners' meaning negotiation, there are definitely many commonalities to be determined as well. In general, all of the students partaking in the study displayed a high level of cooperativeness and task-orientation. Moreover, it is remarkable how successful they were in their meaning negotiation routines.

The findings of this study have certainly challenged some stereotypes concerning male and female linguistic behaviour. However, it still highlighted the differences between male and female EFL learners' language use with regard to meaning negotiation. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003: 9-10) point out that, although researchers have continuously moved away from the binary gender distinction into male and female, this categorization is still omnipresent in everyday life, which is why the media often exploits research in this field to corroborate stereotypes and ideas the general public has about the relation between gender and language. Thus, academics need to be aware of the ulterior

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motives for why their research could be taken advantage of. For that reason, the insights presented in this thesis should always be contemplated in their context.

While there were no significant gender differences in the distribution of negotiation moves in mixed gender pairs, female students initiated a significantly smaller amount of meaning negotiation routines when talking to each other in same gender pairs than male students. In general, girls appear to be less willing to negotiate meaning. When they do, however, they appear to be more focussed on the production of modified output favouring response strategies which require more complex utterances than simple acknowledgements that were frequently used by boys. Given that male students actually preferred indicators which would only call for minimal and brief responses, female students' inclination to produce modified output suggests that the girls in this study more effectively took advantage of the potential benefits meaning negotiation has on second language acquisition for the development of their own English skills. It would certainly be interesting to further explore this finding in relation to gender differences in second language acquisition and which role meaning negotiation plays in them, as one could possibly suppose that girls' better performance in language related subject at school suggested by some research are associated with their tendency to focus on producing output in meaning negotiation routines.

The stereotypical notion of boys being more competitive than cooperative in conversations could not be confirmed by this study, as male EFL learners have exhibited their willingness to show collaboration and support in interactions in numerous instances. For example, boys utilised meaning negotiation routines to help their conversation partners in conveying their intended message considerably more frequently than girls. Furthermore, the negotiation of meaning itself could by regarded as a cooperative act as here interactants collaborate in achieving mutual understanding. Thus, I conclude that both male and female EFL learners showed a significant amount of cooperativeness in their meaning negotiation.

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9 Appendix

9.1 Appendix A: Students' questionnaire

Name: _____

Alter: _____

Schule: _____

Klasse: _____

Ich identifiziere mich mit dem

- o weiblichen Geschlecht.
- o männlichen Geschlecht.
- o sonstiges.

Muttersprache: _____

Diese Sprache(n) kann ich außerdem: _____

a) Ich finde, dass Englisch ein wichtiges Schulfach ist.

1	2	3	4	5
stimme nicht zu				stimme zu

b) Ich bin gut in Englisch.

1	2	3	4	5
stimme nicht zu				stimme zu

c) Ich beschäftige mich auch in meiner Freizeit mit der englischen Sprache (z.B. durch englischsprachige Filme/Serien/Bücher/Videospiele).

1	2	3	4	5
stimme nicht zu				stimme zu

d) Kreuze jene Medien an, die du auch manchmal auf Englisch verwendest:

- ☐ Filme
- ☐ Serien

- ☐ Bücher
- ☐ Videospiele
- ☐ Websites im Internet
- ☐ Sonstiges: _____
- ☐ keine

9.2 Appendix B: Tasks

9.2.1 Task 1: Giving advice

Read the entry in an internet forum asking for advice.

Dear all,

I have a huge problem and I really don't know what I should do. I have never been really good at Maths, but this school year, I have failed nearly every exam. My parents made me take private tutoring lessons and paid a lot of money for them, because they thought they would help me.
But today, I got the grade for my most recent Maths exam and I failed again. I am so scared to tell them about it, as they were hopeful and believed that I would pass this time. They will be so disappointed and angry. I don't even want to tell them about it.
So, here is my questions: Should I tell my parents the truth about my failed test and risk being punished for it? I would just like to act like nothing has happened, because I am really afraid of their reaction.

Yours, A.

Now discuss the letter with your partner and think of possible solutions for the writer's problem. You should reach an agreement on what kind of advice you would give the writer!
You have about 10 minutes to complete this task.

9.2.2 Task 2: Deserted island

Imagine you are stranded on a deserted island. Which 10 things would you like to have with you in this case and why? Discuss with your partner and together come up with a list of 10 things you would bring with you on a deserted island.

You have about 10 minutes to complete this task.

9.2.3   Task 3: What to do on the weekend

You and your friend want to meet up for a fun activity on the weekend.

Have a look at your schedule and your preferences.

Then discuss

- ➢ when you would like to meet
- ➢ for how long
- ➢ where
- ➢ what you will do

Be sure to reach an agreement every party is happy with.

You have about 10 minutes to complete this task.

Role card 1

➢ You like sleeping in.
➢ You are not a huge fan of doing sports.

	Friday	*Saturday*	*Sunday*
8-10 a.m.	school		
10-12 a.m.		tutoring lesson	
12-2 p.m.			lunch with grand-parents
2-4 p.m.		guitar lesson	
4-6 p.m.			
6-8 p.m.			
8-10 p.m.	pop concert		

Role card 2

➢ You are not a huge music fan.
➢ You are not allowed to stay out later than 8 p.m.

	Friday	*Saturday*	*Sunday*
8-10 a.m.	school		
10-12 a.m.			
12-2 p.m.			lunch with auntie
2-4 p.m.	football training		
4-6 p.m.		football game	
6-8 p.m.			
8-10 p.m.			

9.2.4 Task 4: Where to have lunch

You and your friend are out and about at a shopping centre. As the clock is approaching lunch time, you start to get hungry. You decide to eat at one of the restaurants in the shopping centre.

Have a look at the available options as well as at your food preferences. Then decide, where and potentially what you want to eat. Everyone of you should be happy with the decision.

You have about 10 minutes to complete this task.

Role card 1

> ➢ You are lactose-intolerant (i.e. you cannot eat anything that contains cow's milk) and cannot eat pizza or pasta with cheese.
> ➢ You love sushi.
> ➢ You don't eat meat.

Italian Dreams	Burgers & Nothing Else	Asian Quick Lunch	Granny's	Running Sushi
Enjoy the delicious Italian cuisine! Choose from our wide variety of cheesy pasta and pizza.	Who doesn't love a good old burger? Cheese, Bacon or Double Decker Burger – we have everything your meat-loving heart could desire!	You don't have the time to sit down in a restaurant and eat? Just grab some of our fresh and tasty take-away bowls filled with one of our traditional rice or noodle dishes.	In our traditional Austrian restaurant, you can enjoy food as tasty and comforting as what your Granny would cook for you.	Don't worry, you don't actually have to run after our sushi. But it's so delicious, you totally would!

Role card 2

> ➢ You don't like Asian food.
> ➢ You love burgers and pizza.
> ➢ You don't eat fish and sea food.

Italian Dreams	Burgers & Nothing Else	Asian Quick Lunch	Granny's	Running Sushi
Enjoy the delicious Italian cuisine! Choose from our wide variety of cheesy pasta and pizza.	Who doesn't love a good old burger? Cheese, Bacon or Double Decker Burger – we have everything your meat-loving heart could desire!	You don't have the time to sit down in a restaurant and eat? Just grab some of our fresh and tasty take-away bowls filled with one of our traditional rice or noodle dishes.	In our traditional Austrian restaurant, you can enjoy food as tasty and comforting as what your Granny would cook for you.	Don't worry, you don't actually have to run after our sushi. But it's so delicious, you would!

9.3 Appendix C: Transcription conventions

adapted from and based on HIAT conventions proposed by Rehbein, Schmidt, Meyer, Watzke and Herkenrath (2004).

sign	phenomenon
.	declarative utterance
?	interrogative utterance
!	exclamatory utterance
,	subordinate clause in an utterance
…	interrupted utterance
•	very brief pause
••	pause of about 0,5 seconds
•••	pause of about 0,75 seconds
((5))	pause of indicated number of seconds
/	repair within an utterance
‿	expression is connected and blurred with the following one
(text)	passages which were hard to understand
((not understandable))	passages which were not understood at all

9.4   Appendix D: Transcripts of recordings

Transcript 1a

[1]

	0 [00:05.1]		1 [00:09.3]	2 [00:09.7]
Sm2 [sup]			*louder, stretched*	
Sm2 [v]	Ähm • last year in Maths I was also really bad and • • • I			also ((finished))

[2]

	..	3 [00:12.7]	4 [00:14.6]
Sm1 [sup]		*nearly whispering*	
Sm1 [v]		failed?	
Sm2 [v]	• ahm nearly every exam but	then I • (German) ja (/German) read	

[3]

	..	5 [00:19.9]
Sm2 [v]	much and I got a good grade because I understood the topíc. ((1,5)) and ((2)) I	

[4]

	..	6 [00:26.6]	7 [00:31.2]
Sm1 [v]			It's a
Sm2 [v]	would • • • ähm • give the advice that((1,5)) this guy • • ahm • should also ...		

[5]

	8 [00:31.6] 9 [00:33.3] 10 [00:33.7]
Sm1 [v]	she.
Sm2 [sup]	*emphasis*
Sm2 [v]	learn ...she • should also • • ahm learn really hard and try to understand the
notes [sup]	

[6]

	..	11 [00:39.0]	12 [00:44.2]
Sm2 [v]	topic. and ((2)) when, when she • ahm • don't understand• • maybe she could think		

[7]

	..	13 [00:46.3]	14 [00:55.5]	15 [00:58.9]
Sm1 [v]		Yeah I was • past ähm • • year. • • • ähm.		
Sm2 [v]	about ahm((7)) doing this class again.			

[8]

	16 [01:00.5]	17 [01:05.3]
Sm1 [v]	Last year • • • not so good in school, but then I go in • • some/ then I ((sucked)) for

[9]

	. .	18 [01:09.2]	19 [01:12.7]
Sm1 [v] **Sm2 [sup]**	some help • for • ähm ((1,5)) yeah for some help and then I • • • could do this and •

[10]

	20 [01:14.7]	21 [01:16.5]	22 [01:19.4]
Sm1 [v]	she should • • •take longer time to understand this• • ähm • this complex of the • •

[11]

	. .	23 [01:23.2]	24 [01:26.0]	25 [01:29.3]
Sm1 [v]	school ((things))((1)) and then I((1)) probably and she probably ((1)) know what it

[12]

	. . 26 [01:31.9]	27 [01:36.7]
Sm1 [v]	is.
Sm2 [v]	Yeah I would ahm ((2)) adverse what you just saying ahm((1)) and • maybe • •

[13]

	. .	28 [01:40.2]	29 [01:42.4]
Sm2 [v]	even • • •if it's hard she should ahm • • maybe ((1)) should ahm learn every day

[14]

	. .	30 [01:47.1]	31 [01:48.7]32 [01:49.2]
Sm1 [v]	she should take longer time. • • for school and • • don't äh
Sm2 [v]	that ((they did)) Yeah.

[15]

	. .	33 [01:52.8]34 [01:53.6]	35 [01:56.0] 36 [01:56.6]
Sm1 [v]	don't play so computer games or something.
Sm2 [v]	Yeah. so much. no, and yes, she

[16]

	. .	37 [02:00.5]
Sm2 [v]	should take longer periods of learning. and • then she would • • then I think she

[17]

	38 [02:04.5]	39 [02:07.8]
Sm1 [v]	And then she should ähm ((1))	she should apologize by her Dad and
Sm2 [v]	would make it.	

[18]

	40 [02:11.5]	41 [02:13.0]	42 [02:13.8]
Sm1 [v]	by her Mum.	Yeah.	
Sm2 [v]	Yeah, she should say it.		because ahm ((1)) even when she

[19]

	43 [02:18.7]	44 [02:21.8]
Sm2 [v]	says no • • • ((that)) everything is fine, her parents ähm ((1,5)) sometimes will •	

[20]

	45 [02:25.5]	46 [02:27.4]	47 [02:30.3]
Sm1 [v]	((1)) yeah find the truth		
Sm2 [v]	ahm	but then • she would get • even more punished ((1))	

[21]

	48 [02:33.7]	49 [02:34.7]
Sm1 [v]	And then	• she should respected • • their
Sm2 [v]	and she should always be honest.	with her parents.

[22]

	50 [02:37.8]	51 [02:40.3]	52 [02:41.8]	53 [02:42.8]
Sm1 [v]	parents • the elders, because • • äh ((1)) ähm			Yeah, that she
Sm2 [sup]				
Sm2 [v]		They have been honest.		

[23]

	54 [02:46.2]	55 [02:50.0]
Sm1 [v]	(( )) should • respect the others. ((2)) and take some advice from ...	
Sm2 [v]		Maybe her

[24]

	56 [02:54.0]
Sm2 [v]	parents could talk to the teacher about the problems • • • and what the teacher

[25]

	57 [02:58.2]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah prob ... ähm it can't be that the teacher can't talk to the • ähm talk
Sm2 [v]	would do.

 [26]

	58 [03:03.3]	59 [03:10.5]
Sm1 [v]	to the parent. ((1)) to the family • • in all • • • and then	
Sm2 [v]		So that they can hear her

 [27]

	60 [03:13.4] 61 [03:20.3] 62 [03:22.2]	63 [03:26.7]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah. I think they are first afraid of it but then they ((1,5)) not,	
Sm2 [v]	opinion. And ...	

[28]

	64 [03:31.9]	65 [03:36.3]
Sm1 [v]	because • • the • • • other ((2)) ähm • • are • more • have more experience.	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah.

[29]

	66 [03:37.7] 67 [03:39.9]	68 [03:42.2]
Sm1 [v]	And ...	
Sm2 [v]	But in any case she should tell the truth. ((2,5)) ahm ((2)) (( )) • • • she	

[30]

	69 [03:49.5]	70 [03:53.5] 71 [03:55.4]
Sm2 [v]	could ahm ((1)) make • • • probably an extra exam ((1)) then ((3)) there she should	

[31]

	72 [04:01.9]	73 [04:03.9]
Sm1 [v]		And her
Sm2 [v]	learn really hard and she should also do any yeah • every homework.	

[32]

	74 [04:07.4]
Sm1 [v]	parents • äh sh/ the the teacher should • • talk to her parents and said that the

[33]

	75 [04:11.3]	76 [04:12.1]
Sm1 [v]	parents should sap- ähm	yeah support her and moti/ motivate • the girl.
Sm2 [v]		support her?

[34]

77 [04:15.1]	78 [04:15.8]		79 [04:20.4]	

Sm2 [v]	Yeah. ((2,5)) because then • maybe she is ((1)) ahm • • also afraid of the teacher •

[35]

. .		80 [04:26.7]		81 [04:30.5]	

Sm2 [sup]				*stretched*	
Sm2 [v]	and of her • of her parents that ((1)) that's ahm • really bad because ((1)) nobody
notes [sup]	

[36]

82 [04:32.2]		83 [04:35.7]		84 [04:46.9]	85 [04:47.4]

Sm1 [v]				Yeah.	
Sm2 [v]	ahm • gives/ supports her and • •she is only afraid • of • everybody.

Transcript 1b

[1]

0 [00:00.7]		1 [00:03.2]		2 [00:07.2]	

Sf2 [v]	I think she should tell h/ • • I don't/ tell her • tell • her parents the truth, • • because

[2]

. .	3 [00:08.4]		4 [00:10.8]		5 [00:12.4]	

Sf2 [v]	...• • • yes • • just	
Sm5 [sup]		*stretched*
Sm5 [v]		because, they • • if they know it now or later, it's no difference.

[3]

6 [00:15.8]		7 [00:18.3]		8 [00:22.8]	

Sf2 [v]	Yeah, and I think • • • with, with time they • • • (German) also (/German)	
notes [v]		students

[4]

. .	9 [00:25.9]		10 [00:30.3]	

Sf2 [sup]		*rather slowly, a bit hesitating*
Sf2 [v]	They ähm • • I think when she say it • her parents ((1)) that now • • • then •	
notes [v]	laugh	

[5]

..	11 [00:38.3]	12 [00:43.1]
Sf2 [sup]	*stretched*	
Sf2 [v]	they aren't so angry when they • • ahm, when they ...	
Sm5 [v]		Because you think they're

[6]

..	13 [00:45.2]	14 [00:45.6]	15 [00:47.6]	16 [00:47.9]
Sf2 [v]	when they	yeah, and when they	got the ((und understandable)) from,
Sm5 [v]	angrier	later?	Okay.

[7]

..	17 [00:52.6]	18 [00:56.0]	19 [00:56.3]	20 [01:00.2]
Sf2 [v]	from her teacher, not from her. • • from her dot/ daughter.		
Sm5 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sm5 [v]		Okay. ((2)) Öhf.	

[8]

..	21 [01:00.5]	22 [01:05.5]
Sf2 [v]	(German) ja (/German)((1,5)) but • • • I think also • • that • • • her parents • •	

[9]

..	23 [01:09.8]
Sf2 [sup]	*rather slowly, hesitating*
Sf2 [v]	shouldn't be so angry with her because ((1)) when • • she • • didn't • understand

[10]

..	24 [01:16.4]	25 [01:20.1]
Sf2 [sup]		
Sf2 [v]	this ((1,5)) (German) Thema (/German)) ((1)) and ((1,5)) a other • • not so good,	

[11]

..	26 [01:26.8]	27 [01:33.7]
Sf2 [v]	and • • you haven't ((1)) so • • yah, in the • private • lesson • • tutoring lesson, then I	

[12]

..	28 [01:38.6]	29 [01:41.5]
Sf2 [v]	think • • they understand this and • • they are not so • angry.	
Sm5 [v]		Yes, but when, when

100

[13]

	. .
Sm5 [v]	you don't/ when you're not going to tell • it your parents, then they will see it on

 [14]

	. .	30 [01:47.5]	31 [01:49.6]	32 [01:51.8]	33 [01:53.8]
Sf2 [v]				On their document?	
Sm5 [sup]	*whispered*				
Sm5 [v]	your((1,5)) scheiße.				Yes • • because yes,
notes [v]		students laugh.			

[15]

	. .	34 [01:57.7]	35 [02:04.9]	36 [02:06.9]
Sf2 [v]			I think also that ((1)) (German) also (/German) • the	
Sm5 [v]	because yeah			
notes [v]		students laugh.		

[16]

	. .	37 [02:11.5]	38 [02:15.1]
Sf2 [v]	parents, they paid a lot of money and • • it isn't so • cool nów • • ahm but • • I think		

 [17]

	. .	39 [02:20.9]	40 [02:27.5]
Sf2 [v]	that they • • ahm (gave)((3)) they know • • • what • • • her ((1)) child • • not that		

[18]

	. .	41 [02:33.5]	42 [02:39.2]
Sf2 [v]	what a • • know must and • • I think they ((1)) they believe in her and they • •		

[19]

	. .	43 [02:44.7]
Sf2 [v]	learned it now • • a lot ((1)) with her for the ((2)) (German) Prüfung (/German)	

[20]

	44 [02:48.0] 45 [02:48.8] 46 [02:50.4]	47 [02:52.4]	48 [02:54.6]	49 [02:55.5]
Sf2 [v]	Exam. • • • and • • yes.		Yes, good.	
Sm5 [sup]	*whispered.*			
Sm5 [v]	Exam?	I think this it.		

Transcript 1c

[1]

	0 [00:03.7]	1 [00:08.4]	2 [00:12.3]
Sf3 [v]	Okay ähm • • • I don't really know Math • äh was äh • never äh • easy • fáct. ((1)) I		

[2]

	..	3 [00:17.5]
Sf3 [v]	think. • • I am not good in Math too • • and äh when • • I would have a bad note	

[3]

	..	4 [00:22.9]
Sf3 [v]	again • • • then I think • we should tell the parents that you have failed • it's	

[4]

	..	5 [00:29.0]	6 [00:34.0]	7 [00:38.5]
Sm3 [v]			I never make a bad ((2)) exam ((1))	
Sf3 [v]	important.			
notes [v]		rather long pause, nobody speaks		

[5]

	..	8 [00:41.8]
Sm3 [v]	because I'm really good at Maths ((1)) and I don't know ((1)) what I feel • about	

[6]

	..	9 [00:48.2]	10 [00:52.4]
Sm3 [v]	that.		
Sf3 [v]		I think • • he should/ I I think • that girl, äh/ I don't know girl or	
notes [v]		long pause	

[7]

	..	11 [00:57.9]	12 [00:59.9]	13 [01:03.5]
Sf3 [sup]		*laughing*		
Sf3 [v]	boy • • I think girl. Äh and I think äh she • äh • • she must tell them, the parents that			

[8]

	..	14 [01:08.4]
Sf3 [v]	she • had failed again. • • Then it's not good when she don't tell it öh for the	

[9]

	..	15 [01:14.7]	16 [01:19.2]
Sf3 [v]	parents. • I know, parents can be • • aggressive or ((1)) I don't know but • • I think		

[10]

	..	17 [01:21.1]	18 [01:24.4]
Sf3 [v]	she should tell them. ((1)) that she had • that she had again failed.		
notes [v]			long pause,

[11]

	..	19 [01:31.7]20 [01:32.1]	21 [01:47.5]
Sf3 [v]	Yeah.		What ((1)) would you do,
notes [v]	nobody speaks	long pause, nobody speaks.	

[12]

	..	22 [01:53.9]	23 [01:57.2]
Sm3 [v]	I think I would tell • my parents • about it.		
Sf3 [v]	Georg?		So it's
notes [v]		long pause, nobody speaks	

[13]

	..	25 [02:12.5]
Sf3 [v]	a good • idea • that the girl • tells the parents that she had again failed.((1)) or	

[14]

	..	26 [02:14.2]27 [02:14.9]28 [02:15.4]
Sm3 [v]	Yes.	
Sf3 [v]	not?Yes. Yeah.	

Transcript 1d

[1]

	0 [00:01.4]	1 [00:05.8]	2 [00:09.3]
Sf6 [v]	I think • she • • or ((1))he ähm should tell the parents because • to tell • • the ähm •		

[2]

	..	3 [00:13.6]	4 [00:19.4]
Sf5 [v]			A
Sf6 [v]	the exam must signate • • (German) also • • it need a signation ((1)) and		

[3]

	..	5 [00:20.3]	6 [00:23.3]	7 [00:25.3]	8 [00:29.1] 9 [00:29.6]
Sf5 [v]	signature?				I thinkit wouldn
Sf6 [v]	As ähm a • a signature.• • Ahm and((2)) Yeah ahm ((1)) and				

[4]

	.. 10 [00:32.7]
Sf5 [v]	't change something because • the parents would • • • ähm • probably the teachers

[5]

	.. 11 [00:36.9]
Sf5 [v]	will tell the parents then and • then they will be really angry. • • So I think that

[6]

	12 [00:40.7]	13 [00:43.5]	14 [00:48.3]	15 [00:50.2]
Sf5 [v]	((1)) she or he • should tell them. ((2,5)) Yeah.			
Sf6 [v]			That • there is a problem? ((3)) Of	
notes [v]				

[7]

	..	16 [00:56.3*]	17 [00:57.9]	18 [00:59.0]
Sf5 [sup]			*correctly pronounced*	
Sf5 [v]			Parents?	
Sf6 [sup]		*pronounced /ˈpʌrənts/*		*correctly pronounced*
Sf6 [v]	course it's ... ((2)) Yes • • the parents ...			The parents • • ähm

[8]

	19 [01:00.9]	20 [01:05.1]	21 [01:09.3]
Sf5 [v]			So
Sf6 [v]	• • • find out the truth • about the • failed test. ((1)) and ((1)) it's ...((3)) yeah.		

[9]

	.. 23 [01:16.3]
Sf5 [v]	probably you should find another solution, probably the ((1)) so she could go to •

[10]

	.. 24 [01:21.8]
Sf5 [v]	another class with another teacher or • • • go ((1)) to more ((1)) tutoring lessons.

[11]

	25 [01:28.1] 26 [01:28.4]	27 [01:32.4] 28 [01:34.2]
Sf5 [v]	Or change • • • the school.	But • • • I think it's not good when they •
Sf6 [v]	Yes.	Yeah.

[12]

..	29 [01:38.8]	30 [01:42.7]	31 [01:44.0]
Sf5 [v]	• when • • the child don'tsay anything to the parents.		
Sf6 [v]		Yes • • • yes.	

Transcript 2a

[1]

0 [00:01.4]		1 [00:06.0]
Sm1 [v]		Ahm, I don't know.
Sm2 [v]	Have • • • ähm ((1)) what would you bring to a desert island?	

[2]

..	2 [00:08.6]		3 [00:13.8]
Sm1 [v]	Begin!		a
Sm2 [v]	So ahm • • • I would bring a knife, • • ähm • a bottle of water ...		

[3]

..	4 [00:15.6]	5 [00:17.2]		6 [00:22.5]
Sm1 [v]	knife?			
Sm2 [sup]		*slowly, hesitating*		
Sm2 [v]	Then I could • ähm((2)) cut things sharp that I could hunt. ((1,5)) ähm •			

[4]

..	7 [00:28.1]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah, (you can throw at their head))
Sm2 [v]	because • • ahm, we have to eat something.

[5]

..	8 [00:32.0]	9 [00:35.4]
Sm1 [v]	and have you fists.	
Sm2 [v]	Uh yeah, but ähm • • for example your fists ... ((1,5)) with a	

[6]

..	10 [00:41.4]
Sm1 [v]	We are getting some ((musk muskers))
Sm2 [v]	knive I could ahm • • ambush the animals.

[7]

	11 [00:43.1] 12 [00:43.6]	13 [00:45.4]
Sm1 [v]	though. ((not understandable))	
Sm2 [v]	Yeah? (( )) okay.	Ähm ((1)) and then I would bring a fire stone that I

[8]

	. .	14 [00:51.7]	15 [00:52.8]
Sm1 [v]			Where could you/ can buy a firestone? • • •
Sm2 [v]	could cook the meat I • • • hunted.		

[9]

	16 [00:55.6]	17 [00:59.2]
Sm1 [v]	I'm intersting in it • • where you can buy a firestone.	
Sm2 [v]		Ähm in • outdoor shops.

[10]

	18 [01:01.4]	19 [01:02.2]	20 [01:02.9]	21 [01:05.6]	22 [01:06.3]	23 [01:06.5]
Sm1 [sup]						
Sm1 [v]	Outdoor shops, really?					
Sm2 [sup]					*a bit mumled, with a lower voice*	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah really!		What you would		((1)) what'
notes [v]		students laugh.				

[11]

	. .	24 [01:08.7]	25 [01:11.4]
Sm1 [sup]			
Sm1 [v]		So I would take a radio • • because then you can contact someone •	
Sm2 [v]	s your idea?		

[12]

	. .	26 [01:15.3]	27 [01:19.3]	28 [01:19.8] 29 [01:20.5]
Sm1 [v]	((out off the isles)) ((1)) I learnt that that this is ... for example			Yeah.
Sm2 [v]			very important. (( ))	

[13]

	30 [01:20.8]	31 [01:22.1]	32 [01:27.8]
Sm1 [v]		When there is a storm something • in the near • • the island?	
Sm2 [sup]			
Sm2 [v]	things • • yes.		Then I

[14]

	. .	33 [01:30.1]	34 [01:33.9]	35 [01:38.5]
Sm2 [v]	would bring • ähm ((3)) es ähm ((4)) a blanket? ((1)) that I ((1,5)) that I could sleep.			

[15]

	36 [01:44.3]	37 [01:49.0]
Sm1 [v]	I would • ähm • • I would • bring a generator for the radio or something. ((1)) that I	

[16]

	..	38 [01:52.3]	39 [01:53.8]	40 [01:54.8]
Sm1 [v]	can • ähm • have ...		(German) Ja (/German)	
Sm2 [v]		Some electricity there?		Good idea!

[17]

	41 [01:55.5]	42 [02:06.2]	43 [02:08.4]
Sm1 [v]		And I would take an axe that I can • ähm • that I can	
notes [v]	long pause, nobody speaks		

[18]

	..	44 [02:12.2]	45 [02:15.3] 46 [02:16.5]
Sm1 [v]	build • a house of something. • • äh • • ähm • a faults • • ah		
Sm2 [sup]			
Sm2 [v]			A fort? • • Or maybe

[19]

	..	47 [02:19.6] 48 [02:20.2]	49 [02:31.1]
Sm1 [v]		Yeah.	Some seeds • •
Sm2 [v]	strings, that I could build a raft?		
notes [v]		long pause, nobody speaks.	

[20]

	..	50 [02:33.5] 51 [02:33.8]	52 [02:41.1]
Sm1 [v]	that I can eat something.		A mobile phone?
Sm2 [v]		Yeah.	But
notes [v]		long pause, nobody speaks.	

[21]

	..	54 [02:48.3] 55 [02:48.9] 56 [02:49.9]
Sm1 [v]		Ähm. • • ähm I • • I have a
Sm2 [v]	you don't have ähm ((1)) ähm • a connection. ((total))	signals.

[22]

	..	57 [02:51.3]	58 [02:56.5]
Sm1 [v]	connection. ((1)) on the island, on the desert island where we • • • ähm ...		
Sm2 [v]			But you'

[23]

	. .	59 [02:58.0]	60 [02:59.8]
Sm1 [sup]		*halting*	
Sm1 [v]		Yeah but there yeah • • •that ähm I bring a mobile phone, there is a	
Sm2 [v]	re alone there.		

[24]

	. .	61 [03:03.0]	62 [03:06.1]
Sm1 [v]	ma- • •there is a mast • • • where ähm• •where I can • reach the other guys • in the		

[25]

	. .	63 [03:09.8]64 [03:10.4]	65 [03:12.4]	66 [03:13.9]
Sm1 [v]	internet.• • (( ))		No, it is there.	
Sm2 [v]		And who would build this mask?		On a desert island?

[26]

	67 [03:14.9]68 [03:16.1]	69 [03:17.7]	
Sm1 [v]	Yeah.		You
Sm2 [v]	((Oh)) • • it's impossible!• • why should • someone buil a mast there?		

[27]

	. .	71 [03:22.6]	72 [03:25.8]
Sm1 [v]	don't know my desert Island.		(German)
Sm2 [v]		Do you have a special kind of desert island?	

[28]

	. .	73 [03:26.2]	74 [03:34.6]	75 [03:36.4]76 [03:37.0]
Sm1 [v]	Ja (/German).			Book?
Sm2 [v]			Ahm, maybe a book?	Yeah.
notes [v]		long pause, nobody speaks		

[29]

	77 [03:37.8]	78 [03:39.2]	79 [03:41.9]	80 [03:43.8]81 [03:44.3]
Sm1 [v]	That you read?			Yeah.
Sm2 [v]		That I can read ähm ((1))	about building things.• • (( ))	

[30]

	. .83 [03:45.8]	84 [03:47.9]	85 [03:49.4]
Sm1 [v]		It's a good idea.	
Sm2 [v]	thought it would be good.		Yeah except • • what are they go/ ahm

[31]

	86 [03:51.7]	87 [03:54.9]	88 [03:57.0]
Sm1 [v]		You can • bring your wife with you.	
Sm2 [v]	• • • that I don't get too lonely.		
notes [v]			Students laugh.

[32]

	89 [03:59.0]	90 [04:00.2]	91 [04:03.1]
Sm1 [v]		Yeah I • • I'd take my wife with me. ((1)) and then it's • • • more fun (( ))	
Sm2 [v]	Not at all.		

[33]

	. .	92 [04:08.6]	93 [04:09.3]	94 [04:14.9]
Sm1 [v]	and I'm not so • lonely.			Yeah
Sm2 [v]		Ahm • yeah. ((1)) but would bring also ((1)) a book?		

[34]

	. .	95 [04:18.2]	96 [04:19.4]	97 [04:22.6]
Sm1 [v]	okay.			But you have your • knife to
Sm2 [v]		Maybe a rifle? ((1)) or a pistol, that I could hunt.		

[35]

	. .	98 [04:24.8]	99 [04:29.2]	100 [04:30.7]
Sm1 [v]	hunt?		On a desert island?	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah, but if th-the/ ähm • the animal is too fast.		Yes.

[36]

	101 [04:32.3]	102 [04:33.2]	103 [04:35.6]	104 [04:38.2]
Sm1 [v]	Okay.			I would äh take äh • • a
Sm2 [v]		Maybe there's • a fox or ((1)) a wolf or a bear.		

[37]

	. .	105 [04:42.7]	106 [04:43.8]	107 [04:46.3]
Sm1 [v]	((flint and steel)) with me.		That I can ähm • cook something. ((2,5)) this • •	
Sm2 [v]		Why?		

[38]

	. .	108 [04:51.1]	109 [04:53.8]	110 [05:03.4]
Sm1 [v]	• better than a • • fire stone. ((1)) I think.			
Sm2 [sup]		*with a very low voice.*		
Sm2 [v]		Maybe.	Ähm, I would also bring a	

[39]

	111 [05:05.2]	112 [05:09.8]	113 [05:11.3]
Sm1 [v]		You mean • • waterproof? • • proof proof.	
Sm2 [v]	• • • waterproof • • ähm (( )) shoes.		Yes.

[40]

	..115 [05:13.1]	116 [05:19.7]117 [05:20.1]
Sm1 [v]		Yeah. ((1)) or you ähm • • I will
Sm2 [v]	((1)) that my ähm • • foot • didn't/ can't get wet.	

[41]

	.. 118 [05:25.2]	119 [05:30.8]
Sm1 [v]	take äh	((can't drink salty
Sm2 [sup]		
Sm2 [v]	Some water for if we (( )) if there is only salty things.	

[42]

	..	120 [05:35.1]	121 [05:40.8]
Sm1 [v]	water)) • salt water is not good for that.		(German) Wir
Sm2 [sup]			
Sm2 [v]		Ähm for the • (( )) human.	

[43]

	..	122 [05:41.8]
Sm1 [v]	sind eh schon ziemlich ... (/German)	

Transcript 2b

[1]

	0 [00:01.1]	1 [00:05.9]	2 [00:08.4]
Sf1 [v]	So I would like to ähm ((1)) take with me ́ • • • aah • • knife • • • because I can kill • •		

[2]

	..	3 [00:12.6]	4 [00:15.7]	5 [00:19.8]6 [00:20.7]
Sf1 [v]	animals.((1)) else, you?			Mhm.
Sm5 [v]		Äh, I would take • ähm • light pistol with me • • so • • • I		

[3]

		7 [00:25.4]	8 [00:27.6]
Sf1 [v]		Yes, me too • • and ah • • • I	
Sm5 [v]	can • show • • planes that I'm stranded on the island.		

[4]

		9 [00:32.0]	10 [00:34.3]
Sf1 [v]	would like to • • ähm take with me a • • • a mini • fridge? ((3)) because you can • • •		

[5]

		11 [00:40.8]	12 [00:46.6]	13 [00:47.6]
Sf1 [v]	hold your things cold. ((3)) So, we pick the • • knife, • • we take the			
Notes [v]			long pause,	

[6]

		14 [00:55.6]	15 [00:58.5]
Sf1 [v]	((which)) • • fire to make fire, so ((1)) ((flint)) and steel?		
Notes [v]	laughter and whispering		

[7]

16 [01:02.1]	17 [01:07.5]	18 [01:15.7]	19 [01:17.3]	20 [01:19.6]
Sf1 [v]	and ((2,5)) and ...		A airplane? • • airplane!	
Sm5 [sup]	*laughing*			
Sm5 [v]	What is this?	A aircraft.		
Notes [v]			students laugh.	students still

[8]

	21 [01:22.9]	22 [01:25.7]	23 [01:28.6]
Sf1 [v]	A airplain • • öh.		
Sm5 [v]		I woud take • • shoes with me, because • • when you have	
Notes [v]	laugh.		

[9]

		24 [01:33.5]
Sm5 [sup]		*very fast*
Sm5 [v]	got a GPN • well, maybe you have got a GPS, and you want to climb • • • the	

[10]

		25 [01:36.3]
Sm5 [sup]		
Sm5 [v]	mountain on an island, then it's important • • Äh • • • you're not gonna hurt your	

[11]

..	26 [01:40.8]	27 [01:43.4]

Sf1 [v]	Yes • • this is very • clever. • • So you are • I would take with me (German) so
Sm5 [v]	feet.

[12]

..	28 [01:48.6]

Sf1 [v]	a Neopren (/German) suits. • • • Then it's • • not so cold • you can • swim in • •

[13]

..	29 [01:56.8]30 [01:57.2]

Sf1 [v]	water • • which is cold.
Sm5 [v]	Yes. ((1)) hm ((1)) (German) wie viele warn das jetzt?

[14]

..	31 [02:01.7]	32 [02:05.3]

Sf1 [v]	(German) Ui • • okay ((2)) Okay. (/German) • • the • • knife knife, shoes
Sm5 [v]	(/German)

[15]

..	33 [02:11.5]	34 [02:14.1]35 [02:15.1]36 [02:16.8]37 [02:17.3]	38 [02:18.9]

Sf1 [v]	• • light	fire?	Shoes.
Sm5 [v]	fire? • • Ja, light is not ...	fire!	Shoes • and ((2)) ähm

[16]

..	39 [02:21.5]	40 [02:23.4]	41 [02:25.4]42 [02:26.1]

Sf1 [sup]			stretched
Sf1 [v]	Ne-Neopren suit	And ((1)) mini
Sm5 [v]	äh like ähm a suit? (1)	Yes, Neopren suit.

[17]

..	43 [02:30.1]	44 [02:31.2]	45 [02:34.5]

Sf1 [v]	fridge, fridge • • we both need. a mini fridge • • Yeah ((1)) then ((3,5)) then, a bikini
Sm5 [v]	Yes.

[18]

..	46 [02:39.8]	47 [02:41.8]	48 [02:43.8]	49 [02:45.3]50 [02:47.1]51 [02:48.8]

Sf1 [v]	maybe?	No ((1)) not a bikini.	Yes!
Sm5 [v]	A bikini?	A little ship!	Yes.
Notes [v]			

[19]

..	52 [02:54.8]
Sf1 [v]	(German) Ui ((1)) okay
Notes [v]	ununderstandable murmur in German and laughter

[20]

..	53 [02:57.4]	54 [03:00.9]
Sf1 [v]	(/German)	A littl (German)
Sm5 [v]	Yes (German) so a • • Schlauchboot? (/German)	

[21]

..	55 [03:01.8]	56 [03:03.6] 57 [03:04.8]	58 [03:06.6]
Sf1 [v]	Schlauchboot (/German).	Yes • this aid, and ...	
Sm5 [v]		Äh.	
Notes [v]		Students laugh.	longer pause,

[22]

..	59 [03:10.4]	60 [03:11.2]	61 [03:12.5]
Sf1 [sup]	*whispered*		
Sf1 [v]	(German) Sonnencreme? (/German)		Suncream, yes!
Sm5 [v]		Sun/ sun cream!	
Notes [v]	nobody speaks		

[23]

62 [03:14.4]	63 [03:14.8]	64 [03:16.4]
Sm5 [sup] *whispered*		
Sm5 [v] (German) Heißt das (/German) suncream?		(German) Scheiße!
Notes [v]	students laugh	

[24]

65 [03:18.0]	66 [03:17.0]	67 [03:19.2] 68 [03:19.8]	69 [03:20.4]
Sf1 [v]	Hey!		
Sm5 [v] (/German)	Shit!	(German) Tschuldigung (/German) I'	
Notes [v]	students laugh	students laugh	

[25]

..	70 [03:22.7]	71 [03:26.1]	72 [03:31.4] 73 [03:32.5]	74 [03:33.6] 75 [03:34.0]
Sf1 [v]	And • • and • • • so ähm((2)) a (frow)		GPS, yes!	GPS. • •
Sm5 [v] m sorry.		A GPS.	GPS.	

[26]

..	76 [03:36.5]
Sf1 [v]	Perfect, then things.

Transcript 2c

[1]

	0 [00:01.3]	1 [00:04.1]	2 [00:05.7]	3 [00:06.8] 4 [00:07.3]	5 [00:08.8]
Sm3 [sup]			*stretched*		
Sm3 [v]		Hello, I'm fine.	Yes.		Nope.
Sf3 [sup]			*surprised*		
Sf3 [v]	Hey there, • how are you?		Really?	You look tired.	

[2]

	6 [00:09.7] 7 [00:10.0]	8 [00:11.6] 9 [00:13.2]	10 [00:17.0] 11 [00:18.4]
Sm3 [v]	I'm not tired.	Ähm • • we mu/ has • • ähm homework ((1)) to do a
Sf3 [v]	Okay.	Good.

[3]

	..	12 [00:19.2]	13 [00:25.9]	14 [00:27.6]
Sm3 [v]		((4)) we have a/ we has a homework ((1)) where ...
Sf3 [v]	Homework?
notes [v]				students laugh

[4]

	15 [00:31.6]	16 [00:33.4]	17 [00:36.3] 18 [00:37.4]
Sm3 [v]	about a desert island.		Oh.
Sf3 [v]		Oh yeah really, I have forgotten it.	I'm sorry, I have •

[5]

	..	19 [00:43.4]
Sm3 [v]		Okay ((1)) would you like to work
Sf3 [v]	so many • to do it and ((ununderstandable))

[6]

	..	20 [00:47.9]	21 [00:49.3] 22 [00:49.6]	23 [00:51.8]
Sm3 [v]	with me?		Okay.	I think ((2,5)) a bottle of water
Sf3 [v]		Yeah okay • • good.	Good good.

[7]

	24 [00:56.8]	25 [01:00.2] 26 [01:00.5]	27 [01:02.1]
Sm3 [v]	• • • we must take ((1)) at this island.		
Sf3 [v]		Yeah. Very much water.	
notes [v]			long pause, nobody speaks

[8]

	28 [01:09.7]	29 [01:15.9]
Sf3 [v]	Yeah I think äh water so • five liter or more or I don't know. • • • but water, it's	

[9]

	..	30 [01:22.6]	31 [01:24.3]
Sm3 [v]		Yes, I think ...	
Sf3 [v]	very important, and I think we need food.		food is important, because

[10]

	..	32 [01:31.1]
Sf3 [v]	when we are on a island and we see • a fruit and it can be dangerous. • • • We we	

[11]

	..	33 [01:36.5]
Sf3 [v]	must be careful and I think we • must take food too. • what we know, what this is.	

[12]

	34 [01:40.1]35 [01:40.9]	36 [01:42.9]37 [01:46.4]
Sm3 [v]	Okay.	A gun? • • we can make a bow
Sf3 [v]	And • • I think • • we need gun, or I don't know.	

[13]

	..	38 [01:50.6]	39 [01:51.5]	40 [01:57.5]41 [01:58.9]	42 [02:00.1]
Sm3 [v]	there.			Yes.	
Sf3 [sup]				*with a low voice*	
Sf3 [v]		Yeah yah. ((1)) but I think guns are better.			Yes, I think. ((1)) I'm

[14]

	..	43 [02:05.6]	44 [02:11.2]
Sm3 [v]		Ähm ((3)) what wi/ what is with	
Sf3 [v]	always so (( ))		
notes [v]			students whisper German "Seil" a

[15]

	..	45 [02:18.9]	46 [02:22.6]
Sm3 [v]		strings • what's with • strings?	
Sf3 [v]			Hm, I don't know ((1)) what are they?
notes [v]	few times		

[16]

	47 [02:26.5]	48 [02:30.8]
Sf3 [v]	((3,5)) what are they?((1)) I don't know what this is, I don't know what this is.	

[17]

	49 [02:34.1]	50 [02:36.3]	51 [02:40.3]
Sm3 [v]	It's a rope.		Okay ((3)) and ...
Sf3 [v]		A rope, aha okay • no • • I think we don't need this.	

[18]

	52 [02:45.9]	53 [02:47.6]	54 [02:52.6] 55 [02:53.0] 56 [02:53.5]
Sm3 [v]		fire? ((2,5)) we can make it with • stones?	And it's ((or as/ or
Sf3 [v]	We need fire!		Yeah but

[19]

	. .	57 [02:55.6]	58 [02:59.9]
Sm3 [v]	a)) sticks.		
Sf3 [v]		Mp • • but thi/ thi/ this is very • • • confused! ((1)) confusing it is • this is

[20]

	. .	59 [03:04.4]
Sf3 [v]	((1)) confusing.• • • I think we need this • fire (German) dingsdabumsda	

[21]

	. .	60 [03:08.3]	61 [03:11.3]	62 [03:15.5]
Sf3 [v]	(/German)• • I don't know what's this is now ähm. ((3)) yah, we need fire. It's			

[22]

	. .	63 [03:20.2]	64 [03:22.1] 65 [03:22.9]
Sm3 [v]			Okay.
Sf3 [v]	important because at night it can be very gold/ • cold. ((1)) cold.		Yah.

[23]

	66 [03:23.4] 67 [03:23.5]	68 [03:30.2]	69 [03:34.5]
Sf3 [v]	((5)) I know • • we need ((1)) we need chocolate, it's very important. • •		

[24]

	. .	70 [03:35.7]	71 [03:37.5]	72 [03:41.5]
Sm3 [v]		I think about it.		
Sf3 [v]	chocolate!		Yeah, chocolate is • the importance in my life. • • •	

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[25]

	..	73 [03:46.2] 74 [03:48.6]75 [03:49.1]
Sm3 [v]		Really?
Sf3 [v]	without chocolate I'll be crazy.	Yeah. ((1)) or (( )) sweet • oh yeah, I love

[26]

	..	76 [03:54.3]	77 [03:55.8]	78 [03:58.3]79 [03:59.2]80 [04:00.0]
Sm3 [v]				No! That, no • no. • • or, •
Sf3 [v]	sweets. • • I love sweets.((1)) we need sweets!		Books!	

[27]

	..	81 [04:04.2]82 [04:05.1]	83 [04:06.1]	84 [04:08.0] 85 [04:09.3]	86 [04:10.2]
Sm3 [v]	oh yes!	Biology books.((1)) or Physics books.		Maths books!	
Sf3 [v]	Yes?		Mh, no.No	No!	

[28]

	87 [04:11.0]88 [04:11.9]	89 [04:13.8]90 [04:14.1] 91 [04:14.6]
Sm3 [v]	What?	Okay? Why we are • need •
Sf3 [v]	We need history books, oh yeah.	When ...

[29]

	..	92 [04:17.7]	93 [04:22.9]
Sm3 [v]	history books?		We can't • • •
Sf3 [v]	Well, we have nothing to do, then I can read a book.		

[30]

	..	94 [04:25.7]	95 [04:26.9] 96 [04:27.6]97 [04:28.0]	98 [04:29.3]
Sm3 [v]	with Physics books • • we can ...	search		
Sf3 [v]		Physicsbooks are confusing. ((1)) I I don't		

[31]

	..	99 [04:33.1]100 [04:34.1]
Sm3 [v]	What?	
Sf3 [v]	understand it. I don't know I hate/ I I don't understand (German) Physik	

[32]

	..	101 [04:37.8]	102 [04:39.4]
Sm3 [v]		Yes, it's	a book where
Sf3 [v]	(/German) or (German) Chemie (/German) or.I dont understand it.		

[33]

	103 [04:42.0]	104 [04:45.4]	105 [04:46.1]	106 [04:48.1]
Sm3 [v]	they explain ((2)) this things. • • how to make fire.			
Sf3 [v]		Yeah.		Ajajajaj we ca/ we know this.

[34]

107 [04:50.8]	108 [04:52.3]	109 [04:55.7]	110 [04:57.0]	111 [04:57.9]	112 [04:58.5]
Sm3 [v]	I think you know that not.		Really?		Okay • tell
Sf3 [v]	• • we know this.		I know it!	Yeah.	

[35]

. .	113 [04:59.8]	114 [05:04.5]
Sm3 [v]	me!	Aha ((1)) what's (German)
Sf3 [v]	We need • (German) feuerzeug (/German)	

[36]

. .	115 [05:08.7]	116 [05:09.7]
Sm3 [v]	feuerzeug (/German)?	
Sf3 [v]	It's a fire. • • How we can • this is the • • it's very easy to	

[37]

. .	117 [05:14.1]	118 [05:17.4]	119 [05:20.8]
Sm3 [sup]			*stretched, hesitating*
Sm3 [v]	I think I hear/ read in a German book ((1,5)) there is a gas ((1,5)) and • •		
Sf3 [v]	make fire.		

[38]

. .	120 [05:25.2]	121 [05:29.6]	122 [05:32.5]
Sm3 [sup]			
Sm3 [v]	some • • • water ((1)) or something.		
Sf3 [v]		Water? • • Aha • • good. • • then we should	

[39]

. .	123 [05:35.8]	124 [05:39.7]	125 [05:40.6]	126 [05:41.1]
Sm3 [v]	(German) Also (/German) we have a gun.			
Sf3 [sup]				
Sf3 [v]	make ... ((1)) hu!		Phone! • we need phone.	

[40]

127 [05:42.2]	128 [05:46.4]	129 [05:48.6]
Sm3 [v]	We have • • no • internet • or • • • something to communicate.	
Sf3 [v]		Yes, but we can take

118

[41]

	.. 130 [05:52.2]	131 [05:56.6]
Sm3 [v]	And what's when the • • akku • • is death?	
Sf3 [v]	photos.	Then • • I don' t know • • then it's

[42]

	..	132 [06:02.8]
Sm3 [v]		Okay • • • Ähm • (German) Also (/German)
Sf3 [v]	off, yeah, then it's/ the phone dead.	

[43]

	.. 133 [06:07.2]	134 [06:09.9]	135 [06:12.5] 136 [06:14.4]
Sm3 [v]	we have a gun.	Good, I know.	Okay.
Sf3 [v]	Yes, it's very important, I love guns.	Yeah.	

[44]

	137 [06:15.1]	138 [06:20.3]	139 [06:21.5] 140 [06:21.9]	141 [06:22.6]
Sm3 [v]	((3)) Äh • food • and water bottles.	No!	No	No • •
Sf3 [v]		And chocolate.	And ((hoops))!	

[45]

	.. 142 [06:25.0]	143 [06:27.8] 144 [06:29.4]
Sm3 [v]	no.No • chocolates, but we can take ...	No • • • we ma/ we take • Physics
Sf3 [v]	Sweets.	

[46]

	.. 145 [06:34.0]	146 [06:35.6]	147 [06:37.4] 148 [06:38.3] 149 [06:39.1]
Sm3 [v]	books	Please, let's take them!	fine!
Sf3 [v]	Oh no, I hate Physics!	fine!	Sorry, yeah.

[47]

	..	150 [06:44.8]	151 [06:46.5]
Sm3 [v]		This ((voice)) was really ...	
Sf3 [sup]			
Sf3 [v]	Yeahyeahyeah I'm sorry, it it was my father.		(( )) ((1))

[48]

	.. 152 [06:48.7]	153 [06:49.8]	154 [06:51.6]	155 [06:53.0]
Sm3 [sup]	*with a lower voice*			
Sm3 [v]	Confused? • • Good.		Yeah, please.	
Sf3 [v]	Yeah?	Yeah, bye father • • so ...		

119

[49]

	156 [06:58.2]
Sf3 [v]	Yeahyeahyeahyeah, I'm sorry. • • so many sweets, books, chocolates• it's very

[50]

	157 [07:01.2]		158 [07:06.6] 159 [07:07.7]
Sm3 [v]			A dog?
Sf3 [v]	important. • • • We need ((1,5)) a dog ((1)) Yeah, • • we need dog.		Because

[51]

	160 [07:13.8]
Sf3 [v]	• a dog • can be aggressive and when it's a • • big cat • that • • • it wants • • eat us,

[52]

	161 [07:16.9]	162 [07:18.2] 163 [07:18.6] 164 [07:18.9]	165 [07:21.2]	166 [07:22.0]
Sm3 [v]		Okay.	You know that	cats are
Sf3 [v]	then the ...	dog can save us.	You can (( ))	
notes [v]	students laugh			

[53]

	167 [07:24.0]	168 [07:29.4] 169 [07:31.4] 170 [07:32.2]
Sm3 [v]	stronger than dogs?	Really?
Sf3 [v]	my dog. ((1)) yeah, but your dog is • • clever.	Yeah.
notes [v]		Sf4

[54]

	171 [07:35.5]
Sf3 [v]	One two three four fve six seven eight, okay maybe • food • chocolates
notes [v]	chuckles.

[55]

	172 [07:42.0] 173 [07:44.0]	174 [07:47.2] 175 [07:49.9]
Sm3 [v]	Okay • • chocolates, okay.	
Sf3 [sup]		*laughing*
Sf3 [v]	and books!	Yeahy! This is very important.
notes [v]	Sm3 sighs.	

[56]

	176 [07:51.5] 177 [07:52.2] 178 [07:52.7] 179 [07:53.1]	180 [07:55.0]	181 [08:00.3]
Sm3 [v]	Yes. Yeah. • • Yes, of course, yes.		
Sf3 [v]	We need it.	We need • • • umbrella!	
notes [v]			Sm3 sighs,

[57]

	182 [08:01.5]	183 [08:02.8]	184 [08:05.1]
Sm3 [v]	Come on! ((1)) Why?		
Sf3 [v]		When it rains • I don't • want ((1)) be (German)	
notes [v]	Sf4 chuckles.		

[58]

	185 [08:10.0]	186 [08:13.4]	187 [08:14.0]
Sm3 [v]	I hope ...		
Sf3 [v]	nass (/German) ((2,5)) When it rains it can	quite cold • and then we need the	

[59]

	188 [08:17.5]	189 [08:21.4]
Sf3 [v]	umbrellas that we ((1)) then it's very cold then we can be ((1)) I don't know • dry.	

[60]

	190 [08:26.5]	191 [08:31.3]
Sm3 [v]	Okay ((1)) we can search • • but we can search • • • for a hole • • in the mountain.	

[61]

	192 [08:34.9]	193 [08:39.6] 194 [08:40.8]
Sm3 [v]	Jackets?	
Sf3 [v]	Yeak okay, but I I think we • I think we need jackets. • • (( )) Yeah, when it's cold.	

[62]

	195 [08:42.9]	196 [08:43.8] 197 [08:44.7] 198 [08:45.6]	199 [08:46.7]
Sm3 [v]	Wool jackets?	Okay.	
Sf3 [v]	I think it's ... • • Yeah. Oh	this is very good thing. ((1)) I love this jackets.	

[63]

	200 [08:49.3]	201 [08:54.3]	202 [08:57.5]
Sm3 [v]	We have Physics books and Chemistry		
Sf3 [v]	((3,5)) Yeah ((1)) yah. ((1)) And books.		

[64]

	203 [09:01.0]	204 [09:02.5] 205 [09:05.3]
Sm3 [v]	books. No.	No!
Sf3 [v]	We need history books.	We need history books ((2,5)) Please!

[65]

	207 [09:14.0]		208 [09:20.4]	209 [09:22.0]
Sm3 [v]			We need two.	
Sf3 [v]	Good • • have we the ten things that we need to the island`?			Oh no •

[66]

	..	210 [09:32.0]	211 [09:37.9] 212 [09:39.7]
Sm3 [v]		Why?	
Sf3 [v]	• please no • okay • • • ähm. We need • a pen.	And a paper. • • • when • • •	

[67]

	..	213 [09:45.1]
Sf3 [v]	when we want • • to write a history. ((2)) about our life in the • island • that we	

[68]

	..	214 [09:51.7]
Sf3 [v]	write that. ((1)) and then we have a history! or • I/ it's a very good plan • • we need	

[69]

	215 [09:58.0]	216 [10:04.7]
Sf3 [v]	((1)) something that we can • • they ähm • take it and • catch! ((2,5)) You know	

[70]

	..	217 [10:10.1]	218 [10:11.3] 219 [10:12.4] 220 [10:12.9] 221 [10:15.1]
Sm3 [v]		A spear?	Okay. You can make it
Sf3 [v]	what I mean? ((2)) Okay, so ...	Yah!	Yah.

[71]

	..	222 [10:20.8]
Sm3 [v]	with • • • a stick • • and stone • • • ((yourself)).	
Sf3 [v]		Mhm. ((2)) We need • paper and a

[72]

	..	223 [10:25.5]	224 [10:29.5]
Sm3 [v]			We can write ((1)) in leaves.
Sf3 [v]	pen. ((1,5)) when we ((can write)) we need help.		

[73]

	225 [10:34.6] 226 [10:35.3]	227 [10:39.2]
Sm3 [v]	We can write in palm leaves.	
Sf3 [v]	Hä?	Yeah but • • • You know I don't like • • ((do))

[74]

	. .	228 [10:43.9]	229 [10:51.2]
Sf3 [v]	something. ((3,5)) I like • • to • • äh... • • we need bed! ((1)) A pink bed • • • to

[75]

	. .	230 [10:56.5]	231 [10:59.1]	232 [11:01.0]233 [11:01.6]
Sm3 [v]		We can sleep • • on leaves.	Why?	
Sf3 [v]	sleep.	No. Nonononono.	No, I hate leaves.

[76]

	. .	234 [11:07.7]235 [11:08.3]
Sm3 [v]	Why? ((1)) why are they • • not
Sf3 [v]	Leaves are • not good, but beds • are the best.

[77]

	. .	236 [11:11.8] 237 [11:12.3]	238 [11:13.5]
Sm3 [v]	good?	Why? why?
Sf3 [v]	Leaves?	Because they are ((1,5)) (German) doof (/German)).

[78]

	239 [11:18.4]	240 [11:20.5]	241 [11:22.0]242 [11:23.8]
Sm3 [v]	Stupid, you mean?	Okay.
Sf3 [v]	I think yeah.	So, we need bed, write it down. • • it's very

[79]

	. .	243 [11:28.0]	244 [11:31.5]245 [11:32.2]	246 [11:39.2]247 [11:40.3]
Sm3 [v]	Letter and pen ((1)) or?		No bed.
Sf3 [v]	important.	Paper. ((4,5)) and pen and bed.	Why? •

[80]

	. .	248 [11:47.9]
Sf3 [v]	• • bed are so good • you can sleep • and you • • • and then you're • not ((2)) then •

[81]

	. .	249 [11:53.5]	250 [11:56.2]	251 [11:57.6]
Sm3 [v]	We have then.	Or would you like the
Sf3 [v]	• you can just sleep on your bed.	Oh • good.

[82]

	. .	252 [12:00.0]253 [12:01.2]	254 [12:03.2]
Sm3 [v]	chocolate?	Would you like the chocolate: yes or no?
Sf3 [v]	I'm ...	Yeah ((1)) it's very

[83]

..	255 [12:07.3]		256 [12:12.0]
Sm3 [v]	What would you like? • • • A bed or chocolate?		
Sf3 [v]	important.		(German) Oh Mann

[84]

..	257 [12:16.9]
Sf3 [v]	(/German) ((1,5)) This is confusing • • wait a minute!
notes [v]	Sf4 murmurs something.

[85]

258 [12:22.1]	259 [12:23.0]	260 [12:25.3]	261 [12:26.4]	262 [12:28.1]	263 [12:29.0]	264 [12:29.6]
Sm3 [v] Okay.			No, it's bed.		No.	
Sf3 [v] A bed.	Nononono, chocolate!			Chocolate!		Ah, man!

[86]

265 [12:31.6]	266 [12:32.7]
Sm3 [v] Teacher, we have it!	

Transcript 2d

[1]

0 [00:00.7]	1 [00:05.2]	2 [00:06.4]	3 [00:10.3]	4 [00:11.8] 5 [00:12.8]
Sm4 [v]	I think we need ähm • food.	Mhm • • • clothes?		
Sf4 [v]	And drink.		Öh.	((4))
Notes [v]	Sf5 laughs.			

[2]

..	6 [00:17.6]	7 [00:26.9]	8 [00:28.4]	9 [00:28.8]
Sm4 [sup]				*whispered*
Sm4 [v]				(German) Was?
Sf4 [sup]		*whispered*		
Sf4 [v]	Äh.	Wood?(German) Was? (/German)		
Notes [v]	Long pause, nobody speaks.			

[3]

..	10 [00:29.4]	11 [00:31.3]	12 [00:32.8]	13 [00:36.9] 14 [00:37.8]
Sm4 [sup]				
Sm4 [v]	(/German)• • Wood?			
Sf4 [sup]		*laughing*		
Sf4 [v]		(German) Das ist Holz. (/German)		Ähm.
Notes [sup]				
Notes [v]			Sf5 laughs	long

[4]

..	15 [00:59.4]	16 [01:01.0]	17 [01:08.3]
Sm4 [v]		Ähm.	What
Sf4 [sup]		*with "English" pronunciation*	
Sf4 [v]		(German) Seil? (/German)	
Notes [v]	pause, occasional whisper and chuckling		

[5]

..	18 [01:11.4]	19 [01:12.2]
Sm4 [v]	means (German) Seil (/German)?	
Sf4 [sup]		
Sf4 [v]		Sail?
Notes [v]		long pause, occasional whisper and

[6]

..	20 [01:23.3]	21 [01:25.4]	22 [01:27.0]
Sm4 [v]		Okay, a mobile phone.	
Sf4 [v]	A mobile phone?		
Notes [v]	chuckling		long pause, occasional whisper

[7]

..	23 [01:44.0]	24 [01:44.8]	25 [01:49.3]	26 [01:53.7]	27 [02:08.0]	28 [02:08.5]
Sm4 [v]	fire maker?				Floß?	
Sf4 [v]		A fire maker? ((3,5)) Stone?				
Notes [v]	and chuckling	Students laugh.		long pause	Students	

[8]

..	29 [02:13.3]	30 [02:15.0]	31 [02:15.5]	32 [02:16.1]	33 [02:18.1]	34 [02:22.2]
Sm4 [v]	Ein Floß?	A boat!			(German) Brauch mas Holz	
Sf4 [v]		A boat?		Ähm.		
Notes [v]	laugh		Students laugh.			

[9]

..	35 [02:24.2]	36 [02:27.1]
Sm4 [v]	((für das Holz hätt ich)) (/German)	A W-Lan Box.
Sf4 [v]		(German) Internet? (/German)

[10]

37 [02:29.2]	38 [02:31.6]	39 [02:34.3]
Sm4 [v]		(German) Ja wie willst das
Sf4 [v]	Äh • • (German) Ladekabel? (/German)	
Notes [v]	Students laugh	

[11]

	..	40 [02:37.0]	41 [02:42.9]
Sm4 [v]	• • wo willst das anstecken? (/German)		Load/ a
Sf4 [v]		(German) Da is Strom! (/German)	

[12]

	..	42 [02:45.7] 43 [02:46.5] 44 [02:47.7]	45 [02:49.7]	46 [02:56.1]
Sm4 [v]	loading ...	Cable. • • Öhm and • • • the last thing we need is a ...		
Sf4 [v]		Cable.		Shower ...

[13]

	47 [02:56.9]	48 [02:59.1] 49 [02:59.5]	50 [03:02.9]
Sm4 [v]	a hat, a hat!	Against the sun • • a hat against the sun.	That we äh • • don't
Sf4 [v]		A hat?	

[14]

	..	51 [03:06.2]	52 [03:08.7]	53 [03:10.7]
Sm4 [v]	become	Ähm • • (German) Sonnen (/German) äh	headache • • headache.	Sun • •
Sf4 [v]			that we don't get sunburnt.	

[15]

	54 [03:11.7]	55 [03:12.2]	56 [03:17.6]	57 [03:18.5]	58 [03:20.4]
Sm4 [v]	Sun burnt?((2,5)) And ähm • the wood we • don't need.			No • • medics.	
Sf4 [v]	Yes.		Sun cream!		

Transcript 2e

[1]

	0 [00:00.9]	1 [00:03.3]	2 [00:06.6]
Sf5 [v]	So • what would you take • with you?		
Sf6 [v]		Good, I think we should ähm (1) water to	

[2]

	..	3 [00:12.8]
Sf6 [v]	drink, food, a tent, radio, a handpack to flee on the island • • fire, a signal station, a

[3]

	..	4 [00:18.9]	5 [00:22.6]
Sf5 [v]		Yes, I would agree on the most points with you • • • but • I	
Sf6 [v]	boat and suncream.		

[4]

	6 [00:28.9]
Sf5 [v]	want • • ah for food I want especially chocolate for me. (1) And • yes, I think • •

[5]

	7 [00:35.6]	8 [00:38.2]
Sf5 [v]	we should definitely • ähm take materials • • to make a boat (1) with us.	
Sf6 [v]		But when

[6]

	9 [00:42.9]
Sf6 [v]	we • take a boat to the island, we don't need • Mater/ äh materials to make a boat.

[7]

10 [00:47.5]	11 [00:53.0]
Sf5 [v]	Yes, that's true but • I don't know • how do you take a boat with you?
Sf6 [v]	Can I take a

[8]

	12 [00:55.0]	13 [01:00.9]
Sf5 [v]			I don't know (1) Ah • when
Sf6 [v]	boat with me? • • I think I can take a boat with me.	

[9]

	14 [01:06.0]	15 [01:08.5]
Sf5 [v]	there's electricity I would have • I would also take a TV • with me. • but I don't
Sf6 [sup]	

[10]

	16 [01:10.0]	17 [01:14.2]	18 [01:17.8]
Sf5 [v]	know.		I don't know. • • • But (1) I
Sf6 [v]	I think a radio is • better • because (1) a TV ...		

[11]

	19 [01:22.7]
Sf5 [v]	don't know • • probably there's also a • TV • which you can take with you • • with

[12]

	20 [01:27.9]	21 [01:30.2]	22 [01:34.6]
Sf5 [v]	batteries.	Yes (1) I would also take books with me.	
Sf6 [v]	I think a radio is • better.		A

[13]

		23 [01:36.6]	24 [01:37.8]		25 [01:42.6]
Sf5 [sup]			*laughing*		
Sf5 [v]			Yeah. (1) and then (1) a handbook • • ah • • yes •		
Sf6 [v]	handbook to flee on the island?				

[14]

		26 [01:42.7]	27 [01:47.3]	28 [01:48.5]	29 [01:50.2]	30 [01:51.0]
Sf5 [v]	also • • to do something with your free time			Yes.		But I
Sf6 [v]				Yeah, the radio?	Good.	

[15]

		31 [01:53.9]	32 [01:57.0]
Sf5 [v]	think I don't want to (1) ahm(1) to hear the radio • all day. (1) But I don't know. • •		

[16]

		33 [02:00.2]	34 [02:01.3]	35 [02:02.9]	36 [02:06.8]
Sf5 [v]	• Okay.• • •Ahm.				
Sf6 [v]		Good, a radio, • • • but not • äh • • ah • • a TV, but not a radio • •			

[17]

		37 [02:11.1]	38 [02:11.5]	39 [02:17.5]
Sf5 [v]		What? (2,5) But I thought you • • would • pretty much take • • • the radio • •		
Sf6 [v]	okay?			

[18]

		40 [02:20.0]	41 [02:21.3]	42 [02:24.3]	43 [02:25.7]
Sf5 [sup]		*laughing.*			
Sf5 [v]	more? • •I don't know.				When there
Sf6 [sup]				*stretched*	
Sf6 [v]		But • on the TV you can hear the radio. • • Ähm.			

[19]

		44 [02:29.0]	45 [02:29.9]
Sf5 [v]	is a • possibility to check it.		
Sf6 [v]		Yes. (1) Good, (German) also (/German) we need:	

[20]

		46 [02:34.0*]	47 [02:34.4*]	48 [02:35.6]	49 [02:38.6]
Sf5 [v]		Yes.			
Sf6 [v]	water to drink	, fruit, a tent, TV, a handbook to flee on the island, fire, a signal			

[21]

	..	50 [02:43.1]	51 [02:44.2]
Sf5 [v]		(German) Warte. (/German) (2) Okay yes. (1) But	
Sf6 [v]	station, a boat, and a sun cream.		

[22]

	52 [02:48.7]	53 [02:52.0]
Sf5 [v]	• • how would you take a signal station with you?	
Sf6 [v]		I don't know, a thing you can tell

[23]

	..	54 [02:58.8]	55 [03:01.0]
Sf5 [v]			Something you can
Sf6 [v]	something to other people and so.	A telephone. • But ...	

[24]

	..	56 [03:02.6] 57 [03:03.0] 58 [03:04.0] 59 [03:05.4]	60 [03:13.6] 61 [03:14.4]
Sf5 [sup]			*Sf5 laughs*
Sf5 [v]	telephone with?	Okay. (1) So. (6) Mhm.	
Sf6 [v]		Yes.	
notes [v]			longer pause, nobody

[25]

	..	62 [03:17.6]	63 [03:23.3] 64 [03:23.7]	65 [03:25.2]
Sf5 [v]		So, can we take books with us?	Or food then?	
Sf6 [v]			Yes.	Yes, books are ...
notes [v]	speaks.			

[26]

	66 [03:30.5]	67 [03:32.2]	68 [03:35.7]	69 [03:38.1]
Sf5 [sup]	*Chuckling*			
Sf5 [v]	Especially chocolate.		Yes I know, but I want chocolate.	
Sf6 [v]		food is chocolate.		Yeah,

[27]

	..	70 [03:41.4] 71 [03:42.5]	72 [03:44.8]
Sf5 [v]		Alright.	(German) Na
Sf6 [v]	food is chocolate.	Good. (1) (German) Na, nur (/German) a bed?	

[28]

	..	73 [03:46.1]	74 [03:47.2]	75 [03:50.3]
Sf5 [v]	(/German), add books.			
Sf6 [v]		Ah, books.	(2) Okay.	

129

Transcript 3a

[1]

	0 [00:00.3]	1 [00:04.2] 2 [00:04.7*]	3 [00:07.0]
Sm1 [v]	Do you want to met • met in the afternoon?		Yeahr I
Sm2 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah but ähm • on which day?	

[2]

	. .	4 [00:10.1] 5 [00:10.4]	6 [00:13.9]
Sm1 [v]	have time on Fridáy.		
Sm2 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sm2 [v]		Noo on Friday is bad ((thähm äh)) ((1)) froom • • two pm	

[3]

	. .	7 [00:18.9]	8 [00:19.7] 9 [00:20.1]	10 [00:22.0]
Sm1 [v]			Oh I hate sports.	
Sm2 [v]	till • four pm I have football training • • • So maybe we could			Yeah we

[4]

	. .	11 [00:23.1]	12 [00:23.8]	13 [00:25.5]
Sm1 [v]				Why do you play
Sm2 [v]	cán • • ((shoot me)) you can't come to my footballtraining.			
notes [v]	Sm2 laughs			

[5]

	. .	14 [00:30.3] 15 [00:30.5] 16 [00:30.8]	17 [00:31.4]
Sm1 [sup]		*emphasis*	
Sm1 [v]	football?‿football ((1,5)) football is yuck. I	hate football.	
Sm2 [sup]		*with very low voice*	
Sm2 [v]		Okáy	

[6]

	18 [00:32.0]	19 [00:38.4]
Sm1 [v]		Is there more time
Sm2 [v]	• • but maybe we could meet from • four pm • till ahm eight pm.	

[7]

	. .	20 [00:44.3]
Sm1 [v]	on/ wha- äh what • what do you have on Saturday • • in the ((noon)) (( ))	
Sm2 [v]		aahm fróm

[8]

	21 [00:45.1]	22 [00:47.1]
Sm2 [v]	ahm six till • •äh from four • to six pm I have foot/ ähm I have an important	

[9]

	..	23 [00:53.2]
Sm2 [v]	football game, so there we can't met• • • so maybe • • we can/ we could met on	

[10]

	..	24 [00:58.0]	25 [01:02.1]	26 [01:02.8]
Sm1 [v]			Saturday?	
Sm2 [v]	Sssaturday ähm((2,5)) on Saturday ähm (German) ja (/German)			

[11]

	..	27 [01:04.0]	28 [01:07.8]
Sm1 [v]	Äh • • • how • long have you time?		
Sm2 [v]	(German) ja (/German)		Ähm I have time from •

[12]

	..	29 [01:14.9]	30 [01:16.9]
Sm1 [v]	four pm? that's • six ... ((1,5)) no, that's not much		
Sm2 [v]	six am till • ahm • • • four pm.		

[13]

	..	31 [01:21.3]	32 [01:23.5]	33 [01:23.9]
Sm1 [v]	time.		No I can't, I have-ave/ there • • guitar	
Sm2 [sup]		*emphasis*		
Sm2 [v]	Yeah • but th-th-that's very much time!			

[14]

	..	34 [01:28.0]	35 [01:29.4]	36 [01:29.8]	37 [01:31.0]
Sm1 [v]	lessons.• you know I'm a really good		musicer.		
Sm2 [v]			yeah yeah		So maybe we could met/ meet

[15]

	..	38 [01:36.0]	39 [01:37.1]	40 [01:37.7]
Sm1 [v]		Sunday?	I haave • • until • • two o'clock nothing.	
Sm2 [v]	on ah • Sunday afternoon?	Yes.		

[16]

	41 [01:41.9]	42 [01:43.5*]	43 [01:44.3]	44 [01:44.7]	45 [01:48.2]
Sm1 [sup]		*stretched*			
Sm1 [v]	((1,5) two o'cloock	Äh			Yeah • that's
Sm2 [v]		Yeah	from two o'clock till • ähm eight pm.		
notes [sup]					

[17]

	46 [01:49.2]	47 [01:50.0]	48 [01:54.6]	49 [01:55.7]
Sm1 [v]	good.		No, I hate sport.• I hate	
Sm2 [v]	Yeah.	And to • maybe we could • ähm • • • play football?		

[18]

	. .	50 [01:57.0]	51 [01:57.6]	52 [01:59.6]
Sm1 [v]	sport!			I want to
Sm2 [v]			So what • what should we do there?	
notes [v]		Sm2 (?) breathes in heavily.		

[19]

	. .	53 [02:01.5]	54 [02:04.7]	55 [02:06.4]
Sm1 [v]	sleep.		Yeah or Netflix?	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah but why should we met/ meet if you ...		Yeah, Netflix

[20]

	. .	56 [02:07.8]	57 [02:12.2]	58 [02:13.9]	59 [02:15.0]
Sm1 [v]				Okay.	
Sm2 [v]	and Chill.		Yeah okay, let's do this.		
notes [v]		both students laugh			

Transcript 3b

[1]

	0 [00:01.2]	1 [00:04.7]	2 [00:06.3]	3 [00:08.3]
Sm3 [v]		Hello Barbara.		I think really well. • • Ähm • • when
Sf3 [v]	Hey George.		How are you?	

[2]

	. .	4 [00:18.1]
Sm3 [v]	would you ((2)) go • to the cinema?	
Sf3 [v]		Puh, I don't know, äh wait a minute ((1)) I

[3]

		5 [00:22.4]	6 [00:25.4]	7 [00:27.5]
Sm3 [v]			Okay.	
Sf3 [v]	must• • • look • at my plan.		Mhm ((2)) I think at five is not good because I

[4]

		8 [00:33.4] 9 [00:34.4]	10 [00:39.3]
Sm3 [v]		Okay.	
Sf3 [v]	have school.• • and• • • then I have • • I have very much to do • • then• • • when		

[5]

		11 [00:44.9] 12 [00:47.2]
Sm3 [v]		Okay.
Sf3 [v]	don/ when I don't have school then I must go to a football training.	Ähm

[6]

		13 [00:52.9]
Sf3 [v]	((2)) Pfuh • • at Saturday ähm• • • yes • • but I have at four pm football game at

[7]

		14 [00:59.9] 15 [01:00.5]	16 [01:04.0]
Sm3 [v]		Okay.	Ähm • • what's with Sunday
Sf3 [v]	Saturday.	And I don't know, when we can meet.	

[8]

		17 [01:11.9]
Sm3 [v]	at • six pm?	
Sf3 [v]		It's late for me, because I'm at/ • eight o'clock I must be at home.

[9]

	18 [01:17.2] 19 [01:20.0]	20 [01:25.6]
Sm3 [v]	Okay. And with ((1)) two pm ((1,5)) what's that?	
Sf3 [v]		Ähm ((1)) at twelve pm I have

[10]

		21 [01:31.6]	22 [01:33.8]
Sf3 [sup]		*with a very low voice*	
Sf3 [v]	lunch with my auntie.• • auntie? • • ah auntie! ((2)) And äh yeah • I think we must		

[11]

	. .	23 [01:40.9] 24 [01:41.3]	25 [01:43.2]
Sm3 [v]		Okay.	Okay. ((1,5)) When you
Sf3 [v]	stay • three hours • at my auntie. She speaks very much.		

[12]

	. . 26 [01:48.0] 27 [01:50.3]	28 [01:58.7]	29 [02:01.4]
Sm3 [v]	can?	At • four pm • yes!• • • I can.	
Sf3 [sup]	*stretched*		
Sf3 [v]	Äh, I think ((1) on Sunday ((3,5)) at four pm?		

[13]

	30 [02:02.9] 31 [02:03.6] 32 [02:04.3]
Sm3 [v]	Yes.
Sf3 [v]	Yes? This is good. And which film • • would you like to watch? Action,

[14]

	. . 33 [02:11.1]	34 [02:13.1]	35 [02:14.8] 36 [02:16.2]
Sm3 [v]	I think Jurassic Park two.		Okay.
Sf3 [v]	romantic?	Oh yeah, this is good, yeah.• • • good.	

[15]

	37 [02:17.0]	38 [02:22.5] 39 [02:23.0] 40 [02:23.2] 41 [02:23.6]	42 [02:25.0]
Sm3 [v]		Yes. Okay.	Bye!
Sf3 [v]	Then • at Sunday • on four pm.	Good Good • then bye!	And

[16]

	43 [02:25.5]	44 [02:27.1]
Sf3 [v]	we see us at Sunday.	

Transcript 3c

[1]

	0 [00:00.4]	1 [00:02.4]	2 [00:04.0]	3 [00:06.0]
Sm4 [v]		I'm good and you?	Ähm ((1)) when have you	
Sf4 [v]	Äh • • how are you?		I'm fine, thanks.	

[2]

	..	4 [00:12.5]	5 [00:14.8]
Sm4 [v]	time • on • Friday?		(German) Ich frag am Freitag, und du sagst
Sf4 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sf4 [v]		On Saturday ...	

[3]

	..	6 [00:18.0]	7 [00:19.2]
Sm4 [v]	(/German) saturday!		
Sf4 [v]			No ähm • • • I • have school • • and • then
Notes [v]		students laugh	

[4]

	8 [00:25.7]	9 [00:30.2]
Sm4 [v]		Ähm how long • do you have school?
Sf4 [v]	• • at afternoon I've • • football training.	

[5]

	10 [00:34.4]	11 [00:43.5]	12 [00:44.3]	13 [00:49.3]
Sm4 [v]		Okay. ((3)) four hours, okay ahm.	((5)) That means you	
Sf4 [v]	Ähm ((5)) äh four • hours.			

[6]

	..	14 [00:56.6]	15 [00:58.3]	16 [00:59.9]	17 [01:00.7]	18 [01:02.3]
Sm4 [v]	come home • att- twelve.		I come	home at two.		
Sf4 [v]			Yes.	And then at	((2)) and then at two • • I	

[7]

	..	19 [01:08.7]	20 [01:11.2*]	21 [01:11.6]
Sm4 [v]		At two you have football training.	hmm.	((1)) Okay.
Sf4 [v]	have football • training.			Yes.
Notes [v]				Sf5 chuckles.

[8]

	22 [01:13.6]	23 [01:20.7]	24 [01:27.6]
Sm4 [v]	• • • Ähm ((1,5)) we can go • • • ähm at • four • ähm • to the • • hmm park.		
Sf4 [v]			No,

[9]

	..	25 [01:32.6]	26 [01:37.2]
Sm4 [v]		I think at two?	
Sf4 [v]	because I have at four o'clock football training.		(German) Aso

[10]

	..	27 [01:37.8]
Sf4 [v]	(/German)((2)) no, because I have • on äh • • on two o'clock football training.	

[11]

	28 [01:47.5]	29 [01:48.2]	30 [01:54.7]	31 [01:57.4]
Sm4 [v]	Okay.	((3)) ähm.		At • • • ähm • • ten • •
Sf4 [v]		What are you doing on Saturday?		

[12]

	..	32 [02:02.7]	33 [02:03.8]
Sm4 [v]	(German) bis (/German) • twelve ...		Twe/ ten to twelve I have äh tutoring
Sf4 [v]	To?		

[13]

	..	34 [02:07.9]	35 [02:12.8]	36 [02:16.8]
Sm4 [v]	lesson,• and at two to four • • at/ I have have ((1)) guitar lesson.			
Sf4 [v]				Okay, ((nice))

[14]

	..	37 [02:23.3]	38 [02:30.5]	39 [02:35.6]
Sm4 [v]	At ((2) ten pm we can play PlayStation.			
Sf4 [v]	((1,5)) ähm.		No because ((3)) no. ((3,5)) Äh	
Notes [v]			Students chuckle	

[15]

	..	40 [02:44.8]	41 [02:45.8]
Sm4 [v]		(German) Blöd (/German). At the	
Sf4 [v]	no, because • at • ten o'clock I must go to bed.		
Notes [v]		Sf5 laughs	

[16]

	..	42 [02:47.8]	43 [02:49.1]	44 [02:51.1]
Sm4 [v]	weekend • you must go to bed at ten o'clock?			
Sf4 [sup]			whispering	
Sf4 [v]		Yes, because	my mother is very ((1,5)) (German)	

[17]

	..	45 [02:52.9]	46 [02:53.5]	47 [02:55.4]	48 [02:56.6]	49 [02:57.8]	50 [02:58.5]
Sm4 [v]				Okay.		Okay okay	
Sf4 [sup]					stretched		
Sf4 [v]	streng (/German).			Silly.		And ...	
Notes [v]		Sm4 whistles	students laugh				

[18]

	51 [02:59.5]	52 [03:00.5]		53 [03:08.2]
Sm4 [v]	okay.	Yes yes. ((1)) Ähm we can play ((1)) ähm • • at • eight to ten • am. • • •		
Sf4 [v]		Yes.		

[19]

	54 [03:11.7]	55 [03:14.4]		56 [03:18.8]
Sm4 [v]	PlayStation.		Okay, • and what do you on Sunday?	
Sf4 [v]		Yes.		At Sunday at • twelve to

[20]

	57 [03:22.8]	58 [03:28.3]
Sm4 [v]		Okay, I have lunch with my
Sf4 [v]	• • • two pm I have lunch with my auntie.	

[21]

	59 [03:30.5]	60 [03:37.0]
Sm4 [v]	grandparents. ((1,5)) My • • grandmother • doesn't • cook very • • good. ((1,5)) But	

[22]

	61 [03:44.7]	62 [03:51.3]
Sm4 [v]	I must eat ((1)) her eat/ • • her food, her food. ((1)) Ähm ((3)) Ähm • ähm. • • Ähm	
Notes [v]	Sf5 laughs.	

[23]

	63 [03:56.4]	64 [03:57.8]
Sm4 [v]	ähm yes. • • (German) Was heißt aber? ((1)) Aber • • ähm ähm. But! • • But but	
Sf4 [sup]	*whispered*	
Sf4 [v]	But.	

[24]

	65 [04:01.2]	66 [04:09.5]	67 [04:10.9]
Sm4 [v]	but but • • • Ähm but • • at two • • • to • ten pm • • I have time.		We can go
Sf4 [v]		Hmm.	

[25]

	68 [04:16.2]
Sm4 [v]	swimming in the (German) Parkbad (/German) in Bruck.
Sf4 [v]	Ähm yes, that's a • very

[26]

	..	69 [04:18.7]		70 [04:22.8]
Sm4 [v]		Okay • • but it have open (German) nur bis (/German) ähm• • it has		
Sf4 [v]	good idea.			

[27]

	..	71 [04:29.4]
Sm4 [v]	open (German) bis (/German) • äh ((a two)) • • it had open • • • ähm. ((1)) ähm	

[28]

	..	72 [04:37.1]
Sm4 [v]	((1))) ähm • • ähm ((1,5)) ähm ((1,5)) ahm ahm. ((1,5)) ähm ((2)) about two ((1))	

[29]

	..	73 [04:44.6]	74 [04:48.6]	75 [04:51.6]	76 [04:52.3]
Sm4 [v]	to • • • eight.			That means we can't go • • ähm to ten • o'	
Sf4 [v]			Okay. ((2)) Ähm.		
Notes [v]		Sf5 chuckles.			

[30]

	..	77 [04:55.3] 78 [04:55.6]		79 [04:56.7] 80 [04:57.8]
Sm4 [v]	clock.	In the (German) Parkbad (/German).		Yes, that is a • very
Sf4 [v]		What about the		cinema?

[31]

	..	81 [05:03.8]
Sm4 [v]	good idea. • That/ we can go there • ähm • • • after the (German) Parkbad	

[32]

	..	82 [05:06.8]
Sm4 [v]	(/German) • • • ähm.((2)) Ähm yes. ((1)) And look Jurassic/ and watch Jurassic	

[33]

	..	83 [05:14.8]		84 [05:19.7]	85 [05:22.7]
Sm4 [v]	Park. • • • drei. • • three three three.	Jurassic Park three.			See you
Sf4 [v]			Okay, see us!		

[34]

	..	86 [05:24.1]
Sm4 [v]	later • • bye.	

138

[1]

	0 [00:00.8]	1 [00:03.3]	2 [00:06.3]
Sf6 [v]	Okay • • When do you have time?		
Sf7 [v]		I have time at Saturday • ähm ((1,5)) (German)	

[2]

	. .	3 [00:14.3]	4 [00:17.4]
Sf6 [v]			And
Sf7 [v]	von (/German) • age to ten am, ten to • • twelve am • • • twelve to two pm.		

[3]

	. .	5 [00:21.3]	
Sf6 [v]	(German) dann (/German) • • • hm (1) and what's then?		
Sf7 [v]		And then I've got a f/ äh oh,	

[4]

	. . 6 [00:25.5]	7 [00:29.1]
Sf7 [v]	at two • • (German) also (/German) at two to four pm I've • • got time. • • • But	

[5]

	. .	8 [00:38.1]
Sf6 [v]		So, in the evening you also haven't
Sf7 [v]	then for four to six pm I've got a football game.	

[6]

	. . 9 [00:41.7]	10 [00:46.4]
Sf6 [v]	• • time.	
Sf7 [v]	In the evening at six to age pm I've got time. • • ähm (1) but at age to ten	

[7]

	. . 11 [00:52.2]	12 [00:58.9]
Sf6 [v]		Okay, and what's with •
Sf7 [v]	pm • • • I • • I'm not allowed to stay out later then age pm.	

[8]

	. .	13 [01:03.7]	14 [01:07.8]	15 [01:08.7]
Sf6 [v]	Sunday • • • in the • • • ahm (1,5) yes, in the evening or			
Sf7 [v]		In the evening? • • • I've got		

[9]

	16 [01:10.4]	17 [01:15.4]	18 [01:17.9]
Sf7 [v]	time• • I've got from four äh that's from two• • • till ähm four pm. • • • four to • six		

[10]

	19 [01:23.8]
Sf6 [v]	Okay, I would say that would be • the best
Sf7 [v]	pm • six to eight pm • • I've got time.

[11]

	20 [01:28.6]	21 [01:33.5]
Sf6 [v]	time, because on Saturday I have from two • to • four pm a guitar lesson. • • • and	
Sf7 [sup]		

[12]

	22 [01:39.6]
Sf6 [v]	yes • • on friday I've got a • pop concert • and• I like sleeping in, so I don't want to

[13]

	23 [01:45.3]
Sf6 [v]	jus/ I don't want to stay out• • (German) also (/German) I don't want to • yeah •

[14]

	24 [01:50.9]	25 [01:52.7]	26 [01:53.4]	27 [01:55.5]
Sf6 [v]	stay up on Saturday morning.	So ...		Yes I would
Sf7 [sup]	*stretched*			
Sf7 [v]		Okay • • •You mean• Sunday is the best?		

[15]

	28 [02:02.4]
Sf6 [v]	say. • But • • from • • • when do you have time • in the evening, or?
Sf7 [v]	I've got time

[16]

	29 [02:06.6] 30 [02:07.4]	31 [02:09.8]
Sf6 [v]	Okay, yes I would say that would be the best.	
Sf7 [v]	from • two pm till age. • • pm.	Okay.

[17]

	32 [02:10.2]	33 [02:12.4]
Sf6 [v]	Ahm, what do you want to do?	
Sf7 [v]	Ahm (1,5) I don't know, but I'm not a huge music	

[18]

	34 [02:18.3]	35 [02:24.1]
Sf6 [v]	And I'm • • and I don't like to • do sports, so.	
Sf7 [v]	fan.	But we can sportch/watch • watch

[19]

	36 [02:30.2]	37 [02:33.7]
Sf6 [v]	Yes okay, and talk • • a little bit and (1) we can	
Sf7 [v]	ah we can watch a film on the TV.	Yeah.

[20]

38 [02:34.2]	39 [02:37.5] 40 [02:38.6]	41 [02:40.0]	42 [02:40.7]
Sf6 [v]	(1) yes • • we can eat pizza.	And make it on the on the stove.	
Sf7 [v]	Yes.	Okay,	eat pizza • •

[21]

	43 [02:47.4]	44 [02:48.6]	45 [02:49.0]
Sf6 [v]	Yes, and talk to each other.	And	
Sf7 [v]	ahm watch a film • • • and • speak.	Yeah, talk to each	

[22]

	46 [02:49.7]	47 [02:51.8]	48 [02:53.8]
Sf6 [v]	yes on • from two • • to four pm • no • from two to eight pm on Sunday • you		
Sf7 [v]	other.		

[23]

	50 [02:58.8] 51 [03:00.4] 52 [03:01.7]	53 [03:03.9] 54 [03:04.1]
Sf6 [v]	can. Okay.	Yes!
Sf7 [v]	Yes. (German) Also (/German) to • • two pm to	till • • eig/

[24]

	55 [03:06.1]	56 [03:08.1]
Sf7 [v]	okay • eight pm. (1) Okay.	
notes [v]	Students laugh.	

Transcript 4a

[1]

0 [00:00.0]	1 [00:01.8]	2 [00:03.4]
Sm1 [v]	I've got hunger.	There are so many restaurants, where do you want to
Sm2 [sup]	*stretched*	
Sm2 [v]	Ähm soo ...	

[2]

	3 [00:05.6]		4 [00:08.6]	5 [00:09.3]
Sm1 [sup]			*louder, emphasised*	
Sm1 [v]	go?		Yuck!	I hate sushi!
Sm2 [v]	Yeah, I would go to Running Sushi, because ah ...			

[3]

	6 [00:11.2]	7 [00:13.2]	8 [00:16.2]
Sm1 [v]		Uach, I hate sushi and fish!	
Sm2 [v]	Sushi is the best dish in the world!		Yeah but • • • the

[4]

	..	9 [00:19.9]	10 [00:23.4]	11 [00:23.8]
Sm1 [v]			I don't ...	
Sm2 [v]	rice is so tasty, there I • • visited it once with my parents and ... I			really

[5]

	..	12 [00:25.1]	13 [00:28.3]
Sm1 [v]	Yeah, but • I don't like cold rice.		
Sm2 [v]	enjoyed it.		So ähm • let's go to Italian Dreams.

[6]

	14 [00:31.9]	15 [00:33.4]	16 [00:34.0]	17 [00:35.4]	18 [00:36.4]
Sm1 [v]	Italian Dreams?		They are pisa/ pizza? • • • is there a	pizza?	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah.		(German) ja (/German)	

[7]

	19 [00:36.8]	20 [00:38.2]
Sm2 [v]	or a cheese pasta. • • • yeah • they have everything • yum • you would • get in	

[8]

	..	21 [00:43.0]	22 [00:44.1]	23 [00:46.0]	24 [00:48.1]	25 [00:49.1]
Sm1 [v]		I love pizza!		But Burger ((are hot))		Burgers
Sm2 [v]	Italian.		Yeah me to, so • ahm ...		No.	

[9]

	..	26 [00:50.2]	27 [00:52.8]	28 [00:53.7]	29 [00:54.4]	30 [00:55.9]
Sm1 [v]	are good.			Revolting? • • Burgers?		
Sm2 [v]		Meat is so ahm • • revolting. • • • I		hate it.		Yeah, I hate

[10]

	31 [00:58.3]	32 [00:58.5]	33 [01:00.5]
Sm1 [v]	Oh.		But which pizza you • • ähm order,
Sm2 [v]	meat.	Everything tastes the same there.	

[11]

	34 [01:04.7]
Sm1 [v]	when you hate meat?
Sm2 [v]	Ähm, I would order the cheese pasta there, because I love

[12]

	35 [01:09.3]	36 [01:09.7]	37 [01:10.2]	38 [01:14.0]	39 [01:14.2]
Sm1 [sup]					*louder*
Sm1 [v]	Cheese?	There is from äh • your äh we/ region, right?		Your	
Sm2 [v]	cheese.	Yeah.		Hm?	

[13]

	40 [01:15.5]	41 [01:15.9]	42 [01:17.2]	43 [01:17.7]	44 [01:20.1]	45 [01:21.7]
Sm1 [sup]						
Sm1 [v]	region?	Okay.			Okay then...	
Sm2 [v]		Yeah? Cheese ...	Yes.			Or should we • ähm •
notes [v]			Students laugh.			

[14]

	46 [01:25.5]	47 [01:28.8]
Sm1 [v]	Mh, it's not so my • • my ...	
Sm2 [v]	visit Gra/ Granny's?	Why? The t-tra/ traditional

[15]

	48 [01:33.5]	49 [01:34.0]	50 [01:34.3]
Sm1 [sup]		*louder, emphasised*	
Sm1 [v]		Yeah, but I love	burgers and
Sm2 [v]	Austrian food is always • ähm really tasty.		

[16]

	51 [01:35.2]	52 [01:37.4]	53 [01:40.3]
Sm1 [v]	pizza.		So, let's go the • • Italian • •
Sm2 [v]		But I hate ähm burgers, so ähm ...	
notes [v]	students laugh		

[17]

	54 [01:44.1]	55 [01:44.8]	56 [01:45.9]	57 [01:46.4]	58 [01:48.4]
Sm1 [v]	foods.	restaurant. • • It's a good idea.			
Sm2 [v]	yes.		Yeah.		

Transcript 4b

[1]

	0 [00:03.6]		1 [00:07.7]	2 [00:09.1]
Sm5 [v]	Hey Deborah, I • I want to eat something, I'm hungry!• You also, too?			
Sf2 [sup]				*emphasised*
Sf2 [v]				Yes!

[2]

	3 [00:10.3]	4 [00:10.7]	5 [00:14.3]	6 [00:16.3]
Sm5 [sup]				*stretched*
Sm5 [v]	Okay.			No!
Sf2 [sup]			*in a very low voice*	
Sf2 [v]	• • We can we can go to ((1,5) to Burgers and ... ((1)) nothing else. ((not			

[3]

	. .	7 [00:17.0]	8 [00:20.8]
Sm5 [sup]			
Sm5 [v]		Please not, I don't • • want to eat meat and• cheese I also can't eat	
Sf2 [sup]			
Sf2 [v]	understandable))		

 [4]

	. .	9 [00:26.8] 10 [00:26.8*]
Sm5 [v]	because I have (German) Laktose (/German) intolerant.	I can't have milk.
Sf2 [sup]		
Sf2 [v]		What? Mhm.

[5]

	11 [00:27.4*]	12 [00:27.6]	13 [00:34.3] 14 [00:37.8]
Sm5 [v]	Yeah.		Yes. But • • I don't want to eat
Sf2 [sup]	*with a low voice*		
Sf2 [v]	Oh no. • • Ahm • we can go to ((1)) Granny's.		

[6]

	. .	15 [00:42.1]	16 [00:45.9]
Sm5 [v]	Austrian tradition food today.• • Can we go please to another • one?		
Sf2 [v]			Yeah ahm • •

[7]

	. .	17 [00:49.1]	18 [00:53.3]
Sm5 [v]	Ähm • • how it is with Running Sushi?		
Sf2 [v]	what do you like • to eat?		No, I don't like

[8]

. .	19 [00:55.8]	20 [01:01.2]
Sm5 [v]	Ähm • • • and you don't want to go • A/ • Asian Quick Lunch?((1,5))	
Sf2 [v]	Asian food.	

[9]

. .	21 [01:03.4]	22 [01:05.3]	23 [01:07.5]
Sm5 [v]	No?	Yes äh • okay then • • • Then we call/ -then we go to	
Sf2 [sup]	*emphasised*		
Sf2 [v]	I don't like Asian food!		

[10]

. .	24 [01:12.5]	25 [01:17.0]	26 [01:18.0]
Sm5 [v]	Granny's • • I think it's • a good choice. • • • I can eat • Austrian fish.	Let's,	
Sf2 [v]		Okay.	

[11]

. .	27 [01:18.9]
Sm5 [v]	let's go.

Transcript 4c

[1]

0 [00:00.4]	1 [00:01.3]	2 [00:04.6]	3 [00:09.0]	4 [00:10.2]
Sm3 [v]	Hello! • • Nice to see you.		How are you?	
Sf3 [v]	Hello George!	Me too • me too.	How are you?	
notes [v]				Students

[2]

. .	5 [00:14.3]	6 [00:15.7]	7 [00:19.1]	8 [00:23.2]
Sm3 [v]	I have/ thanks.		I think ((1)) it's great to see you.	
Sf3 [v]				Would you
notes [v]	laugh.	Students laugh.		

[3]

. .	9 [00:25.8]	10 [00:28.0]	11 [00:29.6]
Sm3 [v]	Of course!		
Sf3 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sf3 [v]	like have with me a date?	That's good, this is good. • • Ähm • do you like	

[4]

	12 [00:33.3]		13 [00:38.4]	14 [00:39.2]	15 [00:39.8]		16 [00:41.9]
Sm3 [v]			No.		No • I don't like burgers.		
Sf3 [v]	((2)) Burgers and Nothing Else?			No?			Why? •

[5]

	..		17 [00:45.1]	18 [00:45.6]		19 [00:48.5]	
Sm3 [v]			Because	I am • lactose • intolerant.			
Sf3 [v]	This is the best food, the best food.					Oh man, this is

[6]

	..		20 [00:50.2]	21 [00:52.3]		22 [00:54.9]	
Sm3 [v]			Yes.			But we can go to •	
Sf3 [v]	(German) doof (/German).		This is not good, but okay.			

[7]

	..	23 [00:58.3]		24 [01:01.9]
Sm3 [v]	Running Sushi.			Oh
Sf3 [v]		IIh • I hate fish and sea foods • (German) pfui (/German) ! I hate it.		

[8]

	..	25 [01:04.0]		26 [01:07.5]	27 [01:07.9]	
Sm3 [v]	come on!			((What))?		
Sf3 [v]		They are/ they have not good, I hate it.			Do you can like it? • •

[9]

	..	28 [01:12.8]	29 [01:13.1]	30 [01:15.2]	31 [01:16.6]		32 [01:18.6]
Sm3 [v]		I love sushi.	(( )) so.				
Sf3 [v]	Really.	And		I don't know • you're stupid.	((1)) but okay. And		

[10]

	..		33 [01:25.8]		34 [01:28.5]	
Sm3 [v]			What can we ate/ eat for?			
Sf3 [v]	Granny's • restaurant • this is a very good.				What Granny

[11]

	..	35 [01:30.9]	36 [01:32.6]		37 [01:35.4]	38 [01:37.0]		39 [01:39.1]
Sm3 [sup]	*stretched*							
Sm3 [v]	Oh.				Okay.			No.
Sf3 [v]	cook.		I don't know • but I think it's good.			Or • Italian Dreams!		

[12]

	40 [01:40.0] 41 [01:41.5]	42 [01:45.8]
Sm3 [v]	I am lactose-intolerant • • • I can't eat cheese.	
Sf3 [v]	Why?	Äh • but • I love pizza and

[13]

	43 [01:49.1]	44 [01:53.5]	45 [01:58.0]
Sf3 [sup]	*chuckling*		
Sf3 [v]	((1,5)) äh ((2)) and((1,5)) äh • • yeah, I love pizza.• • and it can be • vegetarian		

[14]

	..	46 [02:05.5]	47 [02:09.8]
Sm3 [v]	Okay ((1)) and the cheese?		
Sf3 [v]	pizza • • • without meat.	Yeah then • • without cheese •	

[15]

	..	48 [02:17.9]	49 [02:21.1]	50 [02:25.6] 51 [02:25.9]
Sm3 [v]	I think ((1,5)) that not taste too good.			We go to
Sf3 [v]	• • only • bread.		Ähm.	
notes [v]			Sf4 laughs.	

[16]

	..	52 [02:29.2] 53 [02:29.6]	54 [02:30.3]	55 [02:31.4]	56 [02:32.0]
Sm3 [sup]		.			
Sm3 [v]	Granny • • Granny's, okay?	I think		it's good.	
Sf3 [v]		Good. Granny's. This is good.		(( )) good (( ))	

[17]

	..	57 [02:33.1]	58 [02:35.1]
Sf3 [v]	yeah. ((1,5)) Okay.		

Transcript 4d

[1]

	0 [00:00.3]	1 [00:02.2] 2 [00:03.0]	3 [00:07.6]
Sm4 [v]	Do you want to eat?	We can ähm go in • • • äh • we can eat • • Asian • •	
Sf4 [sup]		*stretched*	
Sf4 [v]		Ähm ...	

[2]

	..	4 [00:11.1]	5 [00:16.6]
Sm4 [v]	Quick Lunch • • • äh or Granny's, Running Sushi • • • or ...		
Sf4 [v]		No, Running • Sushi	

[3]

	. .	6 [00:22.8]
Sm4 [v]		Oh, (German) dann könn (/German)
Sf4 [v]	not because I don't eat fish and • sea food.	

[4]

	. .	7 [00:30.1] 8 [00:31.5]
Sm4 [v]	ahm • • • would you like to Asian Quick Lunch or Granny's?	
Sf4 [sup]		*stretched*
Sf4 [v]		Mhmm. ((3,5)) Ähm.

[5]

	9 [00:35.2]
Sm4 [v]	I/ ähm we can't go to Italian Dreams because I am • (German) Laktos (/German)

[6]

	. .	10 [00:43.2] 11 [00:45.1]	12 [00:46.3]
Sm4 [v]	lactose-intolerant.	It's very bad, I can't have milk.	
Sf4 [v]		Okay?	Oh. That's a shame. ((4))

[7]

	. .	14 [00:54.2]	15 [00:56.5]	16 [00:59.2]
Sm4 [sup]			*extremely strechted*	
Sm4 [v]			Äääh	• • • no no no • •
Sf4 [v]	Would you like • • to • • • Burgers and Nothing Else?			

[8]

	. .	17 [01:05.8]	18 [01:09.9]
Sm4 [v]	I don't ((1)) eat meat.		
Sf4 [v]		That • • okay • • • and what is with ((4)) and what is with • •	

[9]

	. .	19 [01:19.2]	20 [01:24.2]
Sm4 [v]		Mhm. That looks good! • • Yes okay. Asian Quick Lunch we	
Sf4 [v]	Asian Quick Lunch?		

[10]

	. .	21 [01:32.5]
Sm4 [v]	can't sit we must • • • eat • • • quickly. • • • we then hey/ have • • (German)	

[11]

	22 [01:36.8]23 [01:38.4]	24 [01:42.3]
Sm4 [sup]	*stretched*	
Sm4 [v]	Seitenstechen (/German). Ähm...	That's very
Sf4 [sup]	*laughing*	
Sf4 [v]	Oh, sorry, I don't like • Asian food.	

[12]

	25 [01:45.0]26 [01:47.4]
Sm4 [v]	bad. Okay (German) dann (/German) ((1)) we go to the • Granny's ((1))
Sf4 [v]	Mhm.

[13]

	27 [01:53.3]	28 [01:56.3]	29 [01:57.3]30 [01:57.6]	31 [01:58.4]32 [01:58.9]
Sm4 [v]	and...((2)) that was (( ))		Okay.	Okay.
Sf4 [v]		Yes • • that's ...	very good.	

Transcript 4e

[1]

	0 [00:00.8]	1 [00:05.4]
Sf5 [v]		So • what/ when • where did you want to go?
Sf6 [v]	Okay, I'm hungry, I want to get food.	

[2]

	2 [00:08.9]	3 [00:12.1]
Sf5 [v]		Ahm • that wouldn't go so • wouldn't be so good for me
Sf6 [v]	Burgers and nothing else.	

[3]

	4 [00:17.4]	5 [00:18.8]
Sf5 [v]	because I don't • ahm meat. • I'm a vegetarian.	
Sf6 [sup]	*whispering*	
Sf6 [v]	(German) O mein Gott. (/German)	

[4]

	6 [00:19.8]	7 [00:23.0]
Sf5 [v]	But • I love Sushi, so can we go to Running Sushi?	
Sf6 [v]	No, I don't eat fish and	

[5]

	8 [00:27.5]	9 [00:28.7]	10 [00:30.0]

Sf5 [v]	Oh, thats not so good. Ahm (2) probably it would be better when
Sf6 [v]	seafood. Yes so.

[6]

	11 [00:35.0]	12 [00:37.5]	13 [00:39.7]

Sf5 [v]	we• • eat at the Asian • Asian ...
Sf6 [v]	I don't like Asian food. ((2)) But what is (German)

[7]

	14 [00:44.3]	15 [00:45.7]	16 [00:47.1]

Sf5 [v]	That's a problem because I'm lactose-intolerant.
Sf6 [v]	mit der (/German) Italian Dreams? Okay okay. And what'

[8]

	17 [00:47.8]	18 [00:49.4]	19 [00:53.7]

Sf5 [v]	Yes I don't • but I don't meat so we had to • • order something
Sf6 [v]	s with Granny's?

[9]

	20 [00:56.3]

Sf5 [v]	without meat• • which wit/ which cou/ which could be äh a little bit problem • a

[10]

	21 [01:02.5]

Sf5 [v]	little problem because• • Austrian food, so (German) Wiener Schnitzel (/German)

[11]

	22 [01:06.1]	23 [01:07.0]	24 [01:08.0]

Sf5 [v]	or also• • •isn't vegetarian. • • • But • I think it would be the best when we go to
Sf6 [sup]	*stretched.*
Sf6 [v]	Mhmm.

[12]

	25 [01:12.8]	26 [01:16.5]	27 [01:19.1]

Sf5 [v]	Granny's, or? So you don't eat what?
Sf6 [v]	Yes (1) I like Granny's. I don't eat Asian food

[13]

..	28 [01:22.9]
Sf5 [v]	Okay, and I don't eat meat and • something with • • ahm milk
Sf6 [v]	and fish and seafood.

[14]

..	29 [01:28.7]	30 [01:31.3]	31 [01:35.0]
Sf5 [v]	or so. • • So there is only Granny's.		
Sf6 [v]		Okay ((1)) okay • • then Granny's.	

German abstract

Der Fokus der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit liegt auf Geschlechterdifferenzen in der Bedeutungsaushandlung von Englisch-Lernerinnen und –Lernern und beschreibt, ausgehend von einer Diskussion der relevanten Literatur zur Relevanz von Bedeutungsaushandlung für den Fremdspracherwerb als auch zum Zusammenhang von Geschlecht und Sprache, die Ergebnisse meiner Studie zu diesem Thema. Bedeutungsaushandlung, im englischen Sprachraum als „negotiation of meaning" bezeichnet, bezieht sich auf die Verhandlung von Bedeutungen in einem Gespräch zwischen den Sprechern und Sprecherinnen bis eine gemeinsame Verständnisbasis erreicht wird, um mögliche Missverständnisse zu vermeiden. Im Kontext der Interaktionshypothese wird Bedeutungsaushandlung als besonders förderlich für den Fremdspracherwerb angesehen, da die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer einer Interaktion die Möglichkeit haben, sowohl modifizierten Output zu produzieren als auch modifizierten Input zu erhalten.

In der vorliegenden Studie bearbeiteten Mädchen und Jungen im Alter zwischen 12 und 14 Jahren, die Englisch als Fremdsprache lernen, in Paaren mündlich vier verschiedene Aufgaben, die so konzipiert waren, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler zur Bedeutungsaushandlung angehalten waren. Die Transkriptionen dieser Gespräche bildeten die Basis für die Analyse. Dabei wurden zuerst jene Stellen, in denen Bedeutungsaushandlung stattfand, identifiziert und verschiedenen Strategien zugeordnet. Anschließend wurden deren Zwecke bestimmt und festgestellt, ob die Lernerinnen und Lerner in der Bedeutungsaushandlung erfolgreichen waren. Die Analyse ergab, dass sich Schülerinnen zwar etwas weniger bereitwillig auf Bedeutungsaushandlungen einlassen als Schüler, allerdings über ein größeres Repertoire an Strategien zur Bedeutungsaushandlung verfügen und eher zu jenen tendieren, die mehr Produktion von modifiziertem Output verlangen, während männliche Lerner eher kurze Antworten bevorzugten. Dennoch fielen die männlichen Teilnehmer der Studie als kooperationsbereit in den Gesprächen auf, da sie häufig Bedeutungsaushandlungen initiierten, wenn sie merkten, dass ihr Gesprächspartner oder ihre Gesprächspartnerin Schwierigkeiten hatte, die von ihr intendierte Äußerung in Worte zu fassen.