An Analysis of "Karakuri Funniest English": The Collaborative Interactions between an American Interviewer and Japanese Interviewees

Shizuko OZAKI

The present study examines Foreigner Talk and nonverbal accommodation of a native speaker of English as well as behavioral accommodation of nonnative speakers. The goal of the paper is to describe what an English speaker and Japanese speakers with a limited English ability do in order to make their communication successful. It is revealed that the English-speaking interviewer adopts a slower speech rate, reduces grammatical complexity, uses simpler vocabulary, clarifies pronoun references, uses pantomimic gestures, and so on. The interviewers use pantomimic gestures, invent onomatopoeic words, and pretend to understand the interviewer so as not to block the flow of conversations. The whole process of the interviewes described in this study is found to be a maximally collaborative endeavor by the native speaker and the nonnative speakers.

Keywords: Foreigner Talk, linguistic accommodation, caretaker talk

Introduction

James $(1993)^{11}$ describes linguistic accommodation as "the tendency we have as speakers to try to make our speech either more or less like that of our interlocutors" (p.39). He further discusses that the notion of accommodation was first investigated within interactions between speakers of the same language, and then it was extended to contacts between bilingual speakers, and most recently, it has been developed in encounters between native speakers (NSs) and nonnative speakers (NNSs). Previous research has reported that NSs modify their speech while talking to NNSs through various means, such as altering the rate of speech, using simpler vocabulary, and so on. This phenomenon, known as Foreigner Talk (FT) (Ferguson, 1975²); McCurdy, 1980³); Medley, 1983⁴); Terrell, 1990⁵); Zuengler, 1991⁶⁾; James, 1993; Adams, 1998⁷⁾), has been a central topic of the study of accommodation in interactions between NSs and NNSs. The present study

examines FT and nonverbal accommodation of a native speaker of English as well as behavioral (verbal and nonverbal) accommodation (Janicki, 1986⁸⁾) of nonnative speakers. Specifically, it discusses a) what sorts of FT and nonverbal accommodation are conducted by the NS, b) how the NNSs react to such behavior, c) what sorts of behavioral accommodation are demonstrated by the NNSs, and d) how they affect the speech and behavior of the NS. By so doing, it aims to demonstrate elements that make beginning-level learners' communication more successful.

Description of Data

Data is collected from one section of a Japanese TV show, called "Karakuri Funniest English"^{note1}, where an American interviewer interviews passers-by on streets in big cities in Japan and asks them to tell a story on a certain topic in English, such as an unforgivable story, a backfire situation, a "too bad" story, and so on. The interviewer has a lot of experience with talking with Japanese speakers. Furthermore, it seems evident that he is familiar with the Japanese language and culture. Most of the Japanese interviewees in the show have very limited command of English. They are all relatively young, ranging from teenage to early 30's in both genders. The transcription conventions used in the study are provided in the Appendix. accommodation by the interviewees, and d) the reactions of the interviewer. The first interview is approximately one and a half minutes long, and the participants are the interviewer (A) and two teenage girls (B and C). One of the girls (C) is a dominant interviewee.

An Analysis of Interviews

In this section, two complete interviews are presented and discussed under the following aspects: a) the FT and nonverbal accommodation by the interviewer, b) the reactions of the interviewees, c) the behavioral

Interview #1

1. A: Please tell me <hand moving<="" th=""><th>from B and C toward himself> your</th><th><hand and="" at="" b="" c="" pointing=""> komatta ((laugh)) = too bad</hand></th></hand>	from B and C toward himself> your	<hand and="" at="" b="" c="" pointing=""> komatta ((laugh)) = too bad</hand>
B: C:		too bau
2.		
A: = KOMATTA story. <hand too bad</hand 	pointing at a board with a cue >	
B:	((laugh)) Sore deshe that isn't it	D, <pointing at="" c's="" eye="" her="" over="" patch=""> kore desho. = this isn't it</pointing>
C:	((laugh))	
3		
A:	Uh-huh komatta komatta. < too bad too bad	pointing at C's patch> Ye:s, I think so. Uh-huh.
B: <pointing at="" b's="" crutches="" own=""></pointing>		
C: Koma too b	ad	
4.		
A: = Plea- please tell me wha B:	- wha- what happen. <hand moving<="" td=""><td>g top to down pointing at B and C's injures></td></hand>	g top to down pointing at B and C's injures>
Б. С:		Kinoo, =
		yesterday
5.		
A:	Oh. Eng	lish please. < hand moving from C toward himself>
B:		
C: = karesi to kenka site:, nag boyfriend with fight did and got	punched	

6. A: = yeah =((unvoiced laugh)) B: ((laugh)) punching ((whispering at C's ear)) C: E::h. Yesterday, = = lovers is shock. <act of punching> oh no 7. A: = oh, yeah = Wh- wh- why fighting? <act of punching> Why? B: Nande nande why why E? C: A, punching = = punching. No no. what oh _____ 8. A: = veah =B: -nande kenka sita no. ((whispering at C's ear)) why fight did question particle C: A, naze, nande A, nande kenka sita no = = nande kenka = oh why why oh why fight did question particle why fight 9 A: B: = chityana koto de = small things with = so: so so so. Sma- small exerci- <fingers showing a small amount> = C: = sitan daro. = did wonder right 10. You fighting? <act of punching> A: <act of doing exercises> B: ((laugh)) C: = e, nani?fighting. <act of punching> Zutuki. <pointing = ((laugh)) what head butt 11. Zutuki? What is zutuki? Head = A: head butt head butt B: ((laugh)) C: = at her head> Un zutuki. Zutuki wa: head hunting. <act of head butt> yeah head butt head butt is 12. A: = hunting. ((laugh)) Head butt. = = Head butt. Atama warui? Siturei desu yo. B: head bad rude copula particle C: = Head butt. = Atama warui? head bad 13. Do you still love your boyfriend? You love ME? Shhh = A: <act of head butt> B: A:: a: a: a. ((laugh)) I see C: A:: a: a: a. I love you. ((laugh)) I see _____ 14. A: = punch punch. <act of punching> B: C: _____

The first utterance of the interviewer in lines 1 and 2 is combination of FT and nonverbal accommodation: He gives the interviewees sufficient time between chunks of words, using deictic gestures. According to previous studies, altering the rate of speech is a major characteristic of FT (Ferguson, 1975; McCurdy, 1980; Derwing, 1987⁹⁾; Terrell, 1990; Zuengler, 1991), and Adams (1998) studies gestures in FT and observes that deictic gestures are particularly helpful for NNSs. The interviewer moves his hand from the interviewee's side toward himself, meaning tell me, and points at the interviewees as he says your. Then, he reads today's topic with extra stress, which is written on a cue board both in English and Japanese. Therefore, at this stage, there is no confusion or misunderstanding on both sides, which is indicated by the interviewee's quick responses in lines 2 and 3. The answers to the inquiry tell me your "too bad" story are obvious to all of the participants because one of the girls is wearing a patch over her eye, and the other girl is walking on crutches. Thus, the interviewer goes on to ask what happened in line 4. He chooses to use the word happen without any inflectional suffix, such as happened or happens. The reduction of syntactic complexity in FT has repeatedly been reported in the literature (Ferguson, 1975; Terrell, 1990; Zuengler, 1991). As he asks this question, again he uses a deictic gesture of moving his hand from top to down, pointing at the girls' injuries. The patch and crutches are so eyecatching that the interaction starts out fairly smoothly.

At the end of line 4, where C starts to talk about what happened, the conversation moves from the here and now nature to a more complex content. She first explains it in Japanese, but noticeably, even when she is speaking in Japanese, she uses a pantomimic gesture of punching, which would not be expected if the conversation were an NS-NS interaction^{note2)}. A real challenge starts when the interviewer says, English, please in line 5. C keeps using the pantomimic gesture of punching as she speaks English (line 6). The interviewer's reactions are encouraging and cooperative: He provides back channel cues wherever possible (yeah and oh yeah in lines 6 and 7); and he imitates C's gesture of punching (line 7). The interviewer's question in line 7, why fighting?, is another example of the reduction of syntactic complexity, lacking the auxiliary verb were and the subject pronoun you.

The same utterance also shows a lexical substitution. That is, C's vocabulary item *punching* is substituted by a more appropriate word *fighting* with the pantomimic gesture of punching, which is the interviewer's imitation of C. Despite the effort of the interviewer, C does not understand his question until she gets support from B who translates the question (line 8). In line 8, the interviewer confirms that C understands the question by saying yeah, which also indicates that the interviewer understands Japanese. C tries to state that the cause of the fight between her and her boyfriend was a trivial matter, which results in her selecting the wrong words. small exerci(se) (line 9). In reacting to this mistake, the interviewer gives nonverbal corrective feedback by acting as if he is doing exercises (line 10). C is then assured of what her words meant, which is indicated by her laugh. The nonverbal corrective feedback is successful in that it makes C aware of her mistake without hurting her feelings although it is not instructive enough to indicate what word she should use instead.

A dotted vertical line in line 10 indicates an obvious editorial cutoff. You fighting? in line 10 again demonstrates the simplified syntax. The retrieved full sentence would be were you fighting too?, but the real intention would probably be did you hit him too?. The interviewer keeps using the word fighting (see also line 3) so as not to prevent C from comprehending his question. C's response, zutuki ('head butt'), reveals that she understands the question, but when she is asked to say the word in English, she chooses wrong words, head hunting (lines 10 and 11). However, her deictic and pantomimic gestures (i.e., pointing at her head and mimicking a head butt in lines 10 and 11) make herself perfectly understood. The interviewer's reaction to her mistake is a direct corrective feedback. He presents the correct words head butt (line 12). However, this correction is not successful, since the words are mistakenly taken as head bad, with which the interviewees assume that the interviewer's saying, stupid (line 12). The cause of the misunderstanding lies on the fact that Japanese does not distinguish the vowel $[\Lambda]$ in the word *butt* from the vowel [æ] in the word *bad*, and both vowels are perceived as [0]. Brock et al. (1986)¹⁰⁾ report that NSs' corrective feedback has little effect on NNSs, and the head butt instance here constitutes another evidence for their observation. The misunderstanding, however, is cleared up with the interviewer's gesture of a head butt (line 13).

The first interview can be concluded as a relatively successful communication in that the interviewer receives the answers to what he asks. In contrast, the second

Interview #2

interview, which is approximately one minute and 15 seconds in length, is unsuccessful in obtaining answers to the question, despite the various efforts both the interviewer and the interviewee make. The interviewer is again A, and the interviewee, a young man, probably in his 20's, is B.

1. A: Uh Hello. Hi. How do B: Hello. Hi.	o you do. <hand at="" b="" pointing=""> How do you do. <hand a<="" at="" pointing="" td=""><td>Fine thank =</td></hand></hand>	Fine thank =
	And you? <hand at="" b="" pointing=""> ine thank you. <hand a="" at="" pointing=""></hand></hand>	And you?
3.	pinting at himself> Yeah, you're find Fine. <hand at="" himself="" pointing=""></hand>	e? <hand =<="" td=""></hand>
4. A: = pointing at B> B: You-fine? <hand p<="" td=""><td>I'm fine. <hand at="" himself="" pointing=""></hand></td><td>0U. <hand =<="" td=""></hand></td></hand>	I'm fine. <hand at="" himself="" pointing=""></hand>	0U. <hand =<="" td=""></hand>
5. A: Oh, yeah?		nglish?
6. A: <hand at="" b="" pointing=""></hand>	((***)) Oh, all right. <shaking hands=""> English, E- l io Sekizuka. <shaking hands=""></shaking></shaking>	English
7. A: <hand gesture="" of="" speaking=""> OK? <ha B:</ha </hand>		3> NO? No.
8. A: Chotto? <fingers a="" an<br="" showing="" small="">a little B:</fingers>	nount> Oh yeah? OK Chotto. <fingers a="" amount="" showing="" small=""> Yeah. a little</fingers>	. <hand gesture="</td"></hand>
9. A: = of OK> Let's see, whew. Ple B:	ease tell me <hand b="" from="" himself,<br="" moving="" toward="">then pointing at a cue board> Please tell me ko to</hand>	Yeah, = omatta.
10. A: = komatta story. <hand a<br="" pointing="">too bad B:</hand>	t B> Yeah. Doozo. <hand b="" from="" moving="" toward<br="">please Komatta too bad</hand>	l himself>
11. A: ((laugh)) Yes. B: KOMATTA. too bad	What is YOUR job? <hand at="" b="" pointing=""> ((laugh)) Ah, sorry. E? what</hand>	You- your job

12. A: <hand pointin<="" th=""><th>ng at $B > = yea$</th><th>ah =</th><th>job <hand at="" b="" pointing=""> un. Yeah</hand></th><th>((laugh))</th></hand>	ng at $B > = yea$	ah =	job <hand at="" b="" pointing=""> un. Yeah</hand>	((laugh))
B:	Joobu, = strong	= joobu <patting himself=""> strong</patting>		Futotteru.
13. A: I'm-I'm-I'	m sorry. <bowing></bowing>	ME, KOMATTA. too bad	No. ((laugh))	
B:	<bowing></bowing>		Daijoobu? all right	

The problem in the first four lines is obvious: The interviewee merely echoes what the interviewer says including his deictic gestures, except for the interviewee's one failure to copy the interviewer's hand gesture of pointing at himself in line 2. The interviewee does not intend to make the interviewer uncomfortable. On the contrary, he tries to contribute to the communication using English. In other words, he makes an effort to accommodate to the interviewer. Finding the interviewee merely repeating what he hears, the interviewer maximizes the use of deictic gestures in order to make him understand who is asking questions and who should answer them (lines 1-4). The interviewee's utterance I'm fine thank you in line 4 is the first instance that is not a mere echo. The interviewer's oh, yeah? in line 5 is an acknowledgement of this change, and he brings this echoic session to an end by shaking hands (line 5).

The interviewer's question, do you speak English? in line 5, receives the unexpected answer of Akio Sekizuka, which is B's full name. It shows B's lack of understanding the question, but at the same time, it demonstrates his effort of guessing what has been asked. It is reasonable for him to assume that he has been asked for his name in this introductory situation. Medley (1983) reports that the ability of guessing creatively on the NS side promotes communication. Although B's attempt is an unfortunate instance here, guessing on the NNS side could also contribute to better communication. The interviewer, then, uses the paraphrasing strategy in lines 6 and 7. His original question, do you speak English? is paraphrased into English, OK? The paraphrased version accompanies hand gestures of speaking and of the sign OK with a prolonged pause between the words. The paraphrasing strategy is also reported as an FT feature in the literature (Ferguson, 1975; McCurdy, 1980). The paraphrased version helps B understand the question (line 7) although he initially again just echoes A; that is, he says *OK* with the OK sign. A's use of the Japanese words *chotto*? and *doozo* in lines 8 and 10 can be described as "the last resort" to elicit B's response.

After giving up eliciting a "too bad" story from $B^{note3)}$, A poses a different question, which causes another confusion, whose source resides in the phonetic similarity of the English word *job* and the Japanese word *joobu* ('strong,' 'firm,'or 'healthy') (lines 11 and 12). In connection with *joobu*, B says, *futotteru* ("I'm fat"), to which A replies with *I'm sorry*, and he gives up further clarification or corrections of the mistake. The use of *me* instead of *I* in the interviewer's concluding statement in line 13 is another FT feature, reported as replacement in Ferguson's (1975).

Interestingly, A bows to B in line 13 as he says, Im sorry. Bowing is used in various situations in Japan, such as greetings, expressing thanks or apologies, and so on. It indicates that the bower is paying respect to his or her interlocutor. A's bowing here probably means that he is sorry for making B uncomfortable by asking a question that B thinks is about his physical condition and appearance. Assuming that A would not bow if he were engaged in an NS-NS interaction, this altered behavior constitutes another instance of accommodation peculiar to an NS-NNS interaction, and this accommodation involves the NS's stereotypical image of the NNS. Similarly, in an interview not transcribed in the current paper, an NNS excessively uses hand gestures when speaking in Japanese, his native language. "He thinks he is speaking English" was a comment arisen from one of the commentators in the show. This peculiar behavior, somewhat reminiscent of the pantomimic gesture of punching while speaking Japanese in the first interview, seems to be motivated by the speaker's stereotypical assumption on the culture of his interlocutor; that is, his belief that Americans use many gestures.

Interview segments #1 to #5 below present yet other behavioral instances in NS–NNS interactions as well as additional examples of the points made so far.

Interview segmen Participants: A =	t #1 interviewer; B = high scho	ol girl		
	= Yes = = = bye bye say good b			think <pointing at="" head="" his=""> =</pointing>
2. A: B: Dooshite hai ol why yes			<waving hands=""> = ul Oh:::. I face =</waving>	h-huh = Oh yeah? = is uba:: . <crossing hands></crossing

In the first line of interview segment #1, B tries to tell that her boyfriend broke up with her. The interviewer's words following her statement, *why- why do you think... your boyfriend ... bye bye?* illustrate some typical features of FT: Giving the NNS extra time between chunks of words, reducing grammatical complexity by omitting the verb *said*, and repeating the words that the NNS used, *boyfriend* and *bye bye. Your boyfriend* would be replaced by *he* in an NS–NS interaction, but A chooses not to use the pronoun. Avoiding pronouns has also been reported in the FT literature (Zuengler, 1991). Also, he uses the deictic gesture of pointing at his head as he says the word *think*. The interviewee's reactions demonstrate that such FT is helpful to her. Given extra time, she shows her process of digesting what the interviewer says (*Dooshite hai ok* 'why yes ok'). The natural occurrences of *yeah* and *Oh*::: also indicate her understanding of the interviewer's question. One curious behavior found in the example is that she invents an ideophonic word, *uba*::, which is neither Japanese nor English. She could use the Japanese word for *bad* directly or indirectly. From one point of view, the invention of the ideophonic word together with the use of the gesture of crossing hands^{note4)} can be seen as her effort to make herself understood. From another point of view, she may just want to avoid uttering any real words that mean *bad*, referring to her own face.

Now, observe the following segment.

Interview Segment #2 Participants: A = interviewer; B = man in his 20's	
1. A: Really = = everyday = B: = everyday = = Oh::.	I Yes. = Uh-huh = = I love uh:::: beautiful girl = = very =
2. A: = Uh-huh = = Yes =	NO. BUT many many many woman. <hand moving<br="">horizontally></hand>
B: = uh::::but = = she: was: married.	Hmm =

A asked B to tell him his backfire situation. B's answer is his whole life. He says *everyday*, which is repeated by A in line 1 as an encouragement. A's back channel cues, *yes* and *uh-huh* in both lines, are rather deliberately articulated, which also seems to play a role in making B continue to speak. A's words in line 2, *many many many woman*, shows other typical FT features: It contains a reduplicated form, *many many many* (Ferguson, 1975) and the use of the singular *woman* in the place of the plural, and the utterance accompanies the iconic gesture which tries to show "there are many in the world."

The following segment is concerned with the NS's corrective feedback.

Interview Segment #3 Participants: A = Interviewer; B: man in his 20's 1. A: English please. <hand moving from B toward himself> Yes. = Yes B٠ English. O-o-old woman = 2. A: = One = ((laugh)) B: = <start using hand gestures uneasily> standing in my bath. Bath. Bath. Wh-wh-why laughing? Bath. _____ 3. A: = moment. ((laugh)) Old lady standing in your bath? No. ((laugh)) Bath or bus? Yeah, bath! B٠ Bath! Bath. Bath. 4. A: Bus! < gesture of holding on to a strap> Bus! B: < gesture of holding on to a strap> Bath. Bath. _____

Apparently what B means in lines 1 and 2 is that an old lady was standing on a bus. A acknowledges B's mistake by repeating his words in line 3. A repeats the words of B; that is, he omits the indefinite article $an^{note5)}$ before old lady and the auxiliary verb was before standing. Then, A gives an explicit corrective feedback by saying *No. Bath or bus?*. They are arguing over bath vs. bus while both mean bus and there is no confusion about it since the intended meaning is clear both by the context (i.e., it is very unlikely that an old lady is standing in your bath) and by the pantomimic gesture of holding on to a strap (line 4). The difficulty is again attributed to vowels. Japanese does not have either $[\mathfrak{A}]$ nor $[\Lambda]$. B is successful in pronouncing the non-Japanese sound $[\mathfrak{A}]$, but unfortunately his choice was wrong. Without having a solution for the problem, the communication goes on since the problem does not damage the essential understanding of the conveyed massage.

The next segment demonstrates the case in which the interviewer's series of corrective feedback are obviously successful. An Analysis of "Karakuri Funniest English": The Collaborative Interactions between an American Interviewer and Japanese Interviewees

Interview Segment #4 Participants: A = Intervie	wer; B: male university s		
1. A: Now, English, please. B:	Circle no ummryokoc of well travel	o, ryokoo, T-TRAVEL travel. =	travel = = travel.
2. A: I see. Circle travel. B: T-t	Circle travel? ravel. Sa:ku circle	Circle travel? <hand gesture<="" td=""><td>making a circle> Iya, no no no. no</td></hand>	making a circle> Iya, no no no. no
3. A:	Sa:kuru ac-activit	y. Sa:kuru activity. Circle acti circle	((laugh)) Circle activity!
4. A: I see. University circl		University club activit	
B:	Yeah, yeah, ye	eah, yeah.	Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.
5. A: = OK =	Th	ank you. <bowing></bowing>	
B: Very good. = = V			

As a response to B's mistake, *circle no travel* ('travel of circle') in line 1, again, A acknowledges the mistake by repeating B's words in line 2. Then, the gesture of making a circle follows to help B understand the point. Being elicited by that gesture, B tries to find a proper English word, which successfully results in the word *activity*. A congratulates B by repeating the B's words, *circle activity*, in rather an exaggerating manner. A further guides B to more appropriate terms by using the technique of lexical substitutions, which successfully receives B's approval (lines 4 and 5).

The last interview segment shows an instance of "reference to the 'here and now'" (Terrell, 1990: 194). Terrell describes the feature as one of the characteristics of caretaker speech, which is defined as "the study of the input to child L1 acquisition" (193).

Interview Segment #5 Participants: A = Interviewer; B = wom	an in her 20's
1. A: You are depart girl. B: I am depart girl.	Oh, department store. Depart girl <pointing at="" department="" nearby="" store="" the=""></pointing>
2. A: <looking at="" department="" store="" the=""> B: Yes, yes.</looking>	Uh-huh, I see I see.

In line 1, B makes herself understood by pointing at the physically present department store. Unlike caretaker speech, it is B, the learner, who uses this technique. This fact most likely attributes to the nature of NS–NNS interactions, which are adult–adult interactions, and it is desired that both speakers make their contributions to successful communication. I have demonstrated so far various instances of FT and NNS's responses as well as behavioral accommodation of the NNS and their effects on the NS. Table 1 below summarizes the characteristics of accommodation in the NS-NNS interactions observed in the current study.

FT and Nonverbal Accommodation by the	Successful (+) or	Behavioral Accommodation by the NNS	Successful (+) or
NS	Unsuccessful (-)?		Unsuccessful (-)?
1. Extra time between chunks of words	+	1. Pantomimic gestures	+
2. Reduction of syntactic complexity	+	2. Deictic gestures	+
3. Repetitive use of the same word	+	3. Iconic gestures	+
4. Direct/indirect corrective feedback	+/-	4. Echoing	-
5. Frequent use of back channel cues	+	5. Guessing	-
6. Deliberate speech	+	6. Simultaneous translation	+
7. Paraphrasing	+	7. Invention of ideophonic words	+
8. Use of the NNS's language	+	8. Reference to the 'here and now'	+
9. Use of the NNS's vocabulary	+	9. Stereotypical behavior	+/-
10. Use of reduplicated forms	+		
11. Deictic gestures	+		
12. Pantomimic gestures	+]	
13. Iconic gestures	+]	
14. Stereotypical behavior	+]	

Table 1. The Characteristics of Accommodation in the NS-NNS Interactions

It should be noted that whether or not an item is successful is judged according to whether or not it has a positive effect on the succeeding communication. Those judged as unsuccessful happen to be unfortunate incidents in the data described in the current paper

Conclusions

It is safe to claim that the interviews examined in this study are collaborative work by the NS and NNS. Using James'(1993) notion of convergence, the data shows maximal convergence by both sides, which can be depicted as in Figure 1. The NS's convergence is downward because the NS deliberately uses "incorrect forms" for the purpose of being simple. The NNS's convergence is depicted as an upward arrow because the NNS tries to be better in the NS's language. Their goal is mutual understanding. The NS–NNS interactions in "Karakuri Funniest English" are found to be particularly collaborative, meeting all three conditions described in and are by no means strategies to be avoided. The characteristics listed in Table 1 are facts about the NS–NNS interactions where the NNS has a very limited command of the target language.



Figure 1. The Convergence Schema in the NS–NNS Interactions

Zuengler (1991). The use of FT is increased 1) when NSs have desire for communication efficiency and mutual comprehension, 2) when topics are abstract, and 3) when NNSs' competence is low. The interviewer is strongly motivated to gain mutual comprehension because making the conversation continue is a primary part of his job. The topics treated in the show are always abstract in that they are beyond just the here and now nature. The low competence of the interviewees is key to making the interactions funny. The interviewer in the show is perhaps more motivated to have successful communication than NSs in real life conversations. and likewise, the interviewees are more cooperative than NNSs in more natural settings, due to the fact that they are on TV. It is likely that this fact plays a role in producing maximal convergence with a number of instances of the features discussed in the FT literature. It is known that the use of FT and nonverbal accommodation enhances learners' comprehension. In addition, the study demonstrates beginning-level learners' behavioral accommodation, which potentially helps them get better understood. Close examination on more of these features and their likeliness for success with more extensive data will certainly be worthy of attention for pedagogical purposes.

Notes

- "Karakuri Funniest English" was a segment in "Sanma's Super Karakuri TV" broadcasted on TBS since 1996.
- 2) One possibility is the reversed roles of the NS and NNS. C, in speaking in her native language Japanese, is here the NS, and the interviewer is the NNS. Another possibility is that C accommodates her behavior while speaking Japanese at the presence of the American interviewer.
- 3) B interprets "tell me komatta ('too bad') story" as "articulate the word *komatta*" (line 6). Whether or not he does so on purpose is unknown, but it may be possible that he does so because he cannot think of any story on the spot.
- 4) A cross sign [X] denotes 'bad' or 'incorrect.'
- 5) Japanese does not have articles, which makes it hard for Japanese learners of English to master the

English article system.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

< >	- gestures
space	- untimed pauses
(())	- vocal quality
capital letters	- louder speech
:	- stretched sound
-	- halting or abrupt cutoff
=	- latching or single speaker's utterance over multiple lines
	- overlapping utterances
	- editorial cutoff
((***))	- unintelligible utterances