Pragmatic perspectives on the second language acquisition of person reference in Japanese: a longitudinal study

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Abstract

This thesis presents a longitudinal study of the acquisition of person reference in Japanese by second language (L2) learners whose first language is English. Reference to persons is of particular interest in pragmatics as an area where discourse-pragmatic (referential coherence) and social (status marking) aspects of language intersect. Previous studies have discussed L2 reference as well as politeness and status marking in second languages. However, person reference itself has rarely been the object of investigation. The original contribution of this thesis is to include both social and discourse-pragmatic theories in a longitudinal study of this area of learner language. The study uses data from six learners of L2 Japanese after two years' classroom instruction in the UK, and after a further year's study in Japan, as well as native Japanese data. A range of communicative tasks is used to elicit person reference while providing variation in social and discourse-pragmatic conditions.

Learners' basic route of discourse-pragmatic development thus revealed is one where initial overexplicitness in person reference reduces over time but does not disappear altogether. As they develop, learners supply null forms more readily but overuse them in certain lower accessibility contexts. Physical presence of the referent is consistently the most important accessibility-determining factor for learners; over time they become more responsive to competition for the role of antecedent. For social factors, the terms used to refer to high-status persons are generally native-like from the pre-study abroad stage onwards. In many other respects, however, learners after study abroad use a greater range of forms and strategies than they do at the earlier stage. However, the results of this are not necessarily target-like.

These findings are in many respects consistent with those of previous studies, but are reached using a more detailed conception of social and discourse-pragmatic contexts than previous studies tend to. However, the often-reported overuse of informal variants is not found here, and the post-study abroad overuse of null forms found here is not reported elsewhere. I argue that these findings are consistent with a view of L2 pragmatic development as a process of gaining attentional control over pre-existing pragmatic representations (Bialystok 1994). Furthermore, accessibility theory (Ariel 1990), which is very rarely used in L2 research, is shown to provide a useful framework for analysing learners' discourse-pragmatic development.

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List of abbreviations used in this thesis

1+2	referring to speaker and hearer
1+3	referring to speaker and (a) third person(s)
adhon	addressee honorifics
AT	accessibility theory
COM	complex description
DCT	discourse completion task
df	degrees of freedom
E	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with no reference to other persons in between
FaN	family name
FuN	full name
GN	given name
H	hearer
I	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with reference to other persons between the term and its antecedent
L1	first language
L2	second language
NAM	name
NUL	null form
P	antecedent in previous utterance
PRO	pronoun
R	referent
refhon	referent honorifics
S	antecedent in same utterance
SA	study abroad
SIM	simple description
T	informal second-person pronoun such as French *tu*
V	formal second-person pronoun such as French *vous*

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Person reference

> How does one refer to persons in conversation? How does one pick out an individual from the myriad people in one's social world, so that the interlocutor(s) can home in on a specific individual with known properties — a face, a name, a social identity, a personality — immediately called up? This is a problem that is both frequent and universal, since talking about individual people — what they did, where they went, what they are like, what should be done with them or about them — preoccupies a large proportion of conversations around the world. (Brown 2007: 172)

This thesis is about the acquisition and use of person reference by English-speaking learners of Japanese as a second language. Person reference is defined as reference to any human referent(s), by overt or implicit means, who may have any discourse role (speaker, hearer or another person). As Brown (2007) points out in the passage quoted above, reference to persons is a ubiquitous feature of almost every genre of discourse, and is particularly central to everyday spoken communication. Indeed, successfully identifying and distinguishing between individual persons is a foundation of human social organisation of all kinds (Stivers et al. 2007: 2). The importance of person reference in discourse is matched by the great variety of linguistic means dedicated to its realisation. These include (but are not limited to): personal pronouns; personal names, nicknames, and titles; kinship terms; occupational terms; and descriptions of the identifying features of a person, such as physical appearance. In addition to overt person reference terms, implicit reference using null forms is another option which is common in some languages including Japanese. As such, speakers have a great range of means at their disposal when referring to persons, and the choice of person reference terms is as complex a process as it is commonplace.

Choosing an appropriate person reference term in context is a process dependent on lexical, grammatical and pragmatic knowledge of a language. For learners of second languages (L2s), whose knowledge of the target language in all these respects is still developing, the challenge is greater still. Yet at the same time, reference to persons is very frequent, and is crucial for communication. This means that L2 learners are presented with a difficult task that they are compelled to execute often and with some degree of success if they are to communicate in their L2. This thesis aims to further the understanding of how learners of L2 Japanese respond to the challenge of person reference, and how this changes as they develop.

1.2 Person reference in Japanese

The discussion in the paragraphs below is limited to an introduction and brief contextualisation of the kinds of person reference that appear in the data collected for this thesis, under the broad categories of null forms, pronouns, descriptions and names. To give a full account of the wider body of options for person reference available in present-day standard Japanese is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Japanese is characterised by a free distribution of null forms — in other words, overt reference terms can be freely omitted in a variety of contexts. For instance, in example (1), taken from my learner data, the verb *tsukamaeta* 'caught' lacks an overt subject. It would be equally grammatical to omit the object, or both subject and object.

1) L05: Shimakosan o (.) tsukamaeta .
"[**He**] caught Shimako-san."

By contrast, in English, null forms are sometimes found, but they are used much less freely than in Japanese, and tend to be restricted to a limited range of contexts, such as imperatives and co-ordinated structures. Yanagimachi's (2000: 118) data, for instance, gives 28% null subjects in person reference in native English narratives including first-, second- and third-person reference, as compared to 85% for native Japanese.

Scholars including Suzuki (1978) have argued that Japanese does not have true personal pronouns, and that what have often been described as the Japanese pronouns are simply ordinary nouns. However, the situation is better explained by reference to Sugamoto's (1989) hierarchy of pronominality, where pronouns in various languages can be classified on a scale from the most pronominal to the most nominal in character. Sugamoto classifies Japanese pronouns as rather more nominal than English pronouns, but nevertheless as distinct from ordinary nouns. In terms of reference, the key distinction, as pointed out by Takubo (1997), is that pronouns generally include specification of the referent's person, whereas ordinary descriptions do not. The table below (Ide 2006: 209) summarises the main part of the repertoire of first- and second-person pronouns in present-day standard Japanese.

		male	female
first person	formal	*watakushi, watashi*	
	plain	*boku*	*watashi, atashi*
	deprecatory	*ore*	(none)
second person	formal	*anata**	
	plain	*kimi**	*anata**
	deprecatory	*omae**	(none)

*not usable with high-status person

Table 1 First- and second-person pronouns in Japanese

In part because of the free use of null forms, overt personal pronouns are more highly socially indexical in Japanese than in English. First- and second-person pronouns conventionally index speaker gender as well as the level of formality, although the correspondences are not one-to-one. Furthermore, second-person pronouns are typically not used with high-status persons. In general, pronouns are a much less common choice in Japanese person reference than in English. Yanagimachi's (2000: 118) data on first-, second- and third-person reference combined gives just 4% pronouns for native Japanese speakers' person reference in subject position compared with 63% for native English.

I use the term 'descriptions' to mean ordinary nominal expressions (as distinct from pronouns and names) used in person reference. As shown in the examples below (again from my learner data), there is a great variety in the kinds of descriptions that can be used in person reference, and in their complexity.

2) L05: **sensee** wa **musume** ga imasu ne .
"**Teacher** [=you] have [a] **daughter** [don't you]."

3) L01: anoo **kono kiree onnanohito** wa watashi ni butsukatte mashita .
"Um, **this beautiful woman** was bumping into me."

4) L03: um **watashi no sensee** wa kibishisugiru to omoimasu .
"Um, [I] think that **my teacher** is too strict."

Types of descriptions include terms for the referent's role or profession (*sensee* 'teacher'), kinship terms (*musume* 'daughter'),[1] as well as those that provide more general descriptions such as *onnanohito* 'woman'. The use of descriptions is not limited to third-person reference — for instance, *sensee* 'teacher' in (2). Indeed, given

[1] There is a case for considering kinship terms separately from other descriptions, as Levinson (2007) does, but in my data they occur only rarely, so for simplicity I group them with descriptions.

the restriction on second-person pronouns as mentioned above, descriptions are a common means of referring to high-status hearers. However, descriptions referring to same- or lower-status persons, such as *tomodachi* 'friend', cannot be used in second-person reference (see Suzuki 1978). Since determiners are optional for nominal expressions in Japanese, the shortest descriptions are a single word long, such as *musume* 'daughter'. Deictic determiners, such as *kono* 'this' in (3), may be added, as may adjectives (*kiree* 'beautiful' in (3)). Descriptions may also incorporate reference to other persons aside from the main referent, as in (4), where reference to the speaker using the pronoun *watashi* 'I' forms part of a description referring to the speaker's teacher.

Although there is considerable variety in the nature and use of personal names on a global scale, names in Japanese are in most respects very similar to those in English. Normatively speaking, Japanese people have one family name and one given name which are assigned to them at birth and which they use throughout their lives, although some people (mainly women) may change their family names after marriage.[2] Typically, given names are gendered, but personal names otherwise encode little semantic information about their bearers. Names of all kinds — full name, family name, given name — may be accompanied by a variety of titles as suffixes. Among the more common of these are -*san*, an 'all-purpose' title, the more familiar -*chan*, and -*sensee*, which is used for teachers and doctors, among others. As compared to English titles such as *Ms.* or *Mr.*, Japanese titles are much more readily used. The use of names is not limited to third-person reference, and is a common means of referring to the hearer as well.

1.3 Discourse-pragmatic and social dimensions of person reference

A key underpinning of the approach taken to person reference in this thesis is the assumption that there are two dimensions to speakers' choice of person reference terms: the discourse-pragmatic and the social. This distinction is grounded in Enfield's (2009) proposal of dual motivations that are universally present in communication and that drive speakers' communicative choices. In his terms, these are the informational and affiliational imperatives, where the former means that "we need to ensure that we are being understood by others to a degree sufficient for current communicative purposes" and the latter "that we must ensure we are appropriately managing the social

[2] Just as in English, it is of course also possible to change one's name for other reasons, and to use several names concurrently, for example in the case of stage names.

consequences of any interaction we happen to be in" (Enfield 2009: 71–72). Person reference represents a particularly clear intersection of these dual imperatives. Person reference terms are chosen (in an attempt) to pick out a particular human referent or referents as needed for communicative purposes. At the same time, the form and content of person reference terms are socially consequential in that they can encode aspects of the relationship between speaker, hearer and referent.

Figure 1 below gives a simplified visual representation of the kinds of choices that speakers must make when choosing person reference terms. The various referential options given there are a selection of the terms used by speakers in my data for a single referent in a role play task. As such, any of them, along with countless other possibilities, could conceivably be used in such a sentence to refer to the person in question.

	[null form]	
'she'	*kanojo*	
'partner'	*paatonaa*	
'friend'	*tomodachi*	
'my friend'	*watashi no tomodachi*	
'my partner'	*watashi no paatonaa*	…(*wa*) *isogashisugiru*
'Japanese partner'	*nihonjin no paatonaa*	'… is too busy'
'Japanese classmate'	*nihonjin no kurasumeeto*	
family name	*Ishida*	
given name *-san*	*Emi-san*	
full name *-san*	*Ishida Emi-san*	

Figure 1 A representation of a speaker's choice of person reference terms[3]

In the paragraphs below, I outline first the discourse-pragmatic and then the social ways of understanding the choice between these options.

In discourse-pragmatic terms, this choice is understood as one where a term is chosen which will successfully allow the hearer to identify its referent given the informational context at the moment of referring. Such context includes: whether or not the referent has been mentioned previously, and, if so, how frequently and how recently; how prominent the referent's role is in what is being discussed; whether the referent is physically present at the scene of the interaction; how far this referent must be distinguished from other persons whom the speaker might be assumed to be referring

[3] The particle *wa* given as part of the sentence ending can only be used following an overt reference term, and so would not be used with a null form.

to.[4] According to context, the speaker may choose more minimal forms, such as null forms or pronouns like *kanojo* 'she', above, which in themselves provide the hearer with few means to identify the intended referent. In contrast, if the referent's full name is used, the potential for ambiguity in identifying the person being referred to is greatly reduced. The principle at work here is that of referential specification, which Levinson (2007) uses to construct a scale of person reference terms, and which is the basis for the classification of referring expressions used in this thesis. Between the poles of minimal (null forms, pronouns) and maximal referential specification (names), is a variety of descriptions. The examples in Figure 1, including *tomodachi* 'friend' and *nihonjin no kurasumeeto* 'Japanese classmate' vary in how much information (and what kind) they give about the referent. In principle, more informative descriptions are more referentially specific because each additional piece of information about the referent further reduces the set of possible referents.

At the same time as choosing a person reference term based on the informational context, the speaker also does so based on the social context involved. In the case of third-person reference, such context includes the relationship between speaker and referent and that between speaker and hearer, as well as the context of what the speaker is trying to achieve in the utterance and in the interaction as a whole. For instance, the utterance in Figure 1 might be an expression of the speakers' disapproval of the referent, or it might equally be an expression of the speakers' sympathy towards her, or even an indirect request to the hearer to do something about the situation. If a name is used, the use or non-use of a title like *-san* is motivated by the nature of the social relationships involved. For descriptions, the selection of what features of the referent to bring to prominence is also socially meaningful. In a situation where *watashi no tomodachi* 'my friend' and *watashi no paatonaa* 'my partner' (here meaning someone the speaker is working with for a class project) can both be applied to the same person, the choice between them is a choice of whether to mention, respectively, the affective or the structural aspect of the relationship between speaker and referent. Again, such a choice is governed by social factors.

1.4 The aims and structure of this thesis

This thesis aims to provide a longitudinal account of learners' acquisition of person reference based on their production at two key stages in development: a pre-

[4] The four aspects of context mentioned here draw on accessibility theory (Ariel 1990), which is introduced greater detail in the main part of this thesis.

intermediate level after two years of classroom study in a foreign language environment, and after a further year's study abroad in Japan. Social and discourse-pragmatic perspectives are applied to the analysis of learners' production. These analyses in turn reveal learners' path of development over the period studied. This thesis aims to contextualise this development in terms of theories of acquisition, language specifics and universals, and by comparing it to what is found in previous similar research. These aims are set out below in the research questions for this thesis.

1) How do English-speaking learners of Japanese use person reference terms before and after study abroad

a) considered through discourse-pragmatic factors?

b) considered through social factors?

c) compared with Japanese native speakers in these respects?

2) What does this reveal about learner development over the period studied, which combines residence abroad with continued classroom instruction?

3) What does the above reveal about the acquisition of person reference in second languages?

a) What might explain learners' route of development?

b) What is the relation between language universals and language specifics in learners' development?

c) How do these results compare to those of other studies?

In chapters 2 and 3, I outline the discourse-pragmatic and social research contexts, respectively. In each case, I begin with a consideration of relevant approaches to the study of (person) reference, and I set out the analytical approach favoured in this thesis. For the discourse-pragmatic analysis, this is a modified version of accessibility theory (Ariel 1990); for the social analysis, the main theoretical framework drawn on is Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness universals. The second halves of chapters 2 and 3 set out the findings from relevant research in second language acquisition. Since person reference itself is rarely the object of such studies, the focus is wider. In chapter 2, I look more broadly at studies of reference in second languages. In chapter 3, I consider a variety of studies on learners' use or acquisition of features of a second

language that are sensitive to social context such as interpersonal relationships and socio-stylistic variation, for which I use the umbrella term 'socially-orientated studies'. Drawing on the background as established thus far, in chapter 4 I present and discuss the research questions given above. I go on to give details of the design of the research study used to address these questions, which is a two-stage longitudinal study of six English-speaking learners of Japanese, along with comparable native Japanese data. A range of communicative tasks is used in order to assess how participants respond to variation in social and discourse-pragmatic conditions. Chapter 4 also details the procedures used in the transcription, coding and analysis of the data produced by these tasks.

The data collected for this thesis is analysed separately using the discourse-pragmatic and social frameworks set out in chapters 2 and 3, respectively. In each case, the main approach used is to compare what learners, as a group, produce at each stage in various contexts as defined socially or discourse-pragmatically in order to show whether (and how far) such variation affects the choice of person reference terms. The performance of the group of learners at the two stages is compared in order to show how they change over time. The native speakers' data is used to contextualise learners' development — that is, to show how far they are target-like at each stage and whether this changes over time. At the end of each analysis chapter, I summarise the development that has been revealed, followed by a discussion of how this development might be accounted for. Finally, I discuss the relationship between language universals and specifics in what has been observed, and the relationship of my findings to those of previous studies. This analysis begins in chapter 5 with a consideration of the effects of individual discourse-pragmatic variables (accessibility-determining factors). The discourse pragmatic analysis continues in chapter 6 with a discussion of the ways in which different accessibility-determining factors act together to determine speakers' choice of person reference terms. This is a useful extension of chapter 5 because it allows for direct comparison of the relative contributions of different accessibility-determining factors to learners' choice of person reference terms, and for consideration of how these factors interact. The social analysis is found in chapter 7, where learners' production is considered in the light of the relative status — higher than or similar to the speaker — of the hearer and of the referent. The relationship between person reference and verbal honorifics is also analysed. Finally, the conclusion to the thesis is in chapter 8, where I summarise the main findings and discuss directions for future research.

1.5 Translation and romanisation of Japanese

Some final brief notes are necessary about the translation and romanisation of Japanese in this thesis as used in example sentences, data extracts and items in the bibliography. The data used in this thesis is transcribed using a modified version of the Hepburn romanisation system suitable for entry in the software CLAN (Minami 1998a). Long vowels are shown by doubling the vowel, such as in *repooto* 'report', rather than by using a macron. A long /e/ is written *ee* rather than *ei*, so, for instance, the Japanese word for 'teacher' is transcribed as *sensee*. For consistency, example sentences quoted from other sources are re-spelled in keeping with this romanisation method. Written (non-romanised) Japanese does not use spaces between words, so the Wakachi2002 v4.0 guidelines (Miyata 2003) for spacing romanised Japanese are followed here. One stipulation of these guidelines is that titles such as -*san* and -*sensee*, and plural markers like -*tachi* are written directly after the word they attach to without a space or hyphen. This is reflected in the data excerpts, but elsewhere when I mention these words, I include a hyphen for clarity. The description *sensee* 'teacher' and the title -*sensee* (used for teachers, among others) are distinguished by the preceding hyphen used with the latter.

When example sentences or extracts from the data appear in the thesis, they are presented with an English translation that gives a close approximation of the meaning of the original. Where necessary, directly corresponding items (usually person reference terms) in the original and the translation are given in bold. Elements present in the translation that are not explicitly part of the original Japanese — such as the translation of null forms — are given in square brackets in the translation. For example, in the extract below, the two instance of *she* in square brackets in the English translation correspond to null forms in the original Japanese.

5) L01: uh **Ishidasan** wa uh isogashisugiru kara uh kimasen to itte imashita .
"Uh, **Ishida-san**, uh, said that [**she**] is too busy so [**she**] won't come."

For Japanese-language sources mentioned in the bibliography, as far as possible each entry includes the original Japanese representation of the author's name and of the title of the article, book or journal. English translations are also given for article, book or journal titles; where possible these are taken from the original sources. Authors' names are transcribed using standard Hepburn romanisation.

Chapter 2. Discourse-pragmatic approaches to the study of person reference

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss discourse-pragmatic approaches to the phenomenon of reference, and the body of related research on the acquisition and use of referring expressions by second language learners. As discussed earlier, this thesis aims to take account of the social and discourse-pragmatic perspectives on person reference. Since there is very little overlap in the body of research studies using these two perspectives, I begin in this chapter with the discourse-pragmatic background; a similar discussion of the social background is found in the next chapter. I define a discourse-pragmatic approach as one that relates choice of person reference terms to discourse context, typically including aspects of the preceding linguistic material and of the wider context. Similarly, studies of reference in second languages (L2s) of a discourse-pragmatic orientation are defined as those that look at how learners' use of referring expressions varies according to the discourse context, and (potentially) how this varies over time or at different proficiency levels.

In section 2.2, I consider how far a number of the better-known theories of reference meet the requirements of this thesis, followed by an outline and justification of the model I adopt, which is a modified version of accessibility theory. This theoretical model informs the methods used in data collection, coding and analysis for the discourse-pragmatic component of this thesis. Secondly, in 2.3 I give an overview of the most relevant studies on L2 reference, which form an important background informing the methods used in this research as well as allowing my results to be contextualised. Finally, some brief concluding remarks are in section 2.4.

2.2 Discourse-pragmatic theories of reference

I define a discourse-pragmatic approach as one that relates choice of person reference terms to discourse context. The scope of what is included in discourse context varies across different theories, but it generally includes various aspects of the preceding linguistic material (such as prior mention of the referent, discourse prominence of the referent) as well as aspects of the wider context (such as physical presence of the referent, prior knowledge of the referent). In the models examined below, speakers' choice of reference terms is generally conceived of as one of matching linguistic forms with discourse contexts. For instance, if a name is used in initial reference, this is

modelled as the matching of a context (initial reference) which has certain features, with a form (a name) which has properties that make it suitable for use in this context. This thesis aims to account for second language learners' development using data from learners at two points in time and from native speakers. The discourse-pragmatic portion of this will be achieved by comparing learners at two stages (as well as comparing learners with native speakers) in terms of how speakers in each group match referential forms with discourse contexts. A discourse-pragmatic framework that meets the needs of this thesis should therefore give an account of linguistic forms and discourse contexts, should be suitable for analysing reference to persons (as opposed to reference more generally), and should provide potential explanations for non-native-like use of person reference by learners. I outline each of these three requirements in more detail below.

Firstly, the discourse-pragmatic framework used should provide a clear account of the properties of person reference terms (for instance, what distinguishes a noun from a pronoun?) as well as the distinguishing features of the utterance contexts in which they appear (for instance, what distinguishes initial from subsequent mention of a person?). This is essential because it will provide the criteria by which to code the data and then analyse it. Furthermore, the account of contexts and forms should be transparent and non-circular. To be transparent means that the principles underlying the classification of forms and contexts should be clear and consistently applied. To be non-circular means that forms are not defined solely according to the contexts in which they appear, and vice versa.[5] This kind of separation of form from context is particularly crucial for analysis of second languages, since learners may not match forms with contexts in native-like ways.

Secondly, most of the theories outlined below are more general theories of reference. However, since reference to people is the focus of this research, the framework used should not neglect the particularities of person reference. That is, it should account for a full range of forms that can be used in person reference, including names, descriptions,

[5] A hypothetical example of the kind of circular reasoning to be avoided is as follows. If names are used more often than null forms in initial reference, it is not sufficient simply to define names as better initial referring expressions than null forms. Rather, it would be necessary to point to some characteristic of names that motivates their choice over that of pronouns in contexts such as initial mentions. In other words, in a non-circular framework, the difference between names and null forms is motivated by inherent properties of these expressions which then affect their distribution, rather than being defined simply by the facts of their distribution.

personal pronouns, and so on. Moreover, it should pay some attention to the content of expressions, not just their form, so that the differences between descriptions like *the teacher* and *the elderly teacher of Japanese* are taken into account.

Thirdly, since this is a study of second language learners, an ideal theory should include consideration of what motivates non-optimal use of person reference terms by speakers. For instance, it should explain what could be behind a speaker's choice of a reference term that does not allow the hearer to successfully identify the intended referent (otherwise known as "failed reference"). Given an explanation of how forms normally match discourse contexts (the first requirement above), it then becomes possible to identify where learners do not match forms and contexts in the expected way. In addition to this, an ideal theoretical framework would give some suggestions about the motivations underlying choice of person reference terms in a way that provides potential explanations for any idiosyncrasies of second language learners.

It is my contention that accessibility theory (Ariel 1990), somewhat modified by Levinson's (2007) framework best meets the demands of this research. In the subsections below, I begin in 2.2.1 by outlining a number of popular theoretical frameworks that, although they have been used elsewhere, do not entirely meet my requirements. Following this, I give a more detailed overview of accessibility theory (2.2.2), which offers a number of advantages over the theories discussed in the previous section, but is still not without its limitations. In order to address this, I set out in 2.2.3 a method of modifying accessibility theory with Levinson's framework in order to retain its core while addressing its limitations.

2.2.1 *Overview of discourse-pragmatic theories*

In this section, I outline a number of potentially suitable theories which have been used in various previous studies of reference. The models discussed are topic continuity (2.2.1.1), the givenness hierarchy (2.2.1.2) and centering theory (2.2.1.3). These theories provide each some or all of the following: a conceptual model of how forms are matched with contexts, a classification of forms (often along a scale), and a codification of the key features of discourse context. I summarise what each theory provides, and consider how far it meets the criteria set out in the previous section.

2.2.1.1 *Topic continuity*

The topic continuity model (Givón 1983a) claims that referring expressions are chosen to mark how continuous the topic (i.e. the referent) is in the discourse. It is used in many studies of reference, including studies of reference in second languages such as Nakahama (2009a, inter alia) and Chini (2005). Topics that are more continuous are those that are easier for the speaker or hearer to identify, and therefore to process information about (Givón 1983b: 11). This model proposes a scale of expressions marking more or less continuous topics, as well a list of the discourse measures that can be used to assess how continuous a particular topic is. The scale of expressions is given in (1) below (adapted from Givón 1983b: 18), from markers of the most to least continuous topics.

1) Scale of referential forms in the topic continuity model
   null form > unstressed pronoun, agreement > stressed pronoun > full NP

The organising principle of scale (1) is that of phonological size ─ essentially this means it is a scale from the shortest to the longest expressions. In addition, the topic continuity model considers linguistic means beyond reference forms themselves for marking topic continuity, such as right- and left-dislocation, where the former marks higher continuity than the latter. Because it is organised according to a single clear principle, scale (1) is attractive in its simplicity. However, by focussing on attenuation, the scale fails to differentiate between different types of noun phrase. A single category of 'full NP' means that no difference is made between short and long descriptions, and it is unclear whether names would have a special place in the ordering. In addition to scale (1) above, topic continuity as used for Japanese data generally seems to follow Hinds' (1983, 1984) approach of considering grammatical marking of noun phrases as well. This includes the claim that NP + *ga* (subject marker) marks less continuous topics than NP + *wa* (topic marker).

The second element of the topic continuity model is its assessment of discourse context. Four measures are proposed to predict whether topics are more or less continuous: referential distance, potential interference, and switch reference (Givón 1992: 16). Distance is a measure of the number of clauses between a referring expression and the nearest preceding expression with the same referent. Larger values for distance mean less continuous topics. Potential interference is a count of "the number of semantically compatible referents within the preceding 1−2 clauses" (Givón 1992: 16), where more

potential interference makes topics less continuous. Finally, switch reference is a binary measure of whether or not the preceding clause mentions the referent in question. Switch reference would seem, then, to overlap with distance in that the referent's presence in the immediately preceding clause can also be conceptualised as very short referential distance.

Overall, topic continuity provides a non-circular assessment of how contexts and linguistic forms are matched. However, although scale (1) above is organised around a single clear principle — that of phonological size —, it does not take into account the content of different noun phrases, or the potentially special status of names in person reference. As such it would need some adaptation to be more suitable for person reference research. Furthermore, the Japanese-specific addition of scales ranking the methods of marking overt reference terms (with *wa*, *ga*, etc.), introduces a parallel scale of expressions whose organising principle cannot be phonological size. As for its assessment of context, topic continuity only really provides two measurements of discourse context — distance and potential interference —, since switch reference overlaps with the latter.

2.2.1.2 *The givenness hierarchy*

The givenness hierarchy is a model outlined in Gundel et al. (1993, and further explored in Gundel 1996, 2010, Gundel et al. 2010, 2012). In the givenness hierarchy, the matching of form to context is modelled as one where the level of givenness of a referent is marked by a referring expression that encodes procedural information which communicates this level of givenness, thus allowing the hearer to identify the speaker's intended referent. Givenness — also called 'cognitive status' in the theory — is defined as the referent's "location in memory and attention state" (Gundel 1996: 145). There are six possible cognitive statuses, which are arranged in an implicational hierarchy as follows (Gundel et al. 1993: 275).

2) Implicational hierarchy of givenness
   in focus > activated > familiar > uniquely identifiable > referential > type identifiable

Although this seems close in spirit to topic continuity (above) and accessibility theory (2.2.2), Gundel (2010) states that the givenness hierarchy model is not an accessibility theory, and that the levels of givenness codify the manner of accessibility rather than the degree of accessibility as they do in these other models. A characteristic feature of the

givenness hierarchy is that the levels of givenness are in a relationship of "unidirectional entailment" (Gundel 2010: 55), such that any level in (2) above necessarily entails all the other levels to its right. This is distinct from accessibility theory and topic continuity, where the different levels of referent accessibility or topic continuity are mutually exclusive. The theory is not, in itself, concerned with defining the criteria that determine a referent's level of givenness. Indeed, the definition of such criteria is specifically excluded from the theory as "assumed to be part of a more general theory of information processing" (Gundel 2010: 53).

The scale of terms used to mark levels of givenness is constructed for individual languages. The general principle is that forms and statuses are not assumed to have any one-to-one correspondence (Gundel 2010: 162), so different languages vary in how many form types (if any) are associated with each level of givenness. Furthermore, the implicational nature of the hierarchy of givenness in (2) means that forms normally associated with a particular level may potentially, by a process of scalar implicature, mark referents of any higher level of givenness. For instance, a term associated with the level 'familiar' may also mark referents that are in focus or activated, since these are also, by definition, familiar. This helps to explain why, although forms have a typical association with a particular level of givenness, they may also be found elsewhere. The proposal for Japanese is given below in Table 2 (Gundel et al. 1993: 284).

in focus	activated	familiar	uniquely identifiable / referential / type identifiable
null form	pronoun *kore* 'this$_{\text{PROXIMAL}}$' *sore* 'that$_{\text{MEDIAL}}$' *are* 'that$_{\text{DISTAL}}$' *kono* N 'this$_{\text{PROXIMAL}}$ N' *sono* N 'this$_{\text{MEDIAL}}$ N'	*ano* N 'that$_{\text{DISTAL}}$ N'	Ø N

Table 2 Scale of Japanese terms marking levels of givenness

The scale above concentrates mostly on the form of referring expressions, and does not address their content. That is, it distinguishes between determiner-marked nouns and bare nouns, but does not include any mention of names, and does not consider differences between shorter and longer noun phrases. It is also noticeable that despite the inclusion of a range of terms, only four distinctions in givenness marking are

proposed for Japanese.[6] This leaves bare nouns marking three levels of givenness, while no distinction is made between pronouns and the majority of determiner-marked nouns. It is claimed that that the correlation between forms and the statuses they mark is non-arbitrary (Gundel et al. 1993: 285), but no single feature of referential forms is proposed that correlates with their givenness-marking properties.

When assessed in light of the requirements of this research, the givenness hierarchy has a number of weaknesses. Its scale of Japanese referring expressions is not ideal for use in analysis because fails to distinguish between a number of quite different forms. Furthermore, it does not pay any attention to the content of referring expressions beyond whether or not they occur with determiners. One result of this is that names are not clearly integrated into the system,[7] making it less suitable for person reference research. Finally, it does not attempt to provide an account of how discourse context determines referent givenness, which makes it a difficult theory to operationalise.

2.2.1.3 *Centering theory*

Centering theory is used notably in Yoshida's (2011) study of reference in English and Japanese. The theory is presented by Grosz et al. (1995; further discussed in Chambers and Smyth 1998, Poesio et al. 2004, among many others). However, as I outline briefly below, centering theory does not address the needs of the present research well. It is a theory of the role of reference in discourse coherence on a local level which focusses on the way in which utterances relate to one another. This is done by proposing the concepts of backwards and forwards looking 'centers' that, respectively, link back to the previous utterance, and lay the ground for potential future reference to entities mentioned in the utterance. Centering theory is particularly concerned with two related issues. The first of these is the question of which entities are most salient, and therefore can be referred to with reduced forms — that is, using pronouns or null forms. The second is how the referents of reduced forms are interpreted. As such, it is not primarily a theory of how speakers use reference. Furthermore, it "cannot be taken as a theory about referring expressions in general" (Ariel 2001: 65) since, unlike the other

[6] English, in contrast, is claimed to have distinct forms for all six levels of givenness (Gundel et al. 1993: 284).

[7] Mulkern (1996) does provide an account of how personal names could be integrated into the givenness hierarchy as markers of uniquely identifiable or familiar referents. However, this suggestion has not been taken up by the theory's main proponents (Gundel 2010, Gundel et al. 2010, 2012), whose formulation of the theory focuses on entirely on the (non-)use of determiners and the noun/pronoun distinction.

theories outlined here, it concentrates on a binary of minimal versus fuller forms and therefore is not concerned with the range of possible forms used in person reference. The category of reduced forms does not distinguish between pronouns and null forms (although Japanese certainly uses both in person reference). That of fuller forms groups a range of expressions without providing tools to distinguish between descriptions of varying richness and names. The final limitation of centering theory is that its focus on very local context means that there is not clear agreement about how it applies to discourse context defined more broadly (Yoshida 2011: 11). As such, centering theory lacks the type of treatment of linguistic forms and of discourse context that would be most useful for the present research.

2.2.2 *Accessibility theory*

Accessibility Theory (AT) is a discourse-pragmatic theory of reference introduced by Ariel (1988, 1990) and further explored and discussed by her in numerous other works (Ariel 1991, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2010, inter alia). AT's central claim is that all referring expressions act as markers of referent accessibility. In other words, as well as their semantic content, referring expressions encode procedural information "pertain[ing] to how accessible the representation of the retrieved referent is for the addressee according to the speaker's best estimate" (Ariel 2010: 149–150). Accessibility can be defined as the degree of ease the hearer is assumed to have in calling forth a mental representation of the intended referent. If referent accessibility is low, the hearer may be retrieving this representation from her or his general knowledge (Ariel 1990: 33). Highly accessible referents, on the other hand, are those whose representations can be retrieved from more immediate sources such as the directly preceding linguistic material (Ariel 1988: 68). As touched upon in the discussion of the givenness hierarchy, accessibility as a concept is distinct from that of givenness. However, Ariel (1990: 225) suggests that accessibility encompasses Givón's (1983a) concept of topic continuity, which in her terms can equally be called "referent Accessibility continuity".

As modelled by AT, the process by which a speaker chooses a referring expression is thus one of estimating how accessible a mental representation of the intended referent is for the hearer, and choosing an expression which encodes this level of accessibility. The theory goes on to account for what determines the level of accessibility marked by

different referring expressions, as well as the elements of discourse context that determine referent accessibility. I will discuss each of these below, in that order.

The accessibility marking scale proposed by AT is as follows, from markers of the lowest to the highest referent accessibility (Ariel 2001: 31; some terminology changed).

3) The accessibility marking scale
full name + modifier > full name > long definite description > short definite description > family name > given name > distal demonstrative + modifier > proximate demonstrative[8] + modifier > distal demonstrative + NP > proximate demonstrative + NP > distal demonstrative (−NP) > proximate demonstrative (−NP) > stressed pronoun + gesture > stressed pronoun > unstressed pronoun > cliticized pronoun > verbal person inflections > null forms

This scale encompasses the orders of forms proposed for topic continuity in (1) and the givenness hierarchy in (2) above. All agree on the general points, for instance that null forms mark referents which are 'easier' to refer to (as assessed by higher accessibility, greater continuity or a higher givenness level) than those marked by overt forms. However, the advantage of AT's scale is that it provides a much fuller consideration of the range of referring expressions. This is particularly suitable for analysis of person reference because it gives special consideration to names, as well as paying attention to the content of other overt forms by distinguishing between long and short descriptions.

Scale (3) above is claimed to be universal. However, this universality is limited to its prediction of relative levels of accessibility marked by different form types. Since not all form types are permitted in all languages, and some may be constrained in their use even when permitted, the absolute accessibility-marking properties of referring expressions in a language is a result of the influence of "language-specific facts to generate the specific scale of Accessibility actually operative in the language" (Ariel 1990: 76). An example discussed by Ariel (1990: 89–90), drawing on results from Clancy (1980) and Hinds (1978) is the use of pronouns and null forms in English and Japanese. As seen in (3) above, null forms are predicted to always mark higher accessibility than pronouns. However, the use of null forms in English is usually restricted to a limited number of contexts (such as imperatives and coordinated structures), whereas null forms are much more freely used in Japanese. Conversely,

[8] In Japanese and other languages with three demonstrative levels, expressions with medial demonstratives are presumably claimed to mark a level of accessibility that is higher than equivalent expressions with distal demonstratives and lower than equivalent expressions with proximate demonstratives.

Japanese pronouns are rather more marked than their English counterparts.[9] The result is that in English, null forms are reserved for marking the highest referent accessibility, with pronouns used to mark a greater range of lower levels of accessibility. In Japanese, on the other hand, null forms mark a range of accessibilities from highest downwards, while pronouns are reserved for somewhat lower accessibility. This can be summarised visually in Figure 2.

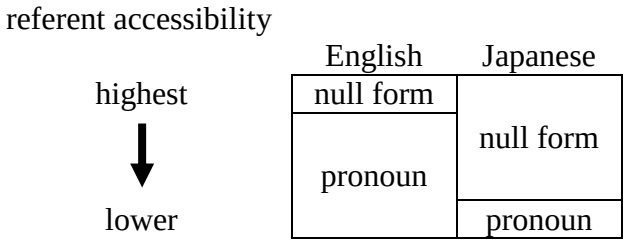

Figure 2 The accessibility marked by null forms and pronouns in English and Japanese

As shown above, the relative accessibility marked by pronouns and null forms is consistent in both languages. However, particular facts of English and Japanese mean that their null forms and pronouns are not equivalent in the absolute level of referent accessibility they mark.

As for how the accessibility marking scale in (3) is derived, three principles are given: informativity, rigidity and attenuation (Ariel 1990: 79–82). They are summarised in Table 3.

principle	general definition	effect on accessibility marking
informativity	how semantically rich a term is	more informative terms mark lower accessibility
rigidity	"how close [a term] is to pointing to one entity unequivocally in a potentially ambiguous context" (Ariel 1990: 81)	more rigid terms mark lower accessibility
attenuation	how formally simple a term is	less attenuated terms mark lower accessibility

Table 3 Summary of the features used to rank referring expressions in AT

Of the three principles, informativity is claimed to be the most important; in general, "the lower the Accessibility marker, the more lexical information it normally incorporates ... [t]he more lexical information it imparts, the better retriever it is" (1988: 82). Rigidity often correlates with informativity. For instance, longer descriptions are

[9] The same is argued by Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 157).

more informative than shorter ones, and at the same time reduce potential ambiguity in identifying the intended referent: compare, for example, *the Prime Minister* with *the Prime Minister of Japan*. However, the two do not always correlate, and rigidity, not informativity, is the key criterion that places names at the very low end of the accessibility marking scale. This is because names (full names in particular) attach to specific individuals and maximally reduce any ambiguity in determining the referent. Attenuation, too, overlaps with informativity in that more informative terms tend also to be longer. Ariel (1990: 81–2) claims, however, that attenuation alone differentiates some higher accessibility markers, such as null forms and verbal person agreement, where the former are more attenuated and therefore mark higher accessibility.

In AT, to choose a referring expression is to match an accessibility marker (a referring expression) to the degree of referent accessibility as judged by the speaker. Following the outline above of AT's classification of forms, I now turn to the AT account of the factors that determine referent accessibility. The level of accessibility of a particular referent is codified in AT as due to four main accessibility-determining factors (Ariel 1990: 22–29): distance, unity, saliency and competition. AT's distance and competition are essentially analogous to distance and potential interference in the topic continuity framework. The four factors are summarised in Table 4 below.

factor	general definition	effect on referent accessibility
distance	the distance between the referring expression and its antecedent	increased distance: decreased accessibility
unity	whether the referring expression and its antecedent occur in the same discursive unit	lack of unity: decreased accessibility
competition	whether there are multiple possible candidates for the role of antecedent for the referring expression	increased competition: decreased accessibility
saliency	whether the antecedent is "a salient referent" (Ariel 1990: 29)	decreased saliency: decreased accessibility

Table 4 Summary of accessibility-determining factors

Particularly in later work (Ariel 1996: 22–23, 2001: 32–34), Ariel emphasises that these four factors can be grouped into two types. One the one hand, distance and unity both concern the relationship between a term and its antecedent, namely whether the antecedent is close, and whether any discursive boundary separates the term from its antecedent. On the other, competition and saliency both concern how prominent the referent is in the discourse. If competition is low, the referent is prominent in the sense

that there is little or no possibility of interpreting a term referring to it as referring to any other entity. Prominence through high saliency can be measured in a number of ways, including whether the referent is a local or discourse topic (topics being more salient, thus more accessible) and whether the referent is the speaker or the addressee, who are "inherently more salient" (Ariel 1996: 22), thus more accessible, than other referents. The combination of these four accessibility-determining factors, which take into account various aspects of discourse context, determines how accessible a particular referent will be. In its proposal of four distinct measures of referent accessibility, AT is distinct from topic continuity, which provides two, and from the givenness hierarchy, which does not clearly provide any. This is particularly useful for data analysis as it allows for a more detailed consideration of learners' use of reference, using the four measures separately, as well as looking at interactions between them.

Let us return to the criteria set out at the beginning of this section for an ideal theoretical framework. AT largely avoids the trap of circular reasoning. It argues for informativity, rigidity and attenuation as the key features that define the positions of referring expressions on the accessibility marking scale, while defining referent accessibility according to four aspects of utterance context: distance, competition, saliency and unity. Furthermore, the accessibility marking scale takes account of the content of referring expressions in various ways, such as by separating names from other nouns, and by distinguishing between long and short descriptions. In this respect, it is superior to the other theories considered earlier. However, there is some opacity in the relationship between informativity, rigidity and attenuation in defining the accessibility-marking properties of referring expressions. It is clear that although the three criteria employed by Ariel overlap substantially, they do not always correlate with each other, most noticeably in the case of names. In terms of rigidity, names are maximally rigid, but semantically they are not at all rich; they may also be quite attenuated.[10] By mixing types of names and descriptions at the low accessibility end of scale (3) (full name > description > last/first name only), AT mixes forms of high rigidity and low

[10] In many societies, including Britain and Japan, personal names contain very little semantic information about their referent. Names are attached to specific individuals, but besides typically encoding the gender of their referent, they do not usually encode anything further about what *sort* of person they are attached to. Compare *Paul Carpenter* (a full name) and *Paul, the carpenter* (given name with description): it is clear that the professional description *carpenter* contains semantic information that not present in *Carpenter* used as a personal name. For this reason, Ariel's apparent claim that names are high in informativity is misleading: "we have quite a lot of information in expressions such as *Joan Smith*" (Ariel 1990: 80).

informativity with those of lower rigidity and high informativity. Moreover, the distinctions between types of demonstratives (where proximate *this N* marks higher accessibility than distal *that N*) do not directly relate to informativity, rigidity and attenuation at all. Rather, they are justified by appeals to the distribution of these expressions in actual discourse (Ariel 1988: 76, an instance of circular reasoning) and their effect on the "ease of retrieving the intended referent" (Ariel 1990: 53). A further issue with the accessibility marking scale as proposed is the large number of expression types it recognises. Although this detailed attention to the differences between form types is an advantage of AT, in practical terms it is difficult to code for and analyse the distribution of eighteen or more distinct types of person reference terms, as set out in AT's scale (3) earlier. A final limitation of AT is that, alone, it does not provide clear grounds for analysis of failed reference or other non-optimal uses of reference that may be found in second languages. Ariel (1990: Ch.9) discusses atypical uses of referential forms, but only for those cases where speakers manipulate accessibility marking "in order to encourage an addressee to derive specific additional contextual implications" (1990: 199).

In sum, AT is superior to the other theories discussed so far because its assessment of referring expressions is better suited to person reference, and because it accounts for discourse context more comprehensively than any of the others. However, some weaknesses remain in that AT, in an unmodified state, is still somewhat opaque in the derivation of its ranking of referring expressions, as well as distinguishing between a rather large number of expression types. Finally, it does not in itself address the issue of failed reference. In the following section, I introduce a final set of ideas which can modify AT in order to address these weaknesses.

2.2.3 *Supplementing accessibility theory*

The weaknesses in AT identified above can be addressed by modifying it somewhat in the light of Levinson's (2007) framework of person reference. This framework is further discussed by Stivers et al. (2007), Sacks and Schegloff (2007) and Stivers (2007). A particular point of interest of this model is that, unlike the others presented here, it is the only one specifically developed for person reference. It is empirically grounded in spoken language, drawing mainly on data on initial reference to third persons and instances of repair from Yélî Dnye, a language of Papua New Guinea. It is claimed, however, to hold broadly universally (Levinson 2007: 71–2). The model claims that a

person reference term is chosen in response to a dynamic tension between competing preferences for achieving recognition with the term used and economy of referential specification. Finally, certain social conventions or taboos may also intervene in the form of a preference for circumspection.[11] The three preferences are defined as follows (Levinson 2007: 31).[12]

4) Recognition: Restrict the set of referents so as to achieve recognition

5) Circumspection: Show circumspection by not over-reducing the set of referents explicitly

6) Economy: Don't over-restrict the set of referents explicitly

All these preferences motivate speakers to act in some way on the set of referents, that is, on the group of persons whom a particular person reference term could potentially refer to. For instance, the description *the teacher* has as its set of potential referents all persons who are teachers, whereas the pronoun *she* has a much larger set since potentially it could refer to any female person (not to mention animals or other non-human referents). In this way, if the intended referent is a female teacher, the choice to refer using *the teacher* rather than *she* would be a relative restriction of the set of referents; the opposite choice would restrict the set of referents less. Although three preferences are proposed, Stivers et al. (2007: 16) in their survey of Levinson's and other related work conclude that "there was insufficient evidence across other languages to consider [the] possibility [of a preference for circumspection] cross-linguistically". I follow their view that there are essentially two preferences operating, and I give separate consideration to the effect of social factors on person reference. This leaves two competing preferences for achieving recognition and economy. To continue the example above, achieving recognition would lead speakers to use *the teacher* rather than *she*, while economy would lead to the opposite preference. For second language acquisition, Williams (1988) in fact makes an independent but almost identical proposal of "the production principles of economy and hyperclarity" (Williams 1988: 367). She

[11] Circumspection addresses conventions or taboos whereby particular individuals should not be referred to in particular ways. In Levinson's (2007) examples, certain kin cannot be referred to by name in Yélî Dnye, and in English, first names are dispreferred in certain formal settings.

[12] The preferences are given in order of precedence. That is, recognition can take precedence over the others, and circumspection can take precedence over economy where applicable.

argues that the tension between the two can explain non-target-like uses of referring expressions by second language learners.

Levinson's model, like AT, conceives of a scale of referential forms, on which the two competing preferences act in opposite directions. The scale is as follows (Levinson 2007: 34).

7) Levinson's scale of referential forms
   names > kin terms > minimal descriptions > pronouns

The preference for achieving recognition pushes speakers towards fuller forms on the left end of the scale, while that for economy pushes towards the leaner forms on the right. The organising principle of the scale for is that of "diminishing *referential competition*" from right to left, where terms further to the left add "further restrictive semantic conditions on the referent" (Levinson 2007: 55, emphasis original). Pronouns restrict the set of referents minimally, while names, especially full names, restrict the set maximally. Whereas AT considers three factors — informativity, rigidity, attenuation — to contribute to the ranking of reference terms, Levinson employs only one — referential specification — and explicitly rejects the others (Levinson 2007: 55). The result is a model which proposes a dynamic tension between economy and achieving reference whenever speakers select a person reference term, where each pushes the speaker in opposite directions on a scale of terms from the most to the least referentially specific. When a person reference term is (successfully) chosen, it is the one which will allow the hearer to identify the intended referent while restricting the number of potential referents as little as possible.

The first two limitations of AT identified earlier are that the relationship between informativity, rigidity and attenuation is opaque, and that AT distinguishes between a larger number of form types than could be practically analysed. Both can be resolved by applying Levinson's principle of a scale of referring expressions based only on referential specification. This is closely equivalent to AT's rigidity (but see discussion below). Referring expressions like names and longer descriptions that specify their referents with little potential ambiguity are lower accessibility markers, while those like pronouns and null forms that leave much greater potential ambiguity as to their referent are higher accessibility markers. The revised scale (8) is given below, where terms further to the right are less referentially specific and therefore higher accessibility markers. The category of kin terms, which are frequent in Levinson's dataset, has been

excluded because they are rare in my data. Furthermore, null forms, which are very frequent in Japanese, have been added in their appropriate place at the far right of the scale, since they are even less referentially specific than pronouns.

8) The accessibility marking scale reconstructed using only referential specification
   name > complex description > simple description > pronoun > null form

With five main form types, this scale is much more practical to operationalise. Furthermore, it dispenses with any opaque or circular reasoning because it is straightforwardly derived from a single property of referring expressions: referential specification.

The final limitation identified in AT is its lack of an account of why speakers may fail to mark referents with the appropriate expression. The addition of the preferences for achieving recognition and economy usefully address this. If learners make failed references or otherwise do not behave in a native-like manner, this can be explained as a failure to resolve the tension between the two preferences at the most optimal point on scale (8). For instance, if learners frequently use names for highly accessible referents where native speakers do not, this can be understood as an over-prioritisation of achieving recognition over economy. Conversely, when reference fails, this indicates speakers' over-weighting of economy over achieving recognition. Although competing preferences are not a central feature of AT, Ariel (1990: 82–84) responds to an earlier version of Levinson's ideas (in Levinson 1987a) by broadly agreeing with him, and recognising the existence of competing preferences for economy and achieving recognition.[13] Furthermore, she explores a very similar idea in the tension between strategies of "live for today" versus "live for tomorrow" when choosing referring expressions (Ariel 2001: 68). Here, the tension is between the highest possible accessibility marker for a particular referent in context, which allows the most automatic retrieval (thus living for today), and the use of a lower accessibility marker, which slows down retrieval but helps maintain higher accessibility for future references to that referent (thus living for tomorrow).

[13] The spirit of the competing preferences model considered in Levinson (1987a), which draws on conversation analysis, is taken up and refined in Levinson (2007). It should be noted, however, that Levinson's (2007) framework is essentially separate from his intervening work (1987b, 1991) on pragmatic principles behind the interpretation of anaphoric expressions, which Ariel (1994, 1996) argues against.

A final note is necessary about the nature of referential specification and its equivalence to AT's concept of rigidity. Both have similar definitions: the former is the degree to which a term "[r]estrict[s] the set of referents" (Levinson 2007: 31); the latter is how far it "point[s] to one entity unequivocally in a potentially ambiguous context" (Ariel 1990: 81). Are these abstract properties of referring expressions, or are they tied to specific discourse contexts? Conflict between the two interpretations can be appreciated if first- and second-person pronouns are compared with third-person pronouns. In actual discourse contexts, the identity of the speaker and hearer tends to be clear, and therefore any ambiguity associated with first- or second-person pronouns is low.[14] Third-person pronouns, in contrast, have greater ambiguity since their referent can be any person who is neither speaker nor hearer. In the abstract, however, all pronouns are roughly equal in their level of ambiguity reduction since they specify only the discourse role of their referent, and, in some cases, other information such as referent gender or number. AT's rigidity seems to take the former position — that referential specification is tied to context — in classifying third-person pronouns as high accessibility markers, but first- and second-person ones as intermediate accessibility markers (see Ariel 1990: 47–8, 61–2; Ariel 1996: 21). Levinson's referential specification is less clear in this respect, but his claims that his scale is one of increasing restriction of the "set of *possible* referents" (Levinson 2007: 55, emphasis added) suggests the latter position that referential specification is an abstract property of expressions. In this thesis, I take Levinson's position, and therefore I discuss referring expressions in terms of referential specification rather than rigidity. As a consequence, I consider all pronouns together as higher accessibility markers.[15]

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[14] See, however, Ariel's (1998) argument against a notion of inherent basicness of retrievals from physical context. She gives examples (1998: 206–7) showing that retrieving the intended referent for first- and second-person pronouns is not necessarily straightforward.

[15] Ariel's decision to classify first- and second-person pronouns as lower accessibility markers than third-person ones can be seen as an attempt to account for differences in the distribution of the two pronoun types in actual discourse (i.e. the use of first- and second-person pronouns over a greater range of accessibilities than third-person ones). Elsewhere, however, she also points out that the speaker and hearer are "inherently more salient" (Ariel 1996: 22). I argue, therefore, that her separation of the two pronoun types confounds the properties of the expressions themselves with the accessibility of the referents they refer to. That is, all pronouns are higher accessibility markers, and it is the inherently raised accessibility of speaker and hearer as referents that allows first- and second-person pronouns to be more widely distributed than third-person ones.

The modifications made to AT above address its limitations by incorporating most of Levinson's model. Referential forms are still conceived of as markers of referent accessibility, where the latter is determined by the four factors given in Table 4. The original accessibility marking scale (3) is reconsidered and simplified using referential specification alone as its organising principle to give scale (8). Analysis of the production of referential forms by speakers — particularly when accessibility marking is not native-like — is further aided by the addition of two competing principles, achieving recognition and economy, that push speakers towards lower or higher accessibility markers, respectively. The result of this is not to replace AT with Levinson's model. Rather, it keeps the core concepts (the notion of accessibility marking, and the factors determining referent accessibility) and optimises them for use in this research by simplifying the accessibility marking scale and giving more emphasis to the resolution of competing principles when forms are chosen.

2.3 Discourse-pragmatic studies on reference in second languages

A series of studies have examined from a discourse-pragmatic perspective how learners of second languages acquire and use referring expressions. With the exception of Ryan (2012),[16] I am not aware of any studies on second languages using AT as their perspective on reference; many instead use concepts borrowed from Givón's (1983a) topic continuity model, which can generally be incorporated into AT. Where possible, I therefore recast the studies' original terminology in keeping with the discourse-pragmatic model of reference used in this thesis as outlined above. I look first at those studies most directly related to this one, which consider target languages where null forms are freely distributed (namely Japanese, Chinese and Korean) in subsection 2.3.1. Secondly, I discuss the main findings of the larger body of work looking at referring expressions in second languages (L2s) including English and German in 2.3.2. Finally, I summarise the key findings of this body of research and consider the explanations offered for learners' behaviour and development in 2.3.3. Unless otherwise stated, the studies mentioned below use spoken data to reach the conclusions that are discussed here. A recurring point in the discussion of various studies is the overexplicit or underexplicit character of learners' use of referring expressions. In AT terms, overexplicitness is the use of (greater numbers of) lower accessibility markers than warranted by the discourse context, for instance the frequent use of pronouns in

[16] At the time of writing this thesis Ryan's (2012) findings are not available so I am unable to discuss them in any detail beyond acknowledging the existence of his study.

contexts that would allow null forms. Underexplicitness is the opposite — using higher accessibility markers than warranted. These terms tend to be used in a relative sense, so that learners can be seen as under- or over-explicit as compared to other, more proficient learners, or to native speakers of the target language.

2.3.1 *Studies on languages with a free distribution of null forms*

A group of studies look at the acquisition and use of referring expressions by English-speaking learners of L2 Japanese and other languages where null forms are freely distributed. Studies on reference in L2 Japanese have been conducted by Yanagimachi (2000), Nakahama (2003, 2009a, 2009b; Nakahama and Kurihara 2007) and Huebner (1995); Jin (1994) and Polio (1995) look at L2 Chinese, and Jung (2004) at L2 Korean. The free omission of over reference terms is what sets this group of languages apart from ones like English and French which allow null forms in restricted contexts only, and others such as Italian that allow null subjects but use verbal agreement as part of their repertoire of referring devices. As such, the discourse-pragmatic studies on Japanese, Chinese and Korean provide some of the most direct background to the present research.

For Chinese as target language, one outcome of Jin's (1994) study, which uses both written and spoken data, is that English-speaking learners are shown to be overexplicit, specifically in that they do not use null forms as readily as native speakers, particularly at lower proficiency. Following on from this, Polio (1995) further investigates the nature of learners' overexplicitness by looking at eight low proficiency, six mid proficiency and seven high proficiency English-speaking learners of Chinese and comparing them with similar groups of Japanese-speaking learners and with Chinese native speakers. The forms compared are null forms, pronouns and full noun phrases. Learners at all levels use null forms less often and full noun phrases more often than native speakers; as proficiency increases the trend is towards using a greater proportion of null forms. In addition, the low proficiency English-speaking learners (but not the Japanese) overuse Chinese pronouns in comparison to native speakers. Polio attributes this to an overgeneralisation of pronouns to higher accessibility contexts where they are not warranted in Chinese. Jung (2004) finds similar results concerning null forms for English-speaking learners of Korean. She examines written narratives from a total of 25 learners at three proficiency levels. At the lowest level, learners are overexplicit and supply null forms much less than native speakers. The proportion of null forms used

increases with proficiency, with the highest proficiency group approaching (but not reaching) a target-like proportion.

Nakahama (2009a) examines data from English-speaking learners of Japanese at three proficiency levels: low (10 learners), mid (11 learners) and high (10 learners). This is compared with L1 Japanese data and L2 Japanese data from Korean learners. Using a picture retelling task, Nakahama (2009a) draws on Givón (1983a) in comparing overt (nouns or pronouns) versus null forms used in three accessibility contexts: referring to a new referent (referent introduction), re-establishing reference to a referent previously mentioned (switch reference), and referring again to a referent who has just been mentioned (continuous reference). The same discourse contexts are used in a number of the other studies discussed below. In accessibility terms, introduction of a referent is the lowest accessibility context, in part because of the low saliency of a referent that has played no part in the preceding discourse. Switch reference is a somewhat higher accessibility context because the reference has an antecedent; this antecedent may be recent but it does not immediately precede the reference in question. Finally, continuous reference is the highest accessibility context of the three because of very short distance from antecedent. In referent introduction, all speakers in Nakahama's data use overt forms exclusively. As referent accessibility gets higher in the switch context, English-speaking learners at all three proficiency levels consistently use overt forms more often than native speakers. In other words, they overweight achieving recognition here, by tending to use more explicit forms than natives do. In the highest accessibility context, too, low proficiency English-speaking learners are overexplicit compared to native speakers. However, at the two higher proficiency levels, learners' proportion of null forms in this context approaches that of Japanese native speakers. Comparison of the proportions for the three contexts shows that learners' behaviour, even though it is not always native-like, does not violate the predictions of AT: null forms are more strongly associated with higher accessibility contexts and overt forms with lower ones. The pattern of development suggested is one where learners are consistently overexplicit in intermediate accessibility contexts, but where they move from overexplicitness to a more target-like use of null forms in the higher accessibility context of continuous reference.

Yanagimachi (2000) is another key cross-sectional study of reference in Japanese by native speakers and English-speaking learners at three proficiency levels: sixteen at low proficiency, twelve at mid proficiency and eight at high proficiency. In this case, the

study compares learners' reference to first-, second- and third-person subjects in narrative tasks, and distinguishes between null forms, pronouns and full noun phrases. In terms of accessibility, first- and second-person referents are more salient than non-present third persons because of the speaker and hearer's inherent prominence in the discourse, so this gives two accessibility contexts. The results confirm this split: speakers in all groups consistently use null forms more often for first- and second-person reference than for third-person reference. In the higher accessibility context, the path of development that Yamagimachi's results suggest is relatively modest. Learners use null forms quite readily in this context from the lowest level, and increase their use of null forms a little over time, reaching native-like proportions at the advanced level. However, for third-person reference (the lower accessibility context), differences between groups are much larger. Low proficiency learners use null forms here at a rate far below the native one (33% as opposed to 68%). The proportion of null forms increases at every stage with a particularly large jump (33% to 54%) between low and intermediate proficiencies, but even the high proficiency learners use null forms less often than native speakers. This shows that while learners perform well in the high-accessibility context of first- and second-person reference even at early stages of proficiency, lower accessibility contexts present a greater challenge to learners and as such are a site of more noticeable development over time. The second finding of interest is that, compared to Japanese native speakers, the data shows that learners do not substantially overuse pronouns. They use them for between 5% and 9% of references, which is slightly more than native speakers' 4%, but remains quite consistent as proficiency increases and is much less than the native English rate of 63%. As for the reasons behind learners' difficulty in using null forms for the third-person narrative, Yanagimachi observes that they have less control over the viewpoint in their narratives and that a shifting viewpoint necessitates greater use of overt reference terms. The characteristic of unstable perspective in learners' narratives is confirmed by Nakahama and Kurihara's (2006, 2007) study of written narratives which shows that native speakers of Japanese keep a fixed viewpoint in their narratives. In contrast, learners of Japanese (whose first language in this case is Chinese) switch between characters and do not keep a single perspective, even within the individual episodes making up their narratives.

Similar results are found by Nakahama (2009b), who compares the use of null versus overt forms by mid and high proficiency English-speaking learners of Japanese on two

third-person narrative retelling tasks. For one, learners tell a story based on a series of pictures, and in the other they retell the events of a film extract from memory. The presence in the former case of visual representations of the story that both speaker and hearer can see means that the saliency — and therefore the level of accessibility — of the referents in the story is increased; the latter case is equivalent to Yanagimachi's third-person reference task in that the referents exist solely in the discourse world and are therefore less accessible. The data is further split between three discourse contexts of referent introduction (lower accessibility), switch reference, and continuous reference (higher accessibility). As in Nakahama (2009a), above, participants never use null forms for referent introduction, so the contexts of interest are the two higher accessibility ones; combined with the two levels of saliency created by the different task types, this gives four accessibility levels. In all contexts, learners use fewer null forms for the film task than the picture task, showing that they are consistently sensitive to this accessibility distinction. Compared to native speakers, learners consistently use fewer null forms, but the gap between learner and native performance is much more marked for the film task, especially in the switch reference context. The developmental pattern suggested by the results is one where, for the picture task, learners readily use null forms in both contexts (although a little less often than native speakers), and change little over time. However, for the film task, learners' proportion of null forms increases with proficiency in both discourse contexts. In the switch reference context, this proportion remains substantially lower than native speakers', but in the higher accessibility continuous reference context, advanced learners' proportion of null forms is almost target-like. What these results suggest is that as they move from mid to high proficiency, where referent saliency is high (that is, on the picture task) learners do not change very much. However, with less salient referents (on the film task), learners' overexplicitness decreases over time — in a high accessibility discourse context (continuous reference) they come to supply null forms roughly at native speaker levels, but in the less accessible context of switch reference, even at high proficiency they remain overexplicit compared to natives.

The studies above tend to show that learners, particularly those at earlier stages of development, are overexplicit in certain contexts compared to native speakers — that is, they use null forms less often and, conversely, overt forms more often. Nakahama's (2003) study partially contradicts these findings by showing learners being both over- *and* underexplicit in different conditions. The study compares six English-speaking

learners of Japanese at high proficiency, five at mid proficiency and a group of Japanese native speakers on narratives elicited from a silent film. Their production is considered in three discourse contexts, essentially equivalent to referent introduction, switch and continuous reference as described earlier. The form types are classified as either null forms, bare nouns (pronouns or unmodified nouns), or modified nouns (with determiner, adjective, and so on). These correspond to null forms, pronouns and simple descriptions (together), and complex descriptions on my scale (8) given earlier. The results show that, compared to native speakers, the mid proficiency group is overexplicit in the highest (continuous reference) and intermediate (switch reference) accessibility contexts but underexplicit in the lowest accessibility context (referent introduction). Here, overexplicitness is a greater use of pronouns and descriptions than native speakers, while underexplicitness is the use of null forms, pronouns and simple descriptions more frequently than native speakers. As for learners in the more proficient group, they are closer to native speakers in the two higher accessibility contexts, but remain somewhat underexplicit in referent introduction, although less so than the intermediate learners. It should be emphasised, however, that learners at both levels do distinguish between the three discourse contexts, so the pattern of the mid proficiency learners is not the result of a lack of sensitivity to referent accessibility. Part of the explanation for the underexplicitness is that complex descriptions — the lowest accessibility marker considered in this study — are syntactically more complex than the other form types, and so perhaps represent a greater challenge for the lower proficiency group.

A final study on L2 Japanese is Huebner's (1995) paper. This paper uses a number of methods to compare twelve English-speaking learners of Japanese who undertook a nine-week study abroad programme with twelve students who studied the same material without going to Japan. One of its measurements is a narrative retelling task to examine learners' use of null forms versus overt forms in the high accessibility context of continuous reference — that is, when referring to an entity last mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance. The results show no difference in performance between the study abroad and non-study abroad learners; both use null forms around 70% of the time in this context. Unfortunately Huebner does not go into any further detail than this, but his results suggest that study abroad, at least for a short period, may not in itself lead to discourse-pragmatic development. This is despite other advantages that the study abroad group has over the non-study abroad group, such as a superior

average score for reading comprehension, and an overall greater amount of utterances produced in the narrative retelling task.

2.3.2 *Studies on other languages*

The body of studies on languages that are less similar to Japanese (in that they have a more restricted distribution of null forms) is rather larger, so the discussion in this section is limited to a more general overview of the common findings as well as some discussion of the key studies. The first study of particular interest is Broeder's (1991, 1995) longitudinal study of the acquisition of terms referring to persons by four learners of L2 Dutch. These results are particularly valuable because longitudinal discourse-pragmatic studies of reference are rare, and because it shares with this thesis a concentration on person reference in particular. In common with several studies introduced in the previous section, Broeder looks at referent introduction, switch reference and continuous reference, as well as comparing how the learners refer to protagonists and non-protagonists. In accessibility terms, the latter distinction is between protagonists as more salient and therefore more accessible referents, and other persons mentioned as less salient ones. The data comes from two narrative retelling tasks repeated three times over a 27 month period; the learners are immigrants learning the L2 in naturalistic (that is, untutored) circumstances. In this study the data is not compared with a native Dutch baseline so it is difficult to discuss it in terms of over- or underexplicitness. It is clear, however, that learners respond to both types of accessibility distinctions measured and do so in a broadly appropriate way — that is, higher accessibility contexts are matched with higher accessibility markers, and vice versa. The four learners behave broadly similarly to one another, and the referential strategies of each are quite consistent over time. Broeder (1991: 149) therefore concludes that over the period studied there is no striking development occurring. This is interpreted as evidence that "[t]he adult language learner is aware of the fact that information in narrative discourse has a sequential and hierarchical structure", and that learners' L2 production even at early stages reflects this awareness (Broeder 1991: 180).

The second longitudinal study to report is by Ahrenholz (2005). This study concerns one Italian-speaking learner of L2 German whose data from three points over a 3.5 year period is analysed for reference terms used for persons and things in subject position. The results show that first- and second-person pronouns are acquired much earlier than third-person ones, which somewhat echoes Yanagimachi's (2000) findings about the

more ready use of Japanese null forms for first- and second-person referents. The same explanation can be applied here — namely that the increased saliency of referents who are present (the speaker and the hearer) means that learners more readily use higher accessibility markers for them. For third persons, the learner in Ahrenholz's study takes longer to begin supplying pronouns; at first she simply omits overt reference, and later she somewhat overuses full noun phrases. However, the path of development is not entirely straightforward: "even after the corresponding pronouns have been acquired, subject omissions continue to occur for a long time" (Ahrenholz 2005: 46). More generally, the learner is seen to begin at a stage where limited grammatical competence means she omits certain forms. Later this omission tends to be replaced by (over)explicit reference, and eventually a more nuanced range of accessibility marking is used. Chini (2005) proposes a broadly similar developmental pattern inferred from her non-longitudinal data from eight German-speaking learners of L2 Italian. At earlier stages they omit overt reference or use bare nouns; later, they enter the "(over)explicit lexical phase" (Chini 2005: 94) where full noun phrases and pronouns tend to be oversupplied (Italian allows null subjects). The final stage is one where learners' increased grammatical competence allows them to begin to be less explicit in reference. The other aspect of learners' reference investigated by Chini is referent introduction versus continuous reference. Here, she argues that learners' production in the lower accessibility referent introduction context is relatively native-like even from early stages, whereas that for continuous reference takes longer to begin to reach a native-like distribution. This contradicts findings discussed in the previous subsection showing that lower accessibility contexts tend to be more problematic for learners than higher ones.

Just as has been the case for the studies discussed so far, the greater body of research shows a mix of under- and overexplicitness in learners, but generally there are more reports of the latter. The findings of Chaudron and Parker (1990) show some underexplicitness, however, from lower proficiency learners of L2 English. They compare data from learners at three proficiency levels to show that the lower the proficiency, the more learners rely on pronouns, especially in the high accessibility context of continuous reference. Williams (1988) looks at the difference between referent introduction, switch, and continuous reference, as well as the effect of competition for the role of antecedent on reference terms used in L2 English. For the first of these, learners of English at lower proficiency are shown to overgeneralise null

forms over a somewhat wider range of accessibility contexts than native speakers. However, no such overgeneralisation is found for different competition contexts. Fuller and Gundel (1987) for L2 English and Gundel and Tarone (1992) for L2 French find that learners use a greater proportion of null forms than native speakers. As for those studies primarily reporting overexplicitness, Gundel et al. (1984), for L2 French learners, and Givón (1984), for two early stage speakers of Hawaii Pidgin English and one low-level L2 English learner, both show that learners' reference tends to overexplicitness. Similarly, Sasaki's (1997) study of one Japanese-speaking learner of English considers reference terms used in subject and object positions separately and shows that the learner is to some extent overexplicit in both contexts. In Muñoz (1995), data from written L2 Spanish at three levels of proficiency shows that the lower the proficiency the less readily learners use null forms, which results in reference that is overexplicit compared with native Spanish. Gullberg (2006) considers linguistic reference as well as accompanying gestures in the L2 French of relatively low proficiency Dutch-speaking learners. For continuous reference — a high accessibility context — in a picture retelling task, the learners are shown to overuse full noun phrases and consequently underuse pronouns and null forms as compared to the native baseline data. The learners did the picture retelling task under two conditions: one where they faced the hearer and a second where there was a barrier between the two so that any gestures accompanying speech could not be seen by the hearer. There are no significant differences between learners' performance in the two conditions, showing that learners, at least at early stages, do not rely on disambiguation through gesture when using referring expressions. Hendriks' (2002) study of Chinese speakers learning L2 German, French and English also shows overexplicitness, but only for the L2 German group. Hendriks argues that this is due to the particular difficulty of the German gender and case system which prevents learners from using German pronouns and obliges them to use lower accessibility markers instead. However, in my view this could equally be because the L2 German group is much larger than the others (40 learners as opposed to 20 for L2 French and 10 for L2 English) and therefore better represents the wider population of learners. Even though they show a mixture of learner overexplicitness and underexplicitness, the studies that consider learners' response to varying referent accessibility consistently report that learners vary the forms that they use in a way that is sensitive to context and that can be interpreted as conforming to the predictions of AT. Tomlin (1990) is one exception; he reports that a group of 30 advanced second language learners of English tend to use full noun phrases (rather than pronouns) fairly

indiscriminately for both main and peripheral entities in a narrative. This is unexpected, but is perhaps explained by Tomlin's use of a particularly demanding technique for eliciting spontaneous narratives in a way that places more stress on learners' working memory than tasks used in the other studies.

2.3.3 *Discussion*

Previous discourse-pragmatic studies report in almost all cases that L2 learners' production shows that they use referring expressions in a way that is responsive to differences in referent accessibility. The most common distinction investigated is that between referent introduction, switch and continuous reference, which combines saliency and distance from antecedent. Learners are similarly shown to be responsive to accessibility distinctions such as low and high competition for the role of antecedent, and low and high saliency of various kinds including discourse topic versus non-topic, and first- and second-person versus third person reference. However, learners differ from native speakers in the details of what they produce and particularly so at earlier stages of development. Studies that look how learners at different stages perform in a range of accessibility contexts do not give an entirely uniform picture of where the greatest difficulties lie. One group (Nakahama 2003, Yanagimachi 2000, Ahrenholz 2005) shows that in higher accessibility contexts, learners perform better at earlier stages or move readily towards the target as they develop. Chini (2005), however, claims that learners have fewer problems in the low accessibility context of referent introduction than in the higher accessibility context of continuous reference. Nakahama's (2009a, 2009b) results are more nuanced; they show early success with salient referents in general, and in the low accessibility context of referent introduction, with increasing success over time in the high accessibility context of continuous reference, but some persistent difficulties with the intermediate accessibility context of switch reference.

When learners are not target-like in their production, there is evidence of both over- and underexplicitness. In the high accessibility contexts, results are relatively consistent in showing that learners go through a stage of overexplicitness before moving to a more target-like distribution of referring expressions. In lower accessibility contexts, some studies show overexplicitness and others show underexplicitness. It is perhaps possible to reconcile the two. If certain contexts place particular strain on learners, especially if they are less proficient, the result is a non-optimal resolution of the tension between

achieving recognition and economy, which could overweight either the former (leading to overexplicitness) or the latter (underexplicitness). Studies including Chini (2005) claim that an early underexplicit stage is followed by an intermediate overexplicit one, but the results of Ahrenholz (2005) and Nakahama (2003) suggest that underexplicitness can persist. However, the underexplicitness shown by post-elementary learners is perhaps of a different type from that found in very early L2 learners who omit arguments because they lack basic syntax of the L2. Although many studies show learner development, it is important to note that both Broeder (1991) and Huebner (1995) show, in quite different projects, that time spent in a target language environment does not appear to affect learners' use of reference. In the former case, naturalistic learners appear not to develop over time, and in the latter case a short-term study abroad group of learners behaves virtually identically to a comparable non-study abroad group

A number of possible explanations are offered in the literature for learners' behaviour and development. The fact that learners are almost always reported to be sensitive to variation in referent accessibility is evidence that adult L2 learners are already aware of pragmatic universals of discourse organisation because they are cognitively mature and have already acquired a first language. In the terms of AT, this means that learners know about the factors determining referent accessibility and that they carry over the universal principles of accessibility marking which allow them, for instance, to differentiate between nouns and pronouns. A cognitive interpretation is often proposed for the (intermediate) stage of overexplicitness that many studies report. Chini (2005: 95–6) argues, for instance, that this intermediate stage is the result of "a more local planning strategy which does not, or cannot, take into account larger stretches of discourse" so that "overmarking at that stage could help to reduce the cognitive load". In other words, the attentional demands of other aspects of L2 production require more of the learners' cognitive resources. Overexplicitness therefore results because in order to confidently use higher accessibility markers (for instance a null form rather than an overt one), learners must make an assessment of larger amounts of the preceding discourse. This is very clear in the case of the accessibility-determining factors of distance from antecedent and competition for the role of antecedent, which both depend entirely on the content of the preceding discourse. This can also explain why Yanagimachi (2000) and Ahrenholz (2005) show learners using higher accessibility markers more readily for first- and second-person referents. In this case, the

accessibility difference being marked is an intrinsic feature of the interaction which is largely independent of the preceding linguistic material, and it is therefore perhaps less cognitively demanding to respond to it. For the opposite phenomenon of underexplicitness, a somewhat similar explanation is proposed by Williams (1988: 366). In this case she argues that if learners judge that the referent can plausibly be identified in context, it is cognitively and communicatively more expedient for them to use less explicit forms and focus on other aspects of linguistic production. Bialystok's (1993, 1994) two-dimensional model of pragmatic development (discussed in more detail in chapter 3 subsection 3.3.1) is also relevant here, although it is not mentioned directly by any of the studies. This model claims that L2 learners already have most of the necessary pragmatic representations — in this case, those concerning discourse organisation. They are therefore primarily left with the task of successfully allocating the limited resources of attention in the second language, which is a task that may become easier over time. This fits well with evidence that learners respond to discourse-pragmatic conditions, but especially at lower proficiency, they do so in ways that are characteristic of limited cognitive resources to allocate to the choice of referring expressions.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the ground for the discourse-pragmatic portion of the original research in this thesis by setting out the theoretical framework that informs it, and by showing what has been discovered by previous work in the field. This thesis uses a novel theoretical approach that modifies accessibility theory (AT) by simplifying its scale of referring expressions and emphasising the tension between achieving recognition and economy that underlies speakers' choice of referring expressions. This approach is methodologically advantageous in that it proposes four factors determining referent accessibility which can be measured in various ways. Within this framework, unsuccessful resolution of the tension between economy and achieving recognition naturally emerges as the explanation for learners' under- or overexplicitness when referring.

Previous studies on L2 reference have not used the theoretical approach favoured here, so one point of interest is therefore to see whether my approach will produce similar results to those seen so far. In general, previous research makes it clear that learners choose referring expressions in a way that is sensitive to variation in discourse context, as measured in a number of ways. However, they tend to be limited to looking at only

one or two measures of referent accessibility, and very few make any consideration of the interaction between accessibility-determining factors. A mixture of over- and underexplicitness is found in learners' production, although the former is claimed to be more common. In other words, previous work shows that learners (in certain circumstances) have trouble with high accessibility markers *and* with low accessibility markers. There is also disagreement about which accessibility contexts are more difficult for learners. Some studies, primarily looking at L2 Japanese, find that learners perform less well in lower accessibility contexts, but others find that higher accessibility contexts present the greater challenge. As mentioned earlier, the larger range of measures of referent accessibility used in this thesis may make it easier to pinpoint the sources of learners' difficulties.

Chapter 3. Social approaches to the study of person reference

3.1 Introduction

As much as person reference is a discourse-pragmatic phenomenon, as explored in the previous chapter, it is equally possible to view it as a socially motivated one, since reference to persons by definition involves reference to interpersonal relationships. When speakers refer to themselves, their conversation partners or to third persons, a variety of socially distinct options is available. For instance, within the broad category of names, speakers may use a family name, given name or full name, with or without the addition of various titles that could be honorific or familiar in nature. I argue that, at least in part, speakers' use of these resources is a response to the social context, which is defined here as the various interpersonal relationships between speaker, hearer and third persons, as well as certain aspects of the content of the discourse (for instance an argument versus a friendly discussion) and the setting of the interaction. The first aim of this chapter is therefore to consider how existing pragmatic theories account for the socially motivated use of person reference terms. Primarily I draw on politeness theory as a means of narrowing down what social variables speakers are responding to, and the ways in which person reference can function socially; this is explored in section 3.2. The result of this focus is that gender is not considered in the framework or social analysis in this thesis. The gender of the speaker, hearer or referent can certainly be argued to be a social factor affecting the use of person reference (see Shibamoto Smith 2003, SturtzSreetharan 2009, inter alia, for further discussion). It is clear, for instance, that gender constrains the availability of particular reference terms, such as *ore* 'I', typically used only by a male speaker, or *kanojo* 'she' typically usable only for a female referent. A proper investigation of the effect of gender on learners' use of person reference is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis and is therefore left for future research.

Having established a theoretical framework for social analysis of person reference, it is then necessary to take account of previous work in second language acquisition that is of a broadly social orientation. This is defined as the wide body of studies that consider how learners of second languages (L2s) use aspects of the L2 in a way that is (or that fails to be) sensitive to social context. Reviews of the field of interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper 1996, 2010; Kasper and Rose 1999; Kasper and Schmidt 1996; Taguchi 2010; Barron 2012) show that a variety of such work exists. Interestingly, the scope of these reviews also makes it clear that discourse-pragmatic work on L2 reference as discussed

in the previous chapter is not considered to be part of the tradition of interlanguage pragmatics. I therefore consider it justified to discuss the socially-orientated studies separately from those of a discourse-pragmatic orientation. In section 3.3, I outline the body of studies that form the background to the social component of this thesis, beginning in subsection 3.3.1 with an overview of the theories evoked in these studies to account for L2 pragmatic development. Finally, section 3.4 contains some concluding remarks.

3.2 Social theories relevant to person reference

In this section I set out the theoretical background informing a social perspective on person reference. In contrast to the discourse-pragmatic framework outlined in the previous chapter, it is more difficult to synthesise a single, coherent model of the contribution of social factors to speakers' choice of person reference terms. However, politeness theory provides a promising set of concepts. Applying politeness theory to person reference leads to a main focus on the variables of power and social distance (subsection 3.2.1). Speakers' choice of person reference forms in first- and second-person reference is then a response to power and social distance in the relationship between speaker and hearer. For third-person reference, power and distance in the various relationships between speaker, hearer and referent affect form choice in a similar way. In addition, politeness strategies can themselves affect form choice. Positive politeness promotes the use of certain overt forms. As for negative politeness, it provides motivations for both vagueness and explicitness in referring, which creates a tension for speakers to resolve. As a complement to this model of speaker *choice* of forms (volitional politeness), discernment (*wakimae*) politeness has been proposed, where form choice is an automatic, non-volitional process (subsection 3.2.2). It is claimed that some aspects of Japanese person reference exemplify *wakimae*. The balance between *wakimae* and volition in person reference therefore provides an interesting angle of analysis. In addition to this systematic analysis of person reference, I outline a set of socially motivated restrictions on the use of certain Japanese person reference terms (subsection 3.2.3). Namely, the use of pronouns and simple descriptions for second-person reference is restricted depending on the status relationship between speaker and hearer. Finally, I consider claims that the choice of person reference forms may be an obligatory consequence of agreement relationships between person reference and verbal honorifics (subsection 3.2.4). Here, I conclude that any such agreement is a normative expectation rather than an obligatory socio-

pragmatic rule. As a result of these discussions, a social approach to person reference is identified where discourse-level (power and social distance) and localised factors (use of politeness strategies and verbal honorifics) are hypothesised to contribute to speakers' choice of form types. This process is motivated by some combination of volition and *wakimae*¸ and form types are chosen in the context of certain status-based restrictions on what is conventionally available in Japanese. This provides the key concepts to be used in the collection and analysis of learner data.

3.2.1 *Brown and Levinson's politeness model*

The main theoretical perspective informing the social analysis of person reference in this thesis is that of linguistic politeness. A single, clear definition of politeness itself is not widely agreed upon (Watts 2003: 12–13). As a preliminary to such a definition, Eelen (2001) usefully proposes a distinction between politeness1 as the everyday, prescriptive idea of 'polite' language use, and politeness2 as a theoretical concept. It is politeness2 to which most politeness theories, including those discussed below, appeal. Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness through face wants (as explored in more detail shortly) — that is, politeness is what is employed by speakers in order to minimise potentially undesirable consequences of interactions. Ide, although she objects to aspects of Brown and Levinson's theory, proposes a broadly similar definition of politeness as "one of the constraints of human interaction according to which people behave without friction" (1993: 7). Reference to self, addressee and others inevitably situates the persons involved in a social relationship with one another as it offers means of encoding hierarchical relationships, closeness or distance, familiarity, and affective evaluations of the referent, among other things. The choice of what to encode, and how to encode it, therefore must play a role in the (non-)achievement of communication without friction, and can profitably be analysed using theories of politeness. These encoding properties of person reference terms allow them to be involved in a range of complex socially motivated language use that goes beyond what is typically considered in politeness research (see Enfield 2009 and Oh 2007, inter alia, for examples of wider-ranging social analyses). However, for the purposes of the longitudinal experimental study in this thesis, politeness theory is the most useful theoretical framework because it provides concepts that can shape task design, which in turn produces data that can be grouped in various ways and analysed by quantitative (as well as qualitative) means. The main politeness framework used here is Brown and Levinson's influential (1987) model.

Brown and Levinson (1987) propose a theory of linguistic politeness where the motivations for polite language behaviour and its potential manifestations as politeness strategies are universal across languages. The usefulness of this theory is in its detailed taxonomy of politeness strategies, and in its formula showing how contextual variables contribute to the choice of linguistic forms. Brown and Levinson consider linguistic politeness in connection with 'face wants', that is, speakers' desire to act unimpeded by others (negative face), and to be accepted members of a particular community (positive face). When the face of speech participants is in some way threatened by something happening in the discourse (a face threatening act, or FTA), a range of choices is available to the speaker. If the speaker chooses to commit the FTA rather than avoiding it altogether, and to mitigate its impact, politeness may be employed in the form of positive or negative politeness strategies. These are strategies that attend to the hearer's positive or negative face wants, respectively. Speakers calculate the weightiness (W) of a particular FTA by the social distance between speaker and addressee (D), the power of the addressee over the speaker (P), and the rank (R) of the particular FTA in the cultural context of the utterance. W in turn determines the level of politeness used in realising the FTA. R values differ across cultures because of variation in values attached to various kinds of speech act, such as apologising, asking for money, and so on. For an FTA *x*, this process is summed up as follows (Brown and Levinson 1987: 76).

1) $W_x = \text{Distance}_{(\text{S from H})} + \text{Power}_{(\text{H over S})} + R_x$

The framework as outlined so far emphasises common motivations for linguistic politeness and common strategies for its realisation cross-linguistically. It admits cross-linguistic variation based on different R values for a given FTA, as well as culturally specific preferences for positive or negative politeness strategies. However, data from Japanese has been at the centre of a debate (including Matsumoto 1988, 1989; Ide 1989; Fukuda and Asato 2004) about why honorifics — classified as a negative politeness strategy — appear in non-FTA situations in Japanese. Matsumoto (1988: 415) gives examples showing that addressee honorifics may be used in statements such as the Japanese equivalent of "Today is Saturday", which are difficult to conceive of as FTAs in Brown and Levinson's terms. Fukuda and Asato (2004), however, defend the applicability of Brown and Levinson's theory by adding stipulation (2) below.

2) In Japanese society, when situations involve an addressee of higher status (or a referent of higher status who is present in the situation), power and/or distance are assigned markedly high values. (Fukuda and Asato 2004: 1997)

The result is that, because of the social organisation of Japanese society, even if the R value of an utterance is low, the involvement of high-status persons raises W to the extent that politeness strategies are warranted. In utterances of any function, high-status persons may therefore trigger politeness, and the expression of that politeness may involve person reference.

Brown and Levinson's treatment of linguistic forms is not primarily focussed on person reference, but they say the following about address terms (i.e. second-person reference).

> … [A]lthough address forms and honorifics may, in certain cases […] be FTA-sensitive, i.e. the choice of a form and the choice to use them at all may be influenced by R-factors, yet on the whole such elements are tied relatively directly to the social relationship between speaker and addressee. The consequence of such direct 'markers' of social relationship is that they may occur with an FTA of any R[ank of imposition]-value, and thus equally with markers of positive and negative politeness; if shifts are permissible at all, we should merely expect a shift towards a more 'formal' address form than normally used (which may of course still be somewhat 'intimate') when R-values increase between the same interlocutors. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 18)

Taken together with (2) earlier, the quote above further shows that the politeness theoretic perspective on person reference terms is that their forms are determined primarily by power and distance, and only secondarily by R values where these are applicable. Indeed, this observation has its roots in Brown and Gillman's well-known (1960) analysis of *T*/*V* systems of second-person pronouns, such as *tu* and *vous* in French. They identify the choice of second-person pronouns in languages with such systems as governed by dynamics of power and solidarity between speaker and hearer. Although Brown and Levinson's argument is about second-person reference, it can be applied to all person reference. Direct reference to the addressee is a locus of status encoding through politeness, but, as I have argued, reference to self and to third persons in Japanese is equally capable of marking social relationships in similar ways. In terms of politeness, all person reference can be analysed as primarily a response to power and distance values (for hearer, referent, or both), and, where high-status persons are involved, politeness strategies are triggered which may be (partially) realised through choice of person reference terms.

A number of politeness strategies, both positive and negative, have potential consequences for the use of person reference terms. Brown and Levinson give examples at length of how the various strategies may be realised. The table below summarises those that most clearly involve person reference, along with an indication of how their use would affect the choice of person reference terms.[17] In this list I have identified those strategies most directly related to person reference, but other strategies might also on occasion influence speakers' choice of person reference terms.

	strategy	potential consequences for person reference
positive politeness strategies	use in-group identity markers	use overt terms signalling in-group membership
	include both speaker and hearer in the activity	use inclusive overt forms
negative politeness strategies	give deference	use overt forms which give deference
	impersonalise S and H	use null forms or less referentially-specific forms

Table 5 Selected politeness strategies and their potential consequences for person reference

Positive politeness strategies are those which appeal to the hearer's positive face. That is, they emphasise commonality and solidarity between speaker and hearer. Both relevant positive politeness strategies involve the use of overt forms for particular social effects. For the former case, Brown and Levinson's (1987: 107–108) examples largely involve less formal terms indexing closeness between speaker and hearer, whereas the latter would be characterised by the use of inclusive forms to refer to speaker and hearer together. For Japanese, Länsisalmi's (2003) study shows that overt second-person reference terms, particularly pronouns, can act as markers of solidarity, and therefore express positive politeness just as Brown and Levinson suggest.

The negative politeness strategies appeal to the hearer's negative face by minimising imposition. The strategy of giving deference is one in which the speaker attends explicitly to the status relationship involved (in other words, the power and distance values). The deference strategy therefore motivates speakers to use the most referentially specific terms, so that the target of the deference is absolutely clear. In this sense, it is in conflict with the second negative politeness strategy of impersonalisation, above. This strategy, conversely, pushes speakers towards less referentially specific

[17] For summary diagrams of the range of strategies, see Brown and Levinson (1987: 102) for positive politeness strategies and (1987: 131) for negative ones.

forms. Indeed, the underlying motivation that Brown and Levinson (1987: 131) propose for this strategy is to "[d]issociate S[peaker], H[earer] from the particular infringement". More widely, then, this strategy is one of vagueness in reference: to omit person reference terms or use less referentially specific ones avoids direct mention of the participants. Indeed, the less referentially specific the term is, the greater the set of potential referents, and so the less direct it is in referring to its intended one. The overview above of a selection of politeness strategies has shown that person reference can be involved in both positive and negative politeness strategies, and that such strategies have a range of effects on speakers' choice of person reference terms. Of particular interest is the conflict between giving deference versus impersonalisation, where the former motivates minimal ambiguity in referring, and the latter, maximal ambiguity.

3.2.2 *Volitional and* wakimae *politeness*

The politeness-based approach to person reference outlined above based on Brown and Levinson (1987) is one where speakers make a rational choice of person reference terms in response to relevant power and distance values, and potentially as an element of politeness strategies they are using. Speakers in this model actively choose forms in response to contextual variables. Ide (1989, 2006; Hill et al. 1986) calls this volitional politeness, and proposes a complementary concept of *wakimae* politeness. The latter is characterised by its collective and non-volitional nature. The selection of forms according to the rules of *wakimae* is "essentially automatic", "once certain factors of addressee and situation are noted" (Hill et al. 1986: 348). These two types of politeness are, as Gagné (2010: 124) argues, "not necessarily mutually-exclusive". Rather, volition and *wakimae* are better viewed as two ends of a spectrum, as schematised by Watts (2003: 83) or Hill et al. (1986: 348), where many uses of politeness involve elements of both automaticity and the speaker's choice.

The *wakimae*–discernment spectrum is a useful tool in cross-cultural comparisons, and in characterising different domains within a single language. For the former, Hill et al. (1986) show for requests in Japanese and American English that *wakimae* and volition operate in both, but that Japanese is characterised by a more prominent role for *wakimae*. This is shown by the tendency for Japanese speakers' judgement to converge on fewer variants for a given scenario. As for different domains within a language, suggestions have been made that person reference is an area where *wakimae* plays a particularly

large role. Ide (2006: 73) gives the example of the term *sensee*, used to refer to teachers (among others). She claims that its use is not a spontaneous expression of the speaker's respect towards such people, but a simple matter of social convention that must be satisfied, and therefore a clear example of *wakimae* politeness.[18] We are presented, therefore, with two extremities of a scale. On the *wakimae* end, speakers use person reference terms in an automatic, non-optional way, and therefore under given conditions they will converge as a group on a single appropriate form, or a small number of forms. On the volitional end of the spectrum, individual speakers choose forms based on their rational assessment of contextual factors (largely the power and distance values involved), and can therefore, as a group, speakers' production will involve a greater range of forms with less clear convergence.

3.2.3 *Socially motivated restrictions on person reference*

Above, I have outlined a model of speakers' choice of person reference terms as a response to social factors, either based on a strategic use of politeness strategies (volitional politeness), or on a near-automatic response to certain facts of the situation (*wakimae* politeness). In addition to this, the choice of second-person reference terms in Japanese is constrained by certain systematic restrictions based on the relationship between speaker and hearer. Suzuki (1978) identifies a group of complementary differences in the forms available for second-person reference which apply in status-unequal relationships and depend on whether the speaker is the lower- or higher-status party. He centres this discussion (1978: 102–113) on the family, where hierarchical relationships exist between parents and children, older and younger siblings, and so on, and then demonstrates that these principles are common to other hierarchical relationships such as those between students and their teachers. The rules of interest are that in an unequal relationship, the lower-status party may refer to the higher-status one using a role term, but not by using a pronoun (such as *anata*, *kimi*, *omae*). For instance, as in (3) below, a student speaking to a teacher may use *sensee* 'teacher' but not the pronoun *anata*. Conversely, the higher-status person cannot use a description to refer to the lower-status one, but may use a pronoun; that is, the teacher in (4) may use a pronoun like *kimi* but not a description such as *gakusee* 'student'.

[18] Such assertions are not limited to Japanese. For instance, Barron (2006: 61, emphasis in original) claims that "pronouns of address in German […] do *not* function on a strategic level, and *cannot*¸ therefore, be employed in strategic politeness". This is clear claim for *wakimae* over volition in the use of second-person reference terms in German.

3) **sensee**/#**anata** wa doo omoimasu ka
"What do **teacher**/#**you** think?" (student addressing teacher)

4) #**gakusee**/**kimi** wa doo omoimasu ka
"What do #**student**/**you** think?" (teacher addressing student)

In fact, the restriction on descriptions in second-person reference applies a little more widely. As well as descriptions of status-inferiors, descriptions of someone in a status-equal relationship with the speaker, such as *tomodachi* 'friend' or *kurasumeeto* 'classmate' are also unavailable for reference to a second person. Reference to the hearer is one of the most direct ways in which the speaker's assessment of the relationship between the two is communicated. For this reason it is perhaps unsurprising that the same strong status-based restrictions do not apply for third-person reference. When referring to a third person, descriptions of all kinds may be used, so that in addition to those referring to persons of high status, others like *gakusee* 'student', *tomodachi* 'friend' and so on are also possible. Some Japanese speakers are resistant to the use of third-person pronouns for high-status third persons (see Asada 1999), but pronouns remain more readily available here than in the case of second-person reference. When Japanese is compared with English, the principles outlined above show that Japanese second-person pronouns are subject to socially motivated restrictions that rarely apply in English, and that part of the function of English *you* is then carried out by simple descriptions like *sensee* where the social context permits it.

3.2.4 *Person reference and verbal honorifics*

Japanese is well-known for having a highly developed system of honorifics, and as such honorifics are often the focus of research into socially motivated language use by Japanese speakers. In this subsection, I focus on claims that there are links of concordance between verbal honorifics and person reference terms. For this purpose I give a very brief sketch of the verbal honorific system, which is itself the focus of a large body of research that I cannot adequately summarise here. The taxonomy I adopt is outlined in Takiura (2008). The most prominent part of the Japanese system of honorifics is its verbal honorifics, which can be further divided into addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. Addressee honorifics are expressed using principally forms of *-masu* with verbs and the copula *desu*; see Cook (2006: 275, Table 1) for a full list. In almost every utterance the speaker must choose whether or not to include such

morphemes as part of the predicate, even if the speaker or hearer are not explicitly part of the content of the utterance.[19] The pervasiveness of addressee honorifics is such that their use or non-use is the defining feature of a polite versus plain speech style,[20] and the obligatory nature of the choice between the two means that Japanese is often claimed to lack a socially neutral register (for instance by Iwasaki 2010: 46). Although the social indexing function of addressee honorifics certainly cannot be reduced to a question of obligatory marking of hearer status (Cook 2006), it is nevertheless the case that the relationship between speaker and hearer is one of the core motivations underlying their use. The second main type of verbal honorifics, referent honorifics, can be further divided into two main subtypes: subject and recipient honorifics. In either case, the use of honorific verbal morphology is triggered by the high status of the person who occupies the relevant role. Subject honorifics are expressed using productive morphological devices including *o*-V-*ni naru* or -*rareru*. Otherwise, in some cases special honorific verbs are used, such as *meshiagaru* 'eat'. Recipient honorifics can be used when the recipient of some action (such as sending, giving, showing) is a higher-status person, and are created using productive morphology *o*-V-*suru*, or, in certain cases, special honorific verbs such as *sashiageru* 'give'.[21] In sum, the verbal honorifics system is a ubiquitous feature of Japanese utterances, among the functions of which is an ability to mark the high status of the addressee or the referent. Addressee and referent honorifics may be used separately, or may co-occur as a means of marking the high status of both addressee and referent, or when the addressee and referent are the same person.

A number of discussions of verbal honorifics include, explicitly or implicitly, claims that there are certain normative concordances between the form of person reference terms and the use of honorifics in the predicate. For example Yamada (1924, quoted in Takiura 2005: 221) analyses as agreement the use of *go-reesoku*, an honorific term for

[19] As mentioned earlier, Matsumoto (1988: 415) illustrates this with the example of sentences translating as "Today is Saturday", where the speaker must obligatorily choose based on the communicative context whether or not to use addressee honorifics.
[20] The nature of the two speech styles and the conditions governing their use are explored in works including Maynard (1991), Okamoto (1999) and Cook (2006) for Japanese as L1, and by Marriott (1995), Cook (2008) Ishida (2009) and Iwasaki (2010, 2011) for Japanese as L2.
[21] Also included in Takiura's (2008) taxonomy as a second type of subject honorifics is a set of special honorific verbs (such as *zonzuru* 'know', *mairu* 'come/go') classified as *teechoogo* 'courteous language'. Here, in the absence of clear involvement of a higher status person as recipient, the lower status of the subject is encoded.

‘son’ in combination with referent honorifics in the predicate. More recently, similar arguments are made by Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988, 1989) in support of *wakimae*. They present a number of examples claiming that ‘mismatches’ between person reference terms and honorifics are pragmatically unacceptable. In the examples below, addressee honorifics are shown by underlining, and referent honorifics by italicising. The pragmatic judgements are taken from the original sources.

5) a. sensee wa kore o # yonda
   b. *o-yomi-ni natta*
   “The professor read this”

(Ide 1989: 227)

6) a. Tanaka-sensee wa korekara o-yuuhan o ? <u>tabemasu</u>
   b. <u>*meshiagarimasu*</u>
   “Prof. Tanaka is going to eat dinner now.”

(Matsumoto 1988: 417)

In both examples above, the judgement is that the combination in the (a) sentences of terms used to refer to a teacher, someone who is by definition a high-status person, with a predicate that does not use referent honorifics is unacceptable. This is the case for both the simple description *sensee* ‘teacher’ and the title *-sensee*. Ide (1989: 227) goes as far as to state that this “[s]ubject-predicate concord … is socio-pragmatically obligatory”. In this way, she makes a very clear connection between referent honorifics and person reference as obligatory devices for marking status relationships which must be in concordance with one another. However, Fukuda and Asato (2004) argue that the pragmatic judgements presented above are less absolute than is claimed. They assert that “[i]f, for example, the conversation is between students in the absence of the professor or a person who is closely related to the professor, sentence [(5)a] would be an appropriate option” (Fukuda and Asato 2004: 1995). A more useful way to understand the claims of Ide and Matsumoto, then, is to see them as evidence of normative links between referent honorifics and person reference. Although it is difficult to give these concordances the status of obligatory agreement rules, it might be reasonable to expect to see some correlation in the data analysed in this thesis between high referent status as marked by referent honorifics and as marked by appropriate person reference terms.

Ide (1989) gives a further example of interest, this time concerning addressee honorifics only. In the example below, she claims that the combination of the formal first-person pronoun *watashi* in (7)a with a predicate not containing addressee honorifics is pragmatically unacceptable.

7) a. watashi ga # iku
b. <u>ikimasu</u>
"I (will) go."

(Ide 1989: 229)

Here, the problem in (7)a cannot be caused by a non-concordance in status marking per se, since *watashi* refers to the speaker, and the non-use of addressee honorifics is a failure to mark the high status of the hearer. Rather, the source of the claimed unacceptability is in a 'mismatch' of speech styles. The non-use of addressee honorifics characterises the plain style, whereas *watashi* is more typically associated with a more polite speech style.[22] Again, in my judgement it is most useful to interpret this example as evidence of normative, rather than obligatory, links between the use of addressee honorifics and that of person reference terms associated with polite speech. The discussion above has shown that the status- and style-indexing roles of person reference terms and verbal honorifics are to some extent comparable. Furthermore, there are normative (but not necessarily realistic) expectations that overt person reference terms will co-occur with predicates that match them in terms of what is indexed.

3.3 Socially-orientated studies on second language acquisition

In the subsections below I give an overview of research on second languages that relates to the social perspective on person reference terms, for which I use the umbrella term 'socially-orientated studies'. This is research on learners' use or acquisition of features of the second language (L2) that are sensitive to social context such as interpersonal relationships and socio-stylistic variation. I begin with a brief discussion of the theories of acquisition that are referred to in some of this literature (3.3.1). Following this, I discuss previous studies on person reference itself; these are relatively uncommon and tend to focus exclusively on address pronouns in European languages (3.3.2). Apart from these studies, however, there exists a large literature of broadly socially-orientated research on various areas of learner language. Kasper (2009: xiii) argues that such work can be split into studies on speech act realisation (discussed in subsection 3.3.3), and studies on indexical resources in the L2. Discussion of the latter type is split into studies on Japanese (3.3.4) and those on other languages (3.3.5). Finally, in 3.3.6, I discuss the general trends emerging from the research to date. Unless otherwise

[22] Noriko Iwasaki (personal communication, 19 November, 2012) suggests that the acceptability of (7)a depends on the speaker's gender: namely that it is pragmatically unacceptable for male speakers only.

specified, the findings discussed below from previous studies come from the analysis of spoken data.

3.3.1 *Theories of acquisition informing socially-orientated studies*

As Kasper and Rose (2002: 13–14) point out, many socially-orientated studies of L2 pragmatic development concentrate primarily on establishing the facts of learners' development in a particular area rather than on engaging strongly with particular theories of acquisition. Indeed, this is the case for the majority of studies I will discuss in the subsections below. According to DuFon (2010: 312), however, the theories which are most often referred to in such studies are of two main types: cognitive and language socialisation. The former are theories that are concerned with "the metaphor of human cognition as a limited capacity information processing device" (Kasper 2001: 524), and which are therefore interested in development as it takes place within individual learners. As Kasper (2010: 145–146) argues, the two models that have received some attention in research on pragmatic development are Schmidt's (1993) noticing hypothesis and the two-dimensional model of development proposed by Bialystok (1993, 1994). Language socialisation (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, Ochs 1996), by contrast, considers language acquisition as a socially and interactionally grounded phenomenon. As such, Kasper (2001) and Dunn and Lantolf (1998) argue that the two perspectives are essentially incommensurable. I will discuss these two types of theories below.

Firstly, Schmidt's (1993) noticing hypothesis theorises about how L2 input can lead to learner development. The hypothesis is that input must be *noticed* in order to become available to learners as intake, and potentially result in acquisition. In other words, beyond simply being exposed to some feature of the L2 — status-marked person reference terms, for instance — learners must also attend to that feature in the input in order to unlock the potential to acquire it for themselves. Furthermore, as Kasper and Schmidt (1996: 164) argue, learners must also arrive at some conclusion about the effect of the linguistic feature that has been noticed — for instance, that a particular person reference term is deferential — or else that feature cannot meaningfully be integrated into their own system. As Kasper and Rose (2002: 29) point out, though, "noticing is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for pragmatic learning". That is,

even if learners notice a socially motivated feature of the L2 and make some hypothesis about its use, this still might not be reflected in the language that they produce.[23]

The second cognitive theory complements the noticing hypothesis in the sense that it considers a later stage of the process: learners' use of knowledge about the L2 which is already available to them (Kasper and Rose 2002: 21). Bialystok's (1993, 1994) theory identifies two cognitive processes that govern language acquisition and use for first and second languages. Kasper (2001: 511–512) shows that from each process comes a prediction about how second language acquisition takes place. The first process is the analysis of mental representations of (pragmatic) knowledge. This is a process of gaining increasing sophistication in how knowledge of language is represented mentally. The second cognitive process is one of control of attention in actual language use. That is, given limited cognitive resources in real time, speakers must economically allocate their attention in such a way as to produce successful and appropriate language. The predictions about second language acquisition stemming from this are that L2 learners will already have formed most (but not necessarily all) of the necessary pragmatic representations. They are therefore primarily left with the task of successfully allocating the limited resources of attention, along with potentially learning some new representations for L2 that were not needed for the first language (L1).[24] What this means in practice is that less proficient learners may have a mental picture of the kind of language they aim to use (for instance in the choice of a deferential form to refer to a high-status person), but relative lack of control over the process of allocating attention in the L2 may prevent them from realising this in a fluent or contextually appropriate way. As discussed by Kasper and Rose (2002: 25–26), challenges in attention control in the L2 motivate learners, particularly at lower proficiency, to choose strategies that result in utterances that are easier to process, thus leaving more attentional resources to

[23] For instance, one of DuFon's (2000) learners of Indonesian overgeneralises the second-person pronoun *anda* to high-status referents where its use would be considered rude, even though his diaries show evidence of noticing a range of address terms in the target language. She attributes this to his personal preference for minimising social distance in interactions. More generally, as noted by Dewaele (2007), a range of studies document instances where learners consciously reject certain ways of using the L2 for various reasons, including potential conflicts between target language norms and the learners' personal ideology. I do not consider this in any more detail here, but further discussion for learners of Japanese can be found in Siegal (1995, 1996) and Iwasaki (2011).

[24] For Japanese, Kasper and Rose (2002: 22) give the example of the *uchi–soto* (ingroup–outgroup) categorisation as a new representation that English-speaking learners would need to acquire.

be devoted to other aspects of producing the L2. This may be done by avoidance of difficult linguistic items (for instance, omission of person reference), or by overgeneralising a form or a strategy to many contexts. Indeed, overgeneralisation is a phenomenon identified in many of the studies considered in later subsections. Moreover, limited cognitive resources can force learners to prioritise "propositional or illocutionary goals" (Kasper and Rose 2002: 26) over contextual appropriateness. Dewaele's (2004: 394) finding, discussed in subsection 3.3.2 below, that less proficient learners of French prioritise the act of referring to the hearer over the choice of *T* or *V* pronouns can be understood as one example of this. That is, the learners' limited resources mean that they prioritise the communication of reference over the choice of a socially appropriate reference term.

A second type of theory informing work on pragmatic development is that of language socialisation (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, Ochs 1996). This model originally comes from anthropological studies of first language acquisition by children, but studies including Cook (2008) and Ohta (1999, 2001a, 2001b) apply it to second languages. Learning here is conceived as a social process, where learners gain key pragmatic information about the L2 by participating in interactions. In other words, learners begin using the L2 as novices, and their teachers, other 'expert' interlocutors and (potentially) their fellow learners explicitly or implicitly impart the pragmatic and sociolinguistic norms of the target language to them through interaction. The role of language here is dual: learners are socialised in the use of the target language through the medium of the target language (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986: 163). In particular, language socialisation imparts information to learners about "statuses and roles in their social group" (Kasper and Rose 2002: 42), likely including conventions for person reference. This theoretical perspective lends itself to developmental investigations involving microanalysis of how learners participate in L2 conversation and what kind of attempts at socialisation are made by their interlocutors. Since language socialisation primarily provides an anthropological perspective (that is, one based on careful observation and documentation) on the way in which learners develop, it does not in itself give rise to clear predictions about what learners will produce at different stages.

The primary aim of this thesis is to account for how learners' use of person reference terms develops over time. Against this background, both the sociocultural and cognitive theories have potential to offer explanations about why learners behave as they do. Proper investigation of learners' noticing requires some evidence of what

features of the L2 they are aware of at different points, while learners' language socialisation is best assessed through detailed consideration of how learners and their interlocutors behave in authentic target language interactions. However, partly due to practical constraints on the amount of data that can be collected and analysed, the focus of this research is on learners' actual production rather than their corresponding awareness or their experiences of being socialised into the L2. For this reason, of those discussed above, Bialystok's theory offers the most potential for application to this thesis. This is because it is centrally concerned with what learners produce, and makes predictions about how learners will behave at earlier versus later stages of development.

3.3.2 *Studies on person reference*

The most direct background for the social portion of this thesis comes from other research of a broadly social orientation that analyses person reference in second languages. Such studies tend to be confined to analysis of the acquisition and use of terms referring to the hearer, with a particular focus on informal versus formal second-person pronouns such as French *tu* and *vous*, collectively referred to as *T* and *V* forms, respectively. Even though DuFon (2010) presents a discussion framed as an overview of the interlanguage pragmatics literature on the full range of terms used in second-person reference (including names, pronouns, descriptions and null forms), the vast majority of published findings she looks at concern *T*/*V* address pronouns only. The developmental patterns revealed by this *T*/*V* research are discussed below. These studies provide key information about learners' use of *T* and *V* as it relates to various aspects of social context — particularly to social relationships — which is likely to be relevant to the study of learners' acquisition and use of person reference terms more generally. Two notable exceptions to the general trend for *T*/*V*-focussed studies are Marriott's (1993, 1995) study which includes assessment of how learners of Japanese develop in their use of kinship terms in third-person reference, and DuFon's (2000) study of learners of Indonesian which includes consideration of their use of address forms; these are also discussed below.[25]

In languages which have a *T*/*V* distinction, such as German and French, the *V* pronoun is associated with addressees who are distant from or more powerful than the speaker,

[25] Within research on second-person reference in second languages, Liddicoat's (2006) investigation is another exception in that it looks at learners' developing awareness (rather than *use*) of the fuller system of address terms in French, including uses of names, titles, professional titles and pronouns.

and the *T* pronoun with those who are less so (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Levinson 1987), although the details of the distribution of *T* and *V* vary cross-linguistically. However, in practice the various conventions of use are rather complex, meaning that the *T*/*V* distinction is notoriously difficult for second language learners; Dewaele (2004: 383) compares *T*/*V* choice to "the crossing of a linguistic minefield". Research on *T*/*V* pronouns in second languages is of particular interest as a background to the present study because, although Japanese person reference does not contain a strictly equivalent feature, the *T*/*V* distinction is sensitive to similar social factors to those affecting the system of person reference in Japanese more generally.

Dewaele's (2002b, 2004) study analyses *T*/*V* pronoun use in L2 French as related to how frequently learners report that they use French. The study looks at 61 learners, who report using the L2 anywhere between frequently and rarely. In general, learners show a preference for the more formal *V* form and their use of *T* correlates positively with frequency of use of the L2. Some of the learners use only *V* in their dyadic conversations (around one quarter), others use only *T* (around one quarter), and others mix the two (around half). Mixing of *T* and *V*, rather than being strategically motivated, is argued to be caused by low proficiency: "sociolinguistic appropriateness does not seem to be a question, rather somehow expressing 'you' seems to be the main goal" (Dewaele 2004: 394). As for the effect of the hearer being the same age as the learner or a different age — where *T* might be preferred in the former and *V* more possible in the latter case —, learners use *T* more often in the same-age pairs. Looking at the learners as a group, the development inferred from these results is neither uniform nor straightforwardly linear. A picture emerges, however, where learners begin with an unstable system with *T* and *V* not used in a socially motivated way. More advanced learners' systems are more stable, allowing them to make social distinctions in their pronoun use. Those who are more experienced communicators in the L2 tend to use the less formal *T*, although as a group learners still use *T* less often than native speakers.

There are a number of longitudinal studies on *T*/*V* pronouns. First, a set of research including Kinginger (2000) and Belz and Kinginger (2002) on L2 French, and Belz and Kinginger (2003) on L2 German makes detailed analyses of patterns of *T*/*V* use in learners' written interactions with native speakers through e-mail and live online chat. Their main focus is on the effect of these interactions on learners' adoption of *T* rather than *V* for use with peers, where using *T* is the native norm in both French and German. They find that, in general, these interactions promote increased understanding about *T*

and *V*, and an increase in appropriate use of *T* by learners over time. Three developmental patterns are identified. A small number of learners continue to mix *T* and *V* in an inappropriate way. Of those who adopt *T*, some do so immediately on exposure to the target language as used by their French- or German-speaking peers, whereas others gradually begin to prefer *T* over *V*. This shows that although the end result of increased appropriateness is usually reached, some learners remain unstable even after some direct exposure to authentic L2 input. The second key longitudinal study is Barron's (2006) study of learners' use of *T* and *V* pronouns in L2 German before and after study abroad. Her data comes from written tasks completed by learners and by a native control group, where participants imagine both sides of a conversation in a set scenario. The native responses are characterised by a high degree of convergence on the group level in the choice between *T* and *V* for a given scenario, and a total absence of switching between *T* and *V* forms within a single interaction. Learners, in contrast, are much less unanimous in their decisions, and less stable within interactions. Over time, learners' choice of *T* or *V* often comes to resemble that of native speakers more closely, but they remain far from unanimous. Furthermore, learners at both stages switch between *T* and *V* forms within scenarios in a way that is not socially motivated, although they do so less often at the post-study abroad stage. Barron (2006: 80–82) argues that these "non-functional switches" are the result of the interference of formulaic expressions or of difficulty with the morphology associated with *T* and *V* forms, or that they may reflect "learner insecurity regarding an appropriate choice of pronominal address form" (2006: 81). Overall, Barron's finding is that development over a period of study abroad does see learners moving towards a more target-like use of the variants in question. However, it is clear that even post-study abroad learners are certainly not native-like in their use of *T* and *V*. At both levels, learners do make socially motivated choices between *T* and *V*, but although they improve somewhat over time, particularly with appropriate use of *T*, instability remains.

Marriott's (1993, 1995) study of a group of eight Australian learners of Japanese before and after a year of study abroad in Japan looks at a number of areas of their language, including person reference. Unlike the studies above that focus on second-person reference, the focus here is on third-person reference terms used by the learners to refer to their Japanese host family members or to members of their own Australian family. Each instance of such reference in the data produced by learners in interviews pre- and post-study abroad is rated by a Japanese native speaker as appropriate or inappropriate

using social and lexical criteria. All learners increase their proportion of appropriate forms even as the total number of eligible tokens is considerably higher after study abroad. Interestingly, two of the eight learners, who went to Japan as complete beginners, returned from study abroad with high percentages of appropriate use of person reference. In contrast, the other learners, who were not beginners at the pre-study abroad stage, are in fact more mixed in their development. Some improve considerably while others have only a modest improvement. The sources of inappropriate use of person reference terms do change over time but this is partly attributable to the fact that reference to Japanese host families is only found in the post-study abroad data. At both stages, learners use inappropriately honorific terms for members of their own families as well as using inappropriately neutral terms for members of others' families (where honorific terms would be more appropriate). For instance, they are reported to add the title *-san* inappropriately to the names of members of their own families such as younger siblings, and at the same time to make inappropriate use of bare names (that is, with no title) when referring to members of their Japanese host family. These results show that study abroad positively affects how far learners conform to the target language norm, but that even afterwards learners do not necessarily conform fully, perhaps in part because they do not yet have robust distinctions between honorific and non-honorific person reference terms.

Finally, DuFon's (2000) study of six learners of L2 Indonesian in Indonesia contains a number of findings about their use of the range of address terms, including pronouns, names and professional descriptions.[26] DuFon's data includes learners' diaries of their learning experiences as well as examples of their actual production. Interestingly, despite the fact that all learners show evidence of increasing awareness of the variety of address terms used in different situations, this is not necessarily reflected in their production, where they sometimes use inappropriately informal terms. This is in part due to the overgeneralisation of certain forms. Elsewhere, learners are also observed to avoid address forms more than native speakers would. DuFon's results are interesting because they show that increased awareness resulting from a stay abroad does not necessarily lead to target-like production, and the overgeneralisation of informal forms echoes Marriott's findings about learners' lack of control over the honorific system of the L2.

[26] DuFon's (2000) study is unpublished, so practical limitations mean that my discussion of it is based on brief summaries of its findings in DuFon (2010: 315, 321), Kasper (2001: 514) and Kasper and Rose (2002: 25–30).

3.3.3 *Studies on speech act realisation*

It is widely acknowledged that studies in the field of interlanguage pragmatics have examined speech act realisation more than any other topic (for instance by Kasper 2010, Bardovi-Harlig 2010, Barron 2012). The result of this is a very large body of research which cannot be fully summarised here. I focus, therefore, on the most generalisable findings emerging from this literature (as reviewed by Kasper 1996, 2010; Kasper and Rose 1999; Kasper and Schmidt 1996; Taguchi 2010; Barron 2012) as well as outlining some relatively recent work that is particularly relevant to my research. Cross-sectional studies on a range of speech acts show that, in general, learners even at lower proficiency have access to the same range of means for speech act realisation as native speakers. However, the way that learners use these means is affected by their level of proficiency and does not necessarily match native speaker behaviour. More proficient learners' distribution of speech act realisation strategies matches that of native speakers more closely. This suggests that implicit knowledge about how to perform various speech acts is available to second language learners, and that their process of acquisition is firstly one of acquiring the linguistic means to realise them in the L2, and secondly one of acquiring language-specific norms and preferences in the matching of strategy types to contexts. A criticism (Kasper and Schmidt 1996: 151) of the cross-sectional studies, however, is that they rarely look at very early L2 learners, and as such they do not demonstrate that very low proficiency learners access a native-like range of speech act realisation strategies. Indeed, longitudinal studies of speech act realisation such as Ellis (1992) and Schmidt (1983) show that at very early stages learners begin with a limited range of strategies which gradually expands. Based on results from Ellis (1992) and Achiba (2003) about the development of L2 requests from very early stages, Kasper and Rose (2002: 140) propose a series of developmental stages. Learners begin at stage 1 with requests that are pre-syntactic and highly dependent on context for their interpretation. At stage 2, they begin to use unanalysed formulas; stage 3 is reached when they start to unpack these formulas and use them more productively. Learners at stage 4 are undergoing "pragmatic expansion" as they add new forms and more complex syntactic structures to their repertoire. Finally, at stage 5 there is a more careful adjustment of request realisations to match different social contexts. Beyond requests, learners' socially motivated use of the L2 may follow similar stages more widely. That is, expressions enter learners' repertoire unanalysed, later are used

productively, and it is only after this that a careful response to contextual factors (such as social relationships) emerges.

Matsumura (2001, 2003, 2007) reports on the results of a large scale quantitative longitudinal study on the effect of study abroad on the speech act of advice giving by looking at the development of a group of 97 Japanese students who studied abroad for eight months in Canada, and a further 102 students who continued studying English without going abroad. A written multiple choice questionnaire is used containing advice scenarios where the hearer is of higher, similar or lower status relative to the learner. Learners completed questionnaires at four points in time which coincide with times soon before, twice during, and soon after the stay in Canada for the study abroad group. Both groups of learners consistently match native speakers' preferences for strategies used when giving advice to a higher-status person. Matsumura (2001: 665) attributes this to the effect of socialisation which took place in the classroom in Japan at some point before his study began. However, a sub-group of fifteen of the study abroad learners monitored by Matsumura (2007) after their return to Japan in fact becomes less native-like in this respect during the period after study abroad. This is argued to be a conscious choice on the part of these learners that comes from their reflection after study abroad about target language norms. As for the scenarios with same- and lower-status persons, in this case study abroad confers a clear advantage. At first, neither learner group resembles native speakers as closely as they do for the high-status hearer scenarios. However, over the period, only the group studying abroad develops, and their preferences become closer to those of native speakers. Matsumura's results therefore show that study abroad can trigger learners' pragmatic development in some respects, and that scenarios involving same- or lower-status persons may be the site of particularly marked development.

Two further speech act realisation studies of interest are Iwasaki's (2008) longitudinal study of L2 Japanese requests and short-term study abroad, and Beckwith and Dewaele's (2008, 2012) study of L2 Japanese apologies from learners with and without experience of living in Japan. First, Iwasaki's (2008) study looks at twelve English-speaking learners of Japanese at the beginning and end of an eight week study abroad programme in Japan. The study concentrates on data for three request scenarios in a written discourse completion task, where the relationship between speaker and hearer varies (close or distant; same status or higher status). In general, Iwasaki's results conform to the general patterns noted above. At both stages learners have access to

most of the same strategies that native speakers use to make requests, but they do not necessarily use them in a native-like way. Learners' distribution of request strategies in context changes over time and becomes more native-like in some respects. In terms of Kasper and Rose's (2002: 140, see above) developmental stages, learners begin at the unanalysed, unpacking or pragmatic expansion stages (2, 3 or 4), and by the end of the study abroad period all are at the stage of pragmatic expansion, suggesting that even a short study abroad period can influence learners' development but that it may not be sufficient to help them advance to the final developmental stage for requests. Beckwith and Dewaele (2008, 2012) use data from a written discourse completion task to compare English-speaking learners of Japanese with and without experience of residence in Japan, English native speakers, and Japanese native speakers. Again, learners use the full range of strategies that native speakers do, but the distribution of these strategies differs between the two learner groups. Namely, the preferences of learners with experience of life in Japan are to some extent closer to those of native Japanese speakers, although on the statistical level there are relatively few significant differences between the two learner groups. Differences do emerge at the level of actual forms used, however. Learners who have never lived in Japan tend to overgeneralise the neutral apology form *sumimasen*, which is perhaps the main form encountered in the foreign language classroom. On the other hand, those who have lived in Japan overuse a group of less formal apology expressions involving *gomen*, which is more likely to be encountered in familiar conversations. This study shows that even in speech act realisation, exposure to the target language through residence or study abroad can lead to overgeneralisation of less formal forms, but that it does also contribute to some extent to a more native-like use of apology realisation strategies.

3.3.4 *Studies on indexical resources in Japanese*

A group of studies on L2 Japanese look at learners' acquisition of the Japanese particle *ne* and other related forms (Sawyer 1992, Ohta 1999, 2001a, 2001b, Masuda 2011). The Japanese particle *ne* can be described as an "interactional particle" (Masuda 2011: 522) that is one of a number of linguistic resources (others include *hai* 'yes' and laughter) that speakers use to "show listenership ... falling along a continuum from acknowledgment to alignment" (Ohta 2001b: 104). Of this group of resources, *ne* is more often associated with alignment. In this sense, *ne* is a socially motivated linguistic item because it is involved in management of the relationship between speaker and hearer. Sawyer's longitudinal study of eleven beginning learners of Japanese over one

year shows that initially they use *ne* as part of formulaic expressions, largely *soo desu ne* 'that's right'. Over time, they use *ne* more widely. Even at later stages the learners still to some extent confine *ne* to a limited number of expressions, but by this point "each learner's fixed phrases are quite different from those used by other learners" (Sawyer 1992: 105). Ohta (2001a, 2001b) proposes a sequence of developmental stages based on her study of seven classroom foreign language learners of Japanese. At the earliest stage learners use no expressions on the acknowledgment–alignment continuum. Later, they come to use expressions of acknowledgment, and finally expressions of alignment emerge. In both cases, learners move from minimal to more spontaneous use. However, even at later stages learners do not necessarily use expressions involving *ne* appropriately, even as they use them more readily. Another feature of learners' development is that although the route is argued to be shared, the rate of learners' progress varies. As with some of the other socially-orientated studies, the literature on the acquisition of Japanese *ne* shows a move from limited, formulaic use to more productive use. However, learners differ in how fast they make this move, and even as they become more aware of *ne*'s function as an interactional resource, they do not always use it in a totally free or appropriate way. Masuda's (2011) study of six learners during a six-week study abroad programme confirms that learners appear to go through the same stages in a study abroad context too.

A second set of relevant studies is those looking at how learners of Japanese develop in their use of addressee honorifics, including longitudinal studies by Marriott (1993, 1995), Cook (2008) and Iwasaki (2010, 2011). The choice between use and non-use of addressee honorifics is necessary in almost all utterances in Japanese, as discussed in more detail above in subsection 3.2.4. In general, the acquisition studies consider the use of these honorifics as the defining feature of a polite versus plain speech style. Against a background of either use or non-use of addressee honorifics, speakers may also make contextually motivated shifts in speech style, for instance by omitting addressee honorifics in "exclamatory expressions ... or for soliloquy-like remarks" (Okamoto 1999: 62) in an interaction where otherwise addressee honorifics are used. Mariott's (1993, 1995) studies look at eight secondary-level learners of Japanese before and after a year's study in Japan using data from interviews where the use of addressee honorifics would be the socially appropriate choice. For addressee honorifics, her results show that before departure, learners' production is characterised by a mixture of use of addressee honorifics and of incomplete utterances where addressee honorifics

cannot be used because the verb is missing. That is, learners use addressee honorifics in what appears to be a default rather than a socially motivated choice, especially since the "fragmentary nature of their discourse" (Marriott 1995: 205) reflects a relatively low level of proficiency. After study abroad, learners tend to omit addressee honorifics in a context-insensitive way.

Iwasaki's (2010) study offers a particularly interesting complement to Marriott's results. She uses data from five university-level learners of Japanese in interviews with their teacher of Japanese, recorded before and after one year of study abroad. At the earlier stage learners predominantly use addressee honorifics, which is the appropriate choice for the addressee (a teacher) in the interview setting. However, at the post-study abroad stage, the two lowest proficiency learners in the group mainly omit referent honorifics in the same setting. The other three continue to use honorifics as the baseline style, but omit them more often than before study abroad. This suggests that, as Marriott also shows, study abroad can trigger an overgeneralisation of the non-use of referent honorifics. However, Iwasaki goes on to illustrate in a qualitative analysis that even those learners who overgeneralise in this way still make contextually motivated use of addressee honorifics. This contrasts with Marriott's study which showed learners after study abroad shifting randomly between speech styles. For Iwasaki's learners, whether or not the outcome at the post-study abroad stage is target-like, they do gain "some understanding of the social meanings of the [speech] styles" (Iwasaki 2010: 68). Iwasaki's (2011) interviews with a subset of these learners reveal that their (non-)use of addressee honorifics is their response to a social dilemma surrounding how to present themselves through language: use of addressee honorifics is part of a self-presentation as "a respectful young man/club member" while non-use is connected to self-presentation as "a 'friendly' (American) man" (Iwasaki 2011: 96). It is the experience of study abroad which presents these learners with the opportunities to have the realisations about socially motivated language use that lead to such dilemmas.

Cook's (2008) longitudinal study differs from the others in that it investigates learners in a situation where the socially appropriate baseline style is the non-use of addressee honorifics, and occasional shifts may be made to a polite speech style that uses addressee honorifics. She analyses data from nine learners in Japanese homestays in conversation at mealtimes. One result of the study is that more proficient learners become better at using shifts to the polite style in a native-like manner, thus suggesting that authentic interaction can promote the development of a conversational style (plain

with occasional polite style shifts) which is not often encountered in the language classroom. The identification of developmental stages is not the primary focus of the addressee honorifics studies, but they can be interpreted as showing a series of stages similar to those observed in studies on other topics. Learners at early stages are shown to make unanalysed use of addressee honorifics. Later, target language exposure through study abroad prompts overuse of the plain speech style where addressee honorifics are omitted. It seems that this period also provides learners with evidence about the social meanings of addressee honorifics. As a result, even when they overuse the plain style, learners make motivated use of addressee honorifics. Finally, more proficient learners may abandon overuse of the plain style.[27]

3.3.5 *Studies on indexical resources in languages other than Japanese*

A number of studies including Swain and Lapkin (1990), Dewaele (2002a), Lemée (2002) and Rehner et al. (2003) look at French learners' use of two possible means of expressing plural first-person reference in subject position: *nous* and *on*. The two variants are associated with more and less informal styles, respectively. These are, strictly speaking, studies of person reference, but unlike the studies discussed earlier, they consider *nous* and *on* as stylistic variants rather than as referential devices that are potentially affected by social relationships. Findings are not totally uniform, but it is often the case that increased exposure to the target language, through authentic interactions, immersion or study abroad is related to greater use of the informal *on*. Dewaele's (2002a) analysis of spoken and written data further shows that learners overuse *on* in writing, where it is less often appropriate. Furthermore, Lemée's (2002) results show that although use of *on* correlates positively with time spent abroad in a target language environment, contrary to expectations her learners' distinction between *nous* and *on* does not relate to the formality of the topic being discussed.[28] These results show that, although contact with the target language in many cases promotes increased

[27] In Iwasaki (2010), the three most proficient learners do not overuse the plain style after study abroad. The pre- and post-study abroad data alone does not show whether they overuse the plain style in between the two periods. It is possible that they passed through a developmental stage of overuse which ended before the second data collection. Alternatively, because of their higher proficiency on beginning study abroad, these learners were perhaps able to control addressee honorifics more appropriately from the start and therefore never overused them.

[28] Lemée's (2002) data includes discussion between the same participants on personal topics such as home and family, and on more social ones such as AIDS and the environment, where the former would be expected to trigger greater use of *on* than the latter.

use of informal variants, even as they come to use them more often, learners do not necessarily control these variants appropriately.

Another stylistic variant that has been the object of a number of studies is the optional deletion of the French pre-verbal negative particle *ne*. Regan's (1995, 1996, 1997) longitudinal studies show that learners omit *ne* much more often after a period of study abroad than before. However, their sensitivity to formal versus informal styles — where the former allow omission of *ne* less readily — is limited, even after study abroad. These results have similar implication to those of the *on*/*nous* studies discussed above. Study abroad is shown to promote learners' use of less formal variants that are perhaps less often encountered in the classroom; however, learners do not necessarily acquire target-like sensitivity to contextual variables that affect the appropriateness of using such variants. Thomas' (2004) longitudinal study of learners of French before and after study abroad shows similar results. While his control group of learners who did not study abroad omit *ne* less over time, the learners who studied abroad omit *ne* more often after this period. Dewaele and Regan (2002) suggest the possibility of a U-shaped development for the omission of *ne*. At first, omission of *ne* is the result of limited proficiency. As learners go on to acquire the rules for negation in French they then supply *ne* more often. Then, the final stage is an increase in omission of *ne* as learners become aware of the possibility of omission as a stylistic variant. However, as Regan's results show, even more advanced learners who make use of *ne* omission do not necessarily do so in a contextually sensitive manner.

3.3.6 *Discussion*

The body of research discussed in the subsections above has a range of research agendas and uses a range of methodologies, but taken as a whole it presents a number of important findings about second language development. The picture that emerges of learners at early stages is one where the extent to which they can realise pragmatically motivated strategies is limited by their grammatical competence. For instance, Marriott's (1993, 1995) learners of Japanese are limited in how far they can realise the use or non-use of addressee honorifics simply because they have difficulty forming complete utterances. As such, learners at this level might under- or overuse a particular variant without any pragmatic motivation. Learners begin with unanalysed items and formulas, but as they develop, they come to use them more productively. Sawyer's (1992) findings about Japanese *ne* are one example of this. However, even as learners'

increasing proficiency means they use items more productively, they do not necessarily do so in a contextually sensitive or target-like way. As shown by studies on informal variants in French (*ne*-omission and the first-person plural use of *on*), even once these variants are part of the productive repertoire, learners use them in a way that is not fully sensitive to context. That is, they gain the ability to create a greater range of pragmatic effects (pragmalinguistic control) before the corresponding competence in matching forms to social contexts (sociopragmatic control). However, as learners develop, in many respects their use of the L2 does become more sensitive to social context and more target-like. This is the case for speech act realisation strategies in general, as well as for certain third-person reference terms in Japanese (Marriott 1993, 1995). Among others, Cook (2008) on addressee honorifics and Belz and Kinginger's (2002, 2003) on *T*/*V* show the same. Many of the studies emphasise that, while the routes of pragmatic development appear to be common, learners' development is not necessarily linear.

Many of the studies reported above pay particular attention to learning context involving either study abroad or contact with users of the L2 outside the classroom. They tend to show that these experiences lead to an increased use by learners of the forms common in less formal contexts that are encountered more often outside the language classroom than inside it. This is shown for 'solidarity' use of *T* pronouns and with the non-use of Japanese addressee honorifics, for instance. In fact, interactional contexts that are informal or that involve persons of similar status to the learner seem to be sites of particularly marked development as a result of contact with the L2. Study abroad is not the only trigger of such development: studies by Belz and Kinginger (2002, 2003) show that written contact with peers who are native speakers of the target language can have a similar effect. However, as mentioned above, learners' using an item more often does not mean that they use it appropriately. Indeed, study abroad in particular is linked to the overgeneralisation of informal forms, for instance of the non-use of addressee honorifics. However, as Iwasaki (2010) shows, even if learners overgeneralise, this does not necessarily mean that they are incapable of making socially motivated distinctions. The limitations of study abroad are highlighted by Barron's (2006) results; they make it particularly clear that development over study abroad may still leave learners quite far from behaving pragmatically like native speakers. In general, the effect of the widely reported phenomenon of overgeneralisation is that learner development may pass through a stage of over- or

under supplying a particular form or strategy before they gain finer control over its deployment in a contextually sensitive manner.

3.4 Conclusion

The achievements of this chapter are firstly to have set out a theoretical framework for the social analysis of person reference which will be the basis of the social component of the data collection and analysis in the study forming the body of this thesis. This theory draws mainly on Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness universals, where choice of person reference term is primarily determined by status relationships (that is, power and social distance) and, secondarily, person reference terms are among resources to be used in the realisation of politeness strategies. Analysis of learner and native speaker data will also make use of the concept of a continuum from entirely volitional and strategic use of person reference terms at one end, and an entirely automatised non-volitional (that is, *wakimae*-based) one on the other.

Secondly, I have outlined the body of socially-orientated research on person reference and related topics. Crucially, this overview shows that, apart from address pronouns, person reference has received very little attention in such research. The general findings, however, are that for a variety of areas of language, learner development is not necessarily a straightforward process of gradual improvement where learners move linearly towards the target over time. Rather, they begin with a limited and unanalysed set of forms and strategies which becomes more productively used over time, but even as their range increases, they do not necessarily use what they know appropriately. This is revealed by overgeneralisation of certain forms beyond the contexts where they are most appropriate. Study abroad is suggested to promote particular development in the use of informal forms that are less commonly encountered in the classroom, but the end result is not necessarily that learners become target-like in their production.

Chapter 4. Research questions and research methods

4.1 Introduction

As set out in the preceding chapters, I consider two perspectives on how person reference terms are chosen by speakers: firstly, how a term is chosen relative to a particular informational (discourse-pragmatic) context in discourse, and secondly how this choice relates to a particular social context. Broadly speaking, the aim of this thesis is therefore to provide discourse-pragmatic and social accounts of how Japanese person reference is used by learners. The focus here will be limited to English-speaking learners, and the chief area of interest is their production of person reference terms (as opposed to comprehension or awareness). A look at previous related research has shown that longitudinal developmental work is rare compared to single moment or cross-sectional studies. This thesis aims to redress the balance by looking at group of learners over time. As a complex system dependent on a range of competences (grammatical, pragmatic, sociolinguistic) it is to be expected that as learners develop, their use of person reference will change. One particularly interesting period in the development of instructed foreign language learners is the experience of a period of immersion in the target language through study abroad. The study forming the main body of this thesis therefore looks at a group of English-speaking learners of Japanese before and after study abroad. This chapter sets out the research questions that define the scope of this investigation (4.2). I then give details of the study's design and implementation, showing how it is set up to produce answers to these research questions, how it was refined following a pilot stage, and giving details of tasks used and the study participants (4.3). Finally, I give an outline of how the data produced by this study is transcribed and processed, how the theoretical frameworks inform a coding scheme for the data, and what methods are used in analysing the data (4.4). Brief concluding remarks are found in section 4.5.

4.2 Research questions

Below is a summary of the research questions addressed in this study, followed by a more detailed exploration of each. They are given in the form of three main questions that are further divided into sub-questions which elaborate on the focus of analysis.

1) How do English-speaking learners of Japanese use person reference terms before and after study abroad

a) considered through discourse-pragmatic factors?

b) considered through social factors?

c) compared with Japanese native speakers in these respects?

2) What does this reveal about learner development over the period studied, which combines residence abroad with continued classroom instruction?

3) What does the above reveal about the acquisition of person reference in second languages?

a) What might explain learners' route of development?

b) What is the relation between language universals and language specifics in learners' development?

c) How do these results compare to those of other studies?

4.2.1 *Research question 1*

Research question 1 is largely descriptive in nature. It is a necessary foundation for the two subsequent questions, which turn to the wider implications of the data. Furthermore, because person reference in L2 Japanese has rarely been the object of systematic and detailed study, it is important to arrive at an accurate characterisation of learners' production in this domain. There are a number of reasons for limiting the study to learners whose first language is (British) English. Firstly, it makes the group of learners more directly comparable with one another. In other words, whatever influence the first language (English) has on learners' use of Japanese person reference, this influence can be assumed to be the same for every learner in the group studied. Secondly, British English and Japanese are typologically unrelated languages, and are principally used in two geographically and culturally distinct parts of the world — Japan and the United Kingdom. The result for person reference is two systems which differ in the means available for responding to variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions, and in the conventions of the their use in a number of respects, making this language combination one of particular interest. Finally, practical considerations mean that it is more feasible to focus on a population of learners that is most immediately available to the researcher.

The three sub-questions set out the details of how research question 1 will be tackled. The analysis is split into its discourse-pragmatic and social analyses (sub-questions a

and b). These draw on the two theoretical frameworks outlined in the previous two chapters. Learner data will also be compared with native speaker data as part of each analysis (sub-question c). This final sub-question is included because native speaker data gives an important perspective to the analysis of learner data. In other areas of language (such syntax or inflectional morphology) it might be possible to make detailed predictions of native speakers' behaviour from theory alone. But in the case of person reference, the theoretical frameworks do not go as far as to determine entirely what will be produced. Therefore, it is necessary to establish how Japanese native speakers actually behave on the same tasks used with the learners in order to properly contextualise the learner data. Analysis of the learner and native data will aim to show how far speakers' choice of person reference terms in Japanese responds to variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions. A range of tasks that are designed to compel speakers to respond to such variation will be employed in data collection. In this way, through research question 1 a solid empirical foundation is established for the wider-ranging analyses demanded by the other research questions.

4.2.2 *Research question 2*

The second research question takes as its starting point the picture of learners at two stages of development and the native speakers' behaviour as established in research question 1. As distinct from question 1 which is concerned with the data collected, this question turns to the issue of what the comparison of learners' performance at two points in time reveals about development over that period. Understanding the nature of learner development is a key area of enquiry in second language acquisition. Longitudinal data makes a particularly useful contribution — it allows for stronger claims about what happens to learner systems over time because the development being analysed is observed within a group rather than inferred from differences between separate groups as it would be in a cross-sectional study. The addition of the native speaker data for comparison means that it is possible to better contextualise learners' developmental trajectory — namely, to see whether any changes over time constitute movement towards or away from the target language practice. Although questions 1 and 2 are conceptually distinct, in practice they are closely related because what can be understood in this research about learners' development is defined by the similarities and differences in their performance at the two stages examined.

The development assessed here involves the effect of a year's study abroad in Japan, which combines immersion in the target language with continued classroom study of the language. The year of study abroad is likely to be a particularly interesting period in the development of the learners participating in this study because it represents a transition from an early intermediate to a high intermediate or advanced level of Japanese, and because it provides learners with a context for acquisition very different from what they experienced previously. Research question 2 is, however, careful to specify that it concerns learners' change over the period observed rather than the effect of study abroad per se. The present study is limited in how far it can isolate the effect of study abroad from other factors affecting language development because of the impracticality of obtaining a suitable control group. In other words, the effect of study abroad on the learners could only be separated from the influence of time and their continued classroom study of Japanese by comparing the post-study abroad learners with other learners at a similar stage of development who had pursued a comparable programme of classroom study without spending time in Japan; for reasons of practicality this is not feasible. Rather, beginning with the assumption that a period of study abroad offers the possibility of rich input and a range of authentic interactions, I look at how, combined with continued classroom study of Japanese and the passage of time, it affects learners' use of person reference terms. The combination of the first two research questions will present a picture of learner development in the use of person reference terms, as assessed from two theoretical perspectives.

4.2.3 *Research question 3*

The first two research questions result in an account of learners' use of person reference at two points in time as compared with native speakers (question 1), and of what changes occur over the period studied (question 2). Following these, research question 3 is concerned with the wider implications of these findings — namely, what is discovered about the second language acquisition of person reference. This final question is a necessary complement to the preceding ones in that it takes a more general view of the findings and connects them to the wider body of research in second language acquisition. It is split into three sub-questions that I outline in more detail below.

The first sub-question, 3(a), is closely related to research questions 1 and 2. Data from learners will reveal how they change over time in a number of respects — discourse-

pragmatic and social analyses each involve a number of separate measures of how learners match forms with contexts. This picture of where and how learners develop and where they remain the same over time forms the basis for question 3(a). Bialystok's (1993, 1994) two-dimensional model of pragmatic development predicts that L2 learners will develop over time in their attentional control in actual use of the L2, but that they will have formed the necessary pragmatic representations from the start. The response to question 3(a) considers how far learners' performance at the two stages and their development over time can be explained in terms of the two dimensions of pragmatic representations and attentional control.

The second part of research question 3 concerns the nature of the interaction between linguistic universals and language specifics in learners' development. Both the discourse-pragmatic and social frameworks employed in this research make claims to broad universality. That is, they present universal mechanisms (accessibility marking and politeness) which drive speakers' choice of person reference terms. The realisation of these universals, however, is language specific; it depends on the options for person reference available in particular languages, and on various language-specific preferences. This means that, while person reference in English and in Japanese is the result of universal motivations, its actual realisation in the two languages differs. For instance, Figure 3 below shows the English-like and Japanese-like distributions of null forms and pronouns as set out in the discourse-pragmatic framework I employ (see chapter 2, section 2.2 for details). The relative positions of null forms and pronouns as accessibility markers are the same in both languages (indeed, they are universal), but the details of their distribution are language-specific.

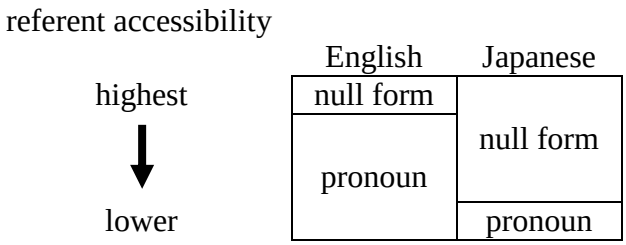


Figure 3 English-like and Japanese-like distributions of null forms and pronouns compared

This interaction between language universals and specifics is particularly interesting in the study of second language acquisition. If the social and discourse-pragmatic motivations underlying the choice of person reference terms really are universal, learners can be expected to have access to these motivations in their second language

and to (attempt to) respond to them linguistically. As for language specifics, second language learners by definition have already acquired a first language or languages — in this case, English. They have therefore already acquired any English-specific constraints or preferences that apply to person reference. Part of the task of acquiring Japanese as a second language is then to acquire the language-specifics that apply to Japanese. To address this research question, the learners' development will be considered in terms of how far the influence of language universals is evident in their use of person reference. Furthermore, analyses will consider whether learners transfer English-like patterns to their person reference in Japanese, how far they successfully adopt Japanese-like patterns, and whether this changes over time.

Finally, research question 3(c) looks at how the findings of this study relate to what has been discovered to date in second language acquisition research. As explored in some detail in chapters 2 and 3, a variety of studies in second language acquisition have covered ground related to person reference, although person reference itself has rarely been the object of study. It is therefore useful to examine how the results of this study can be reconciled with the existing body of knowledge, where they confirm the findings of previous research and where any differences lie. For the discourse-pragmatic analysis this will include consideration of learners' under- or overexplicitness, and the discourse contexts in which it occurs, since previous studies report both under- and overexplicitness in learners. A further area of enquiry is the pinpointing of those accessibility contexts that are easier or more difficult for learners to respond to. Once again, there is a lack of consensus in previous studies about whether a target-like response to higher or to lower accessibility contexts is the more difficult to acquire. On the other hand, socially-orientated studies find that learners begin by using forms in an unanalysed or formulaic way which later becomes productive and, relatedly, that the development of a wider repertoire of forms and strategies often precedes the development of situationally appropriate control over this repertoire. The present study is distinct from previous work in that it looks longitudinally at person reference using a variety of measures of discourse-pragmatic and social condition. Its results therefore make a valuable contribution to existing findings on learners' social and discourse-pragmatic development.

4.3 Data collection

In order to provide suitable data to address the research questions above, I use longitudinal data taken from six English-speaking learners of Japanese, as well as

comparable native Japanese data from six Japanese speakers. This study was preceded by a pilot study, which allowed the tasks to be refined before use in the main data collection. In the subsections below, I begin with a summary of the overall study design (4.3.1) and the contribution made by the pilot study which preceded it (4.3.2).

Although the number of learners in the main study is comparatively small, all learners have similar backgrounds and experiences of learning Japanese, meaning that their data can be analysed on the group level. Moreover, practical concerns — namely, access to suitable learners, and the large amount of data generated by each learner — limit the number of participants that can be included in this study; these practical limitations might be overcome in future research. In subsection 4.3.3 below, I give details of all study participants, beginning in 4.3.3.1 with a fuller outline of main group of learners and a justification of their comparability. This is followed by details of the native speaker comparison group (4.3.3.2), including brief comments on the reasons for using native speaker data in this research. Details of the native speaker facilitators who participated in data collection are found in 4.3.3.3. Finally, in subsection 4.3.4 I outline the tasks used in data elicitation.

4.3.1 *Study design*

As defined by the research questions, this study focuses on how learners of Japanese develop in their use of person reference and uses a longitudinal study to investigate this. Longitudinal data is particularly suitable for the study of second language development because it reveals the actual progress of a group of learners over time. As compared to cross-sectional data obtained from different groups of learners at various levels and used to infer development, longitudinal data allows stronger conclusions to be drawn about learner development.

The participants chosen for the longitudinal study are English-speaking learners of Japanese at two stages in their development: before and after study abroad. At the earlier stage, learners are at early-intermediate level and have completed two years' classroom study of Japanese in Britain. At the second stage, they have finished a further 'year abroad' (between nine and eleven months) in Japan, and have reached a high intermediate or advanced level. This period likely captures development in learners' vocabulary, grammatical competence and communicative ability in Japanese. For this reason I anticipate that the study of learners over this period will be particularly fruitful in illuminating how the system of person reference develops over time. As well

as two-stage developmental data from learners of Japanese, equivalent data was collected from a group of native speakers of Japanese using the same tasks.

The set of tasks used in this data collection was refined following a pilot testing stage. The tasks selected for use in the main stages of data collection are designed to allow observation of learners' response to discourse-pragmatic and social factors (together and in isolation from one another) when choosing person reference terms. Furthermore, the use of multiple task types means that social and discourse-pragmatic analyses are each able to draw on data from two different types of tasks. This study design addresses my research questions by providing a set of rich developmental data from learners who are highly comparable with one another as well as a set of comparison data from Japanese native speakers. This data comes from tasks specially designed to elicit person reference in such a way as to facilitate a range of analyses of learners' production of person reference terms and of their development.

The study was approved following the standard ethical approval procedure of Newcastle University, which considers, among other things, the recruitment of participants, the nature of the data collection methods, the use of personal information and the assessment of any risk posed to the researcher and participants. Before participation in data collection, all participants signed a consent form confirming that they agreed to the use of their data for research purposes. This form moreover confirmed to participants that all data would be anonymised, and that they could withdraw their consent at any time.

4.3.2 *Pilot studies*

There were two stages of pilot testing that informed task design. Firstly, before the main study, a range of tasks was tested with a small group of learners at pre- and post-study abroad levels. Secondly, once the final set of tasks for use in the main study had been developed, it was first used to collect data from one learner at post-study abroad level. The first pilot allowed a variety of tasks to be tested out, and then modified or abandoned in the light of the data they produced. The second pilot allowed the effectiveness of the final task set to be confirmed, as well as providing a good indication that sufficiently advanced learners would be able to complete all the tasks successfully.

4.3.2.1 *Pilot study participants*

In May 2009, around one month before the first stage of data collection for the main study, four learners participated in the first pilot study. Three of these participants (LP1–3) are learners at the same pre-study abroad stage as those who participated in the main data collection, and one (LP4) is a learner at the post-study abroad stage. The post- study abroad learner was at the end of the fourth year of study, and as such was at a somewhat later stage of development than the immediately post-study abroad stage at which learners provided data for the main study. Another post-study abroad learner, LP5 below, was the participant in the second pilot. The learners' details are given in Table 6 below. Two Japanese facilitators, JP1 and JP2, acted as facilitators for the pilot data collection. Their details, along with further discussion of their role, can be found in 4.3.3.3.

anony-mous code	age (years)	gender	Japanese study (years)	stay in Japan	first language	other languages (length of study in years)
LP1	20	female	2	none	Latvian	English (8) Russian (4)
LP2	20	female	2	limited (1 month)	French	English (11) Spanish (8)
LP3	20	female	2	none	Romanian	English (14)
LP4	22	male	4	10 months	English	French (7) German (7) Chinese (1)
LP5	22	female	4	10 months	English	French (15)

Table 6 Learners who participated in the pilot studies

Due to time constraints of the present study, it was not practical to be as strict about the learners' first language as for the participants in the main study. Furthermore, it was not practical to find a pilot group at the immediately post-study abroad stage. However, the pilot participants all studied in the same Japanese language programme as the main study participants, and (in the case of the post-study abroad learners) had followed the same year abroad programmes as those available to the main study participants.[29] As such they are highly comparable to the main population studied in terms of their

[29] The year abroad programme available to the pilot and main study participants is two semesters of study at one of a number of Japanese universities. The host universities of the two post-study abroad learners in the pilot are among those that the main study participants could attend for their year abroad.

experience of learning Japanese and their level of development before and after study abroad.

4.3.2.2 *Pilot study tasks*

A number of tasks were attempted with learners in the first pilot test to see how learners coped and what kind of data was produced. They were: role plays, narrative tasks, open-ended production tasks and discourse completion tasks. The pilot study also functioned as a training period for the Japanese facilitators who participated in main data collection at the pre-study abroad stage. The second pilot study involved only one learner, who completed the full set of tasks planned for the main data collection as a final confirmation that they had been successfully modified where necessary. Fuller explanations of the content and purpose of the tasks are given in 4.3.4 for those tasks that were retained for the main study. Here, I will limit the discussion to the specific contribution of the pilot studies to task design.

Role plays similar to those adopted in the main data collection were trialled, where the learners interacted with a Japanese facilitator according to a set scenario. They were largely successful at the pilot stage, and the scenarios were retained. However, the experience of the pilot test showed that the instructions needed to unambiguously state the learner's role in the scenarios (always as a student in a Japanese university), and to direct the learner to initiate the conversation. Furthermore, in the task descriptions, Japanese names were given in the Japanese order (family name followed by given name) with no further explanation, but it became clear that learners needed clearer indication of this, perhaps because of their lack of experience with Japanese culture at the pre-study abroad level.

I conducted several narrative retelling tasks using segments of silent film, where learners told the story of what they had seen to the Japanese facilitator. As with the final version of these tasks, first- and third-person narratives were elicited. For film extracts longer than around 2 minutes, learners had obvious difficulty retaining what they had seen, and the flow of the narrative was interrupted by frequent memory lapses. So for the main data collection, I limited the extracts to around 90 seconds, and used only those that had a reasonably clear sequence of events in order to facilitate learners' recall of what they had seen.

The first pilot study also included a more open-ended production task that was not adopted for the main data collection. This was an attempt to collect freer production from learners through a semi-structured interview in Japanese with a Japanese facilitator, including questions like “do you remember the first time you met a Japanese person?” and “who is your favourite teacher?”. These topics were selected to elicit person reference from learners in a more naturalistic way. In the role play tasks, the various social relationships are specified in the task instructions and then acted out by participants. In contrast, the semi-structured interview was designed to have learners talk in a freer manner about real people. However, the free nature of the production meant that learners rarely made repeated reference to the same person, and overall the data did not include enough instances of person reference to be analytically useful.

Finally, the first pilot study included the discourse completion task that was adopted for the main data collection. This required no substantial modification from the pilot to the main data collection, although the instructions for the discourse completion task were improved to make the requirements of the task clearer for learners.

In the second pilot study, I tested out the final task set, and was able to confirm that the post-study abroad learner coped very well with all the tasks. She was able to retain the information in the 90 second video clips, and in the role play scenarios it was clear that she understood and was able to follow the instructions. Although learners before study abroad found this set of tasks more challenging than the more advanced learner tested here, this second pilot confirmed that the final set of tasks was realistic for learners at both levels to attempt, and that the tasks were presented in an understandable way.

4.3.3 *Main study participants*

The main data for this study was provided by six English-speaking learners of Japanese who participated in data collection before and after a period of study abroad in Japan. Six native speakers of Japanese provided data on the same tasks for comparison. For all the spoken tasks, learners spoke Japanese with a native Japanese facilitator; I was also present throughout. I will give the relevant details of all these participants below.

4.3.3.1 *Longitudinal learner group*

The longitudinal data set that forms the main part of this investigation comes from six learners of Japanese whose first language is British English. The use of a relatively small learner group is largely the result of practical limitations. Chief among these is

that the range of tasks used (see 4.3.4 below) means that even six learners produced a large set of data. The time available for data transcription, coding and analysis therefore necessarily limits the scale of the study. Furthermore, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, person reference in second languages is an area that has received relatively little focussed attention, so the contribution of this thesis is to present a preliminary investigation that could be expanded in future research.

Details of the six learners are given in Table 7 below. The range of each participant's age is given from participation in the first stage of data collection to participation in the second. The pre-study abroad data collection took place in June 2009. The post-study abroad data collection took place in October–November 2010.

anonymous code	age (years)	gender	pre-study abroad Japanese study (years)	residence in Japan before study period	other second languages (length of study in years)
L01	20–21	female	2	-	French (6) Chinese (0;5)
L02	21–22	male	2	9 months	-
L03	20–21	male	2	-	French (9)
L04	20–22	female	2	-	French (8) German (7)
L05	20–21	male	2	-	-
L06	28–29	female	2	1 year	French (9)

Table 7 Details of the English-speaking learners participating in the main study[30]

The six main study participants were recruited from a single cohort of students learning Japanese in a British university. All began studying Japanese at university as absolute beginners. At the point of first data collection they were at the end of their second year of Japanese study, having studied Japanese for 4 hours a week over 24 weeks in their first year, then 5 hours per week over 24 weeks in their second. Broadly speaking, the learners were at a pre-intermediate level at the point of the first data collection. The table above also shows that many of the learners have experience (in some cases on-going) with other foreign languages. Although this may have some effect on their acquisition of Japanese, it is beyond the scope of this investigation to consider it.

It can also be seen above that two of the learners, L02 and L06, spent some time in Japan before beginning formal study of Japanese at university. They spent nine months

[30] Participants' gender is given here and in other similar tables in this section. However, this thesis does not analyse the effect of gender (of speaker, hearer or referent) on person reference; this is left for future research.

and one year, respectively, working in Japan. However, neither did so for the purpose of learning Japanese and at the point of entering university both were deemed to be complete beginners by self-evaluation and in the university's estimation. If this had not been the case, they would have had the option of beginning their university study of Japanese at a post-beginner level. I therefore consider them suitable participants for the study because they began studying Japanese at the same level as the other learners, and all six then had virtually identical exposure to Japanese over two years in a classroom setting.

At the point of the second data collection, all participants had studied Japanese for around sixteen months longer. They had recently finished a period of study abroad in Japan and returned to continue classroom study of Japanese in Britain. An outline of learners' study abroad period is given in Table 8 below, using self-report data obtained from a modified Language Contact Profile. Details of this instrument are given in 4.3.4.4 below.

anonymous code	length of study abroad (months)	Japanese classroom (hours/week)	Japanese speaking (hours/week)	all Japanese (hours/week)
L01	10	10	22.5	54.0
L02	10	22	27.5	56.5
L03	10	8	19.5	54.0
L04	10	26	35.5	55.5
L05	9	15	40.0	71.5
L06	11	15	30.0	35.5

Table 8 Outline of learners' study abroad period[31]

All learners spent between nine and eleven months studying in Japanese universities. The total number of Japanese classroom hours per week during this time is obtained by adding together the number of Japanese language classes and the number of other classes in Japanese medium that the learners reported attending each week. Although this ranges between 8 and 26 hours, the learners are quite evenly distributed over this range with two at 8–10 hours, two at 15 hours, and two at 20–26 hours. As such they

[31]A correction factor of 0.5 is applied to L05's reported contact with Japanese (given above as "Japanese speaking" and "all Japanese") because his original report of 143 hours using Japanese per week cannot be taken at face value since it exceeds the typical number of waking hours in a week. As demonstrated in the table, a correction of 0.5 brings this data in line with the rest of the group. All learners spent their study abroad period at universities in the Kantō region with the exception of L05, who studied at a university in Kyūshū.

represent a reasonable spread of experiences. However, it should be noted that these figures do not include any information about private study time — which to a greater or lesser extent was expected at all host universities —, and so cannot be taken to represent the complete picture of learners' formal study of Japanese during this period.

The figures in Table 8 for hours spent speaking Japanese per week and all hours spent in contact with Japanese (speaking, reading, writing and listening) per week are obtained by adding up learners' reports of various kinds of language contact that took place outside the classroom. In both cases, learners are quite evenly distributed over the range of values, as shown by the fact that the mean and median for each measure are very close: 29.2 and 28.8 for "Japanese speaking" and 54.5 and 54.8 for "all Japanese", respectively. Since the learners studied at different institutions, their experiences of study abroad necessarily vary. However, Table 8 shows that they represent a reasonable range of experiences of study abroad.

In sum, the group of six learners who participated in the longitudinal study have similar backgrounds in terms of first language and age range. They were all judged complete beginners on entry to university and went on to study Japanese together for two years in the same programme, and often in the same classroom. As such they are a highly comparable group at the point of first data collection for this study. Naturally, there is variation in their experiences of study abroad as measured by classroom hours and language contact outside the classroom, but they are evenly distributed within a reasonable range without outliers. This heterogeneity in the learner group does not in itself affect the comparability of the group — within the context of the relatively small sample size, these learners remain a highly comparable group representing a single cohort of instructed British learners of Japanese at the university level.

4.3.3.2 *Native comparison group*

A group of six native speakers of Japanese also provided data for comparison with the learners. This data was collected in June and July 2010. Because the data was collected in Britain, it was not possible to find a group of Japanese monolinguals; all the native Japanese speakers who co-operated in this study also had considerable exposure to English. Their details are as follows.

anonymous code	age (years)	gender	second languages (length of study in years)
JA1	27	female	English (10)
JA2	32	female	English (6)
JA3	23	female	English (13)
JA4	25	female	English (12)
JA5	23	female	English (10) German (4)
JA6	29	female	English (10)

Table 9 Details of native Japanese control group

Data from this native speaker group is used to give some context to the learner data. This is necessary because the theoretical frameworks used in this thesis make probabilistic predictions rather than determining exactly what speakers will produce. In order to examine what is developmentally characteristic of L2 learners, it is therefore useful to have some baseline data from speakers whose use of person reference is not constrained by lexical, grammatical or attentional limitations in the way that learners' use may be. The choice to use Japanese native speakers as this comparison group is practically motivated, since other potentially suitable comparison populations, such as near-native L2 Japanese speakers, were not readily available. It should be noted, however, that although I compare learners with native speakers in the analyses, it is not necessarily the case that that native speakers represent the endpoint of L2 learners' development.

4.3.3.3 *Native Japanese facilitators*

anonymous code	age (years)	gender	second languages (length of study in years)	participation stage(s)
JP1	33	female	English (15) Spanish (8)	pilot study pre-study abroad
JP2	24	female	English (20)	pilot study pre-study abroad
JP3	27	female	English (14)	native speakers post-study abroad
JP4	31	female	English (18) French (1)	post-study abroad

Table 10 Details of native Japanese facilitators

Finally, as elaborated in section 4.3.4, most of the tasks involve using spoken Japanese in a communicative situation; for all of these tasks, the participants (learners and native speakers) spoke to a native Japanese facilitator. Because of the timescale of the project,

a number of different facilitators participated. The details of these facilitators are given in Table 10 above.

All the native Japanese facilitators were made familiar with the content and aims of the tasks and their implementation before participating in the main study. The main general instructions for facilitators were to allow the learners (or native speakers) to take the lead in the tasks, to prompt them to continue when necessary, and (if applicable), when learners were having difficulties, to allow them to struggle a little rather than immediately giving suggestions. For JP1 and JP2, the pilot study functioned as a training period. I briefed JP3 and JP4 before their participation in the post-study abroad and native speaker data collection and practiced several tasks with them.

4.3.4 *Main study task design*

The main data collection uses a combination of three role play tasks, two narrative retelling tasks and a written discourse completion task of three items, giving a total of eight tasks from each participant. All these tasks are original tasks devised by me along the lines of those used in previous discourse-pragmatic and socially-orientated studies such as Yanagimachi (2000) and Beckwith and Dewaele (2008, 2012). Participants completed the tasks in randomised order, with the researcher (me) and a native Japanese facilitator present. Each data collection session lasted around one hour and fifteen minutes for learners, and around one hour for native speakers. For those tasks involving speaking Japanese, the participants spoke to the Japanese facilitator. My role (using English) was to observe the tasks and manage the transitions between then. I confirmed the learner's biographical data at beginning of the session and gave instructions to participants before each task. I also observed while the learners were doing tasks with the Japanese facilitators and made brief notes of any relevant non-verbal behaviour that accompanied learners' production.

The tasks are designed to elicit person reference from participants as part of communicative language use. At the same time they provide variation in social and discourse-pragmatic conditions and therefore compel participants to select person reference terms accordingly. Table 11 below gives an overview of the task types used and their aims. The same set of tasks is used with all participant groups.

task type	number of tasks	conditions examined
narrative retelling	2	discourse-pragmatic
discourse completion task	3	social
role play	3	social and discourse-pragmatic

Table 11 Overview of tasks used in data collection

As summarised above the tasks are production-based, and are designed to elicit learners' and native speakers' response to social and discourse-pragmatic factors separately as well as together. This provides a rich corpus to draw on in addressing the research questions because each strand of analysis (the discourse-pragmatic and the social) is supported by data from two different types of tasks, and participants do each type of task two or three times. The same set of tasks is used with the native speakers and with the learners at both levels, because they are designed to contain sufficient scope to allow speakers at different proficiency levels to perform differently. Furthermore, this approach produces data sets that can be directly compared. As can be seen in Table 10 above, the facilitators participating in the post-study abroad data collection are different from those the learners saw at the pre-study abroad stage. This means that the communicative setup for the role plays — that of telling a story to someone who has not heard it before — is maintained. In addition to the tasks mentioned above, I used a qualitative and a quantitative measure (see 4.3.4.4) with the learners only, in order to gain information about their experiences of the year abroad in Japan. Below, I will describe the design and procedure of the tasks of each type. Copies of the materials used are given in Appendix A. They are described as they were conducted with learners, but the data collection procedure with Japanese native speakers was identical except where otherwise specified.

4.3.4.1 *Narrative retelling tasks*

For each of the narrative retelling tasks, learners watch a short piece of silent film of approximately 90 seconds, and then retell the story to the Japanese facilitator. The facilitator does not watch the film extract, so the communicative context is one of telling a story to an interlocutor who has not heard it before. The facilitators are instructed to listen and ask for clarification if they find anything in the learner's narrative to be unclear. There are two narrative retelling tasks, one first-person narrative (N11) and one third-person narrative (N13). In the former, learners retell the events in the film clip as if they are the protagonist; in the latter they retell the events from the position of an observer. The use of these two narrative types is based on

Yanagimachi's (2000) method of eliciting first and third person reference from learners of Japanese, and the details of the procedure are modelled on a narrative elicitation task (the Temps Modernes task) used in the FLLOC corpus of learner French (Myles and Mitchell n.d., see also Myles 2008).

The process of attempting to tell a coherent narrative compels learners to introduce various referents and refer back to them. This naturally gives rise to a range of discourse-pragmatic contexts, such as references to protagonists versus non-protagonists (difference of saliency), reference to persons who have recently been mentioned versus those who have not (difference of distance from antecedent), and reference to characters who are central in the story as opposed to those who are more peripheral (difference of saliency).[32] In addition, the use of first- and third-person narrative retelling tasks adds a final key dimension of variation: that between reference to the speaker, who is inherently more salient, and reference to non-present third persons, who are less salient. These tasks allow learners' response to discourse-pragmatic conditions to be captured in relative isolation from social factors because the facilitator functions only as an (interactive) audience for the learner's retelling and does not have any other defined social relationship with the learner. In the case of the third-person narrative retelling task, the participants are entirely unconnected to the learner and facilitator, and therefore no real social relationships exist between the speaker/hearer and the persons being referred to. For the first-person task, although learners are imagining themselves as participants in the story, the focus remains clearly on the sequence of events in the story rather than on the social relationships.

The film extract used for N11 is around 70 second taken from *Modern Times* (Charlie Chaplin, 1936), and that for N13 is around 95 seconds from *Genkanban to Ojōsan* ('The Servant and the Young Lady', Hiromasa Nomura, 1934). These two black and white films from the same era were chosen for consistency. Both extracts are shown with no sound at all. Although *Genkanban to Ojōsan* originally contained spoken dialogue, I consider that the events in the extract are easy to follow without it. Before watching the clip, learners are provided with a task sheet giving instructions and a small amount of context, as follows.

[32] See chapter 2 subsection 2.2.2 for detailed discussion of the accessibility-determining factors mentioned in brackets.

Narrative N11
Charlie (the first person you will see) has just been fired from his job at a shipyard. The young girl he meets is very poor and hungry. Please imagine yourself in the role of Charlie, and tell [name of Japanese facilitator] what you saw as if it happened to you.

Narrative N13
KONOMURA Hiroshi has recently begun to work as a butler at the house of a rich family, the SAITŌ family. The daughter of the house, Shimako, and her younger brother Jun often fight with each other. Please watch a short clip and tell [name of Japanese facilitator] what happened.

The feature of particular interest in the task descriptions above is the addition of names and some background information about some of the main possible referents. Other research using narrative retelling tasks, such as Nakahama (2009a), Gullberg (2006) or Myles and Mitchell (n.d.) sometimes gives basic contextual information like this, but generally does not provide names for the referents. Here, however, given the focus on the full range of possible person reference terms, it is important to provide learners with the necessary information to allow them to refer to persons by name if they choose to do so. As described above, the two narrative retelling tasks are designed to elicit reference to a number of human referents that necessarily involves variation in all the main discourse pragmatic conditions identified in the relevant theoretical framework, where these conditions are largely separated from social factors. Furthermore, the task descriptions are designed to give learners a fuller range of referential options (in particular, the option of names or descriptions) in order to see how they behave.

4.3.4.2 *Discourse completion tasks*

The think aloud discourse completion tasks are a set of three written tasks, each detailing situations where the learner is required to make a request. The three questions involve the overarching scenario of a research project where the learner asks permission to interview various people. For each question, the nature of the request, as well as key details about the hearer and (where applicable) specified third persons are included in the task description. For the persons involved, the task description gives the person's full name, gender, age, and relationship with speaker or hearer (such as "your friend" or "your teacher's daughter"). The task descriptions are written in English, with Japanese translations of any conceivably difficult words, for instance "research project", are provided so that vocabulary problems do not prevent learners from responding. The main instruction to learners is to "imagine yourself in the three situations below and

write in Japanese what you would say". In this way, learners are asked to imagine themselves as foreign students in a Japanese university in the situations specified. This setting is used to make the contexts as easy as possible for learners to imagine and it is also a deliberate avoidance of Japanese workplace or family scenarios which are more likely to be outside learners' experience. An overview of the discourse completion tasks is given in Table 12 below.

task code	hearer	specified third person	scenario
DCT1	teacher	teacher's daughter	request to interview teacher and her daughter
DCT2	friend (same age)	friend's older sister	request to interview friend's older sister
DCT3	classmate (same age)	(none)	request to interview the hearer

Table 12 Overview of the discourse completion tasks

In the discourse completion tasks, learners make similar requests to same- and high-status hearers (teachers, and friends or classmates, respectively) which may also involve a third person who is connected to the hearer. The result is that person reference is elicited under a variety of social conditions. Firstly, same- and high-status referents (relative to the learner) are involved. Secondly, since a request is a face threatening act, learners may choose to use politeness strategies, which can in turn affect the kind of person reference terms they select. Thirdly, the variety of social relationships means that there is likely to be variation in the use of addressee and referent honorifics. Once again, the provision of names and other details for the persons involved in each task gives learners the widest possible choice of forms to use. The discourse completion tasks are designed to provide data on learners' response to social factors with minimum interference from discourse-pragmatic factors. The latter can never be fully eliminated from discourse, but the short responses that this type of task elicits (as compared to extended ones for the narratives and role plays) mean that they are minimised as far as possible.

4.3.4.3 *Role play tasks*

The narrative retelling and discourse completion tasks detailed above are designed to access learners' response to variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions, respectively. As a complement to these, three role play tasks are also used which include variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions at the same time. These

role play are conducted in Japanese with a native Japanese facilitator. The facilitator takes on various roles but learners are always asked to be themselves (as foreign students in Japan). As with the discourse completion tasks above, this creates a relatively familiar setting for learners. All the role plays are designed to require reference to a non-present third person, and to include variation in the relative statuses of learner, hearer and the specified third person, as well as the presence of face-threatening acts such as complaints. Below is a summary of the three role play tasks.

task code	hearer	specified third person	interlocutor
R11	student advisor	speaker's teacher	complaint about problems caused by his/her Japanese teacher
R12	teacher	speaker's classmate (same age)	complaint about problems caused by a fellow student
R13	classmate (same age)	speaker and hearer's teacher	planning a teacher's retirement party

Table 13 Overview of the role play tasks

In all cases learners are supplied with a detailed scenario and instructions. The instructions include an overview of the situation and two bullet points containing specific points that the learner is suggested to make. As with the discourse completion tasks, a profile of the hearer and the specified third person is also included, giving their full names, ages, genders and roles (such as "your teacher" or "your classmate"). This information is more than such role plays typically include, and is designed to allow more realistic imagining of the status relationships involved, as well as to give a fuller range of possible referential options. Finally, the generic procedural instructions used for every role play are as follows. They are designed to allow the learners and facilitator to develop the conversation as they prefer, and therefore to give learners a chance to make the most of whatever is possible within the scope of their level of proficiency.

> Please imagine yourself in the situation described and act as you normally would. You do not have to make use of all the information given about each situation, but please stick to the general scenario. If you want to, you can invent extra details as you see fit.

The role plays are designed to elicit a response to a combination of social and discourse-pragmatic factors by learners. Because they compel learners to refer to a number of

people over the course of the interaction, they naturally create variation in discourse-pragmatic conditions in the same way as the role play tasks. In addition, by including various combinations of hearers and specified third-person referents who are of higher or similar status to the learner, social conditions also vary as they do in the role play tasks. Furthermore, unlike the role play tasks which all involve requests, there is also some room for comparison between the types of interactions elicited by the different role play tasks. R11 and R12 specify that the learner has a complaint to make to the hearer and therefore set up a potentially adversarial interaction, whereas in R13, the scenario is essentially a co-operative one where the interlocutors share information. This allows for further social analysis to see whether this difference is reflected in learners' use of person reference terms.

4.3.4.4 *Biographical data, progress reports and post-study abroad questionnaire*

In addition to the two sets of data provided by learners before and after the year abroad, I use a number of other sources for information about the learners and in particular their experience of the study abroad period. The first is a form filled in by learners before the first data collection session detailing their background and experiences of language learning up to that point. The second is a set of three progress reports ('personal learning records') completed by each learner during the year abroad. Finally, the third is a questionnaire administered after the learners returned to the UK, where they detail their exposure to and use of Japanese during the year abroad. These three measures provide data about the basic facts of learners' backgrounds and their experiences during the period studied.

At the beginning of their participation in the study, learners filled in a form with some standard information about their backgrounds. This includes date of birth, length of study of Japanese, other second languages studied, and details of any previous stays in Japan. The Japanese native speakers (facilitators and those who provided the native data for comparison) filled in a similar form but with less detail about their experiences of second language learning since this is not the focus of the present research. At the beginning of the first data collection session with each participant I recorded a short interview confirming the details on the form and, where necessary, asking participants to expand on their experiences. This was particularly useful in determining that the two learners who had already visited Japan before the first stage of data collection (see

4.3.3.1) did this before beginning study of Japanese and did not go to Japan for the purpose of learning Japanese.

The personal learning record is a formal requirement from the learners' home university; as such it was not designed or administered by me for the purposes of this research. Its original purpose is as a pedagogical tool designed to prompt learners to reflect on their skills and progress, as well as the challenges and successes they experience in academic and daily life during the year abroad. Each learner completed three personal learning records at approximately two months, five months and eight months into their year abroad. The same basic format is used each time: learners are asked to rate their linguistic, cultural, academic and personal skills and to give examples, as well as setting goals and reflecting on past achievements and problems in language learning. Although these records were developed independently of the aims of this research project, they are nonetheless very useful reports of learners' subjective experience of language learning during the year abroad, including their assessment of their own progress.

In addition to the data provided by personal learning records, I also use a detailed questionnaire where learners are asked to quantify their contact with Japanese during the year abroad. This questionnaire is based on the Language Contact Profile (LCP) developed by Freed et al. (2004). The LCP is widely used in second language acquisition research involving study abroad by researchers addressing a variety of research questions (see Collentine and Freed 2004). It begins with questions establishing the duration of the study abroad period and the learners' living environment during this period. After this it is made up of questions where learners are asked to quantify for a typical week how much they did a particular activity involving the target language or the L1. Questions cover the four skill areas (speaking, listening, reading, writing) in some detail. In keeping with studies such as Magnan and Back (2007) and Martinsen (2008), the LCP is administered to learners after study abroad so that linguistic development during this period can be related to the language contact the learners experience. I made several small adjustments to the model LCP provided by Freed et al. (2004), mainly with the aim of increasing clarity for British English speakers and reducing redundancy in the areas covered by each question. The other change I made was to add a question to establish how many classroom hours learners spent learning Japanese and in other Japanese-medium classes.

4.4 Transcribing, coding and analysing the data

So far I have detailed the research questions that drive this thesis and the methods of obtaining data that can address these questions. This data in turn needs to be transcribed and coded so that it can be analysed in the chapters that follow. In this section, I give details of how the data thus collected is transcribed in the software CLAN (4.4.1). Then I discuss how the two theoretical frameworks used in data analysis can be operationalised so as to provide coding categories for the data in 4.4.2 for the discourse-pragmatic framework and in 4.4.3 for the social one. These two process of operationalisation then set the agenda for how the data is coded (4.4.4). Finally, I outline the procedures used in analysis of the data (4.4.5).

4.4.1 *Transcription of the data*

In order to facilitate its analysis, all data, written and spoken, from the narrative retelling, role play and discourse completion tasks (as detailed in 4.3.4) is transcribed in romanised form into the editor component of the software CLAN. CLAN is the basis of CHILDES (Child Language Data Exchange System), which is widely used in first and second language acquisition research on a range of topics. CLAN includes an editor for use in transcribing data and then adding codes to that data, as well as a series of commands that can be used to analyse the data. I chose to use if for this reason, as well as for its high degree of customisability. The use of CLAN for Japanese data is established and has its own set of language-specific guidelines and conventions (Oshima-Takane et al. 1998) which I consulted in conjunction with the main manual (MacWhinney 2000) in designing the transcription, coding and analytical procedures.

The romanisation system used for transcribing the data is a modified version of the Hepburn system suitable for CHAT following the suggestions of Minami (1998a). This largely conforms to usual Hepburn rules. The Hepburn system for romanisation of Japanese uses spelling conventions that are easy to understand for English-speakers in representing the sounds of Japanese. To avoid using special characters (such as the macron), long vowels are indicated by a doubling of the vowel, and in keeping with this, long /e/ is transcribed as *ee* rather than *ei*, such as in *gakusee* ‘student’. Non-romanised Japanese is normally written without using spaces, so as a guide for consistent use of spacing in transcriptions, I follow the system Wakachi2002 v4.0 (Miyata 2003). This is an updated version of a set of guidelines designed for use in CHAT (Minami 1998b)

and serves as an accepted standard for a grammatically sound method of putting spaces into transcribed Japanese.

The primary focus of the analysis of this data is the informational content of learners' production and this is reflected in the transcription procedure used. Even when learners are not native-like in their pronunciation, I do not reflect this in coding. Furthermore, the coding does not record overlaps or the length of pauses. Fillers and token responses, in particular when used by the facilitators, are not exhaustively transcribed, but are sufficiently included to give an indication of how they are used. Pauses of any length are coded by a full stop inside round brackets: (.). When learners use isolated English words in their production, I add codes proposed by Myles and Mitchell (n.d.) to reflect this. All participants are identified in transcriptions by their anonymous code only (see tables in 4.3.3 for these codes). In addition to the main line of transcription that chiefly represents what speakers produce, CLAN also allows any number of dependent tiers that are attached to this line and give supplementary information or coding. Where necessary, I use the %com dependent tier to add any comments, and the %act ('action') dependent tier for any relevant non-verbal behaviour I had noted while observing the tasks. These transcription procedures produce a relatively uncluttered main line of transcription which facilitates later coding and analysis.

4.4.2 *Operationalising the discourse-pragmatic framework*

As set out in chapter 2 section 2.2, the discourse-pragmatic framework used in this research is a modified version of accessibility theory (AT). Very few existing studies on first or second languages use AT, as compared to larger numbers using Givón's (1983a) topic continuity model. The principal examples in the literature are Toole (1996), Demol (2007a, 2007b) and Ryan (2012). These pre-existing AT studies provide crucial evidence of how researchers have operationalised the theory. Below, I will set out the two methods of operationalisation that have been used so far, and show how I modify these for use in this research. The central claim of AT, which is not affected by my modifications of the theory, is that referring expressions act as markers of how easily the speaker anticipates that the hearer will be able to access a mental representation of the intended referent. In other words, they mark the level of the referent's accessibility. The theory therefore involves the proposal of a scale of expression types from markers of lowest to highest accessibility, and an assessment of

what determines a referent's level of accessibility. I discuss the operationalisation of each of these in order.

The modified version of AT that I employ here uses the simplified scale of expressions in (1), whose organising principle is that of increasing referential specification from left to right.

1) Simplified scale of form types from lowest to highest accessibility markers
name > complex description > simple description > pronoun > null form

This simplified scale, as opposed to AT's full scale containing eighteen or more items, has the advantage of providing a manageable number of form types to be identified in the data. The category of names, the lowest accessibility markers, includes use of full name, family name or given name with or without titles like *-san*. When a name and description are used together, such as the English *my friend John*, this is also classified as a name, rather than a description, because the presence of a name increases its referential specification. The distinction between complex and simple descriptions is that the former are single word descriptions such as *sensee* 'teacher', and the latter are multi-word descriptions such as *watashi no sensee* 'my teacher'. Japanese does not have articles like English, so the use of single word descriptions is quite common. The category of pronoun includes all personal pronouns, as well as *jibun* 'self' which takes any person or number, and thus can mean 'myself', 'themselves' and so on. Also grouped with pronouns are demonstratives such as *kotchi* 'over here', which refers to the speaker by a process of conventionalised metonymy (Kanai 2007). Finally, null forms are present when reference is taking place but no overt form is used (see subsection 4.4.4 for more about coding for null forms).

The second element of the discourse-pragmatic framework is the proposal of four main factors that determine how accessible a particular referent will be: distance, competition, saliency and unity (see chapter 2 subsection 2.2.2 for further discussion). As Toole (1996: 286) points out, prior to her own study "[accessibility] theory had not been operationalised beyond the specification of individual parameters", and therefore studies which draw on AT have needed to decide on how to measure referent accessibility. AT does, however, propose scale (2) below measuring distance from antecedent from the most to least accessible context (Ariel 1990: 18–20), which is used in the analysis of written data. This scale has generally informed the operationalisation of distance in previous studies, as it does for this study. The main body of AT literature does not,

however, provide such clear suggestions for measuring any of the other accessibility determining factors.

2) Ariel's scale of distance contexts. Presence of antecedent in:
   a. same sentence
   b. previous sentence
   c. same paragraph
   d. across paragraph

The following table summarises how previous studies, as represented by Toole (1996: 271–275) and Demol (2007a: 11–14), operationalise each accessibility determining factor by listing the categories used or the quantitative measure used. Wherever there is an ordered list, the categories are given from the most to the least accessible context.

accessibility determining factor	Toole (1996)	Demol (2007a)
distance	presence of antecedent in: a. same proposition b. preceding proposition c. same episode *but* further back than the preceding proposition d. previous episode e. none of the above	1) presence of antecedent in: a. same clause b. same sentence c. preceding sentence d. same paragraph e. preceding paragraph 2) count of the number of words between reference term and antecedent
unity		1) as distance (1) above 2) for distance (1)b above, the relationship with antecedent: a. subordination b. co-ordination c. juxtaposition
competition	number of competing referents (matching in gender, person and number) between the last mention and the term itself a. none b. one c. two or more	count of the number of competing referents (matching in gender and number) between the clause before the last mention, and the term itself, excluding those semantically incompatible with the verb
saliency	number of mentions of the referent in the previous 4 propositions a. three or more b. one or two c. none	count of the number of mentions of the referent in the preceding 5 sentences

Table 14 Methods used in previous studies for operationalising accessibility theory

As summarised above, both Toole and Demol base their measure of distance on Ariel's scale (2). They both recognise the overlap between distance and unity that is implicit in the original scale. That is, scale (2) includes linear distance (sentences) in the discourse as well as discursive boundaries (paragraphs). Elsewhere, Ariel (2001: 32–34) groups distance and unity as two factors both concerning the relationship between a referring expression and its antecedent. As such, they are likely to correlate with one another: terms further from their antecedents will more often occur after some kind of discursive boundary. Demol's measures further include a very local measure of unity at the sentence level since her interest is in high accessibility markers only.[33] In this research I adapt Ariel's original scale (2), to give (3), below.

3) Scale used in this research to measure distance/unity. Presence of antecedent in:
   a. same utterance (S)
   b. previous utterance (P)
   c. earlier than previous utterance (E)
   d. earlier than previous utterance with intervening reference to another person (I)

For spoken data, the utterance is a more natural linear unit than the sentence, so I replace the latter with the former. Having done this, the first three categories on the scale give a basic measure of distance from antecedent in spoken discourse. In the final, lowest accessibility category in (3) above, intervening reference to another person between a reference term and its antecedent is used as a proxy for an episodic boundary of some sort. This has the strong practical advantage of being simple to code in the data — although it is a rough measurement, it avoids the difficulties associated with identifying episodic boundaries in learner discourse that is not always very coherent.

The next accessibility determining factor is competition for the role of antecedent. As Table 14 above shows, both Toole and Demol operationalise competition in broadly similar ways. They look at all the discourse between a reference form and its antecedent to see how many referents can be found that are be 'eligible' for the role of antecedent. There are two problems with this method. Firstly, the amount of prior discourse considered is not consistent because it depends on how far back the antecedent is found. Where antecedents are close, other noun phrases in the surrounding utterances may also compete for the role of antecedent, even if they occur

[33] I do not use Demol's sentence-level measure of unity because it is less suitable for spoken data as opposed to the written data that Demol analyses. Secondly, since Demol's (2007a: 28–29) results using this measure are not conclusive, it is unclear how useful it is as a measure of referent accessibility.

before the intended antecedent. The second problem is in the restriction on which entities previously mentioned are counted. I agree with Demol that potential antecedents must be semantically compatible with the verb, for instance in terms of animacy. However, since the question is one of *potential* antecedents (i.e. the discourse context) rather than *actual* antecedents of a specific form that has been used, it does not seem warranted to restrict potential antecedents to only those that match the intended referent in number and gender. For instance, in sentence (4) below, the referential form produced is *onnanoko* '[the/a] girl'. It fills a referential 'slot' preceding the predicate *pan o nusunda* 'stole bread'. The competition context here is therefore determined by how many noun phrases in the preceding discourse could plausibly fit into this slot, and in this case that group is not restricted in terms of gender or number.

4) onnanoko ga pan o nusunda .
"[The/a] girl stole bread."

The two problems identified above with the approach to competition used in previous AT studies can be solved by using the system proposed by Givón (1983b: 14) in the topic continuity model. As mentioned in chapter 2 section 2.2, this model propose a contextual variable of "potential interference" that is analogous to AT's competition. The procedure used for measuring this is to look three utterances back from each reference term and assign a value of low competition to instances where only the intended referent is mentioned. High competition is assigned in all other cases: if two or more potential antecedents are present or if the intended referent is not mentioned in the preceding three utterances. Potential antecedents are defined as those that are compatible (semantically, pragmatically) with the predicate where the reference occurs. This procedure solves both of the problems identified above. Firstly, it uses a consistent amount of preceding material, which takes into account the fact that noun phrases in the immediate environment can be competitors even if they occur before the actual antecedent. This also reduces "the obvious correlation [of competition] with referential distance" (Givón 1983b: 14) with far-away antecedents. Secondly, the focus on the predicate takes away automatic restrictions on gender or number when counting potential antecedents.

The accessibility factor of saliency has a number of possible interpretations. Ariel (1990: 29) defines it as "mainly whether [the antecedent] is a topic or non-topic", as well mentioning that speaker and hearer are "inherently more salient" (Ariel 1996: 22). I operationalise these two aspects of saliency separately. On the question of topic status,

Demol (2007b: 117) observes that Ariel's notion of topic as it relates to saliency does not distinguish between discourse topic, local topic and sentence topic. All the previous AT studies have chosen to consider local topic-hood to be a measure of saliency, and define this as the number of mentions of the referent in the preceding four or five sentences or propositions. However, there is a likely correlation between this measure and those for competition and distance/unity. That is, referents that are frequently mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse are also very likely to be close to their antecedents, and to have fewer competitors for the role of antecedent. Therefore, to avoid this overlap, I instead use a measure of discourse topic-hood that is not dependent on local context. I assign the status of discourse topic to the referent or referents who are the most frequently referred to by the learner in a particular task, and non-topic status to the others. For the second aspect of saliency, I compare first and second person reference to third person reference. Since all third-person referents are non-present, this can equally be thought of as comparing present with non-present referents.

The result of the various decisions above is a method for classifying form types and the properties of contexts in actual data. It is informed by the measures used in previous studies based on AT. However, it departs from them in some respects to arrive at a set of four measures for referent accessibility: distance/unity, competition, discourse topic-hood, and physical presence. These correspond to the accessibility determining factors proposed in AT; the last two are both measures of the referent's saliency. As far as possible these four measures do not duplicate one another and are straightforward to code for in the data. Two of them (distance/unity and competition) are local measures based on the environment immediately preceding a person reference term. The other two (discourse topic-hood and physical presence) are discourse-level measures that remain constant for a particular referent within a task.

4.4.3 *Operationalising the social framework*

For the social analysis, in chapter 3 section 3.2 I argue that politeness theory suggests that choice of person reference term is mainly influenced by power and social distance in the relationship between speaker and hearer, or speaker and referent; the realisation of politeness theories may also involve person reference. Finally, it might be expected that the (non-)use of verbal honorifics is linked to the choice of person reference term. In contrast to the process described above for operationalising the discourse-pragmatic

framework, the social factors listed here are generally quite simple to operationalise for use in data coding and analysis. I will discuss each below.

Firstly, I combine the concepts of power and social distance into a single variable of status. The design of the role play and discourse completion tasks is such that the status of the people involved relative to the speaker is specified by the task descriptions themselves (see 4.3.4.2 and 4.3.4.3). They involve a mixture of high-status and same-status persons as hearers and as specified third-person referents. In first- and second-person reference, the status of the hearer relative to the speaker is the relevant variable. In third-person reference, the statuses of status of the hearer and of the referent relative to the speaker are both relevant. The variable of status is a discourse-level one, in that (in the experimental context at least) the status relationship is defined prior to the interaction and can be assumed to remain constant throughout. As for the use of politeness strategies, positive politeness may motivate speakers to use certain overt forms, while negative politeness contains a tension between explicit giving of deference on the one hand and vagueness on the other. Analysis of the former depends on looking at actual forms produced. This is also true for the latter, but here, the scale of form types used in discourse-pragmatic analysis (see (1) above) is also of use. This scale is by its nature a measure of the level of vagueness (or, lack of referential specification), so it can equally be used to assess participants' preference for explicitness versus vagueness in response to status relationships.

Secondly, verbal honorifics are further split into referent and addressee honorifics. Each is defined by the presence of particular morphology or lexical items (see chapter 3 subsection 3.2.4 for further discussion). Referent honorifics are chiefly expressed with *o*-V-*suru*, -*rareru*, or *o*-V-*ni naru*, or by using special honorific verbs. Here I do not distinguish between subject and recipient honorifics, because both involve a response to the involvement of a high-status person. Whether they are the target of the honorifics or not, all person reference terms that occur with referent honorifics can be considered to be potentially affected by the use of referent honorifics. Addressee honorifics involve forms of the -*masu* morpheme or the copula *desu*. As with referent honorifics, all person reference used in connection with a verb containing addressee honorifics is counted as co-occurring with addressee honorifics. Operationalising the use of verbal honorifics in this way involves classifying every person reference term used by participants. As a result, predicates that occur with several person reference terms are counted more than once.

In sum, classification of the forms that learners produce can be done using the same scale as that for the discourse-pragmatic analysis (scale (1) above). The first social condition affecting the choice of person reference terms is operationalised as the status of hearer and referent relative to the speaker. This is a discourse-level measure. Secondly, the co-occurrence of person reference terms and verbal honorifics is a local phenomenon. Person reference terms are considered to co-occur with addressee and/or referent honorifics if they are used with a verb that contains these honorifics.

4.4.4 *Coding the data*

After using the CLAN editor to transcribe the data (see 4.4.1), the editor's coding function is used to code the data. This in turn makes it possible to perform various systematic analyses as described in the next section. The advantage of CLAN in this respect is its flexibility in allowing coding that suits various research agendas, and the ability to subsequently perform various systematic analyses on these codes. Various pre-defined coding tiers (such as for morphosyntactic analysis) exist, but since none corresponds well to the needs of this project, I use user-defined tiers for the coding. The operationalisation of the discourse-pragmatic and social approaches to person reference, above, leads directly to the data coding method. In both cases, criteria are proposed for classifying what speakers produce, and under what conditions they produce it. The conditions of production are further split into those measured on the whole-discourse level, and those measured on a more local level (looking at single utterances or a small group of utterances). This leads naturally to a list of features to be coded for each person reference term. These are summarised in Table 15 below.

	discourse-pragmatic	social
production	form type, using from the simplified accessibility marking scale NAM > COM > SIM > PRO > NUL	
	the identity of the intended referent	
	the referent's person (first/second/third)	
conditions (local)	*distance* presence of antecedent in: a. same utterance (S) b. previous utterance (P) c. earlier than previous utterance (E) d. earlier than previous utterance with intervening reference to another person (I)	co-occurrence of the term with addressee honorifics (yes/no)
	competition (low/high)	co-occurrence of the term with referent honorifics (yes/no)
conditions (discourse-level)	*saliency (1)* physical presence of referent (present/non-present)	status of hearer relative to speaker (high/same)
	saliency (2) discourse topic status of referent (topic/non-topic)	status of referent relative to speaker (high/same)

Table 15 Summary of coding applied to each person reference term[34]

As shown in Table 15, for speaker's production, in addition to the form type used, it is necessary to identify the intended referent and the person (first, second or third) of each person reference term in order to make some of the other coding possible. For the coding of conditions, the table above makes it clear that there is an even mix of discourse-level and local measures, and that, with the exception of distance from antecedent, the measures are binary. For distance and for the use of verbal honorifics, some tokens cannot be coded. Initial references are not coded for distance from antecedent because they lack an antecedent. In cases where no verb is used in an utterance (for instance because the speaker trails off), no code is assigned for the use of honorifics.

The actual coding procedure in CLAN involves several stages. First, it is necessary to identify all tokens of person reference and their intended referents. This, in turn, makes it possible to calculate the various local measures (distance from antecedent,

[34] The person reference terms produced by the learners and the native speaker control group are coded as summarised in the table. Those produced by the facilitator, however, are coded only for the production categories. It is useful to keep track of person reference used by both participants (for instance in order to find antecedents), but full coding of the facilitators' utterances is not necessary because they not analysed in this research.

competition, the use of honorifics). The identification of the discourse topic also must be done after all tokens of person reference have been identified, in order to know which person (or persons) is most frequently referred to in a particular task. The other discourse-level measures are not actually coded for inside the CLAN editor because they can be reliably inferred from other information. For physical presence, the coding of the referent's person already includes the necessary information: first- and second-person referents are present, and third-person referents are non-present. The discourse-level measures of the status of hearer and referent rely on relationships that are defined as part of the tasks, so they can be inferred on a task by task basis. In addition to keeping the coded transcripts in CLAN, the result of the coding is also copied into the statistical analysis software SPSS. This makes statistical analyses possible as described in 4.4.5. The SPSS data sheet contains one entry for each token of person reference produced, with values given for all the variables in Table 15, as well as values for extra variables recording the identity of the speaker, the speaker's group (pre-study abroad, post-study abroad or native speaker), and the task in which the token was produced.

Once a token of person reference is identified, the procedures for coding it on the various measures summarised in Table 15 are those set out in the previous two sections. However, some comments are necessary about how tokens of person reference are identified. Since the data used in this study is experimental, rather than authentic, the persons who speakers refer to can largely be predicted from the content of the tasks — the task descriptions and, for the narrative retelling tasks, the video extracts. Occasionally in the role play tasks speakers refer to persons not specified in the task descriptions: these references are coded too. As a general principle, only reference to a specific person or persons is counted. When a single term, such as *watashi-tachi* 'we', refers to two or more people, it is coded (and therefore counted) once for each referent.

The final problem to be solved concerns the coding of null forms. When no overt person reference term is present, what distinguishes person reference using a null form from the absence of reference? As Hinds (1983: 65) points out, in Japanese discourse "it is difficult to draw a line between […] ellipsis and nonspecification"; I set out below the procedures I follow in an attempt to draw such a line. The general principle applied is that a null form is deemed to be present when it is clear that a successful interpretation of the utterance requires reference to a specific person or persons, and it is possible to identify the intended referent. In this way, the consideration is primarily pragmatic rather than syntactic, and the coding of null forms is not limited to null

subjects (or null objects). Indeed, even null subjects or objects are occasionally not coded because the intended referent remains ambiguous. A set of more detailed principles is summarised in Table 16 below.

context	coding procedure
1. missing subject or object	code for null form if identity is clear
2. missing indirect object	code for null form if identity is clear
3. indirect anaphora	code for null form for the person(s) implicitly referred to
4. benefactive expressions	code for null form for beneficiary if identity is clear
5. potentially impersonal expressions	do not code for null form
6. formulaic expressions	do not code for null form

Table 16 Procedures used in coding for null forms

The first of the contexts above is the clearest. As long as the identity of the intended referent(s) is clear, a null form is deemed to be present. An example is given in (5) below. The verb *tsukamaeta* 'caught' lacks an overt subject, and the identity of the subject (that is, the referent of the null form) is clearly identifiable from the context and from the video used to elicit the narrative.

5) L05: Shimakosan o (.) tsukamaeta .
"**[He]** caught Shimako-san."
(N13, pre-SA learner)

6) JP2: hai eeto doko de paatii shimasu ka .
"Yes, um, where will **[we/you]** have the party?"
(R13, facilitator)

However, even when subject or object is not overt, it is sometimes not possible to identify the referent with confidence, so in these cases the reference is not coded for. Example (6) above is an instance of this; even though the utterance's context to some extent restricts the range of possible referents, the utterance is too vague to make is possible to isolate the intended referent(s) from the others. I do not claim that reference is not occurring in such utterances, only that this reference cannot be meaningfully analysed within my framework if the referent cannot be identified. The second context (non-overt indirect object) is subject to the same procedure as outlined above. However, here it is more often the case that the intended referent cannot be identified — for instance with verbs such as *hanasu* 'speak', the identity of the indirect object (that is, the person being spoken *to*) is often unclear if no overt reference term is used.

The third context is the use of indirect anaphora (see, for instance, Murata et al. 1999). This is where an overt term indirectly refers to a person who is not mentioned explicitly. For instance, in (7) below, the third-person reference term *oneesan* 'older sister' refers to the hearer's older sister: its meaning is interpreted as 'your sister' although it contains no overt reference to the hearer. This is clear on comparison with extract (8), where the reference to the hearer (using a name) is overt. Therefore, in utterances like (7), a null form is coded which refers to the hearer.

7) JA6: **oneesan** ni kiite kureru ?
"Will [you] ask **[your] older sister** [for me]?"
(DCT2, native speaker)

8) L04: **Masako no oneesan** wa shoogakkoo no sensee toshite hataraite iru n da ne .
"**Masako's** [=your] **older sister** is working as an elementary school teacher, isn't she?"
(DCT2, post-SA learner)

In this data, indirect anaphora tends to occur for family relationships, as above, or for attributes of a person. For instance *hanashikata* 'way of speaking' could be used with the intended interpretation of 'his way of speaking', and the coding would therefore indicate the presence of a null form.

The fourth context is that of benefactive expressions. These are expressions in Japanese which use verbs of giving and receiving as auxiliaries that indicate that an action is being performed for the benefit of someone. The beneficiary is rarely referred to overtly, and so in this data coding I code for the presence of null forms referring to the beneficiaries as long as they can be clearly identified. Extract (7) above illustrates this: *kiite kureru* is interpreted as 'ask [someone] for my benefit', so a null form is recognised in the coding that refers to the speaker as the beneficiary of what she is asking the hearer to do.

Unlike the first four, the fifth and sixth contexts are those where null forms are not coded for. Potentially impersonal expressions are those that, in English, might be realised with a dummy subject *it*, and in Japanese involve no overt reference. A Japanese example is given in (9) below.

9) L02: demo taihen [=! laughter] .
"But [it's] tricky."
(R12, post-SA learner)

Utterance (9) is an expression of the speaker's feeling, and as such it might be argued that the intended interpretation includes reference to the speaker on some level — for instance that the interpretation would be 'It's tricky for me'. However, the principle applied here is that if there is doubt as to whether person reference is intended in an expression, it is treated as impersonal and a null form is not coded for. The sixth and final context — the use of formulaic expressions — is in fact limited to two expressions. These are *shitsuree shimasu* 'excuse [me]' and *o-negai shimasu* 'please' (literally '[I] beg [of you]'). Both expressions use a verb with no overt arguments, and as such could be understood as incorporating null reference to (at least) the speaker. However, their status as polite fixed expressions means that it is difficult to conceive of the use of a null form as a choice on the speaker's part. Therefore, null forms are not coded for when these expressions are used.

Once I had coded all transcripts following the procedures set out above, as a simple measure of coding validity, a random sample of just over ten percent of the coded transcripts (15 out of 144) was checked by a Japanese native speaker who I had briefed on the methods of coding. This native speaker was asked to check the codes attached to the data and judge whether the coding methods had been correctly applied. The verdict was that, of the total of 216 instances of person reference coded for in the sample transcripts, all codes were acceptable except for one error in person coding. This error was corrected before beginning data analysis. Due to practical constraints because of the amount of data and the relative complexity of the methods used to code it, it was only possible to use this limited measure of validity. Ideally, a second coder would have coded a portion of the raw transcripts so that this coding could be compared with mine. Although it is not conclusive, the validity measure used here does suggest that the data was coded in a consistent manner.

4.4.5 *Analytical procedures*

The aims of analysis are to account for how learners in the three participant groups use person reference terms, to look at learners' development over time, and to compare learners with native speakers. As described above, the theoretical frameworks used in this thesis lead to a procedure for coding the data, which in turn allows it to be analysed. In this subsection I briefly describe the methods used in analysing the data. Further details are given in the chapters where these analyses take place.

As becomes apparent below and in chapters 5–7, the chief analytical approach used in this thesis for both discourse-pragmatic and social analyses is to look at data on the group level. In 4.3.3.1 above I discuss in some detail the profiles and comparability of the learners participating in this study. Although they have comparable (though not identical) experiences of learning Japanese, what they produce varies. Analysis on the group level is a useful means of looking beyond individual idiosyncrasies to identify where larger trends lie in order to present a preliminary picture of how L2 Japanese learners behave and develop in the domain of person reference. Moreover, grouping participants maximises the number of tokens of person reference produced for any given context, which in turn makes the data more suitable for the application of statistical analyses. Analysis of the production of individual learners is left as a topic for future research.

Both the social and the discourse-pragmatic frameworks define various contextual factors that may affect participants' use of person reference terms. The main analytical procedure is therefore to compare production in contrasting conditions to see how far speakers respond to these conditions. For instance, the discourse-pragmatic variable of competition for the role of antecedent has two possible values: low or high. Comparison of the form types chosen in these two contexts allows for assessment of the effect of this variable. This is done by comparing the proportion of form types used (as defined in scale (1) earlier) in each context. Trends are more easily visible when proportions are compared because this corrects for the uneven distribution of the variable; in the case of competition, for instance, high competition is much more common than low. Furthermore, for the social analyses, it is useful to look in more detail at the actual forms produced in different contexts; the FREQ and COMBO commands within CLAN are used for this purpose. In addition, the same commands are used to find illustrations of various points of interest in the data.

Some statistical tests are also used to clarify the trends in the data. All the statistical analysis is conducted using the copy of the data coding in SPSS. The main test used is the chi-square test of independence. This is a simple and versatile statistical test that measures whether there is an association of some kind between two variables. This is an appropriate test to use on this data because the variables involved (see Table 15) are measured at most on an ordinal level. The null hypothesis being tested is that there is no difference between the actual distribution of frequencies (the observed values) and that which would be predicted if the two variables were not related (the expected

values); see Butler (1985: 112–114) for an overview. If the result reaches significance at the 5% level or better, this indicates that the null hypothesis can be rejected, and that there is an association between the two variables. I use this test in two main ways. Firstly, it is used to test whether there is a significant association between form types used and a particular social or discourse-pragmatic condition. For instance, if competition is being analysed, the test reveals whether competition significantly interacts with form type for each participant group. Secondly, the test is used to look at learners' change over time. In this case, the two learner groups (pre- and post-study abroad) are compared on the form types they choose under a particular condition, such as low competition. Significant results for a test of independence do not, however, in themselves say anything about how strong the relationship between the two variables is. For this purpose, I use Cramér's V whenever tests of independence are significant. Cramér's V is a measure of strength of association which varies between 0 and 1, where 1 is the strongest possible association. The other statistical method used in this thesis is the construction of ordinal regression models. The general principle of a regression model is that it attempts to predict how changes in various predictor variables affect an outcome variable. In this case, it is used to model the contribution of the various accessibility determining factors to speakers' choice of person reference terms. Fuller details are given in chapter 6.

4.5 Conclusion

This thesis aims to study the development of person reference in English-speaking learners of Japanese. In this chapter I have set out these aims in greater detail in the form of three research questions. Following this, I gave details of a study designed to provide data that addresses these questions. The coding and analysis of the data thus obtained is driven by the two strands of theory informing this thesis: the social and discourse-pragmatic perspectives on person reference. The result is a longitudinal developmental study of English-speaking learners of Japanese which also includes comparison data from Japanese native speakers. All participants complete a range of tasks designed to compel them to respond to variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions. The operationalisation of the two strands of the theory leads to a coding scheme which in turn provides data showing the key features of learners' choice of person reference terms that will be analysed quantitatively as well as qualitatively in the following chapters.

Chapter 5. Discourse-pragmatic analysis: the effect of individual accessibility-determining factors

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to begin the analysis, in discourse-pragmatic terms, of the use of person reference by considering and comparing the three participant groups in the present study: pre-study abroad learners, post-study abroad learners, and native speakers of Japanese. The analysis in this chapter aims to show how the learners in this study use person reference terms in response to variation in discourse context at two points in time: before and after study abroad. This includes consideration of their developmental path, the evidence for their access to pragmatic universals of accessibility marking, and a comparison of these findings with those of previous studies. The discourse-pragmatic analysis in this chapter focuses on the effects of individual accessibility-determining factors; it will be followed in the next chapter with one that looks more closely at how these factors interact in learner systems. Following a recapitulation below of the key points of the discourse-pragmatic framework informing this analysis, I give a brief reminder of the methods used in data collection and analysis (5.2), followed by some basic facts about the dataset as a whole (5.3) to lay the ground for the main discussion. This consists of analyses of the effects of the accessibility-determining factors distance-unity (section 5.4), competition (section 5.5) and saliency (section 5.6) on participants' use of person reference. I give details of how each factor is operationalised in the relevant sections. Finally, the conclusions from this portion of the analysis are summarised in section 5.7.

As I discuss in more detail in chapter 2 section 2.2, accessibility theory (AT) provides the main theoretical basis for the discourse-pragmatic analysis of person reference in this thesis (Ariel 1988, 1990, 1991, inter alia). AT's central claim is that a referring expression functions as a signal from the speaker of how accessible a mental representation of the intended referent is assumed to be for the hearer. Markers of low accessibility such as names and complex descriptions are chosen because they signal to hearers that the intended referent is not very accessible, and at the same time provide information that assists the hearer in determining the identity of this referent and thereby accessing the necessary mental representation. Conversely, markers of higher accessibility like null forms and pronouns signal that the intended referent is highly accessible, and provide fewer clues to help the hearer identify this referent. Incorporating Levinson's (2007) arguments, I simplify AT's accessibility marking scale

to allow only one factor to determine the level of accessibility marked by particular expressions: their referential specification. This is the basis for the classification used in this chapter where forms are coded as names, complex descriptions, simple descriptions, pronouns or null forms. Names typically attach to unique individuals thus identifying their referent with minimal ambiguity. As such, they are maximally referentially specific, and therefore are the lowest accessibility markers. At the other end of the scale, null forms are the highest accessibility markers; they provide no information that a hearer could use to reduce potential ambiguity in identifying the intended referent, and are therefore minimally referentially specific.

As Ariel argues, the relative accessibility marking properties of referring expressions are consistent cross-linguistically. Differences in accessibility marking across languages may be found, however, due to the influence of "language-specific facts to generate the specific scale of Accessibility operative in the language" (Ariel 1990: 76). For instance, it is hypothesised to be true in every language that null forms mark higher accessibility than pronouns. In terms of referential specification, the reason for this is that while null forms in themselves provide no means by which to identify the intended referent, pronouns are more referentially specific because they provide some information (such as discourse role or gender) to allow disambiguation of their intended referent. A comparison of English and Japanese (Ariel 1990: 89–90) suggests that pronouns in Japanese mark lower accessibility than they do in English. This, in turn, is because the markedness of English null forms leads them to be reserved for marking very high referent accessibility, whereas Japanese's freer use of null forms means that they are available for a rather wider range of highly accessible referents. The relative accessibility marking properties of pronouns and null forms, however, remain the same in the two languages.

Accessibility theory goes on to specify the factors determining the level of (presumed) accessibility for particular referents. Ariel (1990: 28–29) gives four accessibility-determining factors: distance, unity, competition and saliency. They are summarised in Table 4 below. For this analysis I group distance and unity, as well as using two different measures for saliency. I give details in individual sections of how each factor is operationalised.

factor	general definition	effect on referent accessibility
distance	the distance between the referring expression and its antecedent	increased distance: decreased accessibility
unity	whether the referring expression and its antecedent occur in the same discursive unit	lack of unity: decreased accessibility
competition	whether there are multiple possible candidates for the role of antecedent for the referring expression	increased competition: decreased accessibility
saliency	whether the antecedent is "a salient referent" (Ariel 1990: 29)	decreased saliency: decreased accessibility

Table 17 Summary of accessibility-determining factors

The framework summarised here establishes criteria for judging the relative accessibility marking properties of expressions, and the accessibility level of referents according to context. Accessibility theory assumes that in most cases the level of accessibility of a referent will be correctly marked by the referring expression chosen, but this is not necessarily the case for non-native speakers. The first aim of analysis is to see how far learners' and native speakers' use of person reference terms responds to each of these factors and, for learners, how this changes over time.

In addition, I look at the results in the light of similar insights from Levinson (1987a, 2007), Ariel (1990: 83, 2001: 68) and Williams (1988: 367) that the determination of what level of referent accessibility to mark (and, consequently, what referring expression to use) can be considered to be the result of balancing two competing principles, which Levinson (2007) calls economy and achieving recognition. The former is the drive to specify the intended referent as little as possible ─ in other words, to expend no more referential effort than is absolutely necessary. The latter is the drive to specify the referent maximally, thus ensuring successful recognition of the intended referent by the hearer. Where the data does not follow AT's predictions straightforwardly, I assess how far this is attributable to an overweighting of either economy or achieving reference by learners.

5.2 Methods of data collection and analysis

The tasks used in data collection are two narrative retelling tasks, three role-plays and three discourse completion tasks (DCTs). The following section (5.3) gives an overview of the total set of data collected. However, the DCTs are not designed to access learner response to discourse-pragmatic conditions and are therefore excluded

from the rest of the analysis in this chapter. The first of the narrative retelling tasks is a first-person narrative where participants retell a short story as if they were the main character. The second is a third-person narrative where they retell a story from the position of an observer. All three role play tasks involve participants playing the role of a (foreign) student in Japan speaking to various different people. In all cases, participants are speaking to an L1 Japanese facilitator; the three scenarios are summarised in Table 18 below. This combination of narrative retelling and role plays is designed to elicit person reference across a range of accessibility conditions in an essentially communicative context.

role play	hearer	topic
R11	student advisor	complaint about problems caused by his/her Japanese teacher
R12	teacher	complaint about problems caused by a fellow student
R13	classmate	planning a teacher's retirement party

Table 18 Summary of role play scenarios used in data collection

The chief aim of this chapter is to analyse how the three participant groups respond to variation in individual accessibility-determining factors. Therefore, the approach taken is to consider form types as a proportion of the total used in each context type. I discuss how the profile of form types used differs from context to context, and whether trends are apparent for particular (groups of) form types. For each accessibility-determining factor, I also carry out two chi-square tests. The first is a test of independence between form types and accessibility-determining factors for each group. If the result is significant, the null hypothesis — that there is no association between the accessibility-determining factor and the frequencies of the various form types — can be rejected. The second is a measure of learners' change over time. For each accessibility context, I use this test to compare the proportion of form types used by the pre- and post-study abroad learners;[35] a significant result means that the distribution of form types in that context has changed over time. A test of independence on its own, however, does not say anything about the strength of any association that is found. For this reason all significant results are accompanied by a measure of the strength of association using

[35] For this test I use proportions (percentages) of each form type rather than token numbers in order to correct for differences in the total number of tokens produced by pre- and post-study abroad learners. In cases where there are a number of cells with low expected frequencies, I use exact tests to calculate the significance.

Cramér's V. This statistic varies between 0 and 1, where 1 denotes the strongest possible association.

In several parts of the analyses below, I discuss learners' data in terms of over- and underexplicitness. These are defined in quantitative terms as a relative overuse of either low or high accessibility markers, respectively. This means that they are not based on judgements of the (in)appropriateness of specific uses of forms — for instance the judgement that a specific form could acceptably be replaced with a higher accessibility marker and is therefore overexplicit. Rather, learners are claimed to be over- or underexplicit when, as a group, they tend to use forms that are lower or higher accessibility markers than might be expected either by reference to the trend within that group, or by reference to native speakers' behaviour. In the former case, learners would not be applying accessibility-marking principles consistently. In the latter, learners may be internally consistent in applying accessibility-marking principles but nevertheless using markers which tend to be over- or underexplicit when compared to native speakers' behaviour.

5.3 The data as a whole

The data was collected from six learners of Japanese at two points during their study of Japanese: once after almost two year's classroom study (pre-SA), and again after a further year spend studying Japanese in Japan (post-SA). A further set of data was taken from six native speakers of Japanese using exactly the same tasks. The table below summarises the total number of words and of person reference terms from each of the three groups. This, and the following table, refer to the entire dataset. As explained in the previous section, a relatively small part of this data (the discourse completion tasks) will be omitted for the purposes of discourse-pragmatic analysis; similarly, the social analysis will omit data from the narrative retelling tasks.

	total words	total person reference	ratio of person reference to words
pre-SA learners	3523	586	0.17
post-SA learners	4927	644	0.13
native speakers	8676	1029	0.12
total	17126	2259	

Table 19 Summary of the dataset

As Table 19 shows, the number of words produced by learners increases over time, but even at the post-study abroad stage there is quite a gap between learners and natives.

The ratio of person reference terms to total words, however, closely approaches native-like in the post-study abroad learners. The greater density of person reference in the pre-study abroad data shows learners at this stage concentrate more on the core requirement of the tasks, which is the production of person reference. In contrast, the post-study abroad learners and native speakers produce more language that is not strictly demanded by the task instructions, which focus on reference to persons.

	mean MLU (*st. dev.*)	mean D (*st. dev.*)
pre-SA learners	4.32 (*0.84*)	43.92 (*11.59*)
post-SA learners	4.82 (*1.00*)	55.34 (*17.19*)
native speakers	7.00 (*1.40*)	70.23 (*8.30*)

Table 20 Measures of mean length of utterance (MLU) and lexical diversity (D)

Table 20 above summarises the mean length of utterance and lexical diversity of the three groups. As might be expected, learners' utterances become longer and their lexical diversity increases over time, although neither reaches the native speaker mean. For mean length of utterance (MLU), as indicated by the standard deviation values there is greater variation for higher proficiency speakers, with the natives having the greatest range, from 8.86 to 4.86. Although the post-study abroad mean is lower than native speakers', on the individual level, three of the six post-study abroad learners are within the native range for MLU. Lexical diversity shows a similar pattern, but notably here there is greater variation in the post-study abroad learners than any other group, with one post-study abroad learner's data having a higher D value (84.62) than any of the native speakers (range: 55.23 to 79.63). Since there are naturally individual differences between the learners, it is to be expected that these differences become more apparent over time. However, the fact that the range of D and MLU is greater after study abroad than before does not in itself present any issue for the comparability of the learners. The latter is a question of their backgrounds and learning experiences, which as detailed in Chapter 4, 4.3.3.1, represent a very comparable sample (albeit a relatively small one) of instructed learners at their level.

5.4 Distance

Distance is operationalised by coding all non-initial references to persons into one of four categories according to their distance from the last reference form referring to the same person. Initial references are excluded from this portion of the analysis. The scheme for coding is summarised in Table 21 below, where S codes for the closest

antecedents, and I for the furthest. This is an adaptation of Ariel's (1990: 18–19) four levels of coding for distance in text.

distance code	definition
S	antecedent in the same utterance
P	antecedent in the previous utterance
E	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with no reference to other persons in between
I	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with reference to other persons between the term and its antecedent

Table 21 Coding scheme for distance from antecedent

AT's prediction is that greater distance from antecedent means reduced referent accessibility, which in turn means that speakers are expected to shift to lower accessibility markers accordingly. I will not consider unity separately in this investigation, but a basic measure of unity is included in the coding scheme outlined above.[36]

5.4.1 *Results for distance*

The frequencies of form types used at each of the four levels of distance are summarised for each of the three participant groups in Table 22. In order to show the trends in the data, I also give bar graphs of the proportion of form types used at each level of distance for the three participant groups (Graph 1, Graph 2 and Graph 3). The results of statistical tests show that there is a significant association between distance and form type for all groups (Table 23). For pre-study abroad learners and natives this is significant at the 0.1% level, while for post-study abroad learners it is significant only at the 5% level. In the following paragraphs I will describe the trends in each group, making comparisons as appropriate between groups.

[36] The coding scheme for distance includes a broad measure of unity in its distinction between E and I distance. The presence of another referent in between a term and its antecedent likely correlates with the start of a new discourse unit on a local level. In this way, closer antecedents (S, P and E distance) can correspond to higher unity, and I distance to reduced unity.

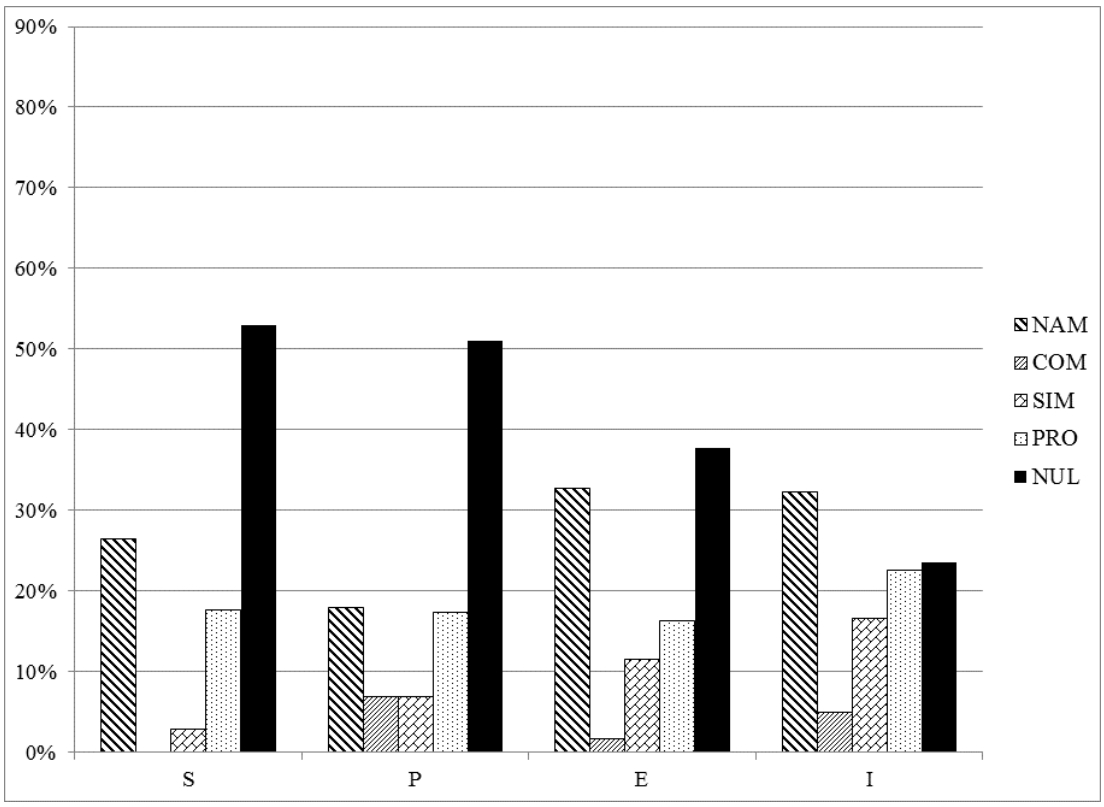
		S		P		E		I	
pre-SA	NAM	9	(26%)	34	(18%)	20	(33%)	33	(32%)
	COM	0	(0%)	13	(7%)	1	(2%)	5	(5%)
	SIM	1	(3%)	13	(7%)	7	(11%)	17	(17%)
	PRO	6	(18%)	33	(17%)	10	(16%)	23	(23%)
	NUL	18	(53%)	97	(51%)	23	(38%)	24	(24%)
		34	(100%)	190	(100%)	61	(100%)	102	(100%)
		S		P		E		I	
post-SA	NAM	3	(6%)	21	(10%)	8	(14%)	22	(19%)
	COM	0	(0%)	13	(6%)	2	(4%)	8	(7%)
	SIM	4	(8%)	24	(11%)	4	(7%)	21	(18%)
	PRO	12	(25%)	46	(22%)	8	(14%)	20	(18%)
	NUL	29	(60%)	108	(51%)	35	(61%)	43	(38%)
		48	(100%)	212	(100%)	57	(100%)	114	(100%)
		S		P		E		I	
native	NAM	3	(2%)	21	(6%)	8	(8%)	27	(12%)
	COM	0	(0%)	8	(2%)	1	(1%)	19	(9%)
	SIM	6	(5%)	31	(9%)	16	(16%)	48	(22%)
	PRO	12	(9%)	30	(9%)	12	(12%)	31	(14%)
	NUL	112	(84%)	261	(74%)	66	(64%)	94	(43%)
		133	(100%)	351	(100%)	103	(100%)	219	(100%)

Table 22 Frequency of form types by distance

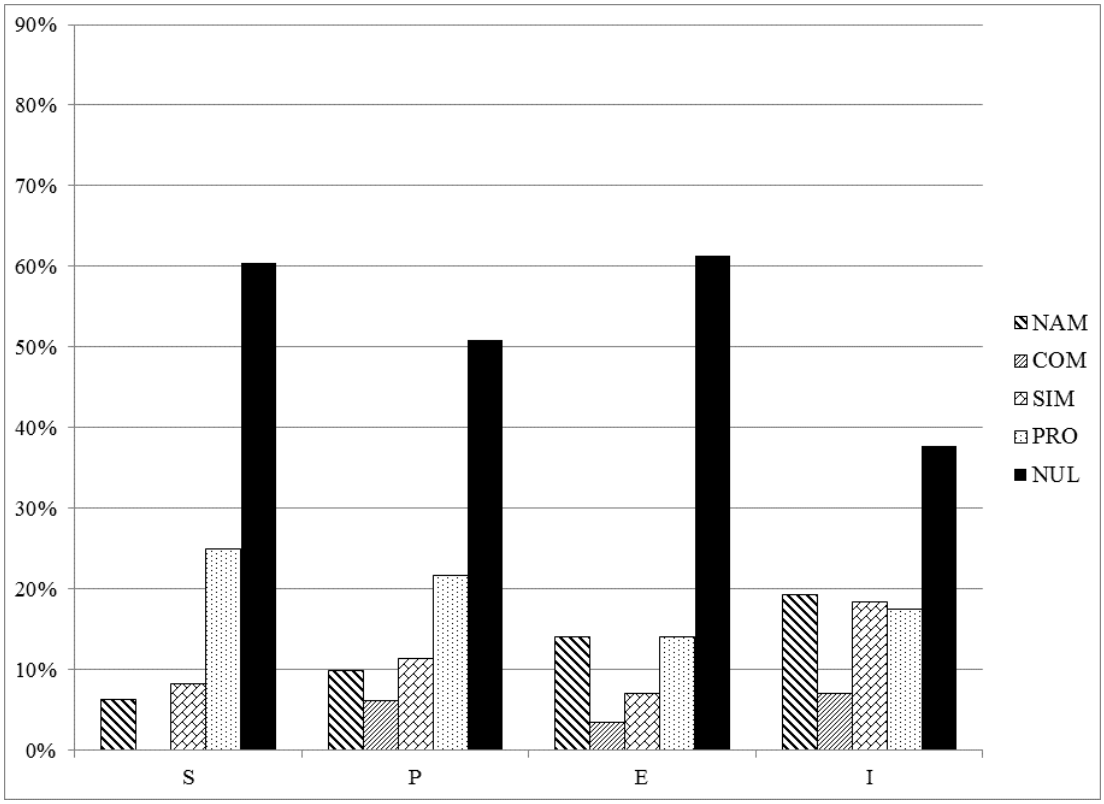
	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	34.900***	12	0.173***
group: post-SA	24.549*	12	0.138*
group: natives	97.347***	12	0.201***
learner change: S	16.341***	3	0.287***
learner change: P	3.893	4	-
learner change: E	14.713**	4	0.271**
learner change: I	7.442	4	-

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

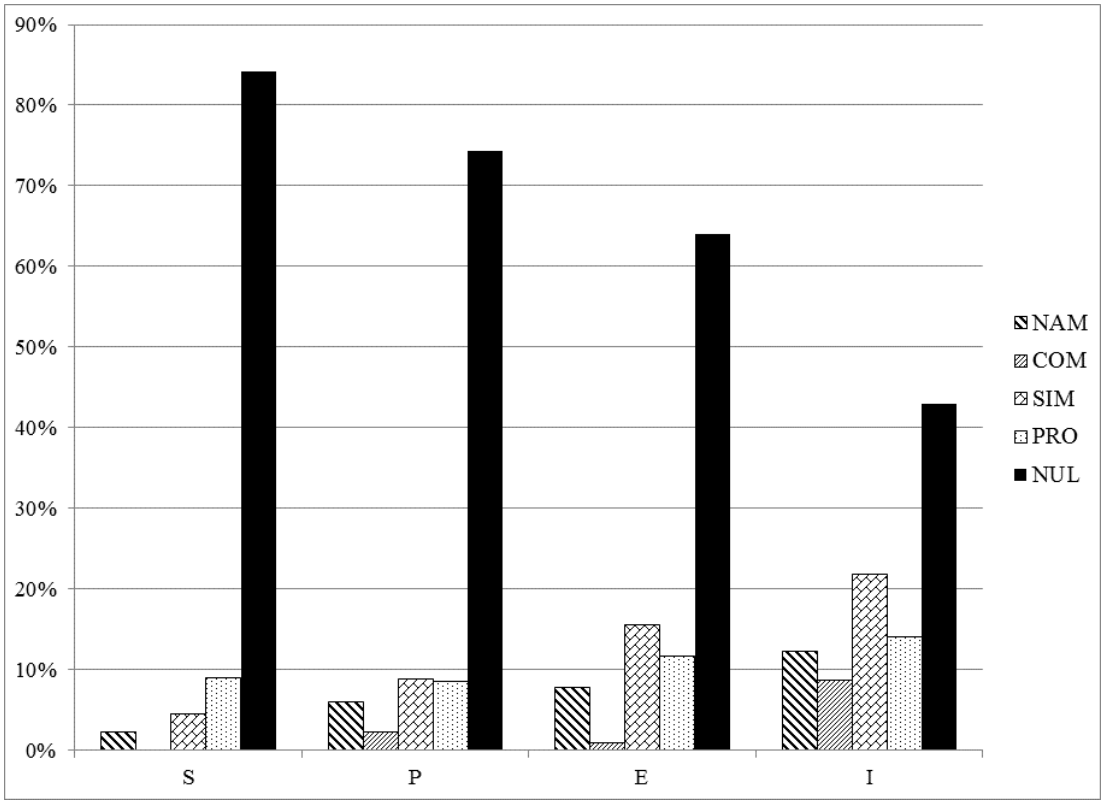
Table 23 Statistics for distance: tests of independence for distance and for learners' change over time



Graph 1 Pre-SA learners: proportion of form types used by distance



Graph 2 Post-SA learners: proportion of form types used by distance



Graph 3 Native speakers: proportion of form types used by distance

For the pre-study abroad learner data, a comparison of the distribution of form types in each distance context suggests a split between S and P distance on the one hand and E and I distance on the other. For the former two distance contexts, null forms account for just over half of all forms produced, while names and pronouns are the most common overt forms used. However, for the latter two contexts, the proportion of names is either close to (E) or exceeds (I) that of null forms. Pronouns continue to account for around 15–25% of forms produced. Simple descriptions also represent a greater share in these two contexts than in the S and P ones. An examination of the trend for each form type in the pre-study abroad data shows that the proportion of null forms used correlates broadly as expected with distance. That is, null forms are used less often the further a term is from its antecedent. Simple descriptions and names behave in broadly the opposite way: their proportions increase with greater distance from antecedent. Pronouns do not show a clear trend. Their proportion changes little with distance with the exception of an increase at I, the furthest distance context.

After study abroad, learners' patterns of use show a number of changes, as shown in Graph 2. It is immediately apparent that at all distance levels the proportion of names

decreases, while the proportion of null forms increases in most. Compared to pre-study abroad data, there is less of a clear split between distance contexts S-P and E-I at the post-study abroad stage. Rather, null forms are the majority choice here in all contexts except I. In S and P the proportion of pronouns exceeds that of names by 12% or more, but in E and I, the proportions of each are approximately equal. Comparing pre- and post-study abroad trends for form types, the clearest difference between learner groups is that null forms are not as neatly correlated with distance from antecedent as they are in the pre-study abroad learners. The furthest distance category, I, has the lowest proportion of null forms, but the next furthest, E, in fact has the highest proportion of null forms of all for this group. The trend for names and simple descriptions is broadly unchanged over time: for the most part their proportion is higher the further the distance context. As observed above, distance has little observable effect on pre-study abroad learners' use of pronouns. But after study abroad, learners tend use them more often with closer antecedents. Statistics for learners' change over time (Table 23) show mixed results. There is a significant difference between the pre- and post-study abroad levels at S and E distance only.

Aspects of one learner's development are illustrated by extracts (1) and (2), below. The exchange in (1) is an example of pre-study abroad over-reliance on names in close distance contexts. In the last utterance, the name *Emi-san* (underlined) is repeated despite the antecedent being in the previous utterance.

1) L06: anoo **Emisan** wa (.) xxx **Emisan** hanashite .
L06: shiken ga arimasendeshita .
JP1: hai .
JP1: **Emisan** to hanashi o [//] hanashita n desu ne .
L06: mainichi **<u>Emisan</u>** wa shiken ga arimasen .

L06: Um, **Emi-san** (.) xxx **Emi-san** speak.
L06: [There] was no exam.[37]
JP1: Yes.
JP1: [You] spoke to **Emi-san**, right.?
L06: Every day **<u>Emi-san</u>** has no exam(s).

(R12, pre-SA learner)[38]

[37] I believe that the learner's use of *shiken* 'exam' is an error for *jikan* 'time'.
[38] In the transcriptions, *xxx* represents an inaudible portion of speech, while *xx* is a single inaudible word. Content not explicitly present in the original Japanese, such as the referents for null forms, is included in the English translations inside square brackets.

After study abroad, in (2) the same learner as above uses null forms in the second and third utterances (underlined); in both cases the antecedent is found in the immediately preceding utterance.

2) L06: eeto **Konomurasan** wa Shimakosan no kooto ga aru .
L06: eeto Shimakosan no heya ni itta .
L06: kooto o dashite .

L06: Um **Konomura-san** has Shimako-san's coat.
L06: Um [**he**] went to Shimako-san's room.
L06: [**He**] got out the coat.

(N13, post-SA learner)

Native speakers, whose data is summarised in Graph 3, are first quite different from the learner groups in their overriding preference for null forms in all distance contexts. When the natives' person reference in the four distance contexts is compared, the noticeable divide is between I and the others. I, the furthest distance context, is the only one where null forms account for less than half of the forms produced; there is a corresponding jump at I in the proportions of descriptions and names produced. Natives' use of null forms across contexts follows the general pattern predicted by AT. That is, they are used more with closer antecedents. All the overt forms in the native data show the opposite trend with increasing distance: all are used more frequently with more distant antecedents. Comparisons of the strength of interaction between form type and distance for the three participant groups (Table 23) shows relatively weak or moderate interactions for all, though that for native speakers is the strongest.

5.4.2 *Discussion for distance*

Examination of the data for distance shows that pre-study abroad learners can be argued to overuse names in all contexts. In S and P distance contexts, this is particularly clear. These are high accessibility contexts where names are rarely warranted in order to refer successfully, as evidenced by natives' very low proportion of names in S and P. For E and I distance, pre-study abroad learners use names more than 30% of the time. It is true that this is not inconsistent with the predictions of AT: the E and I contexts entail reduced referent accessibility, and names are clearly low accessibility markers. However, the elevated proportion of names used sets pre-study abroad learners apart from natives and more advanced learners, and shows that pre-study abroad learners are

indeed overusing names.[39] Considered in terms of economy versus achieving recognition, this overuse of names in E and I, as well as in S and P reveals pre-study abroad learners' (over-)prioritisation of achieving recognition. The case of the E and I contexts, furthermore, shows that this prioritisation is also apparent in low accessibility contexts, where pre-study abroad learners can be even less confident of achieving recognition with a higher accessibility marker.

Over time, learners show a decreased reliance on names in all distance contexts, which results in a much more native-like distribution in S and P distance contexts post-study abroad. The change is most stark at S distance, where the proportion of names is 20% lower after study abroad; this accounts for the significance of the change over time statistic for this context. At E and I distance, changes are similar but more pronounced, with learners using 19% and 13% fewer names, respectively, and null forms increasing by 23% and 14%, respectively. The statistically significant change over time at I distance is a result of the particularly large increase in null forms coupled with a large decrease in names.

As pointed out earlier, learners come to use null forms more frequently after study abroad. The nature of this increase, though, is not what might be expected in that the resulting distribution does not conform clearly to the predictions of AT, unlike that of pre-study abroad learners and native speakers. A comparison of pre- and post-study abroad data shows that the increase in null forms is modest at S (7%) and non-existent at P, and is in fact concentrated at E and I distance, where null forms increase by 23% and 14% respectively. This increase at E is, moreover, the largest of any developmental change for a form type seen in the analyses in this chapter. This increased use of null forms by learners does not occur in the manner that could be expected, where as markers of highest accessibility their proportion would increase in high accessibility contexts. A shift to greater weighting of economy at E and I distance post-study abroad may perhaps account for the change. This means that, while the percentage of null forms at E and I is not high compared to natives and therefore can less easily be called overuse, post-study abroad learners are using a 'precociously' high proportion of null forms in order to more often minimise referential effort in these contexts. Learners' pronounced change in E and I contexts outlined above, along with the fact that over

[39] The fact that post-study abroad learners and natives use a lower proportion of names is perhaps due to other accessibility-determining factors permitting the use of other lower or mid accessibility markers at the E and I levels of distance.

time learners remain less native-like in these contexts than they are in S and P, suggests that lower accessibility (i.e. further) distance contexts present a greater challenge to learners.

Shifting the focus to the effect of distance on the various types of referential forms, some interesting patterns of change can be observed. The markers of mid to low accessibility — names, complex descriptions and simple descriptions — all tend to behave in the same way: their proportion increases with increasing distance. For names, this is broadly true for all groups even though pre-study abroad learners overuse them as detailed above. For complex descriptions, a pattern can only be established for natives, who show a noticeable increase at the I level of distance. For simple descriptions, however, this pattern can be observed in all participant groups.

The markers of higher accessibility — null forms and pronouns —, however, do not behave in such a uniform way. Interestingly, pre-study abroad learners and natives share the same trend for null forms. This is the opposite of that observed for lower accessibility markers in that the proportion is highest for the closest antecedents and decreases with increasing distance. Post-study abroad learners, on the other hand, do not have a clear trend of this type as discussed above. The relationship between distance and pronouns is different for each of the participant groups. Pre-study abroad learners show little effect of distance except for an increase in the proportion of pronouns in the I context. Natives, while they use pronouns much less often, use them more with increasing distance. Post-study abroad learners, on the other hand, show the opposite trend to natives in that they tend to use pronouns less often with increasing distance. In other words, for natives, there is a clear split between null forms as markers of higher accessibility, and all overt forms as markers of somewhat lower accessibility. For post-study abroad learners, however, pronouns appear to be behaving as markers of higher accessibility, with other overt forms (simple descriptions, names) marking lower accessibility. This reveals a key distinction between native and post-study abroad learner accessibility-marking systems, and may be the result of transfer from the L1, English, where pronouns mark somewhat higher accessibility than they do in Japanese as discussed in section 5.1 above.

The final point of interest in the distance data is in the divisions different participant groups make in the four levels of distance. As argued above, native speakers and post-study abroad learners have the clearest cut-off between E and I distance; in other words,

the difference between S, P and E distance is more gradual than that between E and I. The reason for this may lie in the combination of distance and unity measured by this scale. The difference between E and I is one of decreased antecedent-reference unity, as well as (potentially) increased distance from antecedent. Unlike the other two groups, however, pre-study abroad learners' clearest cut-off is between P and E distance. This is perhaps a sign that they are especially prioritising achieving recognition at E despite its comparatively higher (unity-based) accessibility than I.

5.5 Competition

Competition is defined by Ariel as "the number of competitors on the role of antecedent" (Ariel 1990: 28). AT predicts that less competition for the role of antecedent means that a referent is more accessible, and therefore can be marked with higher accessibility markers. In coding the data I have used a binary measure of low versus high competition for the role of antecedent drawing on the system proposed by Givón (1983b: 14) as part of his topic continuity framework.[40] Accordingly, this restricts the scope of consideration when determining competition to the three utterances immediately preceding any utterance containing a person reference term. I assign low competition to any person reference form which has only one suitable antecedent in the preceding three utterances. This applies in two cases: firstly, when there are no other persons except the intended referent mentioned within this scope; secondly, when more than one person is referred to within the scope, but the content of the utterance itself restricts possible interpretations so as to leave only the intended referent. In all other cases, competition for the role of antecedent is considered to be high. The most typical case of high competition is when there is more than one potential antecedent within the scope of consideration. High competition is also coded for reference occurring fewer than three utterances from the beginning of a task, initial reference to a person — where no antecedent exists for the intended referent —, and person reference terms whose antecedents are further back than the immediately preceding three utterances.

5.5.1 *Results for competition*

The frequencies of form types produced in the two competition contexts are given in for each participant group in Table 24, followed by the proportions of form types by

[40] See chapter 4 subsection 4.4.2 for a fuller discussion of the reasons for choosing this means of operationalising competition over others proposed in AT studies.

context in Graph 4. Tests of independence (Table 25) further shows that for all three groups, there is an interaction between competition and form types which is significant at the 0.1% level. The strength of interaction is moderate for all groups with only small differences between them.

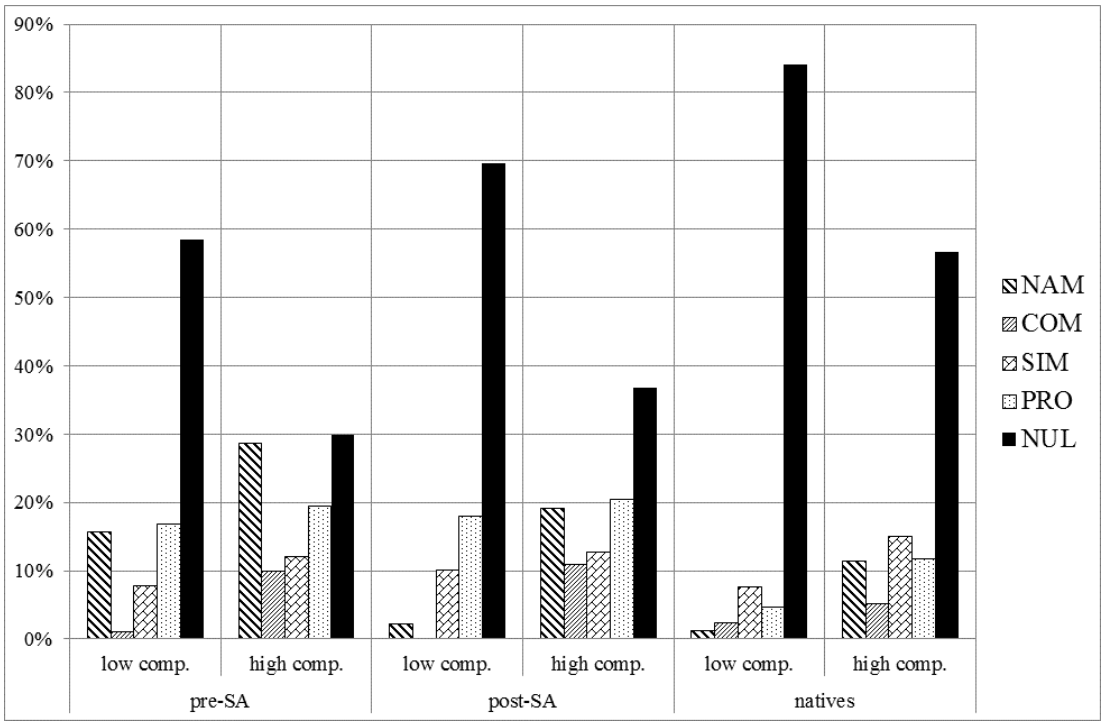
	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	low		high		low		high		low		high	
NAM	14	(16%)	109	(29%)	2	(2%)	83	(19%)	2	(1%)	83	(11%)
COM	1	(1%)	38	(10%)	0	(0%)	47	(11%)	4	(2%)	38	(5%)
SIM	7	(8%)	46	(12%)	9	(10%)	55	(13%)	13	(8%)	109	(15%)
PRO	15	(17%)	74	(19%)	16	(18%)	88	(20%)	8	(5%)	85	(12%)
NUL	52	(58%)	114	(30%)	62	(70%)	159	(37%)	143	(84%)	411	(57%)
	89	(100%)	381	(100%)	89	(100%)	432	(100%)	170	(100%)	726	(100%)

Table 24 Frequency of form types by competition

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	29.336***	4	0.250***
group: post-SA	42.109***	4	0.284***
group: natives	46.564***	4	0.228***
learner change: low comp.	13.265**	4	0.258**
learner change: high comp.	2.928	4	-

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 25 Statistics for competition: tests of independence for competition and for learners' change over time



Graph 4 Proportion of form types used by competition

The pre-study abroad learners' data shows a clear difference in the distribution of form types in low and high competition contexts. In the former, there is a majority of null forms (58%) with the proportion of all overt forms correspondingly rather low, although names and pronouns are the highest among them. In contrast, there is no overall majority in the high competition context. Names and null forms are the two most common choices (accounting for 29% and 30%, respectively), but there is a relatively small gap between their share and that of the other form types. When the shift from low to high competition is considered, it is apparent that the first key difference is a decrease in the proportion of null forms. This decrease in null forms naturally means that all other forms' proportions increase correspondingly, but the largest such increase is for names, and the second largest for complex descriptions.

The pattern described above for pre-study abroad learners is similar in many respects to that observed in the post-study abroad data. Measures of learners' change over time are given in Table 25; there is a significant difference between the two learner groups for the low competition context only. Though null forms continue to make up the majority of those used in the low competition context, learners use a use a higher proportion after than before study abroad. A stark change over time in the low competition context is the much reduced use of names. Pre-study abroad, names and pronouns are used in almost equal proportion in this context (names 16%, pronouns 17%), but over time, the proportion of names here becomes much lower at 2% compared to a largely unchanged proportion of pronouns at 18%. In the high competition context, null forms become the most popular choice by a margin of 17%, although they still account for a minority of the forms produced. The distribution of overt forms here is similar to the pre-study abroad stage, which is confirmed by the non-significant difference between learner groups for this context. Moreover, the shift from low to high competition is largely similar to that observed pre-study abroad. That is, along with increasing competition for the role of antecedent (and attending decrease in referent accessibility) the proportion of null forms decreases while that of names and complex descriptions increases the most.

Results discussed so far suggest that learners before study abroad can be comparatively overexplicit, and that the proportion of names used in the low competition context is much reduced over time. Extract (3) shows an example of repeated use of a name in the

final utterance (underlined) where, according to my definition, competition for the role of antecedent is low; in the three preceding utterances only the teacher is mentioned.[41]

3) JP1: **sensee** wa dare desu ka .
L05: **Sakaisensee** desu .
JP1: **Sakaisensee** desu ka .
JP1: ano nani ga taihen desu ka ,, toku ni .
L05: aa (.) **<u>Sakaisensee</u>** wa (.) itsumo watashi o (.) shikarimasu .

JP1: Who is [the] **teacher**?
L05: [It]'s **Sakai-sensee**.
JP1: [It]'s **Sakai-sensee**?
JP1: Um what is hard, in particular?
L05: Aa (.) **<u>Sakai-sensee</u>** (.) always scolds (.) me.

(R11, pre-SA learner)

Over time, however, this overexplicitness is found less often, so that in the rather similar context in extract (4), the same learner at the post-study abroad stage responds to low competition for role of antecedent in the final utterance of the extract. Even though the first repetition of *Sakai-sensee* might be argued to be overexplicit from the point of view of distance, the learner uses a null form for the third reference to the same person. In contrast to his performance before study abroad, he shows that despite possible problems with distance, he is responding more successfully to the low competition context by using a null form instead of a name.

4) L05: eeto **Sakaisensee** no koto na n desu kedo .
JP3: hai .
L05: **Sakaisensee** wa chotto kibishikute .
JP3: hai .
L05: machigaetara sugu okorimasu .

L05: Um it's about **Sakai-sensee**.
JP3: Yes.
L05: **Sakai-sensee** is a bit strict [and].
JP3: Yes.
L05: If [someone] makes a mistake [**<u>he</u>**] gets angry straight away.

(R11, post-SA learner)

The native data differs most noticeably from the learners in two respects. Firstly, in both low and high competition contexts, the proportion of null forms is higher. The

[41] Noriko Iwasaki (personal communication, 19 November, 2012), points out that the final use of *Sakaisensee* in (3) may be a pragmatically appropriate option in this context. It nevertheless illustrates comparative overexplicitness in the sense used in this thesis.

trend, though, is the same as that present in learners. Secondly, among the overt forms, where names and pronouns tended to be the most popular choices by learners, simple descriptions are the most common for native speakers in both contexts. Again, the trend for overt forms is the same as that seen for learners — an increase in the proportion of all overt forms moving from low to high competition with the most pronounced increase for names and complex descriptions.

5.5.2 *Discussion for competition*

The effect of competition on the type of person reference forms produced by all participant groups is generally very similar. For learners (pre- and post-study abroad) and natives, the shift from low to high competition results in a decreased proportion of null forms and a consequently increased proportion of overt forms with the largest increases usually seen in the proportion of names and complex descriptions. There is, however, clear development for learners in the absolute proportions of form types used. The learners' proportion of names and null forms used in both contexts is moving in a native-like direction — that is, an increase in null forms and a decrease in names. As for the other overt forms, learners overall show a preference for pronouns, whereas natives prefer simple descriptions. What this shows is that, while learners' overall pattern of person reference does change over time and to some extent moves towards a more native-like one, their response to competition is already broadly native-like at the pre-study abroad stage and remains so over time.

The fact that pre-study abroad learners use a much greater proportion of names than the other participant groups in both competition contexts is attributable to the achieving recognition-based person reference strategy identified in section 5.4 for distance. Less advanced learners use names more frequently in order to ensure successful reference, and they do so particularly noticeably in high accessibility contexts (here, that of low competition for the role of antecedent) where speakers in other participant groups more frequently elected to use less referentially specific forms. Over time, learners use a reduced proportion of names, particularly in the low competition context (14% fewer). This reduction, as well as a 12% increase in the proportion of null forms is reflected in the statistically significant result for learners' change over time in the low competition context. That the change at low competition is more pronounced shows that, over time, learners respond better to higher referent accessibility as determined by low competition.

The results for competition are of particular interest for complex descriptions. In the analysis of distance (5.4), it was not possible to show a clear pattern in the use of complex descriptions for either of the learner groups. However, when the data is examined based on competition, a consistent pattern emerges in all groups of a low proportion or absence of complex descriptions in low competition contexts contrasted with a marked increase in high competition contexts. This shows that the use of complex descriptions by all participant groups is subject to accessibility-determining factors, and that of these, competition seems to have more of an effect than distance.

5.6 Saliency

I consider saliency using two different measures: physical presence and discourse topic-hood. AT defines saliency as "[t]he antecedent being a salient referent, mainly whether it is a topic or non-topic" (Ariel 1990: 29). Its effect on referent accessibility is that more salient referents are more accessible and consequently predicted to be marked with higher accessibility markers. Ariel notes elsewhere (1996: 22) that topics have high saliency, as do speaker and hearer. I therefore consider saliency in terms of these two factors. In order to separate saliency from the more local measures used for distance and competition, I use discourse-level measures for both. Although Ariel (1998) argues that the enhanced saliency of speaker and hearer is primarily due to their conceptual prominence, in the tasks used in this investigation, all third persons are non-present. This means that, in effect, the distinction can equally be expressed as that between persons who are physically present (speaker and hearer) and non-present (all others). The second measure of saliency considers discourse topic-hood by assigning topic status to the person(s) most frequently referred to by each individual participant in each task and comparing references to this person with those to the other persons mentioned. I summarise and discuss the results of these two measures in order below.

5.6.1 *Results for physical presence*

The frequencies of form types used for present and non-present referents by speakers in the three participant groups are given in Table 26 and Graph 5. Physical presence is shown by tests of independence (reported in Table 27) to have a significant interaction with the distribution of form types, where $p < 0.001$ for all participant groups. Results for strength of association show a strong association for both learner groups (0.648 before study abroad and 0.609 after), and a somewhat weaker one for native speakers (0.454).

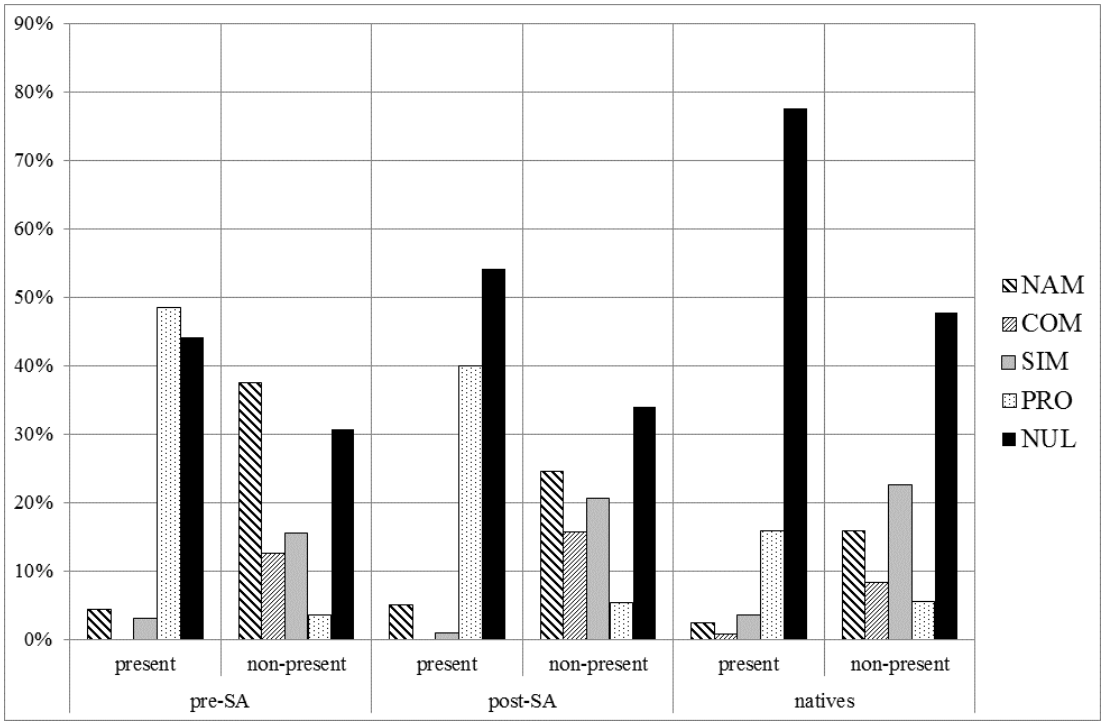
	pre-SA		post-SA		native speakers	
	present	non-present	present	non-present	present	non-present
NAM	7 (4%)	116 (38%)	11 (5%)	74 (25%)	10 (2%)	75 (16%)
COM	0 (0%)	39 (13%)	0 (0%)	47 (16%)	3 (1%)	39 (8%)
SIM	5 (3%)	48 (16%)	2 (1%)	62 (21%)	15 (4%)	107 (23%)
PRO	78 (48%)	11 (4%)	88 (40%)	16 (5%)	67 (16%)	26 (5%)
NUL	71 (44%)	95 (31%)	119 (54%)	102 (34%)	328 (78%)	226 (48%)
	161 (100%)	309 (100%)	220 (100%)	301 (100%)	423 (100%)	473 (100%)

Table 26 Frequency of form types by physical presence

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	197.353***	4	0.648***
group: post-SA	193.174***	4	0.609***
group: natives	184.580***	4	0.454***
learner change: present	2.854	3	-
learner change: non-pres.	3.913	4	-

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 27 Statistics for presence: tests of independence for presence and for learners' change over time



Graph 5 Proportion of form types used by physical presence

The pre-study abroad learner data shows distinct patterns of referential form use for present compared to non-present referents. The former are referred to almost exclusively using pronouns or null forms. The proportion of these two is relatively

close, although pronouns are somewhat more common. In contrast, there is a much more heterogeneous spread of form types for non-present referents. There is no overall majority, but names are most popular, followed by null forms. Comparison of the 'present' with the 'non-present' condition shows that names are used much more often for the latter than the former, and descriptions moderately more often. Pronouns, on the other hand, are used considerably less often for the latter, with a similar but weaker pattern for null forms.

The post-study abroad learners' data shows change over time in a number of respects. First, although the overwhelming preference for null forms or pronouns to refer to present persons remains, there is a change in the relative proportions of the two. Over time, learners come to use a higher proportion of null forms and an accordingly reduced proportion of pronouns. For referents who are not present, the learners' distribution of form types is even more heterogeneous after study abroad than before. In particular, the proportion of names decreases over time, while that of all other form types increases accordingly. A comparison of post-study abroad learners' reference to present and non-present referents shows that presence has a larger effect on the use of names before study abroad than after. Conversely, its effect on null forms is greater for learners after study abroad than before it. However, as shown in Table 27, the differences between learner groups do not reach significance for either presence context.

One characteristic of learners' production is frequent use pronouns for referents who are present. This is particularly clear in cases such as examples (5) and (6) below, where it is often natural to omit an overt first-person subject because the content of the predicate — such as an expression the speaker's wants in (5) — is such that a first-person subject could be inferred.

5) L04: **watashi** wa Haradasensee ni sayoonara to iitai desu .
"**I** want to say goodbye to Harada-sensee."
(R13, pre-SA)

6) L03: eeto um **watashi** wa wakarimasen .
"Um, **I** don't understand."
(R11, pre-SA)

After study abroad, learners' use of pronouns for present referents decreases, but remains much higher than native speakers'. As the examples below show, omission of

first-person subjects such as in (7) becomes more common, but potentially unnecessary first person pronouns such as that in (8) persist.

7) L01: eeto mm kikoku shitai [=! laughter] .
"Um mm [**I**] want to go back to my country."
(R11, post-SA)

8) L01: mm (.) **watashi** wa karaoke o shitai .
"Mm (.) **I** want to do karaoke."
(R13, post-SA)

Japanese native speakers, like learners, prefer pronouns and null forms to refer to a person who is present. But unlike learners, between these two form types they have a marked preference for null forms, and use pronouns much less often. When referring to persons who are not present, natives use almost equal proportions of null forms and overt forms. Among overt forms, simple descriptions are the most common. In terms of a shift from the 'present' to 'non-present' conditions, like both learner groups, natives show an increase in the proportion of names and descriptions and a decrease in the proportion of pronouns and null forms.

Although differences between learner groups do not reach statistical significance, there are two quantitative differences that, in the light of the native data, can be seen as progression towards a more native-like use of person reference in response to physical presence of the referent. The first is learners' increasing preference for null forms over pronouns when referring to present persons, even though they remain quite far from a native-like distribution. The second is learners' decreased reliance on names and increasing use of descriptions in reference to non-present persons. Learners differ from natives, however, in their use of simple versus complex descriptions. Learners' proportions of both are relatively similar, whereas natives have a rather stronger preference for simple descriptions.

5.6.2 *Discussion for physical presence*

The data for physical presence shows that it has a clear effect on the type of person reference forms used, as confirmed by the large values for Cramér's V (Table 27). Persons who are present and participating in the conversation become much more accessible referents than those who are not. Accordingly, all participant groups used the higher accessibility markers pronouns and null forms for the overwhelming majority (92–94%) of reference to present persons. However, there are stark intergroup

differences in the share of this majority occupied by each of the two forms. Learners' high proportion of pronouns can be argued to be L1 transfer or to reveal a reference strategy prioritising achieving recognition similar to those discussed earlier. In terms of L1 transfer, English personal pronouns mark higher accessibility than those in Japanese (as discussed in 5.1), so learners may be transferring the L1 accessibility-marking properties of pronouns onto pronouns in the L2, and marking a greater proportion of highly accessible referents with pronouns than native speakers of Japanese do. The other possible explanation, that of an achieving recognition-based strategy, can be summarised as follows: learners, especially those at the pre-study abroad stage, tend to use more markers of lower accessibility than are warranted by the context (here, pronouns as opposed to null forms) in order to be more sure of successfully referring to the intended referent. A possible synthesis of the two explanations is that at the pre-study abroad stage, learners' heavy weighting of achieving recognition over economy combined with L1 transfer leads to their use of a greater proportion of pronouns than null forms. After study abroad, they have achieved a better balance between achieving recognition and economy in this respect, but continue to transfer L1 accessibility-marking properties onto Japanese pronouns to some extent. This is why post-study abroad learners' proportion of pronouns for present referents decreases but remains very high in comparison to native speakers'.

Persons who are not present make less accessible referents, and accordingly are predicted by AT to be marked with lower accessibility markers. This prediction is largely borne out by the data from all participant groups. The proportions of the two markers of highest accessibility — null forms and pronouns — decrease, while those of all other forms, which mark lower accessibility, increase. It is apparent, however, that learners continue to use fewer null forms and more names for non-present referents than do native speakers. This is particularly true for pre-study abroad learners, who are the only group to use more names than any other form in reference to non-present persons. Earlier in this chapter I have argued that where pre-study abroad learners' proportion of names is comparatively high in low accessibility contexts, this is due to a message-focussed prioritisation of achieving reference over economy that motivates learners to use names — the markers of lowest accessibility — in order to be more sure of successfully referring where a more economical choice such as a simple description would be a riskier choice.

It is relevant to the discussion of learners' response to physical presence to note that the large majority of references to present referents are first-person reference, and that when learners use pronouns in first-person reference, they tend overwhelmingly to use the pronoun *watashi*. This single form therefore is therefore the dominant overt form used for present referents, in contrast to a much wider range of overt forms used for non-present ones. The result is that while learners' reference to non-present persons uses a full range of overt terms as well as null forms, reference to present person is close to being a binary choice between *watashi* and a null form. I consider this to be a consequence of the powerful accessibility-raising effect of physical presence. In other words, present persons (the speaker in particular) have a strong tendency to be highly accessible referents, and this naturally limits the range of forms that could be used to refer to them. In contrast, non-present persons can have a much greater range of accessibilities, determined not only by their status as non-present, but also by the other accessibility-determining factors, and therefore a wider range of forms can be used to refer to them.

5.6.3 *Results for discourse topic-hood*

The frequencies of form types produced in reference to persons who are discourse topics and non-topics are given in Table 28. The data is shown graphically for each group in Graph 6. A significant association between discourse topic-hood and form type is confirmed by tests of independence (Table 29) which show significance at the 0.01% level for all groups, and moderately strong associations for all. Tests of independence for learners' change over time do not reach significance for either topic-hood context.

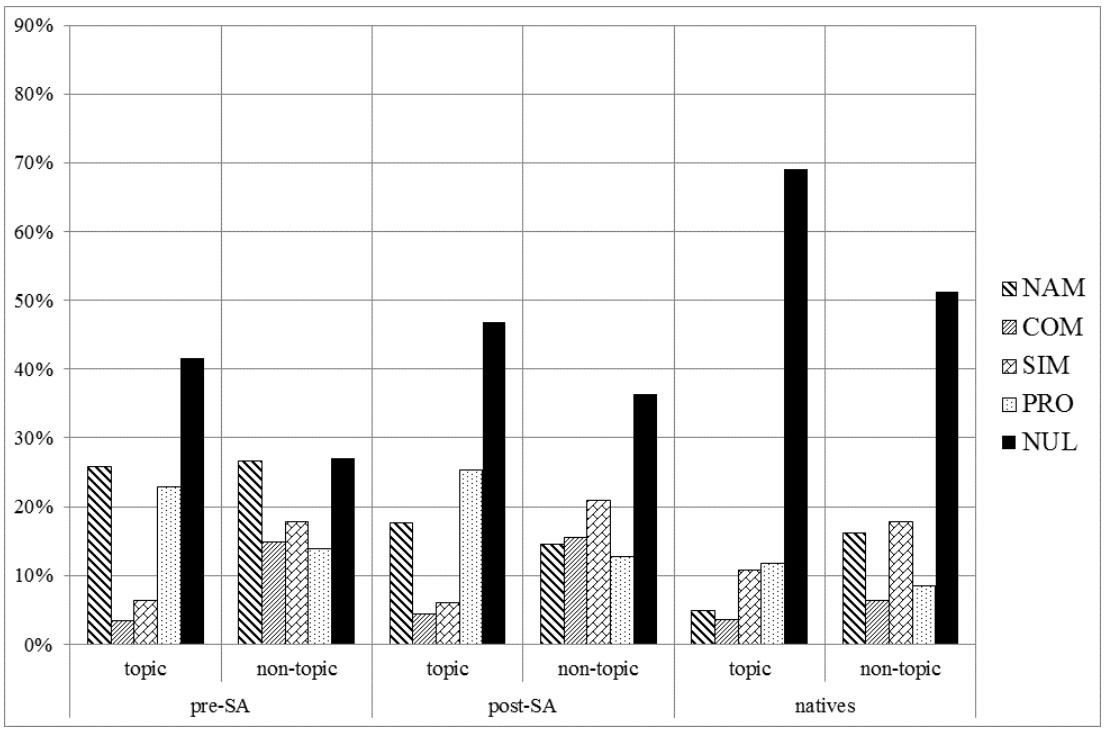
	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	topic		non-topic		topic		non-topic		topic		non-topic	
NAM	69	(26%)	54	(27%)	53	(18%)	32	(15%)	26	(5%)	59	(16%)
COM	9	(3%)	30	(15%)	13	(4%)	34	(15%)	19	(4%)	23	(6%)
SIM	17	(6%)	36	(18%)	18	(6%)	46	(21%)	57	(11%)	65	(18%)
PRO	61	(23%)	28	(14%)	76	(25%)	28	(13%)	62	(12%)	31	(8%)
NUL	111	(42%)	55	(27%)	141	(47%)	80	(36%)	367	(69%)	187	(51%)
	267	(100%)	203	(100%)	301	(100%)	220	(100%)	531	(100%)	365	(100%)

Table 28 Frequency of form types by discourse topic-hood

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	43.161***	4	0.303***
group: post-SA	54.537***	4	0.324***
group: natives	53.620***	4	0.245***
learner change: topic	1.962	4	-
learner change: non-topic	4.977	4	-

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 29 Statistics for discourse topic-hood: tests of independence for topic-hood and for learners' change over time



Graph 6 Proportion of form types used by discourse topic-hood

When referring to topics, pre-study abroad learners use null forms most often, although these account for only 42% of the total. Amongst the overt forms, names and pronouns occur in similar amounts and are much more common than the others. For non-topics, the spread of form types is much more even, with all proportions in the range 14–27%, with null forms and names the highest within this range. Over time, there are relatively few changes in learners' behaviour in response to discourse topic-hood. After study abroad, they continue to use null forms most often, and names and pronouns frequently for reference to persons who are discourse topics. The key change here is that the proportion of names used decreases over time while the proportion of null forms increases correspondingly. When referents are non-topics, the learners behave very

similarly pre- and post-study abroad. The key difference is, again, a reduction in the proportion of names in favour of an increase in the proportion of null forms.

The shift from topic to non-topic referents (that is, one of decreasing referent accessibility) produces very similar changes in pre- and post-study abroad learners. Both groups use an increased proportion of descriptions and a decreased proportion of null forms and pronouns as referent accessibility decreases. For names, the proportion does not change for the pre-study abroad learners, while for the post-study abroad learners there is only a very small decrease. As for native speakers, their more frequent use of null forms is apparent here in both topic-hood contexts. Correspondingly, they use a smaller proportion of all overt forms. It is particularly noticeable, though, that when referring to discourse topics, natives use names much less often than learners, and use simple descriptions rather more often. For non-topics, natives use complex descriptions and pronouns less often than learners. The shift from topic to non-topic for natives triggers an increase in names and descriptions, and a decrease in the proportion of pronouns and null forms. In general, despite results showing significant differences between the two topic-hood contexts for all groups, examination of the data shows these differences to be rather modest compared to those caused by the other accessibility-determining factors.

In the various role play tasks, the learner is often the discourse topic. As extracts (9) and (10) — taken from two moments in the same interaction — show, at the pre-study abroad stage, learners are sometimes overexplicit in their reference to discourse topics. Here, the teacher is a non-topic and is referred to using simple or complex descriptions, but despite the learner's topic status, pronouns are used where null forms might be possible.

9) L04: **watashi** no sensee wa hontoo ni majime da shi .
"**My** teacher is really serious [and also…]."
(R11, pre-SA learner)

10) L04: soshite [//] (.) desukara **watashi** wa sensee ni chotto kowai desu .
"And [//] (.) so **I** am a bit frightened of [the] teacher."
(R11, pre-SA learner)

The same learner after study abroad shows (in the same task) some persistence of overexplicitness for topics. Once again, the learner is also the discourse topic. The teacher, as non-topic, is referred to just as before study abroad, using simple or complex

descriptions. The learner often refers to herself using pronouns as in extract (11), but this is mixed to a greater extent with utterances like extract (12) where null forms are used.

11) L04: **watashi** no sensee wa chotto kibishisugiru to omoimasu [=! laughter] .
"[**I**] think that **my** teacher is a bit too strict."
(R11, post-SA learner)

12) L04: xx mondai ga attara sensee ni kiite miru no wa chotto taihen desu .
"xx if [there]'s a problem, [**me**] asking [the] teacher is bit difficult."
(R11, post-SA learner)

5.6.4 *Discussion for discourse topic-hood*

Learners over time come to use names less often and null forms more often in both topic-hood contexts. This change does leave learners with a more native-like distribution of form types after study abroad. But since it is the result of a global change in form types, it does not appear to be related to learner response to discourse topic-hood in itself, and learners' change over time is not significant in either topic-hood context. The response to topic-hood, as assessed by the changing proportion of form types in the shift from topic to non-topic reference remains quite consistent over time, and furthermore is common to learners and native speakers in many respects. In making this shift, all participant groups use a decreased proportion of the highest accessibility marker (null forms), and increased proportions of the mid to low accessibility markers (simple and complex descriptions). The chief differences between learners and native speakers are two. Firstly, learners' proportion of pronouns decreases with decreased accessibility while natives' changes very little. Secondly, while the proportion of names used by learners shows little or no change, for natives this proportion increases with decreased referent accessibility.

The trend observed in learners' use of pronouns is consistent with the predictions of AT in that, as markers of high accessibility, it is to be expected that they are more commonly used for discourse topics. The fact that this pattern is not seen in native speakers, however, may simply be because learners use pronouns much more often than natives do. As for names, learners not only tend to use a higher proportion of names than natives, but also do so in a way that, unlike natives, is not sensitive to the distinction between topic and non-topic. This lack of sensitivity may, in fact, be attributed to learners' overuse of names for non-topics where they are not necessarily warranted. For both pre- and post-study abroad learners this is therefore another

manifestation of the achieving recognition-based strategy identified throughout. In order to be more certain of referring successfully, they overuse names for topics; the result of this is that there is no decrease visible when compared to reference to non-topics. In sum, the data for discourse topic-hood reveals further evidence for L1 transfer, and for the increased use of names due to an overweighting of achieving recognition by pre-study abroad learners. Furthermore, the same pattern of overexplicitness is shown to persist over time for topics.

5.7 Conclusion

After summarising the key points that have emerged from the results presented in this chapter (subsection 5.7.1), I discuss the picture of learners' development that emerges (5.7.2). Then, the evidence for discourse-pragmatic universals and of English- or Japanese-specific patterns in learners' data is explored in 5.7.3. Finally, these results are considered in the light of what has been found in the existing body of discourse-pragmatic research (5.7.4).

5.7.1 *Summary of results*

The results presented in this chapter firstly make it possible to claim with confidence that, broadly speaking, learners at both levels as well as native speakers are responding to each of the four accessibility-determining factors when choosing person reference terms. Tests of independence reveal that the association between form types produced and the variation in each of the accessibility-determining factors is significant at the 0.1% level for all groups, with the sole exception of the post-study abroad learners' association between form type and distance from antecedent, which is significant at the 5% level. Tests of independence comparing the two learner groups for each accessibility context, however, show significant change only in the low competition, E distance, and S distance contexts. The lack of statistical significance for learners' change in the other contexts, however, does not mean that learners stay the same over time in these contexts. It suggests, rather, that changes in these contexts tend to be smaller, and that more evidence is needed to show robustly that such changes are generalisable beyond the learners studied in this thesis. Tests of the strength of the interaction between each accessibility-determining factor and form types further show similarities between all three participant groups. For all groups the ranking of factors from weakest to strongest is consistently: distance, competition, discourse topic-hood, physical presence. The interaction is appreciably stronger for physical presence than for

the others. When the participant groups are compared, the strength of interaction tends to be similar, with the exception of physical presence, where the figure for native speakers is rather lower. This is because, although the effect of physical presence is profound for all participant groups, it chiefly affects the natives' production of names, simple descriptions and null forms. For learners, in addition to all of these, it also has a strong effect on the proportion of pronouns produced.

In terms of the referring expressions produced, the pattern tends to be that with decreasing referent accessibility the proportion of null forms (and sometimes pronouns) decreases, while that of other forms tends to increase. This is to be expected as part of AT's claim to universality: accessibility-determining factors are consistent cross-linguistically, as are the relative accessibility marking properties of expressions. Among quite strong similarities in the results for different accessibility-determining factors, those for distance stand out. Specifically, post-study abroad learners show a less clear relationship between distance and the use of null forms in that they use a disproportionately large amount of null forms in the less accessible distance contexts, particularly at E distance. In fact, learners' proportion of null forms at E distance is 23% more at the later stage, which is the largest developmental change found in any accessibility context. This surprising result is in part a consequence of the complexity revealed by using a four-level measure as opposed to the binaries used to measure the other factors; it is further discussed below. More generally, despite global similarities between the participant groups, there are still quite striking differences in the proportions of various form types produced. Across contexts the data shows that learners tend to use null forms less often than native speakers and names more often, with a shift towards a more native-like distribution occurring over time. This general tendency can in itself be attributed to a preference for greater explicitness by lower proficiency speakers.

5.7.2 *Explaining learners' route of discourse-pragmatic development*

In the simplest terms, these results show that learners respond consistently to accessibility distinctions from the start, but over time become more native-like in the way in which they do so. At the pre-study abroad stage, evidence from measures of all accessibility-determining factors shows that learners are sensitive to referent accessibility when choosing person reference terms. However, when compared to native speakers, pre-study abroad learners are very often overexplicit. That is, they tend

to prioritise achieving recognition over economy when referring. This overexplicitness has a number of manifestations. Firstly, in general pre-study abroad learners use null forms much less readily than native speakers. Secondly, they are often shown to overuse names, the highest accessibility marker, in all distance contexts, topic-hood contexts, competition contexts, and when referring to referents who are not present. Thirdly, when the referent is physically present, a different kind of overexplicitness is observed — a considerable overuse of pronouns instead of null forms (48% pronouns as compared to native speakers' 16%). The post-study abroad data shows that over time learners become more target-like by reducing such overexplicitness, but that they do not do so equally for the three types of overexplicitness identified. Even after study abroad, although they use null forms more often, learners still tend to supply them at rates quite far below those of native speakers, particularly in higher accessibility contexts. The overuse of names is generally much reduced over time. This is particularly so in the S distance and low competition contexts, where learners' change over time is statistically significant due to a much reduced use of names and increased use of null forms in these contexts. However, overuse of names does remain somewhat in reference to non-present persons and to discourse topics. The oversupply of pronouns in reference to persons who are present becomes less marked over time so that, after study abroad, learners' proportion of pronouns no longer exceeds that of null forms, but in comparison to native speakers there is still a considerable gap. The second notable feature of post-study abroad learners' production is relative underexplicitness in the less accessible E and I distance contexts, which is not found at the earlier stage. Learners still use null forms less often here than native speakers, but in comparison with what they do in other contexts this can still be argued to be underexplicitness. Post-study abroad learners appear to be overgeneralising null forms to lower accessibility contexts; in other words, they prioritise economy over achieving recognition in these contexts.

These results are generally consistent with predictions originating from Bialystok's (1994) two-dimensional model of development. The dimension of pragmatic representation is shown, as predicted, to be relatively unproblematic for learners. That is, learners appear to be drawing on pragmatic representations relating to the contextual factors determining reference accessibility and the basic principles of accessibility marking from the pre-study abroad stage onwards. Those aspects of learners' production that are not native-like can be ascribed to limitations in learners' attentional control, which is Bialystok's second dimension of development. Especially at the

earlier level, learners have difficulty in successfully attending to pragmatic aspects of L2 production, in part because they are at the same time faced with the necessity of successfully communicating the informational content demanded by the tasks used here. It is therefore understandable that the result of more limited attentional control at the pre-study abroad stage is overexplicitness. The overweighting of achieving recognition allows learners to save on processing effort while also being more sure that their intended referent will be successfully identified by the hearer. In addition, the issue of attentional control can explain why the effect of physical presence is strongest, and that of distance from antecedent weakest, as suggested by comparison of the values for Cramér's V. Physical (non-)presence of the referent is (at least for these experimental tasks) consistent throughout each interaction. In this way, the distinction between referents who are present (speaker, hearer) and those who are not (third persons) is intrinsic to the setting of the interaction and independent of the content of the discourse preceding an act of reference. This means that it is less attentionally demanding for learners to respond to this accessibility distinction. In contrast, distance from antecedent can only be assessed by attending to what has been said in the preceding linguistic material. To do so requires successful allocation of attentional resources, and is therefore more difficult for learners. The particular challenge posed by distance is perhaps what underlies post-study abroad learners' underexplicitness in certain distance contexts. Given ample evidence that learners are aware of accessibility distinctions, it is unlikely that after study abroad they somehow no longer have access to the relevant pragmatic representations. Rather, the attentional demands of *responding to* this accessibility distinction lead learners to a non-optimal choice of forms which in this case tends to relative underexplicitness through overgeneralisation of null forms to lower accessibility contexts. But why is this overexplicitness only found after study abroad? It may be because the overgeneralisation of null forms only becomes possible at the later stage once learners are using them more readily in all contexts. Data from a longer time period would shed further light on this question.

5.7.3 *Language universals and specifics in the discourse-pragmatic domain*

The bulk of the evidence, as discussed above, shows learners accessing universals of accessibility marking when they use Japanese. This can be seen both in terms of the distinction between a range different accessibility contexts and in the way in which particular forms are associated with differing levels of referent accessibility. Even though learners are overexplicit at the pre-study abroad stage, they generally do not

violate the predictions of AT. One challenge to this interpretation, however, is post-study abroad learners' use of null forms at E distance, where they do so more often than for other, higher accessibility contexts. As for language specifics, there is some evidence that learners even at the post-study abroad stage continue to use pronouns in a rather English-like way. That is, in comparison to native speakers, learners seem to associate pronouns with a higher range of referent accessibilities, which is typical of the English pattern because English null forms are usable only in a limited range of contexts. Analyses in the next chapter of the combination of certain accessibility-determining factors will shed more light on this point.

5.7.4 *Relation to previous discourse-pragmatic studies*

In keeping with almost all previous work on reference in second languages, this chapter has shown that learners even at a pre-intermediate stage are responding to distinctions in referent accessibility when choosing referring expressions. Most previous studies have shown this using a single measure of referent accessibility; a few such as Williams (1988), Broeder (1991) and Nakahama (2009b) use two. The present study provides good evidence for the robustness of this finding since evidence of learners' response to referent accessibility is found using four different measures of referent accessibility. In most respects learners are shown to become more target-like over time, and to use null forms more readily at the later stage. Cross-sectional studies including Nakahama (2009a, 2009b) and Yanagimachi (2000) reach broadly similar conclusions; this study lends strength to these by using longitudinal data. In this sense, it provides a counterpoint to Broeder's (1991) longitudinal study showing that person reference by a group of L2 Dutch learners changed little over a 27 month period.

The learner data does not show any evidence of an early stage of underexplicitness as discussed, for instance, by Chini (2005). If these learners did go through such a stage, they had already passed through it by the end of their second year of study when the pre-study abroad data was collected. However, the 'intermediate' stage of overexplicitness as documented by studies including Gullberg (2006), Hendriks (2002), Nakahama (2009a, 2009b) and Yanagimachi (2000) is also found here. As with these studies, overexplicitness is shown to be greater at the lower proficiency stage and to reduce over time. In general, previous studies' finding of overexplicitness has been limited to an observation that overt forms are used more often than pronouns or null forms. My data shows that in the case of person reference, the overuse of names in

particular — and, secondarily, personal pronouns — is where learner overexplicitness is manifested. On the other hand, the relative underexplicitness that first appears at the post-study abroad stage is not reported in any previous studies. The closest related results are Ahrenholz's (2005) and Nakahama's (2003) findings that underexplicitness which appears at an earlier stage persists to some extent as learners become more proficient. In Ahrenholz's case, the learner studied begins at quite an early stage of acquisition of L2 German, but in Nakahama's case, learners of Japanese are compared at intermediate and advanced levels only. It is therefore possible that the post-study abroad learners in my study are equivalent to Nakahama's intermediate learners, and that Nakahama's study does not look far enough back to see the stage of development seen in the pre-study abroad learners here, where overexplicitness but not underexplicitness is found.

Finally, learners' change is shown by the statistical tests to be most marked at low competition and S and E distance. The first two of these are high accessibility contexts; the third is a lower accessibility context where the underexplicitness discussed earlier is found. If more marked change is generally found in higher accessibility contexts, this suggests that these are the contexts that are more difficult for learners at the earlier stage. This contrasts with findings from previous studies (Nakahama 2003, Yanagimachi 2000, Ahrenholz 2005) showing learners are more successful from an earlier stage and therefore have less marked development at higher as opposed to lower accessibility contexts. The findings do agree, however, with Chini (2005) whose results show learners performing better in high accessibility contexts than low accessibility ones. However, this chapter's discussions have been limited to a consideration of each accessibility-determining factor in isolation. Through analysis of the interaction between different factors, the question of which accessibility contexts exactly are the source of particular difficulty will be further explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. Discourse-pragmatic analysis: interactions between accessibility-determining factors

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I began the discourse-pragmatic analysis of Japanese learners' and native speakers' person reference by considering the effects of four separate measures of referent accessibility on the referring expressions used: distance-unity, competition for the role of antecedent, physical presence of the referent, and the referent's status as discourse topic or non-topic. These variables are operationalised in such a way as to minimise overlap in what is being measured, and the separate analysis of each is a natural starting point for this research. In actual discourse, however, speakers are responding to the global accessibility of referents. To examine any single accessibility-determining factor in isolation hides other differences of accessibility among the referents in each category. For instance, I have discussed the distinction between present and non-present referents, but among references to persons who are physically present, there exists a range of accessibilities as defined by other measures. Indeed, a key feature of accessibility theory (AT) is its proposal of a complex concept of accessibility that cannot be reduced to a single variable. For this reason, "when we examine any one factor of accessibility, the results are significant, but far from absolute" (Ariel 2001: 34). In this chapter I will consider how the interaction[42] of the four accessibility-determining factors in order to shed further light on the patterns in the data. This makes it possible to better compare the relative contributions of each of the four accessibility-determining factors, and to conduct a finer-grained analysis of how and where learners change over time. This chapter continues my investigation of how, in discourse-pragmatic terms, learners of Japanese use person reference, how they develop over time, and what the wider implications are in terms of learner routes of development, language universals and specifics, and the relationship of these findings with those of previous studies.

The main findings that form the background of this chapter are as follows. They all come from analysis in the previous chapter of the relationship between each of four accessibility-determining factors — distance, competition, presence and topic-hood (see definitions and summary in section 6.2 below) — and form type. As summarised in

[42] I use the term 'interaction' in this chapter in a non-technical sense to mean any relationship between two or more accessibility-determining factors, and the ways in which they combine to influence speakers' choice of form type.

Table 30 below, significant interactions were found between form type and each of the four factors.

	presence	topic-hood	competition	distance
pre-SA	0.648***	0.303***	0.250***	0.173***
post-SA	0.609***	0.324***	0.284***	0.138*
natives	0.454***	0.245***	0.228***	0.201***

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 30 Strength of interaction (Cramér's V) between individual accessibility-determining factors and form type

As the summary table shows, although the strengths of interaction vary between groups, the ordering is consistent with presence having the strongest interaction, followed by topic-hood, competition, and distance with the weakest. The nature of this interaction is that, in general, reduced referent accessibility is associated with decreased proportions of null forms, and increased proportions of overt forms. The case of pronouns, however, is rather more complicated. Although physical presence has a profound effect on pronoun use (more pronouns for present referents), the other factors tend to have more modest effects. Competition, in particular, seems to have very little effect on learners' use of pronouns. In terms of development, learners have two notable changes over time. The first is a general move towards decreased explicitness. Although learners do not reach native-like levels, they use null forms more often in almost all conditions after study abroad. In addition, while pre-study abroad learners tend to favour an elevated proportion of names — I argue, in order to be more certain of achieving recognition of the intended referent —, this is no longer the case at the post-study abroad stage. The second change is seen in learners' response to distance from antecedent as an accessibility-determining factor. Unlike with the other factors, over time learners do not respond to distance from antecedent in an entirely consistent way. Specifically, learners after study abroad use a disproportionally large number of null forms in further distance contexts.

This main content of this chapter begins, in section 6.2, with an overview of the data, the relevant discourse-pragmatic theory, and the analytical methods used in this chapter. This includes a brief discussion of ordinal regression, the statistical method that is new to this chapter. Following this (6.3), I present the results of ordinal regression models for each of the three participant groups: pre-study abroad learners, post-study abroad learners, and native speakers of Japanese. These models estimate the contribution of each of the four factors to speakers' choice of form types, and make it possible to

compare them. The results identify physical presence in particular as a large contributor to speakers' choice of form type, and also show that discourse topic-hood has little effect. I therefore reconsider, in section 6.4, what underlies the apparent effect of discourse topic-hood identified in the previous chapter. Since physical presence is shown to be a particularly important contributor to form type choice, I go on to look at how analyses of the effect of competition for the role of antecedent and distance from antecedent can be refined in the light of this (6.5, 6.6) before reflecting on the implications of the results and discussions presented in this chapter (6.7). In this chapter, unlike in the other two analysis chapters, I do not provide illustrative examples from the data. This is because, through the combining of accessibility-determining factors, the analyses here are designed to access patterns which are not readily apparent from a simple examination of the data. As such the trends that emerge can less straightforwardly be illustrated with isolated utterances or excerpts.

6.2 Methods of data collection and analysis

The data used for this chapter comes from three participant groups: learners of Japanese before and after study abroad, and Japanese native speakers. The six learners first participated in the study after two years' classroom study, and then after a further 'year abroad' period spent studying Japanese in Japan. Six native speakers of Japanese provided data for comparison. The tasks used are two narrative retelling tasks, three role-plays and three discourse completion tasks (DCTs). Variation in discourse-pragmatic conditions is chiefly accessed by the role-plays and narrative retelling tasks.[43] Therefore, as in the previous chapter, data from the DCTs is not included in the analyses below.

The discourse-pragmatic analysis makes use of accessibility theory, where four main factors are proposed which determine referent accessibility: distance, unity, competition and saliency. They can be defined as follows.

[43] For further details of the rationale behind the tasks, see chapter 4 subsection 4.3.4.

factor	general definition	effect on referent accessibility
distance	the distance between the referring expression and its antecedent	increased distance: decreased accessibility
unity	whether the referring expression and its antecedent occur in the same discursive unit	lack of unity: decreased accessibility
competition	whether there are multiple possible candidates for the role of antecedent for the referring expression	increased competition: decreased accessibility
saliency	whether the antecedent is "a salient referent" (Ariel 1990: 29)	decreased saliency: decreased accessibility

Table 31 Summary of accessibility-determining factors

As detailed in chapter 4 subsection 4.4.2, based on the above I measure referent accessibility using distance, competition and two measures for saliency: physical presence and discourse topic-hood.[44] For distance, a four-level measure is used, where S distance represents the highest referent accessibility, and I distance the lowest.

distance code	definition
S	antecedent in the same utterance
P	antecedent in the previous utterance
E	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with no reference to other persons in between
I	antecedent earlier than the previous utterance with reference to other persons between the term and its antecedent

Table 32 Coding scheme for distance from antecedent

Competition is operationalised using a binary measure of low versus high competition for the role of antecedent. If a person reference form has only one suitable antecedent in the preceding three utterances it is coded as having low competition for the role of antecedent; all other cases are coded high. Physical presence is one aspect of referent saliency, and is also measured using a binary: present or non-present. Since all third persons in the tasks are non-present, this is effectively a distinction between speaker and hearer on the one hand, and all other referents on the other. Finally, a discourse-level measure of topic-hood is used as a second measure of referent saliency. The referent(s) most often referred to in each individual interaction are coded as discourse topic(s), and all others as non-topics. Form types are coded and analysed using a scale of accessibility marking, as in the previous chapter. The forms that speakers use are

[44] As explained in chapter 4 subsection 4.4.2, I do not use a separate measure for unity itself, but a simple measure of unity is included in the distance scale in the difference between E and I distance.

classified as names, complex (multiword) descriptions, simple (one-word) descriptions, pronouns and null forms. This scale goes from markers of the lowest referent accessibility (names) to the highest (null forms). The prediction of AT is that, in normal circumstances, the level of referent accessibility is marked by an appropriate accessibility marker.

As in the previous chapter, chi-squared tests of independence are used in sections 6.5 and 6.6 for two purposes. Firstly, they are used in to test for relationships between form type and particular accessibility-determining conditions. If a significant result is achieved,[45] the null hypothesis — that form type and conditions are not related — can be confidently rejected. Secondly, tests of independence are used for learners' change over time. In this case, for each combination of accessibility-determining conditions, pre-study abroad and post-study abroad learners are compared.[46] A significant result means that there is likely to be some difference between the two developmental stages, and therefore a change over time. In both of these cases, where results are significant, Cramér's V is used as a measure of the strength of interaction: that is, how strong the interaction between conditions and form type, or how marked the change over time. In addition, tests of independence are used in section 6.4 to examine whether different accessibility-determining factors are independent of one another.

The new statistical method used this chapter (in section 6.3) is the ordinal regression model. This creates statistical models of how variation in a number of predictor (independent) variables affects the value of an outcome (dependent) variable. In this case, I use it as a way of modelling how the four accessibility-determining factors affect the choice of form types for each group. This represents an improvement and refinement of the assessment of individual accessibility-determining factors carried out in chapter 5, because it constructs a single model (per group) taking account of the combined contributions of accessibility-determining factors to speakers' choice of person reference terms. As discussed in more detail in section 6.3, these models allow

[45] Some of the tests involve a number of low expected frequencies, so where necessary an exact test is used to calculate the significance. In a few cases where this cannot be calculated, a Monte Carlo approximation is used.

[46] As in chapter 5, the chi-squared test for change over time use the percentages by context rather than the raw numbers in order to correct for differences in the quantity of person reference terms produced by learners at the two stages. Where warranted by low expected frequencies, exact tests are used to calculate the significance.

for true comparison of the extent to which different factors contribute to form type choice.

The ordinal regression models are constructed using the statistical software SPSS following the procedures laid out in Norušis (2011: 69–84) and insights from Agresti (2007) and Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000).[47] The independent variables in this analysis are the four accessibility-determining factors (distance, presence, topic and competition), which have higher values when they indicate higher referent accessibility. For instance, the presence variable is entered as 1 for non-present referents and 2 for present referents. The model seeks to predict form type (that is, the dependent variable) which is also organised on a scale, from the lowest accessibility marker (names) to the highest (null forms). The results of the ordinal regression, then, show how values of the four accessibility-determining factors affect the likelihood of a form being below rather than above any point on the accessibility marking scale, such as of being a name rather than any higher accessibility marker, or of being a name, complex description or simple description rather than any higher accessibility marker.

This type of statistical analysis is appropriate for the data at hand because it constructs a model that, for each participant group, includes all four accessibility-determining factors in a way that allows for comparison of their effects on choice of person reference terms. The reason for choosing ordinal regression over other types is that it takes proper account of the nature of form type as a variable: it is an ordinal measure of accessibility markers marking lowest to highest accessibility (that is, from names to null forms). The relative accessibility-marking properties of form types can be deduced from theory, but their absolute accessibility-marking values — and, therefore, the 'distance' between them — cannot. For instance, names and complex descriptions are adjacent at the low end of the scale, and pronouns and null forms are adjacent at the other, but data discussed in the previous chapter can be interpreted to show that for native speakers the accessibility marked by pronouns is much lower than that marked by null forms, whereas that marked by names may be only marginally lower than that marked by complex descriptions. Because form type is measured in this way, an ordinal regression is preferred over linear regression or multinomial logistic regression (Norušis 2011: 69). The former would treat the distance between each form type as equal, while the latter would ignore the ordering of form types as markers of lowest to highest accessibility.

[47] I also gratefully acknowledge Dr Simon Kometa of Information Systems and Services at Newcastle University for his help and advice on this statistical technique.

6.3 Regression analyses

The aim of the regression models is to estimate coefficients on the right-hand side of an equation which predicts how the values of the four accessibility-determining factors — distance, competition, presence and topic-hood — affect form type. More precisely, it models how increases in the value of the accessibility-determining factors affect (a function of) the likelihood of the form chosen being in a particular category or lower (for instance, of being a name rather than any higher accessibility marker). As for the left-hand portion of the equation, there is a choice of several possible functions known as link functions (Norušis 2011: 83–84), which are applicable to different distributions of data. Often, more than one type of link function can plausibly be applied, and in that case the one is chosen that results in the best predictions of form type when the results of the equation are compared to the actual data (see below for details). The regression model requires data with values recorded for all four accessibility-determining factors. Therefore, from the body of data produced on tasks designed to examine discourse-pragmatic variation (narrative retelling tasks and role plays), initial references to persons are excluded because they are not classifiable on the distance scale.

The chief results of interest produced in the ordinal regression models considered below are: coefficients for the accessibility-determining factors, a statistical test showing whether the model using these coefficients is better than one without them, and finally, predicted values for all the data using the equation that has been generated. For each accessibility-determining factor, the highest accessibility category is treated as the reference category, so the number of coefficients estimated is one fewer than the number of possible values. In practice this means one coefficient for the binary variables of presence, topic and competition, and three for distance (for I, E and P distance, with S distance as the reference category). These coefficients cannot be easily interpreted in a direct way, but their associated significance, their signs and their relative sizes provide useful information. They show, respectively: whether, in a model including all factors, a change in value for a particular accessibility-determining factor contributes to the odds of lower accessibility markers being chosen; the direction of the relationship between the factor and form type; and whether it contributes more or less than other factors. Accessibility theory predicts that higher referent accessibility is marked with higher accessibility markers, and vice versa. In the regression model, it is therefore expected that the coefficients for the accessibility-determining factors should be negative — that is, that higher accessibility values will decrease the likelihood of

lower accessibility markers being used. The predicted categories generated for the form type are the result of running the formula with the coefficients as estimated, using the actual values of the accessibility-determining factors for each instance of person reference in the data. The formula then generates the probability of occurrence for each the five form types. The predicted form type is the one with the highest probability.

6.3.1 *Results for pre-study abroad learners*

After comparison with other potentially suitable link functions,[48] I chose the Cauchit link function for this model because it resulted in the most acceptable predictions. The resulting model is a statistically significant improvement on one which does not use the accessibility-determining factors as predictors (chi-squared (6) = 78.471, $p < 0.001$). Its predictions are given in Table 33.

actual form	predicted form					
	NAM	COM	SIM	PRO	NUL	
NAM	76 (79%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	20 (21%)	95 (100%)
COM	18 (95%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	19 (100%)
SIM	30 (79%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (21%)	39 (100%)
PRO	5 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	67 (93%)	72 (100%)
NUL	60 (37%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	102 (63%)	162 (100%)
	189 (49%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	198 (51%)	387 (100%)

Table 33 Predictions of the ordinal regression model for pre-SA learners

It is first apparent that the model only predicts either names or null forms. This is an obvious weakness, but compared to other possible models, these predictions are the most acceptable, with 79% of names and 63% of null forms predicted correctly. Moreover, complex and simple descriptions tend to be predicted as names, while pronouns are overwhelmingly predicted as null forms. In other words, although it is not

[48] The distribution of the pre-study abroad data is: 25% names, 5% complex descriptions, 10% simple descriptions, 19% pronouns and 42% null forms. This suggests either the Cauchit link function, which is most suitable when there are many values on extreme ends of the scale (here, names and pronouns), or the Logit link function, which is suitable for data that is, relatively speaking, evenly distributed across categories (Norušis 2011: 84). In this case, as detailed above, the predictions generated by a model using Cauchit are more accurate.

very accurate on the level of individual form types, the model matches the actual data fairly well in predicting higher versus lower accessibility markers.

independent variable	coefficient	standard error	probability
I distance	-0.865	0.342	0.011*
E distance	-1.012	0.366	0.006**
P distance	-0.423	0.320	0.187
competition	-0.838	0.223	0.000***
topic	-0.053	0.169	0.753
presence	-1.239	0.213	0.000***

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 34 Ordinal regression model for pre-SA learners

The coefficients predicted for the accessibility-determining factors are given in Table 34.[49] As expected, the signs of all the coefficients are negative. That is, increasing referent accessibility by any of the measures is associated with a decreased likelihood that the form type chosen will be a lower accessibility marker. However, an examination of the probability values for the coefficients reveals that discourse topic-hood and P distance are not significant contributors to form type choice in this model ($p = 0.753$ and $p = 0.187$ respectively). For topic, this means that, despite a significant interaction between discourse topic-hood and form type when they are examined in isolation, a model of all factors together does not include topic as having a significant effect on the form type chosen by learners. In fact, a regression model constructed using only distance, competition and physical presence produces identical predictions to those given in Table 33. For distance, however, it is only the P level of distance that does not contribute significantly. The significance of the other distance coefficients means that, as a variable, distance is a necessary component of the model. The largest coefficients, indicating the strongest effects, are for presence and for E distance, while the coefficient for competition is rather weaker.

6.3.2 *Discussion for pre-study abroad learners*

The results here in many ways confirm what was observed in the analyses of pre-study abroad learners' form choice as a response to individual accessibility-determining factors. The largest of all the coefficients is that for presence. This could be expected given the presence data discussed in chapter 5 section 5.6.1 showing stark differences between presence contexts, most notably a large increase in the proportion of pronouns

[49] The four threshold values generated are omitted from this and the other regression models presented here because they are not meaningful for this analysis.

and decrease in that of names used for present as opposed to non-present persons. As for distance, it is of interest that the coefficient for E distance is larger than that for I distance. This resonates with arguments in chapter 5 section 5.4 that within distance contexts, pre-study abroad learners' system chiefly distinguishes between S and P distance on one hand, and E and I distance on the other. In other words, the shift from P to E is the most marked, and this is reflected by the coefficient for E distance in this analysis. The shift from I to E distance results in smaller changes, reflected by the smaller coefficient. The smallest changes of all distance shifts are found in the shift from S to P; in the model this is reflected by the failure of the coefficient for P distance to reach significance.

The non-significant coefficient for topic adds perspective to the analysis of the effect of discourse topic-hood in the previous chapter (subsection 5.6.3). The examination of topic-hood as a single variable showed a significant interaction with form type, of reasonable strength (Cramér's V = 0.303). Despite this, a model which takes all four factors into account leaves topic-hood with no significant role to play. This suggests that variation apparently due to the effect of discourse topic-hood may in fact be a result of its correlation with other accessibility-determining factors. This question will be further explored in section 6.4 below.

6.3.3 *Results for post-study abroad learners*

For the post-study abroad learners, once again the Cauchit link function produced a model with the most acceptable predictions.[50] These predictions are summarised in Table 35. The post-study abroad model predicts four of the five form types — names, simple descriptions, pronouns and null forms —, which is an improvement on the pre-study abroad one. For names, simple descriptions and null forms, 64% or more are correctly predicted. Furthermore, complex descriptions are predicted exclusively as one of the two adjacent categories. At the higher accessibility marking end of the scale, the predictions are less accurate. Those null forms that are not correctly predicted are more often erroneously predicted as low accessibility markers. Pronouns are the least

[50] The post-study abroad data is distributed as follows: 13% names, 5% complex descriptions, 12% simple descriptions, 20% pronouns, 50% null forms. Since the highest frequency category, by some margin, is null forms, either the Cauchit or Complementary log-log link functions could be used. The former is best for data with many extreme values (in this case, on the extreme high end of the scale), and the latter for data where higher values occur more often. On comparison of the two, the model using Cauchit produces better predictions.

successfully predicted form type, with only 2% correctly predicted. However, the vast majority of them are predicted as the adjacent category, null forms. The model is significantly better than one which does not use the accessibility-determining factors as predictors (chi-squared (6) = 87.102, $p < 0.001$).

actual form	predicted form					
	NAM	COM	SIM	PRO	NUL	
NAM	38 (70%)	0 (0%)	12 (22%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	54 (100%)
COM	7 (30%)	0 (0%)	16 (70%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	23 (100%)
SIM	7 (13%)	0 (0%)	34 (64%)	1 (2%)	11 (21%)	53 (100%)
PRO	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	7 (8%)	2 (2%)	75 (87%)	86 (100%)
NUL	30 (14%)	0 (0%)	29 (14%)	7 (3%)	149 (69%)	215 (100%)
	84 (20%)	0 (0%)	98 (23%)	12 (3%)	237 (55%)	431 (100%)

Table 35 Predictions of the ordinal regression model for post-SA learners

independent variable	coefficient	standard error	probability
I distance	-0.728	0.307	0.018*
E distance	-0.459	0.353	0.193
P distance	-0.569	0.289	0.049*
competition	-1.880	0.304	0.000***
topic	0.682	0.189	0.000***
presence	-2.108	0.268	0.000***

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 36 Ordinal regression model for post-SA learners

The estimated coefficients for the post-study abroad model are given in Table 36. For distance, competition and physical presence, all coefficients are negative as expected. Negative coefficients mean that increasing accessibility is linked with increasing probability that a higher accessibility marker will be chosen. For discourse topic-hood, however, the coefficient is positive. Unlike the pre-study abroad model, the topic coefficient is significant, and so suggests that discourse topics have a somewhat decreased likelihood of being referred to with higher accessibility markers than do non-topics. However, the coefficient is quite small, indicating a relatively weak effect. The coefficients for distance are also small, but given that those for I and P distance reach significance, the inclusion of distance as an independent variable in the model is

warranted. The largest coefficients, by some margin, are those for competition and presence.

6.3.4 *Discussion for post-study abroad learners*

The large coefficients for physical presence and competition confirm my earlier analyses of the two factors separately. In the case of physical presence, post-study abroad learners, like those before study abroad, show quite stark differences in the form types used for non-present as opposed to present referents. Namely, they use fewer null forms and pronouns, and more of all other forms. As for competition, the comparison of high and low competition for this group shows similar trends to those for presence, although the main shift is a decrease in null forms and increase in names and complex descriptions, while the proportion of simple descriptions and pronouns stays constant across conditions. This difference between post-study abroad learners' responses to competition and physical presence is reflected in the relative sizes of their coefficients. Compared to those of the pre-study abroad learners, both coefficients are rather larger, suggesting that the effects of physical presence and competition on choice of form type increase over time as learners develop.

As for distance, the coefficients for I and P distance — the only ones to reach significance — are relatively small, and rank lower than those for presence and competition. This likely reflects the fact that post-study abroad learners' response to distance does not reflect accessibility differences in as clear a way as that for other groups. This is further explored below in section 6.6. Despite their comparatively weak effects, the coefficient for I distance is larger than that for P distance. This confirms my earlier analysis (chapter 5 section 5.4) that post-study abroad learners principally distinguish I distance from the other three levels when choosing person reference terms. This is in contrast to pre-study abroad learners, who, as confirmed above, have a greater split between E and I distance on the one hand and S and P distance on the other.

In contrast to the other findings, the result for discourse topic-hood does not fit with analyses so far. AT predicts that, since discourse topics are more accessible than non-topics, they will tend to be marked with lower accessibility markers. The analysis of topic-hood as a single variable for post-study abroad learners (chapter 5 section 5.6.3) appears to confirm that this is the case for this group. Post-study abroad learners use higher proportions of higher accessibility markers (pronouns and null forms) and lower proportions of lower accessibility markers (simple and complex descriptions) for topics

as compared to non-topics. The regression model, however, suggests a weak relationship between topic-hood and forms in the opposite direction; that is, that topics would be a little more likely to be marked with lower accessibility markers, and vice versa. This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that post-study abroad learners — unlike the other groups — use a slightly higher proportion of names for topics than non-topics (see results in chapter 5 section 5.6.3). The difference is of only 3%, but because names are the very lowest accessibility markers, this is perhaps sufficient to cause the model to estimate a small positive coefficient instead of the negative one that would be expected. This coefficient must be interpreted in the light of results showing that topic-hood coefficients for pre-study abroad learners and native speakers (see below) are not significant. Therefore, what is important about the post-study abroad results in this respect is that they show at best only a very weak effect of topic-hood, and that even this is not very meaningful since the apparent direction of this effect does not match the majority of the data for this group.

6.3.5 *Results for native speakers*

The predictions of the ordinal regression model constructed for native speakers are given in Table 37. Like those for both learner groups, the model using the Cauchit link function produced the most acceptable predictions.[51] In this case, it predicts only simple descriptions and null forms; the former are correctly predicted in only half of the cases, while 95% of the latter are correctly predicted. As for the other forms, the model tends to predict higher accessibility markers as null forms, and lower ones as simple descriptions. In contrast to the other regression models, where lower accessibility markers tended to be better predicted than higher ones, the native model predicts higher accessibility markers with greater accuracy. This is perhaps due to native speakers' general preference for null forms which leads to a relative paucity of lower accessibility markers in the data used to construct the model. Tests of the model's suitability show that it is a significant improvement on one which does not include the independent variables as predictors (chi-squared (6) = 192.554, $p < 0.001$).

[51] The native speakers' distribution is: 7% names, 4% complex descriptions, 13% simple descriptions, 11% pronouns, 66% null forms. As with the post-study abroad learners, potentially suitable link functions are Cauchit and Complementary log-log (see note 50 for details). When models using each were compared, once again that using Cauchit gave more accurate predictions.

actual form	predicted form					
	NAM	COM	SIM	PRO	NUL	
NAM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	33 (56%)	0 (0%)	26 (44%)	59 (100%)
COM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (61%)	0 (0%)	11 (39%)	28 (100%)
SIM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	50 (50%)	0 (0%)	51 (51%)	101 (100%)
PRO	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (9%)	0 (0%)	77 (91%)	85 (100%)
NUL	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (5%)	0 (0%)	504 (95%)	533 (100%)
	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	137 (17%)	0 (0%)	669 (83%)	806 (100%)

Table 37 Predictions of the ordinal regression model for native speakers

independent variable	coefficient	standard error	probability
I distance	-2.324	0.336	0.000***
E distance	-1.930	0.363	0.000***
P distance	-0.485	0.304	0.111
competition	-1.352	0.290	0.000***
topic	-0.123	0.154	0.426
presence	-1.770	0.220	0.000***

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 38 Ordinal regression model for native speakers

The coefficients estimated in the model are summarised in Table 38. As expected from AT and from the analysis of single variables, all coefficients are negative. This means that as referent accessibility increases, higher accessibility markers become more probable. However, the coefficients for P distance and for topic are not significant. The distance variable as a whole is nevertheless contributing significantly (as evidenced by significant coefficients for the other distance levels), but discourse topic-hood is not a significant contributor to form choice in this model. This is confirmed by the predictions of a regression model constructed without using the variable of topic-hood, which are identical to those for the original model in Table 37.

6.3.6 *Discussion for native speakers*

The failure of the coefficient for discourse topic-hood to reach significance is consistent with the weak or non-significant effects for topic seen in the learners' data. Once again, this is despite evidence of native speakers' response to discourse topic-hood by all participant groups when it is analysed as a single variable. As for distance, the largest

of the distance coefficients for native speakers is that for I distance. This shows, as mentioned in the analysis of distance as a single variable, that the shift from I to E distance has a greater effect for natives than other shifts along the distance scale. This pattern is the same as that seen for post-study abroad learners (an SPE–I pattern), while those at the pre-study abroad stage make the largest distinction between E and P distance (an SP–EI pattern). For natives, the coefficients for I and E distance are in fact the highest in the regression model; that for I distance is the highest estimated by any of the regression models. This means that for this group, distance shifts, especially at the low accessibility end of the scale, have the greatest effect on form type. This stands in contrast to both learner groups, for whom the effect of physical presence was the strongest overall. As for closer antecedents, P distance is not a significant predictor of form type for native speakers.

Native speakers' coefficient for physical presence is smaller than those for I and E distance, but is comparable in size to the presence coefficients of both learner groups. This shows that physical presence continues to make a fairly large contribution to native speakers' choice of form type, even though this contribution is exceeded by that of distance. More broadly, a look at the sizes of the significant coefficients for the three groups shows that those for native speakers are the largest (range: 1.4–2.3), followed by those for post-study abroad learners (0.6–2.1) and finally pre-study abroad learners (0.8–1.2). This result is less apparent from analysis at the level of individual variables. However, it is consistent with earlier observations that learners tend to favour more explicit forms than natives do. In other words, a general tendency for over-explicitness means that learner systems are less sensitive to variation in referent accessibility, and therefore that variation in the accessibility-determining factors has a weaker effect on form type choice for learners than native speakers.

6.4 Reconsidering the effect of discourse topic-hood

Analysis of regression models in the previous section reveals that when all factors are considered together, for pre-study abroad learners and Japanese native speakers the effect of discourse topic-hood on form type is not significant. For post-study abroad learners, the effect is significant, but it is weak and appears to operate in the opposite direction to that expected. For all groups, then, it is clear that topic-hood is not a good predictor of participants' choice of person reference terms. This is unexpected given the results of the analysis of discourse topic-hood as a single factor in chapter 5, section 5.6.3. That analysis shows a significant interaction between topic-hood and form type

for all groups, and a strength of interaction that exceeds those for both distance and competition (see Table 30, this chapter). Furthermore, the effect of topic-hood as a single factor is largely that expected based on the predictions of AT. For all participant groups, simple and complex descriptions are used less frequently, and pronouns and null forms more frequently, for topics than non-topics. In this section I consider how these apparently contradictory findings can be reconciled by looking at how competition, physical presence and distance from antecedent are related to discourse topic-hood. If some or all are related, then variation in form type that is apparently due to topic-hood may in fact be attributable to other factors which raise the accessibility of referents coded as topics, or lower that of referents coded as non-topics. In order to test this, I crosstabulate each of competition, presence and distance in turn against discourse topic-hood, split by group, and use a chi-squared test of independence to see whether the null hypothesis — that the two variables are independent of one another — is supported.

competition		non-topic		topic	
pre-SA	high	171	(84%)	210	(79%)
	low	32	(16%)	57	(21%)
post-SA	high	187	(85%)	245	(81%)
	low	33	(15%)	56	(19%)
natives	high	306	(84%)	420	(79%)
	low	59	(16%)	111	(21%)

Table 39 The distribution of competition contexts for topics and non-topics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
pre-SA	2.343	1	-
post-SA	1.166	1	-
natives	3.161	1	-

Table 40 Test of independence for competition and topic (Table 39)

The data in Table 39 above illustrates how competition and topic contexts correlate. Following this, details of the chi-squared statistics are given in Table 40. A first inspection of the data shows that referents with high competition for the role of antecedent account for the majority of both topics and non-topics. They do so with striking homogeneity: in all groups and topic-hood contexts, high competition referents account for 79−85% of all references. This homogeneity is confirmed by the test of independence, which fails to reach significance for any of the three participant groups. This means that competition for the role of antecedent and discourse topic-hood are not significantly related, and, therefore, that any apparent effect of topic-hood on

participants' choice of referential form is not due to the influence of the referents' competition contexts.

	presence	non-topic		topic	
pre-SA	non-pres.	152	(75%)	157	(59%)
	present	51	(25%)	110	(41%)
post-SA	non-pres.	166	(75%)	135	(45%)
	present	54	(25%)	166	(55%)
natives	non-pres.	263	(72%)	210	(40%)
	present	102	(28%)	321	(60%)

Table 41 The distribution of presence contexts for topics and non-topics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
pre-SA	13.232***	1	0.168***
post-SA	48.797***	1	0.306***
natives	91.715***	1	0.320***

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 42 Test of independence for presence and topic (Table 41)

The relationship between physical presence and topic contexts is considered in Table 41 (a crosstabulation) and Table 42 (tests of independence). Unlike competition above, the tests of independence for presence and topic reach significance at the 0.1% level for all participant groups. This means that physical presence and discourse topic-hood are significantly related to one another. The strengths of association (Cramér's V) show that the association between presence and topic is somewhat weaker for pre-study abroad learners than for the other two participant groups. When the actual proportion of present and non-present referents is considered for topics versus non-topics, it is clear that non-present referents always make up a greater proportion of non-topics than of topics (ranging from 72% to 75% of non-topics). The converse — that present persons are more commonly discourse topics —, however, is only the case for the native speaker group, where 60% of discourse topics are present persons. For pre-study abroad learners, the majority of discourse topics are in fact non-present persons, and for the post-study abroad group the proportions are roughly equal. Analyses in this and the previous chapter show that amongst the accessibility-determining factors considered, physical presence has a profound effect on the form types participants used. Therefore, a correlation between physically non-present referents and non-topics is key in accounting for the apparent effect of topic-hood on form type. That is, if non-topics tend to have much reduced accessibility because they are more often non-present, this

may be the cause of the difference in forms used for discourse topics as opposed to non-topics.

distance		non-topic		topic	
pre-SA	I	47	(31%)	55	(23%)
	E	24	(16%)	37	(16%)
	P	76	(50%)	114	(48%)
	S	4	(3%)	30	(13%)
post-SA	I	51	(31%)	63	(24%)
	E	23	(14%)	34	(13%)
	P	71	(43%)	141	(53%)
	S	19	(12%)	29	(11%)
natives	I	113	(36%)	106	(21%)
	E	25	(8%)	78	(16%)
	P	127	(41%)	224	(45%)
	S	46	(15%)	87	(18%)

Table 43 The distribution of distance contexts for topics and non-topics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
pre-SA	12.830**	3	0.182**
post-SA	4.208	3	-
natives	26.307***	3	0.181***

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

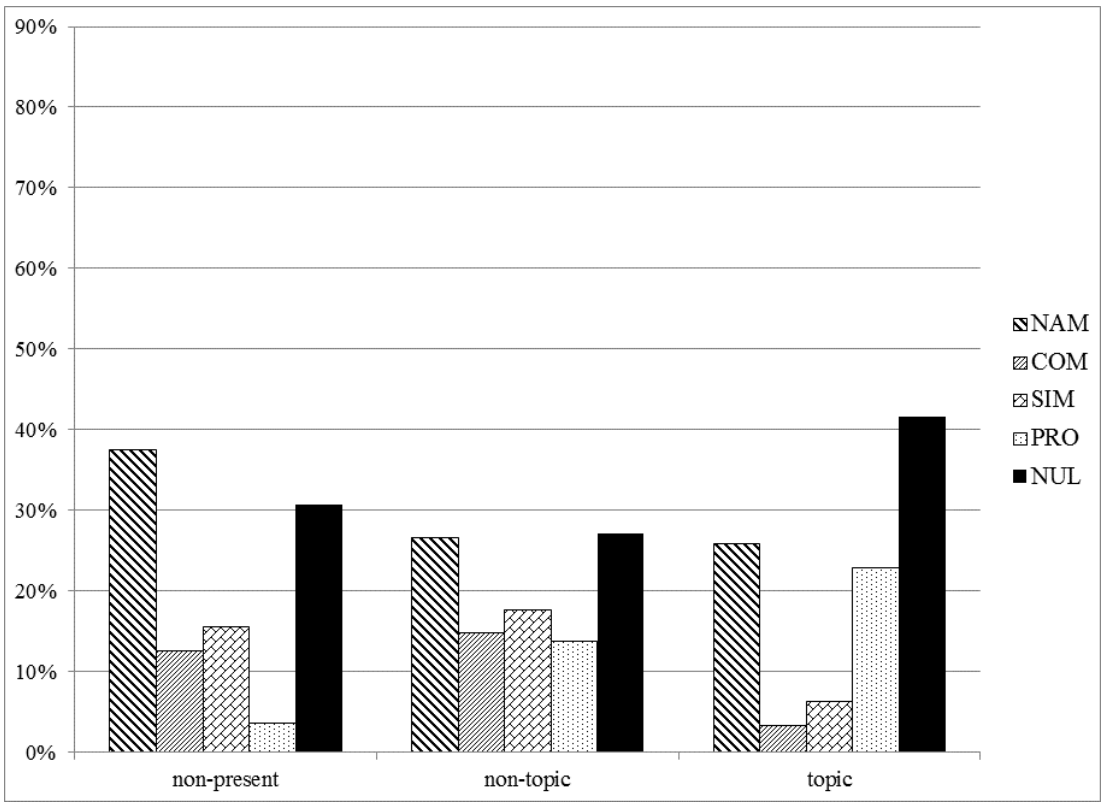
Table 44 Test of independence for distance and topic (Table 43)

The final relationship to consider is that between distance from antecedent and discourse topic-hood. The relevant data is given in Table 43 and the results of tests of independence in Table 44. In this case, the test of independence shows that for post-study abroad learners, distance and topic-hood are likely to vary independently of one another, but that they are not independent for the other two participant groups. The strength of association for these groups, however, is weaker than that for physical presence for all groups except pre-study abroad learners. Table 43 shows that differences between topics and non-topics in terms of distance tend to be modest. However, the first point of note is that for all groups I distance contains a somewhat higher proportion of non-topics than topics. Secondly, for learners, closer distance contexts make up a higher proportion of topics than non-topics; for pre-study abroad learners this means a greater proportion of S distance for topics, and for post-study abroad learners, a greater proportion of P distance. Native speakers, however, do not show this pattern. Although it tends to be a weaker effect than that of physical presence, it can therefore be seen that distance contexts tend to have some effect in lowering the

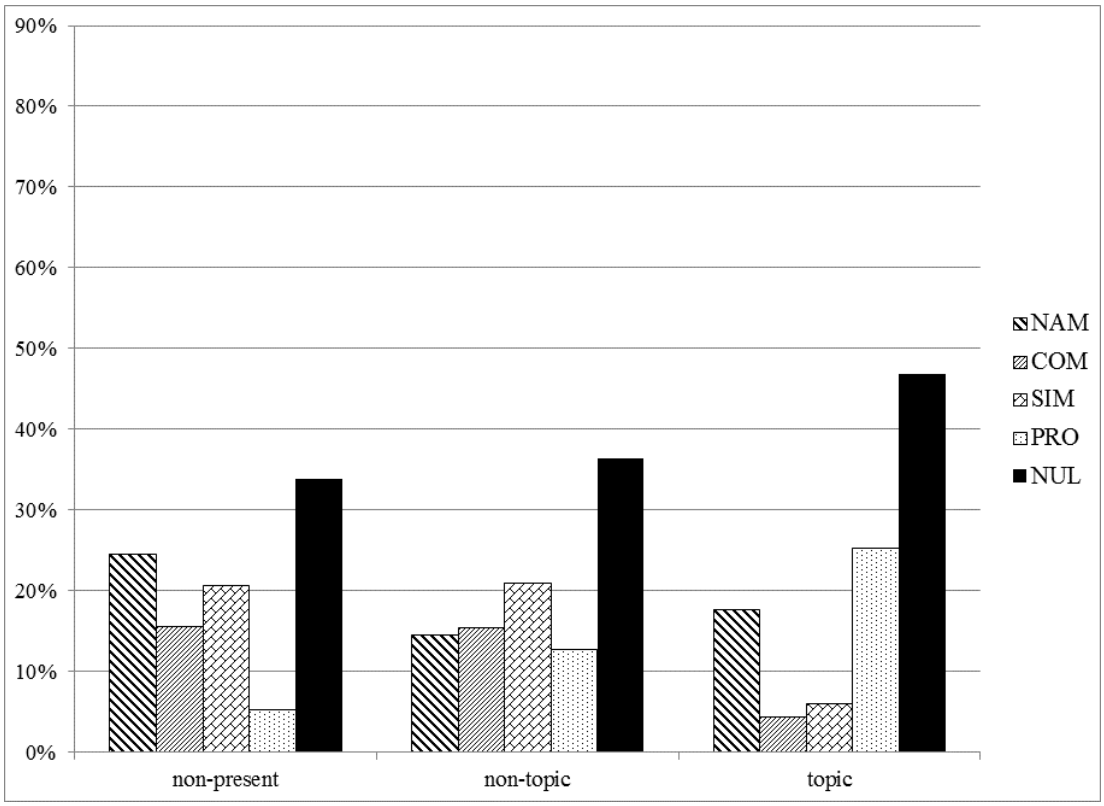
accessibility of referents classed as topics and raising that of referents classed as non-topics.

The three analyses above looking at the distribution of competition, presence and distance contexts for topic and non-topics show that the apparent effect of discourse topic-hood on form type can be better understood as a consequence of physical presence, and, to a lesser extent, distance contexts.[52] The influence of non-presence is particularly important since analyses in the previous section have shown that for learners it has the strongest effect of all factors on referent accessibility. In effect, chiefly because referents coded as being non-topics tend, for all groups, more often to be non-present (and far from their antecedents), their accessibility is reduced compared to that of referents coded as discourse topics. This is illustrated in Graph 7, Graph 8 and Graph 9, where, for each group, the distribution of form types for non-topics and that for non-present referents are compared side by side, with that for topics given for reference. The visual comparisons make it clear that, for all groups, the distribution of form types for non-topics is generally close to that for non-present referents. In other words, the distinction between topic and non-topic in itself does not affect form type very much. Its apparent effect appears largely because less accessible referents tend to also be non-topics.

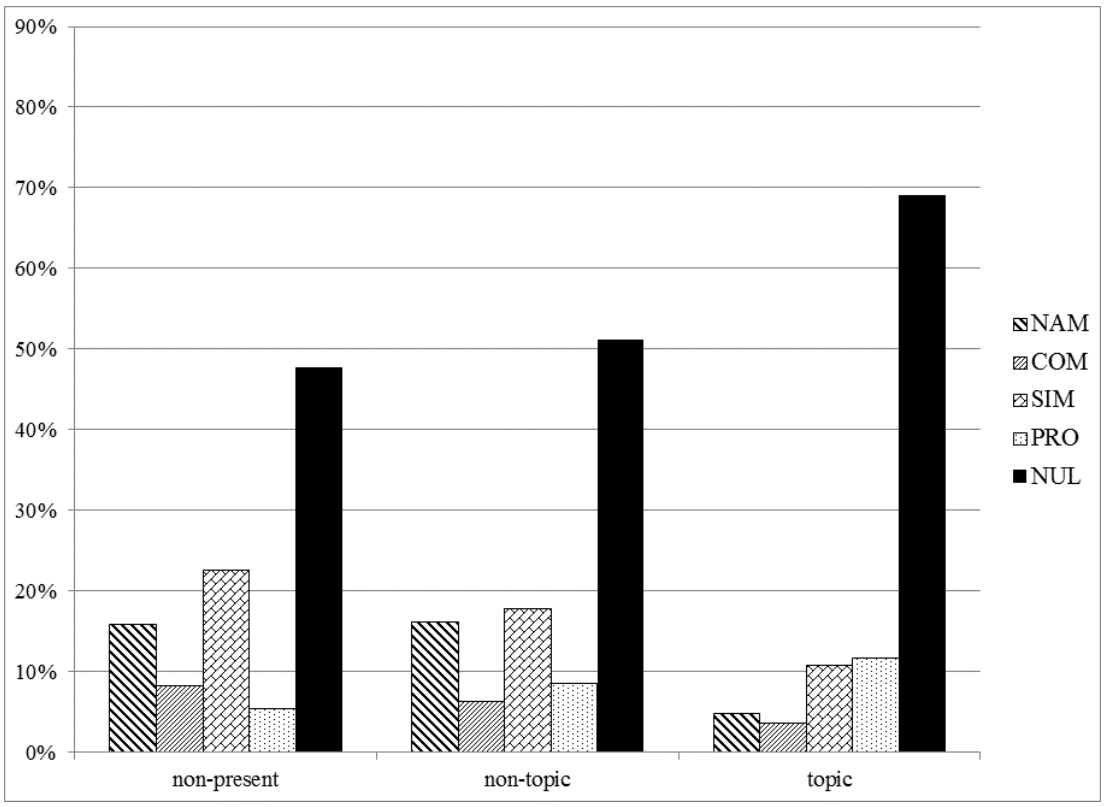
[52] The statistics have also revealed some differences between groups, most notably that for pre-study abroad learners, unlike the other groups, the relationship between distance and topic-hood is stronger than that between physical presence and topic-hood. However, since the analysis in this section does not look directly at what learners produce, it is not clear that this idiosyncrasy of the pre-study abroad group is meaningful in terms of linguistic development.



Graph 7 Pre-SA learners: proportion of form types used in non-present and non-topic contexts (topic contexts added for reference)



Graph 8 Post-SA learners: proportion of form types used in non-present and non-topic contexts (topic contexts added for reference)



Graph 9 Native speakers: proportion of form types used in non-present and non-topic contexts (topic contexts added for reference)

As well as showing what underlies the apparent effect of discourse topic-hood on referential forms, the data in this section also relates back to the question of what caused the surprising result for topic-hood in the post-study abroad learners' regression model. As discussed in section 6.3.4, this result — a small but significant positive coefficient — appears to suggest that for this group, topics are weakly associated with *lower* (rather than higher) accessibility marking, and vice versa. This contrasts with native speakers and pre-study abroad learners, whose models show no significant relationship between topic-hood and accessibility marking. One possible cause of the anomalous result could be some idiosyncrasy in the distribution of other accessibility-determining factors in topic and non-topic contexts for this group that raises the accessibility of non-topics or lowers that of topics. However, the analyses in this section demonstrate that there is nothing in the distribution of competition, presence or distance contexts for topics and non-topics that sets post-study abroad learners apart from the other groups. In other words, the underlying factors that influence in large part the different distributions of form types for topics and non-topics act in the same way consistently across groups. This leaves only my argument from section 6.3.4 that this feature of the regression model likely comes from post-study abroad users' slightly increased use of names for

topics as compared to non-topics, but that it does not meaningfully describe the overall trend in this group's data.

6.5 Interactions between physical presence and competition

Results from this and the previous chapter show that for both learner groups, physical presence has the strongest effect on the choice of person reference terms. It is therefore of interest to re-examine the interaction between competition and form type in the light of this. Competition is measured using a binary of low or high. When competition for the role of antecedent is low, referent accessibility is high, and vice versa. The analysis of competition as a single factor (chapter 5 section 5.5) showed that it has a moderate but significant effect on form type. For all participant groups, null forms are used less often for high competition than low, and all overt forms show the opposite pattern: that is, they appear in greater proportions for high competition than low. However, for the learner groups, pronouns show only very weak trends with competition. Statistics for learners' change over time show more marked (that is, statistically significant) change in the low competition context only. In general, learners' change over time is characterised by a decrease in the proportion of names and an increase in that of null forms in both competition contexts.

In order to analyse the combined effect of competition and physical presence on form types, I split the data for non-present and present referents by low and high competition. This gives four levels of referent accessibility, where present and low competition represents the highest, and non-present and high competition is the lowest. Accessibility theory predicts that this will be the case because the former combines the two higher accessibility contexts on both measures, and the latter combines the lowest. For the two other contexts (present and high competition; non-present and low competition), however, a lower accessibility context on one measure is combined with a higher accessibility context on the other, and it is therefore not possible to make any *a priori* prediction about the relative accessibility of the two.

Because null forms and pronouns are the only forms used with regularity for both present and non-present referents, the discussion below is largely limited to these two forms.[53] This analysis is in a similar spirit to Ariel's (1990: 18−20) examination of

[53] In other words, the other form types (descriptions and names) are found almost exclusively in the non-present context. Therefore, discussion of the trends for these forms would essentially duplicate the existing discussion in chapter 5 section 5.5.

distance and topic-hood which shows that, in her data, the effect of distance from antecedent on referential form type is much clearer when exclusively non-topics are considered. This has the effect of removing the 'noise' created by the accessibility-raising effect of discourse topic-hood. In the analysis below, the same thing is achieved by looking at contrasts in competition in a way that takes account of the powerful effect of physical presence on referent accessibility.

6.5.1 *Results for physical presence and competition*

The results for all groups are given in Table 45, and the trends for null forms and pronouns for all are represented graphically in Graph 10. Table 46 reports the outcome of a test of independence for form type and competition for each of the two presence contexts for all participant groups, in addition to Cramér's V showing the strength of association for those cases where there is a significant association between the two.

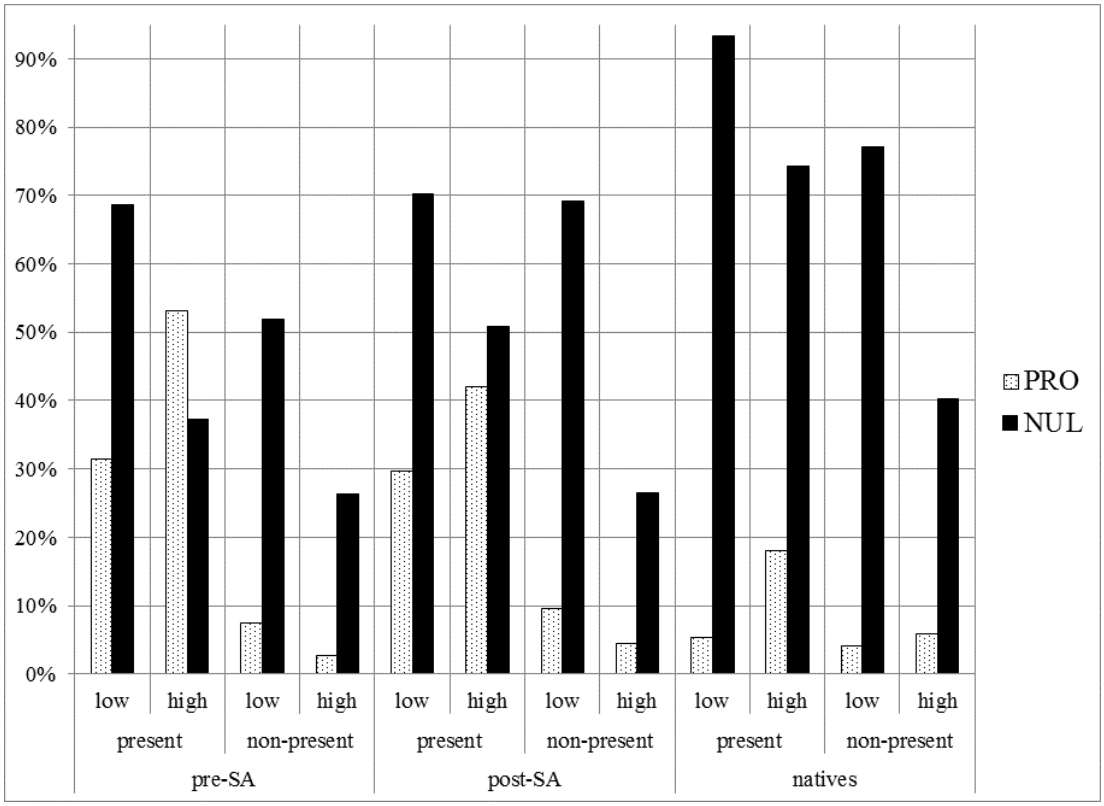
presence →		present				non-present			
competition →		low		high		low		high	
pre-SA	NAM	0	(0%)	7	(6%)	14	(26%)	102	(40%)
	COM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(2%)	38	(15%)
	SIM	0	(0%)	5	(4%)	7	(13%)	41	(16%)
	PRO	11	(31%)	67	(53%)	4	(7%)	7	(3%)
	NUL	24	(69%)	47	(37%)	28	(52%)	67	(26%)
		35	(100%)	126	(100%)	54	(100%)	255	(100%)
post-SA	NAM	0	(0%)	11	(6%)	2	(4%)	72	(29%)
	COM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	47	(19%)
	SIM	0	(0%)	2	(1%)	9	(17%)	53	(21%)
	PRO	11	(30%)	77	(42%)	5	(10%)	11	(4%)
	NUL	26	(70%)	93	(51%)	36	(69%)	66	(27%)
		37	(100%)	183	(100%)	52	(100%)	249	(100%)
natives	NAM	0	(0%)	10	(3%)	2	(2%)	73	(19%)
	COM	0	(0%)	3	(1%)	4	(4%)	35	(9%)
	SIM	1	(1%)	14	(4%)	12	(13%)	95	(25%)
	PRO	4	(5%)	63	(18%)	4	(4%)	22	(6%)
	NUL	69	(93%)	259	(74%)	74	(77%)	152	(40%)
		74	(100%)	349	(100%)	96	(100%)	377	(100%)

Table 45 Frequency of form types by presence and competition

	presence	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
pre-SA	present	12.080**	3	0.274**
	non-pres.	20.846***	4	0.260***
post-SA	present	5.954	3	-
	non-pres.	46.501***	4	0.393***
natives	present	12.991*	4	0.175*
	non-pres.	44.327***	4	0.306***

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 46 Tests of independence for competition and form type by presence context



Graph 10 Proportion of pronouns and null forms by presence and competition

For learners before study abroad, the effect of competition on null forms is broadly similar for both present and non-present referents; they are used less often moving from low to high competition. Pronouns, however, have a strong trend only when the referent is present, where they are used more for high than low competition contexts. Results of the statistical tests show that competition is associated with form type in both presence contexts, and that the strength of that association is similar in both.

Results for the post-study abroad learners show that there is a significant association between competition and form type only when referents are non-present (Table 46).

This association is stronger than that calculated for competition as a whole (Cramér's V = 0.393 and 0.284 respectively). For pronouns and null forms, the pattern is the same as that described above for pre-study abroad learners. However, comparison of the absolute proportions used by learners before and after study abroad shows that in the two middle accessibility contexts (present with high competition; non-present with low competition) there is a general shift in favour of null forms over pronouns. In the highest (present with low competition) and lowest (non-present with high competition) contexts, however, the proportions are virtually unchanged over time. The results of chi-squared tests comparing pre- and post-study abroad learners' distribution of form types for each of the four combinations of presence and competition are reported in Table 47. They show that significant change only occurs for the combination of non-present and low competition, and that the change is fairly pronounced.

presence	competition	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
present	low	0.068	1	-
	high	5.018	3	-
non-pres.	low	21.631***	4	0.329***
	high	3.367	4	-

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 47 Tests of independence for learners' change over time for form type and presence-competition

Finally, statistical tests (in Table 46) of the native data show a significant interaction between competition and form type for both present and non-present referents. However, this interaction is rather stronger for non-present referents. In this respect, post-study abroad learners and natives are similar; in contrast, the pre-study abroad learners have roughly equal strength of interaction for the two presence contexts. This is also evident when looking at how far the proportion of pronouns decreases moving from low to high competition in the two presence contexts. For post-study abroad learners and native speakers, the decrease is larger for non-present than for present referents, but at the pre-study abroad stage, there is little difference between the two. The natives' use of pronouns is similar to that discussed above for both learner groups; that is, it is sensitive to competition only when the referent is present.

6.5.2 *Discussion for physical presence and competition*

Including physical presence in the assessment of the effect of competition on person reference has revealed a number of interesting facts. Although there are differences in the absolute proportions, all groups use pronouns in a similar way. That is, they are

used roughly equally across competition contexts for non-present referents, but used more often in high than low competition contexts when the referent is present. Referent presence plus low competition is the highest accessibility context of the four combinations of competition and presence; indeed, accessibility in this context is so high that native speakers use null forms 93% of the time. The data shows that all participant groups distinguish between referent presence with low versus high competition by using pronouns more often and null forms less for the latter. For natives, this is against a background where null forms remain the clear majority choice in both contexts. For learners, however, null forms are the clear majority in only in the higher accessibility context of the two. For present referents with high competition, the proportion of pronouns either exceeds that of null forms (pre-study abroad) or is only slightly lower (post-study abroad). This shows that, although learners use pronouns much more often than native speakers in absolute terms, they too are sensitive to the distinction between low and high competition when the referent is present.

For post-study abroad learners and native speakers, the relationship between competition and form type is stronger for non-present than for present referents. This is similar to Ariel's (1990: 18−20) finding for the effect of distance for non-topics. In effect, when the accessibility-raising factor of physical presence is removed, something closer to the true effect of competition can be observed. The fact that pre-study abroad learners do not show as strong a contrast in this respect is evidence that learners gain over time the ability to better respond to fine-grained differences in lower referent accessibility. Comparison of learners' change over time in the four combinations of presence and competition contexts shows a largely unchanged response at the highest and lowest accessibility combinations, with change in the middle. Statistics for change over time show that the only significant change is in the combination of non-present with low competition. So while learner response to the extremes of referent accessibility is largely unchanged (albeit overexplicit compared to native speakers'), this shows that over time they develop a more nuanced response that differentiates better between these and intermediate levels of accessibility.

6.6 Interaction between physical presence and distance

The basic claim of AT is that referents become progressively less accessible the longer it has been since the last time they were mentioned in the discourse. Distance from antecedent is measured using four levels. From lowest to highest accessibility — that is, furthest to closest antecedents — they are: I, E, P and S. Analysis of the effect of

distance alone on form type is given in chapter 5 section 5.4. It shows that distance has a fairly clear effect for some form types. Further antecedents are associated with increasing proportions of lower accessibility markers for all groups. For null forms and pronouns, however, the picture is rather more complicated. Both natives and pre-study abroad learners use smaller proportions of null forms when antecedents are further away. However, post-study abroad learners do not have such a clear pattern: they do use null forms less often at I distance, but otherwise their trend is not consistent. Comparison of the two learner groups shows that this is the result of an increase over time in the learners' proportion of null forms used at E and I distance only (proportions at S and P distance are largely unchanged). This can be seen as underexplicitness — that is, an over-prioritisation of economy — in these contexts. I argue that this is underexplicitness because, although increasing use of null forms is a move towards a more native-like distribution, the increase is concentrated at lower accessibility contexts, and therefore does not appear to be accessibility-motivated. As for pronouns, each group behaves differently. Pre-study abroad learners use them in fairly consistent proportions across distance contexts, while after study abroad they use null forms somewhat more often for closer antecedents. Native speakers, on the other hand, use null forms more often for more distant antecedents.

Since physical presence has a strong effect on form type choice, this section presents the results of a further separation of the four levels of distance into data for present and for non-present referents, to give eight separate contexts. As in the previous section, it can be predicted that present S distance is the highest accessibility context of the eight, and non-present I distance the lowest, but it is less straightforward to make an *a priori* prediction of how the effects of presence and distance will combine in the various other permutations. As with the analysis for presence and competition above, names and descriptions are used almost exclusively for non-present referents, so as far as these form types are concerned this analysis does not add anything to that in chapter 5. I will focus, therefore, on the data for pronouns and null forms.

6.6.1 *Results for physical presence and distance*

The frequency and proportion of form types used in the four distance contexts for present and non-present referents is given in for all groups in Table 48, followed by statistical tests for the association between distance and form type for each presence

condition in Table 49. These are followed by a graphical representation of the pre-study abroad learners' results (for null forms and pronouns only) in Graph 11.

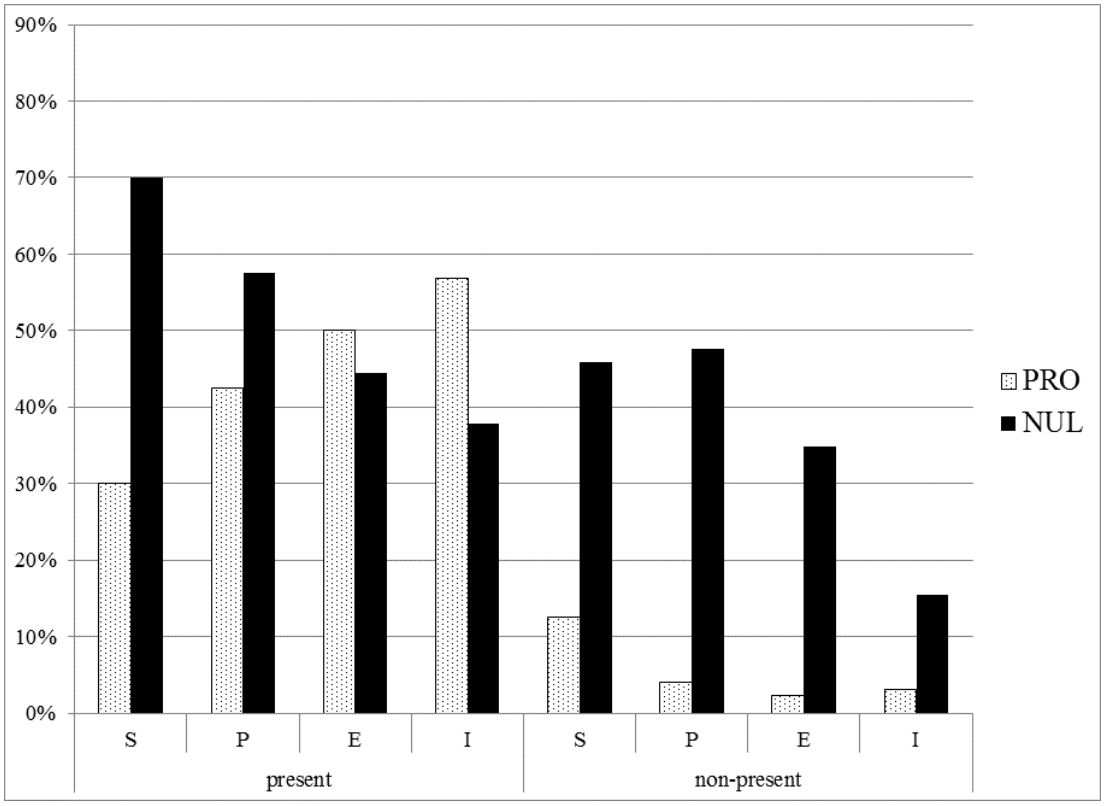
		present				non-present			
		S	P	E	I	S	P	E	I
pre-SA	NAM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (38%)	34 (27%)	20 (47%)	33 (51%)
	COM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	13 (10%)	1 (2%)	5 (8%)
	SIM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (6%)	2 (5%)	1 (4%)	13 (10%)	6 (14%)	15 (23%)
	PRO	3 (30%)	28 (42%)	9 (50%)	21 (57%)	3 (13%)	5 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)
	NUL	7 (70%)	38 (58%)	8 (44%)	14 (38%)	11 (46%)	59 (48%)	15 (35%)	10 (15%)
		10 (100%)	66 (100%)	18 (100%)	37 (100%)	24 (100%)	124 (100%)	43 (100%)	65 (100%)
		present				non-present			
		S	P	E	I	S	P	E	I
post-SA	NAM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (12%)	21 (17%)	8 (26%)	22 (35%)
	COM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	13 (10%)	2 (6%)	8 (13%)
	SIM	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (0%)	1 (2%)	4 (16%)	23 (18%)	4 (13%)	20 (32%)
	PRO	8 (35%)	36 (42%)	18 (31%)	18 (35%)	4 (16%)	10 (8%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)
	NUL	15 (65%)	48 (56%)	32 (69%)	32 (63%)	14 (56%)	60 (47%)	17 (55%)	11 (17%)
		23 (100%)	85 (100%)	51 (100%)	51 (100%)	25 (100%)	127 (100%)	31 (100%)	63 (100%)
		present				non-present			
		S	P	E	I	S	P	E	I
natives	NAM	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	3 (5%)	19 (9%)	8 (18%)	26 (23%)
	COM	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	8 (4%)	1 (2%)	17 (15%)
	SIM	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	2 (3%)	8 (8%)	6 (10%)	29 (14%)	14 (31%)	40 (35%)
	PRO	8 (11%)	18 (12%)	10 (17%)	23 (22%)	4 (7%)	12 (6%)	2 (4%)	8 (7%)
	NUL	66 (89%)	124 (85%)	46 (79%)	71 (68%)	46 (78%)	137 (67%)	20 (44%)	23 (20%)
		74 (100%)	146 (100%)	58 (100%)	105 (100%)	59 (100%)	205 (100%)	45 (100%)	114 (100%)

Table 48 Frequency of form types by presence and distance

	presence	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
pre-SA	present	8.518	6	-
	non-pres.	35.791***	12	0.216***
post-SA	present	2.513	6	-
	non-pres.	35.946***	12	0.221***
natives	present	25.688**	12	0.150**
	non-pres.	93.711***	12	0.272***

** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

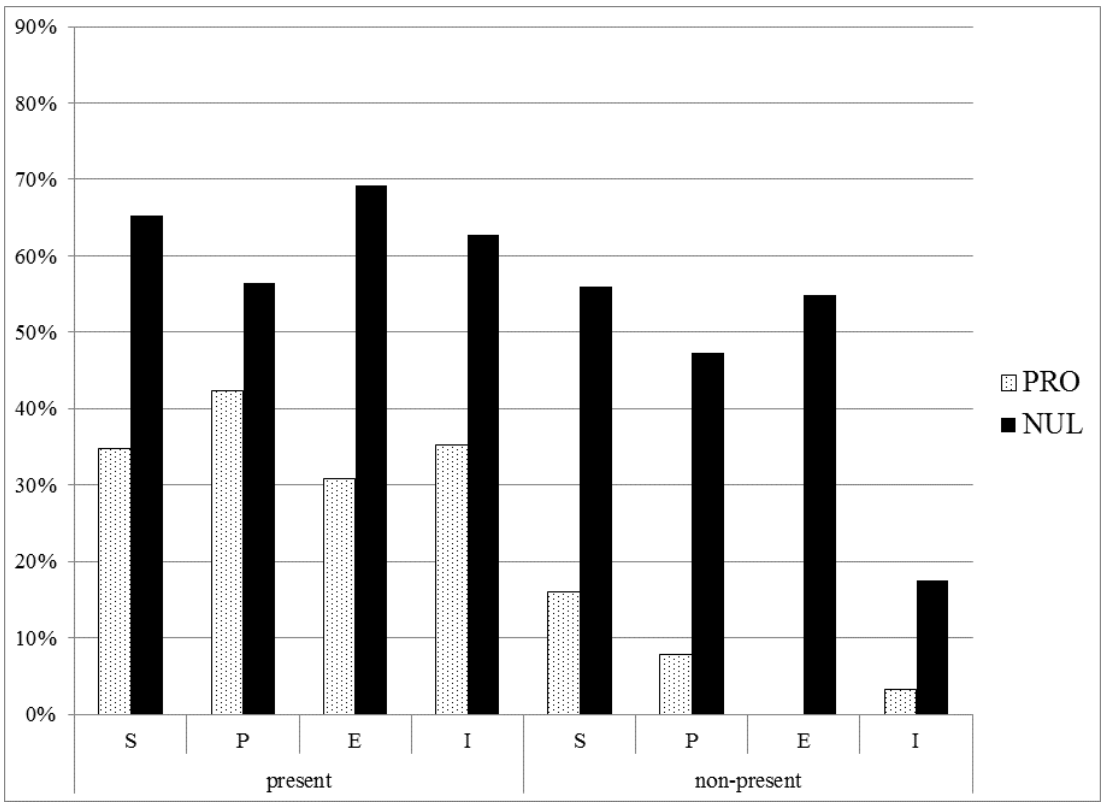
Table 49 Tests of independence for distance and form type by presence context



Graph 11 Pre-SA learners: proportion of pronouns and null forms by presence and distance

The statistics for the pre-study abroad group (Table 49) show that distance and form type are significantly related for non-present referents only. However, as seen in Graph 11, for present referents, too, the data does show a clear effect of distance: pronouns are used more with increasing distance from antecedent while null forms are used less often. This pattern for pronouns contrasts with that observed for non-present referents, where there is little trend except for an elevated proportion of pronouns for S distance. While the proportion of null forms decreases with decreasing accessibility at every level of

distance for present referents, for non-present ones the proportions for S and P distances are roughly equal, and the largest difference is that between E and I distance.



Graph 12 Post-SA learners: proportion of pronouns and null forms by presence and distance

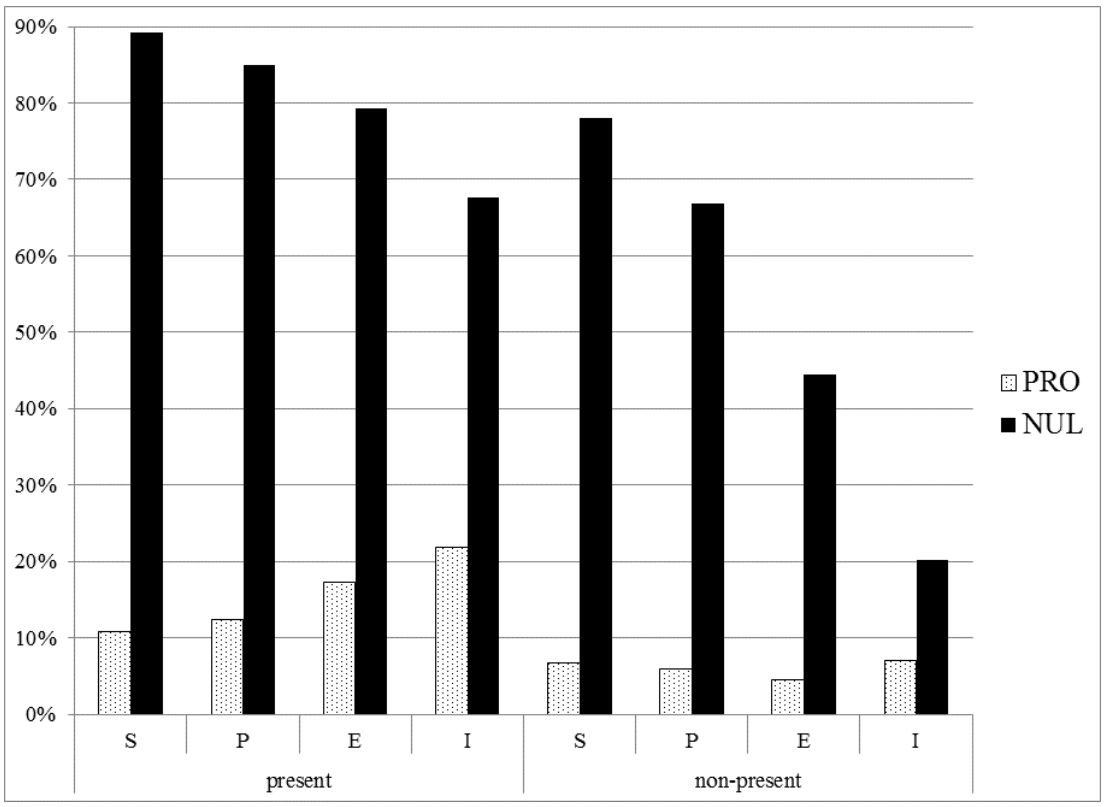
Post-study abroad learners' results for present referents (Graph 12) show unclear trends for the effect of distance from antecedent. This is confirmed by results showing that there is no significant interaction between the two in this presence context (Table 49). For non-present referents, however, something of a trend can be observed for both null forms and pronouns. There is a noticeable drop in the proportion of null forms used in I distance as compared to the others. As for pronouns, they tend to be used more often in the closer distance contexts. The statistics show significant interactions for both learner groups between distance and form type for non-present referents which are stronger than those found for distance and form type as a whole. Further statistics looking at learners' change over time for each combination of presence and distance are reported in Table 50 below. They show significant developmental change for four out of the eight combinations of distance and presence. The largest change over time is at S distance for non-present referents; this is likely a reflection of post-study abroad learners' drastically reduced proportion of names in this context.

presence	distance	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
present	S	0.570	1	-
	P	1.030	2	-
	E	15.988***	2	0.283***
	I	12.735**	2	0.252**
non-pres.	S	22.006***	3	0.331***
	P	5.897	4	-
	E	14.523**	4	0.269**
	I	5.765	4	-

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 50 Tests of independence for learners' change over time for form type and presence-distance

Previous analyses suggested that the unexpected patterns of use in post-study abroad learners' response to distance from antecedent come about because over time learners principally increase the number of null forms used at E and I (but not S and P) distance, resulting in a disproportionally large amount in those two contexts. Looking now at present and non-present referents separately reveals that this increase is not evenly spread between the four combinations of (non-)presence with E and I distance. In fact, for I distance for non-present referents, there is virtually no change over time and learners' proportion of null forms and pronouns is similar to natives'. The overuse of null forms, therefore, is limited to the other three contexts. In fact, the increase at E distance for non-present referents puts the post-study abroad learners' proportion of null forms 11% above that of native speakers. This is the only area out of all those examined in this thesis where learners use null forms more often than native speakers.



Graph 13 Native speakers: proportion of pronouns and null forms by presence and distance

Unlike learners, native speakers have a significant interaction between distance and form type for both presence contexts (Table 49), although the interaction is stronger for non-present referents. Inspection of the data (see Graph 13) shows that, like pre-study abroad learners, when referents are present, natives use proportionally fewer null forms and more pronouns as distance from antecedent increases. In absolute terms, however, they use much higher proportions of null forms, up to almost 90% in the highest accessibility context (present, S distance). The same trend for null forms is found for non-present referents as well, but the decreases are steeper. Pronouns for non-present persons do not show a strong trend with distance.

6.6.2 *Discussion for physical presence and distance*

For pronouns, splitting the distance data by physical presence illuminates the different trends to be found. When looking at distance alone, trends for pronouns vary but in general are weak. However, the present analysis shows stronger and clearer trends in places, as well as revealing similarities between groups. There are two key opposite trends. The first is for present referents, where pronouns are associated with further distance contexts (pre-study abroad learners, native speakers). The second, for non-

present referents is for pronouns to appear more often with closer, more accessible referents, particularly those at S distance (pre- and post-study abroad learners). In addition, this analysis reveals that at E and I distance for present referents, pre-study abroad learners use pronouns more than null forms. This contrasts with the other two groups who consistently use null forms more than pronouns.

The use of null forms in the eight distance-presence combinations sheds some further light on the issue of post-study abroad learners' underexplicitness in further discourse contexts. It is revealed that this underexplicitness does not affect the lowest of all the accessibility contexts (non-present with I distance), but is concentrated in other comparatively low accessibility contexts, and it particularly marked at non-present with E distance. Statistics for learners' change over time further show that the greater changes tend to be concentrated in the discourse contexts for neither the lowest nor highest referent accessibility.

Tests of independence for form type and distance in each presence context show that there is a significant relationship between the two for all participant groups when the referent is non-present. Native speakers also have a significant relationship for present referents, but the strength of association is rather weaker than that for non-present referents. This effect is particularly noticeable on comparison of the strength of the trend for null forms in each presence context. In all cases, though more so for post-study abroad learners and native speakers, there are larger decreases in the proportion of null forms used for non-present referents as distance from antecedent increases. This is a similar result to that found for competition and presence, and shows again that a stronger effect of distance can be observed when the strong accessibility-raising effect of physical presence is removed.

6.7 Conclusion

The conclusion to this chapter begins with a summary of the results found (6.7.1), followed by a discussion of what has been further revealed about learners' discourse-pragmatic development (6.7.2). I then consider what these results show in terms of discourse-pragmatic language universals and specifics (6.7.3). Finally, this chapter is discussed in the light of the findings of previous research (6.7.4). I generally restrict the discussion below to the new points that have emerged from the discourse-pragmatic analyses in this chapter. The reader is referred to the conclusion of the previous chapter

for a fuller discussion of the more general discourse-pragmatic findings and their implications.

6.7.1 *Summary of results*

This chapter has refined chapter 5's discussion of individual accessibility-determining factors by looking at how all factors together contribute to the choice of referring expression for speakers in each group. Analyses in the previous chapter suggested a common ordering of factors for all groups as follows, where the effect of physical presence is stronger than the others by some margin.

1) ranking of accessibility-determining factors based on individual effects

   all groups: presence > topic > competition > distance

However, strictly speaking it is not appropriate to compare these values because each is calculated in isolation from those for the other factors. In contrast, the coefficients generated in this chapter by regression models for each group are calculated as part of a single process that takes all four factors into account, thus making them directly comparable within groups. They can be summarised as follows, using data for the size of the significant coefficients in Table 34, Table 36 and Table 38.

2) ranking of accessibility-determining factors based on regression models

   a. pre-study abroad: presence > E distance > I distance > competition

   b. post-study abroad: presence > competition > I distance > topic > P distance

   c. native speakers: I distance > E distance > presence > competition

The rankings in (2) reveal complexity that was hidden in the original analysis summarised in (1). Physical presence is confirmed as the most important determiner of form type for both learner groups. For natives, although presence is lower in the rankings, the actual size of the coefficient is comparable to those for learners. It is also clear that distance from antecedent plays a more prominent role in native systems than it does for learners. The fact that P distance is either absent from or lowest in the rankings shows that shifts at E and I distance affect form type much more than those at closer distance contexts. For pre-study abroad learners, E distance is ranked higher than I. This supports my earlier suggestion that, when distance contexts are compared, the shift from P to E distance is the most pronounced for this group — in other words, that for

them distance contexts are split SP–EI. In contrast, I distance is ranked more highly for the other groups, lending strength to the conclusion that the most marked shift for natives and post-study abroad learners is from E to I distance — that is, that they principally split distance contexts SPE–I. The distance scale is constructed in such a way that the difference between E and I distance includes a contrast in discourse unity.[54] The ranking of coefficients above shows that learners before study abroad are less sensitive to this contrast, but they become more so over time.

The final result of importance from the regression models concerns discourse topic-hood. Despite the fact that it is ranked second in (1), the results in (2) show that it is not a significant predictor of form type for pre-study abroad learners and native speakers. For post-study abroad learners, it is very low in the rankings of predictors and the sign of its coefficient would suggest that it weakly affects form types in opposite direction from that expected — that is, that topics tend to get lower accessibility markers than non-topics. This is not consistent with the general trends in the data for topic-hood as a single variable for this group. I argue (section 6.3.4) that the only apparent cause of this result for post-study abroad learners is that they use names 3% more often for topics than non-topics. In any case, it is clear that in the models for all groups, topic-hood's effect on form type is weak or non-existent. Following on from this, analyses in section 6.4 show that the apparent effect of discourse topic-hood can be better understood by comparing the distribution of distance and presence contexts for topics and non-topics. For all groups, this shows that referents that are not discourse topics also tend to be non-present and further from their antecedents. These both result in a tendency for lowered accessibility for non-topics as compared to topics. I argue that this in itself accounts in large part for the difference in form types used for topics as compared to non-topics, so that it is not topic-hood per se that affects referent accessibility, but other accessibility-determining factors that correlate with it.

Although the findings of the ordinal regression models shed further light on the workings of learner and native systems of person reference, the predictions they

[54] E distance is defined by the presence of the antecedent in an utterance earlier than the previous one, with no reference to another person in between. I distance is defined by the presence of the antecedent in an utterance earlier than the previous one, with reference to (an) other person(s) between the term and its antecedent. This means that where the antecedent is at I distance, it is at once likely to be further away, and likely to be in a different local discourse unit. This represents a decrease in referent accessibility in terms of both distance and unity (two of the four accessibility-determining factors proposed in AT).

produce (Table 33, Table 35 and Table 37) show that they leave something to be desired as complete models of speakers' systems. Part of this is because, although the accessibility-determining factors proposed by AT and used in this study are the key ones, Ariel (1990: 28) is careful to note that referent accessibility is not necessarily fully determined by them. Furthermore, the way that I operationalise these factors does not capture them exhaustively. Ariel also discusses a number of cases where language data does not perfectly match AT's predictions because speakers manipulate accessibility marking to create special effects (Ariel 1990, Ch.9). All of this means that even a very successful regression model that uses the four factors as I measure them will not be a completely adequate predictor of form types. For the learner groups, this is further complicated by variation between learners and internal instability in individual learners.

Analyses in sections 6.3 and 6.4 identify that physical presence has a strong effect on the choice of person reference terms, particularly for learners, and that discourse topic-hood makes little contribution in itself to this choice. Following these, sections 6.5 and 6.6 therefore examine the interaction between physical presence and the other two variables of importance: competition for the role of antecedent and distance from antecedent, respectively. This is done by splitting by presence the results for distance and for competition. This shows that the influences of distance and of competition tend to be stronger for non-present referents (see Table 46 and Table 49). This is because referent presence has a strong effect raising referent accessibility that can obscure the smaller effects of distance or competition. Furthermore, it provides more detailed information about the balance between null forms and pronouns in different contexts, since these are the only two forms used in appreciable numbers for both present and non-present referents.

Statistical analyses in the previous chapter show that learners' most marked changes over time are for low competition, S distance and E distance. In this chapter, the increased range of referent accessibilities assessed reveals significant changes over time in a wider range of contexts — five out of the twelve considered (see Table 47 and Table 50). Significant change is notably absent in the highest and the lowest accessibility contexts that result from the combination of presence with competition and with distance. The greatest changes over time (where values of Cramér's V are largest) tend to be those of neither highest nor lowest accessibility, namely: non-present with low competition, and non-present and S distance. These two results show that learners'

response to very low or very high referent accessibility remains largely fixed, while their development is most pronounced at intermediate levels of accessibility.

6.7.2 *Explaining learners' route of discourse-pragmatic development*

The analyses in this chapter allow certain aspects of the picture of learners' pragmatic development summarised in the previous chapter to be refined or expanded. Regression models show that before study abroad, physical presence is the most important contributor to learners' choice of person reference terms, and that the effects in general of the accessibility-determining factors are relatively modest. Looking at the combinations of presence with distance and with competition shows that even at the pre-study abroad stage, learners' production in the very lowest accessibility contexts (non-present with high competition; non-present with I distance) is largely native-like in terms of how often they use pronouns and null forms. Elsewhere, however, they tend to undersupply null forms in comparison to native speakers. When physical presence is considered alone (as it was in chapter 5), pre-study abroad learners appear generally overexplicit in using pronouns much more often for present persons than native speakers do. However, I show in this chapter that this overexplicitness exists within a learner system that does react to distinctions in referent accessibility. In the very highest accessibility combinations (present with low competition; present and S or P distance), even at the pre-study abroad stage, learners use null forms more often than pronouns. This echoes findings in chapter 5 that pre-study abroad learners' overuse of names, too, is not haphazard, but, rather, generally obeys the principles of AT.

After study abroad, physical presence continues to be the most important contributor to learners' choice of person reference terms. Compared to the earlier stage, however, competition for the role of antecedent makes a much greater contribution, while distance contributes perhaps even less than before. In general the effects of accessibility-determining factors on form type become stronger over time, but remain weaker than those for native speakers. Furthermore, distance from antecedent, although a key contributor to native speakers' choice of person reference terms, has a more minor role in learner systems of person reference. Learners' response to the extremes of referent accessibility (measured by combining presence and distance or competition contexts) is largely unchanged over time. For the lowest accessibility contexts (non-present with high competition; non-present with I distance) this is broadly native like. One consequence of this finding is that it shows that learners' underexplicitness at E

and I distance in fact does not extend to the absolute lowest accessibility context of non-present with I distance. To some extent, therefore, even the post-study abroad underexplicitness can be seen to be sensitive to certain extremes of referent accessibility. In the highest accessibility contexts, however, learners' production remains overexplicit; for instance, even though native speakers use 93% null forms for present referents with low competition, learners use only 69–70%. As for overexplicitness via overuse of pronouns, this reduces somewhat in the lower accessibility contexts but is still quite pronounced in comparison to native speakers; the data for presence combined with competition contexts shows a similar effect of discourse-pragmatic principles to that seen before study abroad. The new range of statistics for learners' change over time provided in this chapter show that the greatest changes are at the combination of non-present with S distance and with low competition. In other words, learners change the most not in the highest accessibility contexts as assumed in chapter 5, but in intermediate contexts instead.

As in the previous chapter, these results largely support Bialystok's (1994) prediction that learners have access to the pragmatic representations that are relevant to referent accessibility in discourse and the basics of accessibility marking. Even where a more general view of the data suggested overexplicitness in the form of overuse of pronouns in certain contexts, a more detailed view of those contexts shows that accessibility principles are still being applied. Similarly, even when learners are underexplicit after study abroad, although to some extent they are having clear difficulties controlling null forms, they do refrain from overusing them in the very lowest accessibility context. Bialystok's second prediction — that the necessary attentional control may take time to develop — can be evoked to account for some of what learners do that is not native-like. In particular, the fact that distance makes much less of a contribution to the choice of person reference terms for learners than native speakers likely stems from the fact that responding to distance from antecedent is a particular attentional challenge since it compels learners to attend closely to the content of the discourse preceding an act of reference. Assessment of competition for the role of antecedent appears to be somewhat less taxing; after study abroad, competition comes to play a more prominent part in learners' system of person reference despite the fact that they still have difficulties with distance from antecedent. This is exemplified by the extract below which was presented in the previous chapter. Here, despite overexplicitness in the second repetition of *Sakai-*

sensee where the antecedent is close, by the third time (considered a low competition context in my framework), the learner switches from a name to a null form.

3) L05: eeto **Sakaisensee** no koto na n desu kedo .
JP3: hai .
L05: **Sakaisensee** wa chotto kibishikute .
JP3: hai .
L05: machigaetara sugu okorimasu .

L05: Um it's about **Sakai-sensee**.
JP3: Yes.
L05: **Sakai-sensee** is a bit strict [and].
JP3: Yes.
L05: If [someone] makes a mistake [**he**] gets angry straight away.
(R11, post-SA learner)

6.7.3 *Language universals and specifics in the discourse-pragmatic domain*

The regression models used in this chapter have provided some further confirmation that discourse context (in the form of a number of accessibility-determining factors) is contributing to learners' use of person reference, which lends further strength to the argument that learners are accessing discourse-pragmatic universals when they use person reference terms in Japanese. Even where learners are over- or underexplicit, further evidence has been provided that they tend nevertheless to be responding to universal discourse-pragmatic principles of accessibility marking.

In terms of language specifics, the findings of interest in this chapter concern the division of labour between null forms and pronouns. AT makes specific predictions about the relative roles of null forms and pronouns in Japanese and English. The claim is that although the relative accessibility-marking properties of null forms and pronouns are cross-linguistically consistent, their actual distributions vary due to language-specific norms and constraints. These result in English-like and Japanese-like distributions as summarised graphically below.

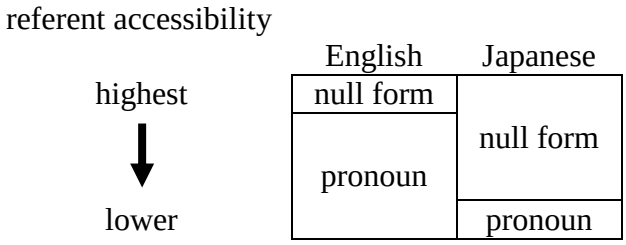


Figure 4 English-like and Japanese-like distributions of null forms and pronouns compared

The native speaker data in this chapter first illustrates what the Japanese pattern looks like in practice. Null forms are used in high proportions for all but the lowest accessibility contexts (non-present and E or I distance; non present with high competition). As expected, they represent the overwhelming majority of forms used in the highest accessibility contexts (89% for present and S distance; 93% for present with low competition). Pronouns, on the other hand, are used in low proportions throughout. Although they never exceed the proportion of null forms, they peak in high — but not high*est* — accessibility contexts: namely, present I and distance, and present with high competition.

Compared to the native distribution, pre-study abroad learners are somewhat closer to an 'English' distribution.[55] Null forms are the clear majority choice in only the highest accessibility contexts (present and S or P distance; present with low competition). Moving to the next high accessibility contexts (present and E or I distance; present with high competition), the proportion of pronouns peaks and actually exceeds that of null forms. In contrast, post-study abroad learners to some extent approach a more Japanese distribution. Over time, their proportion of pronouns decreases at present and E or I distance, and present with high competition contexts such that it no longer exceeds that of null forms. However, elsewhere learners continue to use fewer null forms and more pronouns than natives do. These results suggest the possibility of learners' transfer into Japanese of the English-type split between null forms and pronouns.

6.7.4 *Relation to previous discourse-pragmatic studies*

Analyses of the type carried out in this chapter are rarely found in previous discourse-pragmatic studies of reference in second languages. The number of studies that consider more than one accessibility-determining factor is limited, and only Broeder (1991) and Nakahama (2009b) use analyses which combine two different measures of accessibility. In the former case, referent introduction, switch, and continuous reference is combined with topic-hood, but even with this detailed consideration of accessibility

[55] I do not claim that the pre-study abroad learners' distribution actually matches what would be found in native English data. Even at this stage learners use null forms quite frequently, and likely much more than they would in comparable English discourse. Learners use 35% null forms before study abroad, in comparison to 28% null subjects in native English as reported by Yanagimachi (2000: 118). However the aspects of their distribution that are not native-like can perhaps be accounted for by reference to the English model of null forms reserved for highest accessibility, and pronouns used thereafter.

contexts, Broeder finds no marked changes in learners' use of person reference over a 27 month period. This does not match results found here which show that learners are static in some contexts and change over time in others. In contrast, Nakahama's (2009b) findings are broadly similar to mine. She combines referent saliency with referent introduction, switch, and continuous reference, and shows that L2 Japanese learners' of mid and high proficiency are target-like and fixed in their behaviour in the highest and lowest accessibility contexts. In the intermediate accessibility contexts, learners tend to be overexplicit; in some discourse contexts this reduces over time and in others the overexplicitness is persistent. My findings are similar: once accessibility-determining factors are combined, learners are shown not to change over time in the highest and lowest accessibility contexts. However, while Nakahama's learners are broadly target-like in the highest accessibility context, mine remain rather overexplicit compared to Japanese native speakers. Furthermore, even in the intermediate accessibility contexts where learners develop the most (non-present and S distance; non-present with low competition), they still generally remain more overexplicit than those in Nakahama's (2009b) study. However, rather than a contradiction of Nakahama's results, this is perhaps a result of my use of a greater range of form types — Nakahama looks only at overt versus null forms — which inevitably reveals greater complexity in the data. More widely, my results show the limitations of previous studies that show learners as more successful or faster to develop in higher (Nakahama 2003, Yanagimachi 2000, Ahrenholz 2005) or lower (Chini 2005) accessibility contexts. These studies use single measures of referent accessibility and, as such, they might obscure patterns of learner change in their data that are similar to those found here.

The results of the regression models do not have any directly comparable analogues in previous L2 studies; I am not aware of any study where similar methods are used to estimate the relative contribution of different accessibility-determining factors to learners' choice of person reference terms. However, the finding that discourse topic-hood does not contribute in a meaningful way to learners' choice of person reference terms is surprising in the light of Broeder's (1991) results showing L2 learners' sensitivity to this variable. However, it is possible that in Broeder's data, too, this apparent effect is actually the result of other accessibility-determining factors that correlate with discourse topic-hood. This chapter has shown that physical presence makes the largest contribution to learners' choice of form types. This perhaps explains results from Yanagimachi (2000) and Ahrenholz (2005) showing that learners respond

readily to this distinction (in terms of the difference between speaker and hearer, and non-present third persons) even at an early stage, and that they show much less overexplicitness for present referents. As for underexplicitness, results in this chapter show that the overuse of null forms that appears in learners' production after study abroad is somewhat discourse-pragmatically constrained. This makes it easier to integrate into the wider body of research showing that even when learners are under- or overexplicit, they do not entirely disregard discourse-pragmatic principles. However, the appearance of such underexplicitness at the later stage only remains difficult to reconcile with the findings of previous studies.

My findings about learners' overuse of pronouns are interesting in the light of Polio's (1995) study showing that English-speaking learners of L2 Chinese, particularly at lower proficiency, tend to overuse pronouns. Polio (1995: 373) speculates about the possible role of transfer before concluding that it is unlikely to be the cause. However, in this chapter, an analysis of combinations of accessibility-determining factors has pointed to learners, especially at the pre-study abroad stage, using null forms and pronouns in a more 'English-like' way, though by no means at L1 English proportions. This does suggest that the first language influences the division of labour for pronouns and null forms when learners use Japanese. Similarly, the role of transfer should not be dismissed for Polio's (1995) results either.

Chapter 7. Social analysis by group

7.1 Introduction

An observation underpinning this thesis is that person reference is an area of particular interest because speakers' choice of person reference terms is affected by discourse-pragmatic and by social factors. The latter include various aspects of the social relationships involved — between speaker, hearer, and a third person, if applicable — including the power relationship, the social distance and affective factors, as well as the nature of the discourse. This chapter complements the discourse-pragmatic analysis in the previous two chapters by considering the role played by social factors in participants' use of person reference. Specifically, the chapter aims to account for how learners use person reference terms in response to social factors before and after study abroad and therefore to show how they change over time. Furthermore, their developmental path will be considered in terms of language specifics and language universals, and compared with the existing body of related research. In order to do this, I begin below by summarising the concepts relevant to the analyses in this chapter, which are explored in more detail in chapter 3 section 3.2. Following this, I outline the data and analytical methods used (7.2). The analysis itself looks at first-person (7.3), second-person (7.4) and third-person (7.5) reference in turn, because the range of possible speaker choices is different for each. Finally, the relationship between person reference and verbal honorifics is considered in 7.6, followed by a consideration of the key findings from this set of analyses (7.7).

The theoretical framework underlying the analyses in this chapter is politeness theory, and the theory of politeness I draw on is essentially Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness universals. The main features of interest of this theory are that it provides the concept of the face-threatening act (FTA), and identifies "sociological variables" (1987: 74) that speakers respond to when judging the weightiness of an FTA, which, consequently, affect the linguistic forms used its realisation. These variables are summarised in the equation below, for the weightiness (W) of an FTA *x*, where R represents the culturally-specific ranking of imposition for the FTA in question.

1) $W_x = \text{Distance}_{(\text{S from H})} + \text{Power}_{(\text{H over S})} + R_x$

Although Brown and Levinson are not primarily concerned with person reference terms, they analyse them as "direct 'markers' of social relationship … [that] may occur with an FTA of any R-value" (1987: 18). In other words, the choice of person reference terms

depends largely on values of power and distance. Fukuda and Asato (2004: 1997) further reinforce this by adding a Japanese-specific stipulation to Brown and Levinson's theory that when a high-status person is involved, "power and/or distance are assigned markedly high values", which in turn raise W such that politeness is warranted even when the R value is low or negligible. The analyses here therefore concentrate on the combination of power and distance, for which the term 'status' is used. As detailed in 7.2, the various persons involved in the data analysed here are split into high-status persons, who have power over and are distant from the speaker, and same-status persons, who are not in a position of power over the speaker, and whose social distance from the speaker is typically smaller.

Brown and Levinson (1987) give a detailed taxonomy of politeness strategies that speakers may employ. These broadly divide into positive and negative politeness strategies. The former attend to positive face, that is, the desire for reinforcement as a valued and accepted member of society, and the latter to negative face: "the want … to be unimpeded by others" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 62–3). Person reference can be involved in strategies of either kind.[56] The table below summarises those strategies where person reference is most easily integrated.

	strategy	potential consequences for person reference
positive politeness strategies	use in-group identity markers	use overt terms signalling in-group membership
	include both speaker and hearer in the activity	use inclusive overt forms
negative politeness strategies	give deference	use overt forms which give deference
	impersonalise S and H	use null forms or less referentially-specific forms

Table 51 Selected politeness strategies and their potential consequences for person reference

The two positive politeness strategies both motivate speakers to use overt forms of various kinds. As for the negative politeness strategies, a conflict between vagueness and referential specificity is predicted by the table above. The strategy of impersonalisation pushes the speaker towards less referentially specific forms in order to leave maximum ambiguity as to the identity of the referent. However, the strategy of

[56] Politeness strategies use a range of linguistic resources that is by no means limited to person reference. However, in keeping with the focus of this thesis, the analysis is confined to person reference.

giving deference motivates increased explicitness, firstly because a null form cannot in itself give deference, and secondly because the more referentially specific a term is, the more unambiguous the recipient of any deference it encodes.

As a complement to Brown and Levinson's politeness framework, the distinction between volitional and *wakimae* politeness has been proposed by Ide (1989, inter alia). Volitional politeness is the type mainly focussed on by Brown and Levinson, where speakers make an active choice of strategy in response to sociological variables. In contrast, *wakimae*, usually translated as 'discernment' politeness is a set of social rules of appropriate linguistic (and other) behaviour. Volitional politeness, since it depends on individual speakers' assessments, results in a range of outcomes (here, a range of person reference forms). However, because *wakimae* politeness is characterised by its collective and non-volitional nature, the selection of forms according to its rules is "essentially automatic" (Hill et al. 1986: 348). Hill et al.'s (1986) comparison of Japanese and American English shows that *wakimae* and volition operate in both, but that Japanese is characterised by a more prominent role for *wakimae*, as shown by the tendency for Japanese speakers' judgement to converge on fewer variants for a given scenario. The analyses here, then, may shed light on the question of whether native speakers of Japanese give more weight to *wakimae* in their use of person reference than learners do, and, more broadly, in what ways the two types of politeness operate in the area of person reference.

There are a number of socially-based restrictions on the use of pronouns and simple descriptions in certain kinds of reference. Suzuki (1978) identifies a status-linked asymmetry in the use of certain terms in second person reference. Briefly, the key part of the observation is that only simple descriptions referring to high-status persons can be used in second-person reference. Not only those for persons of inferior status like *gakusee* 'student', but also those referring to status equals, such as *tomodachi* 'friend', are unusable. As for pronouns, the table below (Ide 2006: 209) summarises the main part of the repertoire of first- and second-person pronouns in present-day standard Japanese.

		male	female
first person	formal	*watakushi, watashi*	
	plain	*boku*	*watashi, atashi*
	deprecatory	*ore*	(none)
second person	formal	*anata**	
	plain	*kimi**	*anata**
	deprecatory	*omae**	(none)

*not usable with high-status person

Table 52 First- and second-person pronouns in Japanese

It can be seen that, partly because of the free use of null forms, overt personal pronouns are more highly socially indexical in Japanese than in English. First- and second-person pronouns conventionally index speaker gender as well as the level of formality, although the correspondences are not one-to-one. A key point from the table above is the lack of second-person pronouns that can be used with high-status persons. Even between status equals, the most formal, *anata*, is often dispreferred. Among those not included in the table above, the pronoun *jibun* 'self', which does not in itself specify person, can be used in first-, second- or third-person reference in a range of circumstances.[57] Finally, deictic terms such as *kotchi* 'over here' can designate human referents through a process of conventionalised metonymy (Kanai 2007), and are grouped with pronouns for the purposes of this analysis.

The final necessary background here concerns normative links between person reference and verbal honorifics. Japanese predicates may include either or both of addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. In particular, the fact that almost any utterance requires a choice between the use and non-use of addressee honorifics is the reason why Japanese is often characterised (such as by Iwasaki 2010: 46) as lacking a socially neutral register. Verbal honorifics are, at least in part, a means of marking the high status of the hearer or the referent, respectively. As such, Ide (1987: 227), among others, claims that concordance between status encoding in person reference terms and in predicates is "socio-pragmatically obligatory". The two specific claims are, firstly, that if the subject is referred to using *sensee* 'teacher' or with a name plus the title *-sensee* then the predicate must include referent honorifics (Ide 1987: 227, Matsumoto 1988: 417). The second claim is that the first-person pronoun *watashi* (see Table 1 above) must be accompanied by the use of addressee honorifics. However,

[57] It may also be used as *go-jibun*, using the honorific prefix *go-* as part of a deference-based strategy.

based on Fukuda and Asato (2004: 1995), I argue that these are normative expectations rather than obligatory agreement rules. In the light of these claims, though, it is of interest to investigate how far participants link verbal honorifics and person reference terms.

7.2 Methods of data collection and analysis

The data used in this chapter comes from the set collected for this research from six learners of Japanese before and after study abroad and six native speakers of Japanese. The full set of tasks is designed to include tasks that focus on variation in discourse-pragmatic conditions and in social conditions. For the social analysis, I exclude the data collected in the two narrative retelling tasks because they are specifically designed to look at discourse-pragmatic conditions only. The data used comes from the three role play tasks and three written discourse completion tasks (DCT). Table 53 below outlines the key details of these tasks.

type	code	hearer	specified third person	scenario
DCT	DCT1	teacher	teacher's daughter	request to interview teacher and her daughter
DCT	DCT2	friend (same age)	friend's older sister	request to interview friend's older sister
DCT	DCT3	classmate (same age)	(none)	request to interview interlocutor
role play	R11	student advisor	speaker's teacher	complaint about problems caused by his/her Japanese teacher
role play	R12	teacher	speaker's classmate (same age)	complaint about problems caused by a fellow student
role play	R13	classmate (same age)	speaker and hearer's teacher	planning a teacher's retirement party

Table 53 Outline of tasks used for social analysis

In each case the task instructions specified the scenario as well as the name, age, gender and position of the hearer and specified third-person referent. In this way, the tasks provide a variety of high- and same-status hearers as well as non-present referents who are of high or similar status to the learner. 'Status' in this sense is a combination of Brown and Levinson's (1987) values of power and distance. The first three analyses in this chapter look at status relationships and person reference terms. For first- and second-person reference, the important status relationship is that between the speaker and hearer. The hearer is either someone of high status relative to the learner (a teacher or foreign students' advisor), or is in an approximately status-equal relationship (a

friend or classmate of the same age). In second person reference, the hearer is of course also the referent, so the effect of hearer status in this case can equally be conceived of as that of referent status. Finally, third-person reference involves a triangular relationship between speaker, hearer and referent ― I analyse it in two ways by looking at the speaker's relationship with the hearer and with the third-person referent. Again, the hearer or the referent is either a high-status or a same-status person relative to the learner.

Table 54 below summarises which tasks are compared for each of the status-based analyses. For the analyses of third-person reference, I compare two pairs of tasks. This is in order to focus only on the most comparable data where the relationship not being examined (for example, referent status when hearer status is being analysed) is the same in terms of status.

person	status relationship	same status tasks	high status tasks
first	speaker–hearer	reference to self in DCT2, DCT3, R13	reference to self in DCT1, R11, R12
second	speaker–hearer/referent	reference to hearer in DCT2, DCT3, R13	reference to hearer in DCT1, R11, R12
third	speaker–hearer	reference to teacher in R13	reference to teacher in R11
	speaker–referent	reference to classmate in R12	reference to teacher in R11

Table 54 Tasks compared in analyses

The final analysis looks at the relationship between person reference and the use of verbal honorifics. In the data, each instance of person reference is coded for the presence of addressee and referent honorifics in the associated verb, and the analyses looks for differences in person reference terms used in these two conditions for each type of honorifics. Fuller details are given in section 7.6 below.

As with the discourse-pragmatic analyses, the analyses first look at the distribution of form types under different socially defined conditions. There are five form types, as coded on a scale of increasing explicitness: null forms, pronouns, simple (i.e. one-word) or complex (i.e. multiword) descriptions, or names. One purpose of this scale is to code the level of referential specification (roughly, explicitness) for use in discourse-pragmatic analysis. However, it is equally useful in social analysis. It serves as a measure of speakers' degree of vagueness when referring, since terms high in referential specification are, by definition, less vague than those lower on the scale. It furthermore

has the advantage of isolating categories of person reference terms that are subject to particular preferences or dispreferences. For instance, as discussed above, pronouns are dispreferred when referring to a high-status hearer, and simple descriptions are similarly dispreferred when referring to same- or lower-status hearer. In addition to looking at the distribution of form types, the analysis is deepened by considering the actual forms used in various social conditions. In order to compare across referents, terms are grouped. For example, all uses of the referent's family name followed by the title *-san* are counted together.

Statistical methods are used in this chapter in a similar way as they are elsewhere in the thesis. In order to test whether there is any significant interaction between form types and social conditions, a chi-squared test of independence is used for each group. If the relationship is significant, I also calculate Cramér's V, a statistic that varies between 0 and 1 and indicates the strength of the relationship. In the analysis of verbal honorifics, I use the same method to test the relationship between use of honorifics and hearer or referent status. Another set of tests of independence is used to measure learners' change over time. In this case, the proportion[58] of form types used in a single context — for instance, first-person reference with same-status hearer — is compared for learners before and after study abroad. Wherever there are a number of cells with low expected frequencies, I use exact tests to calculate the significance. Again, Cramér's V is included where there is significant change over time as an indication of how marked the change is.

A final note is necessary about quotation of examples from the data in this chapter. Following Minami (1998a), a modified version of the Hepburn romanisation system is used where long vowels are shown by doubling the vowel, such as in *gakkoo* 'school', rather than by using a macron. A long /e/ is written *ee* rather than *ei*, so, for instance, the Japanese word for 'teacher' is transcribed as *sensee*. Written (non-romanised) Japanese is written without spaces between words, so the Wakachi2002 v4.0 (Miyata 2003) guidelines for spacing romanised Japanese are followed. One feature of these guidelines is that titles such as *-san* and *-sensee*, and plural markers like *-tachi* are attached with no space or hyphen to the word they follow. This is reflected in the data excerpts, but elsewhere when I mention these words, I include a hyphen for clarity. The

[58] I use proportions (percentages) of each form type rather than token numbers in order to correct for differences in the total number of tokens produced by pre- and post-study abroad learners.

simple description *sensee* 'teacher' and the title *-sensee* (used for teachers and doctors, among others) are distinguished by the preceding hyphen used with the latter.

7.3 First-person reference

In first-person reference, the key social variable considered here is that of hearer status. Below, I compare participants' choices when speaking to same-status hearers (classmates) and higher status hearers (teachers or similar persons) in role plays and discourse completion tasks involving explicitly defined social relationships. Speakers' reference to themselves is achieved almost exclusively using null forms or pronouns. The analysis below, therefore, focusses on the choice between null forms and pronouns and on the types of pronouns used.

7.3.1 *Results*

The form types used in first-person reference with same- and high-status hearers are summarised in Table 55. Almost all — 97% or more — of the forms produced in all contexts are null forms or pronouns, so Graph 14 gives only the proportions of null forms and pronouns by hearer status.[59]

	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	same H		high H		same H		high H		same H		high H	
NAM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	3	(2%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
COM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
SIM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(1%)	0	(0%)	1	(0%)
PRO	22	(55%)	48	(47%)	13	(22%)	42	(34%)	8	(13%)	43	(14%)
NUL	18	(45%)	55	(53%)	47	(78%)	79	(63%)	55	(86%)	267	(86%)
	40	(100%)	103	(100%)	60	(100%)	125	(100%)	64	(100%)	311	(100%)

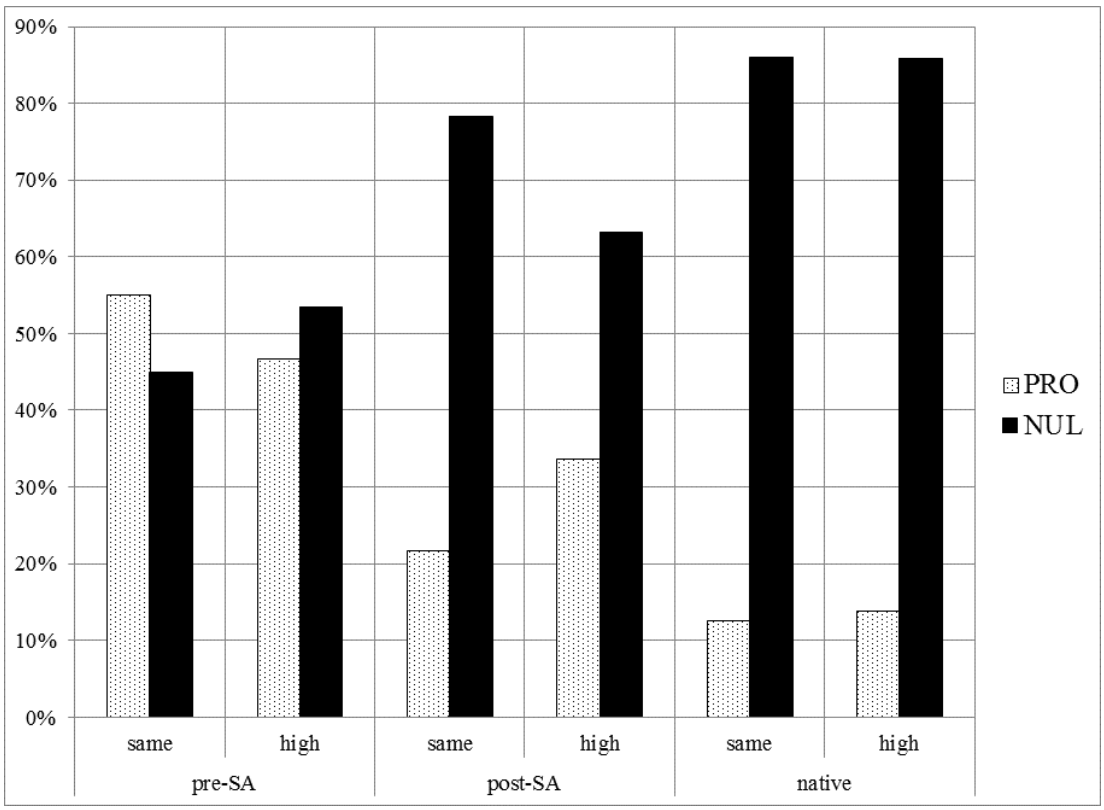
Table 55 Form types used in first-person reference by hearer status

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	0.813	1	-
group: post-SA	5.225	3	-
group: natives	5.134	3	-
learner change: same H	22.997***	1	0.339***
learner change: high H	5.948	3	-

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 56 Statistics for first-person reference:
tests of independence for hearer status and for learners' change over time

[59] Names and descriptions are very occasionally used in first-person reference, such use of the speaker's own name in self-introduction, and uses of descriptions like *hitori* 'one person' to refer to oneself from an outside perspective.



Graph 14 First-person reference and hearer status (pronouns and null forms only)

Comparison of high- and same-status hearer contexts within groups shows that hearer status appears to make little difference to the form types that participants use. Pre-study abroad learners use pronouns and null forms in approximately equal amounts, and show only small differences between high- and low-status hearers. This is confirmed by the non-significant result of the test of independence between form type and hearer status for this group (see Table 56). Post-study abroad learners and native speakers consistently use null forms much more than pronouns, but again show little effect of hearer status per se. Tests of independence for both groups also fail to reach significance (Table 56). However, although relatively small, post-study abroad learners have the largest difference in the balance of the two form types, using null forms less often and pronouns more often with high-status referents. This difference is not statistically significant, but it is larger than those seen in other groups; in particular it is striking in comparison to Japanese native speakers, for whom there is virtually no difference between the two hearer status contexts. Learners' change over time is significant for same-status hearers only (Table 56), but given the absence of a significant response to hearer status at either time, this is more likely to reflect general shifts in learners' balance of null forms and pronouns than a socially motivated change.

Where speakers use pronouns for first-person reference, a range of pronouns are found in the data. They are summarised in Table 57, where differences between groups are immediately apparent. Where learners have used explicitly plural marked forms (here, marked with *-tachi*), I have checked the meaning of each token to classify it as referring to the speaker and hearer (inclusive: 1+2) or the speaker and some other person (exclusive: 1+3).

	pre-SA		post-SA		native speakers	
	same H	high H	same H	high H	same H	high H
watashi	22 (100%)	48 (100%)	6 (46%)	41 (98%)	5 (63%)	28 (65%)
watashi-tachi (1+2)			4 (31%)			
boku			3 (23%)			
atashi					3 (38%)	6 (14%)
jibun				1 (2%)		4 (9%)
jibun-tachi (1+3)						1 (2%)
kotchi						3 (7%)
anata						1 (2%)
	22 (100%)	48 (100%)	13 (100%)	42 (100%)	8 (100%)	43 (100%)

Table 57 Pronouns used in first-person reference by hearer status

Learners before study abroad, unlike the other groups, have no variation whatsoever in first-person pronouns, and use *watashi* consistently in all situations. In contrast, after study abroad, other pronouns are occasionally found. However, *watashi* remains the choice for the vast majority (98%) of reference to self with high-status hearers. The only other form found post-study abroad is one token of *jibun* '[my]self', which is an appropriately formal pronoun for use in these contexts, as evidenced by native speakers' use of *jibun* and *jibun-tachi* with high-status hearers only. With same-status hearers, post-study abroad learners' data includes some use of the inclusive first-person plural *watashi-tachi*, and the less formal *boku*, as illustrated below. Both examples are from the role play R13, where the hearer is a same-status person.

2) L04: **watashitachi** wa paati o shita hoo ga ii kana .
"Maybe **we** should have a party."

(R13, post-SA learner)

3) JP3: yoyaku wa dotchi ga suru .
"Which one [of us] will make the reservation?"
L03: um (.) **boku** .
"Um, **me**."

(R13, post-SA learner)

It should be noted, though, that only one learner (L03) uses *boku*. He does this only with same-status hearers, so although the token numbers are small this shows a clear

response to hearer status. However, for the other learners, variation continues to be quite narrowly restricted to *watashi(-tachi)*. Native speakers use a greater range of first-person pronouns than learners at either stage. *Watashi* is used consistently for around two thirds of tokens in both hearer contexts, but other pronouns show sensitivity to hearer status. Although the less formal first-person pronoun *atashi* appears with both hearer types, it is used proportionally much more often with same-status hearers. Aside from *watashi* and *atashi*, all other forms used are reserved exclusively for high-status hearers: the formal *jibun(-tachi)*, and the deictic *kotchi* 'over here'.[60]

7.3.2 *Discussion*

The choice between explicit reference and null forms — here, between first-person pronouns and null forms — involves an opposition between vagueness on one hand, and, on the other, a more explicit encoding of the nature of the relationship between speaker and hearer. However, there are no significant differences in the proportions of null forms and pronouns used for high- and same-status hearers for any group. This means that for first-person reference, contrary to what might have been expected, there is little evidence that speakers in any of the participant groups preferred either one of these strategies consistently in response to hearer status. However, of the weak trends that can be observed, the most noticeable is that for post-study abroad learners, who prefer pronouns somewhat more often with high-status hearers. Since *watashi* remains, to a great extent, the default first-person pronoun used by learners, this is perhaps best interpreted as showing post-study abroad learners' slight dispreference for pronouns with same-status hearers rather than the converse. That is, learners continue using *watashi* almost exclusively for high-status hearers, but avoid overt pronouns more often with same-status hearers. This, in turn, may be because the learners (with the exception of L03, see (3) above for instance) have not yet successfully integrated less formal forms into their repertoire.

The actual form types chosen, however, show evidence of learner development and of a response to hearer status. Pre-study abroad learners have only a single first-person pronoun, *watashi*. It should be noted that, although *watashi* is the preferred form in the classroom, even learners at the pre-study abroad stage have some exposure to a greater

[60] The other form used is *anata* (one token). This is in fact a second-person pronoun and in the data a speaker uses it to speak from the imagined perspective of a third person.

range of forms. This almost certainly includes *boku* and *watashi-tachi*,[61] so that learners are aware of these forms even though they do not produce them until after study abroad. Over time, learners' range of first-person pronouns expands to include the plural-marked *watashi-tachi* and one token of *jibun* '[my]self', as well as, for one learner, *boku*. This remains a smaller repertoire than native speakers, but it is a move towards a more varied system. Post-study abroad learners' use of first-person pronouns furthermore shows some distinctions between high- and same-status hearers. Of particular interest is the reservation of the less formal *boku* for use with same-status hearers by the single learner who uses it. This echoes native speaker behaviour: while native used less formal forms (namely, *atashi*) with both hearer types, they did so much more often for same-status hearers. In contrast, an area where post-study abroad learners differ from natives is in their use of *watashi-tachi* 'we' with same-status hearers. Although native speakers did not do this, it can be understood as motivated by positive politeness, namely an explicit inclusion of the hearer in the activities being discussed.

7.4 Second-person reference

Following the social analysis above of first-person reference by participants, this section contains a similar discussion for second-person reference. As with first-person reference, the key social relationship affecting choice of second-person reference forms is that between the speaker and hearer. In the case of second-person reference, though, the hearer is also the referent of the terms being used. The distribution of form types used in second-person reference, as well as the actual forms used, are therefore analysed according to hearer status. Compared to first-person reference, a larger range of overt forms is used, including pronouns, simple descriptions and names. As outlined in section 7.1, pronouns are often the dispreferred option in second-person reference, and Japanese lacks second-person pronouns for use with high-status addressees. As for simple descriptions, Suzuki's (1978) principle is that terms describing higher-status persons such as *sensee* 'teacher' are usable for second-person reference, whereas others describing persons of equal or inferior status such as *tomodachi* 'friend' or *gakusee*

[61] One indication of the vocabulary that the learners are made aware of is in the textbooks they use. The first beginners' textbook used by the learners in this study is *Minna no Nihongo I*, a set of books including 3A Corporation (1998). In these books, *watashi* and *watashi-tachi* are the first two vocabulary items of the first main chapter (1998: 12); *boku* is introduced a little later (1998: 126), but is certainly covered before study abroad.

‘student’ are not. Finally, for names, titles may be attached, including -*sensee* for teachers, the more neutral -*san*, and less formal titles such as -*chan*. After a look at the distribution of form types, the specific kinds of pronouns, descriptions and names used by participants will be considered below.

7.4.1 *Results*

Table 58 below shows the distribution of form types used in second-person reference for same- and high-status hearers for each group. Table 59 gives the results of tests of independence for form type and hearer status and for learners’ change over time for each hearer context.

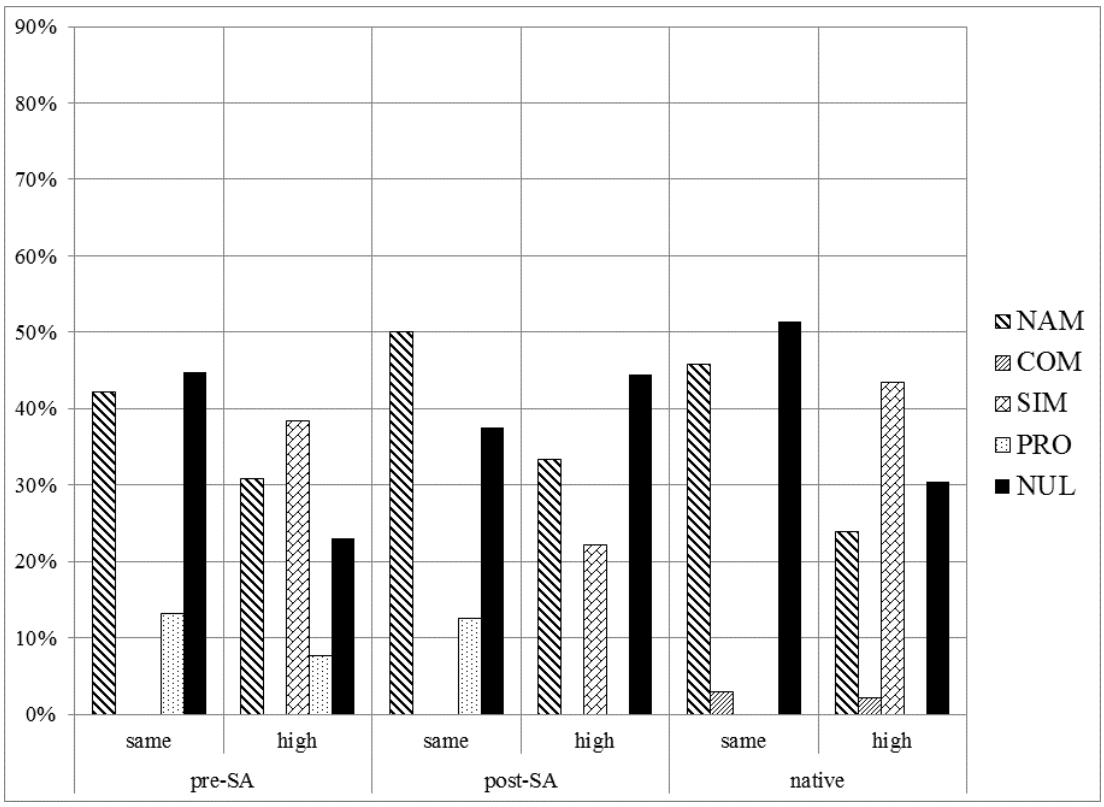
	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	same H/R		high H/R		same H/R		high H/R		same H/R		high H/R	
NAM	16	(42%)	8	(31%)	20	(50%)	9	(33%)	16	(46%)	11	(24%)
COM	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(3%)	1	(2%)
SIM	0	(0%)	10	(38%)	0	(0%)	6	(22%)	0	(0%)	20	(43%)
PRO	5	(13%)	2	(8%)	5	(13%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	0	(0%)
NUL	17	(45%)	6	(23%)	15	(38%)	12	(44%)	18	(51%)	14	(30%)
	38	(100%)	26	(100%)	40	(100%)	27	(100%)	35	(100%)	46	(100%)

Table 58 Form types used in second-person reference by hearer/referent status

	chi-square	df	Cramér’s V
group: pre-SA	17.581***	3	0.524***
group: post-SA	13.491**	3	0.449**
group: natives	20.307***	3	0.501***
learner change: same H	1.281	2	-
learner change: high H	18.907***	3	0.308***

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 59 Statistics for second-person reference:
tests of independence for hearer/referent status and for learners’ change over time



Graph 15 Second-person reference and hearer/referent status

Comparison of all three groups in Table 58 reveals a clear distinction in the form types used according to hearer status. For same-status hearers, all groups use mostly names and null forms, which account for 88% or more of forms used. In contrast, for high-status hearers, the preferred forms for all groups are names, simple descriptions and null forms.[62] These distinctively different distributions for the two hearer contexts are reflected in the statistics in Table 59, which show a significant and moderately strong relationship between hearer status and form type for all groups. One area where the groups differ is in their use of pronouns. Although native speakers do not use them at all, learners before study abroad use pronouns for both same- and high-status hearers, and after study abroad they continue to do so for same-status hearers only. Learners change significantly over time in their choices for high-status hearers only (Table 59). This statistic chiefly reflects an increase in null forms and a decrease in simple descriptions used by post-study abroad learners.

The actual forms used by participants for second-person reference are discussed below. First, pronouns are given in Table 60.

[62] The native speakers' single use of a complex description is the form *kono futari* 'the two [of us]', which refers inclusively to speaker and hearer.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	high H/R	same H/R	high H/R	same H/R	high H/R	same H/R
anata	5	2				
watashi-tachi (1+2)			4			
jibun			1			
	5	2	5			

Table 60 Pronouns used in second-person reference by hearer/referent status

As mentioned above, natives do not use pronouns at all, and post-study abroad learners use them for same-status referents only, so their distribution is rather limited, and the token numbers are small. There is, however, a clear developmental difference for the learners. Before study abroad, they use only *anata*, and do so without regard to hearer status. However, after study abroad, learners not only confine pronouns as a class to same-status hearers, but also abandon use of the often dispreferred *anata* entirely. Instead, they use inclusive *watashi-tachi* 'we' (see example (2) above) and *jibun* '[your]self'. The two examples below illustrate one learner's response to the same discourse completion task before and after study abroad. At the earlier stage, he uses *anata*, but after study abroad, in a functionally similar part of the task he instead uses the addressee's given name (without title) as an overt form.

4) L02: **anata** ni shitsumon o shite ii desu ka .
"May I ask **you** some questions?"
(DCT3, pre-SA learner)

5) L02: **Kayo** no iken kikitai no de .
"Because I would like to ask **Kayo**'s [=your] opinions."
(DCT3 post-SA learner)

As for simple descriptions, as established above, they are only used for high-status hearers. The only description used, by all groups, in this context is *sensee* 'teacher' when the addressee is a teacher. Of the three high-status hearers, two are teachers, and one is a foreign student advisor.[63] Table 61 below summarises the name types used for the two types of high-status hearers: teachers and the foreign students' advisor.

[63] The choice to make the interlocutor in role play task R11 an advisor rather than another teacher was based on discussions with informants and motivated by a desire to maintain some realism in the scenario. That is, it would have been less realistic for a student to go to one teacher in order to complain about the behaviour of another, but more plausible that the student would speak to the foreign students' advisor, who remains nevertheless a person of higher status than the student.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	teacher	advisor	teacher	advisor	teacher	advisor
FaN-*sensee*	6		7		8	
FaN-*san*	1	1		2		3
	7	1	7	2	8	3

Table 61 Name types used for high-status second persons (teacher and foreign students' advisor)[64]

There is almost complete consistency in the name types used. That is, teachers are referred to by their family name and -*sensee* while family name plus -*san* is used for the foreign students' advisor. The sole exception is one learner before study abroad who uses -*san* for a teacher. For same-status referents, in contrast, there is much less consistency in the name types used, as given in Table 62.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
FaN-*san*	8	(50%)	7	(35%)	5	(31%)
GN-*san*	4	(25%)	1	(5%)	3	(19%)
FaN-*chan*	2	(13%)	2	(10%)		
GN-*chan*			2	(10%)	4	(25%)
FaN			2	(10%)		
GN	2	(13%)	6	(30%)	4	(25%)
	16	(100%)	20	(100%)	16	(100%)

Table 62 Name types used for same-status second persons

Forms range from the relatively formal use of family name with -*san* (which, as seen above, is used with high-status persons as well) to the much less formal use of the referent's given name with no title. This range shows that even for natives, who use four different name types that in roughly equal amounts, the choice of name is not automatic in the same way as for high-status persons. Pre-study abroad learners also use four different name types, but have a stronger preference for family name plus -*san* than the others. The post-study abroad group uses the largest range of names (seven types) with less clear preferences than the other groups. In some ways the distribution becomes more native-like over time, with increased use of bare given names, and decreased use of family name plus -*san*. Furthermore, grouping of the name types reveals two further ways in which learners become more native-like over time. Firstly, if all types including -*san* are added together, it becomes clear that while pre-study abroad learners use -*san* 75% of the time, this decreases to 40% over time, which is comparable with the native proportion of 50%. Secondly, if name types including

[64] The following abbreviations are used for name types in this and other tables: FuN for full name, FaN for family name, and GN for given name.

family names are compared to those using given names, learners (moving from 63% family name to 55% over time) move towards a more native-like split, since natives uses given names more often, with family names making up only 31%.

7.4.2 *Discussion*

The results presented above show that all groups make clear distinctions in second-person reference terms used for high- and same-status hearers. This is apparent on the level of form types, where a characteristic distribution for each hearer type is largely shared by all three groups. It is also the case for certain specific forms used. *Sensee* 'teacher' is consistently the only simple description used in second-person reference, and only for teachers. When names are used, these too show a clear split between a very consistent use of family name plus -*sensee* (for teachers) or -*san* (for the foreign student advisor) when the hearer is a high-status person, and a greater range of terms for same-status persons, including uses of family and given names with titles -*san* or the more familiar -*chan* or without any title. All of these results show that hearer status has a clear effect on second-person referents, and that when the hearer is a high-status person, even learners at the earlier stage tend to converge on appropriate forms. Educational settings are used in the tasks precisely because they are familiar to instructed learners. So it is perhaps unsurprising that after ample exposure in the classroom to status-marked person reference involving students and teachers,[65] learners even at the first stage have largely reached a native-like use of reference forms.

An important exception to the uniformity noted above is in learners' use of second-person pronouns, though even here, they move from use of the dispreferred form *anata* to a use of pronouns that manages to avoid second-person pronouns as such by using inclusive *watashi-tachi* 'we', and *jibun* '[your]self', and where such pronouns are restricted to same-status persons. Another area where speakers do not converge readily on a small number of forms is in the use of different name types for same-status hearers. This shows that within groups, speakers differ in their assessment of the degree of formality desirable for the same-status hearers. For instance, in the two examples below,

[65] At its most basic, this is the non-reciprocal use of *sensee* (from student to teacher only), and, when names are used, the use of family name with -*sensee* from student to teacher, but family name with -*san* from teacher to student. These language practices are usually encountered by instructed learners of Japanese from a very early stage of their studies.

two native speakers made quite different judgements about how to address a classmate. The first uses family name with *-san*, and the second uses her given name with *-chan*.

6) JA2: **Kimurasan** , ima nihon no shoogakkoo ni tsuite no repooto o kaite te .
"**Kimura-san**, at the moment [I]'m writing a report about Japanese elementary schools."
(DCT2, native speaker)

7) JA1: **Kayochan** , shoogakkoo tte doko de kayotte ta no ?
"**Kayo-chan**, what elementary school did [you] go to?"
(DCT2, native speaker)

Despite individual variation within groups, learners' use of *-san* and of given versus family names does move in a native-like direction over time. The most heterogeneous group, in terms of the range of name types used for same-status hearers, is the post-study abroad learners. This range includes some name types that native speakers never use, such as family name with *-chan* and with no title. This shows that as learners develop they become more aware of the range of possibilities for this context, even if they are not yet manipulating them in an entirely target-like manner. In addition, learners change over time in a number of other respects. Although the basic pattern of form types used remains consistent, there is a significant change over time in the forms used for high-status hearers. As argued above, this is largely driven by an increase in the proportion of null forms used, and a decrease in the proportion of simple descriptions. In terms of explicitness, too, learners' preferences change. Before study abroad, like native speakers they tend to prefer a strategy of explicitly giving deference with appropriate overt forms; pre-study abroad learners use 77% overt forms, and natives 70%. After study abroad, however, learners use overt forms only around half the time (56%), and as such cannot be said to favour overt deference in the way that the other groups do.

7.5 Third-person reference

Third-person reference involves three people: the speaker, the hearer and a referent. The two status relationships that can be expected to contribute the most to the choice of terms used in third-person reference are that between speaker and hearer, and that between speaker and referent. In order to analyse the effects of speaker and hearer status on third-person reference, I compare two different pairs of tasks. Details of the tasks summarised in Table 63 below show the key features that make these two pairs the most directly comparable for the analysis of third-person reference.

code	hearer and status	third-person referent and status
R11	foreign students' advisor: high	teacher: high
R12	teacher: high	classmate: same
R13	classmate: same	teacher: high

Table 63 Statuses of hearer and third-person referent in selected tasks

In order to analyse the role of hearer status, the role plays R13 and R11 are compared. Both involve reference to a teacher (a high-status person) where the interlocutor is, respectively, a same-status person or another high-status one. Although these two tasks are in many ways directly comparable, it should be noted that, in addition to a difference in hearer status, the scenario for R13 is basically a co-operative one where speakers are likely to display a neutral or positive attitude towards the main third-person referent, whereas that for R11 involves a more adversarial setup where the learner is directed to be critical of the third-person referent (see Table 53 for details).[66] This may result in a greater use of politeness strategies in the latter scenario in order to minimise the potentially undesirable consequences of an adversarial interaction. The results for hearer status based on comparison of these two tasks are presented in 7.5.1 below.

As for referent status, role plays R12 and R11 are the most directly comparable. In both cases the interlocutor is a high-status person; the third person referent is a same-status person in the former task, and a high-status one in the latter. The results for referent status are given in 7.5.2, followed by a discussion of both sets of results in 7.5.3. Reference to third-persons involves a range of forms. These include uses of names involving the full name, family name or given name used with titles such as *-sensee* for teachers, or the formal *-san*. There is also occasional use of third-person pronouns such as *kare* 'he' and *kanojo* 'she'. As for descriptions, third-person reference is the only type where complex descriptions are used in any great number. For the analysis of the actual forms produced, I therefore group simple and complex descriptions together based on the head of the complex descriptions. For instance, the category *paatonaa* 'partner' includes uses of the word alone as a simple description, as well its appearances as the head of a complex description such as *watashi no paatonaa* 'my partner'.

[66] Here, I want to emphasise the intrinsic differences in the scenarios for role plays R13 and R11. There remains, however, considerable room for individual interpretation in both — for instance in how strongly the learner criticises the teacher in R11 —, and participants have a range of different styles in dealing with the interactions.

7.5.1 *Results by hearer status*

The distribution of form types used in reference to high-status third persons with high- and same-status interlocutors is given in Table 64 and Graph 16 below. The associated statistical tests — tests of independence for hearer context and form type, and tests of independence for learners' change over time — are given in Table 65.

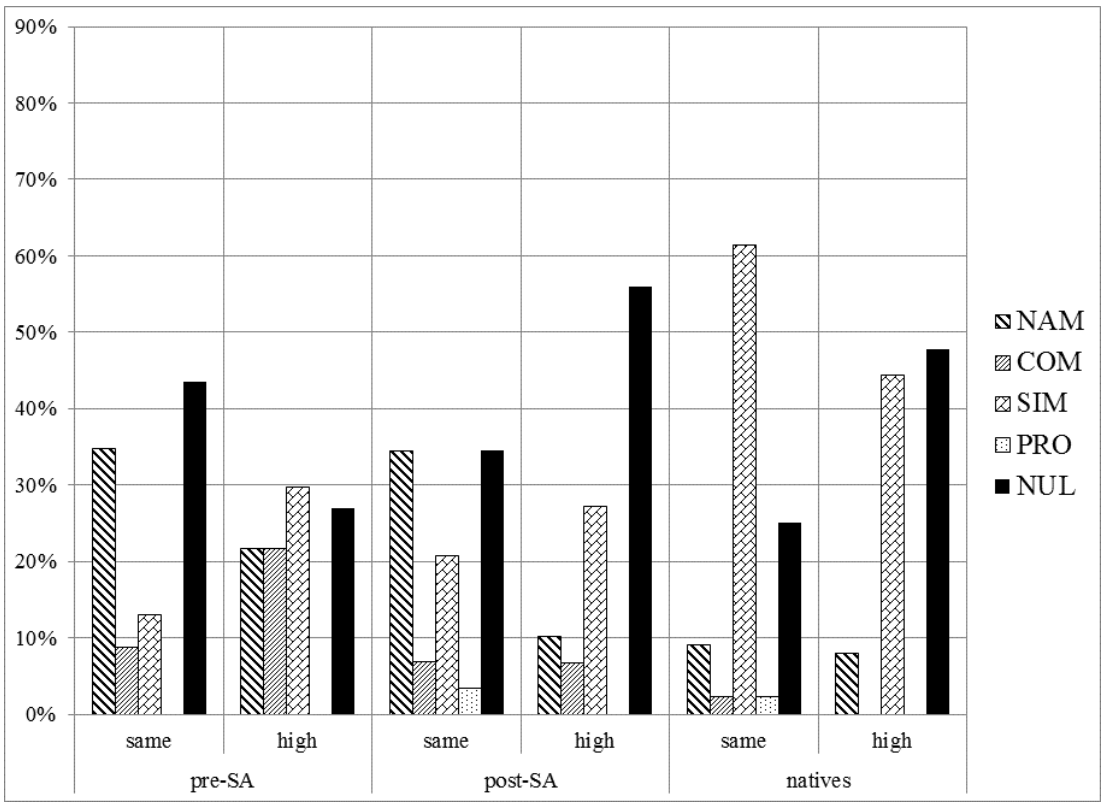
	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	same H		high H		same H		high H		same H		high H	
NAM	8	(35%)	8	(22%)	10	(34%)	6	(10%)	4	(9%)	7	(8%)
COM	2	(9%)	8	(22%)	2	(7%)	4	(7%)	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
SIM	3	(13%)	11	(30%)	6	(21%)	16	(27%)	27	(61%)	39	(44%)
PRO	0	(0%)	0	(0%)	1	(3%)	0	(0%)	1	(2%)	0	(0%)
NUL	10	(43%)	10	(27%)	10	(34%)	33	(56%)	11	(25%)	42	(48%)
	23	(100%)	37	(100%)	29	(100%)	59	(100%)	44	(100%)	88	(100%)

Table 64 Form types used in third-person reference by hearer status

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	5.187	3	-
group: post-SA	10.508*	4	0.346*
group: natives	99.524*	4	0.269*
learner change: same H	6.194	4	-
learner change: high H	22.545***	3	0.335***

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 65 Statistics for third-person reference (hearer status):
tests of independence for hearer status and for learners' change over time



Graph 16 Third-person reference and hearer status

The general pattern of forms used across groups suggests that the effect of hearer status is more pronounced for natives and post-study abroad learners. The statistics confirm this by showing a moderate relationship between hearer status and form type for these two groups which is significant at the 5% level. For learners before study abroad, however, the relationship is not significant. The data shows, however, that one effect of hearer status common to both learner groups is a decreased use of names when the hearer is a high-status person. In terms of learner development, it is noticeable that while pre-study abroad learners use null forms a little less with high-status hearers, after study abroad they have adopted the native speaker pattern of using null forms more with high-status hearers than with same-status ones. This is reflected by statistics showing that learners' change over time is significant for the high-status hearer context only, largely a reflection of learners' increased use of null forms there. In terms of explicitness, this is a move towards decreased explicitness in the high-status hearer context. For post-study abroad learners, this is achieved by an increase in the proportion of null forms and a decrease in that of names. For native speakers, names are rarely used in either context, but the proportion of simple descriptions (the most common choice in the same-status hearer context) is reduced while that of null forms increases.

Participants use the full range of overt forms (names, complex and simple descriptions, and pronouns) for third-person reference. Below, I consider the variety and types of these which appear. The distribution of name types is given in Table 66.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	high H	same H	high H	same H	high H	same H
FaN-*sensee*	6	6	10	6	4	7
GN-*sensee*	1					
FuN-*san*	1					
FaN-*san*		2				
	8	8	10	6	4	7

Table 66 Name types used in third-person reference by hearer status

Some variety of name types appears, but native speakers and post-study abroad learners are absolutely consistent in using family name with -*sensee* regardless of hearer status. The pre-study abroad learners, however, occasionally use other types of names. In (8), the full name is used not with the expected title -*sensee* but with -*san*.

8) L06: watashi no sensee **Satoru Haradasan** ga kyonen ikimasu .
"My teacher **Satoru Harada-san** goes/will go last year."[67]
(R13, pre-SA learner)

This example is interesting, however, in that the word *sensee* does form part of the reference term, but as a description rather than a title. The presence of *sensee* before the name perhaps led the learner not to repeat it as a title after. This is the only overt reference form that the learner uses in this task for this referent, so it is difficult to judge whether there is any particular strategic intent. Furthermore, although she uses the referent's full name, the given and family names are in the opposite order from what would be usual in Japanese, which is perhaps another sign that this name is a source of difficulty for this learner. The second example in the same-status hearer context is from a different learner, who uses the given name rather than the family name, but does add the title -*sensee*. Finally, two further instances of -*san*, including extract (9), are produced by the same learner as (8) above, this time with a high-status hearer. In this case, the learner's uses of -*san* are mixed in with use of the title -*sensee* and the simple description *sensee* in reference to the same person, as in extract (10).

[67] The role play scenario mentions that the teacher will retire at the end of the year. The learner's use of *kyonen* 'last year' is likely an attempt at either *kotoshi* 'this year' or *rainen* 'next year'.

9) L06: watashi wa **Sakaisan** to hanashimashita .
"I have spoken to **Sakai-san**."

(R11, pre-SA learner)

10) L06: aa **sensee** wa daijoobu desu daijoobu desu .
"**The teacher** [says] 'it's fine, it's fine'."

(R11 pre-SA learner)

The alternation between *sensee* and *-san* illustrated above is a particularly clear example of lack of attentional control (see Bialystok 1994) affecting person reference. Despite the presence of both *sensee* and *-sensee* in the learners' repertoires, the demands of on-line production sometimes leave them unable to attend sufficiently to the choice of appropriate person reference terms. Developmentally, these non-target-like uses are only found before study abroad. At the later stage, learners behave exactly as native speakers do in this respect.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	high H	same H	high H	same H	high H	same H
sensee 'teacher'	5	19	8	19	28	39
mukoo 'the other side'				1		
	5	19	8	20	28	39

Table 67 Description types used in third-person reference by hearer status

The data for descriptions is summarised in Table 67 above. With a single exception, descriptions using *sensee* are the only ones used. Although in second-person reference *sensee* is perhaps the only possible description that could be used for a teacher, there is no similar restriction for third person reference, as evidenced by the single use of *mukoo* 'the other side' by a post-study abroad learner. It is therefore all the more notable that there is such uniformity in speakers' use of *sensee*. It is clear that the referents' status as a teacher is of overriding importance, and the status of the hearer does not have any effect on the type of simple description used.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	high H	same H	high H	same H	high H	same H
kare			1			
boku					1	
	0	0	1	0	1	0

Table 68 Pronoun types used in third-person reference by hearer status

Finally, the results for pronouns are given in Table 68 above. The key finding here is that pronouns are almost never used in either of the two contexts examined here.[68] However, when they are used, it is only when the hearer is a same-status person. As discussed in the following section, this echoes the pattern of pronoun use found in the tasks that are comparable by referent status, where pronouns are used for same-status referents only.

7.5.2 *Results by referent status*

The data used for comparison of reference to high- and same-status third-person referents is taken from the role play tasks R11 and R12, respectively (see Table 63). In both tasks, the interlocutor is a high-status person. Furthermore, unlike those in the previous section, the scenarios are similar; in both cases the learner is directed to express some criticism of the non-present third person to the interlocutor. The distribution of form types in the two referent status contexts is given below in Table 69 and Graph 17, accompanied in Table 70 by the results of statistical tests of the interaction between form type and referent status, and of learners' change over time.

	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	same H		high H		same H		high H		same H		high H	
NAM	17	(36%)	8	(22%)	9	(24%)	6	(10%)	26	(25%)	7	(8%)
COM	7	(15%)	8	(22%)	9	(24%)	4	(7%)	3	(3%)	0	(0%)
SIM	0	(0%)	11	(30%)	2	(5%)	16	(27%)	3	(3%)	39	(44%)
PRO	4	(9%)	0	(0%)	5	(13%)	0	(0%)	9	(9%)	0	(0%)
NUL	19	(40%)	10	(27%)	13	(34%)	33	(56%)	64	(61%)	42	(48%)
	47	(100%)	37	(100%)	38	(100%)	59	(100%)	105	(100%)	88	(100%)

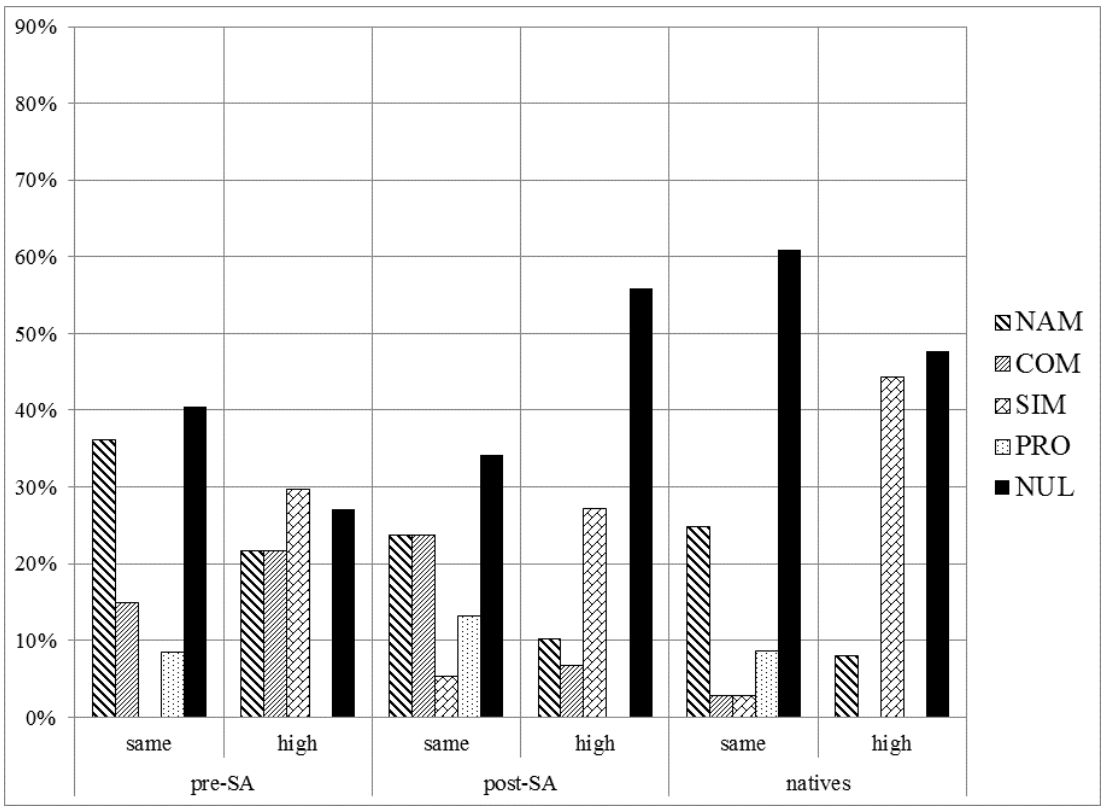
Table 69 Form types used in third-person reference by referent status

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	20.196***	4	0.490***
group: post-SA	23.671***	4	0.494***
group: natives	57.310***	4	0.545***
learner change: same R	10.691*	4	0.231*
learner change: high R	22.545***	3	0.335***

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 70 Statistics for third-person reference (referent status): tests of independence for referent status and for learners' change over time

[68] The single use of *boku*, typically a first-person pronoun, is in a context where the speaker imagines what the teacher would say in particular circumstances.



Graph 17 Third-person reference and referent status

Although there are differences in the absolute proportions of form types used, partially due to a general tendency for greater explicitness by lower proficiency speakers, a number of patterns are common to all groups. Most notably, the proportion of names is consistently smaller for high-status referents than for same-status ones. Furthermore, all groups use simple descriptions much more often to refer to high-status third persons than same-status ones. The combination of these trends shows that, when the third-person referent is a high-status person, rather than naming the referent directly, speakers more often opted for a simple description, which refers less directly. A final common pattern to all groups is that pronouns, although comparatively rare, are used exclusively for same-status referents by all speakers. This is attributable to a general dispreference for pronouns in Japanese when the referent is a high-status person. Although this phenomenon is more commonly discussed for second-person reference, the data here suggests that similar patterns are found in third-person reference too.

In terms of learner development, the overall balance of form types does change over time, as shown by significant results in the statistical tests for learners' change over time (Table 70). The change for high-status referents is stronger, principally because of learners' increased proportion of null forms as discussed below. In terms of the effect

of referent status, however, it is important to emphasise the commonalities between groups as discussed above. Statistical tests also show that the relationship between form type and referent status is significant for all groups at the 0.1% level (Table 70). This relationship becomes stronger over time for learners, and is strongest of all for native speakers. Learners' use of complex descriptions, too, becomes more target-like over time. Before study abroad, they use complex descriptions more often for high-status persons, but after study abroad, like native speakers, they use them proportionally more for same-status ones. Null forms, however, do not show a consistent developmental trend. Native speakers and pre-study abroad learners use null forms more often for same-status persons than high-status ones. However, the post-study abroad group has a clear trend in the opposite direction. It is possible, though, to see this as a transition between the pre-study abroad and native patterns. When referring to high-status third-persons (as compared to same-status ones), pre-study abroad learners use a range of overt forms, along with proportionally fewer null forms. Native speakers also use null forms less often for high-status third-persons, but when they use overt forms, they have a clear preference for simple descriptions. In these terms, post-study abroad learners' reference to high-status third-persons can be seen as an intermediate stage. When they use overt forms, they have the same clear preference for simple descriptions as native speakers, but they do not yet use them as frequently as natives do, leaving them with a high proportion of null forms.

The discussions above must be supplemented by a look at the actual forms produced by speakers: names, descriptions and pronouns. First, the types of names used according to referent status are summarised in Table 71.

	pre-SA		post-SA		native speakers	
	same R	high R	same R	high R	same R	high R
FaN-*sensee*		6 (75%)		6 (100%)		7 (100%)
FuN-*san*	1 (6%)		1 (11%)			
FaN-*san*	9 (53%)	2 (25%)	6 (67%)		20 (77%)	
GN-*san*	5 (29%)				6 (23%)	
FaN-*kun*	1 (6%)		1 (11%)			
FuN			1 (11%)			
FaN	1 (6%)					
	17 (100%)	8 (100%)	9 (100%)	6 (100%)	26 (100%)	7 (100%)

Table 71 Name types used in third-person reference by referent status

As established in the previous section, family name followed by -*sensee* is the standard choice for a high-status referent. The only exceptions are also discussed in the previous section (see example (9) in 7.5.1), and are confined here to a single pre-study abroad

learner. In contrast, a much greater range of name types is used for same-status third-person referents. Family name used with *-san* is the majority choice for all groups. For pre-study abroad learners as well as native speakers, given name with *-san* is the other common choice. Examples of the two main variants are given below.

11) L06: watashi wa **Emisan** to hatarakimashita .
"I worked with **Emi-san**."
(R12 pre-SA learner)

12) L01: uh **Ishidasan** wa uh isogashisugiru kara uh kimasen to itte imashita .
"Uh, **Ishida-san**, uh, said that [she] is too busy so [she] won't come."
(R12 post-SA learner)

In the respects outlined above, learners' and native speakers' use of names is very similar. There are, however, some differences. Learners tend to use a greater range of name types, including some that native speakers never use, such as names (family name or full name) with no title, and names with the title *-kun*. The main difference between the two learner groups is that post-study abroad learners more often choose the most common of the name types, whereas pre-study abroad learners are more diffuse.

	pre-SA		post-SA		native speakers	
	same R	high R	same R	high R	same R	high R
sensee 'teacher'		19 (100%)		19 (95%)		39 (100%)
tomodachi 'friend'	4 (57%)		4 (36%)			
paatonaa 'partner'	3 (43%)		6 (55%)		2 (33%)	
kurasumeeto 'classmate'			1 (9%)			
seeto 'pupil'					1 (17%)	
futari 'the two [of us]'					1 (17%)	
mukoo 'the other side'				1 (5%)	2 (33%)	
	7 (100%)	19 (100%)	11 (100%)	20 (100%)	6 (100%)	39 (100%)

Table 72 Description types used in third-person reference by referent status

Simple and complex descriptions are counted together to give the numbers in Table 72. They show, as discussed in 7.5.1 above, that when the referent is a high-status person, the use of descriptions involving *sensee* is almost unanimous. In referring to same-status persons, however, the range of terms is rather larger. Learners use for the most part *paatonaa* 'partner' or *tomodachi* 'friend', and this does not change over time. Moreover, individual learners are generally consistent in which one they use. One learner favours *tomodachi* and uses it at both stages, while the others use *paatonaa*.

The latter is used by natives as well, but otherwise there is no overlap between the descriptions used by learners and those used by native speakers. Native speakers have only a small number of tokens for descriptions used for same-status third persons, but in addition to *paatonaa*, the descriptions they use include *futari* 'the two [of us]' and the oppositional *mukoo* 'the other side'. The key findings here are that, firstly, the descriptions used for high-status third persons are entirely separate from those used for same-status ones. Secondly, a somewhat greater range of descriptions is used for same-status third persons, but learners' preferred choices overlap only a little with those of native speakers.

The pronouns used in the two referent status contexts are summarised in Table 73.

	pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
	high R	same R	high R	same R	high R	same R
kare/kanojo	3		3		7	
jibun					1	
watashi	1		2		1	
	4	0	5	0	9	0

Table 73 Pronouns used in third-person reference by referent status

As noted earlier, pronouns are never used for high-status third persons. However, they are used to some extent with same-status ones. Almost the only type used is *kare* 'he' or *kanojo* 'she'.[69] However, although a number of the native speakers use this type of pronoun, only one learner does so, both before and after study abroad.

13) L02: eeto **kare** wa (.) ima made nanimo shimasen deshita ga .
"Um, although so far **he** hasn't done anything."
(R12, pre-SA learner)

14) L02: chotto **kare** no see janakute .
"Well, it's not **his** fault."
(R12, post-SA learner)

The other pronoun occasionally found is the first-person pronoun *watashi*. In all cases, this is used in utterances where the referent's voice is invoked, such as the example below, from a learner after study abroad.

[69] As mentioned in chapter 4, two versions of the role play task R12 were used, depending on the participant's gender. In one, the classmate being discussed was listed as male and as having a male given name, and in the other, female; there were no other differences. This is why both *kare* 'he' and *kanojo* 'she' occur for this referent.

15) L04: demo watashi no paatonaa wa itsumo iie **watashi** wa (.) ima wa isogashii to xxx desu no henji ga arimasu .
"But my partner always replies 'no, **I**'m busy now'" [loose translation].
(R12, post-SA learner)

7.5.3 *Discussion*

Analysis of second-person reference (section 7.4) earlier in this chapter shows that all participants tend to converge on a narrow range of forms when referring to high-status second persons. It might be expected, then, that when a third-person referent is a high-status person, the status of the hearer makes relatively little difference. This is true to some extent of the data for reference to high-status persons in conversation with a high- and a same-status hearer, as examined in 7.5.1 above. There are very few differences in the actual forms used, and therefore little change in this respect over time. However, there is development in the distribution of form types. Learners become more native-like in that the strength of the relationship between hearer status and form types increases to the point of statistical significance, and over time they come to prefer a strategy of decreased explicitness when the hearer is a high-status person. However, rather than being an effect of hearer status as such, this is perhaps more due to learners' developing response to the confrontational scenario involved in role play R11, the task used for the high-status hearer data. That is, learners after study abroad are more likely to attempt to mitigate the face threat of making explicitly critical remarks about a high-status third-person with a negative politeness strategy of preferring greater vagueness when referring to that person.

The effect of referent status on third person reference is rather different. Firstly, its effect is significant on the choice of form types for all groups, and this relationship is stronger for each group than that of hearer status. There are starker differences in the form types preferred for high-status referents as opposed to same-status ones, and learners can be seen over time to approach a more native-like response to referent status in most respects. Specifically, higher referent status is associated with a reduced proportion of names, no pronouns, and a much increased proportion of simple descriptions. In effect, speakers prefer (and learners increasingly so over time) the option of simple descriptions when referring to high-status third persons. This form, usually *sensee* 'teacher', has the advantage of avoiding the explicitness of a name, whilst still giving deference explicitly. As for actual forms used, once again the effect of referent status is much more pronounced than that of hearer status. There is little or

no overlap in the actual terms used to refer to the two referent types. This is in part due to differences in what is available in terms of semantic compatibility with the referent: *sensee*, for instance, can be used to refer to a teacher, but not to a classmate. However, there are also a great many terms that can be used for both, such as *mukoo* 'the other side'. So the fact that speakers' actual choices result in so little overlap does constitute evidence of discrimination between high- and same-status referents. For high-status third-person referents, participants' choice of terms (types of names and descriptions) is largely homogeneous and does not change over time. For same-status referents, however, their choices are more varied. This characteristic is shared by all groups, and in terms of the range of forms used, learners change little over time.

7.6 Addressee and referent honorifics

In the sections above, I have analysed the effect of referent and hearer status on the forms and form types produced by participants. In this section, the focus of the analysis shifts to consider the relationship between person reference terms and verbal honorifics, which are another conspicuous feature of Japanese that is largely socially motivated. For the purposes of this analysis the use of honorifics is considered from a morphological perspective — that is, whether or not particular morphemes are present —, and the discussion is limited to a consideration of whether any links are evident between person reference and the use of addressee and referent honorifics. Since honorifics provide a linguistic means separate from person reference by which to respond to social status, it is possible that participants will tend to omit overt forms or to be less referentially specific when they use honorifics. That is, they may leave verbal honorifics to bear more of the burden of status-marking. It is also possible that particular person reference terms will be associated with the (non-)use of honorifics. The discussion below begins with addressee honorifics (7.6.1), followed by referent honorifics (7.6.2). In each case, the discussion for person reference is preceded by a look at the general distribution for the honorifics in question. Finally, in 7.6.3, I discuss the implications of the two sets of results.

7.6.1 *Results for addressee honorifics*

Addressee honorifics are characterised by presence of forms of the *-masu* morpheme (or the copula *desu*). When coding the data, each instance of person reference was coded

according to the form of the predicate associated with it.[70] If *-masu* or *desu* were present, the person reference term was considered as co-occurring with addressee honorifics. If they were absent from a context where they could have been used, then the reference term was coded as being used without addressee honorifics. In all other instances, such as incomplete sentences, no classification was made.[71] Unclassified tokens are not used in the analysis below, so the number of reference terms considered here is somewhat lower than the total produced. Since addressee honorifics are, primarily, hearer-focussed devices, as background to the discussion of person reference, Table 74 below shows how far addressee honorifics and hearer status contexts coincide. It is followed by the results of statistical tests of independence for each group in Table 75.

	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
addressee honorifics	same H		high H		same H		high H		same H		high H	
no	13	(13%)	45	(24%)	81	(63%)	102	(41%)	135	(92%)	350	(65%)
yes	90	(87%)	146	(76%)	47	(37%)	146	(59%)	11	(8%)	192	(35%)
	103	(100%)	191	(100%)	128	(100%)	248	(100%)	146	(100%)	542	(100%)

Table 74 Hearer status and the use of addressee honorifics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	5.056*	1	0.131*
group: post-SA	16.583***	1	0.210***
group: natives	43.013***	1	0.250***

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 75 Tests of independence for hearer status and addressee honorifics

As the two tables above show, the relationship between addressee honorifics and hearer status varies between participant groups. Pre-study abroad learners use a high proportion of addressee honorifics regardless of hearer status, and in fact do so a little more for same-status than high-status hearers. However, after study abroad, although

[70] One consequence of this is that when a single predicate is associated with multiple person reference terms, it is counted several times. For instance, in example (11) given earlier, both the pronoun *watashi* 'I' and the name *Emi-san* are coded for the presence of addressee honorifics because both are arguments of a single verb, *hatarakimashita* 'worked', which uses addressee honorifics. It should also be noted that the form of predicates where no person reference occurs are not counted at all, and, therefore, that the numbers for addressee and referent honorifics do not entirely reflect the range of what participants produced.

[71] In keeping with the morphology-based approach here, this is a departure from Iwasaki's (2010) methodology, where cases of omission of predicate or copula are grouped with the use of predicates that do not use addressee honorifics.

the learners continue to favour addressee honorifics more than native speakers do, they have adopted a more native-like distribution where addressee honorifics are associated more strongly with high-status hearers. This is reflected by a stronger interaction between honorifics and hearer status for post-study abroad learners and native speakers than for pre-study abroad learners. This contextualises other aspects of learner development by showing that learners' ability to use addressee honorifics in socially motivated ways clearly increases over time.

Although addressee honorifics are linked to hearer status for post-study abroad learners and for native speakers, the association is not absolute. That is, it is far from being the case that the high status of a hearer is obligatorily marked with addressee honorifics. So although the two overlap, the analysis of addressee honorifics and person reference below does not duplicate the analyses of hearer status and person reference earlier in this chapter. The tables and graph below (Table 76, Table 77, Graph 18) show the distribution of form types split by co-presence of addressee honorifics and the result of tests of independence for the two.

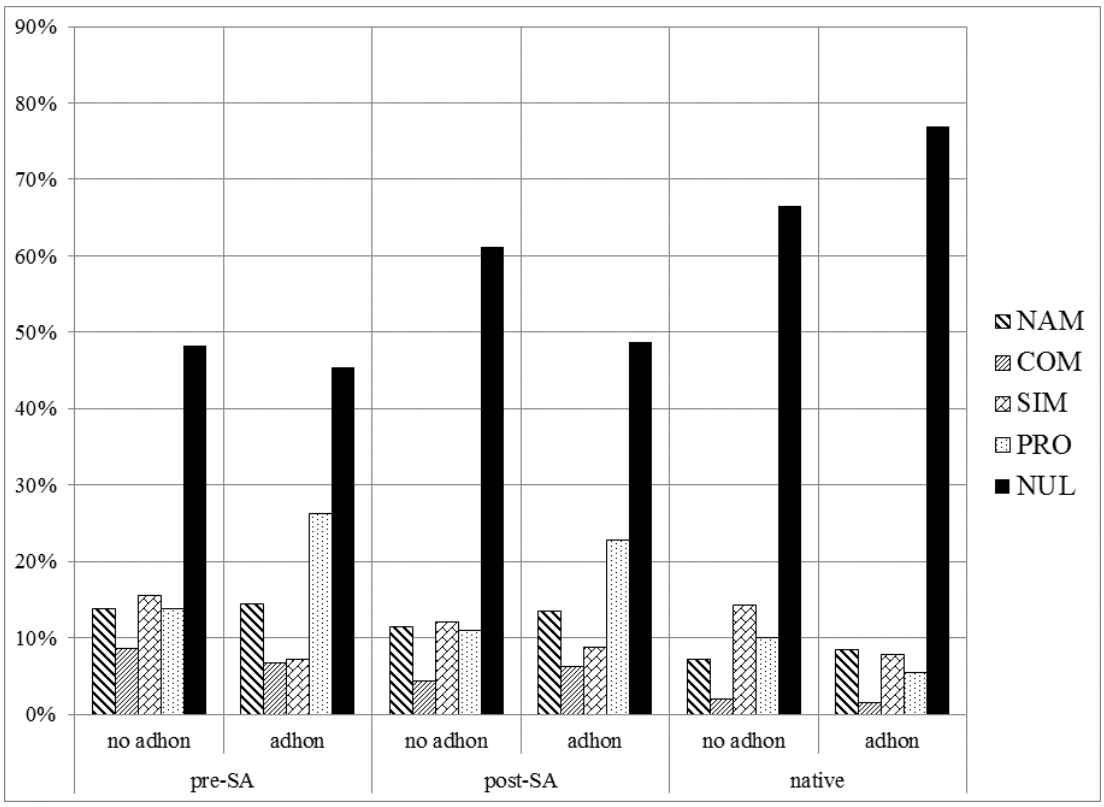
	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	no adhon		adhon		no adhon		adhon		no adhon		adhon	
NAM	8	(14%)	34	(14%)	21	(11%)	26	(13%)	35	(7%)	17	(8%)
COM	5	(9%)	16	(7%)	8	(4%)	12	(6%)	10	(2%)	3	(1%)
SIM	9	(16%)	17	(7%)	22	(12%)	17	(9%)	69	(14%)	16	(8%)
PRO	8	(14%)	62	(26%)	20	(11%)	44	(23%)	49	(10%)	11	(5%)
NUL	28	(48%)	107	(45%)	112	(61%)	94	(49%)	323	(66%)	156	(77%)
	58	(100%)	236	(100%)	183	(100%)	193	(100%)	486	(100%)	203	(100%)

Table 76 Form types and the use of addressee honorifics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	7.004	4	-
group: post-SA	12.228*	4	0.181*
group: natives	10.994*	4	0.126*

* $p < 0.05$

Table 77 Tests of independence for form type and addressee honorifics



Graph 18 Form types and the use of addressee honorifics (all persons)

The statistical tests in Table 77 show a significant relationship between addressee honorifics and form type for only post-study abroad learners and native speakers, and that the strength of these relationships is rather modest. Given the earlier results showing that hearer status does not affect pre-study abroad learners' use of addressee honorifics, it is perhaps unsurprising that there is no significant relationship between addressee honorifics and form type for this group. There is, however, one pattern common to both learner groups: an increased proportion of pronouns when addressee honorifics are used. The other pattern of interest, this time in the post-study abroad and native groups, is the relationship between addressee honorifics and null forms. Learners after study abroad use null forms proportionally less often when they also use addressee honorifics. Native speakers, however, do the opposite: that is, they omit overt reference terms more often when they use addressee honorifics. This difference can be interpreted as follows. The work of marking hearer status may be accomplished by either one of addressee honorifics or person reference terms, or by a combination of the two. Native speakers prefer somewhat more often to allow addressee honorifics alone to bear the burden of marking high hearer status, and therefore use overt forms less often when they use addressee honorifics. Post-study abroad learners, on the other hand, tend more often to prefer 'double marking' of high hearer status: they use overt forms

more often with addressee honorifics than without. Learners before study abroad, as discussed above, use addressee honorifics in a way that is not clearly linked to hearer status, and it is therefore unsurprising that their use of null versus overt forms varies very little across addressee honorific contexts.

In order to consider the question of whether specific person reference terms are associated with the (non-)use of addressee honorifics, I compare the overt reference terms used by each group in each context. A summary of this data is given in Table 78 below. As with earlier analysis of third-person reference, simple and complex descriptions are grouped together based the head element of each complex description.

		pre-SA		post-SA		natives	
addressee honorifics →		no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
pronouns							
watashi		7	53	16	32	25	8
watashi-tachi				2	6		
atashi						6	3
boku					2	1	
kare		1	2	2	2		
kanojo						7	
anata			7			1	
kotchi						3	
jibun					2	5	
jibuntachi						1	
descriptions							
sensee	‘teacher’	9	13	19	12	63	15
hitori	‘one person’			1			
mukoo	‘the other side’					2	
oneesan	‘older sister’	3	6	8		4	1
neechan						1	
*anesan**			1				
ane			1				
imootosan	‘younger sister’		1				
musume	‘daughter’		6	1	4		
*omusume**					1		
*omusumesan**					1		
musumesan			1		2	1	1
ojoosan	‘young lady’					1	
okosan	‘child’					1	
musuko	‘son’	1	1				
paatonaa	‘partner’	1	1	1	4		2
tomodachi	‘friend’		2		4		
kurasumeeto	‘classmate’				1		

seeto	‘pupil’					1	
adobaizaa	‘advisor’					1	
futari	‘the two [of us]					4	
names							
	FaN-*sensee*	3	12	12	8	5	5
	GN-*sensee*		1				
	FuN-*san*		1		1		
	FaN-*san*	2	10	1	9	17	6
	GN-*san*	3	6	2	1	7	2
	FaN-*kun*		1		1		
	FaN-*chan*		1				
	GN-*chan*					4	4
	FuN				4		
	FaN				2		
	GN		2	6		2	

*not typically used in Japanese

Table 78 Forms used with and without addressee honorifics

First, for names, it is not clear what relationship, if any, is to be found between name types and the presence of addressee honorifics. The most common forms, family names followed by *-sensee* or by *-san*, occur with and without addressee honorifics. Name types less marked for high status, such as names with no title, or those using *-chan* also occur, although in relatively low numbers. If they are grouped together, a developmental pattern can be observed, such that pre-study abroad learners use them only with addressee honorifics, while the other two groups use them in roughly equal amounts with and without addressee honorifics. However, the pre-study abroad learners’ result most probably reflects their global preference shown above (Table 74) for addressee honorifics, as compared to other groups who use them in a more principled way.

Similarly to that of names, the distribution of various descriptions does not seem related to the use of addressee honorifics as such. *Sensee* ‘teacher’, the most common description by far, occurs in both contexts. All other descriptions occur in small numbers. For learners, there is an association between a group of terms referring to a daughter (*musume* ‘daughter’ and so on) and the use of addressee honorifics.[72] These all come from the discourse completion task DCT1, where the learner makes a request to a teacher (the addressee) involving her daughter. Since other tasks do not contain any

[72] This group includes two instances of *musuko* ‘son’ which were used (by a single learner before study abroad) for the same referent as all the daughter terms.

reference to daughters, this data does not prove any link between addressee honorifics and this group of reference terms. Rather, it is because the hearer is a high status person — and as such attracts addressee honorifics — that the group of daughter terms tend to co-occur with addressee honorifics.

Turning to the use of pronouns, the lack of an interpretable pattern as observed above continues to some extent. For all groups, *watashi* 'I', the most common pronoun (as well as *atashi* 'I' for natives), is used in both contexts. For native, speakers, however, pronouns other than *watashi* and *atashi* are used only when addressee honorifics are not. This perhaps indicates that for native speakers these other pronouns — which are used very sparingly when considered as a proportion of natives' total production — are associated with a less formal kind of language which also lacks addressee honorifics. Learners, however, do not show evidence of any similar association.

7.6.2 *Results for referent honorifics*

As with addressee honorifics, each instance of person reference in the tasks considered here is coded for the presence of referent honorifics on the associated verb. This is defined as the use of referent honorific morphemes on the verb (V), such as *o*-V-*ni naru* or *o*-V-*suru*, or of special honorific verbs like *irassharu* 'go/come/be' or *sashiageru* 'give'.[73] For instance, in example (16) below, there are two null forms: one is the subject of *omou* 'think', and the other is the subject of *kanchigai shite irassharu* 'is misunderstanding'. The former is coded for non-use of referent honorifics, while the latter is coded as a null form accompanying referent honorifics, since the special honorific verb *irassharu* is used (here as an aspectual marker).

16) JA1: tabun sonoo ryuugakusee no anoo rikairyoku tte iu no o (.) kanchigai shite irassharu n da to omou n desu [=! laughter] .
"Probably, [I] think that [he] is misunderstanding [the extent of] foreign students' comprehension."
(R11, native speaker)

[73] This analysis deliberately makes no distinction between different types of referent honorifics. This is because the different types all involve a response of some kind to the high status of at least one of the persons involved in the proposition expressed. Furthermore, no assessment is made here of the appropriateness of speakers' (non-)use of referent honorifics. As with the coding for addressee honorifics, the method of coding used here (based on the co-occurrence of honorifics with person reference terms) means that the same verb may be coded multiple times. A final note is that, although it involves *o*-V-*suru*, *o-negai shimasu* 'please' is classified as a formulaic expression and excluded from consideration.

As with the analysis for addressee honorifics above, I will first consider how referent honorifics are distributed in the data, specifically, how they are distributed in connection with terms referring to high- and same-status persons. The data given in Table 79 includes all references to second and third-persons in the tasks considered here,[74] where these persons are classified as either high- or same-status relative to the speaker. The results of accompanying tests of independence are reported in Table 80.

	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
referent honorifics	same R		high R		same R		high R		same R		high R	
no	79	(93%)	103	(94%)	78	(99%)	118	(86%)	138	(99%)	175	(85%)
yes	6	(7%)	7	(6%)	1	(1%)	20	(14%)	2	(1%)	31	(15%)
	85	(100%)	110	(100%)	79	(100%)	138	(100%)	140	(100%)	206	(100%)

Table 79 Referent status and the use of referent honorifics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	0.037	1	-
group: post-SA	10.056**	1	0.215**
group: natives	17.921***	1	0.228***

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 80 Tests of independence for referent status and referent honorifics

The first point of note in the results above is that all participant groups use referent honorifics very sparingly. Any analysis of the relationship between referent honorifics and person reference based on this data is consequently somewhat weakened. There is, however, a clear relationship between referent status and addressee honorifics for native speakers and post-study abroad learners. For both these groups, referent honorifics are used almost exclusively when referring to a high-status person. The converse, however, is not true: references to high-status persons are in fact rarely accompanied by referent honorifics. Pre-study abroad learners, on the other hand, use referent honorifics even less than the other groups, and do so in a way that appears unrelated to referent status. This difference between groups is reflected in the statistics (Table 80), which show that the interaction between the use of referent honorifics and the referent's status is significant for only native speakers and post-study abroad learners.

For the two more proficient groups, referent honorifics are essentially used in a subset of utterances containing reference to high-status persons. The analysis of the

[74] A very small number of tokens (three in total) are excluded: these are where speakers refer to persons not specified in the task descriptions.

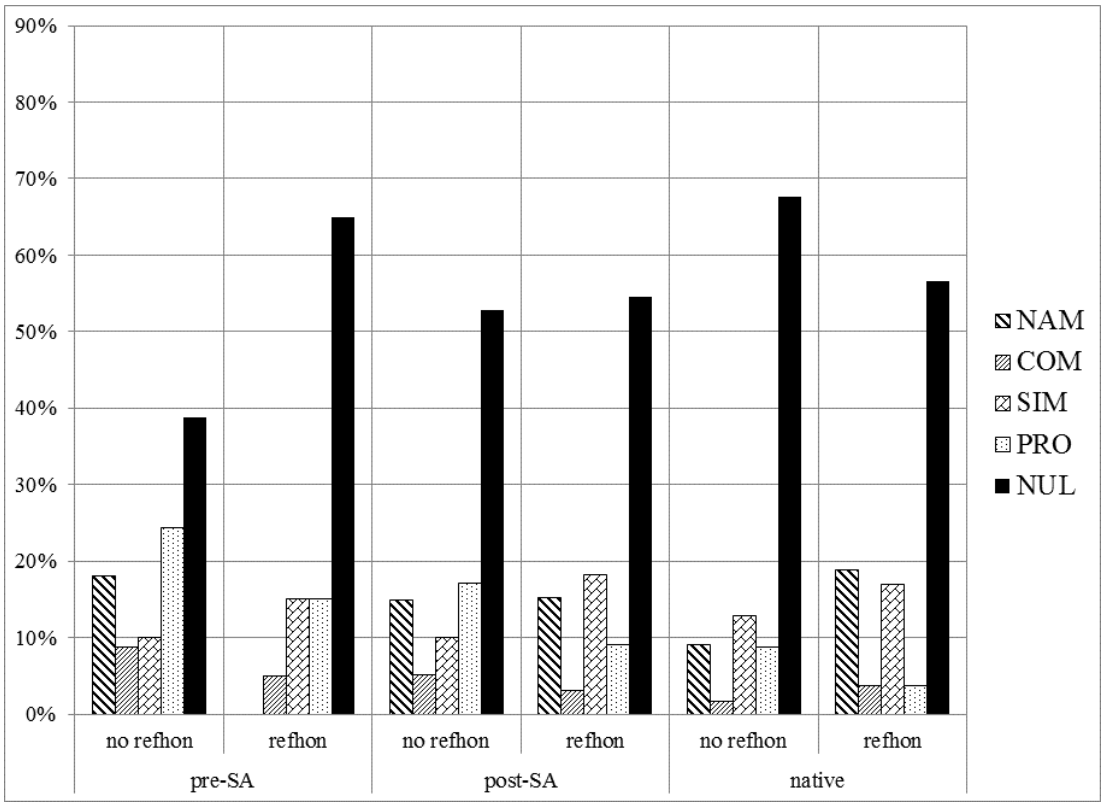
relationship between person reference and referent honorifics will therefore focus on whether there the reference terms used in this subset are in any way different from those used elsewhere. The tables below show the distribution of form types for person reference terms used with and without referent honorifics (Table 81, Graph 19) and the associated statistical tests (Table 82).

	pre-SA				post-SA				native speakers			
	no refhon		refhon		no refhon		refhon		no refhon		refhon	
NAM	58	(18%)	0	(0%)	55	(15%)	5	(15%)	61	(9%)	10	(19%)
COM	28	(9%)	1	(5%)	19	(5%)	1	(3%)	11	(2%)	2	(4%)
SIM	32	(10%)	3	(15%)	37	(10%)	6	(18%)	86	(13%)	9	(17%)
PRO	78	(24%)	3	(15%)	63	(17%)	3	(9%)	59	(9%)	2	(4%)
NUL	124	(39%)	13	(65%)	195	(53%)	18	(55%)	452	(68%)	30	(57%)
	320	(100%)	20	(100%)	369	(100%)	33	(100%)	669	(100%)	53	(100%)

Table 81 Form types and the use of referent honorifics

	chi-square	df	Cramér's V
group: pre-SA	8.306	4	-
group: post-SA	3.350	4	-
group: natives	8.983	4	-

Table 82 Tests of independence for form type and referent honorifics



Graph 19 Form types and the use of referent honorifics (all persons)

The key finding is, as shown in Table 82, that the interaction between referent honorifics and form types is not significant for any of the participant groups. Examination of the data confirms that there tend to be only modest differences between the distribution of form types used in the two contexts, especially for post-study abroad learners and native speakers. There are, however, two patterns of interest in the pre-study abroad data. Firstly, learners in this group never use names when they use referent honorifics. Secondly, they use an elevated proportion of null forms when referent honorifics are also used. This is in fact a consequence of the limited range of referent honorifics used by pre-study abroad learners, almost exclusively in request forms using the honorific benefactive construction *itadakemasen ka* (literally, 'could [I] receive [from you]?'). This expression, by its nature, involves null forms, which are rarely replaced with overt ones. The trends for pre-study abroad learners, therefore, cannot be considered a reliable indication of a relationship between person reference and referent honorifics per se.

The remaining task of this analysis is to consider whether there is any special link between the use of referent honorifics and particular person reference terms. The full list of terms used with referent honorifics is given in Table 83.[75]

[75] Since the large majority of all forms produced in the data occur without referent honorifics, Table 83 gives only those that occur *with* referent honorifics. These are to be compared with the wider range of forms as documented elsewhere in this chapter.

		pre-SA	post-SA	natives
pronouns				
	watashi	3	3	2
descriptions				
sensee	'teacher'	1	3	8
oneesan	'older sister'	1		
musume	'daughter'	2	1	
*omusumesan**			1	
musumesan			2	1
ojoosan	'young lady'			1
adobaizaa	'advisor'			1
names				
	FaN-*sensee*		2	3
	FaN-*san*		1	3
	GN-*san*		1	
	GN-*chan*			4
	FuN		1	

*not typically used in Japanese

Table 83 Forms used in conjunction with referent honorifics

As established above, for all groups except pre-study abroad learners, there is a strong link between the use of referent honorifics and the high status of the referent, such that referent honorifics are essentially used in a subset of utterances involving reference to high-status persons. This, therefore, naturally affects the type of forms that occur. In descriptions, for instance, *sensee* 'teacher' is the most common form, followed by various terms used to refer to daughters (in reference to a teacher's daughter as discussed in 7.6.1). For names, a range of forms is used with referent honorifics. Particularly noticeable are four tokens of a given name followed by -*chan*; in this case, they are all used to refer to the teacher's daughter by name, such as in the example below.

17) JA6: zehi **Aichan** ni intabyuu sasete itadakitai no desu ga .
"[I] would very much like [you] to allow [me] to interview **Ai-chan**."
(DCT1, native speaker)

This combination of name type and referent honorifics is a strategy that learners never employed. Indeed, the range of terms that learners produced when referring to the teacher's daughter, including some that were inappropriate, shows that this referent is a source of particular trouble for learners at both stages. In terms of referent honorifics, however, for both names and descriptions there is little to distinguish the forms used

from those used more generally in reference to high-status persons. In contrast, for pronouns, although these were produced in very small numbers, it is notable that only *watashi* co-occurs with referent honorifics. This means that second- and third-person pronouns, and (for natives and post-study abroad learners), other first-person pronouns such as *watashi-tachi* 'we' or the less formal *boku* or *atashi* are never used with referent honorifics.

7.6.3 *Discussion*

The analyses above first show clear learner development in the use of verbal honorifics. Learners before study abroad use both addressee and referent honorifics in a way that is not responsive to hearer and referent status, respectively. However, over time, learners come to use both in a way that is sensitive to social status, and in so doing they come to behave more like the native speaker group. Learners come to use addressee honorifics more judiciously, rather than simply using a high proportion regardless of hearer status. Contrary to results from Marriott (1993, 1995) and Iwasaki (2010), the evidence does not suggest that learners overgeneralise the non-use of addressee honorifics after study abroad. The small number of tokens of referent honorifics means that evidence is more limited, but it appears that learners move away from a largely formulaic use of referent honorifics which does not take referent status into account towards a more socially motivated one. As a general pattern, this conforms to suggestions in the literature, such as from Sawyer (1992) and Ohta (1999, 2001a, 2001b) that learners begin by using socially motivated items formulaically, before gradually extending their use in a more productive direction. These findings about verbal honorifics are not directly related to the central question of how learners use person reference, but crucially they show that the period studied is one where learners develop in their use of socially marked features of Japanese.

The relationship between verbal honorifics and the distribution of person reference terms, however, is in general less clear. Ide's (1989) normative judgements about socially inappropriate 'mismatches' between person reference terms and verbal honorifics are not clearly reflected in the production of any of the participant groups. In the case of referent honorifics, there is no significant interaction between form type and the use of referent honorifics, and the few actual differences are arguably a result of pre-study abroad learners' formulaic use of referent honorifics rather than a status-based strategy. The distribution of form types in the two addressee honorific contexts,

however, shows an interesting developmental pattern when the balance of null versus overt forms is considered. Learners begin with a pattern before study abroad where there is very little difference between the two contexts because addressee honorifics are little influenced by hearer status. But over time, they come to prefer, to some extent, a 'double marking' strategy where high-status hearers are associated with more overt forms as well as more use of addressee honorifics. This contrasts with native speakers, who more often use null forms with addressee honorifics — in other words, they more often use 'single marking' of high hearer status, and do so through the use of addressee honorifics rather than overt person reference terms. What can be observed here, then, is as learners become more able over time to use addressee honorifics and person reference terms in a socially motivated way, they come to adopt a distinctive 'double marking' strategy which they may abandon after the period studied here if they continue to progress towards a more target-like use of person reference.

A closer look at the actual forms produced in contexts with and without verbal honorifics reveals few differences. In most cases, it is not clear that any particular forms are reserved for use with (or without) honorifics. Where there are differences, it is often difficult to isolate their cause to show that they are actually related to honorifics, rather than to other features of particular tasks, which are, in turn, associated with the use of honorifics. The only area where patterns can be found is in the use of pronouns. Native speakers' use of pronouns other than first-person *watashi* and *atashi* shows the marked status of second- and third-person pronouns by avoiding their use entirely when addressee or referent honorifics are used. Learners similarly use no pronouns other than *watashi* when they use referent honorifics, but do not have any similar distinction relating to addressee honorifics. For learners, at least, the outcome of this portion of the analysis is that little evidence could be found of a link between honorifics and particular forms.

7.7 Conclusion

I begin by summarising the results of the analyses above (7.7.1). This summary begins with a comparison of analyses focussing on the hearer's status (where the hearer is not the referent), and those on the referent's. The former covers analysis of first-person reference, of the effect of hearer status on third-person reference, and the analysis of addressee honorifics. The latter covers the rest: second person reference, the effect of referent status on third-person reference, and the use of referent honorifics. Then I summarise a number of points of further interest: learners' use of politeness strategies

(7.7.1.2), and the effect of social factors on pronoun use (7.7.1.3). Following this, I look more broadly at the developmental paths revealed and possible explanations (7.7.2), the influence of language universals (7.7.3), and, finally, how the findings in this chapter relate to those of previous studies (7.7.4).

7.7.1 *Summary of results*

7.7.1.1 *Hearer status and referent status compared*

In general, the effects of hearer-related conditions are comparatively modest. For both first- and third-person reference, the effect of hearer status on the distribution of form types is small. In reference to high-status third persons, the actual forms produced by speakers show very little effect of hearer status. However, over time learners' use of first-person pronouns comes to show a clear effect of hearer status. At first, *watashi* is the only form used by pre-study abroad learners, but after study abroad it is clearly linked to high hearer status, while a greater range of first-person pronouns is used with same-status hearers. In addition to person reference, addressee honorifics are available as a very pervasive means of marking hearer status in Japanese. Learners' use of the honorifics in themselves clearly develops over time. At the first stage, a high proportion of addressee honorifics is used without regard to hearer status, but over time, learners' production shows evidence that they have come to link addressee honorifics with high hearer status. A relationship between person reference and addressee honorifics, however, is only found in the more proficient speaker groups. Over time, learners come to use 'double marking' of hearer status more often. That is, they more often use an overt reference term in conjunction with addressee honorifics, so that both honorifics and person reference serve to mark the status relationship between speaker and a high-status hearer. This increased preference for 'double marking' is characteristic of post-study abroad learners; native speakers more often omit overt forms when they use addressee honorifics.

Compared to the effect of hearer status, the referent's status has a much stronger effect on person reference. There are starker differences in the distribution of form types used for same- and high-status referents, and there tends to be little or no overlap in the actual terms used for each. When the referent is a high-status person, all participant groups converge on a small range of forms with very little deviation. One form type in particular that is favoured by native speakers is the simple description. I speculate above that this is because it represents an ideal compromise between explicitness and

vagueness — it gives deference without maximal referential specification. Learners, however, do not show a clear preference for this compromise strategy. Instead, over time, they move towards a strategy of somewhat increased vagueness when referring to high-status persons. All groups' reference to high-status persons exemplifies a *wakimae*-like aspect of person reference; the reference terms speakers use for high-status persons look more like default options than the outcome of volition-based strategies. Reference to same-status persons, however, has a rather more volitional character. Compared to that for high-status persons, a wider range of forms is used, and there is less consensus between speakers. As illustrated earlier, the fact that speakers reach a range of different decisions about how to refer to same-status persons suggests, firstly, that reference to same-status persons leaves room for greater diversity in personal interactional styles, and secondly, that speakers are actively choosing the forms they consider most appropriate. As for learners' development over time, in this aspect it tends to be qualitative rather than quantitative. Learners to some extent become more native-like in the forms they use when referring to same-status persons. However, after study abroad they produce a number of forms not used before, such as family name used with no title, with *-chan* or with *-kun*, which are never used by native speakers. Finally, referent honorifics are used sparingly by all groups. Over time is appears that learners come to associate them with high-status referents, whereas before study abroad their use is more formulaic in nature. However, there is very little clear relationship between person reference terms and the use of referent honorifics.

7.7.1.2 *Politeness strategies*

The discussion so far has, to an extent, already considered learners' use of politeness through person reference. Results show that when referring to high-status persons, over time learners tend to prefer negative politeness through vagueness in referring — namely by using more null forms when the referent is a high-status person. This contrasts with native speakers, who tend to prefer the alternative negative politeness strategy of giving deference through appropriate use of overt forms. Furthermore, comparison of reference to high-status persons in confrontational versus co-operative scenarios in 7.5.1 shows that over time learners come to behave like natives in preferring the negative politeness strategy of increasing vagueness (through use of null forms) when referring to a high-status third-person whom they are criticising as compared to one who is being discussed more neutrally. As for positive politeness, the main strategy observed is limited to post-study abroad learners. Unlike natives, learners

after study abroad use inclusive *watashi-tachi* ‘we’ with same-status hearers in such a way as to include them in the action being discussed. Although the token numbers are small, they show that learners’ increased proficiency allows them to take advantage of this positive politeness strategy, even though its use is not target-like.

7.7.1.3 *Learner development for pronouns*

Of the form types considered here, the development of learners’ use of pronouns is particularly noticeable over time. Although the amount of pronouns used as a proportion of all person reference decreases, the range of pronouns widens over time, and they are used in increasingly socially sensitive ways. The pronouns produced by learners and natives in the tasks analysed in this chapter are summarised in Table 84 below.[76]

	first person	second person	third person
pre-SA	*watashi*	*anata*	*kare*†
post-SA	*watashi**, *watashi-tachi**, *boku**, *jibun**	*watashi-tachi*†, *jibun*†	*kare*†
natives	*watashi*, *atashi**, *jibun**, *jibun-tachi**, *kotchi**	(none)	*kanojo**†, *jibun**†, *jibun-tachi**†

Table 84 Pronouns used by participants split by person (*sensitive to hearer-related conditions; †sensitive to referent-related conditions)

Before study abroad, learners’ range is limited, and shows little sensitivity to social factors, although *kare* ‘he’ is reserved for same-status referents. Afterwards, a fuller range of pronouns is deployed, and all are sensitive to social factors of one kind or another. In second-person reference, it is notable that learners abandon *anata* in favour of pronouns whose use is not limited to second-person reference (*watashi-tachi* ‘we’ and *jibun* ‘[your]self’). In this respect they remain distinct from native speakers, who use no pronouns at all in second-person reference. However, learners do come to share a key social distinction with native speakers: non-first-person pronouns are not used when high-status persons are involved. The data for pronouns shows a system developing over time, both in its range and in its sensitivity to social factors, as well as in its increasing resemblance to native speakers’ usage.

[76] The table excludes a small number of tokens where pronouns are used non-typically because learners are speaking from another’s perspective. This includes, for instance, use of *watashi* ‘I’ in third-person reference. As touched upon earlier, the use of *kare* ‘he’ by learners and *kanojo* ‘she’ by natives in third-person reference is a result of the implementation of the tasks, and not in itself a result of differences between groups.

7.7.2 *Explaining learners' route of social development*

A simplified account of learners' developmental path as revealed by the analyses in this chapter can be made as follows. Before study abroad, learners use of person reference terms is already broadly target-like in their reference to high-status persons (as hearer or third-person referent). However, they show some instability by occasional inappropriate and non-strategic use of *-san* for referents who are teachers. Furthermore, learners overgeneralise the pronouns *watashi* 'I' and *anata* 'you' by using them in a contextually insensitive way. After study abroad, inappropriate use of *-san* for teachers is no longer found, showing that a greater degree of control, or perhaps automaticity, has been reached. Instead of overgeneralising *watashi* and *anata*, learners begin to show evidence of a more varied system of pronouns. Some of the social distinctions made are target-like — such as the abandoning of second-person pronouns for high-status persons —, but others are not, such as the association of *watashi* with high-status hearers. While production in high-status contexts otherwise changes comparatively little, that for same-status contexts shows evidence of pragmatic expansion as learners produce a wider range of reference terms. However, the details of what they produce suggests that although their repertoire has expanded, they do not have target-like control over the pragmatic effects involved, and as such use forms that native speakers never do, such as bare family names. As learners' use of addressee honorifics becomes more controlled (as compared to their overgeneralisation pre-study abroad), learners also come to link them to person reference. Here, again, they adopt a non-target-like strategy of increased preference for deferential overt forms accompanied by addressee honorifics for high-status hearers.

Pre-study abroad learners' production is consistent in a number of respects with Bialystok's (1994) prediction that attentional control is a challenge for lower proficiency learners. That is, they overgeneralise some forms, and they show an occasional lack of control over certain pragmatic distinctions such as that between the titles *-sensee* and *-san*. Learners after study abroad use a greater range of forms, even though most of those appearing at the later stage, such as *watashi-tachi* 'we', are very likely to be available to even very early-stage learners. This shows an increasingly successful allocation of attentional resources by learners as they become more proficient; the fact that they are better able to attend to their use of person reference allows them to make fuller use of the repertoire they already possessed from an early stage. The fact that learner development appears more marked in same-status than in

high-status contexts is in part a reflection of the more volitional character of politeness in the former. Because person reference in high-status contexts tends to a more *wakimae*-like automaticity, learners are faster to internalise the target language norms in such contexts than in those where even native speakers' choices are more volitional and therefore less automatic.

7.7.3 *Language universals and specifics in the social domain*

After study abroad in particular, some learner-specific uses of person reference appear. These include an increased preference for 'double marking' of the high status of a hearer using overt forms with addressee honorifics, and the use of *watashi-tachi* 'we' in a solidarity-based positive politeness strategy. Even though native speakers do not employ these strategies, they can be understood within the framework of politeness universals; they fit within the range of possible behaviours predicted by the theory as summarised in Table 51 at the beginning of this chapter. Learners' increasing proficiency, with an accompanying increase in the attention learners are able to give to pragmatic aspects of their production, allows these strategies to be realised. The fact that they are not target-like, however, shows that learners have not yet internalised the relevant language-specific strategic preferences for Japanese. Unfortunately, my data does not include an English baseline, so it is not possible to know how far learners are transferring preferred strategies from English into the L2. However, since English lacks addressee honorifics, it is clear that, at least in part, learners are drawing on politeness universals directly once their proficiency at the later stage allows them to do so.

Reference has been made on several occasions in this chapter to Suzuki's (1978) principle, which is a set of status-based restrictions in person reference that are specific to Japanese. He identifies an asymmetry in second-person reference, where the only role terms (essentially equivalent to my category of simple descriptions) usable as second-person reference terms are those referring to the higher member of a hierarchical relationship, while those referring to persons of equal or lower status cannot be similarly used. Conversely, second-person pronouns are not conventionally used for higher-status persons. Although this principle is not explicitly taught to learners of Japanese, their use of simple descriptions conforms to its predictions even before study abroad. For second-person pronouns, however, it is only after study abroad that learners restrict them to same-status persons. It must be noted that the most common hierarchical relationship found in these tasks — that between student and teacher —

must be very familiar to instructed learners from their own experiences in the classroom. Further investigation would be needed to test how far learners follow the principle in less familiar settings, but the suggestion from the data so far is that learners are increasingly successful at integrating these language-specific restrictions into their use of person reference as they develop.

7.7.4 *Relation to previous socially-orientated studies*

Contrary to reports in a range of studies including Iwasaki (2010), Beckwith and Dewaele (2008, 2012) and Marriott (1993, 1995), data reported in this chapter does not show post-study abroad learners overusing informal variants. In contrast to these findings, where learners of Japanese overuse forms such as predicates without addressee honorifics and the less formal apology *gomen*, learners here do not generalise informal forms to high-status contexts. Indeed, relatively few truly informal variants emerge; the informal pronoun *boku* is used by one post-study abroad learner only and he reserves it for same-status hearers. Because data was collected at only two points in time, it is difficult to be certain of the reasons for this. One possibility is that learners passed through a phase of overgeneralising informal variants which ended before the second data collection. Another explanation is that over-informality is not a universal developmental stage. In fact, Iwasaki (2010) and Marriot (1995) show that, on the individual level, some learners are overly informal after study abroad while others are not. It is therefore possible, particularly because of the small scale of the present study, that the learners who provided my data all happened to fall into the category of those who do not overgeneralise informal variants after study abroad.

In keeping with Belz and Kinginger (2002, 2003), Matsumura (2001, 2003, 2007) and others, this chapter shows that learner development is more marked in same-status than high-status contexts. Contact with native speakers of the target language through study abroad gives learners more frequent exposure to interactions involving same-status persons. Such interactions are less commonly encountered at the pre-study abroad stage, where in a foreign language setting, the student–teacher relationship is the dominant social context in which learners use Japanese. As discussed earlier, although the range of what learners produce in same-status contexts increases, the terms they use are not necessarily appropriate. This fits well with a range of previous research in interlanguage pragmatics (discussed, for example, by Kasper and Rose 1999) showing

that learners take longer to master the situationally appropriate use of forms and strategies than they do to acquire the forms and strategies themselves.

The conclusions above are, of course, subject to the limitations of the present study. For a fuller social analysis, it would be preferable to include a task with a same-status hearer and a specified same-status referent, but the scale of this study limited the number of tasks that could be used. Furthermore, a number of points above rest on relatively small numbers of tokens, and would ideally be substantiated by use of a larger set of data. The wider concern of how learners of Japanese use linguistic politeness and how far they are successful in achieving appropriate outcomes is a complex one that cannot be answered simply by looking at the forms that speakers produce. However, this chapter has added a social perspective to the consideration of how learners of Japanese acquire person reference, and shown that it is one that can account for a number of trends and changes on a qualitative and quantitative level.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Overview of this thesis

In this thesis I have investigated how English-speaking learners of Japanese as a second language use person reference terms, and how this changes as they develop. This research was informed by the assumption that person reference is at once an informational (discourse-pragmatic) and a social phenomenon. In other words, the person reference terms that speakers choose are tied to the discourse context in which they appear as well to the social relationships between speaker, hearer and (if applicable) third persons. I began with a review of theories relevant to these two views of person reference, as well as studies on various aspects of second languages that take each perspective. This showed that very little previous work directly examines learners' use of person reference, and that a longitudinal study of learner development would be a particularly valuable addition to the literature. The study I have conducted looked at six learners of Japanese at two points in time: firstly, at a pre-intermediate stage before a year of study in Japan, and secondly, a short time after the end of the study abroad period. Comparable data was also collected from six native speakers of Japanese. A series of tasks — role play tasks, narrative retelling, written discourse completion tasks — was used in order to access participants' responses to variation in discourse-pragmatic and social conditions. The data thus collected was analysed using mainly quantitative methods which compared what learners produced in different contexts as defined socially or discourse-pragmatically in order to assess the effect of various social and discourse-pragmatic variables. The three participant groups (pre- and post-study abroad learners, and Japanese native speakers) were compared to reveal how far learners' production at each stage was target-like, and how learners changed over time. In addition, the discourse-pragmatic analysis included further examination of the interactions between different discourse-pragmatic factors. The social analysis, on the other hand, took a closer look at the actual forms produced in various contexts as well as the more general trends.

8.2 Revisiting the research questions

This thesis has aimed to address the following research questions.

1) How do English-speaking learners of Japanese use person reference terms before and after study abroad

a) considered through discourse-pragmatic factors?

b) considered through social factors?

c) compared with Japanese native speakers in these respects?

2) What does this reveal about learner development over the period studied, which combines residence abroad with continued classroom instruction?

3) What does the above reveal about the acquisition of person reference in second languages?

a) What might explain learners' route of development?

b) What is the relation between language universals and language specifics in learners' development?

c) How do these results compare to those of other studies?

In the subsections below I summarise what has been discovered for each question. I begin by discussing the results for research questions 1 and 2 together (8.2.1). Despite their conceptual separateness, in practice these questions are closely related since the similarities and differences in learners' production before and after study abroad essentially define what I consider to be their development over the period studied. Following this, I address each part of research question 3 in turn in subsections 8.2.2–8.2.4.

8.2.1 *Learners' development from pre- to post-study abroad*

Discourse-pragmatic analysis of learners before and after study abroad shows that at both stages learners are sensitive to the factors determining referent accessibility when choosing person reference terms. Of these factors, physical (non-)presence of the referent has the largest effect on learners' choice at both levels. Over time, competition for the role of antecedent comes to play a greater role in learners' systems. Distance from antecedent, on the other hand, makes a much smaller contribution to learners' production at both stages than it does for Japanese native speakers. Learners' production is largely fixed at the extremes of high and low referent accessibility. In the highest accessibility contexts they are somewhat overexplicit compared to native speakers, but in the lowest accessibility ones, learners are essentially native-like from the earlier stage onwards. The more marked changes over time therefore occur in intermediate accessibility contexts. Learners' production before study abroad is

characterised by an over-prioritisation of achieving recognition over economy — that is, by overexplicitness — which is manifested in a number of ways. Firstly, learners undersupply null forms globally. Over time, learners come to use them more readily, but still almost always less than native speakers. Secondly, for first- and second-person referents (that is, those who are physically present in the interaction) learners are over-reliant on pronouns, whereas for third-person referents (who are not physically present) they overuse names. The overuse of names is much reduced after study abroad. Overuse of pronouns also decreases over time, but even after study abroad, learners tend to use them much more often than native speakers. However, this overexplicitness is not a haphazard use of pronouns or names; rather, it is a relative over-reliance on them which nevertheless does not violate the basic predictions of accessibility theory. Conversely, some underexplicitness emerges after study abroad in learners' relative overuse of null forms in certain lower accessibility contexts as measured by distance from antecedent. This underexplicitness, too, shows some sensitivity to discourse context and does not appear in very low accessibility contexts.

The results of the social analysis show that learners' use of person reference terms is sensitive to social factors in a number of ways. The distinction between same- and high-status referents is a particularly clear example. From the pre-study abroad stage onwards, learners' use of person reference terms for high-status persons (as hearer or third-person referent) is broadly target-like[77] — at first, occasional inappropriate use of the title *-san* for teachers is found, but this disappears after study abroad. When referring to same-status persons, learners produce a wider range of reference terms after study abroad than before. Although their repertoire expands, however, they are not always target-like, and sometimes use forms, such as bare family names, that natives do not. The involvement of person reference in politeness strategies becomes more apparent in learners' production after study abroad, although the outcome is not necessarily native-like. Learners come to prefer increased vagueness when referring to high-status persons, which contrasts with native speakers' greater tendency for explicit deference for such referents. Furthermore, learners after study abroad occasionally use inclusive first-person plural pronouns in what can be interpreted as positive politeness strategy, which is not found in native speakers' production. A further learner-specific strategy appears after study abroad: an increased preference for 'double marking' of

[77] Note, however, that this finding is based on a limited range of scenarios where the high-status referents are usually teachers and (in one task) a foreign students' advisor. This necessarily limits the range of appropriate forms.

high-status hearers with addressee honorifics and overt (deferential) person reference terms. Pronouns are a final area where learners can be seen to develop socially. Before study abroad, learners use *watashi* 'I' and *anata* 'you' in a contextually insensitive way. Afterwards, their system of pronouns becomes moderately more varied and more responsive to social factors. Some of the newly appeared social distinctions are target-like, such as the abandoning of second-person pronouns for high-status persons, while others are learner-specific, such as the association of *watashi* with high-status hearers.

8.2.2 *Explaining learners' route of development*

To provide an explanation for learners' development I have primarily relied on Bialystok's (1994) two dimensional model of pragmatic development. The predictions stemming from this model (as set out by Kasper 2001: 511–512) are, firstly, that L2 learners will already have formed the pragmatic representations necessary for the second language, but, secondly, that they need to develop attentional control in actual L2 use. This means that, particularly at earlier stages of development, learners' production will show signs of limited attentional control (Kasper and Rose 2002: 25–26). These include overgeneralisation of certain forms or strategies, and the sacrifice of pragmatic appropriateness in order to prioritise communicational goals. Furthermore, I have argued that limited attentional control may be the cause of the "more local planning strategy" (Chini 2005: 95) that characterises learners' response to discourse-pragmatic factors when choosing person reference terms.

Both the social and discourse-pragmatic analyses suggest that learners indeed have access to pragmatic representations relating to status relationships and to referent accessibility. Even when it is not entirely target-like, learners' production shows evidence that such representations are present from the pre-study abroad stage onwards. As for the second prediction, many of the non-target-like characteristics of learners' production can be understood as the result of limited attentional control. In social terms, pre-study abroad learners' contextually-insensitive use of *watashi* 'I' and *anata* 'you', for instance, reflects an overgeneralisation that can be argued to be the result of prioritising the communication of reference over contextual appropriateness. Furthermore, learners' repertoire of person reference terms and of socially motivated strategies involving them is shown to increase over time. However, this does not seem to be the result of learners' increased vocabulary or grammatical competence: on the whole, the newly appeared forms and strategies are very likely to have been known to

learners even before study abroad. This therefore suggests that the increased repertoire is a result of improved allocation of attentional resources at the post-study abroad stage, which allows learners to make fuller use of the forms and strategies available to them all along. A final point of interest from the social analysis is that when reference to high-status persons is compared with that to same-status persons, the former is characterised by a greater role for *wakimae* politeness, where the choice of forms is more automatic and non-volitional. Learners' performance is more target-like in the former context. This is consistent with an understanding that volitional politeness is more attentionally demanding than language use with a more *wakimae*-like, automatised character.

Discourse-pragmatic development, too, shows signs of learners' developing attentional control. Overexplicitness conserves attentional resources because it requires less attention to discourse context and at the same time means that the learner is more sure that the hearer will successfully identify the intended referent. This accounts for the appearance of overexplicitness before study abroad, and for its reduction over time as learners' attentional control improves. Furthermore, the relative contributions of different accessibility-determining factors to learners' choice of person reference terms can be accounted for in attentional terms. Distance from antecedent makes a much smaller contribution to learners' choice of person reference terms than to native speakers'. I have argued that this is because assessment of this aspect of discourse context requires close attention to the discourse preceding an act of reference, and that this is taxing for L2 learners. This challenge may also account for post-study abroad learners' underexplicitness in certain distance contexts. In contrast, learners become more attuned over time to competition for the role of antecedent, which is another contextual variable requiring assessment of the preceding discourse; it seems, however, that this less cognitively demanding than the equivalent procedure for distance. Physical presence of the referent, on the other hand, is entirely independent of the content of the discourse and therefore demands much less of learners' attentional resources. This is why, for learners at both stages, it has the largest impact on the choice of person reference terms.

8.2.3 *Language universals and specifics*

The discourse-pragmatic and social frameworks used in this thesis propose broadly universal motivations for the use of person reference terms which are subject to certain language-specific restrictions or preferences. This therefore suggests that such

universal motivations will be apparent in L2 learners' production, but that they will not necessarily acquire the language specifics for Japanese successfully. Learners' production in both domains tends to support the argument that they are responding to pragmatic universals. In discourse-pragmatic terms, they distinguish successfully between different discourse contexts, and they associate forms with contexts in a way that is consistent with universal principles of accessibility marking. That is, more accessible referents are associated with a greater number of high accessibility markers, and vice versa. When learners are found to be overexplicit compared with native speakers, they still respect distinctions in referent accessibility. Even the underexplicitness that appears after study abroad is not entirely insensitive to referent accessibility. In social terms, over time learners become more able to use a greater range of person reference terms and strategies involving them. What they do is not always target-like, but it falls within the bounds of what is predicted by politeness universals, therefore showing that such universals are operating in learners' systems. The role of language universals in learners' production clearly overlaps with Bialystok's (1994) predictions about pragmatic representations as discussed earlier. Indeed, it is perhaps these representations that theories of pragmatic universals are attempting to codify.

Learners' production also provides some evidence for varying success in the acquisition of Japanese-specific features of person reference. In the discourse-pragmatic analysis, this is chiefly evident in the division of labour between null forms and pronouns in learners' production. The patterns for native English and Japanese (as predicted by Ariel 1990: 89–90) are summarised below.

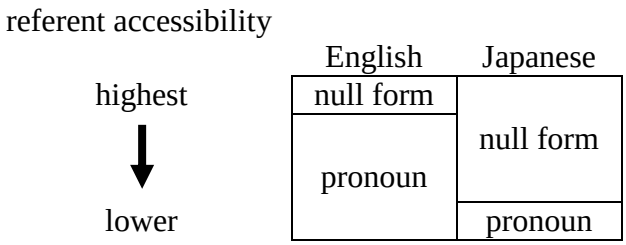


Figure 5 English-like and Japanese-like distributions of null forms and pronouns compared

It is true that learners use null forms much more readily in Japanese than they likely would in English: learners used 35% and 42% null forms pre- and post-study abroad, respectively, in comparison to 28% null subjects in native English as reported by Yanagimachi (2000: 118). However, before study abroad, learners' distribution has an

English-like character, where null forms are the majority choice in only the very highest accessibility contexts, and the proportion of pronouns exceeds that of null forms in slightly lower accessibility contexts. Over time, learners use null forms more readily, but still show signs of an English-like distribution. The social data shows, similarly, that learners' preferences, for instance in terms of explicitness versus vagueness as a politeness strategy, do not always match those of native speakers. In other words, learners, even after study abroad, are yet to internalise the Japanese-specific preferences for how person reference terms are used in politeness strategies. In contrast, learners are successful in acquiring certain status-based restrictions in the use of pronouns and simple descriptions as described by Suzuki (1978); those for simple descriptions are successfully observed from the pre-study abroad stage onwards, whereas those for pronouns are only observed at the post-study abroad stage. In sum, the evidence suggests that learners are responding to pragmatic universals from the start, but that they take time to acquire the necessary language specifics, and have not finished this process at the post-study abroad stage.

8.2.4 *Relation to previous studies*

In keeping with almost all previous discourse-pragmatic studies on second languages, learners in my study are shown to be sensitive to referent accessibility before and after study abroad. By using a range of measures of referent accessibility, my findings have lent strength to those of previous studies, which for the most part rely on a single measure. Furthermore, in agreement with most previous work, the absolute proportions of referring expressions used by learners are shown to become more target-like over time. Here, again, my study lends strength to previous work by arriving at this finding using a scale of referring expressions that pays more attention to their content (that is, their referential specification) than previous studies tend to. Various cross-sectional studies have shown learners becoming more native-like over time, but the few existing longitudinal studies are less clear. Ahrenholz's (2005) longitudinal study broadly agrees with mine, but my results contrast with those of Broeder (1991) who shows that person reference by a group of four naturalistic L2 learners develops little in discourse-pragmatic terms over a 27 month period. My finding that, amongst the accessibility-determining factors, physical presence of the referent has the largest effect on learners' choice of person reference terms goes some way to explaining why Yanagimachi (2000) and Ahrenholz's (2005) studies show presence having a profound effect on learners' production even at an early stage. My assessment of the combined effect of various

accessibility-determining factors shows that learners develop the most in their response to intermediate accessibility contexts, and change little at the high and low extremes of referent accessibility. This analysis goes beyond what is found in the literature, but its findings are similar to those of Nakahama's (2009b) study on the combination of two accessibility-determining factors in L2 Japanese. My findings showing learners' changing most in intermediate accessibility contexts also make it possible to contextualise the lack of consensus from previous studies (that use only one measure of referent accessibility) about whether learners perform better in higher or in lower accessibility contexts. That is, such studies may have found results similar to mine if multiple measures of referent accessibility had been used. The final points of interest for the discourse-pragmatic discussion concern learners' over- and underexplicitness. The overexplicitness reported in this thesis is similar to that found in a range of studies, including Gullberg (2006), Hendriks (2002), Nakahama (2009a, 2009b) and Yanagimachi (2000), which identify this as a feature of learners at a post-elementary level which decreases as they become more proficient. This thesis has shown that in the domain of person reference, overexplicitness is manifested as oversupply of names for non-present referents and of pronouns for present ones. On the other hand, the appearance of underexplicitness at the post-study abroad stage in my data does not match reports from previous studies. Nakahama (2003) and Ahrenholz (2005) do show, however, that underexplicitness that appears in their data at an earlier stage persists as learners develop further.

A range of previous socially-orientated L2 research, including Iwasaki (2010), Beckwith and Dewaele (2008, 2012) and Marriott's (1993, 1995) studies on L2 Japanese, find learners overusing informal variants as they develop, in particular after study or residence abroad. However, few previous socially-orientated studies consider person reference at all, and those that do take a narrower view of it than I have. My results do not show overuse of informal person reference terms at either stage. This suggests that such informality may appear less readily in Japanese person reference than it does elsewhere. A further possibility, as suggested by data from Iwasaki (2010) and Marriott (1995), who examine the performance of individual learners, is that, although widely reported, overgeneralised informality is not necessarily a universal developmental stage for L2 learners. Another common finding of socially-orientated L2 studies, as discussed by Kasper and Rose (2002: 180–185), is that the ability to create a range of pragmatic effects in the L2 (pragmalinguistic control) is acquired earlier than

the contextual sensitivity needed to deploy such effects in a target-like way (sociopragmatic control). My findings show that the same is true for person reference, an area that has received very little detailed attention in previous research — learners can be argued to exhibit increasing pragmalinguistic control at the post-study abroad stage which is not fully accompanied by the corresponding sociopragmatic control. Finally, I have shown that learners change more over time in reference to same- than to high-status persons. This echoes findings including those of Belz and Kinginger (2002, 2003) on address pronouns, and Matsumura (2001, 2003, 2007) on speech act realisation strategies, who show more marked learner development in same- than high-status contexts as a result of learners' increased experience of a range of social contexts beyond those encountered in the foreign language classroom.

8.3 Directions for future research

In designing the research reported in this thesis, I have attempted to improve on previous related studies in a number of ways. Specifically, I included both discourse-pragmatic and social analyses of data from the same learners. The former departed from previous studies by using accessibility theory to take a more comprehensive view of discourse-pragmatic factors, and looking at these factors in combination as well as separately. The latter analysis applied politeness theory, which has been used in the investigation of other areas of learner language, to the case of person reference. The results of this study suggest various directions for future enquiry. As in many similar previous studies, this thesis has focussed primarily on establishing the facts of L2 learners' development. Future studies of L2 person reference could involve theories of second language acquisition at the level of study design so that the data produced could address their predictions more thoroughly. Furthermore, because the learners in this study have very comparable profiles, I have not gone beyond quite broad generalisations about their Japanese proficiency. Similarly, many previous studies tend simply to state that learners are at a particular level, or to split them into several proficiency groups, without offering further comment on the basis for these distinctions. There are some notable exceptions, including Iwasaki (2010), who gives pre- and post-study abroad proficiency levels for learners based on oral proficiency interviews conducted at each stage and independently rated. The use of a wider range of measures to give a more robust indication of the learners' levels of proficiency at the pre- and post-study abroad stages would be a valuable addition in future.

My focus on trends and developmental patterns on the group level has been necessary as a first step in establishing how learners develop over time in the domain of person reference. Future work could usefully supplement this with a more detailed consideration of individual performance. Grouping learners together, even when they have comparable profiles, can obscure trends and systematicity on the individual level. In addition, a focus on quantifiable trends means that relatively little detailed analysis of individual interactions has been possible. This kind of analysis has a very valuable role to play in identifying the details of how and why learners change over time. Moreover, the development identified by a two-stage longitudinal investigation could valuably be contextualised by a wider view of learners' development. The present research did not capture the early underexplicit stage that has been reported elsewhere (for instance by Ahrenholz 2005); data from learners at earlier stages would be necessary to confirm or disprove such a stage for L2 Japanese in the domain of person reference. Furthermore, it would be of interest to investigate how learners go on to develop in the months and years after study abroad, particularly in the light of Matsumura's (2007) longitudinal study showing L2 learners are target-like immediately post-study abroad, but gradually move away from the target language norm as more time passes after study abroad. A longer view on learners' development of person reference in L2 Japanese might also shed some light on the emergence of underexplicitness observed at the post-study abroad stage in this thesis and its potential decline at later stages of development.

A limitation of the analyses in this thesis is the lack of a unifying theory of person reference to draw on. I conducted social and discourse-pragmatic analyses of the same data, but I was not able to go beyond presenting these analyses side by side. As Ariel (2001: 60) points out, discourse-pragmatic frameworks of reference generally "agree that additional, pragmatic factors can override the principles they propose"; this is true of Levinson's (2007) framework and of accessibility theory itself (Ariel 1990). Such proposals, however, tend to stop short of setting out how the balance between social and discourse-pragmatic factors is reached, and what factors affect this. Further empirical work, including data from second languages, will be necessary in order to explore in more detail the interactions of social and discourse-pragmatic factors in speakers' choice of person reference terms. This, in turn, may lay the ground for a more complete theory of person reference.

Appendix A. Details of tasks used in data collection

9.1 Overview

The following pattern of tasks was used in data collection. The same tasks were used for all participant groups: pre-study abroad learners, post-study abroad learners and Japanese native speakers.

task type	number of tasks	conditions examined
narrative	2	discourse-pragmatic
discourse completion task	3	social
role play	3	social and discourse-pragmatic

Table 85 Summary of tasks used in data collection

In addition to these language tasks, the learners completed three progress reports ('personal learning records') during the year abroad, and a modified Language Contact Profile (LCP) after it. This appendix gives copies or descriptions of testing materials in the order in the table above as well as information about the procedures used in data collection. This is followed by selected details of the personal learning record form and a copy of the modified LCP.

9.2 Narrative retelling tasks

There are two narrative retelling tasks: one first-person narrative and one third-person narrative. In each task the learner is requested to retell the events of around 90 seconds of silent film to the Japanese facilitator. In task N11, learners are asked to imagine themselves in the role of the protagonist, and tell the story as if it happened to them. In N13, they told the story from the position of an observer. The Japanese facilitator is instructed to listen and ask for clarification if they find anything in the learner's narrative to be unclear. Before watching the clip, a small amount of context is provided, as follows. Learners are asked to read task sheets with the following content before watching the silent films.

Narrative N11

Charlie (the first person you will see) has just been fired from his job at a shipyard. The young girl he meets is very poor and hungry. Please imagine yourself in the role of Charlie, and tell [name of Japanese facilitator] what you saw as if it happened to you.

Narrative N13

KONOMURA Hiroshi has recently begun to work as a butler at the house of a rich family, the SAITŌ family. The daughter of the house, Shimako, and her younger brother Jun often fight with each other. Please watch a short clip and tell [name of Japanese facilitator] what happened.

9.2.1 *Narrative N11*

The following table is a summary of the characters who appear in the extract for N11. Each is assigned a three-letter code to be used in data coding. As an indication of the prominence of each character, the approximate time onscreen for the characters was calculated by taking the average of two counts of each character's time onscreen made using a stopwatch.

character	code	approximate time onscreen in seconds (as % of extract)	notes
Charlie	CHA	35 (74%)	The protagonist, referred to by the learners in the first person.
a poor woman	WMN	45 (97%)	-
a women outside the bakery	WM2	8 (18%)	-
a baker	BAK	36 (77%)	-
a policeman	POL	17 (36%)	-

Table 86 Characters in narrative N11

The extract is 70 seconds long. The following is a summary of the events, using character codes given above.

CHA leaves the shipyard where he has just been fired from his job [0:03].	0:03
WMN looks hungrily at the bread in a baker's window [0:22], and then steals a loaf of bread from BAK's van,	0:22

WMN runs away with the bread, and bumps into CHA, who is coming the other way. They both fall to the ground [0:36].	0:36
WM2 tells BAK that she has seen WMN steal some bread [0:41].	0:41
POL arrives and while WMN is protesting, CHA tells POL that he stole the loaf of bread [0:57]. He produces the bread from behind his back and gives it to POL.	0:57
CHA is taken away by POL [1:09] while WMN looks on.	1:09

9.2.2 *Narrative N13*

The characters in the extract for N13 are summarised in the following table. As above, the three-letter codes given are used in data coding, and the time onscreen was calculated by taking the average of two counts of each character's time on screen.

character	code	approximate time onscreen in seconds (as % of extract)	notes
SAITŌ Shimako	SHI	77 (81%)	The daughter of the house.
KONOMURA Hiroshi	KON	63 (67%)	A servant (*genkanban*) of the Saitō family, whose job is to deal with visitors in the entrance of the house.
SAITŌ Jun	JUN	10 (11%)	Shimako's younger brother.

Table 87 Characters in narrative N13

The extract is 95 seconds long. The following is an overview of the events using character codes given above.

SHI and JUN fight over a dress[78] [00:03].

00:03

KON comes running in and puts himself between them [00:06], but is knocked to the ground by their fighting, and the dress covers his face completely. JUN runs away. KON, still with the dress over his face, lifts SHI off the ground, although she struggles against him. KON puts down SHI, takes the dress off his head and the two look at each other. SHI lightly slaps KON's face, points at his beard, appearing to scold him, and then exits. KON is left alone and touches his beard.

00:06

[78] This extract is a sequence of events surrounding an item of Shimako's clothing, which is revealed later on to be a dress. However, from the extract alone this is not clear, and learners interpreted the item in a variety of ways, including as a towel, and as a coat.

The scene changes to SHI's bedroom. She enters and sits down at her dressing table, appearing to sulk [00:46]. She knocks a container from her dressing table onto the floor. She turns round and looks over her shoulder to the bedroom door.

00:46

KON opens the door. He is holding the dress. KON bows lightly to SHI. SHI speaks to him, and he bows again, a little more deeply, and enters the room closing the door behind him. He walks towards SHI, holding out the dress [01:10]. SHI, still seated, turns her back on him.

01:10

KON offers the dress again, and SHI pushes him away. SHI sneezes and KON sneezes soon after. SHI rubs her arms, looking cold [01:25].

01:25

KON tries to put the dress around her, but she pushes him away and stands up. She snatches the dress from him [01:30]. KON scratches his beard and looks on.

01:30

9.3 Discourse completion task

Participants are presented with the task sheet as below on a single sheet of A4 paper with lined space included between questions for them to write their answers. Some vocabulary is given to help participants with any conceivably difficult words.

Think-aloud task

Name: _____

Instructions: Please imagine yourself in the three situations below and write in Japanese what you would say. You do not have to mention every detail given in the descriptions, and you can add details if necessary. While you are doing this exercise, please try to say out loud as much as possible of what is going through your mind.

1. You are studying in Japan, and have just started a research project (研究(けんきゅう)レポート) on Japanese primary schools (日本の小学校(しょうがっこう)). You know that your teacher has a daughter (娘(むすめ)) who is a primary school student (小学生(しょうがくせい)), and you would like to ask your teacher to let you interview (インタビューする) her and her daughter for your project.

People involved in this situation
Your teacher: HAMADA Kayoko (female, 37 years old)
Your teacher's daughter: HAMADA Ai (female, 7 years old)

Your answer:

2. You are studying in Japan, and have just started a research project (研究(けんきゅう)レポート) on Japanese primary schools (日本の小学校(しょうがっこう)). You know that the older sister of a close Japanese friend of yours is a primary school teacher. Ask your friend if she will ask her sister to agree to do an interview with you.

People involved in this situation
Your friend: FUKUDA Masako (female, the same age as you)
Your friend's older sister: FUKUDA Shōko (female, 25 years old)

Your answer:

3. You are studying in Japan, and have just started a research project on Japanese primary schools. You would like to interview a Japanese classmate who you do not know very well about her experiences (経験(けいけん)) of primary school. Ask her if she will agree to be interviewed.

People involved in this situation
Your classmate: KIMURA Kayo (female, the same age as you)

Your answer:

9.4 Role play tasks

All role play task sheets begin with the same generic instructions, as follows.

Please imagine yourself in the situation described and act as you normally would. You do not have to make use of all the information given about each situation, but please stick to the general scenario. If you want to, you can invent extra details as you see fit.

This is followed by a scenario description, including several prompts for the learner, as well as the names and ages of the people involved in the scenario.

9.4.1 *Role play R11*

The learners' and facilitators task-specific information is, respectively, as follows. The facilitator's instructions (originally in Japanese) are followed by an English translation.

R11

You are studying in a Japanese university, and today you have come to the International Students' Advice Centre to speak to the international student advisor about a problem in your Japanese class.

- You find that the teacher is strict and unforgiving of mistakes
- The teacher often speaks too fast for you to understand

Please explain the problem to the international student coordinator and ask whether she can help you. You should speak first to initiate the conversation.

People involved in this situation:

- The international student advisor: KATŌ Miyuki, female, 29 years old
- Your teacher: SAKAI Masahiko, male, 40 years old

R11 シナリオ

あなたは、日本の大学の留学生相談室で働いています。名前は、加藤みゆきで、年齢は 29 歳です。今日、留学生が日本語の授業で困ったことについて話に来ました。適切に質問しながら留学生の話を聞いて、最後に、そのままもう少し授業に出席することを提案してください。会話の最初に話すのは、留学生です。

人物情報

留学生：イギリスの大学からの留学生
先生：阪井(さかい)まさひこ、男性、40 歳

translation:
R11 scenario

You work in the International Students' Advice Centre of a Japanese university. Your name is Katō Miyuki and you are 29 years old. Today, a foreign student has some to speak to you about a problem in Japanese class. Please listen to her/him and ask appropriate questions, and at the end, suggest that she/he continue to attend class a little longer. The foreign student will speak first in the conversation.

People involved in this situation
The foreign student: a foreign student from a British university
The teacher: Sakai Masahiko, male, 40 years old

9.4.2 *Role play R12*

The learners' and facilitators task-specific information is, respectively, as follows. The facilitator's instructions (originally in Japanese) are followed by an English translation. The task sheet was made in two versions, where the Japanese student is either male or female depending on the gender of the learner.

R12

You are a foreign student in Japan, taking a history class with both Japanese and foreign students. You are supposed to do a joint project with a Japanese student in your history class, but you are having a problem. You have come to speak to your history teacher in her office about it.

- Your Japanese partner has not contributed any work to the project so far
- Your Japanese partner says they are too busy to meet you outside of class to discuss the project

Please explain the problem to your teacher. You should speak first to initiate the conversation.

People involved in this situation

- Your teacher: NAKAMURA Saeko, female, 50 years old
- Your Japanese partner: EITHER ISHIDA Kōsuke, male, the same age as you; OR ISHIDA Emi, female, the same age as you

R12 シナリオ

あなたは、日本の大学で歴史学を教えています。名前は中村さえ子で、年齢は５０歳です。１つの授業では留学生と日本人学生がペアでプロジェクトをすることになっています。１人の留学生がそこで困ったことについてあなたの研究室に相談しに来ました。適切に質問しながら留学生の話を聞いて、最後に、ほかの人とペアを組むことを提案してください。会話の最初に話すのは留学生です。

人物情報

留学生：イギリスの大学からの留学生
日本人学生：石田こうすけ OR 石田えみ、留学生と同性、同い年（20 代）

translation:
R12 scenario

You teach history in a Japanese university. You name is Nakamura Saeko and you are 50 years old. In one of your classes, foreign students are doing a project in pairs formed with Japanese students. One foreign student has come to your office to speak to you about a problem related to this. Please listen to her/him and ask appropriate questions, and at the end, suggest that she/he form a pair with another person. The foreign student will speak first in the conversation.

People involved in this situation
The foreign student: a foreign student from a British university
The Japanese student: Ishida Kōsuke or Ishida Emi, same gender and same age (20s) as the foreign student

9.4.3 *Role play R13*

The learners' and facilitators task-specific information is, respectively, as follows. The facilitator's instructions (originally in Japanese) are followed by an English translation.

R13

You are studying in a Japanese university, where you are taking a sociology class. Your sociology lecturer is going to retire at the end of the year. You and your classmate are planning a celebration to say goodbye to your lecturer. Discuss what kind of event you think he might like, and share the information and opinions you each have of him. You know or think the following.

- He likes to socialise with a small group of people
- He does not drink much alcohol

<u>You should speak first to initiate the conversation</u>.

People involved in this situation

- Your classmate: SUZUKI Asako (female, the same age as you)
- Your lecturer: HARADA Satoru (male, 61 years old)

R13 シナリオ

あなたは、日本の大学生で、留学生と日本人学生がいる、社会学の授業を受けています。名前は鈴木あさ子で、年齢は話し相手の留学生と同い年です。社会学の先生が今年で定年退職をする予定で、あなたと留学生のクラスメートは、先生のお別れ会の計画を立てようとしています。どんな会がよいか、適切に質問したり、自分の知っていることを教えたりして、相談してください。 先生について、あなたは次の情報・意見を持っています。

・先生はあまり遅く帰らない集いがいいです
・先生は、洋食より日本食が好きです

会話の最初に話すのは、留学生です。

人物情報
先生：原田（はらだ）さとる（61 歳、男性）
留学生：イギリスの大学からの留学生

translation:
R13 scenario

You are a student in a Japanese university, and you are in a sociology class taken by both Japanese and foreign students. Your name is Suzuki Asako, and you are the same age as the foreign student. The sociology teacher will retire this year and you and your foreign classmate are trying to plan a farewell party. Discuss what kind of party would be best, while asking appropriate questions and adding information that you have. You have the following knowledge/opinions about the teacher.

・he prefers a party where he can leave relatively early
・he prefers Japanese food to western food

The foreign student will speak first in the conversation.

People involved in this situation
The teacher: Harada Satoru (male, 61 years old)
The foreign student: a foreign student from a British university

9.5 Personal learning record

The personal learning record was designed and administered by the learners' home university. Learners completed three personal learning records during the course of their study abroad period. This included a self-assessment section as given below.

A. Skills Analysis Form

Rate your level of expertise in the areas below, according to the following scale:

1 = Beginner; 2 = Not very competent; 3 = Reasonably Competent; 4= Very Competent; 5 = Expert

Skill	**Rating**
Linguistic	
Speaking	
Listening	
Writing	
Reading	
Cultural	
Intercultural awareness	
Knowledge of local culture	
Academic	
Ability in extended reading	
Research skills	
Personal	
Self-reliance	
Adaptability	
Ability to work with others	
Responsibility for learning and development	

Examples

Give some examples of your skills in the areas outlined overleaf to justify your rating

9.6 Language contact profile

A modified version of the language contact profile (Freed et al. 2004) was administered online after the learners had finished their period of study abroad. For technical reasons it was split into two parts. Below is a copy of the questionnaire that closely approximates its online format.

About your year abroad in Japan

All the questions in this survey are about your year abroad (academic year 2009–2010) spent in Japan. They should take around 15 minutes to answer. You are asked to provide your name so that I can match your answers to the other data you have kindly provided for me, but you will not be identified by name in the reporting of these results. If you have any comments, questions or problems completing the survey, please contact me at j.r.lumley@newcastle.ac.uk.

This survey is split into two parts; this is Part 1. After completing this part, please click on the link given in my e-mail to complete Part 2.

Many thanks for your time.

Jo Lumley

1. Name:
2. What was the period of your year abroad in Japan (e.g. October 2009 to June 2010)?
3. Which situation best describes your main living arrangements in Japan during the year abroad?
    I lived in the home of a Japanese-speaking family.
    I lived in a student dormitory.
    I lived alone in a room or a flat.
    I lived in a room or a flat with native or fluent Japanese speakers.
    I lived in a room or a flat with others who were NOT native or fluent Japanese speakers.
    other (please specify)
4. If you lived in a student dormitory, which best describes your situation?
    I had a private room.
    I had a roommate who was a native or fluent Japanese speaker.
    I lived with others who are NOT native or fluent Japanese speakers.
5. If you lived with a Japanese-speaking family:
    (a) Did they speak English?
    Yes
    No
    (b) List the members of the host family (e.g., mother, father, one 4-year-old daughter, one 13-year-old son).
    (c) Were there other nonnative speakers of Japanese living with your host family?
    Yes
    No
6. During university termtime, on average:
    (a) How many hours a week did you spend in Japanese language classes?
    (b) How many hours a week in other classes primarily using Japanese?
    (c) How many hours a week in other classes primarily using English?

For all the following questions, please specify:

(i) How many days per week you typically used Japanese in the situation indicated, and
(ii) on average how many hours per day you did so.

Select the appropriate numbers from the drop-down menus.

7. During your year abroad, outside of class, did you try to speak Japanese to the following people? If so, how much?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
(a) your instructors	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) friends who are native or fluent Japanese speakers	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(c) classmates	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

(d) strangers whom you thought could speak Japanese	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(e) a host family, Japanese roommate, or other Japanese speakers in the dormitory	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(f) service personnel	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(g) other (please specify)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

8. How often did you use Japanese outside the classroom for each of the following purposes?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
(a) to clarify classroom-related work	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) to obtain directions or information (e.g., "Where is the post office?", "What time is the train to…?", "How much are stamps?")	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(c) for superficial or brief exchanges (e.g., greetings, "Please pass the salt," "I'm leaving," ordering in a restaurant)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(d) extended conversations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

Part 2

All the questions in this survey are about your year abroad (academic year 2009–2010) spent in Japan. For all of the following questions, please specify:

(i) How many days per week you typically used Japanese in the situation indicated, and
(ii) on average how many hours per day you did so.

Select the appropriate numbers from the drop-down menus.

9. Name:

10. How often did you do the following?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
(a) try deliberately to use things you were taught in the classroom (grammar, vocabulary, expressions) with native or fluent speakers outside the classroom?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) take things you learned outside of the classroom (grammar, vocabulary, expressions) back to class for question or discussion?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

11. How much time did you spend doing the following each week?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
(a) speaking a language other than English or Japanese to speakers of that language (e.g., French with a French-speaking friend)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) speaking Japanese to native or fluent speakers of Japanese	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(c) speaking English to native or fluent speakers of Japanese	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(d) speaking Japanese to speakers of English or other languages excluding Japanese (e.g. classmates)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(e) speaking English to speakers of English or other languages EXCLUDING Japanese (e.g. classmates)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

12. How much time did you spend doing each of the following activities outside of class?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
(a) overall, in reading in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) reading Japanese newspapers outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(c) reading novels in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(d) reading Japanese language magazines and manga outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(e) reading schedules, announcements, menus, and the like in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(f) reading e-mail or Internet web pages in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(g) overall, in listening to Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(h) listening to Japanese radio, music and podcasts outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(i) listening to Japanese television, movies or videos outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(j) trying to catch other people's conversations in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(k) overall, in writing in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

(l) writing homework assignments in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(m) writing personal notes or letters in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(n) writing e-mail or text messages in Japanese outside of class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

13. How often did you do the following activities IN ENGLISH during the year abroad in Japan?

	Typically, how many days per week?	On those days, typically how many hours per day?
a) reading newspapers, magazines, or novels or watching movies, television, or videos	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(b) reading e-mail or Internet web pages in English	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5
(c) writing e-mail, personal notes or letters in English	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	0–1 1–2 2–3 3–4 4–5 more than 5

Appendix B. Samples of the data

10.1 About these samples

The data used in this thesis is contains a total of 17126 words. The data was collected from six learners of Japanese before and after study abroad, and six Japanese native speakers. At each data collection session, the tasks detailed in the previous appendix were used. A summary of the amount of data collected is given in Table 19.

	total words	total person reference	ratio of person reference to words
pre-SA learners	3523	586	0.17
post-SA learners	4927	644	0.13
native speakers	8676	1029	0.12
total	17126	2259	

Table 88 Summary of the dataset

This appendix contains a sample of learner responses to all tasks in order to give a picture of learners' production. For the each of the discourse completion tasks (in sections 10.4–10.6), the same learner's response is given for the pre- and post-study abroad stages. For the narrative retelling (10.2, 10.3) and role play tasks (10.7–10.9), where responses are much longer, a single response from either a pre- or a post-study abroad learner is given. Overall, all six learners and both stages are represented as equally as possible. All Japanese data is given with a line-by-line English translation to its right. These translations stay close to the original Japanese, in particular the person reference terms; the English is a little strange in parts as a result. The transcription conventions used in the data are given in Table 89, and are mostly taken originally from MacWhinney (2000).

@s	use of English word
[?]	transcriber's best guess
(.)	pause
[/]	repetition
[//]	retracing
[=! laughter]	laughter
,,	right dislocation
xx	unintelligible word
xxx	unintelligible sequence of words

Table 89 Transcription conventions

10.2 Narrative N11: pre-study abroad learner L04

L04: uh watashi wa michi de onaka ga suita onnanoko o mita .	L04: *uh in the road I saw a hungry girl*

JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
L04: sono onnanoko wa zehi amai mono o tabetai xxx .	L04: *that girl really wants to eat something sweet xxx*
L04: demo okane ga nai soo desu ?	L04: *but it seems [she] has no money?*
JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
L04: sorekara onnanoko wa pan'ya kara pan o <ikki ni> [?] torimashita .	L04: *then <in one go> [?] the girl took bread from the bakery*
JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
L04: soshite [=! laughter] (.) pan ga totta ato de onnanoko wa watashi ni [//] watashi to [//] watashi ni taoremashita .	L04: *and [=! laughter] (.) after [she] took the bread, the girl fell onto [//] with [//] onto me.*
JP1: mm .	JP1: *mm*
L04: tabun .	L04: *probably*
L04: pan'ya no shain wa onnanoko o oikakemashita .	L04: *the bakery employee ran after the girl*
JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
L04: xx tonari ni (.) <tango o> [?] wasuremashita .	L04: *next to xx (.) [I]'ve forgotten <the word> [?]*
L04: police@s:d [=! laughter] .	L04: *police@s:d [=! laughter]*
L04: demo watashi wa onnanoko wa pan o (.) toranakatta to iimashita .	L04: *but I said that the girl did not take (.) the bread*
JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
L04: watashi wa pan o torimashita [=! laughter] .	L04: *I took the bread [=! laughter]*
L04: um pan'ya no shain ni totta pan o agemashita .	L04: *[I] gave the bakery employee the bread [I/she] took*
JP1: hai .	JP1: *yes*
JP1: hai wakarimashita .	JP1: *yes [I] see*
L04: xxx .	L04: *xxx*
JP1: arigatoo gozaimasu .	JP1: *thank you*

10.3 Narrative N13: post-study abroad learner L01

L01: Konomura Hiroshi wa Saitooke no shitsuji desu .	L01: *Konomura Hiroshi is the Saitoo household's butler*
JP3: hai .	*JP3: yes*
L01: anoo mm kazoku no musume wa Shimakosan to otooto Junkun wa itsumo [/] itsumo kenka shimasu .	L01: *uh um the daughter of the family is Shimako-san and [her] younger brother Jun-kun always [/] always fight*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: anoo kono bideo de anoo Konomurasan wa kenka o uh yamemasu [//] yamemashita kedo .	L01: *uh in this video uh Konomura-san stops [//] stopped the fight but*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: uh Shimakosan wa okotte shimaimashita .	L01: *uh Shimako-san got angry*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: anoo (.) Konomurasan wa Shimakosan ni tsuite anoo chotto suki	L01: *uh (.) it looks like Konomura-san is falling in love with Shimako-san [=!*

ni natte ru mitai kanji ga arimasu [=! laughter] .	*laughter]*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: anoo dakishimeta kedo .	L01: *uh [he] hugged [her] but*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: Shimakosan wa iya da xxx .	L01: *Shimako-san is unwilling xxx*
JP3: aa hai hai hai .	JP3: *aah yes yes yes*
L01: ato de Shimakosan wa heya ni (.) ikimashita .	L01: *afterwards Shimako-san went to (.) the room*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: anoo eeto Konomurasan wa ato de (.) fuku o motte kimashita .	L01: *um uh afterwards Konomura-san (.) brought some clothing*
JP3: hai hai .	JP3: *yes yes*
L01: Shimakosan wa chiisai anoo doresu [//] wampiisu ga ki [//] (.) ki fuku kimasu .	L01: *Shimako-san wears a small um dress [//] dress [//] (.) piece of clothing*
L01: wasurete shimaimashita .	L01: *[I] forgot*
L01: anoo demo chotto fuku (.) mm chotto [//] samuku narimashita .	L01: *um but a bit clothes (.) mm it got a bit cold*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: anoo Konomurasan wa anoo mm fuku o motte kimashita ato de .	L01: *um after Konomura-san brought the clothing*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: futari wa kushami shimashita .	L01: *the two [of them] sneezed*
JP3: hai [=! laughter] .	JP3: *yes [=! laughter]*
L01: anoo chotto omoshirokatta .	L01: *um it was a bit funny*
L01: anoo Shimakosan kushami shimashita .	L01: *um Shimako-san sneezed*
L01: ato de .	L01: *afterwards*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: Konomurasan wa sugu ato kushami shimashita .	L01: *straight afterwards Konomura-san sneezed*
L01: anoo sorede anoo Konomurasan wa kooto kata (.) kabaa shimashita .	L01: *um so um Konomura-san covered shoulders (.) [with] the coat*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: hai xxx [=! laughter] .	L01: *yes xxx [=! laughter]*
L01: eeto mm (.) Shimakosan wa Konomurasan no koto wa amari suki janai kedo .	L01: *uh um (.) Shimako-san doesn't like Konomura-san very much but*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: mm Konomurasan wa chotto mm (.) bideo no sai [/] saigo wa Konomurasan wa hige o sawarimashita .	L01: *mm Konomura-san a bit mm (.) at the en- [/] end of the video Konomura-san touched [his] beard*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: xx chotto mm toka xxx doo suru <toka xx kanji ga shimashita> [?] .	L01: *xx a bit mm and xx what to do <that sort of thing xx> [?]*
JP3: aa hai hai .	JP3: *aah yes yes*
L01: hai .	L01: *yes*
L01: sumimasen watashi no nihongo wa xxx .	L01: *sorry my Japanese [is] xxx*
JP3: iie wakarimasu yo [=! laughter] .	JP3: *no [I] do understand [=! laughter]*

JP3: daijoobu daijoobu .	JP3: *it's okay it's okay*
JP3: zenzen wakarimasu yo .	JP3: *[I] understand entirely*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L01: aa yokatta .	L01: *aah that's good*

10.4 Discourse completion task DCT1

10.4.1 *Pre-study abroad learner L03*

L03: sensee , anata no musume wa shoogakkoosee desu ka . watashi no kenkyuu repooto wa nihon no shoogakkoo desu . musume to intabyuu o suru itadakemasen ka .	L03: *Teacher, is your daughter an elementary school student? My research project is Japanese elementary schools. Would [you] let [me] interview [your] daughter?*

10.4.2 *Post-study abroad learner L03*

L03: shitsuree shimasu . nihon no shoogakkoo kenkyuu repooto o hajimebakarimasu kara . shoogakusee o intabyuu shinakerebanarimasen . sensee no musume wa shoogakusee desu ka . dekireba sensee to musume issho ni intabyuu o shite itadakemasen ka .	L03: *Excuse [me]. [I] have just begun writing a Japanese elementary schools research project so [I] must interview elementary school students. Is teacher's [=your] daughter an elementary school student? If possible, would [you] let [me] interview teacher [=you] and [your] daughter together?*

10.5 Discourse completion task DCT2

10.5.1 *Pre-study abroad learner L06*

L06: watashi wa kenkyuu repooto o shimasu kara . anata no anesan wa shoogakkoo no sensee desu . watashi wa ane to hanashitai desu .	L06: *Because I am doing a research project. Your older sister is an elementary school teacher. I want to speak to [your] older sister.*

10.5.2 *Post-study abroad learner L06*

L06: ima chotto . jitsu wa benkyoo tame ni nihon no shoogakkoo no kenkyuu repooto o kakanakerebanaranai no de . Shookosan o intabyuu shitai n kedo . Shookosan o hanshita mo ii desu ka . sumimasen .	L06: *[Do you have] a moment now? The thing is for study [I] have to write a research project on Japanese elementary schools so [I] want to interview Shooko-san. May [I] speak to Shooko-san? Thank you.*

10.6 Discourse completion task DCT3

10.6.1 *Pre-study abroad learner L05*

L05: Kimurasan , ima watashi wa nihon no shoogakusee ni tsuite kenkyuu repooto o shite imasu . shoogakusee no keeken ni tsuite watashi to hanashite itadakemasen ka	L05: *Kimura-san, at the moment I am doing a research project about Japanese elementary school students. Would [you] mind speaking with me about [your] experiences as an elementary school student?*

10.6.2 *Post-study abroad learner L05*

L05: Kimurasan , chotto ii desu ka . watashi wa nihon no shoogakkoo ni tsuite kenkyuu repooto o shite imasu . Kimurasan o jibun no shoogakkoo keeken ni tsuite intabyuu shitai desu ga . yoroshii desu ka .	L05: *Kimura-san, is it okay [to talk]? I am doing a research project about Japanese elementary schools. [I] would like to interview Kimura-san [=you] about your elementary school experiences. Would that be acceptable?*

10.7 Role play R11: post-study abroad learner L04

L04: konnichiwa .	*L04: hello*
JP4: konnichiwa .	JP4: *hello*
L04: watashi no nihongo no jugyoo ni kansuru mondai ga arimasu ga .	L04: *there is a problem with my Japanese class*
L04: chotto soodan shite mite mo ii desu ka .	L04: *may [I] speak to [you]?*
JP4: hai doozo .	JP4: *yes go ahead*
L04: um (.) kore wa jibun no iken desu ga .	L04: *um (.) this is my opinion but*
L04: watashi no sensee wa chotto kibishisugiru to omoimasu [=! laughter] .	L04: *[I] think that my teacher is a bit too strict [=! laughter]*
L04: watashi wa nihongo ga heta na no de .	L04: *I am poor at Japanese so*
L04: aru toki watashi wa mistake@s:d wa nihongo nan da kke tadashii kotae o agenai to .	L04: *sometimes when I (what was mistake@s:d in Japanese?) don't give the right answer*
L04: sensee wa okotte natte shimaimasu .	L04: *teacher becomes angry*
JP4: mm .	JP4: *mm*
L04: sore wa watashi chotto kowai kanji ga shimasu no de .	L04: *this feels frightening to me so*
L04: watashi wa doo suru [/] doo suru ka chotto wakarimasen .	L04: *I don't know what [/] what to do*
JP4: naruhodo .	JP4: *okay then*
JP4: eeto sore wa eeto hoka no seeto ni mo [//] hoka no kurasumeeto ni mo onaji yoo na taido na n desu ka .	JP4: *um for other pupils too [//] is it the same attitude towards the other classmates too?*
L04: aru seeto wa <watashi to onaji> [?] iken o motte iru to omoimasu .	L04: *[I] think that some pupils have the same opinion <as me> [?]*

JP4: soo desu ne .	JP4: *that's right*
JP4: eeto jaa sore igai no futsuu [//] anoo okoru koto igai de wa sono sensee no oshiekata toka soo iu koto ni wa mondai wa nai desu ka .	JP4: *um well usually apart from [//] um apart from [him] getting angry are there any other problems with teacher's teaching methods, things like that?*
L04: hitotsu dake de wa hanasu toki sensee wa hayaku hanasu [//] hanashimasu .	L04: *just one that when [he] speaks teacher speaks quickly*
L04: hanashikata wa hayasugiru to omoimasu .	L04:*[I] think that [his] manner of speaking is too fast*
L04: wakarinikui hanashikata desu .	L04: *[his] manner of speaking is difficult to understand*
L04: xx mondai ga attara sensee ni kiite miru no wa chotto taihen desu .	L04: *xx if there's a problem [me] asking teacher is a bit difficult*
JP4: jugyoochuu ni wa chotto nakanaka kikenai .	JP4: *during class [you] can't really ask [him]*
L04: hai hai .	L04: *yes yes*
JP4: jaa hoka no hito [//] kurasumeeto mo yappari onaji yoo ni soko mo omotte ru n desu ka ne .	JP4: *so do other people [//] classmates feel the same way about that?*
L04: hai soo desu .	L04: *yes that's right*
JP4: aa soshitara anoo tabun kurasu ni anoo daihyoosha ga iru to omou no de .	JP4: *aah in that case um probably [I] think there um is a representative in the class so*
JP4: dareka ga koo sensee ni ikkai teean shite mite mo ii kamoshirenai desu ne .	JP4: *perhaps someone could make a suggestion to teacher once*
L04: hai .	L04: *yes*
L04: ii aidia desu yo .	L04: *it's a good idea*
L04: arigatoogozaimashita .	L04: *thank you*
JP4: xxx moo sukoshi gambatte .	JP4: *xxx [you] keep trying a bit longer and*
JP4: jugyoo ga yoku naru to ii to omotte masu .	JP4: *[I] hope classes will get better*

10.8 Role play R12: pre-study abroad learner L01

JP2: doozo .	JP2: *go ahead*
L01: sensee , um ojama shimasu .	L01: *teacher, excuse [me]*
JP2: doozo [=! laughter] .	JP2: *go ahead*
L01: sensee uh .	L01: *teacher uh*
JP2: hai .	JP2: *yes*
L01: (.) kono uh purojekuto .	L01: *(.) this uh project*
JP2: un .	JP3: *yeah*
L01: uh rekishi no purojekuto wa uh .	L01: *uh the history project uh*
L01: watashi no paatonaa wa um Ishidasan .	L01: *my partner is*
JP2: hai .	JP2: *yes*
L01: um desu um .	L01: *um Ishida-san um*
L01: Ishidasan wa um purojekuto no uh (.)	L01: *Ishida-san um on the project uh (.)*

mm uh eeto [?] [=! laughter] (.) .
JP2: purojekuto no .
L01: um .
JP2: issho ni yatte ru paatonaa na no kana ?
L01: hai hai hai .
JP2: hai .
L01: um xx (.) purojekuto no mono [=! laughter] shimasen deshita .
JP2: aa naruhodo .
L01: watashi wa Ishidasan to issho ni kurasu no soto uh hatarakimasu (.) .
JP2: hai .
L01: shikashi Ishidasan wa isogashisugiru .
JP2: aa soo ka [?] .
L01: uh isogashisugiru to iimashita (.) .
L01: zenzen wakarimasen .
JP2: Ishidasan wa tetsudatte kurenai [//] issho ni yatte kurenai n desu ka ?
L01: iie nandemo [?] xx masen [?] .
JP2: aa soo ka .
JP2: Ishidasan to wa [?] hanashimashita ka .
L01: hai .
JP2: ee .
L01: isogashisugiru to iimashita .
JP2: nande isogashii ka wa shitte masu ka .
L01: mm (.) Ishidasan wa iimasen xxx .
JP2: iwanakatta .
L01: hai iwanakatta .
JP2: komarimashita ne .
L01: hai .
JP2: soo desu ka .
JP2: eeto hoka no jibun [//] sono kurasu de hoka ni otomodachi imasu ka .
L01: hai hai um .
JP2: hoka no guru .
JP2: hai .
JP2: hoka no otomodachi to purojekuto o yaru koto ga dekimasu ka dekisoo desu ka .
L01: hai wakarimasu .
L01: demo [?] Ishidasan no koto ii desu ka ,, Ishidasan no purojekuto wa xx .
JP2: aa naruhodo soo .

L01: dare dare xxx .
JP2: soo desu ne .
JP2: hontoo wa mochiron Ishidasan to saisho ni pea o kunde ru no de issho ni yatte moraitai n desu kedo .

mm um [?] [=! laughter] (.)
JP2: *on the project*
L01: *um*
JP2: *is [she] the partner working with [you]?*
L01: *yes yes yes*
JP2: *yes*
L01: *um xx (.) [she] hasn't done things [=! laughter] for the project*
JP2: *okay then*
L01: *I work with Ishida-san outside of class (.)*
JP2: *yes*
L01: *but Ishida-san is too busy*

JP2: *aah is that so [?]*
L01: *[she] said [she]'s too busy*
L01: *[I] don't understand it at all*
JP2: *Ishida-san doesn't help [//]doesn't work with [you]?*
L01: *no, xx does [?] nothing [?]*
JP2: *aah is that so*
JP2: *have [you] spoken to Ishida-san?*

L01: *yes*
JP2: *yes*
L01: *[she] said [she]'s too busy*
JP2: *do [you] know why [she]'s busy?*
L01: *mm (.) Ishida-san doesn't say xxx*
JP2: *[she] didn't say*
L01: *no [she] didn't say*
JP2: *that's a problem*
L01: *yes*
JP2: *is that so*
JP2: *um other do you [//] in the class do [you] have other friends?*
L01: *yes yes um*
JP2: *another gr-*
JP2: *yes*
JP2: *does it look like [you] could do the project with [your] other friends?*

L01: *[I] see*
L01: *but [?] is Ishida-san alright, Ishida-san's project xx*
JP2: *aah okay well*
L01: *who who xxx*
JP2: *that's right*
JP2: *really of course [you] first formed a pair with Ishida-san so [I] would like [you and her] to work together*
JP2: *but if Ishida-san just won't talk to*

JP2: demo dooshitemo Ishidasan to ohanashi shite yatte [?] kurenakattara hoka no tomodachi to kunde mo ii to omoimasu .	*[you][I] think it's fine for [you] to join with another of [your] friends*
L01: hai hai arigatoo gozaimashita [= ! laughter] .	L01: *yes yes thank you [=! laughter]*

10.9 Role play R13: post-study abroad learner L02

L02: anoo Suzukichan .	L02: *um Suzuki-chan*
JP3: hai doo shita .	JP3: *yes, what is it?*
L02: anoo moo sugu ni anoo shakai jugyoo no Haradasensee ga daigaku yameru yo ne .	L02: *um Harada-sensee from the um society class will quit the university soon isn't that right?*
JP3: mm yameru yameru .	JP3: *mm [he]'s quitting [he]'s quitting*
L02: anoo (.) nanka sayoonara paatii toka .	L02: *um (.) well a goodbye party or something*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: hiraita ii kana to <omotte ru n da kedo> [?] .	L02: *<[I] think> [?] it would be a good idea to have [one]*
JP3: soo yo ne .	JP3: *that's right*
L02: kare donna mono suki deshoo .	L02: *[I wonder] what kind of things does he like?*
JP3: sensee .	JP3: *teacher?*
L02: aa xx .	L02: *aah xx*
JP3: sensee ne yooshoku yori mo washoku ga suki na n da tte .	JP3: *[they say] teacher likes Japanese food more than Western food*
L02: ee soo ka .	L02: *is that so?*
JP3: mm nihonshoku .	JP3: *mm Japanese food*
L02: jaa (.) doko ni ikeba ii kana .	L02: *so (.) where should [we] go?*
L02: nanka .	L02: *well*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: hito ga ookute nanka nigiyaka na paatii sonna suki janai n de .	L02: *since [he] doesn't much like noisy parties with lots of people*
JP3: aa soo na n da .	JP3: *aah okay*
L02: xxx .	L02: *xxx*
JP3: sensee wa ammari .	JP3: *[for] teacher it's a bit*
L02: maa toshi totte ru n de .	L02: *hmm [he] is old so*
L02: sonna nigiyaka na .	L02: *such a noisy*
JP3: nigiyaka na paatii janakute .	JP3: *not a noisy party but*
JP3: chotto chitchai kanji no paatii ga .	JP3: *more of a small kind of party*
L02: soo shita hoo ga ii na .	L02: *it's better to do that*
JP3: soo da ne .	JP3: *that's right*
JP3: soo ne .	JP3: *that's right*
JP3: ato ne sensee amari osoku kaeritaku nai n da .	JP3: *also teacher doesn't want to go home too late*
JP3: narubeku hayame ni kaeritai .	JP3: *if possible [he]'s someone who*
L02: aa soo ne .	L02: *that's right*
JP3: hito da kara .	JP3: *wants to go home on the early side*
JP3: hayame ni ne paatii yaretara ii yo ne ,, owakarekai .	JP3: *it would be good if [we] could have the party on the early side, the*

	farewell party
L02: soo da ne .	L02: *that's right*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: jaa nanka heejitsu ni shita hoo ga ii kana .	L02: *so well maybe it's better to do it on a weekday*
L02: anoo [=! laughter] [/] anoo gakuseetachi ga sonna ookute .	L02: *um [=! laughter] um [not] so many students*
L02: anoo [/] anoo toshin no tokoro sonna nigiyaka janai [=! laughter] .	L02: *um [/] um around the city centre it's not so busy [=! laughter]*
JP3: soo ne [=! laughter] .	JP3: *that's right*
L02: anoo maa yoru [/] yoru ka .	L02: *um hmm night [/] night?*
JP3: nanji gurai ni sutaato shiyoo ka .	JP3: *about what time should [we] start?*
L02: soo kana .	L02: *well*
L02: maa hayame ni kaeritai nara .	L02: *if [he] wants to go home early*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: rokuji shichiji gurai .	L02: *around six or seven*
JP3: rokuji shichiji .	JP3: *six or seven*
JP3: rokuji gurai ni suru .	JP3: *[we]'ll have it around six?*
L02: rokuji gurai .	L02: *around six*
JP3: rokuji gurai ni shiyoo ka .	JP3: *shall [we] have it around six?*
L02: soo shiyoo .	L02: *let'[s] do that*
L02: aa washoku nara .	L02: *aah for Japanese food*
JP3: mm dokka ii tokoro o shitte ru .	JP3: *mm do [you] know anywhere good?*
L02: (.) mm nabe paatii ka [?] .	L02: *(.) mm a nabe party? [?]*
JP3: aa ii ne .	JP3: *aah that's good*
JP3: nabe paatii ii ne .	JP3: *a nabe party is good*
JP3: sore wa ii kangae da to omou ,, sugoku .	JP3: *[I] think that's a good idea, really*
L02: jaa anoo (.) Shinjuku no hoo ni iroiro na .	L02: *well um (.) around Shinjuku [there are] various*
JP3: aa shitte ru ,, omise .	JP3: *aah do [you] know a place?*
L02: maa hai shitte masu .	L02: *well yes [I] do*
JP3: jaa osusume no tokoro ni ikoo yo .	JP3: *well let'[s] go where [you] recommend*
L02: aa jaa denwa shite mite .	L02: *aah well [I]'ll phone*
L02: yoyaku shimasu .	L02: *and [I]'ll make a reservation*
JP3: ne .	JP3: *okay*
L02: hai .	L02: *yes*
L02: raishuu de ii ka .	L02: *is next week good*
JP3: soo da ne .	JP3: *that's right*
JP3: ninzuu wa doo suru .	JP3: *what shall [we] do about the number of people?*
JP3: donogurai no hito atsumeru .	JP3: *about how many people shall [we] get together?*
L02: aa soo ne .	L02: *that's right*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: anoo hito sukunai ninzuu no hoo ga ii kedo .	L02: *um people a small number of people is better but*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: jugyoo no hitotachi sanjuunin gurai desho [=! laughter] .	L02: *there are about thirty people in the class [=! laughter]*
L02: doo suru .	L02: *what shall [we] do?*

JP3: sanjuunin ooi ne [=! laughter] .	JP3: *thirty is a lot [=! laughter]*
JP3: moo chotto sukunaku shiyoo ka .	JP3: *shall [we] reduce it?*
L02: doo sureba ii kana .	L02: *what should [we] do?*
L02: minna ikitai kana .	L02: *will everyone want to go?*
JP3: minna ni kitte miyoo ka .	JP3: *shall [we] ask everyone?*
L02: soo soo shiyoo .	L02: *let'[s] do that*
JP3: kondo koo iu kai ga aru n da kedo .	JP3: *[we] say there's this this party*
JP3: kitai hito tte itte .	JP3: *and who wants to go*
L02: aa [=! laughter] .	L02: *aah [=! Laughter]*
JP3: shiboroo ka .	JP3: *let'[s] narrow it down [that way]*
L02: hai .	L02: *yes*
JP3: ne .	JP3: *okay*
JP3: daitai konna kanji kana .	JP3: *that's about it*
JP3: doo hoka ni nanka puran aru .	JP3: *are there any other plans*
L02: anoo .	L02: *um*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: nanka bikkuri saseru paatii .	L02: *well a party to surprise [him]*
JP3: sapuraizu paati .	JP3: *a surprise party*
L02: kana .	L02: *maybe*
L02: bimyoo [?] .	L02: *not sure [?]*
JP3: aa sensee ni jizen ni iwazu ni .	JP3: *aah without saying anything to teacher beforehand*
JP3: ikinari .	JP3: *suddenly*
L02: soo .	L02: *yes*
JP3: odorokaseru mitai na .	JP3: *surprise [him], that sort [of thing]*
L02: hai .	L02: *yes*
JP3: aa [=! laughter] .	JP3: *aah [=! laughter]*
L02: dakara [?] .	L02: *so [?]*
JP3: ii n janai .	JP3: *[I think] that's good*
JP3: sensee kitto yorokobu yo mm .	JP3: *teacher will definitely be pleased mm*
L02: soo ka [=! laughter] .	L02: *is that so [!= laughter]*
JP3: mm .	JP3: *mm*
L02: jaa hai minna to eeto hanashite mite .	L02: *so yes [I]'ll talk to everyone*
JP3: mm mm .	JP3: *mm mm*
L02: eeto ato [?] ni kekka tsutaemasu .	L02: *um [I]'ll let [you] know the result afterwards [?]*
JP3: arigatoo .	JP3: *thanks*
L02: hai .	L02: *yes*
JP3: jaa matte masu .	JP3: *[I]'ll be waiting*
L02: hai .	L02: *yes*
JP3: hai .	JP3: *yes*
L02: jaa ato de .	L02: *bye*
JP3: jaa ato de ne .	JP3: *bye*

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