1993

Pragmatics in second language acquisition in the case of learning Japanese

Hiroko Takada
The University of Montana

PRAGMATICS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION
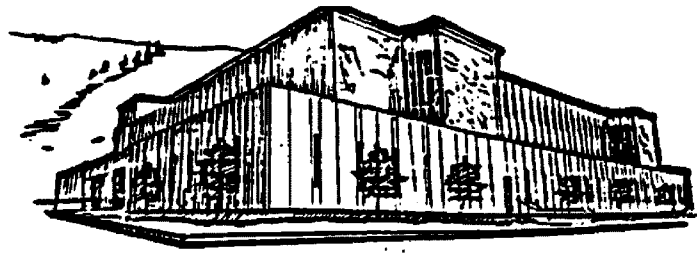
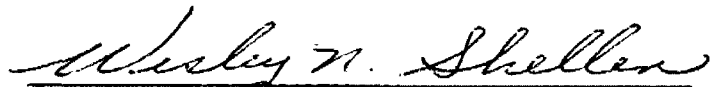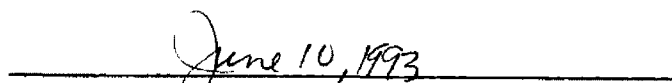# IN THE CASE OF LEARNING JAPANESE

by

Hiroko Takada

B.A. Sophia University, 1990

Presented in partial fullfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

The University of Montana

1993

Approved by

Wesley M. Shellen

Chairman, Board of Examiners

C. M. Miller

Dean, Graduate School

June 10, 1993

Date

UMI Number: EP38907

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

UMI EP38907

ProQuest

Takada, Hiroko, M.A., June 1993 Communication Studies

Pragmatics in Second Language Acquisition

Director: Wesley N. Shellen

The purpose of this study was to test the cross-cultural pragmatics in the second language acquisition. Japanese was the target language of the study. The learners of Japanese were native speakers of English, and their pragmatic mistakes in Japanese language were observed by the use of questionnaire which contains ten Japanese dialogues.

Pragmatic questionnaires were given to the first, second and third year students in the Japanese language program at the University of Montana. After the questionnaires were compiled, each answer from the subject was examined, and an attempt was made to explain the pragmatic mistakes that the learners of Japanese made.

Two research questions were posed at the beginning of the study: 1) Can the interlanguage and language transfer be perceived in the responses to the questionnaire from the learners of Japanese? 2) Do the learners of Japanese use more appropriate pragmatic forms as their length of studying Japanese increase?

Results showed, the interlanguage and language transfer was perceived on several of the questionnaire scenarios. For the second question, the length of studying Japanese had a slight impact on the length of studying Japanese but most differences were observed in first year students. Second and third year students did not differ appreciably.

Three theories that may explain the pragmatic mistakes or differences made by the learners of Japanese are: (1) interlanguage and language transfer causes pragmatic mistakes and differences, (2) formal expression taught in the classroom as a core grammar because the safety base for the learners of Japanese and thus causes pragmatic mistakes or differences, and (3) over-politeness as a strategy to cover different levels of pragmatics in Japanese causes pragmatic mistakes or differences made by the learners of Japanese.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

In completing my thesis, I would like to thank Dr. Wes Shellen, who has helped me get through this process of writing my thesis. Had it not been for his support and encouragement, I could not have finished this study.

To other members on my thesis committee, Dr. Polsin and Dr. Kecskes, I want to express my gratitude for their help and encouragement throughout the time.

I also would like to thank all the professors and Ms. Perrin in the Communication Studies Department. I enjoyed being their students. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Ichizawa, Ms. Wagner, the Connole family (they let me use their computer), Kumi-sensei, and other friends and colleagues who shared my tears and laughters in my most growing up years at the University of Montana.

Thank you so much.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to test the second language acquisition of some forms of cross-cultural pragmatics. Japanese is the target language for the study. A questionnaire adopted from a study by Blum-Kulka (1982) was used to examine pragmatic mistakes or differences made by first, second, and third year students of Japanese. The learners are native English speakers enrolled in college courses.

Often, we learn a second language by studying its vocabulary and grammatical aspects. These provide general guidelines for generating sentences, as well as enabling us to converse in the target language.

However, learning the grammar is not enough to communicate effectively in the target language. If we study semantics, which is the study of meaning and reference, it will help us to engage in a better conversation mode in the target language. Yet it does not seem to be enough to complement the language skills.

Conversation is an important part of human life. It is heard everywhere, and it is done by almost everyone. Conversation is a prominent form of human communication. When we think about the second/foreign language learning, it seems to be natural and necessary to study communication along with the target language. We need to participate in conversation with a proper knowledge of communication in that target language.

Pragmatics is the study of language and communication. It is

1

defined as "the study of the relation of signs to their users" (Akumajian, Demers, and Harnish, 1984, P. 527). Since the nature of pragmatics in each target language cannot be stereotyped, it becomes important to look at specific patterns in each particular language and culture. A learner's pragmatic competence is related to the sensitization to the target language culture and communication styles since pragmatic competence refers to "the speakers's ability to use language for a range of public and private functions, including communication" (Cook, 1991. P. 10).

In order to enhance pragmatic competence of the second/foreign language learner, it seems to be appropriate to provide a cultural context for the learners since language and culture are intertwined.

Based on these assumptions, I presume that there is a difficulty in learning a second/foreign language in non-target cultural environments.

What complicates second/foreign language learning is to find out the cultural specific rules that reside within cultural contexts. For example, in what contexts, to what degree, do the learners of Japanese need to be direct in addressing what they want to mean? When they speak Japanese, they may allow themselves to be a little too direct or too indirect in an inappropriate situation. And there is no clear guideline for it. Each conversation contains a pragmatic situation. We need to look at the situation, and the language used in that particular situation in order to figure out the patterns of expressions.

It is important to take into consideration that the universal patterns of speech acts can be recognized in any languages, just like the notion of the universal grammar exists in all languages. At the same time, I believe that it is important for the learners of a second/foreign

language to be aware of culturally specific situations.

Usually it is hard to create culture specific contexts in the language classroom situation because of the lack of interactions between the native speakers of the target language and the learners. However, research has sought to find out some kind of the pragmatic patterns by comparing the speech acts of native speakers and the learners of a target language.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Acquisition of Cross-Cultural Pragmatics

In an early study of cross-cultural pragmatics, Blum-Kulka (1982) researched the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. Her study compared the speech acts performed by the native speakers of Hebrew and the learners of Hebrew as a second language. The learners of Hebrew were all native speakers of English. They had never been to Hebrew speaking countries.

For her research, Blum-Kulka developed the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) to examine the different language usages between the native speakers of Hebrew and the learners of Hebrew as a second language. This project contained a questionnaire for the learners to fill out.

The questionnaire was made up of seventeen dialogues that reflect

situations such as "making a request in Hebrew" or "expressing anger". The questionnaire was completed by both native speakers of Hebrew and the learners of Hebrew. Basically, both groups answered similarly to each question. However, there were some pragmatic differences. This differences were based on the manner in which they answered the questionnaire, reflecting the degree of directness/indirectness of their responses. In general, native speakers of Hebrew used a direct form to be polite in a face-saving situation, and the learners of Hebrew used a less direct form to be polite.

Another study done by Blum-Kulka (1986), also compared the speech acts of the native speakers of Hebrew and the learners of Hebrew as a second language. This study showed that the learners of Hebrew tend to be verbose during the process of acculturation. The word "verbose" here means that the learners of Hebrew used more words to modify and complete what they wanted to communicate to the other. As in her previous study, the questionnaire was given to both the native speakers and the learners of Hebrew.

If the learners of Hebrew were just the beginners, they did not get verbose because of the lack of knowledge of the target language. But if the learners of Hebrew had studied the language for a certain amount of time (two to four years) with some acculturation experiences, they tended to use external modification to accomplish what they wanted to say. As the learners' experience with the target language and culture increased, the degree to which they became verbose was reduced.

Since Blum-Kulka's studies used the CCSARP as questionnaire, the result of her studies can be viewed as a reaction to a

directness/indirectness speech act. It seems that the learners of Hebrew acquire the pragmatic competence more as they sensitize themselves to the target language culture.

Another interesting study of cross-cultural language acquisition with a great degree of indirectness and appeared to be polite. It was difficult for the Japanese learner of English to communicate effectively in English in that situation. The Japanese learners of English were too indirect in conveying the meaning because the learners were too sensitive to the face-threatening situation.

Beebe and Takahashi also took into consideration the status difference of the interlocutors. According to this study, Japanese tend to react to status differences between the interlocutors more so than the native speakers of English. Although the native speakers of English also reacted to status differences in a similar way, the degree of directness/indirectness was not the same as that used by the Japanese learners of English. It seems that the Japanese learners of English transfer the pragmatic norms of their own into American cultural contexts.

When we look at the pragmatics in a second/foreign language learning, the concept of "ihe interlocutors more so than the native speakers of English. Although the native speakers of English also reacted to status differences in a similar way, the degree of directness/indirectness was not the same as that used by the Japanese learners of English. It seems that the Japanese learners of English transfer the pragmatic norms of their own into American cultural contexts.

When we look at the pragmatics in a second/foreign language learning, the concept of "interlanguage" is important. Interlanguage is

characterized as a "separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a target language" (Kamada, 1990, P. 225). Also, interlanguage is defined as "the term given to an interim section of stages of language learning between the first language and second language grammars through which all second language learners must pass on their way to attaining fluency in the target language" (Koike, 1989, P.280).

It is necessary to consider that interlanguage influences the learner's pragmatic competence. When it happens, interlanguage not only interferes with the form of the language, but also the pragmatic aspect of the language, causing inappropriate responses to pragmatic situations.

Similar to the interlanguage, a language transfer occurs during the discourse of the second/foreign language learners. Language transfer is the transfer of the knowledge from native tongue to the target language. This happens most frequently at the beginning of second/foreign language learning. Learners of the second language may simply transfer linguistic rules or cultural norms from their native tongue to the target language. Even after the beginning stage of the second language learning, learners of the second language may refer to the native tongue when there is a lack of information in the interlanguage or the second language behavior.

Pragmatics is a key element to better understand the indirect speech acts that include situations such as making a request or making an apology. The difficulty of realizing the indirect speech acts pragmatically is explained by Searle (1975, P. 76). "The standard forms from one language will not always maintain their indirect speech act potential when translated from one language to another". Blum-Kulka also

stated, "particularly in native-non-native communication, each party may fail to convey his or her intentions due to a lack of pragmatic equivalence between expressions in two languages" (1989, P. 65). A language transfer and the interlanguage are not sufficient enough to establish an appropriate linguistic or pragmatic situation. Moreover, sometimes referring to them in order to establish an appropriate climate in the indirect speech acts in the second language results in the most inappropriate climate.

Nelson (1985) used written texts to conduct her research to assess these non-native English speakers' communicative competence. Communicative competence is defined as "the speaker's ability to put language to communicative use" (Cook, 1991, P.10). There are four components to communicative competence. There are; grammatical or linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. Grammatical or linguistic competence provides the basic knowledge of the target language. Sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence are considered as pragmatic functions of the language (Kessler, 1987).

Nelson (1985) wrote, "communicative competence, the ability to put a language to use in appropriate ways in culturally defined contexts, may become a problematical notion when applied in the situation of such a transplanted language, because the culture contexts that defined appropriateness in the parent situation are not necessarily the same in the new situation" (P. 243). Her observation can be applied to both grammatical and pragmatical aspects of communicative competence. What works in the indirect speech acts in Japanese pragmatic situation may not

work in American pragmatic situation. Blum-Kulka (1981) points out that "second language learners do not have to be taught the fact that certain conditions have to be fulfilled for the explicit forms to count as certain acts, though they do have to be taught the social rules that govern the choice of such forms in context" (P. 32), and "learning to realize indirect speech acts in a second language necessarily involves learning new strategies for realizing indirect acts, as well as new social attitudes about the appropriate and effective use of these other strategies in context" (P. 33). The study of strategies of rules used in the indirect speech acts in cultural specific setting contributes to the understanding of pragmatics in that target language, and thus it will complement the process of the second/foreign language learning.

Pragmatics of Japanese

Pragmatics plays a big role in conversation, especially when the conversation mode employs indirect speech acts. Based on the review of literature, I think it is appropriate assume that the indirect speech act is often linked with the situation such as "making a request" or making an apology". Both Japanese and American English speakers tend to be indirect in choosing their words, or composing sentences in their own language in these cases.

There are three forces observed in speech acts in general. These are; 1) locutionary force, 2) illocutionary force, and 3) perlocutionary force. Pragmatics is closely related with the function of illocutionary

force. How we convey what we mean is an important aspect of pragmatics. Second/foreign language learning requires the exploration of the pragmatic knowledge that is specific to the target language culture. Indirect speech acts are something universal to Japanese and American speech acts. Keeping that in mind, what will be important and also intriguing is to look at the cultural specific cases in learning Japanese as a second/foreign language. The degree to which the learners of Japanese react to a certain situation may be different from that of the native speaker of Japanese.

In 1992 I conducted a pilot study regarding the pragmatic knowledge of Japanese learners of English. Thirty questionnaire were handed out to Japanese undergraduate students who have been studying English at Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan. This questionnaire was adopted from Blum-Kulka's CCSARP. The students were asked fill out the blank in a questionnaire that contained ten English dialogues. Those dialogues supposedly reflected a pragmatic context of the target culture. The Japanese students were instructed to answer in English. The results showed that Japanese students tended to be too polite or too formal in addressing English requests in general.

As far as the indirect speech acts concerns, my assumption is that the same notion is applicable to the case in English speaking learners of the Japanese language. These two languages share the universality of the indirect speech acts. However, it needs to be noted that the cultural specific cases in each language exist. The degree to which the Japanese learner of English reacts to a certain situation may be different from that of the native speaker of English. For example, when Japanese try to

make a request using English, they often become so indirect that sometimes they can not make the message come across. On the contrary, when Americans try to communicate in Japanese in a similar setting, they may not be indirect enough to convey the subtleties of what they mean.

It is often viewed that Japanese culture compared with American culture uses indirectness more prominently. Americans tend to be more direct in general (Goldman, 1988).

Awareness of speakers' status differences in the indirect speech acts in Japanese also require a certain pragmatic competence. Since my pilot study showed that Japanese tended to be more indirect in using English, I assume that the learners of Japanese will be more direct in Japanese in a similar situation. It is interesting to see how the American learners of Japanese react to this particular cultural context that contains status difference interaction.

What is paradoxical about the Japanese language is that there are the forms of "self" repression and "self" manifestation in Japanese. Tokunaga (1988) explained self repression as "omission of reference to agents in extremely common in Japanese whether verb is intransitive or transitive. It is a strong characteristic of the language" (P. 85). Self manifestation is explained also by Tokunaga (1988) as "when a speaker talks with a superior, in terms of social status or age, he is expected to use a respectful form when talking about his superior's affairs, and a humble form when referring to himself" (P. 89), and "the use of honorifics indicates the speaker's social position and it can also be a manifestation of the speaker's psychological attitude toward the addressee or the person he is talking about" (P. 89).

For example, as a form of self repression, the Japanese language does not address the subject in the sentence. As a form of self manifestation, the Japanese language uses the different verbs to reflect the situation. There are certain words that are used to refer to the high status person.

The intent of the present study is to find out the pragmatic competence of the learners of Japanese as a second/foreign language. By the use of a questionnaire, cultural specific situation that requires a particular pragmatic knowledge of Japanese will be examined. Pragmatic errors or differences perceived during the course of language learning should suggest the specific cultural contexts that need to be taken into consideration for the further second/foreign language learning.

In concluding this chapter, I will present two research questions for the study.

Q.1 : Can the interlanguage and language transfer be perceived in the responses to a pragmatic questionnaire (modified CCSARP) from the learners of Japanese?

Q.2 : Do the learners of Japanese use more appropriate pragmatic forms as their length of studying Japanese increases?

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 52 undergraduate students who have been studying Japanese from one to three years at the University of Montana. A majority of the learners are native speakers of English, and some of the learners speak chinese or Malay as their native language.

Material

Blum-Kulka's (1992) Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization (CCSARP) was adapted and used as questionnaire (Appendix A). The students were asked to fill out the questionnaire using the Japanese language.

The CCSARP is made of several dialogues that contain blanks. Each dialogue presents a situation which may require pragmatic knowledge of the target language culture. The adapted CCSARP was designed to reflect Japanese pragmatic situations. Most of Blum-Kulka's original dialogues that were thought to be qualified for Japanese pragmatic situations, were translated into Japanese. A few dialogues, which were considered to reflect particularly Japanese pragmatic context, were newly added (question nine and ten).

In the adopted CCSARP, status differences of the interlocutors in the dialogue, formal and casual settings are considered as important

12

factors of indirect speech acts which reflect pragmatic mistakes or differences of the language learners.

This questionnaire was screened and answered by three native informants of Japanese who are teaching Japanese. Students' answers were examined based on the comparison of the pragmatic differences or errors with reference to answers given by the native informants.

Originally, Blum-Kulka's CCSARP included seventeen dialogues that contain fillers for the learners to fill out. The adopted Japanese version of CCSARP was made of ten questions. The questionnaire was simplified because of the time restriction.

Dialogue Description

Question 1: This is a dialogue between a policeman and a
driver. The policeman can be authoritative,
but since this is rather a formal setting for two
strangers, the language here should be somewhat
indirect. (Native speakers of Japanese would be
expected to indicate the formality using the
certain form "masu", "masen" or desu").
Status differences in formal setting,
psychological distance are involved.

Question 2: This is a dialogue among friends. This involves
no status difference. The casual setting and
close psychological distance is provided.

(Expected answer here is based on "suru" or "nai" forms).

Question 3: A dialogue between a husband and wife. There is not clear status difference here. Casual setting, close psychological setting. (Difference of male-female talk can be reflected in the form of language such as particles, "yo" for female and "da" for male).

Question 4: This is a conversation between a mother and son. Mother is the authority figure here, but the nature of this relationship is casual. The direct expression will be sought here. ("Nasai" for imperative and "da" to indicate the casual ending).

Question 5: A dialogue between strangers. Status difference is not clear. A rather formal setting. (Native speakers of Japanese would use "masu", "masen" or "desu" form here).

Question 6: This is a conversation in the street. The guy is trying to be casual but the woman does not like his approach. She reflects her psychological distance toward him by using formal and indirect

form of language. ("Masu", "masen" or "dekudasai" would be used here).

Question 7: A dialogue held at a teacher's meeting. There is a status difference in this case. However, the participants know each other and the psychological distance is small. The principal have the most status here. (According to the Japanese societal norm, the principal would be the one who can use a casual form of language ("suru" or "nai") and rest of the interlocutors would use formal language ("masu", "masen" or "desu").

Question 8: Two strangers meet in the office for the first time to initiate business. This is the very first stage of encounter. Status difference is not clear, formal setting. ("Masu", "masen" or "desu" form would be used here).

Question 9: Invitation for a party. In this dialogue, this invitation is done indirectly. Formal situation. (Indirect way of turning down the invitation is expected for example, a word like "cyotto" is a common expression here).

Question 10: This is a dialogue among friends, done in a

casual setting. The common notion of dependence
in Japanese culture should be reflected here.
(The expressions that reflect humbleness or
dependence factor, such as "okagesamade" are
sought here).

Procedure

The questionnaire was distributed to the students in three Japanese language classes at the University of Montana. These classes are of different levels; elementary, intermediate and advanced Japanese. The students were asked to fill out the blank in the ques questionnaire using Japanese.

Since the questionnaire was administered to three different level classes of Japanese, it was anticipated that some students in the first year Japanese class may not be able to comprehend all the dialogues written in the questionnaire. In order to solve this problem, the glossary was provided in the questionnaire. However, the learners of Japanese were instructed not to refer to the glossary first. They had access to the dictionary on the condition to use it only when they could not understand what the dialogues said.

The subjects were also be asked write the number of years they have studied Japanese, length of the stay if they have ever been to Japan, and their native language.

Analysis

Analysis was made based on the qualitative observation of the data. Pragmatic forms of the Japanese answered by the learners of Japanese were compared with the answers provided by native speakers of Japanese. The accumulated answers from the questionnaire should reflect the research questions in chapter one.

Status differences and formal or casual situations are considered to be variables that affect the production of indirect/direct speech acts. Psychological distance is also considered relevant as a cause of formal/casual settings when necessary. These factors were the determinant for reading the pragmatic contexts used in the questionnaire for the study.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

In this chapter, the analyses of the questionnaires will be presented. In order to examine pragmatic mistakes/failures of the learners of Japanese, 52 questionnaires were administered to the students in the Japanese language program at the University of Montana. The subjects returned 22 out of 52 questionnaires originally distributed. Eleven questionnaires were gathered from the first year students in the Japanese language program. Five questionnaires were collected from the second year students, and four from the third year or above students.

The results indicated that these dialogues in Japanese were too difficult for the majority of the first year students of Japanese. Only three of the eleven questionnaires obtained from the first year students were completed. Others were returned unfinished.

Only a few students have lived in Japan for a certain period of time. One student has lived in Japan for eight years, and another student has lived in Japan for five years. Three other students have traveled to Japan several times but for a short period of time.

Five categories were made to label each answer in the questionnaire: (1) Pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, (2) pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, (3) pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes, (4) pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes, and (5) no answer.

18

The same questionnaires were also completed by three native informants previously. These answers were used to compare and contrast the answers from American learners of Japanese with these from native speakers of Japanese.

Analysis

The following analysis contains a discussion of each of the ten questions (dialogues) in the questionnaire, the pragmatic element involved in each dialogue, and a comparison of native speakers' answers with those of first, second, and third year language students.

Q.1   Policeman requesting that car should be moved.

This question contains a status difference of the interlocutors. Native speakers of Japanese used formal or casual phrases. In the case of the casual phrase, it reflected the authority of the policeman in the context.

Three formal answers all included the reason that the car needs to be moved. "koko wa cyuusya kinshi nandesu", which means "it is prohibited to park in this area". One of the three answers was proceeded by "sugu kuruma o ugokashite kudasai", means "move your car right away, please". The casual answer repeated a word three times. "Dame, dame, dame!" which is "no good, no good, no good!".

First Year Students of Japanese

One answer was categorized as pragmatically appropriate with some grammatical mistakes. It stated "move it" in Japanese. Two showed that the answers were pragmatically inappropriate with some grammatical mistakes. Others had no answers.

The pragmatically appropriate answer did not use the reasoning though. It stated the sentence of request.

These two pragmatically inappropriate answers were derived mainly from the grammatical mistakes. One of them did not have an correct sentence structure and the other one just stated the fact and did not request anything as a form.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Three answers indicated that they were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, and two were pragmatically inappropriate with some grammatical mistakes. Three of them mentioned the reason for the request, and an actual requestive sentence, and two of them used a requestive sentence only.

One of the two pragmatically inappropriate answer used more formal form than others. Another one had a inadequate sentence structure. The semantics of these pragmatically inappropriate answers will be understood by the native speakers of Japanese though.

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Three answers were pragmatically appropriate with some grammatical mistakes. In this case, the mistakes were very small and considered to be minor aspects of the language. Two of the three answers were requestive sentences, and the one used the reasoning and an actual request, which was given in an authoritative manner, "Kuruma o ugokashite!", which is "move your car!"

One answer was pragmatically inappropriate with some mistakes. Grammatical mistakes were so obvious that the speaker's intent was hard to understand in this case.

Q.2   A request to borrow money from a friend.

This dialogue presents a casual interaction between friends. There are no status difference in this situation. All the answers from native speakers of Japanese were given in casual sentences, such as "sukoshi kashite kurenaikanaa", meaning "I wonder if you can lend me a little...", or "kashite kureru?", meaning "do you lend me (money)?".

First Year Students of Japanese

All three first year students' answers to question two were pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes. No answer was presented in a requestive form. One of them stated in Japanese, "kyuuryou ga iidesuyo", which means "the salary is good", another one stated "ima okane o karimasuka?", which means "Are you going to lend money from

someone?", lastly, "okane o kattemo iidesuka?" which is "may I buy some money".

Second Year Students of Japanese

Four out of five answers are pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes. Among the answers that are pragmatically correct, two used casual sentences in asking a favor from the friend, and other two use formal sentences. One of the casual answer gave a reason before a request.

The most common answer here was "okane o kashite kudasaimasenka", which means "would you please lend me some money".

Third Year Students of Japanese of More

One answer is pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes. Pragmatically appropriate answers used formal sentences. Other two were pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes.

Casual sentences stated "okane o kashite kureru", which is "(will you) do me a favor of lending me some money". Formal sentences corresponded to what the second year students of Japanese had.

Q.3   Husband asking an explanation from his wife.

This is a dialogue between husband and wife. The husband seeks the explanation to a particular incident. The common answers given to this blank by native speakers of Japanese was "dooshite yondanda" which means "why (in the world) did you invite them?". One different answer was given as "komattanaa...", which means "I am in trouble". In either case, they used the casual form of Japanese language.

First Year Students of Japanese

Two out of three had no answers to this question. The only one that was answered is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes, "wakarimasen", that is "I do not know".

Second Year Students of Japanese

Four of them had no answers to this question. The only one that was answered was pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. The answer was "soo kashira" which means that "I wonder if it is so".

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Out of four answers, two answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, another one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes, and finally no answer was given to the last one.

One of the pragmatically appropriate answer indicated that the husband rather blamed his wife softly by saying "wasuremasitaka?" which

means "did you forget (it)?" In this case, the answer was given in a formal sentence.

Q.4 This dialogue presents an interaction between mother and son. In this case, mother tells her son what to do. Two native speakers of Japanese used an imperative sentence to tell the son what to do such as "iikagen ni moo kirinasai" meaning "(time to) cut your hair", or "ashita tokoya san ni ikinasai" meaning "go to the barber shop tomorrow".

The other two answers employed a suggestive sentence such as "(Sukoshi) kittara doo?" meaning "how about getting (a little bit of) hair cut?". The answers were given in a casual form.

First Year Students of Japanese

One out of three answers was pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes, and the last one had no answer. Pragmatically appropriate answer indicated indirectness of which English translation will be "would that be alright if you do not get a hair cut?". The formal sentence was used here. Second

Second Year Student of Japanese

Four out of five answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Pragmatically appropriate answers all reflected

indirectness, instead of using imperative sentences to give an order, suggestive or indirect sentences were given to this situation. For example, "itu kitte morau?" meaning "when do you have them cut your hair?" or kitte morauyouni natta to omowanai?" meaning "don't you think your hair is long enough to have someone cut it?".

Pragmatically inappropriate answer was "kimashouka", which means "shall I come?".

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Two answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, and the last one is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes.

These pragmatically appropriate answers are for example, "kirimasenka?" meaning "won't you get a hair cut?", "doosite kiranai?" meaning "why aren't you getting a hair cut?", and a grammatically incorrect one of which translation will be "it is better for you to get a hair cut". None of them used imperative sentences.

Q.5   This is a dialogue between two strangers as customer and clerk. There is not distinct status difference involved here. Three native speakers of Japanese used formal sentence, and one used a casual sentence. Basically, the answer said "motto yasuku dekimasenka?" which means "can you make it cheaper?".

Many of the learners of Japanese in general used a word "nebiki"

which means "a discount", whereas no native speakers of Japanese used the word. This word "nebiki" is pragmatically competent in this situation, but the native speakers of Japanese seem to have a better preference for a subtle and different

word usage.

First Year Students of Japanese

One out of three answers was pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. One was pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. This irrelevancy is based on the form of sentence. Both formal and casual sentences can be applicable in this context, however, extremely casual sentence will violate the norm of customer and clerk communication situation. The last one was pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes.

In comparison with Japanese, a word "nebiki" , which is "a discount" was more frequently used in the case of the learners of Japanese.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Two answers were gained as pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Other two showed that they were pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, and the last one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes.

The closest answer to the native speakers of Japanese is "Chotto yasuku dekimasenka?" that is translated as "dan you make it a little

cheaper?". The other answer that was pragmatically appropriate stated "How about a discount?".

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Two out of four indicated that they were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes, one is pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, and the last one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes.

Two pragmatically appropriate answers were both "nebiki dekimasuka?" which means "can you discount?". Another pragmatically appropriate one but with a small grammatical mistake said "can you make it a little cheaper?".

Q.6 This dialogue portraits a situation in which a woman turn down the invitation from an unpleasant man. The answers from the native speakers of Japanese were divided into two groups.

One group filled the blank by saying "shitureinee" or "sitsureina hitonee", meaning "you are being rude", or "you are being a rude person". Another group answered by saying "shitsukoiwane", or "shitsukoinja naidesuka?", meaning "you are being persistent", or "Isn't it too much (persistent)?".

One answer used a formal sentence.

First Year Students of Japanese

Two out of three showed that the answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Both answers gave a reason to refuse the invitation. One of the two answers stated, "anata wa bakana hitodesu. itte!", which means that "you are an idiot, go away!" and the other answer was, "totemo isogashiidesu. sayonara", which is "I am very busy. Good-bye".

In both cases, the sentences were formal.

No answer was given to the third questionnaire.

Second Year Student of Japanese

Three out of five were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. One used a reasoning before turning down the invitation, the other one used a phrase of apology or excuse before turning down the invitation. These three answers were; "Sumimasenkedo dekinaito omoimasuyo", meaning "I am sorry but I think I can not make it", "anata wa sukijanaikara ittekudasai", meaning "since I do not like you, please go away", and lastly, "yametahoo ga iiwayo" meaning "It is better to stop (that)".

Except the third answer, the invitation was turned down rather politely by using formal sentences.

Other two answers were pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. One said, "shujin ga fukouni narimasuyo", meaning "my husband becomes unhappy", and the other said, "hijyouni isogashiidesuyo", meaning "I am extremely busy".

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Basically, all four answers were pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes. Two of these answers included a word "yamete" which means "to stop", and one of these two also included a word "shitsurei" which means "rude".

Translations of other two answers are "no way!" and "I don't want to have anything to do with you".

Q.7   This is a dialogue between principle and his subordinate teacher. A status difference is involved in this situation. The principle asks a teacher to do something.

Three answers from the native speakers of Japanese simply stated as "minnna ni renraku tanomune", or "sirasetekureru?"
both sentences mean "will you (be willing to) let them know?". Another one said "yatte kurenai?", meaning "won't you (be willing to)do it?". All these answers were given in a casual sentence, that includes a subtle indirectness in asking a request.

First Year Students of Japanese

One answer was pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. It is given in a short sentence which is communicative enough in this case. The sentence was formal and indicates a little directness, which is still acceptable in this very situation. The answer was, "shirasete kudasai", meaning "please let them know".

Other two had no answers.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Two answers were given as pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. These answers were short ones that said "dekimasuka", which means "can you do it?" and "soosite kurenai?" which means "won"t you do so?". The first one indicates casualness and the second one indicates formality.

Another answer was pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes, and the other one was pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. The last one had no answer.

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

One answer was pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Two are pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes, and the last one is pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes.

The pragmatically correct one used formal sentence which was "minasan ni oshiete kudasai masenka?", meaning "will you be kind enough to tell them please?".

The pragmatically inappropriate ones were; "sonohito ni oshiemasenka?", meaning "don't you tell them?" and "kimi wa shirasete iika?", meaning "is it alright for you if we let them know?'.

Q.8   This is a dialogue between two businessmen who have just met in the office.   One businessman asks permission to smoke a cigarette.   The status difference is not clear in this case.

One native speaker posed a reason instead of directly asking permission, "boku wa yamerarenakutene..." which means " I cannot quit...". Two native speakers of Japanese used a short sentence to ask permission such as "cyotto iidesuka?" or "kamaimasenka?"
which means "Is it alright?" or "you do not mind?".   Another speaker combined these two.   Formal sentences were used except one answer.

First Year Students of Japanese

Two of the three answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes.   Both of these answers were relatively short ones such as "iidesuka?", meaning "is it alright?", and "suttemo iidesuka?", meaning "is it alright to smoke?".

The other one had no answer.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Two out of five answers were pragmatically appropriatet with no grammatical mistakes. One of the two stated a reason first and then asked permission to smoke.   Both answers were similar to those of native speakers of Japanese.

One answer is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes that said "doosimasitaka?", meaning "what is the matter?".   The

last answer was pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes.

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

One answer is pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. The answer indicated politeness that was expressed in a formal sentence, "tabako o sutte mo kamaimasen desuka", "would it be alright for me to smoke a cigarette?".

Rest of the answers were pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes, and the translation of these are; "May I smoke one cigarette?", "you do not mind my smoking?", and "may I smoke?".

Q. 9 This dialogue presents a situation in which one has to turn down the invitation to a party. The dialogue is rather formal between two acquaintances.

In turning down the invitation, three native speakers of Japanese use a word that indicates hesitance, which is "cyotto". (Cyotto is usually translated as "a little" or "small amount". However, it can be used as a filler in a certain situation).

Two of the native speaker answered by saying "cyotto...(kyoo) wa youji ga arimasitenee...", which means "well, (I am afraid that) I have an errand to do (today)". Another one said "aa, cyotto tsugou ga waruindesuyo", meaning "well...(I am afraid that) it is not convenient".

The other answer stated as "Ikitaindesuga, hokani ikutokoro ga arundesu", meaning "i would like to go, but I have somewhere else to go (=I have to go somewhere else)".

All the answers were given in formal sentences.

First Year Students of Japanese

One out of three is pragmatically appropriate with a grammatical mistake. This answer can be translated as "no, it is not convenient...". Another one is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical mistakes. This answer is pragmatically inappropriate because of the inadequate usage of honorific sentence. The last one had no answer.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Three answers showed that they were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Two of the three answers used the same format the native speakers of Japanese used. These were; "kyoo wa cyotto", meaning "well, today...(I am afraid I can not)", and "un, cyotto kaigi ni denakucya narimasen", meaning, "well, (I am afraid that) I have to attend a conference".

Another pragmatically appropriate answer with no grammatical mistakes was, "arigatoo gozaimasu. kedo, watashi wa deremasen", which means "thank you very much, but I can not attend".

There was also an answer that was pragmatically appropriate with a small grammatical mistake, this answer also used the same format that can be seen in the answers of the native speakers of Japanese.

The other answer is pragmatically inappropriate with no grammatical

mistakes. This answer contained a phrase "osoreirimasuga...", meaning "I am sorry to trouble you...", and this phrase should be addressed by the person who asks a question.

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Two out of four answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. Another one was pragmatically appropriate with a minor grammatical mistake. All three answers had a phrase of apology at the beginning of the sentence before turning down the invitation. Two pragmatically inappropriate answers with no grammatical mistakes were; "sumimasen. kyoo wa taihen isogashiidesu", meaning "I am sorry. Today, I am very busy", and "sumimasen, kyoo wa tsugou ga waruikeredomo...", meaning "I am sorry, today is inconvenient...". Translation of the pragmatically appropriate answer with a small grammatical mistake is "I am sorry, but I will be attending a lecture".

The last one had an answer that was pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes. This answer was also given in a casual form whereas other answers were given in a formal sentence.

Q.10 This is a dialogue between two college students. One student is supposed to thank the other student for lending him a notebook to prepare for the exam.

Three native speakers of Japanese used a phrase "tasukattayo", which means "I was saved". One of these three also used a phrase "okagesamade" in combination with "tasukattayo", the total translation of the sentence

will be "thanks to you, I am saved!". Another answer said "totemo yakuni tattayo", which means "it was very useful".

All the answers used a formal sentence.

First Year Students of Japanese

One answer was pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. This corresponds with the answer given by one native speaker of Japanese. Another one was pragmatically appropriate with grammatical mistakes. This was similar to the first answer. The last one had no answer.

Second Year Students of Japanese

Three out of five answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. One of three showed a gratitude by saying "nooto o minakkatara tesuto ni gookaku shinakatta. hontooni tasukarimasita", which is "if I had not seen the notebook, I would not have passed the exam. I am really saved".

Other two answers from the three were shorter, and used a phrase "tasukatta" (I was saved), which was also used by three native speakers.

One of five answers was pragmatically appropriate with a small grammatical mistake. It stated "I studied hard that I did not need it". It does not show gratitude but it can still be pragmatically correct in this situation.

The last answer was pragmatically inappropriate with a small grammatical mistake. This sentence was pragmatically appropriate until it added one phrase that can be translated "you worked hard" at the end.

Third Year Students of Japanese or More

Three out of four answers were pragmatically appropriate with no grammatical mistakes. These were; "A-san no okagedesu", meaning "thanks to you, A", "nooto yondakara yokudekita", meaning "since I read the notebook, I did it well", and "makoto yakunutatta. hontooni doomo", which means, "it was really useful. Thanks".

The last one was pragmatically inappropriate with grammatical mistakes. The sentence attempted to say "it was really useful and thank you very much", however, misusage of a word made the meaning unclear.

Overall, these questionnaire accumulated the various answers that are intriguing as results of examining the pragmatic mistakes/failures in the case of learning Japanese as a second language.

It seemed that some questions were relatively easy for the students to answer, and some were not. There are some answers that reflected pragmatic differences between the native speakers of Japanese and the learners of Japanese (i.e., Q.4, 6, and 9). These differences will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results from the modified CCSARP will be discussed along with the previously presented research questions; (1) can the interlanguage and language transfer be perceived in the responses to the modified CCSARP from the learners of Japanese? (2) do the learners of Japanese use more appropriate pragmatic forms as their length of studying Japanese increase?

In addition, three theories are discussed to explain the pragmatic mistakes made by the learners of Japanese as a second language.

Because of the small size of the sample, it is difficult to generalize the outcome for each student group (first, second, and third year students of Japanese). However, it is apparent that the questionnaire posed a lot of questions that were too difficult for the first year students of Japanese to answer. The return rate from the first year students of Japanese, three out of eleven, indicated that the questionnaire was too difficult for most of them. Based on this assumption, it should be noted that those first year students who made an attempt to answer the questionnaire made maximum efforts in using their grammatical and pragmatical knowledge.

37

Also, the expected differences in answers were not clearly found between the second and third year students of Japanese. The second year students of Japanese in this particular program have been taught intensively so that they may have caught up with the third year students of Japanese on some grammatical knowledge, and possibly pragmatic knowledge as well. (The second year students of Japanese study Japanese language seven hours per week whereas the third year students of Japanese study Japanese three hours per week. In this chapter, categories are made for the dialogues in the questionnaire; (1) clear status difference between the interlocutors in either formal or casual setting, (2) unclear status difference between the interlocutors in a formal setting, and (3) no status difference between the interlocutors in a casual setting. Throughout these categories, the pragmatic question of directness and indirectness is also discussed.

(1) Clear status difference between the interlocutors in either formal or casual setting.

Questions number one, five and seven reflect status differences between the interlocutors. In other words, in these three dialogues, it is acceptable for a higher status person to be more authoritative than the other. their intent can be communicated either using formal sentences or casual

sentences.

Q.1 Policeman giving an order that a car should be moved.

The most common answer given by the native speakers of Japanese was to give a brief account why the car should be moved. It is assumed by the Japanese that the brief account such as "it is prohibited to park in this area" was enough to convey what they really mean. In this respect, the native speakers of Japanese were indirect in giving the order.

The answers made by the learners of Japanese varied from a polite sentence to an imperative one. For the first year students, it was hard for them to compose a correct sentence structure. The second year students were rather direct in addressing the order. A couple of them followed the same format as the one the native speakers of Japanese used. The third year students' answers resembled the second year students' answers.

The prominent difference between the native speakers of Japanese and the learners of Japanese is that the native speakers of Japanese used only an account to communicate their intent, whereas the learners of Japanese were thorough in providing an account and the order, or they simply stated the order without giving any account.

Q.4 Mother telling her son what to do.

In this dialogue, mother tells her son to get a hair cut. The native speakers of Japanese answered to this situation by using either an imperative or suggestive sentences. Mother can be very indirect or indirect in this situation. Again, it was hard for the first year students of Japanese to provide an answer to this question. The answers made by the second year and third year students were similar, no prominent difference was perceived between these two groups.

The major difference between the native speakers of Japanese and the learners of Japanese is that none of the learners of Japanese used an imperative sentences. They all used a suggestive sentence in addressing what was wanted from the son. In this regard, Japanese were more direct in addressing their request in Japanese. My assumption is that the learners of Japanese were not familiar with this situation, and not sensitized to this form of pragmatic.

Q 7. Principal requesting someone to do something at a teacher's meeting.

In this situation, the principal is considered to be the high status holder among the interlocutors. The answers given by the native speakers of Japanese were all addressed in a casual sentence with moderate indirectness. The indirectness was indicated by the end of the sentence, for example, "--kureru?" at the end of the sentence meaning "do me a favor of-_".

In general, all the learners of Japanese seemed to have a difficulty in finding an appropriate answer to this question. Only a couple of answers from the second year students used a similar sentence as the native speakers of Japanese did. Other pragmatically appropriate answers from the first, second and third year students of Japanese used a polite sentence. Most of the answers were direct, a few used indirect sentence.

(2) Unclear status difference between the interlocutors in a formal setting.

Questions five, eight, and nine are the dialogues that take place in a formal setting. The status difference of the two interlocutors is unclear, as they are strangers to each other.

Q.5 Customer asking for a discount at a second hand store.

The answers made by the native speakers of Japanese reflected a variation of indirectness. One answer was made in a casual sentence, but with indirectness. They all used the adjective word "yasui", meaning "cheap" in the answer.

In general, pragmatically appropriate answers among students employed the word "nebiki", meaning "discount", instead of "yasui" (=cheap). The sentence was indirect. Only

one answer from the first year student used the word "yasui" in his answer. "Yasuku dekimasenka" which means "can you make it cheaper" in English was used as an answer. It is most likely the case that the first year student knew only this expression to use for this question. The fact that the majority of the pragmatically appropriate answers had the word "nebiki" could be associated with the language transfer from English "can you give me an discount" to Japanese.

Q. 8   Asking permission to smoke at a business meeting.

Two businessmen had a chance to see each other for the first time. The status difference is unclear, and the setting is formal.   Native speakers of Japanese answered to this question basically in three forms.   First was to give an account why he smokes and then asks for permission, the second was to simply ask for permission, and the third was to state the fact that the person can not stop smoking without asking permission to smoke.

It was usual that they did not specify what the permission is for in the sentence, in the case they actually asked for permission.   In other words, the topic was already assumed by the time the permission was asked so the actual word "suu" (=to smoke) was omitted from the sentence. All the sentences reflected formality.

Only one answer from the first year student's answer used a simplified form.   This could also be explained by the

limited knowledge of the first year student of Japanese. One answer from the second year student answered by using both an account and request. The rest of the pragmatically appropriate answers specifically asked for permission to smoke. They all indicated that it was an act of smoking that they wanted permission for. A formal sentence was used without exception.

Q.9 Turning down the invitation.

This dialogue also takes place in a formal setting. Two interlocutors are polite to each other, but the status difference is not clear.

All the answers by the native speakers of Japanese used a sign of hesitation, or the indication of their willingness to go to the party if they can, before turning down the invitation. All the answers reflected indirectness to save face of the initiator. Also, some sentences were not completed. It is common for Japanese speakers to not finish the sentence ending completely in order to reduce offensive directness.

The first year students failed to use a sign of hesitation. Whether they are pragmatically appropriate or not, they tried to answer to this question by giving a straight answer. One second year student answered by thanking the other interlocutor before turning down the invitation. This also seems to be a case of language transfer from

English. The majority of the answers from the second year students were successful in using a sign of hesitation, and a couple of them even used an unfinished sentence ending. Third year students used a form of apology at the beginning of the sentence. Although the form of apology was not used by the native speakers of Japanese, it is considered to be acceptable pragmatical form to use in this situation.

The dialogue presents a typical and prominent Japanese pragmatical context. It should be noted that the answers from the each student group varied. It seems that the longer they studied Japanese, the more they reflect the awareness for the politeness in Japanese language.

(3) No status difference between the interlocutors in a casual setting.

Questions two, three, six and ten are grouped together under this category. The status between the interlocutors are equal or unclear, and these dialogues reflect a casual setting.

Q.2 A friend asking for a loan.

Dialogue between two friends. One of them is trying to borrow some money from the other. All the native speakers of Japanese used a casual sentence with indirectness. It included an sentence ending "--kuresu" (=do me a favor of--).

All the first year students failed to answer to this question correctly. Only one answer from the second year student reflected indirectness by using a casual sentence. Another answer came from the second year student used a direct casual sentence. Other answers from the second and third year students used indirect formal sentences. In this case, the politeness reflected on the formal sentences created a psychological distant in this situation.

Q.3 Husband asking for an explanation from his wife.

This is also a casual conversation between a husband and wife. Most of the native speakers of Japanese filled the blank by saying "dooshite" or "nande" (=why). The husband almost blames the wife by asking. The sentence was casual.

This dialogue was difficult for all the first and second year students of Japanese. Two answers made by the third year students of Japanese were the closest to the answer made by the native speakers of Japanese.

The sentence used to fill the blank in this dialogue was formal and a little too polite.

Q.4 Woman turning down the invitation from an unpleasant man on the street.

Although the two are strangers to each other and the status difference is unclear, the interlocutors do not have to be polite in this case. Especially for a woman to turn down the invitation from the unpleasant man, casual and direct expression can be used here.

Native speakers of Japanese used a direct word to refuse the other. Most of the answers used a casual sentence. All of the answers used a word that expresses unpleasant feeling, for example, "shitsukoi" (=persistent) or "shitsurei" (=rude).

This also seems to be a difficult question for the students of any level. Only one answer from the third year student used the word "shitsurei" (=rude), and rest of the answers varied. This dialogue seemed to stimulate the creativity of the learners of Japanese.

Two main findings from these answers are polite expressions and an account for the refusal. Many of the expressions used by the learners of Japanese were acceptable as answers, but it failed to show the directness used by the native speakers of Japanese. The polite expressions and the use of an account before turning down the invitation ranged from pragmatically appropriate to pragmatically inappropriate, which means that the polite expressions and the use of an account can cause pragmatic errors.

Q.10 Thanking the other for lending him/her a notebook. The dialogue is between two friends. Conversation is

carried in a casual manner. The native speakers of Japanese used a word "tasukatta" (=I was saved, or it was life-saving), or "yakuni tatta" (=it was useful). In both cases, the answer indicated that the person feels indebted to the other.

Among all the learners of Japanese, the word "yakuni tatta" (=it was useful) was the most common answer. Another word "tasukatta" (I was saved, or it was life-saving) was used by the small number of the second and third year Japanese. One of the third year Japanese used an expression "thanks to you" in Japanese, which is polite in this case, however pragmatically appropriate.

Some answers from the learners of Japanese used an account before stating what they needed to say.

The main difference between the answers from the native speakers of Japanese and these from the learners of Japanese was how the concept of "feeling obliged" or feeling indebted" to the other was reflected in the answer. Japanese tended to use the sentence or expression to communicate the feeling behind the situation, on the other hand, the learners of Japanese sometimes happened to use "the cause and effect" sentence.

Discussion of the Research Question

Based on the observation on the results, the attempt is made to answer the two research questions given previously.

The first research question was to find out whether the interlanguage and language transfer can be perceived in the responses to the modified CCSARP from the learners of Japanese. The results indicated some language transfers as far as the word usage, and the pragmatic form of the target language. Language transfer and interlanguage was not perceived on the syntax level of the language. Since the syntax of Japanese and English differs greatly, the knowledge on one language did not seem to interfere with the other. However, in the case of brief expressions or words, some of the learners used the direct translation of English.

The distinction between the interlanguage and the language transfer was not made in examining each answer from the learners of Japanese, as it is difficult to separate them.

The second research question asked if the learners of Japanese use more appropriate pragmatic forms as their length of studying Japanese increases. It is hard to give a clear answer to this question, as it was noted earlier that the sample size was small, and there was not a clear difference between the second and the third year students of Japanese. Also, the fact that the second year students are learning Japanese more intensively than the third year students of Japanese may have made the second year students catch up with the third year students on some grammatical and pragmatical knowledge level of Japanese language. However, the third year

students seem to be more alert to the situations that include formal Japanese communication. This may mean that their sensitivity for pragmatic knowledge become more strengthened as the length of studying Japanese increases.

As far as the individual experience regarding the length of stay in Japan, only three from the entire number of subjects have stayed in Japan for a significant period of time (from four to eight years). A couple of other students have visited Japan for several weeks, which is considered to have insignificant impact on their language skills.

The student who had lived in Japan for eight years seemed to have a good knowledge on pragmatic except this person did not have enough grammatical knowledge on Japanese language. Another student who had lived in Japan for four years also had a good grasp Japanese pragmatics throughout the questionnaire. The last one who also lived in Japan for four years did not show a significant difference in the use of pragmatics, when compared with those who had never been to Japan.

Pragmatic mistakes or differences made by the learners of Japanese might be explained by three theories. First, as it was reflected on the research question number one, language transfer and interlanguage can cause somewhat deviated pragmatical forms (i.e., Q. five, eight, and nine). A particular word was preferred in the question five ("nebiki"=discount), the combination of giving an account and request was more common in the learners of Japanese than in

the native speakers of Japanese (Q.7), and thanking the other before turning down the invitation seemed to follow an American pragmatic norm rather than a Japanese one (Q.9).

Another prominent finding was that the learners of Japanese tended to use formal sentences whenever they were unsure of the pragmatic of the language in the particular setting. It turned out that casual settings offered the most difficult pragmatic situation for the learners of Japanese. To explain this over- politeness of the learners of Japanese, two additional theories can be taken into consideration.

One of the theories presents the language teaching in the classroom setting that involves formal sentence structure as a core grammar. Since the curriculum of language teaching in general is based on formal expressions, formal sentence structure is introduced to the learners of Japanese at first. Casual expressions are taught after the formal expressions. In other words, the learners of Japanese refer back to formal expressions when they face unfamiliar circumstances. Therefore, pragmatic mistakes or differences may simply be a function of the order of acquisition in the language curriculum.

The other theory is to present the idea that the learners of Japanese tend to overestimate the politeness involved in Japanese oral communication. As the hierarchical level of pragmatic in Japanese is divided into many levels, the learners of Japanese tend to use more polite forms than

are acquired by the actual situation in Japanese. Formal usage is a safe way to avoid offending the other interlocutor.

In summary, three theories that may explain the pragmatic mistakes or difference made by the learners of Japanese are: (1) interlanguage and language transfer causes pragmatic mistakes and differences, (2) formal expression taught in the classroom as a core grammar becomes the safety base for the learners of Japanese and thus causes pragmatic mistakes and differences, and (3) over politeness as a strategy to cover different levels of pragmatic in Japanese causes pragmatic mistakes or difference made by the learners of Japanese.

In this chapter, the result of the modified CCSARP was discussed. Two research questions were answered based on the results and the discussion on the results, and three theories were presented to explain the pragmatic mistakes and differences made by the learners of Japanese.

Appendix A

Pragmatic Questionnaire in Japanese

Modified Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project

(CCSARP)

On this cover sheet, please write:

1. The number of years you have been studying Japanese language.

2. The number of years you have lived in Japan.

3. Your native language.

When you fill the blanks in this questionnaire, please do not refer to a native speaker of Japanese for correct language usage. Glossaries are provided with each dialogue, however, you can also use a dictionary.

1.   DRIVER AND THE POLICEMAN : GIVING AN ORDER
      Policeman:　これは　あなたの車ですか？
      Driver:　そうです。　　　２、３分だけ　駐車したんですけど.

. . Policeman: _____

      Driver: わかりました、　わかりましたよ。　すみません、すぐ動かします。

✱　駐車（ちゅうしゃ）する－TO PARK　　動（うご）かす－TO MOVE

2.   AMONG FRIENDS : ASKING A LOAN
      たろう：　かずおくん、いいアパートを　見つけたんだけど、ちょっと困っているん
            だ。　今日のよるまでに　大家さんに　５万円はらわなくちゃいけないんだ。
      かずお：　お金、もってないの？
      たろう：　ううん、給料、来週なんだよ。_____？

      かずお：　わるいけど、　だめだよ。　ぼくも今お金がないんだ。

✱　見つける－TO FIND　　大家（おおや）さん－LANDLOARD　　給料（きゅうりょう）－
SALARY

3.   HUSBAND AND WIFE : ASKING FOR AN EXPLANATION
      まさこ：　あなた、田中さん夫婦を　パーティによんだんだけど. . .

      たかし：　あのひとたち、いやだって言っただろう、_____？
      まさこ：　でも、さとうさんが　パーティのこと　田中さんに言っちゃったのよ。

*　夫婦（ふうふ）－COUPLE

4.   MOTHER AND SON : TELLING A SON WHAT TO DO
      ごろう：　えーと、ブラシどこ？
      母：　洗面所でしょ。　ごろう、　かみがひざまでとどくんじゃないの、

      _____？

      ごろう：　かみ、きるのいやだよ！！

*　ブラシ－BRUSH　　洗面所（せんめんじょ）－BATHROOM　　かみ－HAIR　　ひざ－KNEE
とどく－TO REACH　　きる－TO CUT

5.   AT A SECOND HAND STORE : ASKING FOR A DISCOUNT
   Customer: このドレス　いくらですか？
   Clerk:　１万円です。
   Customer: ちょっと高いですねえ、＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿？

   Clerk:　すみません、　値引きできないんです。

*　値引き－DISCOUNT

6.   ON　THE　STREET : REFUSING AN INVITATION
   MAN:　ねえ、今何時？
   WOMWN:　３時３０分です。
   MAN:　きみ、かわいいねえ。　なまえ、何ていうの？
   WOMAN:　関係ないでしょう。
   MAN:　おちゃでも　いっしょに飲まない？
   WOMAN:　いやです！
   MAN:　じゃ、あしたにでもどう？
   WOMAN:　ちょっと！　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

*　関係（かんけい）－RELATIONSHIP　関係ない－NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS

7.   AT A TEACHERS' MEETING : REQUESTING SOMEONE TO DO SOMETHING
   TEACHER　（さいとう）: 次の会議はいつですか？
   PRINCIPAL:　来週の水曜日、８時だよ。　今日、ここにいない人に　知らせる必要が

      あるねえ。　さいとう君、＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿？

   さいとう：　ええ、　かしこまりました。

*　必要（ひつよう）－NECESSITY/NEED

8.   AT AN OFFICE : ASKING PERMISSION TO SMOKE
   田中：　はじめまして。　どうぞ　おすわりください。　おたばこは？
   かとう：　いえ、けっこうです。　１年前に、たばこを　やめたんですよ。

   田中：　うらやましいですねえ。　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿？

   かとう：どうぞ、かまいませんよ。　においは　すきですから。

*　すわる－TO SIT DOWN　うらやましい－ENVIOUS

9. INVITATION : TURNING DOWN THE OFFER

A： 今日、　パーティがあるんですけど、　いらっしゃいませんか？

B： _____

A： それは　ざんねんですねえ. . .

10. GRATITUDE ：THANKING THE OTHER

A： この間はノートを貸してくれて　どうもありがとう。

B： どういたしまして。　それで、テスト　どうだった？　ノート、役にたった？

A： うん、_____

＊　貸（か）す－TO LEND　役（やく）にたつ－USEFUL

Appendix B

English Translation of the Modified CCSARP Questionnaire

CROSS-CULTURAL SPEECH ACT REALIZATION PROJECT

(MODIFIED)

1. DRIVER AND THE POLICEMAN: GIVING AN ORDER
   Policeman: Is that your car?
   Driver: Yes. I left it there only for a few minutes.
   Policeman: _____!
   Driver: O.K., O.K. I am sorry. I will move it right
          away.

2. AMONG FRIENDS: ASKING A LOAN
   Taro: Kazuo, I found a great apartment, but I have a
           problem. I have to pay the landlady 50,000 yen
           deposit by tonight.
   Kazuo: And you don't have the money?
   Taro: No, I will get paid next week.
          _____?
   Kazuo: Sorry, I am out of money right now.

3. HUSBAND AND WIFE: ASKING FOR AN EXPLANATION
   Masako (wife): I invited Mr. and Mrs. Tanaka to our
                  party.
   Takashi (husband): You know I can't stand them! _____
          _____?
   Masako: But Mr. Sato told Mr. Tanaka about the party.

4. MOTHER AND SON: TELLING A SON WHAT TO DO
   Goro: Mom, where is the hair brush?
   Mother: In the bathroom. Goro, your hair is down to your
          knees. _____?
   Goro: I don't want a haircut!

5. AT A SECOND HAND STORE: ASKING FOR A DISCOUNT
   Customer: How much is that dress?
   Clerk: 10,000 yen.
   Customer: That's expensive. _____?
   Clerk: Sorry, all the prices are fixed.

6. ON THE STREET: REFUSING AN INVITATION
   Man: What time is it now?
   Woman: Three-thirty.
   Man: You're nice. Say, what is your name?
   Woman: None of your business.
   Man: How about having a drink with me?
   Woman: No!
   Man: How about tomorrow?
   Woman: Listen, _____?

7. AT A TEACHER'S MEETING: REQUESTING SOMEONE TO DO SOMETHING
   Teacher (Sato): When is the next meeting?
   Principal: Next Wednesday at 8:00. We'll have to notify
   the people who aren't here tonight. Mr. Saito,
   _____?
   Sato: Certainly.

8. AT AN OFFICE: ASKING PERMISSION TO SMOKE
   Tanaka: Pleased to meet you. Please take a seat.
   Cigarette?
   Kato: No thank you. I stopped smoking a year ago.
   Tanaka: I envy you. _____?
   Kato: No, go ahead please. I like the smell.

9. INVITATION: TURNING DOWN THE OFFER
   A: We are having a party tonight. Would you like to
   come?
   B: _____.
   A: That's too bad.

10. GRATITUDE: THANKING THE OTHER
    A: Thanks a lot for lending me your notebook the other
    day.
    B: Don't mention it. And how was the test? Did my
    notebook help you at all?
    A: Yes, _____! Thank
    you.

Bibiliography

Akmajian, A., Demers, R. A., & Harnish, R. M. (1988). *Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication*. The MIT Press.

Beebe, L. M. & Takahashi, T. (1989). Sociolinguistic Variation in Face-Threatening Speech Acts: Chastisement and Disagreement. In Einstein & Miriam, R. (Eds.), *The Dynamic Interlanguage empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*, New York: Plemum, 199-218.

Beebe, L. M. & Takahashi, T. (1989). Do You Have a Bag? : Social Status and Patterned Variation in Second Language Acquisition. In Gass, Susan (ed.), *Variation in Second Language Acquisition: Discourse and Pragmatics*. Clevedon, Eng.: Multilingual Matters, 103-125.

Blum-Kulka, S. & Olshtain, E. (1986). Too Many Words: Length of Utterance and Pragmatic Failure. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 8,* 165-180.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1982). Learning to Say What You Mean in a Second Language: A Study of the Speech Act Performance of Learners of Hebrew As a Second Language. *Applied Linguistics, 3,* No.1, 29-59.

Blum-Kulka, S. & Olshtain, E. (1982). Requests and Apologies: A Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP). *Applied Linguistics, 5,* 196-213.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. & Kasper, G. (1989). *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Nowrwood, New Jersey, Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1986). Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation. In Blum-Kulka, S. & House, J. (Ed.), *Interlingual and Intercultural Communication: Discourse and Cognition in Translation and Second Language Acquisition Studies*. Gunter Narr Verlag Tu Bingen, 17-35.

Bongaerts, T., Kellerman, E. & Bentlage, A. (1987). Perspective and Proficiency in L2 Referential Communication. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 9,* 171-200.

Burdzanowska, I. M. (1981). How to Account for Indirect Speech Acts? *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 18, 2, 193-205.

Cook, V. (1991). *Second Language Learning and Language teaching*. Edward Arnold.

Cook, H. M. (1987). Social Meanings of the Japanese Sentence: Final Particle *NO. Papers in Pragmatics*, 2, No. 2, 123-168.

Coulmas, F. (1985). Direct and Indirect Speech: General Problems and Problems of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 41-63.

Coulmas, F. (1986). *Direct & Indirect Speech*. Mouton, de Gruyer.

Davis, S. (1991). *Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press.

Ehrlich, S. (1985). Cohesive and Discourse Competence. *World Englishes*, 7, No.2, 111-118.

Ellis, R. (1985). *Understand Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford University Press.

Gibbs, R. W. Jr. & Mueller, R. A. G. (1988). Conversational Sequences and Preference for Indirect Speech Acts. *Discourse Processes*, 11, 101-116.

Green, G. M. (1989). *Pragmatics and Natural Language Understanding*. UNI Agency.

Hopper, R. (1981). The Taken for Granted. *Human Communication Research*, Spring, 7, No. 3, 195-211.

Kamada, O. & Jacobsen W. M. (1990). *On Japanese and How to Teach It*. The Japan Times.

Kasper, G. (1981). Pragmatic Comprehension in Learner-Native Speaker Discourse. *Language Learning*, 34, No.4, 1-20.

Kessler, C. (1987). Language Acquisition in Bilingual Children. In Miller, N. (Ed.), *Language Acquisition*, 26-54.

Koike, D. A. (1989). Pragmatic *Competence and* Adult L2 Acquisition: Speech Acts in Interlanguage. *The Modern Language Journal*, 73, 3, 279-290.

Littlewood, W. (1984). *Foreign and Second Language Learning: Language Acquisition research and Its Implication for the Classroom*. Cambridge Language Teaching Library.

McNeill, D. (1987). *Psycholinguistics*. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York.

Nelson, C. L. (1985). My Language, Your Culture: Whose Communicative Competence? *World Englishes*, 4, Vol. 2, 243-250.

Rintel, E. M. (1989). That Reminds Me of a Story: The Use of Language to Express Emotion by Second Language Learners and Native Speakers. In Eisenstein & Miriam R. (Ed.), *The Dynamic Interlanguage Empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*. New York: Plemum, 237-257.

Searle, J. R. (1975). Indirect Speech Acts. In P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics: Volume 3: Speech Acts*, Academic Press, New York, 59-82.

Tanaka, S. (1982). Interpersonal communication Situations and Second Language Acquisition. *Psychologia, 26, 40-53*.

Tanaka, S. & Kawade S. (1983). Politeness and Second Language Acquisition. *Psychologia, 26,* 40-53.

Tannen, D. (1981). Indirectness in Discourse: Ethnicity as Conversational Style. *Discourse Process*, 4, 221-238.

Tokunaga, M. (1988). Paradox in Japanese Pragmatics. *Papers in Pragmatics*, 2, No. 1/2, 84-105.

Valdes, J.M. (1986). *Culture Bbound. Bridging the Culture Gap in Language Teaching*. Cambridge Language Teaching Library.