

PRAGMATIC MATTERS

JALT PRAGMATICS SIG NEWSLETTER: 1 (2) SPRING 2000

MESSAGE FROM THE SUPERVISING EDITOR

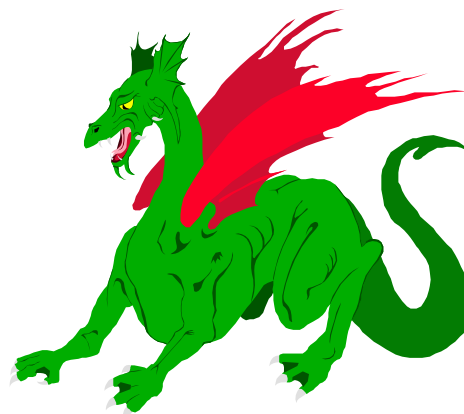
Welcome to the New Millennium!

In this year of the Dragon, I thought I would take the time to reflect that Oriental and Occidental Dragons have quite different characters. The dragons of European tradition were nasty creatures that hoarded treasure and breathed fire on those that came to take it. Dragons came to be associated with the devil and great tales were written of heroes slaying these mythical beasts.

The dragons of the Far East, on the other hand, were benevolent creatures, known to give tokens of their treasure to anyone fortunate enough to meet them. Dragons have come to be associated with prosperity and the year of the Dragon is considered the luckiest time to give birth. "The carp has leaped through the dragon's gate," means "success," especially for students who have passed their exams. One wonders how the dragon got such a bad reputation in European traditions!

PRAG SIG has a busy dragon year ahead. SIG Coordinator, Sayoko Yamashita and Program Chair Megumi Kawate-Mierzejewska have organized several SIG-sponsored events for JALT 2000 in Shizuoka and are continuing to round up presenters for the CUE SIG mini conference in May (see ad below). More details about these events will appear in future newsletters.

PRAGMATICS MATTERS, spring 2000 issue arrives to you on dragon's wings, with articles, reviews and much more. Other SIG communication is facilitated by our own eGroup founded and maintained by Eton Churchill (editor of Research Watch). Contact Eton <eton_c@yahoo.com> if you want to subscribe. (Donna Tatsuki)



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Call for Papers

CUE mini-conference on 'content and language education (May 20-21 [Saturday-Sunday], 2000) in Keisen Women's University in Tama center, Tokyo organized by the JALT College and University Educators (CUE) SIG.

Proposals are sought for strong, content-based, pragmatics-focused presentations [45-50 minutes including Q & A]

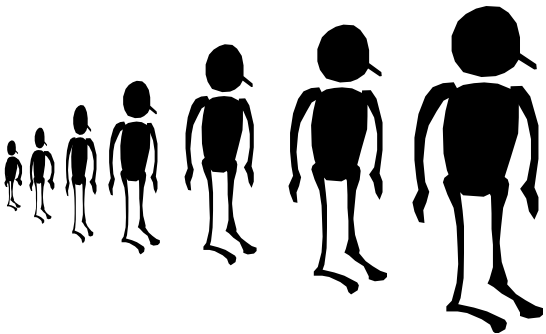
For more info, contact Megumi at <mierze@tuj.ac.jp>

SIG NEWS/BUSINESS

Pragmatics (forming) SIG: JALT 2000 Plenary

It is with great pleasure that the Pragmatics Special Interest Group announces **Gabriele Kasper's** participation as a **Special Guest Plenary Speaker** at JALT 2000 in Shizuoka. Her plenary speech will be sponsored by Oxford University Press, Pearson Education, JALT CUE, TESTing, OLE (Other language educators, affiliate) SIGs and PRAG forming SIG. Coordinator Sayoko Yamashita worked many hours to negotiate this exciting event. Let's show our appreciation with an impressive attendance at Dr. Kasper's session!

Dr. Kasper (or *Gabi* as she prefers to be called) is in Japan until late fall giving lectures at Temple University (weekdays in Osaka and commuting on weekends to Tokyo). Contact TUJ for details about courses and times.



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Stay in Contact!

PEOPLE WATCH by Craig Smith

Interview with
Masako K. Hiraga
Associate Professor of English
and Linguistics, Faculty of
Liberal Arts, University of the
Air, Japan

Dr. Kasper described your research as "diverse and excellent". Could you tell us something about the range of your research?

I have two areas of research interests: (1) cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, and (2) cognitive semantics and poetics. In the former, I've been working jointly with Joan Turner at London in the study of pragmatic interactions between British tutors and Japanese students in Britain. In the latter, my focus is on the interplay between metaphor and iconicity in language structure and use in general and in poetic texts in particular.

Could you help us understand what you mean by the "interplay between metaphor and iconicity"?

My work attempts to clarify how the interplay of metaphor and iconicity is manifested in linguistic signs in general, and in poetic texts in particular. It is claimed that there are two major types of manifestation: (i) that there are iconic moments in metaphor (e.g., image-schematic mapping between the two terms in metaphor); and (ii) that a form acquires an iconic meaning via metaphor (e.g., "something very very very b-i-i-i-g" is interpreted 'bigger' than 'something very big' by the conceptual metaphor, MORE MEANING IS MORE FORM). Ultimately I argue against the dominant view of language that sees the linguistic sign as primarily non-iconic or arbitrary.

Dr. Kasper said she admired the research you did with Joan Turner on Fine Art tutorials. Could you tell us about that project?

For the past five years, we have been looking at the difficulties of pragmatic understanding faced by Japanese students studying in Great Britain. The study is based on tutorial sessions between Japanese students and British tutors. Data for this study was gathered primarily by 21 videotaped fine art tutorial sessions. To further substantiate the analysis and

explication, other data elicitation methods were employed. The methods included retrospective interviews conducted in their native language; separate focus group recordings on the understanding of the nature and purpose of the fine art tutorial; audio- and video-taped tutorial sessions in different disciplines in English and in Japanese; and discourse completion tests administered in English and Japanese.

Some of the results of our study have been published in the articles listed above. Roughly speaking, there are three major issues that we have been interested in: (1) ideational, (2) interpersonal, and (3) ideological issues.

Could you give us one example of something we could do in an EAP classroom, which would help students who are planning to study at British universities?

It is beneficial for the Japanese students to be aware of the differences in tutor-student interactions between Japanese and British contexts. For example, EAP course teachers can use our Discourse Completion Tests in class and discuss the differences by using students' answers in terms of their elaborations as well as of negotiation of their face wants.

For pragmatics in the Japanese context what other readings would you recommend?

Works by Senko Maynard, Haru Yamada, Kumiko Murata, and Kenji Kitao, among others.

Do you think there are cases in which problems involving the cultural identity of the learner should be directly discussed in classrooms?

In order to avoid casting cultural stereotypes too naively, one should introduce the issue of cultural identity very carefully. I would probably first provide discussion topics or exercises to help students discover their cultural and personal identities by themselves, and then go on to talk about cultural identity.

Could you give us a short list of your publications which may be of interest to our readers, and available?

(1) cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics:

- "What to Say Next?: The Problem of Elaboration for the Japanese Students of English" (co-authored with Joan M. Turner). JACET Bulletin 26, 1995, pp. 13-30.
- 『表現と理解のこぼ学』(共著: 宍戸通庸・西川盛雄・菅原勉) 第1章「ことばと行為」及び第2章「異文化間コミュニケーション」ミネルヴァ書房, 1996.
- "Elaborating Elaboration in Academic Tutorials: Changing Cultural Assumptions" (co-authored with Joan M. Turner). Change and Language: Proceedings of the 27th Annual Meeting of the British Association of Applied Linguistics, (eds.) Coleman, Hywel and Lynne Cameron. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 131-140.
- "Differing Perceptions of Face in British and Japanese Academic Settings" (co-authored with Joan M. Turner). Language Sciences, Vol. 18, Nos. 3-4, 1996, pp. 605-627.
- "Pragmatic Difficulties in Academic Discourse: A Case of Japanese Students of English" (co-authored with Joan M. Turner). 『放送大学研究年報』第14号, 1996, pp. 91-109.
- "Face Work in Academic Settings: A Case of Japanese Students of English" 『英語学の諸相』英潮社, 1998, pp. 257-276.
- 「日{鱒}のコミュニケーション行動と英語教育」(共著: 藤井洋子) 『日{膜鑿w}9月臨時増刊号『複雑化社会のコミュニケーション』明治書院, 1998, pp. 88-99.
- "Misunderstanding Teaching and Learning" (co-authored with Joan M. Turner). Misunderstanding in Social Life, (eds.) J. House, G. Kasper, and S. Ross. London: Longman, (to appear).
- (2) Cognitive semantics and poetics:
「品物としての女: メタファーにあらわれる女性観」 『日{膜鑿w}5月臨時増刊号『界の女性語・日{魔フ女性語』明治書院, 1993, pp. 213-223.
- [井出祥子(編) 『女性語の世界』(明治書院, 1997, pp. 114-126) 再録](単著).
- Special Issue on Metaphor and Iconicity, The Journal of Pragmatics, Vol. 22, No. 1. Co-edited with Joanna Radwanska-Williams, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1994.
- Special Issue on Literary Pragmatics: Cognitive Metaphor and the Structure of the Poetic Text, The Journal of Pragmatics, Vol. 24, No. 6. Co-edited with Joanna Radwanska-Williams, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1995.
- Cultural, Psychological and Typological Issues in Cognitive Linguistics. Co-edited with Chris Sinha and Sherman Wilcox, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999.

Do you have any suggestions for introducing Pragmatics in EFL and JSL conversation classes in Japan?

Problems of 'pragmalinguistics' (the relationship between linguistic forms and their functions as (indirect) speech acts) can be taught in class. Task-based interactions and role playing are probably effective methods. Various 'discourse completion tasks' and 'grading exercises' (e.g., grading the level of imposition according to the context and the type of speech act involved) can also be used either to introduce or to review pragmalinguistic knowledge relating to specific activities covered by the class period.

'Sociopragmatics' (the relationship between linguistic action and social structure) is very important but it involves a more sensitive issue, such as cultural identity of the learner. I prefer to treat sociopragmatics as an 'awareness' issue among both students and teachers.

Pragmatics is indispensable not only in conversation classes but also for teacher training courses.

In a popular Japanese television program called, WARATTE IITOMO, the host Tamori-san, asks his guests to suggest the next guest. In this spirit, who would you suggest that we interview next and what should the topic/theme be?

I recommend Hartmut Haberland, co-founder (with Jacob Mey in 1977) of the Journal of Pragmatics. He has profound knowledge about and insights into various aspects of language, ranging from pragmatics, sociolinguistics, typology, to the concept of 'naturalness' in human-machine interaction. His theoretical contributions to the problem of text and discourse are of particular importance (see Haberland 1999, for example) ☺



Observing Pragmatics: Testing and Data Gathering Techniques

James Dean Brown
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Researchers new to the study of pragmatics soon realize that, in one way or another, they must measure or observe learners' pragmatics performance. Turning to the literature, they find that studies have varied considerably over the years in the methods used to gather pragmatics data. The primary aim of this article is to briefly describe in one place the variety of testing instruments and other data gathering techniques available for collecting pragmatics data. I will begin by defining each of the six types of pragmatics tests included in Brown (in press) and then turn to the nine pragmatics data gathering procedures covered in Kasper (1999). I will end by discussing (a) factors that you might want to consider in deciding which procedures to use in a particular research project and (b) the order in which you might most advantageously apply those factors.

Testing Pragmatics

Researchers have used at least the following six types of tests to study pragmatics and cross-cultural pragmatics (for more details, see Brown, in press; Hudson, Detmer, & Brown, 1992, 1995; Yamashita, 1996a or 1996b; Yoshitake, 1997; Yoshitake & Enochs, 1996; Enochs & Yoshitake-Strain, 1999):

1. *Written Discourse Completion Tasks* are any pragmatics measures that (a) oblige examinees to (a) *read* a written situation description¹ and then (b) *write* what they would say next in the situation.
2. *Multiple-choice Discourse Completion Tasks* are any pragmatics measures that oblige examinees to (a) *read* a written situation description then (b) *select* what they think would be best to say next in the situation from a list of options.
3. *Oral Discourse Completion Tasks* are any pragmatics measures that oblige examinees to (a) *listen* to a situation description (typically from a cassette recording) and (b) *speak aloud* what they would say next in that situation (usually into another cassette recorder).
4. *Discourse Role-Play Tasks* are any pragmatics measures that oblige the examinees to (a) *read* a situation description and (b) *play a role* with another person in the situation.
5. *Discourse Self-Assessment Tasks* are any pragmatics measures that oblige examinees to (a) *read* a situation description and (b) *rate* their own ability to perform pragmatically in that situation.

¹ In all cases, the *situation descriptions* included in each measure include factors like setting, participant roles, degree of imposition, etc.

6. *Role-Play Self-Assessments* are any pragmatics measures that combine the oblige examinees (a) *view* their own pragmatics performance(s) in previously video-recorded role plays and (b) *rate* those performances (thus combining numbers 4 & 5 above).

Note that the definitions above are framed in testing terms in that they specify exactly what the students must do. For instance, the definition given above for *Role-Play Self-Assessments* indicates through use of italics that the students must *view* and *rate*. Clearly then, the focus was on testing methods in designing and defining these six test types. As you will see in the next section, Kasper (1999) had an entirely different focus.

Another View of Data Gathering Procedures for Pragmatics

Kasper's (1999) overview of data gathering procedures for pragmatics research is more comprehensive than either her previous article with Dahl (Kasper & Dahl, 1991) or the Brown (in press) article. Kasper (1999) lists nine ways of gathering pragmatics data:

1. *Authentic Discourse* data on individual extended speech events are collected in a natural setting by taking field notes or audio/videotaping, or both (p. 73).
2. *Elicited Conversation* data are collected on conversations staged by the researcher to elicit certain discourse roles. Unlike roleplays, no social roles (different from the participants' actual roles) are imposed (p. 75).
3. *Roleplay* data are gathered on "simulations of communicative encounters, usually in dyads, based on role descriptions" (p. 76).
4. *Production Questionnaire* data are collected using questionnaire items that describe a situation and give a short dialogue with one turn replaced by a blank line (usually requiring a specific, contextually constrained communicative act). The participants are then required to fill in the blank with what they would say in that situation (pp. 80-81).
5. *Multiple-Choice* data are gathered in a manner similar to production questionnaires, in that items describe a situation and give a short dialogue with one turn replaced by a blank line, but rather than requiring respondents to fill in the blank space, they are given a number of alternative possibilities to select from (p. 85).
6. *Scaled-response* data are collected on how participants judge the of contextualized communicative acts with regard to appropriateness, politeness, etc. on the one hand or how they judge the relative values of the contextual variables like participants' relative power and social distance, or the degree of imposition implied in a particular speech event. Scaled response instruments typically take the form of rating scales (especially Likert or semantic differential scales) (pp. 87-89).
7. *Interview* data are gathered on a particular type of question-and-answer speech event that may be pre-structured, but inevitably becomes interactive, often going in directions the researcher may not have expected (p. 90).

8. *Diary* data collected are structured entirely by the participants in terms of the content, organization, timing, etc. of the diary entries, that is, they are not controlled in any way by pre-designed tasks, response formats, or types of social interactions (p. 93).
9. *Think Aloud Protocol* data are gathered on descriptions given by participants of their thought processes while performing a particular task or set of tasks (pp. 94-95).

Note that overall Kasper focuses much more on ways data are gathered than Brown did. Thus, her concern is more with the research itself and the ultimate validity of the data obtained.

Keep in mind that Kasper (1999) provided much more detail on each of her nine categories and she did so from multiple perspectives while linking each type of data gathering with the literature and with examples. Thus, anyone interested in any of these forms of data gathering would be well advised to consult her original article.

Factors to Consider in Deciding How to Gather Pragmatics Data

Brown (in press) provides two tables near the end of the article, which may help readers to decide which type of test they wish to use for a particular research project. His article reanalyzes data (graciously provided by Yamashita and Yoshitake-Strain) for EFL and JSL students and compares the six types of tests in two overall ways. First, in Table 7, the six test types are compared in terms of practical advantages and disadvantages of factors like ease of administration, ease of scoring, types of language that can be assessed, and types of decisions that can be made with each. Second, in Table 8, rankings are presented for the six types of tests separately for the EFL and JSL studies using ten criteria: overall easiness of the test for students, degree of variance in scores, reliability (and standard error of measurement), validity, ease of administration, ease of scoring, degree to which each encourages oral language, degree to which each encourages self-reflection, and degree to which each is suitable for high stakes decisions. Again, you see that Brown takes a testing perspective in the criteria he uses for making comparisons.

In contrast, Kasper (1999) takes what might be characterized as a research-validity perspective in comparing her nine ways of gathering pragmatics data. Near the beginning of her article, Kasper (1999) provides a useful table that gives readers an advance organizer for the discussion that follows. She contrasts her nine data collection procedures in terms of a variety of *focus* and *procedure* dichotomies. The *focus* dichotomies include plus or minus interaction, comprehension, production, and metapragmatic knowledge. The *procedure* dichotomies include online/offline and interaction with the researcher (plus or minus).

How is it possible that two researchers like Brown and Kasper can come up with such different criteria for judging the various types of data gathering procedures? The answer is easy: they come from different backgrounds and have different perspectives on the issues involved.

From your viewpoint, you might gain the most by applying their two sets of criteria serially. My guess is that, as a researcher in pragmatics, you will be interested in both the testing aspects of your measures and the validity of your research. Hence, both sets of criteria will be applicable to your work.

Perhaps you would be wisest to select measures for a particular study on the basis of Kasper's *focus* and *procedure*

criteria. Early on, you might also want to consider Brown's ideas on the practical advantages and disadvantages (those criteria used in his Table 7) of the various measures. Then in any studies that you conduct, you might also want to consider applying Brown's more technical criteria (those listed in his Table 8) to determine the degree to which your measures have been useful and successful from a testing perspective.

Conclusion

This article has defined six types of pragmatics tests and nine pragmatics data gathering procedures, and explored factors that you may want to consider in deciding which procedures to use. Hopefully, such information will help you think about your options and responsibilities in selecting, developing, and using pragmatics data gathering procedures and thereby help you make a positive contribution to this all-important area of applied linguistics research.

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FEATURE ARTICLES

The Modality of Discourse Collection Instruments

David Aline
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Discourse completion tests (DCTs) are being used extensively in the linguistic field (see Kasper and Dahl (1991) for a critical review of studies using DCTs). A DCT is a type of questionnaire, which provides the subject with a situation to which the subject responds by writing what they would say in that situation. However, few studies have looked at the effects DCTs have on the data collected.

One variable that might effect the data is length of response. Rose (1992) found no significant differences of length of response between responses on DCTs with no written hearer response and those with a written hearer response. Through a comparison of written and oral DCTs, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) presented data which showed that nonnative speakers of English (NNS) responses were longer in the oral DCT than in the written DCT. The oral responses were longer than the written responses because the subjects used more "supportive moves", hesitations, and recyclings (p. 253). Beebe and Cummings (1985, 1996) found that NS oral responses over the telephone were longer than written responses.

Another variable in DCTs is the degree of context given. Beebe and Cummings (1985) hypothesized that subjects "would imagine interacting with a familiar interlocutor, (and) this would influence length and tone of the response" (Kasper and Dahl, 1991; p. 242).

Many researchers stress the importance of using role-play or authentic speech data. However, Cohen and Olshtain (1992) claim that their data "were more naturalistic in that they were oral and not written" (p.26), DCTs are still an important data collection method because of the low demand on resources which aids the ease of acquiring data on IL, L1, and L2 for comparisons. Never the less, further study is needed to clarify what effect DCTs have on the data.

The Study

This study attempts to clarify some of the variables involved in collecting complaint data with DCTs. Specifically under study are two questions: (1) What is the effect of modality on response length, (2) and what is the effect of modality on degree of face-threat.

Participants: 40 Japanese "returnee" university students. The participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups and different test packets were designed for each group:

- Written-as-if-Written: Write a letter of complaint.
- Written-as-if-Spoken: Write what you would say if you were leaving a message on an answering machine.
- Spoken-as-if-Written: Write a letter as if you were using a Dictaphone.
- Spoken-as-if-Spoken: Say what you would say if you were leaving a message on an answering machine.

Common variables investigated with DCTs include social distance, status, and imposition. In order to prevent these variables from having an effect on the results of this study, the situations used in the actual DCTs required that the respondents be addressing their illocutions to a subject devoid of extraneous variables. Therefore, all of the situations involve addressing an impersonal corporation or

company. Hearer response was controlled by having the spoken groups imagine they were speaking to an answering machine.

Five situations were included in the DCT packet distributed to the subjects. They included poor hotel service, faulty electronic equipment, ordered textbooks which had not arrived, a telephone not installed in an apartment, and lost airline luggage. The situations were counterbalanced. Space constraint was not a variable because each situation was presented at the top of the page with the rest of the page blank. Participants in the study were instructed to complete one page per day so there would no influence across situations.

Post data collection interviews of the participants were conducted to ensure that they had completed the data collection as designed. A few of the participants in the Spoken-as-if-Spoken group had written out and then recorded what they wanted to say. They were excluded from the final analyses.

Face-threat was analyzed using Olshtain & Weinbach's (1993) categories, slightly revised.

1. Explicit mention of the problem: only the problem is mentioned. The complainer goes no further with the complaint, e.g., "The rewind button does not work."
2. Request for repair of the problem: the complainer directly asks that the problem be fixed and does not leave it up to the receiver of the message to infer that this is the complainer's desire, e.g., "Please send it (textbook) to me immediately."
3. Demanding an explanation: the complainer wants to know why the problem occurred rather than a simple remedy, e.g., "I would like an explanation (as well as my suitcase) as soon as possible."
4. Threat of future action: the complainer expresses possible direct action against the company in the future by boycotting its products if the problem is not remedied, e.g., "And, this is ever going to happen again, I'm not buying anything from your company anymore."
5. Immediate action: the complainer stated categorically that the company would no longer receive their patronage, as in, "I hope this letter helps other people because I know I won't be staying here again."

Finally, length of response was analyzed using total word number.

Results

Based on these results it appears that letter format has a longer response than a telephone message. Though studies of NSs indicate that written texts are shorter than spoken texts (Drieman, 1962), no differences are evident between oral and written DCTs in the present study.

Table 1. Average Length of Responses in Words

Modality	Letter (Written)	Telephone (Spoken)	Difference
Paper (Written)	89.04 (Written-as-if- Written)	68.35 (Written-as-if- Spoken)	20.69
Tape (Spoken)	92.90 (Spoken-as-if- Written)	68.56 (Spoken-as-if- Spoken)	24.35
Difference	3.86	.21	

No clear pattern developed based on the order in which the situations were completed. Some of the subjects wrote more on the later items, some wrote more on the earlier items. No clear patterns of boredom or fatigue appeared.

FEATURE ARTICLES

The four modalities displayed no differences for degree of face-threat (Table 2). Almost half of the complaints fell into the 'request for repair of the problem' category, with an equal number falling on either side of 'explicit mention of the complaint' and 'demanding an explanation'. A few were categorized as 'threat of future action', while only some came under the 'immediate action' heading and these were mostly written by one subject who also used foul language for a formal letter (swearing). In a larger sample, more swearing might have emerged. However, more variety seems to be appearing in the letter writing, whereas the telephone calls cluster tightly around 'request for repair of the problem'.

Table 2. Degree of face-threat (FT) by modality

Degree of FT	Modality				Total Freq.
	Written-Written Freq. (%)	Written-Spoken Freq. (%)	Spoken-Written Freq. (%)	Spoken-Spoken Freq. (%)	
Explicit	9 (18)	6 (15)	5 (25)	3 (12)	23
Request	19 (38)	23 (57)	10 (50)	17 (68)	69
Demand	13 (26)	5 (13)	4 (20)	2 (8)	24
Threat	2 (4)	6 (15)	1 (5)	3 (12)	12
Action	7 (14)	0	0	0	7

The results of this study show that length of response in a DCT will depend on the modality in which the response is given, letter or telephone, but not across the data collection modality of spoken or written. This gives some credibility to the use of written DCTs for greater data collection since questionnaires can usually reach a greater audience of subjects and take less time to administer than role play data in the spoken mode.

However, this study has not included modality differences across face to face encounters since the situations used were letters and messages on answering machines so as to control for the variables of social distance, status, and imposition. Future research will need to include these variables in understanding the response length of DCTs.

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Other-Repair in Native and Non-Native Conversations in Japanese

Yuri Hosoda
Temple University Japan

Although the preference for self-repair over other-repair has been observed in both native speaker (NS) discourse (e.g., Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) and non-native speaker (NNS) discourse (e.g., Firth, 1996), researchers note that other-repair does occur, especially in interactions with NNSs. This paper examines conditions associated with other-repair and the effects of other-repair in natural NS/NNS and NS/NS conversations in Japanese, addressing the following questions:

1. Under what conditions do interlocutors provide other-repair?
2. What effect does other-repair have on the discourse?

Method

The data consists of three sets of video- and audio-recorded casual conversations between friends in Japanese: two NS/NNS conversations and one NS/NS conversation. Gary and Jeff are advanced non-native speakers of Japanese; Taka and Haru are native speakers of Japanese. Each conversation lasted approximately 20 minutes.

Results and Discussion

In the three sets of conversation, there were 25 examples of other-repair. Of the 25 instances, four were from conversation between Taka and Haru, 12 were from the conversation between Taka and Gary, and nine were from the conversation between Haru and Jeff.

Other-Repair Triggers

Analysis of the data revealed that the speaker always gave other-repair in response to certain verbal or non-verbal behavior. Other-repair often followed certain verbal behavior of the speaker, such as requests for confirmation, sound stretches, fillers, rising intonation, question markers and explicit expression of ignorance.

Non-verbal signals preceding other-repair in the data included eye gaze, postural change, raised eyebrows, laughter, and nods. Among these, eye gaze was a consistent signal; the speaker always focused his gaze on his listener before the listener provided repair. These non-verbal signals occurred both with and without verbal signals. Therefore, even examples that might be treated as other-initiated repair based on the audiotape, in fact include non-verbal behavior which seems to function to elicit other-repair as in Example 1. Transcription conventions of the talk were adapted from Jefferson (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Speaker's non-verbal features are shown above each utterance, and those of the addressee are shown below each utterance. A line above indicates speaker's gaze toward the addressee; a line below indicates addressee's gaze toward the speaker.

Example 1

- leaning forward
1. Gary: enzyou-kin.
 - 2. Taka: enzyokin.
 3. Gary: ah enzyokin en en=
 4. Taka: =enzyo[kin.]
 5. Gary: [*hh] ah enzyo hai [wakari-masu.]
 6. Taka: [enzyokin] okane-ne?
 7. Gary: hai hai.
- [English translation of Example 1]
1. Gary: Flaming money.*
 2. Taka: Financial aid.
 3. Gary: Oh, financial aid, fi, fi,
 4. Taka: Financial aid.
 5. Gary: Oh, aid, yes, I understand.
 6. Taka: Financial aid, money, you know,
 7. Gary: Yes, Yes.

Prior to Example 1, Taka has started talking about *enzyokin* "financial aid." In line 1, Gary has some difficulty catching the word *enzyokin*, he repeats the word incorrectly and it becomes a trouble source. Gary utters the word *enzyoukin* with no verbal signals of repair initiation. However, as he utters the word, he leans forward and looks closely at Taka. In line 2, Taka provides the correct word.

When there was verbal distress such as fillers in the absence of non-verbal indicators, the hearer did not repair. Consider Example 2 below. A series of dots indicates the movement bringing the gaze to the recipient, and 'n' indicates a nod.

Example 2

1. Jeff: demo native speaker-tosite=
 2. Haru: =hai.
- looking down n n
3. Jeff: ano::u goku syousuu-ka ano:u hhuh
 - 4. Haru: daitaino hito-wa
 5. Jeff: hai.
 - 6. Haru: yappari nanka kou tokubetuna kankei-da-to
- omotiyau-wake-da.

[English translation of Example 2]

1. Jeff: But as native speakers,
2. Haru: Yes.
3. Jeff: uhhh, very small number of people, uhm
4. Haru: Most people,
5. Jeff: Yes.
6. Haru: As expected, {they} think that {the two} have a special relationship.

In line 3, while hesitating, Jeff is looking down. While Jeff is averting his gaze, Haru does not provide repair in spite of Jeff's display of conversational difficulty. However, toward the end of the turn, he looks up at Haru, produces the filler *ano:u* again, laughs, and nods twice. In lines 4 and 6, Haru articulates what Jeff has been trying to say.

However, listeners may not respond to the speaker's verbal and non-verbal signals right away if some other "activity" is going on. For example, in one instance, besides listening to Gary's talk, Taka was engaged in another activity, getting his beer and drinking it. Therefore, in spite of Gary's verbal distress and gaze toward Taka, Taka did not provide other-repair immediately. Only after he finished drinking beer and putting it back on the table, he provided other-repair. This instance shows that in looking at conditions in which other-repair occurs, paying attention to what the listener is doing is as important as looking at what the speaker is doing.

In sum, in the present data, the production of other-repair was not arbitrary, but rather, a response to a variety of verbal and non-verbal signals; listeners attended to these signals and responded to them with repair.

Effect of Repair

An additional aspect of the other-repair sequence is the effect of other-repair on the discourse. In the data, other-repair was commonly followed by the repair recipient's uptake: the repair recipient usually repeated the repaired items and/or indicated understanding verbally and non-verbally. Consider *Example 1* again. After Taka's repair on line 2, Gary repeats the word *enzyokin* in lines 3 and 5, and he also indicates his understanding by uttering *wakarimasu* in line 5 and *hai hai* in line 7.

However, there were three instances in which other-repair did not result in the repair recipient's uptake and all were found in the NS/NNS conversations. Two cases were found when other-repair was provided at the morpheme level. Since there were only subtle differences between the trouble source utterances and the repaired utterances in the two cases, the NNS repair recipients may not have recognized the repair. In such cases, the repair recipients' lack of uptake did not affect the flow of interaction.

However, when the repair was given at the sentence level and there was no signal of uptake. It resulted in further negotiation of meaning. Consider *Example 3*.

Example 3

- looking up
1. Gary: da dakedo: rosu-kara un sono: hutatume. (.) mittu-no: (.) uh:: hutatu sono
atono tokubetu-to [°tomonatteru°]
 - 2. Taka: [soko-wa] teikeisiteiru amerika-no
hikouki-gaisha-ni notte-°i[ku]°
 3. Gary: [a] amerika-no kuru hikouki-wa,
°amerika-no hikouki° amerika ei-ei-wa, toukyou-kara dallas tokubetu-no
a[no:::]
 4. Taka: [iya dakedo]
 - raising his left hand signaling 'stop'
(2.0)
 5. Taka: daikan-koukuu-ni not-te,;

[English translation of Example 3]

1. Gary: Bu, but from Los Angeles, uhm, well, the second. The third, uhm, the Second, well, the other special, ac, accompany,
2. Taka: You go there by using American airline companies that are tying up with {Korean airlines.}
3. Gary: Airlines coming from the U.S., American airplanes, A. A., has a direct, direct ship from Dallas.
4. Taka: No, but,
5. Taka: You take Korean airlines and,

Prior to this segment, Taka asked Gary if Korean airlines fly to Dallas. In line 1, Gary attempts to answer Taka's question but he displays verbal indications of distress and looks at Taka. Taka then reformulates Gary's statement in line 2. However, in line 3, Gary neither repeats nor displays understanding, but moves the interaction in a somewhat different direction. After Gary's utterance in line 3 and Taka's overlapped *iya dakedo* "no but" in line 4, Taka signals Gary to stop talking and attempts to get things straight. In fact, after line 7, further misunderstanding occurred, and it took 12 more turns before they reached mutual understanding.

Conclusion

The present study has shown that the occurrence of other-repair in the conversations between friends was not arbitrary; it was provided in response to the speaker's verbal and non-verbal behavior. After repair was provided, a repair recipient's uptake usually followed. When there was no signal of uptake by the repair recipient, there may have been some problem recognizing or comprehending the repair. A number of studies on NS/NS interactions have shown that participants attend and respond to each other's verbal and non-verbal signals. This study showed that in NS/NNS conversations, even closer attention to each other's verbal and non-verbal signals might be necessary. As NNSs more often request conversational assistance and more often have problems recognizing or comprehending the repair given by NSs, NSs need to pay close attention to what their NNS interlocutors are doing, and vice versa. In face-to-face interactions, particularly in NS/NNS conversation, interlocutors' mutual orientation to each other's verbal and non-verbal behavior shapes other-repair sequences.

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Wanted!

Volunteer translators (J/E and E/J) to assist Pragmatic Matters Editorial Staff. Help us keep the newsletter bilingual and receive both acknowledgement and thanks. Contact: Donna <tatsuki@kobeuc.ac.jp> or Megumi <mierze@tuj.ac.jp>
Thanks in advance for your help!

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Some of our hard-working, dedicated volunteer officers had a little extra time during the holidays and personally contributed money to make this project work for you and for our publications. TL editor Malcolm Swanson and his team have changed not just the color of the cover but have a top-notch volume in the works. Sandy Fotos of JJ reports that the May 2000 issue will be standing tall, not just with a cover change but "with a record number of Japanese authors and some fine papers by international authors as well--all with strong pedagogical implications. There are seven main section articles, a Research Forum article and two Perspectives articles, plus excellent reviews." Worthy gifts to send to your colleagues, mentor, alma mater, other colleges or libraries in your neighborhood or around the world.

Requests by Japanese Learners of English: Where we are and the Road Ahead

Characteristic of much of the work on interlanguage pragmatics, the investigation of request realizations by Japanese learners of English has focused on language use by learners at the tertiary level with intermediate to advanced proficiency (although see Churchill, 1999; Kawamura & Sato, 1996; Kite, 1999). Furthermore, the studies have either been single-moment or cross-sectional (see Rose, 1999, for a discussion of the difference between cross-sectional, single-moment, and longitudinal studies) and data has commonly been elicited using a Role-Play, a DCT, a MCQ or some other production questionnaire.

This body of research has allowed for some tentative proposals on an order of acquisition (Hill, 1997; Takahashi & Dufon, 1989), on the interaction of proficiency and transfer (Hill, 1997; Takahashi, 1996), on learner sensitivity to situational factors (Fukushima, 1990; Iyanaga, Sakikawa & Matsumura, in press; Kawamura & Sato, 1996; Kitao, 1990; Kite, 1999; Sasaki, 1998; Tanaka, 1988; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982) and on method effect (Rose, 1992; Rose & Ono, 1992; Sasaki, 1998). Recently, work has also been conducted on the question of reliability and validity of six important data elicitation techniques (Enochs & Yamashitake-Strain, 1999).

One of the most robust findings is that learners across several levels of proficiency are capable of perceiving differences in situational factors (Kawamura & Sato, 1996; Kitao, 1990; Iyanaga, et al., in press; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982). However, they vary in their ability to exhibit this knowledge on measurements, which require production (RPs and DCTs). Lower-level learners fail to demonstrate systematic variation in their request strategies, while learners at more advanced levels of proficiency perform according to the distance-politeness hypothesis and use more conventionally indirect strategies (Fukushima, 1990; Kawamura & Sato, 1996; Hill, 1997; Sasaki, 1998; Takahashi & Dufon, 1989; Tanaka, 1988; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982). The more advanced learners also use more supportive moves, which has led Rose (1998) to suggest that there may be a developmental threshold for supportive moves. Despite these differences, even the most advanced learners fail to demonstrate the full range of strategies and forms used by native speakers. While there appears to be a developmental trend from direct to conventionally indirect strategies with an increase in

supportive moves, these single-moment and cross-sectional studies do not address how this development may occur.

With regard to transfer, several proposals have been put forth, but evidence supporting a linear relationship with proficiency is lacking. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) first proposed that L2 proficiency positively correlated with pragmatic transfer, but their findings did not support this hypothesis. Takahashi (1996) also found no effect for proficiency on transfer in her study of EFL learners as both low and high proficiency learners relied on some L1 based strategies. Rather, the transfer of indirect strategies appeared to interact with perceptions of degree of imposition of the request. At higher levels of proficiency, Hill (1997) found negative transfer of some indirect strategies. This is a finding that Iyanaga, et al. (in press) support by claiming that Want Statements such as "I want you to correct this letter", which are considered direct in English, may actually be transferred from an indirect strategy in the L1 where the sentence final particle "ga" indicates that the requester is intentionally omitting the Head Act to mitigate the imposition, as in "kono tegami o kouseishite itadakitai n desu ga. . .". On the other hand, Churchill (1999) has provided evidence that transfer of strong hints in the form of the negative (e.g. "I don't have this print") occur at very low levels of proficiency. Thus, it appears that the relationship between transfer and proficiency is not simply linear as Takahashi and Beebe first proposed. Rather, with pragmatic transfer, it may be more appropriate to gather evidence on when specific kinds of transfer occur and to compare these findings with concurrent changes in grammatical competence. Such an approach might suggest the need for data collected longitudinally which could be compared with concurrent data on learner request realizations in their L1. Having data in both languages would allow the researcher to make definitive claims as to when transfer was occurring with which linguistic feature for the learners in question.

We are gaining a better understanding of how our current data collection techniques are affecting the data we obtain (see Rose, 1994; Rose & Ono, 1995 for a comparison of MCQs and DCTs; and Sasaki, 1998 for a discussion of RPs and production questionnaires). Also, important work has been done on the validity and reliability of several measures (Self-Assessment Test, Listening Lab Production Test, Open DCT, Multiple Choice DCT, role-play Self-Assessment Test, and Role-Play Test)(Enochs & Yamashitake-Strain, 1999). Furthermore, additional elicitation techniques (e.g. Cartoon Oral Production Test) have been developed to facilitate work with learners at lower-levels of proficiency (Rose, 1998). However, studies of Japanese pragmatic competence in the area of

requests have yet to respond to the growing demand for studies that directly address pragmatic development and its interaction with pragmalinguistic awareness, grammatical competence and the learning environment (Kasper & Rose, 1999; Rose, 1998; and Bardovi-Harlig, in press). This evolving research agenda requires that we come to a more thorough understanding of how our elicitation instruments (DCTs, RPs, Production Questionnaires, etc.) affect our findings and that we investigate alternative approaches (longitudinal and ethnographic investigations) to the study of speech act realization by Japanese learners of English.

Two alternative research approaches are currently being undertaken in Japan. Kite (1999) is conducting a longitudinal repeated measures study using the Cartoon Oral Production Test (COPT) with grade school participants. Kite is supplementing her quantitative data with learner, teacher and parent interviews, class observations and the collection of materials, to provide an ethnographic perspective. Churchill (1999) is obtaining learner request realizations in context using notebook data (Beebe, 1994) in a naturalistic approach. Preliminary findings of this longitudinal study support the developmental trend found through the cross-sectional studies mentioned above and further suggest that the transition from direct to conventionally indirect strategies may occur as a result of combining formulaic modal forms with imperative structures. To address the call in the field of interlanguage pragmatics for studies that directly address the question of development and its interaction with grammatical competence and the learning environment, more studies involving a repeated measures design, an ethnographic approach and longitudinal collection of data are needed. The members of the Pragmatics SIG are ideally situated to conduct such research.

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I Take Requests!

What aspect of Pragmatics would you like me to review? Do you have a review to share? Contact:

Eton Churchill eton_c@yahoo.com

CONFERENCE WATCH

Temple University Applied Linguistics Colloquium '99

Temple University Applied Linguistics Colloquium '99 was held November 27 at Temple University Japan in Tokyo, Japan. The organizers were David Aline, Brent Culligan, Noël Houck, Ethel Ogane, and Martin Willis. The theme of the conference was "Towards the New Millennium."

Twenty-five refereed papers by 28 researchers were selected and presented. Papers presented covered many of the applied linguistics and second language acquisition topic areas, including organization of learning, L2 development, learning materials, discourse, pragmatics, writing, text analysis, assessment, and research methodology. Presenters and their topics included:

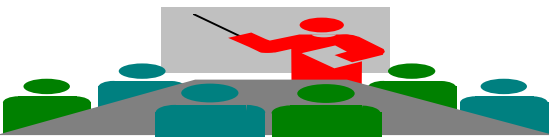
Discourse

- Douglas Thompson, "Female Discourse Patterns in an EFL Classroom Setting: A Study of Japanese L2 learners."
- David Aline, "Classroom Gender Differences Found in Small Group Work through Ethnographic Research methods."
- Yuri Hosoda, "Other-Repair in Native and Non-Native Conversations in Japanese."

Pragmatics

- Megumi Kawate-Mierzejewska, "Refusal Interactions in Telephone Conversations: The Case of Women."
- Miyuki Takenoya, "Variations of Advice Giving and Degree of Imposition."
- Sayoko Yamashita and Martin Willis, "Diagnosing L2 Pragmatic Needs Using Roleplays."
- David Aline, "Research Methods in Pragmatics: The Modality of Discourse Collection Instruments."
- Mary Christianson, "Reliability and Validity in Assessments of Pragmatic Appropriateness."

At the end of Discourse and Pragmatics sessions, Sayoko Yamashita, the chair of Pragmatics SIG discussed with the audience various issues in Pragmatics such as data collection methods, the teaching of pragmatics, cross-cultural pragmatics issues, the issue of using native speaker norms, the interaction between cultural stereotypes and perceptions of politeness, and so forth. She introduced newly forming JALT Pragmatics SIG to the



audience as well.

For more information, please contact Yuri Hosoda, iry55@mb.infoweb.ne.jp

BOOK WATCH

Book Notices

A Framework for Testing Cross-Cultural Pragmatics (Technical Report #2). Thom Hudson, Emily Detmer, & J. D. Brown, 1992, University of Hawaii Press, 51 pp., ISBN 0-8248-1463-0. \$10

This technical report presents a framework for developing methods, which assess cross-cultural pragmatic ability. Although the framework has been designed for Japanese and American cross-cultural contrasts, it can serve as a generic approach which can be applied to other language contrasts. The focus is on the variables of social distance, relative power, and the degree of imposition within the speech acts of requests, refusals, and apologies. Evaluation of performance is based on recognition of the speech act, amount of speech, forms or formulae used, directness, formality, and politeness.

Developing Prototypic Measures of Cross-Cultural Pragmatics (Technical Report #7) Thom Hudson, Emily Detmer, & J. D. Brown, 1995, University of Hawaii Press, 198 pp., ISBN 0-8248-1763-X. \$15

Although the study of cross-cultural pragmatics has gained importance in applied linguistics, there are no standard forms of assessment that might make research comparable across studies and languages. The present volume describes the process through which six forms of cross-cultural assessment were developed for second language learners of English. The models may be used for second language learners of other languages. The six forms of assessment involve two forms each of indirect discourse completion tests, oral language production, and self-assessment. The procedures involve the assessment of requests, apologies, and refusals.

Six Measures of JSL Pragmatics (Technical Report #14) Sayoko Yamashita, 1996, University of Hawaii Press, 210 pp., ISBN 0-8248-1914-4 \$15

This book investigates differences among tests that can be used to measure the cross-cultural pragmatic ability of English-speaking learners of Japanese. Building on the work of Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (Technical Reports #2 and #7 in this series), the author modified six test types which she used to gather data from North American learners of Japanese. She found numerous problems with the multiple-choice discourse completion test but reported that the other five tests all proved highly reliable and reasonably valid. Practical issues involved in creating and using such language tests are discussed from a variety of perspectives.

WEB WATCH

Articles On-line



Title: Politeness and speech acts
Author(s): L. Ardissono, G. Boella and L. Lesmo
e-mail: {liliana.guido,lesmo}@di.unito.it
Abstract: In this paper, we propose a logical description of the mechanisms which cause a speech act to be impolite, and of how the indirect expressions may prevent speakers from offending their partners. We specifically focus on conventional indirect speech acts, providing a formal framework to recognize the beliefs underlying them and the way how the possible offenses produced by communicative actions may be blocked by using politeness techniques.
<http://www.di.unito.it/~guido/um-workshop/politeness-and-speech-acts.html>



Title: Towards an Understanding of Culture in L2/FL Education
Author: Lessard-Clouston, Michael
email: z95014@kgupyr.kwansei.ac.jp
The title of Valdes' (1990) paper, "The inevitability of teaching and learning culture in a foreign language course," may now reflect an axiom in second-and foreign-language (L2 and FL) pedagogy, but it remains unclear to many L2 and FL educators just how this has come to be the case and what impact this has on their classroom practice. This article addresses these issues by working towards an understanding of culture in L2 and FL education. In doing so, we will examine how L2 and FL culture teaching has developed, where it currently stands, and what directions to take for future research on this topic.
<http://www.aitech.ac.jp/~iteslj/Articles/Lessard-Clouston-Culture.html>



Title: The Place of "Culture" in the Foreign Language Classroom: A Reflection
Author: Tang, Ramona
email: elltangr@nus.edu.sg
In this article, I give a personal reflection of the place of "culture" in the foreign language classroom. Re-examining the notions of integrative and instrumental motivations to language learning, I suggest that language and culture are inextricably linked, and as such we might think about moving away from questions about the inclusion or exclusion of culture in a foreign language curriculum, to issues of deliberate immersion versus non-deliberate exposure to it.
<http://www.aitech.ac.jp/~iteslj/Articles/Tang-Culture.html>



Title: Guessing Word Meaning from Context: Should We Encourage It?
Author: Dycus, David
email: dcdycus@asu.aasa.ac.jp
Of all the reading strategies commonly recognized today in both L1 and L2 reading, arguably the most widely studied and encouraged is the guessing of the meaning of unknown words from context (hereafter referred to as the "guessing strategy"). It has a long history of research relative to L1 reading in English (Johnson and Bauman, 1984, cite studies on it from the 1940's, for example), with the great majority of studies demonstrating its value. Justification for applying it to L2 reading has come from cognitive science models of reading and schema theory, which are now widely accepted in ESL/EFL circles (see Jannuzi, this issue, for a discussion of schema theory and reading). This is especially true of models that emphasize top-down processing, with Goodman's (1967) famous characterization of "reading as a psycholinguistic guessing game" as probably the most influential.
<http://www.aasa.ac.jp/~dcdycus/LAC97/guessing.htm>

Books On-line



Title: Cross-Cultural Communication: An Essential Dimension of Effective Education. (Revised Edition)
Author: Taylor, Orlando L. Ph.D.
Foreword and Acknowledgements
Chapter I: Introduction
Chapter II: Discovering Characteristics of Other Cultures
Chapter III: Culture, Communication and Language
Chapter IV: Using cross-cultural Communication to Improve Relationships
Chapter V: Teaching Standard English To Speakers of Nonstandard English Dialects
Chapter VI: Communication Differences, Test Performance and Educational Placement
Chapter VII: Communication Differences and Discipline Problems
Chapter VIII: Summary
Appendix I: Philosophy and Assumptions of Richmond, California, Standard English Program (Abstracted)
Appendix II: Some Attributes of Field Independent and Field Dependent Cognitive Styles
Appendix III: Information Sources on SESD Programs
Bibliography and Suggested Readings
The Mid-Atlantic Equity Center
<http://www.nwrel.org/cnorse/booklets/ccc/>



WATCH YOUR LANGUAGE!

A Timely Interaction

The other day while I was facing the computer, I over-heard the following conversation between a professor (American male, early 40s) and one of the office workers (Japanese female, late 30s):

Professor: Excuse me. Do you have the time?

Office Worker: No no no no no.....

Professor: mmm... What time is it?

Office Worker: It's 10:40.

Professor: 10:40?

Office Worker: yes.

Then, I wondered if I, a Japanese woman, was to use the same expression to ask the time, how would a native speaker of English react? So I decided to play a game with it. The following morning, I saw one of my colleagues in the computer room. I was again facing the computer and decided to employ the expression I had heard. So, here is the conversation between a Japanese female with an American male (both in their early 40s):

Japanese: XXXX do you have the time?

American: silence (3 seconds or longer)

Japanese: I mean ... what time is it now?

American: Oh ...aaa 10:45.

Japanese: Thank you.

Well, it seems that misunderstandings thanks to ambiguity work both ways. (Megumi Kawate-Mierzejewska)

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Last Issue's Quiz Question:

How is

TOYS'R'US

rendered in Japanese?

Answer:

トイザらス

Two different syllable based writing systems are used in the Japanese version. Traditionally, katakana is used for borrowed or foreign words and hiragana is used as a part of the basic writing system to make morphological word endings and to mark particles. The reversed "R" of the English version is written as a hiragana "ra" whereas all of the other letters use katakana (sounding like this, / to i za ra su /). So, rather than reversing the direction of the letter, a different writing system was selected as the "attention-grabber". Wow! Many thanks to everyone who responded!

VERNACULAR WATCH

Pragmatics in Translation: "You want to?" from Hemingway's *Fathers and Sons*

Ebisawa (1999) reported that he puzzled about a particular section in Hemingway's short novel, *Fathers and Sons* for over 30 years. In the novel, a father and his son were driving in the countryside and the father Nick remembers his sweet adolescent days in the woods with his Indian girl friend Trudy and her brother Billy. It is known as Hemingway's autobiographical novel.

The conversation when produced in the Japanese translation indicates a clear distinction about the gender of the speaker of each sentence by presenting ending particles as well as vocabulary being distinctly either feminine or masculine. The extract is as follows:

Billy ga itta:

"Trudy to moo ichido yaritai n daroo?"

"Kimi datte soo daroo?"^{1(M)}

"Un, maa ne."^{2(M)}

"Ja ikoo yo."^{3(M)}

"Dame yo. Kokode"^{4(F)}

"Datte, Billy ga..."

"Billy nanka kamawanai wa.

Atashi no ootoo da mono."^{5(F)}

Billy said:

"You want Trudy again?"

"You want to?"

"Un Huh."

"Come on."

"No, here."

"But Billy--"

"I no mind Billy.

He my brother."

Note: The underlined words and particles are gender specific (M=male, F=female).

If 1 and 2 are spoken by male speakers, the implication is that not only Nick but also Billy, her brother, who wants her! 3 is also strange as he says "Come on" after knowing that the other boy also wants her. The translation of two major Japanese publishers appeared to take the same stance for a long time. Then one publisher finished a new translation series recently. The new translation apparently changed the speaker of line 2 from the male to the female talk into "Ee, soone" (F). An error in the previous translations occurred, Ebisawa suggests, because the translators misjudged and over-generalized the conversational routine by assuming that the question should be answered by the person who was spoken to, which clearly was not the case here. Would a native speaker, correctly understand what was going on in the dialogue without language embedded gender distinctions, I wonder? (Sayoko Yamashita)

Opinions are welcomed!

References

Ebisawa, Y. (1999. November.8.). Mei monku o yomu. [Reading a <lit. good> passage (by a famous writer)]. Tokyo: *Yomiuri Shinbun Newspaper*.

Hemingway, E. (1940). *Father and sons. Winner take nothing*. Translated by Hiroshi Takami. (1999). Hemingway zen tanpen. [Hemingway collection of short novels], Tokyo: Shincho Bunko.