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Using plain forms but still being polite: Speech style shifting as an interactional phenomenon in Japanese native and non-native talk

by

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Abstract

The Japanese language is known for its various styles of speech, conditioned by factors such as social status, formality, and gender. When a speaker switches between the speech styles within the same talk targeted at the same recipient, such a phenomenon is called speech style shifting (hereafter SS). This study explores the frequency and the functions of SS through examining two types of conversations (Japanese native/native and native/non-native conversations) quantitatively and qualitatively in order to gain further understanding of the phenomenon.

The results shows that all natives employed SS, and they produce SS approximately twice as frequently when the talk is targeted to non-natives than to natives. They also show that certain functions of SS are employed as "foreigner talk" (Ellis 2008) aimed at assisting non-natives.

The study reveals the complexity of SS and underscores the necessity of closely observing various types of discourse to advance understanding of SS.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1-1. Speech style shifting

Styles in languages are essential constructs in the study of sociolinguistic variation. Since Labov's (1966) New York City study, a number of studies have observed style in language from a variety of perspectives (Eckert and Rickford 2001). It is acknowledged that language has variation in speech styles, such as regional dialects, social dialects, formal or informal ways of speaking and so on. A large body of literature has established that the variation of styles constitutes a strong connection between the individual and the community. As Eckert and Rickford (2001: 1) states, "style is the locus of the individual's internalization of broader social distributions of variation." Through examining actual language use, previous studies have revealed that shifting between styles is not a surprising phenomenon (Eckert 2000).

The Japanese language is well known for its various styles of speech, conditioned by factors such as social status, occasion, and the gender of the participants in the conversation. A large number of studies have explored the usages of different styles, such as honorifics (e.g., Harada 1976; Makino and Tsutsui 1986; Cook 1996; Matsumoto 1997; Okamoto 1998), gender differences

(e.g., Ide and McGloin 1990; Matsumoto 1999, 2002; Okamoto 1995; Matsugu 2008), regional dialects (e.g., Inoue 1988; Shibatani 1990; Okamoto 2007, 2008), and so forth. Among these different styles of speech, a number of studies have examined the use of the so-called polite style and the plain style in actual language practice (e.g., Ikuta 1983, 2008; Makino 2002; Cook 2002, 2008a, 2008b; Geyer 2008; Maynard 1993, 2008). The use of *desu* and *masu* at the clause-final position is referred to as the "*desu/masu* form" or the "polite form/style", while non-use of such forms is distinguished as the "non-*desu/masu* form" or the "plain form/style." As Geyer (2008) points out, these terms reflect the general belief that the *desu/masu* form evokes politeness or formality of the speech, and that the plain form is often uttered under casual or informal situations. In this study, I adopt the terms 'the *desu/masu* form' and 'the plain form' (hereafter D/M and plain respectively).

While politeness or formality is perceived as a factor in the choice of such forms (Ikuta 2008; Makino 1983, 2002; Cook 2002, 2008a, 2008b; Geyer 2008; Maynard 1993), some of the previous studies view social distance; such as hierarchy relation and intimacy, as a factor in the use or non-use of D/M forms. In this view, the D/M form is used for the addressee who is recognized as socially

distant from the speaker (Martin 1964, 1975; Ikuta 1983; Makino and Tsutsui

1986; Jorden and Noda 1987; Shibatani 1990). In any event, the literature

indicates a close link between the choice of style and social features, highlighting

the complex factors in the use of these styles.

The following excerpts show examples of these forms:

(1) Verb
    a. *Ashita   Tokyo e   iki**masu**.*   (D/M)
      tomorrow   Tokyo-to   go
    b. *Ashita   Tokyo e   iku.*   (plain)
      tomorrow   Tokyo-to   go
      'I will go to Tokyo tomorrow.'

(2) Adjective
    a. *Mainichi   isogashii **desu**.*   (D/M)
      everyday   busy   COP
    b. *Mainichi   isogashii.*   (plain)
      everyday   busy
      'I am busy every day.'

(3) Negative
    a. *Doitsu ni   itta   koto ga   ari**masen**.*   (D/M)
      Germany-to go-PAST   matter NOM   exist-NEG
    b. *Doitsu ni   itta   koto ga   nai.*   (plain)
      Germany-to go-PAST   matter NOM   exist-NEG
      'I have never been to Germany.'

                        (Tanaka et al. 1998: 138[1])

Typically, the idea of the D/M and plain forms reflecting politeness/formality or

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[1] The glosses are supplied by the author.

social distance is widely accepted in Japanese language textbooks (e.g. Simon

1986; Jorden and Noda 1987; Makino et al. 1998; Tanaka et al. 1998; Tohsaku

1999).   For example, Tanaka et al. (1998) explains as follows:

> (T)he polite style is used most commonly in daily conversation between
> adults who are not close friends.   It is used when talking to a person one
> has met for the first time, to one's superiors, or even to persons in a similar
> age group to whom one is not very close.   The polite style may be chosen
> when one talks to a person who is younger or lower in rank yet not so close.
> The plain style is used when talking to ones close friends, colleagues and
> family members" (1998: 138).

It seems to be often taught in Japanese language classes to differentiate between

speech styles depending on the person and situation and to be consistent in the

chosen style.   However, the actual use of the language seems to be much more

complicated.   One can observe a situation where an individual speaker switches

between these forms within the same conversation, even though the co-participant

and the context of the conversation are unchanged.   Such a phenomenon can be

called speech style shifting, which, as Jones & Ono (2008: 1) state, refers to "the

use of two or more styles, even ostensibly mutually extensive styles, within a

single speech event or written text."   The following excerpt, extracted from Ikuta

(2008: 79), shows an example of style shifting between the D/M and plain forms:

(4) (c-1: greengrocer)

    1   R: *aa soo yuu no ga yappari uresuji na n desu ka ne?*   (D/M)

           'Uh-huh, those are the ones, as expected, that sell well.'

    2   S: *soo desu ne ato wa kyabetsu toka*

           'Yeah, the rest, cabbages and the like'

    3 → R: *aa daitai yoku ureru*   (plain)

           'Ah, (they) mostly sell well.'

    4   S: *soo desu ne jibun ga uritai*

           'Yeah. I want to sell (them).'

The speaker R who employs the D/M form as shown in line 1 switches to the plain form in line 3 *aa daitai yoku ureru* 'Ah, (they) mostly sell well,' thus this switch is considered as style shifting.

As mentioned, the differences between D/M forms and the plain form in general have been often regarded as different levels of formality/politeness, or social distance between the speakers. However, there are cases as shown in (4) that a speaker switches styles during a talk with the same addressee within the same context, which makes it difficult to see that the level of formality/politeness or social distance between the speakers would change. Thus, the formality/politeness or social distance cannot account for all the instances of style shifting. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the possible rationale and functions of style shifting through observing this phenomenon in actual spoken discourse.

A number of studies have examined the contextual features of style shifting between the D/M form and plain form in Japanese spoken data (e.g., Ikuta 1983, 2008; Cook 1999, 2008a, 2008b, Makino 1983, 2002, Maynard 1993, 2008; Geyer 2008).   Previous studies investigate the motivations and functions of style shifting, standing on the assumption that style shifting is a fairly common phenomenon in spoken discourse.   However, as far as I know, there have not been any studies which provide frequency of style shifting, demonstrating how common the phenomenon is.   Moreover, previous studies tend to focus on more striking examples of style shifting found in their data and lack systematic observation of all the instances in which style shifting appeared in the entire conversation.   Thus, the present study will, first, comprehensively investigate the frequency of style shifting in spoken data, then contextually examine the functions of style shifting.   In the following section, previous studies on speech style shifting between the D/M form and plain form will be reviewed, extracting some interesting examples and their arguments.

1-2. Previous studies on style shifting in Japanese

A number of studies have examined the contextual features of style shifting

between the D/M form and plain form in Japanese spoken data, discussing diverse

functions of the phenomenon (Ikuta 1983, 2008; Cook 1999, 2008a, 2008b;

Makino 1983, 2002; Maynard 1993, 2008; Geyer 2008).

Ikuta (1983), for instance, examines instances of style in the interviews

from TV shows and states that style shifting between the D/M form and plain

form reflects the distance between speakers socially and attitudinally.   She

claims that style shifting signals a momentary change in a speaker's attitudinal

distance toward the interviewee.

More recently, a volume on style shifting by Jones & Ono (2008) features

a number of studies that investigate the functions of speech style shifting.   Cook

(2008a) illustrates how these forms are used by participants in the conversation to

co-construct their social identities.   The following example is excerpted from an

academic consultation session involving a professor and a student.

(5) (Professor T and Student N)
1   P: *ojiisan obaasan wa irassharu n **desu** ka?*   (D/M)
        'Do you have grandparents?'
2   S: *aa imasu. Moo aichi-ken **desu**.*
        'Uh, yes. They are in Aichi Prefecture.'
3 → P: *hu:n nagoya de wa nai wake ne?*   (D/M)
        'Um they are not in Nagoya.'
4   S: *soo **desu**. Nagoya [de wa nai n **desu**.*
        'That's right. They are not in Nagoya.'

5 → P: *[a soo da. Sono mondai da ne.*   (plain)
      'Oh yes. It's that problem.'

6   S: *soo soo sore mo omotta n desu yo=*
      'Yes, yes. I also thought about that.'

7 → P: *= h so- ano: anata no yatteru sono oniisan toka koo koo-*
      kookoosee zembu nagoya to wa kagiranai wake da ne.   (plain)
      'Uh so- uh it's not the case that the boys you are researching,
      the high school, high school students are all from Nagoya.'

8   S: *soo na n desu yo ne*
      'That's true.'

In example (5), P, the professor, asks about the student's grandparents because the

student is going to research on their dialects.   S, the student, predominantly uses

D/M forms throughout the conversation as shown in lines 2, 4, 6 and 8, but the

professor occasionally switches to plain forms as demonstrated in lines 1 and 3,

thus this switch is considered as style shifting.   According to Cook (2008a), the

professor is able to switch to the plain form in line 3, *hu:n nagoya de wa nai wake*

ne? 'Um they are not in Nagoya' because of his higher status in comparison to the

student.   On the other hand, the student maintains D/M forms throughout the

conversation, regardless of the professor's style shifting, which, as a result,

highlights their different statuses and leads to the co-construction of their

hierarchical relation.   As well, the professor continues to employ plain forms as

shown in line 5, *a soo da. Sono mondai da ne*, 'Oh yes. It's that problem' and line

7, = *h so- ano: anata no yatteru sono oniisan toka kookoo- kookoosee zembu*

Nagoya to wa kagiranai wake da ne 'Uh so- uh it's not the case that the boys you

are researching, the high school, high school students are all from Nagoya.'

Cook (2008a) claims that the professor's continuation of plain forms is "a sign of

his personal interest in the student's project," because what the professor asks and

clarifies in lines 3, 5 and 7 are important matters related to the student's project.

In the same volume, Geyer (2008) examines faculty meetings at secondary

schools in Japan and remarks upon certain properties of the D/M form and plain

form. She demonstrates how the D/M form is utilized as an official frame; for

instance, when changing topics during a meeting and talking about idealistic

policies. On the other hand, the plain form creates "the 'unofficial' nuance"

(2008: 66); thus speakers mark solidarity through the use of the plain form when

telling a joke or complaining indirectly. As well, her study observes not only

style shifting, but also the combination of these forms with other elements of

conversation, such as laughter, tone of voice, and the use of sentence-final

particles (e.g., *yo* and *ne*) - which "are placed at the end of a main clause and

indicate the function of the sentence or express the speaker's emotion or attitude

toward the hearer in a conversational situation." (Makino and Tsutsui 1986).

The following excerpt shows a case of telling a joke using the plain form:

(6)

1	Sato:	*jaa hoshuu no hoo desu kedo jaa*	
2		*mikka teedo de [yoroshii deshoo ka ne,*	(D/M)

               'Then, as for the supplementary lesson, is it all right to do it for about three days?'

3	Others:	*[humm humm.*

               'Uh-huh uh-huh.'

4	Sato:	*jaa saitee mikka tte iu koto de,=*

               'Then, it will be at least three days.'

5	Ota:	*=ii n janai desu ka,*	(D/M)

               'I think it is OK.'

6 →	Sato:	*oota sensee wa mainichi.*	(plain)

               'Mr. Ota will do it every day.'

7 →	Kato:	*mainichi (.) yonjuunichi ne?*	(plain)

               'Every day, for forty days.'

8	Ota:	*iyaa hhaa,*

               'Oh, no!' ((laughter))

9 →	Kishi:	*aa? (.) soo ka (.) soryaa sugoi na.*	(plain)

               'Oh, is that right? That's great!'

Prior to this segment, teachers were talking about the duration of supplementary lessons during summer vacation. In lines 1 and 3, Sato, the head teacher, summarizes their discussion and proposes that they should have at least three days supplementary lessons using the D/M form. She switches to the plain form in line 6, when she teases one of her colleagues by saying 'Mr. Ota will do it every day.' According to Geyer (2008), as it is an unrealistic comment, delivered with

casual tone and followed by laughter, the utterance in line 6 seems to be a joke.

She argues that "the use of the plain form, along with other elements of talk, appears to create greater solidarity among participants" (Geyer 2008: 45). Interestingly, her study also demonstrates that the D/M form can, too, function as a solidarity maker.   In the following example (7), the teachers are discussing how one of the students wishes to enter a high school which seems to be beyond his reach.   They agree that it is an unrealistic wish, but also are aware that they are supposed to encourage the students following a guideline for teachers.

(7)
1   Kato: *dame desu yo tte iu no wa cohtto ima no shiro-*
2   *shidoo de wa itcha-ikenai koto ni haha nattemasu*
3   *yo ne::, ooki sensee=*   (D/M)
             'It has been decided that we mustn't say "it's hopeless" to the
             students at the guidance session now, right, Mr. Ooki?'
4   Ooki: *=ha:i [hai* ((langhing tone)) *ganba[roo:: tte-*
             'Yes, yes, we should say "do your best."'
5   Kato: *[ne, hehehehe. Sensee? [takada ga hachiooji*
6 →   *toka ittara ganbare tte iu shika-nai n desu yo ne?*
7 →   *hehe (.) sokontoko yoroshiku onegai [shimasu.*   (D/M)
             'Right, heheehe Mr.? If Takada says something like Hachiooji
             High School, all we can say is "do your best," right? Please go
             along with that.'
8 → Ooki   *[ha::i, wakarimashita* ((laughing tone))   (D/M)
             'Yeees. I understand.'

In line 1 to 3, one of the teachers, Kato, mentions to the principle that teachers are

not supposed to discourage students who wish to enter high schools even if "it's hopeless." According to Geyer (2008), these utterances produced in the D/M form in (7) reflect the official nature of the topic: the rules for teachers in school. She claims that the use of D/M forms functions as a solidarity marker among teachers when confirming their awareness of these official rules. Geyer (2008) also discusses that, through using D/M forms combined with laughter, the speakers convey a "metamessage" (2008: 66), which in this case is that they agree the principle being idealistic, but they have to follow it officially. Thus, she demonstrates certain properties of the D/M form as an official frame and the plain form as an unofficial nuance. Additionally, as mentioned above, she observes not only instances of style shifting, but also the compound effects of style shifting and other elements of speech such as the use of final particles, laughter, and tone of voice, which are crucial portions of spoken discourse.

Also in the same volume, Ikuta (2008) analyzes conversation data of a single participant interviewing five informants who have traditional occupations in Japan such as a fishmonger, a bathhouse owner and a restaurateur of special cuisine. Focusing on style shifting produced by the interviewer, the author demonstrates how style shifting to plain forms in interviews can serve as a type of

discourse marker which functions as a part of politeness strategy.   Ikuta (2008)

discusses that the interviewer switches from D/M forms to plain forms to mitigate

a face-threat when confirming comprehension, to instigate more information from

the co-participant, to raise a new topic, and to lead to expand the co-participant's

talk.   The following excerpt shows an example of one of the strategies,

"mitigating a face threat" (2008: 76), when confirming that the co-participant

holds the ongoing floor:

(8) (b-2: fishmonger)

1   R: *anoo yappa ichiba no kata tte yuu to kitto nanka koe toka okkii n deshoo*
         ne   (D/M)
         'Um, y'know, speaking of the market staff, I guess, like, they have loud
         voices don't they?'

2   T: *n ma seriba de watashi wa hoete masu ne itsumo ne*
         'Um, well, I'm roaming at the auction site, always.'

3 → R: *hoete ru?*   (plain)
         'Roaring?'

4   T: *hoete ru*
         'Roaring.'

5   R: @

6   T: *urenai to toku ni hoete masu yo*
         'I 'm roaring especially when (the fish) aren't selling well.'

Example (8) is taken from an interview between the interviewer, R and a

fishmonger, T.   Both of the speakers predominantly use D/M forms throughout

the conversation as shown in lines 1, 2, 5, and 6, but R switches to plain forms as

demonstrated in line 3, repeating T's previous utterance, *hoete ru* 'roaring' in line

2.   According to Ikuta (2008), R's repetition in line 3, *hoete ru?* 'roaring' may be

reflecting the speaker's surprise about the use of word, *hoeru* 'roar.'   Also, R's

utterance in line 3 is "functioning to embed a subspace in a larger context space

(76)."   That is, style shifting seems to be employed to mark the distinction

between a main part (a larger context space) and a subordinate part (a subspace) in

the ongoing topic.   In the case of this excerpt, the main topic is how loudly the

market staff can speak at the auction site, but not the use of the word, *hoeru* 'roar'.

Ikuta (2008) argues that style shifting here functions as a part of interactional

politeness strategy, mitigating a possible face-threat (76)" by the interviewer to

the interviewee.   In this view, the use of style shifting may be signalling

interviewers agreement that the interviewees are holding the floor.   Her

characteristic research on the interview conversations suggests that style shifting

from the D/M form to the plain form can be used as a part of politeness strategy

by interviewers indicating that their utterances belongs to a subordinate part of the

conversation by employing style shifting and that interviewees still hold the floor

in the ongoing topic.

Maynard (1993) examines the D/M form and the plain form in both

actual casual conversation data between friends and in dialogues taken from

modern fictional works and modern essays.   She argues that the awareness of the

addressee or "thou" plays an important role in deciding the style.   According to

Maynard (1993), when the awareness of "thou" is low, the plain form is produced.

Focusing her analysis mainly on the written discourse, she describes the

contextual circumstances where the level of "thou" awareness as follows:

> A: Low Awareness Situation – the *da* style (the plain form) is used most
> likely:
> 1. When the speaker exclaims or suddenly recalls something;
> 2. When the speaker vividly expresses events scene-internally, as if the
>   speaker is right there and then;
> 3. When the speaker expresses internal thought self-reflectingly, including
>   almost self-addressed utterance and monologues, making it possible to
>   shun oneself from the addressee;
> 4. When the speaker jointly creates utterances whose ownership is shared;
> 5. When the speaker presents information semantically subordinate in
>   nature i.e., background information;
> 6. When the speaker is in an intimate relationship with "thou" where the
>   speaker does not consider "thou" as opposed to self; expresses social
>   familiarity and closeness.
>
> B: High Awareness Situation – the *desu/masu* style is used more likely:
> 1. When the speaker expresses thought which directly addresses the
>   partner perceived as "thou" with expressions appropriate in terms of
>   sociolinguistics variables, a marker for social relationship; expresses
>   formality;
> 2. When the speaker communicates main information directly addressed
>   to the listener – especially when the *desu/masu* ending appears in the
>   *da* style discourse.

(Maynard 1993: 179)

She identifies the circumstances where the two different styles, the *desu/masu* style (the D/M form) and the *da* style (the plain form), are employed as shown above, illustrating how the awareness of the addressee and the self reflect the choice of styles. The situations listed by Maynard (1993) seem to be similar to some of the functions and the motivations discussed in other previous studies. For instance, the plain form is used "3. when the speaker expresses internal thought self-reflectingly, including almost self-addressed utterance and monologues, making it possible to shun oneself from the addressee" (179), similar to instances found in Cook's (2008a) observation of an academic consultation. Cook (2008a) claims that the plain form is used as "a soliloquy-like marker" by students when they talk about their own psychological state (e.g., searching for words and thinking aloud). Although Maynard (1993) lists the circumstances comprehensively, she does not provide specific examples of style shifting from her conversation data, which makes it is difficult to see the circumstances above from what she describes. I argue that the actual instances of style shifting in conversation data should be observed in order to investigate what motivates such a phenomenon.

Cook's (2008b) study is the only study which involves the frequency of speech style shifts, as far as I know. Analyzing the conversation data between the learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) and their host families in Japan, she compares the frequency of D/M forms in the utterances of the JFL learners versus their host family members. Her study counted all the instances of D/M forms in both groups, and found that JFL learners employ D/M forms more frequently than their host family members do. However, although Cook (2008b) observes the functions and the frequency of the D/M form in detail, her study does not include the functions and frequency of both the plain form and the shifting between the two styles.

1-3. The present study

As touched on above, the previous studies demonstrate the diverse aspects and functions of style shifting, while emphasizing the importance of analyzing these shifts in specific contexts. Yet, while the previous studies assume style shifting is a common phenomenon in spoken Japanese, they have not examined the instances of style shifting in a systematic manner nor have they provided quantitative figures. That is so say, the frequency or the commonness of style

shifting has not been investigated. As well, there have not been many studies on style shifting in conversations involving non-native speakers of Japanese; to my knowledge there has not been a single study that observes whether or not native speakers of Japanese employ style shifting differently when talking with a native speaker as compared to a non-native speaker of Japanese. The present study, therefore, furthers the exploration of style shifting by comparing conversations between Japanese native speakers to conversations between Japanese native speakers and non-native speakers. To that end, the research questions of this study are the following:

- How frequently do native speakers employ style shifting in actual conversation?

- Can the functions of style shifting as discussed in previous studies account for the use of style shifting in this study?

- Do native speakers show any differences in style shifting in the native/native conversations and the native/non-native conversations in terms of the frequency and functions of style shifting?

In order to find the answers to these questions, the present study will begin with a quantitative analysis of conversation data. Next, instances of style shifting will

be examined contextually to investigate whether or not there are distinctive functional categories of style shifting. It will then be observed whether the various types of style shifting are employed differently between the native/native dyads and in the native/non-native dyads.

Lastly, through examining the conversations between native speakers and non-native speakers quantitatively and qualitatively, pedagogical implications of the study will be also be discussed. Generally, different speech styles (e.g., the polite or D/M forms and the plain forms) are taught in Japanese language class, but shifting between the styles is usually not mentioned. If style shifting is a rather common phenomenon in spoken discourse, it should be investigated when and where it occurs and the functions of the phenomenon, for I believe that it is important for language teachers to acknowledge the actual use of the language. Thus, the present study examines the phenomena of style shifting in the native/native talk and native/non-native talk from a pedagogical point of view as well a linguistic point of view in hopes of finding a practical use for the results.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2-1. Conversation Data

The present study analyses conversation data collected at a university in Canada in 2006. The corpus consists of two types of conversations: Japanese native/native dyads and native/non-native dyads (eight conversations each, comprising sixteen conversations). The length of each conversation is 30 minutes plus, totalling approximately 480 minutes. The participants of the conversations are all university students aged 19 to 22. All the Japanese native speakers are students from Japan, and the duration of their stay in Canada was less than six months at the point of recording. All the non-native speakers, whose first language is English, are full-time students in the university. They have studied Japanese for approximately two years and are referred to here as early-intermediate level.

The setting of the recording is a semi-interview style conversation in which three Japanese native speakers (hereafter "interviewers") talk one-on-one with either Japanese native or non-native speakers (hereafter "interviewees"). Two of the interviewers speak with three native interviewees and three non-native interviewees, while the third interviewer speaks with only two native and two

non-native interviewees. This leads to a grand total of 16 conversations (8 native/native and 8 native/non-native).   Meeting for the first time, the participants speak about topics such as their daily lives, hometowns, and past travels.   Out of the speakers, Yui, Risa and Saya[2] are called the "interviewers" in this study, because they were briefly instructed to initiate a new topic whenever the conversation stalled.   Their roles as the interviewers seem to become more pronounced when they talk with non-native speakers than with native speakers, perhaps due to the less than perfect language proficiency of non-native speakers. Since the interviewers are the only speakers who had conversations with both native and non-native speakers of Japanese, this study only focuses on the phenomenon of style shifting by the interviewers, and not their conversation partners (interviewees).   The following table shows the names and genders of the speakers in each conversation, and the duration of each conversation. It should be noted, however, that the gender of the speakers are not taken into account in this study.

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[2] All the speakers' names are pseudonyms created by the author.

Audio	Name of Interviewer	Gender	First Language	Name of Interviewee	Gender	First Language	Duration of Conversation
1	Saya	F	Japanese	Takashi	M	Japanese	36 minutes
2	Saya	F	Japanese	Naoki	M	Japanese	36 minutes
3	Yui	F	Japanese	Masato	M	Japanese	37 minutes
4	Yui	F	Japanese	Kimi	F	Japanese	32 minutes
5	Yui	F	Japanese	Akira	M	Japanese	36 minutes
6	Risa	F	Japanese	Naomi	F	Japanese	38 minutes
7	Risa	F	Japanese	Mie	F	Japanese	39 minutes
8	Risa	F	Japanese	Keiko	F	Japanese	38 minutes
9	Saya	F	Japanese	Tanya	F	English	35 minutes
10	Saya	F	Japanese	Kylie	F	English	36 minutes
11	Yui	F	Japanese	Mike	M	English	35 minutes
12	Yui	F	Japanese	Alex	M	English	37 minutes
13	Yui	F	Japanese	Valerie	F	English	39 minutes
14	Risa	F	Japanese	Ally	F	English	36 minutes
15	Risa	F	Japanese	Don	M	English	31 minutes
16	Risa	F	Japanese	John	M	English	35 minutes

Table 1.　Description of the conversation data

The transcription convention for the conversation data used in this study is adapted from Du Bois et al. (1993) (transcription conventions are provided in the appendix).　The original Japanese utterances are written in italics, and the vernacular English translation is written in plain type with single quotation marks.

2-2. Procedure

First, the number of the instances of style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form produced by the native speakers in the native/native dyads and in the

native/non-native dyads were counted. Two main types of speech style shifting were present in the data: shifting from the D/M form to the plain form and shifting from the plain form to the D/M form. As the setting was an interview-like situation where all the speakers met each other for the first time, all speakers were found to initiate the conversations with the D/M form at the beginning and switch to the plain form at a later point in the conversation. Therefore, it was decided that this study will focus only on style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form. For instance, when the interviewer who produced an utterance with the D/M form subsequently employs the plain form, it is counted as one instance of style shifting in this study. The following excerpt gives an example of what the current study would consider an instance of speech style shift:

(9)

1   Risa (NS)[3]: *ima nihongo no nani kurasu totteru n **desu** ka.*   (D/M)
                    'Which Japanese class are you taking?'

2   John (NNS): *a== watashi wa=sanbyaku ichi kurasu.*
                    'uh, I'm in 301.'

3 → Risa (NS): *sanbyaku ichi no kurasu.*   (plain)
                    '301 class.'

4   John (NNS): *hai.*
                    'Yes.'

5   Risa (NS): *a== sensei wa dare **desu** ka.*   (D/M)
                    'uh, who is the teacher?'

---

[3] NS and NNS are the abbreviations for a native speaker and a non-native speaker of Japanese.

In (9), the interviewer, Risa, asks John about the Japanese course that he is taking.

As shown in line 1, *ima nihongo no nani kurasu totteru n desu ka* 'Which

Japanese class are you taking?' she uses the D/M form to ask the question.   After

John answers *a== watashi wa=sanbyaku ichi kurasu* 'uh, I'm in 301' in line 2,

Risa repeats his answer using the plain form as in line 3, *sanbyaku ichi no kurasu*

'301 class.'   She also modifies John's utterance by adding the genitive case *no* as

shown in line 3.   Then she switches the plain form back to the D/M form in line

5, *a== sensei wa dare **desu** ka* 'uh, who is the teacher?' to ask another question.

As this study focuses on the shift from the D/M form to the plain her utterance in

line 3 is counted as one instance of style shifting, but her switching back to the

D/M form from the plain form in line 5 is not counted.

Also, only those instances of style shifting from the D/M form to the

plain form that appear at the final-predicate position were counted.   This is

because in the Japanese language, the plain form can be used at the end of a

dependent clause and the D/M form at the end of a sentence, and vice versa.   For

example, when expressing reasons using a conjunctive particle *node*, both D/M

and plain form can be used as shown below:

(10) a. *yooji ga ari**masu** node, osaki ni shitsurei shimasu.*   (D/M)

  b. *yooji ga **aru** node, osaki ni shitsurei shimasu.*   (plain)

    'May I leave now? I have something to do.'

(Minna no Nihongo 2: 2004)

Both sentences in (10) are regarded as polite expressions, but a. *yooji ga arimasu*

node, osaki ni shitsurei shimasu 'May I leave now? I have something to do' is

considered more polite than b. *yooji ga aru node, osaki ni shitsurei shimasu*.

Therefore, the following is the example of style shifting that is not counted in this

study:

(11)

1   Y: *sugoi tanoshikatta **desu**.*   (D/M)

    'It was so much fun.'

2   *nanka= basu de **itta** no de=,*   (plain)

    'Well, since we went (there) by bus,'"

3   *yo jikan gurai kakari**mashita** ne.*   (D/M)

    'it took about four hours.'

Similarly, dependent clauses such as those expressing cause or reason using a

conjunctive particle *kara* and expressing contrast using the conjunctive particles

ga and *kedo* are not counted as an instance of style shifting in this study.

Also, it should be pointed out that the figures from the quantitative

analysis may not be directly comparable because of various differing factors,

including the individual speed of participants' speech, the exact lengths of the

conversations, and the amount of language produced by the individual speakers.

After the quantitative analysis of the occurrences of style shifting produced by the interviewers in the native/native talks, the present study will qualitatively examine all the instances of style shifting in the contexts which they occur. I first assembled all the segments involving style shifting from the 480-minute audio data, which resulted in 704 instances of style shifting in total. I then examined each one of them in context, while listening to the audio recording, in order to determine their functions. By doing so, I noticed that these instances of style shifting could actually be associated with several distinct functions . These functions were identified in part by referring to the functions of style shifting presented in previous studies while consulting another native linguist. In this study, I will present five different types of style shifting and hypothesize about their functions in discourse. Accordingly, the frequency of each category will be determined by counting the instances of each category in the native/native dyads. The results from the native/non-native conversations will then be similarly analyzed, and the results of the two groups will be compared.

Chapter 3: Style shifting in the native/native dyads

3-1. Frequency of style shifting

In order to have a general idea of how native speakers employ style shifting when they talk with other native speakers in comparison to when they talk with non-native speakers, the number of instances of style shifting produced by the native speakers in the native/native dyads and in the native/non-native dyads was counted. As mentioned earlier, this study only observes the cases of style shifting from the D/M forms to the plain forms. This is because all the speakers were meeting each other for the first time, and initiate their talks with the D/M form then switch to the plain form as the conversation proceeds. As well, this study only focuses on the instances of style shifting in the utterances produced by the three interviewers, who are the only speakers to speak with both native and non-native speakers. In doing so, the results can be contrasted to see whether or not any differences are found in native/native talk versus native/non-native talk.

The following table shows the number of instances of style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form produced by interviewers in the native/native conversations.

	Interviewers							Total
	Saya		**Yui**			**Risa**		
Interviewees	Takashi	Naoki	Masato	Kimi	Akira	Naomi	Mie	Keiko	
(NS)	1	7	30	32	40	33	41	52	236

Table 2. Number of instances of style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form in native/native conversation

The numbers in Table 2 are the raw figures of the instances of style shifting appearing in three interviewers' speech. Firstly, Table 2 shows that all the interviewers employ speech style shifting from D/M forms to plain forms. Quite a range in the occurrences of style shifting among the interviewers can be seen. For example, Risa shows 52 instances of style shifting when talking with Keiko, while Saya, on the other hand, shows only 1 instance of style shifting when talking with Takashi. So while all the interviewers employ style shifting, the frequency of style shifting varies among the individuals.

As well, Table 2 indicates that the interviewers seem to have similar tendencies in employing style shifting regardless of the interviewee. For instance, Saya shows only 1 instance of style shifting with Takashi, and also shows only 7 instances in her conversation with Naoki. These numbers of style shifting Saya produces are rather small compared to the other two interviewers, Risa and Yui, who both exhibit more than 30 instances of style shifting in all of

their conversations.　　In the following section, the various types and the functions

of style shifting found in this study will be discussed.

3-2. Functions of style shifting

Through examining all the instances of style shifting found in the interviewers'

talk contextually the instances can be categorized into several types, showing that

some types of style shifting seem to be employed rather frequently.　　Some of

them seem to be similar to the types of style shifting discussed in the previous

studies (Ikuta 2008; Cook 2008b; Geyer 2008; Maynard 1993).　　The following

are functions of style shifting observed in the current data:

　　　1. Assimilating new information
　　　2. Realization
　　　3. Emotive expression
　　　4. Suggesting candidate wording
　　　5. Talking to self

In the following, examples will be used to illustrate each type of style shifting

listed above.

3-2-1. Style shifting as assimilating new information

The first function of style shifting is the 'assimilating new information.'　　This

type seems to be produced when the interviewer hears new information from the

interviewee and tries to process the information or check her understanding with

the source of the information.   In the following excerpt, the interviewer, Yui, and

Masato are talking about the ESL (English as a Second Language) course that

Masato is taking:

(12)

| 1 | Yui: | *iiesueru tanoshii **desu** ka.* | (D/M) |

'Is ESL fun?'

| 2 | Masato: | *n= jugyoo ga choo tsumannai n su yo ne.* |

'Hm, the lessons are so boring.'

| 3 | → Yui: | *tsuman**nai**?* | (plain) |

'Boring?'

| 4 | | *.. atashi mo hyaku nijuugo n toki anamari n= tte kanji datta kana.* |

'when I was in 125 (level), I guess it wasn't so much (fun) either.'

| 5 | Masato: | *naka naka,* |

'It's quite,'

| 6 | Yui: | *kyookasho mo tsumannaku nai **desu** ka.* | (D/M) |

'Is the textbook also boring?'

| 7 | Masato: | *n=.* |

'Yeah.'

Yui, who has taken some ESL courses previously, asks Masato whether or not his

ESL classes are fun, as in line 1 *eeesueru tanoshii desu ka* 'Is ESL fun?', using the

D/M form.   After hearing Masato's answer *n= jugyoo ga choo tsumannai n su yo*

ne[4] 'Hm, the lessons are so boring' in line 2, Yui switches to the plain form and

repeats his answer partially as shown in line 3, *tsumannai?* 'Boring?' with raising

pitch at the end of the utterance as if she is trying to assimilate the new

information that she just heard.   This utterance may indicate that Masato's

answer *choo tsumannai* 'so boring' in line 2 was unpredictable to Yui, thus she

repeats a part of Masato's utterance as if either trying to confirm the new

information she just heard or trying to ask him what he meant by *choo tsumannai*

'so boring' in line 2.   Masato does not add any additional comments about it as

shown by a short pause in line 4.   Thus, Yui shares her experience in her ESL

class in line 4, saying *atashi mo hyaku nijuugo n toki anamari n= tte kanji datta*

kana 'when I was in 125 (level), I guess it wasn't so much (fun) either,' while still

using the plain form.   Then, Yui asks him another question about the course,

kyookasho mo tsumaranaku nai desu ka 'Isn't the textbook also boring?' in line 5,

switching back to the D/M form.

This type of style shifting in line 3 is rather similar to a so-called echo

question (Ikuta 2008), which uses a simple repetition of the preceding utterance.

This concept is most easily illustrated by (8), which was taken from Ikuta (2008)

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[4] The part *su* in this utterance in line 2 is shortened version of the copula, *desu* (D/M).

and presented previously in Chapter 1.   (8) is repeated again as follows for the

sake of convenience:

(8) (b-2: fishmonger)

1 R: *anoo yappa ichiba no kata tte yuu to kitto nanka koe toka okkii n*
    deshoo ne   (D/M)
     'Um, y'know, speaking of the market staff, I guess, like, they have
      loud voices don't they?'

2 T: *n ma seriba de watashi wa hoete masu ne itsumo ne*
     'Um, well, I'm roaming at the auction site, always.'

3 → R: *hoete ru?*   (plain)
     'Roaring?'

4 T: *hoete ru*
     'Roaring.'

5 R: @

6 T: *urenai to toku ni hoete masu yo*
     'I'm roaring especially when (the fish) aren't selling well.'

Both the interviewer, R, and the fishmonger, T, predominantly use D/M forms

throughout the interview as shown in line 1, 2, 5, and 6, but R switches to the

plain form as shown in line 3, repeating T's previous utterance, *hoete ru* 'roaring'

in line 2.   Ikuta (2008) argues that R's repetition, or an echo question, in line 3,

hoete ru? 'roaring' may be reflecting the speaker's surprise about T's use of word,

hoeru 'roar,' which is normally used only when animals roar.

As shown in (12) and (8), style shifting in the form of an echo-question

seems to be used either when the interviewer hears new information from the

interviewee and tries to process the information, or when the interviewer wants to

confirm what they heard or believe to have understood.   The word 'new' used

here is not restricted only to information unknown to the interviewer, but also

includes information already known to the interviewer but newly introduced by

the interviewee into the conversation as a topic (i.e., new in the conversation).   In

case of the excerpt (14), for instance, as a native speaker of Japanese, the

interviewer Yui knows the meaning of the word, *tsumannai* 'boring,' but the

wording itself is provided by the interviewee for the first time in the conversation.

That is to say, 'new' in 'assimilating new information' refers not necessarily to

words or concepts unknown to the interviewer, but anything newly introduced to

the conversation by the interviewee.

Another example of the 'assimilating new information' type of style

shifting is simply the repetition of preceding utterance, not an echo-question.

The following, taken from the beginning of the conversation between the

interviewer, Yui, and the interviewee, Kimi, shows an example of such type:

(13)

1 Yui: *hoomushikku toka nattari shinakatta **desu** ka=.* (D/M)
      'Have you ever felt homesick or something?'

2 Kimi: *a=nto kita hutsuka me no ichi nichi dake hoomushikku ni*
      natte=,

                'Well, I got homesick on the second day here, only one day and,'

3   Yui: *hu=n.*

                'I see.'

4   Kimi: *sore igai wa moo kaeritaku nai.*

                'Other than that, I don't want to go home (in Japan) anymore.'

5 → Yui: *kaeritaku **nai** @*   (plain)

                'don't want to go home.'

6   Kimi: @

7   Yui: *.. e doko shusshin **desu** ka.*   (D/M)

                'Um, where are you from?'

As both of them have been away from Japan and studying English in Canada for several months, Yui asks Kimi how she feels about it.   As shown in line 1, Yui uses the D/M form for the question, *hoomushikku ni nattari toka shinakatta desu ka* 'Have you ever felt homesick or something?'   Kimi tells Yui that she felt homesick only for one day, saying *a=nto kita hutsuka me no ichi nichi dake hoomushikku ni natte=* 'Well, I got homesick on the second day here, only one day and' in line 2.   After Yui's short reply *hu=n* 'I see' in line 3, Kimi continues her utterance by saying *sore igai wa moo kaeritaku nai* 'Other than that, I don't want to go home (in Japan) anymore' in line 4.   Then Yui responds with the shorter version of Kimi's previous utterance and says *kaeritakunai* 'Don't want to go home' in line 5, using the plain form without raising pitch at the end that would indicate it as a question.   The switch in linguistic forms occurs between lines 1

and 5, and Yui's utterance *kaeritakunai* in line 5 is produced right after Kimi's

utterance in line 4 without a pause and followed by laughter, sounding as if Yui

was surprised to hear Kimi's previous utterance in line 4. Thus, Yui seems to

repeat Kimi's utterance partially using the plain form for assimilating the new

information that she just heard. Subsequently, after Kumi's laugh in line 6, Yui

switches back to the D/M form in line 7 and asks a different question which

becomes a new topic in the conversation that follows the excerpt in (13).

It is also possible to think that the switch to the plain form in line 5 is

produced simply because Kimi's utterance, *sore igai wa moo kaeritaku nai* 'Other

than that, I don't want to go home (in Japan) anymore' in line 4 was delivered in

the plain form. However, there are examples of this type of style shifting in

which the interviewers switches from the D/M to the plain form, regardless of the

form of the preceding utterance, including (12). In case of (12), Yui switches

forms after Masato's preceding utterance in line 2, *jugyoo ga choo tsumannai n su*

yo ne 'Lessons are so boring.' Masato's use of *su* is shortened version of the

copula, *desu* (D/M), and therefore it can be seen that style shifting can occur

regardless of the language form of the preceding utterance. Because of this

variation found in the data, the current study does not focus on the possible affect

from preceding utterances.

3-2-2. **Style shifting as realization**

A second type of style shifting observed in the data is produced rather

spontaneously or instantaneously when the speaker realizes something while

listening to the interviewee talks; (14) below shows such a case.   Prior to the

following segment of the conversation, the interviewer (Risa) and interviewee

(Mie) were talking about their school life, and Mie told Risa that she failed a

course at the university in the previous year.   They then changed the topic to

their current accommodation and how expensive their rent is.   This lead to Risa

asking Mie whether or not she has a part-time job in the following example:

  (14)
   1   Risa: *e nanka baito toka shite nai n **desu** ka.*   (D/M)
                  'Well, don't you have a part-time job or something?'
   2   Mie: *.. dekinai kara ne mada atashi,*
                  'I can't have one yet, so.'
   3   *.. nanka moo dekiru yoo ni natta jan,*
                  'Well, now everyone can have one, right?'
   4   → Risa: *u=n [soo **desu** yo ne].*   (D/M)
                  'Yeah, that's right.'
   5   Mie: *[yuniba=shithi no seeto dattara].*
                  'If you are a university student.'
   6   ((name of university)) *wa=* GPA *ni= ten zero ijoo nai to=,*
                  '(But) at ((name of university)), you need GPA 2.0 or more,
   7   Risa: *n==.*

          'Uh huh.'

8   Mie: *hora atashi hora kyonen ochichatta kara sa=* GPA *todoite nai n da.*
                'See, I failed (a course) last year, so my GPA is not enough.'

9   Risa: @@ *na= naruhodo ne=,*
                'Ah, indeed.'

10   Mie: *soo=.*
                'Right.'

11   Risa: *naruhodo tte itchai**mashita** gomennasa=i.* @   (D/M)
                'Oops, I just said "indeed." I'm sorry!'

12   Mie: *n=n= dakara ne= dekinai.*
                'No, no (that's OK). So that's why I can't.'

13 → Risa: *a **sokka sokka**=.*   (plain)
                'Oh right, right.'

14   Mie: ((SIPPING TEA)) *un.*
                'Yeah.'

15 → Risa: *soo **desu** yo ne are purofessaa no shoonin toka iru n **desu** yo ne.*
                                            (D/M)
        'That's right, you need a professor's approval or something, right?'

Risa asks Mie, who studies at a different institution, whether or not she has a part-time job in line 1. Mie tells Risa that she is not allowed to have one due to her low GPA from line 2 to line 8. It seems that Risa thinks her own utterance *na= naruhodo ne=* 'Ah indeed' on line 9 is rather rude, because her utterance *na= naruhodo ne=* 'Ah indeed' highlights that the current situations is a result of Mie's low GPA, so she apologizes for her utterance by saying *gomennasa=i* 'I'm sorry' in line 11. Mie finishes her explanation by saying *dakara ne= dekinai* 'So that's why I can't.' in line 12. Then, Risa, who predominantly uses the D/M

form in this segment of the conversation, switches to the plain form in line 13,

saying *a sokka sokka=* 'Oh right, right.' This utterance is pronounced rather

quickly compared with the rest of her utterances in the conversation.   There are

also similar utterances found in this segment, such as *soo desu yo ne* 'That's right'

in line 4 and 15, but in those she uses the D/M form.   It is possible that in case of

a sokka sokka= on line 13, Risa switches to the plain form when she remembers

Mie's previous story about failing a course and realizes that that is the reason that

she cannot have a part-time job.   The explanation by Maynard (1993) can be

applied to this type of style shifting: "1. When the speaker exclaims or suddenly

recalls something" (179).   The sudden nature of the recollection could account

for the fact that this type of style shifting seems to occur spontaneously and

instantaneously when the speaker realizes something.   In the case of (16) in the

present study, the information provided by Mie in line 12 *dakara ne= dekinai* "So

that's why I can't." seems to trigger Risa's realization about Mie's situation.

Another example of the 'realization' type of style shifting can be found in

the conversation between Yui (interviewer) and Masato (interviewee), talking

about how they are worried about when they go back to Japan within a year

because then they will have to start job seeking[5].   Masato is a first-year student at

a vocational college where students complete their degrees within two years,

therefore, he will have to start looking for a job in his second year.   Being in her

third year at university in Japan, Yui also will have to start job seeking when she

goes back to Japan and starts her fourth year.   In the following, Masato starts to

tell Yui about his worries about going back to Japan:

(15)

1   Masato: *nihon ni kaettara ore wa sono,*
              'When I go back to Japan, um,'
              nanka nihon no shakai ni taerareru no ka na= toka omotte,
              'Well, I wonder if I can stand (the system of) the society in
              Japan.'

2   Yui: *a= so= **desu** yo ne=.*   (D/M)
              'Oh, I see.'

3   Masato: *hai senmon dakara=,*
              'Yes, (I'm studying at) a vocational school, so,'

4   Yui: *un,*
              'Yeah,'

5   Masato: *ichi nen owatte ni nen,*
              'After the first year, the second year,'
              .. no hajime kara mo= shuuhsoku katsudo= suru n desu kedo,
              'we have to start job hunting from the beginning of the second
              year.'

6   → Yui: ***sokka==.***   (plain)
              'I see.'

7   Masato: *e= shuushoku ka= to omotte,*
              'I'm like "job hunting (already)?"'

---

[5] As a background information for the following segment, college students in Japan generally
start job hunting one year or more before their graduation.

8   Yui: *demo atashi mo so= **desu** yo.*   (D/M)
              'But I'm like that too.'

When Masato tells Yui about his worries on line 1, Yui replies with *a= so= desu yo ne=* 'Oh I see' in the D/M form in line 2, showing her understanding of his preceding utterance.   Masato continues to explain further details of his situation in lines 3 and 4 - that even though he is still in his first year, he will soon have to start job hunting as his school is a vocational school.   Yui replies to his utterance saying *sokka==* 'I see' in line 5 in the plain form.   Switching to the plain form in line 5 indicates that Yui just realized that Masato has to start looking for a job soon after she heard that his school is a vocational school.   Thus, (15) is another example of the 'realization' type of style shifting, produced spontaneously and instantaneously when the speaker realizes something.   The following section will illustrate another type of style shifting, "emotive expression" found in the current conversation data.

3-2-3. Style shifting as emotive expression

The next type of style shifting, the 'emotive expression' type, can be observed when the speaker expresses stronger or emotive feelings in the conversation. The following is an example of such a shift:

(16)

1		Risa:	*watashi mo banhu nikai iki**mashita**.*	(D/M)

'I, too, went to Banff twice.'

2		Keiko:	*a=.*

'Oh,'

3	→	Risa:	*un= tanoshi**katta**.*	(plain)

'Yeah, it was fun.'

4		Keiko:	*tanoshii desu yo ne=.*

'It's fun, isn't it.'

5		Risa:	*natsu= ni=,*

'In summer,'

6		Keiko:	*hun hun,*

'Uh-huh,'

7		Risa:	*nagareboshi mi**mashita**.*	(D/M)

'(I) saw shooting stars.

Before this excerpt, Keiko (interviewee) told Risa (interviewer) about a recent trip that she made to Banff, Canada (a town in the mountains), and how nice it was. In (16), Risa tells Keiko that she also went there, using the D/M form in line 1. Then Risa switches to the plain form and says *u=n tanoshikatta=* 'Yeah, it was fun' in line 3, sounding as if she remembers how much she enjoyed it and is trying to convey her feelings to Keiko.   This type of style shifting seems to be found when speakers express their emotive comments.   The following excerpt is another example of the same type of style shifting:

(17)

1		Kimi:	*e sore itsu itta n desu ka.*

'Well, when was it?'

2   Yui: *kinyoobi ni iki**mashita**.*   (D/M)
                'I went there on Friday.'

3   Kimi: *a= sokka sokka=.*
                'Oh, I see, I see.'

4   → Yui: *su ggoi samu**katta**=.*   (plain)
                'It was so cold.'

5   Kimi: *honto desu ka=.*
                'Really?'

6   Yui: *nanka keejiban ga atte=,*
                'Well, there is a billboard,'

Prior to this segment, the speakers were talking about skiing, and Yui (interviewer) tells Kimi (interviewee) that she just went skiing the previous week, using the D/M form in line 2, *kinyoobi ni ikimashita* 'I went (there) on Friday.' Then she switches to the plain form in line 4, saying *suggoi samukatta=* 'it was so cold.'   As Yui pronounces the word *sugoi* 'so' as *suggoi* in line 4, we can see that Yui seems to be emphasising how cold it was in line 4.   Thus, this type of style shifting seems to be employed when expressing emotive comments.

The 'emotive expression' type of style shifting can again be explained by using the contextual circumstances Maynard (1993) discusses: "2. When the speaker vividly expresses events scene-internally, as if the speaker is right there (179)."   In case of (17), style shifting to the plain form in line 4 may be reflecting Yui's attempt to convey how cold it was on that day to Kimi.   The

following section will illustrate another type of style shifting, the "suggesting candidate wording" type.

3-3-4. Style shifting as suggesting candidate wording

Another type of style shifting found in the current data is the 'suggesting candidate wording' type.   This type of style shifting can be seen when the interviewee is either hesitating, prolonging or searching for the next word, and at that point the interviewer cuts in with a suggestion for the continuation of their utterance.   The following excerpt, where the speakers discuss their future plans, is the example of such type.   It should be noted that Risa (interviewer) predominantly uses the D/M form, and Mie (interviewee) employs the plain form throughout the entire conversation.   The speakers find out at the beginning of the conversation that Mie is a year older than Risa, which seems to affect their choices of predominant forms in this conversation.

(18)
1   Risa: *nihon ni kaeru yotei nai n desu ka.*   (D/M)
                'No plan of going back to Japan?'
2   Mie: *e= sotsugyoo shitara tabun kaeru kamo.*
               'Well, I might go home after graduation, maybe.'
3   Risa: *a=,*
               'ah.'
4   Mie: *demo kotchi de= shigoto==,*

'But a job here,'
5 → Risa: *ga shitai.*   (plain)
         'would like to have (one).'
6   Mie: *mitsukerereba ne=,*
         'if I can find (one).'

In line 1, Risa says *nihon ni kaeru yotei nai n desu ka* 'No plan of going back to

Japan?' using the D/M form.   As a reply to Risa's question in line 1, Mie starts to

talk about her possible plans for the future, saying *e= sotsugyoo shitara tabun*

kaeru kamo 'Well, I might go home after graduation, maybe.' as shown in line 2.

When Mie continues to discuss the possibility of staying and working in Canada

by adding *demo kotchi de= shigoto==* 'But a job here" in line 4, evidenced by the

lengthening of her utterance, Risa cuts in and produces *ga shitai* 'would like to

have (one)' with plain form as shown in line 5.   This transition from the D/M

form in line 1 to the plain form in line 5 produced by Risa is a case of style

shifting.   Risa's utterance in line 5 is in fact a candidate completion for Mie's

utterance in line 4, and not Risa's own wish.   It is produced as if it were Mie's

wording and completes Mie's ongoing utterance, which does not reflect Risa's

own will.   In the current data, this type of utterance is found to occur when

speakers are pausing in the completion of their own utterances, as shown by the

hesitation *e=* and lengthening in lines 2 and 4 in (18).

Such a type of utterance is also found in Ikuta (2008).   She calls it

"syntactic co-construction" type (ibid., 74); that is, style shifting in her data is

mostly employed as "a strategy to collaboratively construct a discourse" (ibid.).

The following excerpt which was presented previously in Chapter 1 is repeated

again as follows for the sake of convenience.   The interviewer, R, is asking the

greengrocer, S, about which types of vegetable are good sellers:

  (4) (c-1: greengrocer)   (2008: 74)
```
  1    R:   aa soo yuu no ga yappari uresuji na n desu ka ne?          (D/M)
                'Uh-huh, those are the ones, as expected, that sell well.'
  2    S:   soo desu ne at wa kyabetsu toka.
                'Yeah, the rest, cabbages and the like'
  3 → R:   aa daitai yoku ureru                                        (plain)
                'Ah, (they) mostly sell well.'
  4    S:    soo desu ne jibun ga uritai
                'Yeah. I want to sell (them)'
```

According to Ikuta (2008), this is an example of co-constructed discourse in

which the interviewer, R, provides an end to S's utterance in line 2 and can be

understood as continuing.   She describes how the interviewer uses style shifting

as a way of constructing a discourse collaboratively.   R's utterance in line 3 was

not followed by the D/M form, showing that she does not hold the "floor."   Ikuta

(2008) argues that the interviewer "opens a new topic, typically by floor-yielding

questions in the *desu/masu* style (the D/M form as in line 1); and as a prompter,

she takes non-floor-holding and subspace-embedding turns marked by the

non-*desu/masu* style (the plain form as in line 3)" (2008: 75).   In other words,

the use of plain form here functions as a mark that the interviewer's utterance

belongs to the subordinate part of the conversation, even though they are creating

the discourse collaboratively as shown in lines 2 and 3.   Ikuta's (2008) argument

about linguistic forms functioning as markers of the main or subordinate parts of a

conversation can be applied to the 'suggesting candidate wording' type of style

shifting in the current data.   The following section will illustrate the last type of

style shifting, 'talking to self,' found in the present study.

3-2-5. Style shifting as talking to self

The last type of style shifting seems to be produced when the speaker produces an

utterance as if she is talking to herself, and there are several instances of style

shifting from the D/M form to the plain form when the speakers appear to be

talking to themselves and/or thinking aloud.   The following excerpt shows such a

type:

   (19)

1   Yui: *atashi no tomodachi de aichi shusshin no hito **imasu** yo=.*   (D/M)

'I have a friend who is from Aichi prefecture.'

2   Kimi: *a honto desu ka aichi no doko desu ka=.*

'Oh, really?   Where in Aichi prefecture?'

3 → Yui: *aichi no ne= nan **datta ke**,*   (plain)

'In Aichi, what was it?'

4   Kimi: *un.*

'Yeah.'

5   Yui: *toyo,*

'Toyo,'

6   Kimi: *a toyota=?*

'Oh, Toyota?'

7   Yui: *toyota na no kana,*

'(I wonder) if it is Toyota,'

In this excerpt, the speakers are talking about Yui's (interviewer) friend who is

from the same prefecture as Kimi (interviewee).   In line 1, Yui starts to tell Kimi

about her, saying *atashi no tomodachi de aichi shusshin no hito imasu yo=* 'I have

a friend who is from Aichi prefecture' in the D/M form.   When asked where in

Aichi her friend is from, Yui thinks aloud and says *aichi no ne= nan datta ke,* 'In

Aichi, what was it?' switching to the plain form.   As Yui's utterance in line 3,

aichi no ne= nan datta ke, 'In Aichi, what was it?' seems to be produced only to

aid in her own memory recollection, it may not need to be produced in the D/M

form, which can be used to be polite to the addressee.   It also can be explained

by one of the contextual circumstances put forth by Maynard (1993: 179): "3.

When the speaker expresses internal thought self-reflectingly, including almost

self-addressed utterance and monologues, making it possible to shun oneself from

the addressee." The following is another example of this type of style shifting,

where Yui (interviewer) and Masato (interviewee) are talking about Masato's ESL

class:

(20)

1	Masato:	*ima jibun ga hyaku nijuugo na n desu yo.*	
		'Right now, I'm in 125 (level of class).	
2	Yui:	*a honto desu ka.*	(D/M)
		'Oh, is it so?'	
3	Masato:	*s* (H)	
4	→ Yui:	*dare ka shitteru ko iru kana=.*	(plain)
		'I wonder if I know anyone.'	
5		*... dare ka nihon jin no hito imasu ka.*	(D/M)
		'Are there any Japanese students?'	
6	Masato:	*jibun no kurasu ima nihon jin inai n desu yo ne.*	
		'There is no Japanese in my class currently.'	
7	Yui:	*a= inai n desu ka.*	(D/M)
		'Oh, there is no one.'	

When Masato tells Yui that he is in the 125 class in line 1, Yui replies *a honto*

desu ka 'Oh, is it so?' in line 2 in the D/M form. Masato makes an inhaling

noise but does not say anything. Then Yui switches to the plain form and says

dare ka shitteru ko iru kana= 'I wonder if I know anyone' as shown in line 4,

sounding as if she is asking herself a question. After a short pause, Yui switches

back to the D/M form and asks Masato a question *dare ka nihon jin no hito imasu*

ka 'Are there any Japanese students?' in line 5. Thus, style shifting can be used

when a speaker seems to be talking to themselves or thinking aloud.

This section has contextually examined instances of style shifting from

the D/M form to the plain form as found in the native/native dyads and classified

them into several types. It should be pointed out that some of the categories may

seem similar to each other. For instance, it is possible to categorize the

'assimilating new information' type as the 'realization' type of style shifting. In

this study, however, these utterances were categorized into two types based on

what triggers style shifting. In the case of the 'assimilating new information'

type, style shifting seems to occur when the interviewers process the information

or check her understanding with the source of the information. On the other

hand, the 'realization' type of style shifting seems to be produced rather

spontaneously or instantaneously when the speaker realizes something while

listening to the interviewee. Thus, this study divides these types of style shifting

into two separate groups. It also should be pointed out that there are several

cases of style shifting where it is difficult to determine whether they belong to the 'realization' or the 'emotive expression' type, as they both are produced spontaneously and instantaneously. In this study, instances of style shifting were categorized as 'realization' when the interviewee' utterance triggers the interviewer's realization, and the instances are categorized as 'emotive expression' when the interviewer expresses and tries to convey some sort of stronger or emotive feelings about what they experienced.

3-3. Frequency of each category of style shifting

Several types of style shifting in the native/native dyads have been illustrated, but now the discussion will turn to the frequency of each category of style shifting in those dyads. The following is the list of the main categories of style shifting found in the current conversation data:

> 1. Assimilating new information
> 2. Realization
> 3. Emotive expression
> 4. Suggesting candidate wording
> 5. Talking to self

Table 3 below shows the total number of style shifting in each category as produced by the three interviewers.

Total								
Interviewers' names SS category	Saya		Yui		Risa		Total	
Assimilating information	2	25%	18	17.65%	17	13.49%	37	15.68%
Realization	1	13%	35	34.31%	58	46.03%	94	39.83%
Emotive expression	1	13%	12	11.76%	26	20.63%	39	16.53%
Suggesting candidate wording	1	13%	13	12.75%	4	3.17%	18	7.63%
Talking to self	0	0%	8	7.84%	10	7.94%	18	7.63%
Unknown	3	38%	16	15.69%	11	8.73%	30	12.71%
Total	8	100%	102	100%	126	100%	236	100%

Table 3. The frequency of each category of style shifting in total of the three interviewers in the native/native talks

The left-most column shows the categories of style shifting, and the numbers show the raw figure and the percentages of each category produced by the interviewers in the conversation with an individual speaker as well as the total for all three interviewers combined. The instances of style shifting which cannot be categorized are marked as 'Unknown.' It can be seen that some types of style shifting are observed more frequently than the others. For instance, Saya had two instances of the 'assimilating information' type of style shifting in total, which accounts for 25% of all the instances of style shifting that she produced in the native/native conversations. Similarly, Yui had 18 instances of the 'assimilating information' type of style shifting - 18% of all the instances that she

produced.   Risa also had 17 instances (13.49%) of this type.   Altogether, 37

instances of the 'assimilating information' type were observed among three

interviewers.   Table 3 shows that the type of style shifting found most frequently

was 'realization' type (94 instances, 39.83%).   Talking to self and Suggesting

Candidate Wording were used the least, both accounting for only 7.63% of the

total instances.

The following pie chart gives the overall results for each category of style

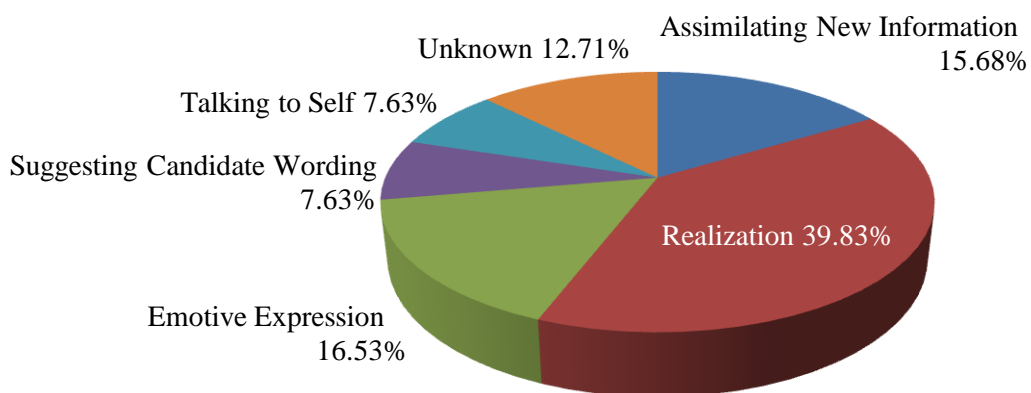shifting produced by three interviewers and their percentages visually.

Chart 1. Percentage of each category of style shifting in the native/native talks

In this chapter, the instances of style shifting produced by the

interviewers in the native/native conversations were first analyzed quantitatively

and classified the instances of style shifting into several categories, and then the

instances were analyzed qualitatively to see which were used the most and least

frequently.   In the following chapter, I will discuss the cases of style shifting in

the native/non-native conversations and contrast the results with those of the

native/native conversations.

Chapter 4. Style shifting in the native/non-native dyads

4-1-1. Quantitative results

This section focuses on the frequency of style shifting produced by the

interviewers during the conversations with non-native speakers.   The following

table presents the raw figures for the instances of style shifting.

	Interviewers								Total
	Saya		**Yui**			**Risa**			
Interviewees	Tanya	Kylie	Alex	Valerie	Mike	Alley	Don	John	
(NNS)	18	60	64	67	47	52	68	92	468

Table 4. The number of instances of style shifting from the D/M form to the
plain form in the native/non-native conversations

Table 4 shows that all the interviewers use style shifting not only in the

native/native conversations, but also in the native/non-native conversations,

suggesting that style shifting occurs regardless of the language skills of the

addressee.   The numbers also indicate that the frequency of style shifting is

varied among the speakers, and moreover, the same speaker uses style shifting

differently depending on the interviewee they are speaking to.   Saya, for instance,

employs style shifting 18 times during the conversation with Tanya and 60 times

during the conversation with Kylie.   As mentioned in Chapter 2, methodology,

the speed of conversations is different, thus the amount of language production is

also different, so the figures may not be directly comparable, but even so, quite a

range can be seen in the frequency of style shifting.   The possible explanation for

the difference will be discussed in section 4-3.

For the sake of contrasting the quantitative results, the following table

shows the number of instances of style shifting that appeared in native/native

conversations versus those in native/non-native conversations.

	Interviewer								Total
	Saya		**Yui**			**Risa**			
Interviewee NS	Takashi	Naoki	Masato	Kimi	Akira	Naomi	Mie	Keiko	236
	1	7	30	32	40	33	41	52	
Interviewee NNS	Tanya	Kylie	Alex	Valerie	Mike	Alley	Don	John	468
	18	60	64	67	47	52	68	92	

Table 5. The frequency of style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form
in the native/native conversations and the native/non-native conversations

Table 5 shows that the interviewers produced many more instances of style

shifting when talking with non-native speakers than with native speakers.   For

instance, Saya employs style shifting only once when talking with a native

speaker, Takashi, but she has 60 instances of style shifting when talking with a

non-native speaker, Kylie.   This suggests that the style shifting is more

frequently employed in the conversations of the native/non-native dyads as the

numbers are almost as twice as high. Moreover, considering that the interviewers speak more slowly to the non-native speakers in general, the results highlight how frequently style shifting was employed in the native/non-native dyads.

As well, the different levels of language proficiency among the non-native speakers seem to affect the occurrence of style shifting. Although all of the non-native speakers in the data are taking the same level Japanese language course, their actual level of language skills varies. For instance, one of the interviewers, Saya, shows 60 instances of style shifting when talking with the non-native speaker, Kylie, but only shows 18 instances in the conversation with the other non-native speaker, Tanya. Comparing these two conversations, the speed and pace of the conversation between Saya and Tanya appears to be a lot faster and smoother than the conversation between Saya and Kylie, indicating that style shifting seems to occur more frequently in slower conversations. Furthermore, Saya often asks Kylie the same question several times when Kylie cannot answer her questions, which can be seen as evidence that Saya is having much more difficulty in communicating with Kylie than with Tanya. This suggests that style shifting occurs regardless of the language skills of the

addressee, but the level of the language skills might affect the frequency. Therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that style shifting is used as a type of communication strategy in spoken discourse, and that style shifting especially seems to be employed more frequently when the native interviewers try to assist the non-native interviewees.

In order to see the differences found in the quantitative analysis of the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads, the following chart illustrates the same figure visually.
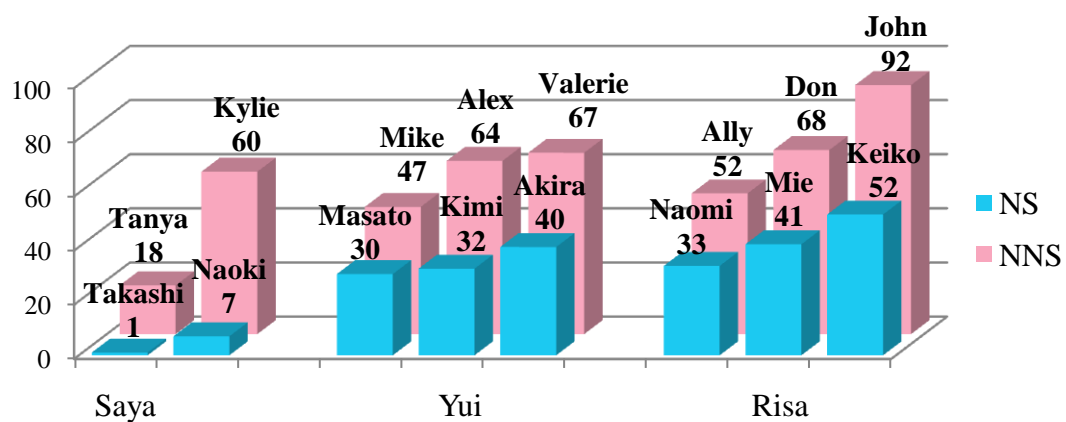

Chart 2. Number of style shifting by the interviewers in native/native conversation

Chart 2 distinctly exhibits that the interviewers produced more instances of style

shifting in the native/non-native conversations than in the native/native conversations. There was not a single case where an interviewer employed more style shifting in a conversation with a native interviewee when compared to their results with non-native interviewees.

To summarize the results from the quantitative analysis of the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads, it can be said that: 1) style shifting is not an uncommon phenomenon in spoken discourse, but the occurrence of style shifting can vary among individuals; 2) native speakers seem to employ style shifting more frequently when talking with non-native speakers than with native speakers; 3) the different frequencies found in the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads suggests that there is something different going on in terms of the use of style shifting when the interviewers talk to the non-native speakers.

More specifically, the quantitative results indicate that the interviewers employ style shifting as twice as frequently in the native/non-native conversations. One of the possible reasons for the higher frequency of style shifting in the interviewers' speech when talking with non-native interviewees could be the less-than-perfect language ability of the non-native speakers.   It could be

assumed that the interviewers face more difficulties when communicating with

non-native interviewers than with native interviewees, and thus, it is possible to

think that style shifting is employed as a type of communication strategy in

conversations.

In order to investigate what kinds of communication strategies style

shifting performs, this study will analyze the frequency of each category of style

shifting in the native/non-native dyads and compare the results with those from

the native/native dyads. All the instances of style shifting in each category are

counted in the same way as the ones in the native/native dyads, and it is found that

the frequency of some types of style shifting also seem to be different in the

native/native talks compared with the native/non-native talks.   The following

table shows the frequency of each type of style shifting in the native/non-native

conversations.

Total								
Interviewers' name SS category	Saya		Yui		Risa		Total	
Assimilating information	37	47.44%	67	37.64%	88	41.12%	192	40.85%
Realization	10	12.82%	32	17.98%	35	16.36%	77	16.38%
Emotive expression	8	10.26%	18	10.11%	17	7.94%	43	9.15%
Suggesting candidate wording	13	16.67%	30	16.85%	48	22.43%	91	19.36%
Talking to self	2	2.56%	20	11.24%	24	11.21%	46	9.79%
Unknown	8	10.26%	11	6.18%	2	0.93%	21	4.47%
Total	78	100%	178	100%	214	100%	470	100%

Table 5. The frequency of each category of style shifting in total of the three interviewers in the native/non-native conversations

As shown in Table 5, 192 out of 470 instances (40.85%) of style shifting found in the native/non-native dyads were the 'assimilating information' type, showing that this type of style shifting was employed the most frequently by the interviewers while talking with non-native interviewees. The 'suggesting candidate wording' type follows with 91 instances (19.36%). The following pie chart provides the total results of each category and its percentage visually.

Unknown 4.47%

Talking to Self 9.79%

Suggesting Candidate
Wording
19.36%

Emotive Expression 9.15%

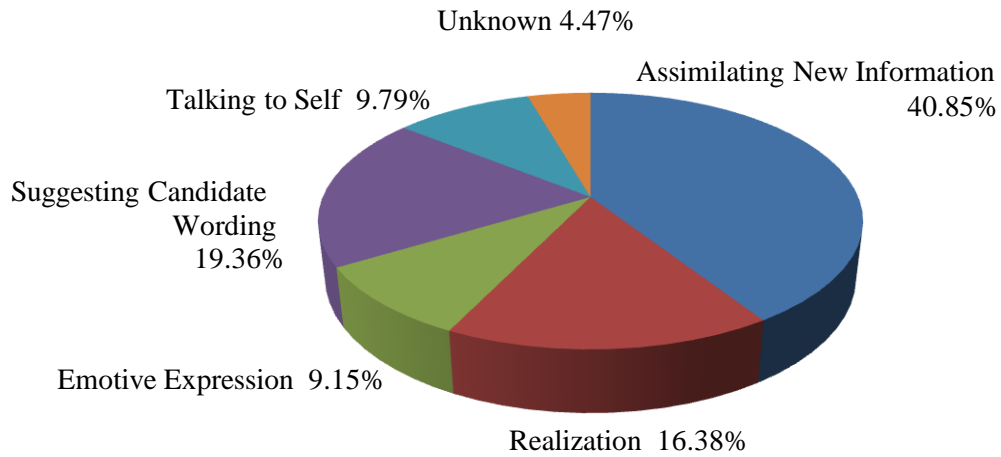Assimilating New Information
40.85%

Realization 16.38%

Chart 3. Percentage of each category of style shifting in the native/non-native talks

For the sake of comparing the percentages of each category with the native/native

dyads, Chart 1 above is inserted here again.

Unknown 12.71%

Talking to Self 7.63%

Suggesting Candidate
Wording   7.63%

Emotive Expression
16.53%

Assimilating Information
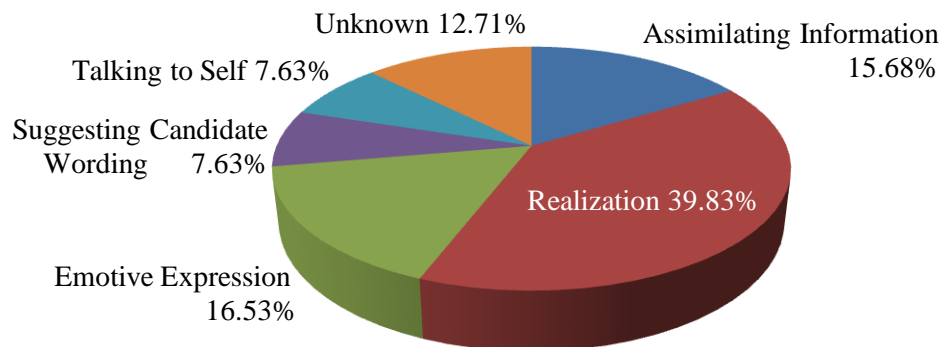15.68%

Realization 39.83%

Chart 1. Percentage of each category of style shifting in the native/native talks

Charts 1 and 3 clearly indicate that the functions of style shifting frequently used

in the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads are different.   It can

be seen that the 'assimilating new information' type and the 'suggesting candidate wording' type are employed more frequently in the native/non-native dyads (40.85% and 19.36% respectively). On the other hand, the frequency of these types of style shifting is lower (the 'assimilating new information' type: 15.58%, 'suggesting candidate wording' type: 7.63%) in the native/native dyads than the native/non-native dyads. Possible accounts for the results will be discussed in the last section of this chapter (4-3). Before that, as the results suggest that there might be some different interactional phenomena going on in the native/native dyads as compared to the native/non-native dyads examples of style shifting found in the native/non-native dyads will be shown which indicate that some types of style shifting are employed as a part of interactional strategy.

4-2. Distinctive features of style shifting in the native/non-native dyads

This section will illustrates several examples of style shifting in the native/non-native dyads which have distinctive features, and contrast them with the functions of style shifting found in the native/native dyads to investigate what kind of interactional phenomenon is going on. The first is the 'assimilating new information' type found in the native/non-native conversations, where it appears

that the type of information that triggers this category of style shifting differs from

the one observed in the native/native dyads.   In the native/native dyads as shown

above, when this type of style shifting occurs the interviewer is trying to

assimilate the information which is either interesting or unpredictable to them.

(13) as given in chapter 3 is presented here again for convenience:

(13)

1	Yui:	*hoomushikku toka nattari shinakatta **desu** ka=.*	(D/M)
		'Have you ever felt homesick or something?'	
2	Kimi:	*a=nto kita hutsuka me no ichi nichi dake hoomushikku ni*	
		natte=,	
		'Well, I got homesick on the second day here, only one day	
		and,'	
3	Yui:	*hu=n.*	
		'I see.'	
4	Kimi:	*sore igai wa moo kaeritaku nai.*	
		'Other than that, I don't want to go home (in Japan) anymore.'	
5 →	Yui:	*kaeritaku **nai** @*	(plain)
		'don't want to go home.'	
6	Kimi:	@	
7	Yui:	*.. e doko shusshin **desu**ka.*	(D/M)
		'Um, where are you from?'	

When Yui, the interviewer, style shifting in line 5, it is not because of that the

information given in Kimi's previous utterance in line 4 is new in this

conversation.   On the other hand, this type of style shifting seems to be

employed in the native/non-native dyads, when the interviewers hear unfamiliar vocabulary or wordings.   The following excerpt shows such a case.   In (21), the interviewer, Risa, asks a non-native speaker, Don, about his major:

(21)

1	Risa: *e senkoo wa nan **desu** ka.*	(D/M)
	'Well, what is your major?'	
2	Don: *senko? n= konpyuutingu saiensu.*	
	'Major? Hm, Computing Science.'	
3 →	Risa: *konpyuutingu saiensu.*	(plain)
	'Computing Science.'	
4	*.. wa= sugoi **desu** ne.*	(D/M)
	'Wow, that's great.'	

Risa initiates the question, *e senkoo wa nan desu ka* 'Well, what is your major?' with the D/M form in line 1.   After Don's reply, *senko? n= konpyuutingu saiensu* 'Major? Hm, Computing Science,' Risa confirms what she just heard by repeating Don's previous utterance in line 3 *konpyuutingu saiensu* 'Computing Science' in the plain form.   This utterance is produced slower and in a smaller voice compared to the other utterances of hers.   Since Risa arrived in North America quite recently, the word, *konpyuutingu saiensu* 'Computing Science' seems to be unfamiliar to Risa.   Thus, she repeats Don's utterance in plain form as if she is in the process of assimilating new information - an unfamiliar word.   Subsequently,

she switches back to the D/M form in line 4, saying *wa= sugoi desu ne* 'Wow,

that's great.'   This shifting back to the D/M form suggests that Risa has

assimilated and confirmed the information that Don just provided and is ready to

continue the conversation.

Therefore, the actual functions of the 'assimilating new information' type

of style shifting in the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads seem

to be slightly different.   In the native/native dyads, it is used for information that

is interesting or unpredictable to the interviewers, while on the other hand, as

shown in (21), Risa employs the 'assimilating new information' type of style

shifting to confirm an unfamiliar word that she just heard.   Thus, although the

category of style shifting is the same, what triggers style shifting can be different

between the native/native dyads and native/non-native dyads.

Next, characteristic examples of the 'suggesting candidate wording' type

of style shifting found in the native/non-native dyads will be examined.   In (22),

two speakers are talking about movies that they like.

(22)
1   Saya: *Nightmare Before Christmas* ((movie title)) *wa suki **desu** ka*.
                                                                            (D/M)
             'Do you like "Nightmare Before Christmas?"'
2   Kylie: *a== Big Fish* ((movie title)) *no= hoo [ga=]*,

'Uh, "more so Big Fish,"'

3 → Saya: *[ga]* **suki**.   (plain)
        '(You) like.'

4   Kylie: *suki.*
        '(I) like.'

5   Saya: *u=n eega wa yoku* **mimasu** *ka.*   (D/M)
        'Hm, do you watch movies often?'

In line 1, Saya asks Kylie whether or not she likes a movie *Nightmare Before Christmas* ((movie title)) *wa suki desu ka* 'Do you like "Nightmare Before Christmas?"' in the D/M form.   Kylie starts answering the question rather slowly as shown in line 2, *a== Big Fish* ((movie title)) *no= hoo ga=,* 'more so Big Fish.' Before Kylie completes her sentence, Saya adds a word *suki* '(you) like' in line 3 and finishes the sentence for her.   It seems that this type of style shifting occurs when speakers have difficulty in completing their utterance, as demonstrated by the hesitation *n=* and lengthening found in Kylie's speech in line 2.

As mentioned in the section 4-1, the 'suggesting candidate wording' type of style shifting seems to occur at a higher frequency when the interviewers talk to the non-native speakers than to the native speakers.   Thus, this utterance could be considered as "foreigner talk" (Ellis 2008) which is intended to assist non-native speakers.   However, it sometimes turns out that what the non-native speaker aims to say is slightly different from what the native speaker assumes, and

the following example shows such a case. In this excerpt, the interviewer, Risa,

asks a non-native speaker, Ally, about her Japanese classes.

(23)

1	Risa:	*doo desu ka muzukashii desu ka.*	(D/M)
		'How is it, is it difficult?'	
2	Ally:	*n= chotto==,*	
		'Well, a little,'	
3 →	Risa:	*chotto [muzukashii].*	(plain)
		'A little difficult.'	
4	Ally:	*[kanji ga ooi].*	
		'(There are) many Chinese characters.	

(23) shows that the Risa switches from the D/M form to the plain form in lines 1

and 3. Risa initiates her question about Ally's Japanese class in the D/M form,

doo desu ka muzukashii desu ka 'How is it, is it difficult?' as shown in line 1, but

when Ally starts to answer saying *n= chotto==* 'Well, a little,' Risa cuts in and

suggests a candidate wording by saying *chotto muzukashii* 'a little difficult' in line

3 in the plain form. As line 3 shows Risa's attempt to complete Ally's utterance

in line 2 with a possible continuation, this is an example of the 'suggesting

candidate wording' type of style shifting. Risa's utterance in line 3 is actually

different from Ally's simultaneous utterance in line 4 *kanji ga ooi* '(there are)

many Chinese characters' so as seen in (24), what the interviewer produces

sometimes can be different from what the non-native speaker had in mind. In

order to compare the example (23) with the example of this type of style shifting

taken from a native/native dyad, example (18) is repeated here for convenience.

(18)

1	Risa:	*nihon ni kaeru yotei nai n desu ka.*	(D/M)
		'No plan of going back to Japan?'	
2	Mie:	*e= sotsugyoo shitara tabun kaeru kamo.*	
		'Well, I might go home after graduation, maybe.'	
3	Risa:	*a=,*	
		'ah.'	
4	Mie:	*demo kotchi de= shigoto==,*	
		'But a job here,'	
5 →	Risa:	*ga shitai.*	(plain)
		'would like to have (one).'	
6	Mie:	*mitsukerereba ne=,*	
		'if I can find (one).'	

In (18), Mika proceeds to add a clause in line 6, *mitsukerereba ne=,* 'if I can find

(one).' It suggests that Mika agrees that what Risa suggested in line 5, *ga shitai.*

'(you) would like to have (one)' reflects her opinion. On the other hand, (24)

shows that what a non-native speaker, Ally, attempts to say is slightly different

from what a native speaker, Risa, assumed. In this section, several examples

from the native/non-native dyads have been examined where style shifting seems

to be employed as a part of interactional phenomenon but have different results

from similar phenomenon in the native/native dyads.   In the following section, a

possible account for the distributional differences will be discussed.

4-3. Possible account for the distributional differences

As shown in the previous sections, 4-1 and 4-2, the interviewers employ style

shifting twice as frequently in the native/non-native conversations.   Regarding

the different frequency of style shifting in the native/native dyads and the

native/non-native dyads, it could be due to the nature of the conversation.   That

is, in the native/non-native conversations, the native speakers are more likely to

face the uncertainty of non-native speakers' utterances and need to carry out a

listening and/or understanding check more frequently than they have to do in

native/native conversations.   As discussed, the levels of language skills of the

non-native speakers vary; for instance, style shifting is used more frequently when

one of the interviewers, Saya, is talking to the non-native speaker, Kylie, whose

language skills could be considered not as good as Tanya's.   Thus, it is possible

to assume that style shifting is employed as an interactional strategy when the

interviewers face some kind of communication difficulty.

When facing a communication difficulty, the interviewers seem to carry

out a listening/understanding check or to assist the interviewees by suggesting what they may be trying to say. As one can assume, such situations occur more frequently in native/non-native conversations than in native/native conversations. Furthermore, it seems that when the interviewers undertake a listening/understanding check the 'assimilating new information' type is employed frequently, and when trying to help the non-native speakers continue the utterances they use the 'suggesting candidate wording' type of style shifting. As discussed, these types of utterances appear to be similar to so-called "foreigner talk" (Ellis 2008) intended to assist non-native speakers. On the other hand, as such a type of talk may not be necessary as much in the native/native conversations, the frequency of these types of style shifting is lower in the native/native dyads than the native/non-native dyads.

This section has discussed the frequency of each type of style shifting in the native/non-native conversations and possible accounts for the distributional differences between the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads. The following chapter will summarize the findings of the present study and what those findings may imply.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5-1. Summary

The present study has attempted to explore various features of style shifting, analyzing the differences that the interviewers showed in native/native conversations versus native/non-native conversations through a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Firstly, the quantitative analysis has shown that all the interviewers in the data employ style shifting, and also that the frequency of style shifting varies among the individuals. Furthermore, the results uncovered that the occurrence of style shifting in the interviewers' speech is more frequent in the native/non-native dyads than in the native/native dyads. Given that the speed of the conversations in the native/non-native dyads is much slower than in the native/native dyads, the quantitative results emphasize the higher frequency of style shifting in the native/non-native dyads than in the native/native dyads.

Secondly, the qualitative analysis suggests that the instances of style shifting produced by the interviewers can be categorized into main five functions as follows:

1. Assimilating new information

　　　2. Realization

　　　3. Emotive expression

　　　4. Suggesting candidate wordings

　　　5. Talking to self

Further analysis also revealed that the most frequent types of style shifting differ between the native/native dyads and the native/non-native dyads. In the native/native conversations, the 'realization' type of style shifting was employed most frequently (the type which occurs spontaneously and instantaneously when the interviewer realizes something while listening to the interviewee's talk).

On the other hand, the 'assimilating new information' type was observed most frequently in the native/non-native conversations (the type which occurs when the interviewer hears new information from the interviewee and tries to process the information or check her understanding). As the language proficiency of the non-native speakers is limited compared to the native speakers, the interviewers seem to undertake listening and/or understanding checks more often in the native/non-native conversations. Also, the results show that the 'suggesting candidate wording' type of style shifting is employed more frequently in the native/non-native dyads than in the native/native dyads. As this type is observed when the non-native speakers are having difficulties in continuing their

utterances, this type as well could be said to be employed by the native interviewers due to less-than-perfect language skills of the non-native speakers. Thus, the higher frequency of these types of style shifting in the native/non-native dyads can be considered as a part of an interactional phenomenon similar to "foreigner talk" (Ellis 2008).

5-2. Implications of the present study

Although this study has presented the functions of style shifting as five separate categories, let us now consider another possibility in understanding these functions.   In chapter 3 it was shown that some of these categories actually share some similarities.   For instance, one may categorize the 'assimilating new information' and 'realization' type as one group of style shifting.   Here I would like to suggest that these types can be understood to form a larger functional category; that is, there is one feature that the five categories all share: they all appear to belong to the subordinate part of the on-going talk.   This can be seen through reviewing the functions of style shifting hypothesised in this study:

1. The "assimilating new information" type seems to be produced when the interviewer processes new information presented by the interviewee or check her understanding with the source of the information.
2. The "realization" type is produced rather spontaneously when the speaker

realizes something while listening to the interviewee talk.

3. The "emotive expression" type can be observed when the speaker expresses stronger or emotive feelings in the conversation as a reaction to what is presented by the interviewee.

4. The "suggesting candidate wording" type can be seen when the interviewee is either hesitating, prolonging, or searching for the next word, and at that point the interviewer cuts in with a candidate wording for the continuation of the on-going utterance.

5. The "talking to self" type seems to be seen when the interviewer produces an utterance as if she is talking to herself and/or thinking aloud outside of the on-going talk.

One thing that these categories seems to have in common is that they are not the main part of the on-going talk but rather outside of it. It is interesting to note that this characterization is actually similar to what Ikuta (2008) discusses: style shifting can be used "as a marker of embedding a subspace (ibid. 76)." That is, the use of style shifting may function to organize discourse, making the distinction between the main and subordinate parts of the conversation. In a similar vein, the instances of style shifting found in this study do not appear to be a continuation of the on-going conversation but rather belong outside of it. Thus, style shifting can be employed to mark the subordinate part of the conversation. Obviously, this suggestion should be examined more in depth in future research on style shifting.

Finally, the pedagogical implications of the present study shall be

considered. In general, it is believed that the plain form is often uttered under casual or informal situations, and the D/M form evokes politeness or formality of the speech (Geyer 2008). That is one of the reasons why instruction in language classrooms often emphasizes the clear distinction between the D/M form and the plain form. Thus, generally speaking, different speech styles (e.g., honorifics, D/M forms, and plain forms) are taught in Japanese language classes but shifting between the styles is usually not mentioned. However, the results of the current study could shed light on another potential interpretation or use of the plain form. It suggests that the switch from the D/M form to the plain form does not necessarily reflect the casualness or informality of the conversation as implicated by Japanese language textbooks, but rather it may be an indication of different types of interactional phenomenon.

Furthermore, if style shifting from the D/M form to the plain form is employed as frequently as the present study shows, it suggests that non-native speakers will often encounter native speakers' style shifting in actual conversations. Since many language textbooks (e.g., Jorden and Noda 1987; Makino et al. 1998; Tanaka et al. 1998) state that the D/M and plain forms reflect social distance between the speakers or the politeness/formality of the situation,

there may be a chance that non-native speakers misinterpret their relationships with native speakers or the situation that they are in.   That is, the native speakers are employing style shifting as a part of interactional strategy, but the non-native speakers may take it as a sign of a closer relationship or of the situation becoming less formal.   If style shifting occurs as an interactional phenomenon in spoken discourse commonly, language instructors should be aware of the phenomenon and explain about it if necessary.   Although style shifting itself may not directly correspond to the contents of what should be taught in class, it is important for the language teachers to acknowledge actual language practice.   There are numerous reasons conversations take place in daily life and the types of discourse vary widely.   The present study has explored only one of the many possible types of conversation, and thus, it is necessary to further investigate the various discourse types to advance understanding of style shifting and the features of the phenomenon.

5-3. Limitations of the study and future studies

It should be pointed out that there are limitations to the implications of the present study.   One comes from the size of the data used for this study; the size of the

data is considerably small to conclusively indicate tendencies in the phenomenon

of style shifting.   Also, this study focused only on the instances of style shifting

produced by three interviewers whose language behaviour, of course, does not

reflect the whole of the Japanese speech community.   Thus, the results of this

study require further validation with larger data.

It also should be pointed out that factors such as the gender and age of

the speakers are not taken into account in this study.   As well, the present study

analyzed the instances of style shifting produced by the interviewers, but the

affects of the other speakers' preceding utterances to the interviewers' style

shifting were not observed.   It would be interesting to conduct another study to

investigate the relationship between instances of style shifting and their preceding

utterances in the future study.

Appendix 1: Transcription Conventions

Transcription conventions are adopted from Du Bois et al. (1993).   Furthermore, in the examples given in the current study, the linguistic unit in discussion is bolded, indicated by an arrow, and followed by a comment of the researcher in parentheses.   The following symbols are used for the transcription.

[ ]	Speech overlap
=	Lengthening
..	Pause (Short)
…	Pause (Medium)
.	Transitional Continuity (Final)
,	Transitional Continuity (Continuing)
?	Transitional Continuity (Appeal)
@	Laughter
(H)	Inhalation
(Hx)	Exhalation
(( ))	Researcher's comment
<L2 L2>	Code Switching
<X X>	Uncertainty of the accuracy

Appendix 2: Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used for the Japanese gloss:

COP	Copula
NOM	Nominalizer
NEG	Negative
PAST	Past tense

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