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Style shifting in Japanese native/non-native conversation: an in depth analysis of short/long form usage

by

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Dedication

To my parents, for without their love and support I would not be half the person I am today.

Abstract

There are two distinct styles of predicates in Japanese: the long form and the short form. The former is associated with politeness/formality, while the latter is reserved for more intimate social settings.

It is expected that when the relationship of the speakers and the setting remains the same, speakers will use one form. However, studies on native speakers show mixing of the two forms, known as style shifting, occurs even when the factors mentioned earlier remain constant.

This study examines short and long form usage and style shifting in conversations between native and non-native speakers. Similar to native speakers, the majority of native/non-native dyads shared a dominant speech style, and all speakers (including the non-native speakers) engaged in style shifting. A closer look at individual conversations showed the non-native speakers' awareness of what forms they were using, and evidence of style shifting serving specific discourse functions.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1. Introduction

Style shifting is a topic that has been studied in a variety of languages and settings (Brown, 2010a; Iwasaki & Horie, 2000; Jones & Ono, 2008; Kulick, 1992). The Japanese language is well suited for studies on style shifting, as it has two distinct forms of predicate conjugation, the long form and the short form[1], which have differing levels of perceived politeness/formality associated with them. Usage of the two forms and switching between them has been explored in native Japanese discourse, but studies on style shifting by non-native speakers are few and usually involve speakers who have been acquainted for some time.

This paper instead seeks to examine the usage of both the long and short form in conversations between unacquainted native and non-native speakers of Japanese. First, by establishing the ratio of short to long form usage for each speaker in individual conversations, the speech styles that emerge as being dominant are determined, as well as to what degree the speakers shift between the two forms. Then, through a closer analysis of individual conversations, it looks to show how the forms function on a discourse level; in particular if non-native speakers are shown to style shift it seeks to determine the function these shifts serve in this particular context.

[1] In the literature, the long form is also referred to as the *masu* form, polite form, formal form, or the distal form, whereas the short form is also referred to as the informal form, the plain form, or the direct form. The terms long and short form are chosen for the purpose of this study because they do not have any connotations as being intrinsically 'polite' or 'impolite,' which isn't necessarily true in all contexts, as shown by previous research presented later in this paper. When previous research is presented in this paper, the terms long form and short form are used as to avoid confusion to the reader.

1.1 Style Shifting

In Japanese there are two distinct forms one can use for sentence final conjugation, the long form and the short form. In general, the long form is considered to be more polite or formal than the short. Table 1 displays examples of both the affirmative and negative conjugations of the verb *wakaru*, which means 'to understand' in English, in both the long and short forms.

Table 1 Short and long form conjugations of the verb *wakaru* 'to understand'

wakaru ' to understand' verb	**long form**	**short form**
affirmative present	*wakarimasu*	*wakaru*
affirmative past	*wakarimashita*	*wakatta*
negative present	*wakarimasen*	*wakaranai*
negative past	*wakarimasen deshita*	*wakaranakatta*

In Japanese, the predicate is found in the sentence final position. If the predicate is a verb, it can be conjugated in either the short or long form, as shown in Table 1. The following example is from the corpus of spoken Japanese described later in this paper.

(1)

Yuko: soshiorojii no jugyou o hitotsu totte **imasu.**
'I am taking one Sociology course'

In this example, Yuko conjugates the verb *iru* 'to be' using the long form, *imasu*. The next segment shows usage of the short form of a verb.

(2)

Shiori: Daijobu da to omou?
'Do you think it's ok?'

In this example, Shiori uses the verb *omou* 'to think' in the short form.

Similarly, there exists a long and short form for the predicate usage of nouns, adjectival nouns[2], and adjectives, shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Table 2 Short and long form conjugations of the noun *neko* 'cat'

neko 'cat' noun	**long form**	**short form**
affirmative present	*neko desu*	*neko (da)*
affirmative past	*neko deshita*	*neko datta*
negative present	*neko janai desu*	*neko janai*
negative past	*neko janakatta desu*	*neko janakatta*

Table 3 Short and long form conjugations of the adjectival noun *kirei* 'pretty'

kirei 'pretty' adjectival noun	**long form**	**short form**
affirmative present	*kirei desu*	*kirei (da)*
affirmative past	*kirei deshita*	*kirei datta*
negative present	*kirei janai desu*	*kirei janai*
negative past	*kirei janakatta desu*	*kirei janakatta desu*

[2] In Japanese adjectival nouns are a category of nouns that also function similar to adjectives when followed by the suffix *na*

Table 4 Short and long form conjugations of the adjective *tanoshii* 'fun'

tanoshii 'fun' adjective	**long form**	**short form**
affirmative present	*tanoshii desu*	*tanoshii*
affirmative past	*tanoshikatta desu*	*tanoshikatta*
negative present	*tanoshikunai desu*	*tanoshikunai*
negative past	*tanoshikunakatta desu*	*tanoshikunakatta*

For some time it was common belief that the long form is used exclusively to express formality and politeness, and the short form is contained within social contexts that are intimate and informal. This distinction is made in previous studies and is the explanation used to explain the two forms in the majority of Japanese language textbooks today (Brown and Levinson 1987; Martin, 1964; Niyekawa; 1991; Shinoda 1973; Makino et al 2008). According to these theories, given a setting that is perceived as being formal it would be expected that native speakers would choose the long form and not use the short form at all (the opposite being true for informal situations, where the short form would be expected). A situation resulting in the mixed usage of the forms in any given setting would be the result of speech partners who differed in age, rank or status (i.e teacher vs. student, senior vs. junior, etc.), and even in this case, each individual participant would not be expected to switch styles. In the example of a teacher and a student, the teacher may use the short form, but the student would be expected to use the long form regardless.

However, recent studies have shown that individual speakers will mix the two forms in segments of discourse, often in interactions where formality and other factors, such as the social status of the participants, remain constant (Cook 1996, 1997, 1998; Ikuta 1983, 2008; Maynard 1991, 1993, 1997, 2001). This type of behavior is referred to as style shifting, which is referred to by Jones and Ono (2008) as "the use of two of more styles, even ostensibly mutually extensive styles, within a single conversation, or written text" in a volume which compiled studies related to the subject in Japanese speech. While style shifting is certainly not limited to Japanese (Brown, 2010a; Iwasaki & Horie, 2000; Kulick, 1992), the number of studies pertaining to Japanese specifically has been significant, given its rather recent debut to the field of Japanese linguistics.

The following excerpt from a conversation between an interviewer and a greengrocer is from a study by Ikuta (2008), and it shows an example of style shifting from the long form to the short form.

(3)

1 R: aa soo yuu no ga yappari uresuji na n desu ka ne? ***long***
'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 ***short***
'Ah, (they) mostly sell well.'

4 S: soo desu ne jibun ga uritai
'Yeah. I want to sell (them).'

In line 1 speaker R employs the long form, but in line 3 switches to the short form with the utterance *daitai yoku ureru* 'Ah, (they) mostly sell well.' In examples of style shifting such as this, the social setting, formality, and other factors such as age and rank stay constant, which goes against the traditional view of how these forms are typically used. What these shifts have been found to represent in Japanese discourse are discussed later in section 1.3, and they are also explored in more depth in the results of this study.

1.2 Politeness theory

Before getting into an analysis of style shifting, a general understanding of politeness in the Japanese language is necessary. Politeness is defined by Hill et al. (1986) as "one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport." Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed a comprehensive theory of universal politeness that has become the basis for a number of studies since. Brown and Levinson introduced the concepts of 'positive face' and 'negative face.' Negative face is described as a persons' right to their own space and belongings, their right to non-distraction, and the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition. Positive face is an individual's desire to maintain their self-image and have value in the eyes of others. Participants in social interaction will come across situations where they must perform 'face threatening acts' (hereby referred to as FTAs). In most situations where an FTA must be performed it is in the participants'

best interest to maintain each other's face. The severity of an FTA is determined by a combination of power relations between the interlocutors (for example, rank in society, or status, such as between a professor and a student), distance between the interlocutors (the distance between the hearer and the speaker, such a close friend vs. a first-time acquaintance) and rank of the FTA (how large the imposition of any given FTA is according to social expectations and conventions). Speakers about to perform FTAs employ a number of strategies to do so, depending on the severity of the FTA, as well as the desire to preserve face. These strategies range from performing the FTA with full efficiency, referred to as "bald on record," engaging in positive politeness strategies, such as performing acts to gain approval (i.e. showing interest, giving agreement, and forming a common ground), "negative politeness strategies," which involve hedging, indirectness, giving deference, and apologizing, going "off-record" by hinting or being ambiguous, or finally not performing the FTA at all.

The crux of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory was originally published in 1978 (Goody, 1978), and then again in 1987 as a standalone volume, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. As the title suggests, it was intended to be applicable to many, if not all, languages and cultures. However, some scholars doubted the universality of Brown and Levinson's theories; specifically with regards to East Asian languages such as Japanese (Hill et al, 1986; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988). Ide points out that Brown and Levinson fail to take into consideration that Japanese speakers have a choice

between using linguistic forms that index formality and those which do not (such as the long and short form described earlier in this paper). Ide also claims that Brown and Levinson do not account for Japanese speakers' usage of intrinsically 'polite' forms due to social convention rather than interactional strategy.

Matsumoto (1988) makes it clear that there are fundamental societal differences that must be taken into account when discussing the politeness strategies of individuals. In Japanese culture, there is significantly more importance placed on one's rank or position in society, and how you are viewed by others. This challenges the elements of Brown and Levinson's definition of face that place importance on the desire to preserve one's personal territory and space, the freedom of action and the freedom from imposition, as these desires are less pronounced in Japanese culture.

Hill et al. (1986) performed a cross-cultural study on Japanese and American speakers, where they introduced the concepts of discernment and volition. Discernment refers to "submitting passively to the requirements of the system," whereas volition is the act of politeness which allows for "more active choice, according to the speaker's intention." In this study, the simple act of asking for a pen and the linguistic expressions used to do so in both languages were considered.

In Hill et al.'s study, a three-part questionnaire was submitted to a number of Japanese university students, as well as a number of American university students. The subjects were first asked to judge the degree of

carefulness of request forms in their native language, rank the distance they perceived between themselves and certain individuals in given situations, and finally which forms they would use toward those certain individuals.

Hill et al. suggest that individuals use language according to politeness, and that discernment (yielding to the social expectations of any given culture) is the basis of politeness. However, they also propose that the ratio of discernment to volition (a speakers' ability to act or make linguistic choices according to their own desires) varies cross-culturally, specifically between Americans and Japanese. While in both languages, discernment is the first thing which must be considered, Americans have a greater deal of volition when it comes to politeness. This was confirmed in their data, as the overall pattern for both languages was 1) choosing forms regarded as more careful for those where the perceived distance was greater and 2) the use of relatively uninhibited forms when there was less perceived distance. However, the Japanese responses were more tightly clustered together, meaning that there seemed to be less room for choice when it came to choosing request styles for speaking with certain individuals in certain situations.

Usami (2006) introduced a framework for a *Discourse Politeness Theory* (DPT) using Japanese as an example. A modified version of her methodology forms the basis for the quantitative portion of this study. The first concepts of importance are those of "normative politeness" and "pragmatic politeness." Normative politeness refers to the "traditional

understanding of the degree of politeness intrinsic to linguistic expressions." Pragmatic politeness includes politeness intrinsic to linguistic expressions, but also incorporates politeness resulting from certain discourse behavior, such as back-channeling, style shifting, usage of particles, and so on. Referencing long and short forms in Japanese, normative politeness dictates that long forms are more polite than short forms. However, a native speakers' ability to switch between the two forms whose normative politeness states that one is polite and one is not, without violating the societal norms on what considered as being "polite," is considered pragmatic politeness.

Usami states that pragmatic politeness can only be analyzed and interpreted at the discourse level. However, she outlines the concept of a discourse politeness default (DP default) that can be determined given any segment of discourse. According to Usami, you can classify any utterance as containing polite forms (P), non-polite forms (N) and non-marked utterances (NM) such as incomplete utterances and backchannels. Then, given any example of discourse, you can classify each utterance as belonging to one these categories and determine the overall ratio of each type. This gives the DP default of the particular discourse, and from there the type with the highest frequency becomes the "dominant speech level."

For example, Usami references her study regarding sentence-final speech levels where the ratio of P, N, and NM was 6:1:3. This ratio between the forms is considered the DP default. From this ratio it can be concluded

that the dominant (or unmarked) speech style is P, which in turn indicates that using N becomes marked behavior producing various discourse related effects.

Considering long and short forms in Japanese, by using Usami's methodology one could analyze a segment of discourse and calculate the number of occurrences of the long and short form. The ratio of the different forms used would be considered the DP default of that segment of discourse. A DP default where the dominant speech style (the form with the largest number of occurrences) has been calculated as being the long form, an instance of short form usage would be considered as marked. This type of behavior was earlier introduced as style shifting; more specifically in this case, a style shift from the long to short form. Conversely, a DP default that has been calculated as having the short form as the dominant speech style would result in the long form being marked (i.e. style shifting from the short form to the long form).

Usami's method is helpful in determining the DP default of any given segment of discourse, and from that one can easily identify instances of style shifting. However, one must consider each example of style shifting individually and in context in order to determine what it signifies in Japanese spoken discourse. The following section describes the various ways in which style shifting functions in native speaker discourse.

1.3 Style shifting in native speech

There have been a number of influential studies on style shifting in native Japanese conversation and the various reasons why native speakers choose to use certain styles at certain times. A study on style shifting by Ikuta (1983) relates the use of style shifting to distance, which can be attitudinal, social or cohesional. At any given point during an interaction a speaker can create distance by employing usage of the long form, and decrease this distance by using the short form[3].

The following example extracted from Ikuta's data is a segment of discourse from a conversation between two female speakers.

(4)

1. K: Sono oheya wa kositu ni natte iru n desu ka? ***long***
   '*Is your apartment designed for a single person?*'

2. J: Ee, roku-zyoo to yo-zyoo-han to sanruumu ga taihen hiroi n desu no.
   long
   'Yes, there is a six-mat tatami room, a four-and-one-half mat room, and a sunroom, which is really large.'

3. → K: Maa, Zuibun ii no ne. ***short***
   'Oh, that's very nice.'

4. J: Hitori ni wa tyoodo ii n desu. ***long***
   ' It's just the right size for one person.'

5. K: Otonari nanka wa sizuka na n desu ka? ***long***
   'Are your neighbors quiet?'

[3] Throughout this thesis when discussing previous studies, the terms short form and long form are employed regardless of what terms were used by the original scholar. The original transcripts have also been adjusted to reflect this. The purpose is solely to avoid the confusion that using multiple terms would cause.

6. J: Ee, booon ga tyan to site iru n desu. ***long***
'Yes, (because) the soundproofing is very good.'

In this particular example, Ikuta claims that the transition in line 3 to the short form signifies the speaker's empathy with their partner, J. As a result, it makes this statement seem more sincere.

Ikuta mentions that there are times when even in interactions that consist primarily of the short form, there are occasions where it is necessary to use the long form. The following segment is another extract from the two female speakers mentioned earlier. However, at this point in their conversation, they have switched to a predominant usage of the short form.

(5)

1. →K: Situree desu kedo, ***long***
'Excuse me, but,'

2. Zyoo-san wa zutto dokusin de irassyaru no? ***short***
'have you always been single?'

3. J: Iie, ano ne, ni-do oyome ni itta no. ***short***
'No. you know, I married twice.'

4. K: Ara, soo na n desu ka. ***long***
'Oh, is that so.'

In this example, the utterance appearing in the long form, shituree *desu kedo* 'Excuse me, but,' precedes a question asking if J has been single her whole life. This type of question is very personal in nature, and the long form is used here to soften the imposition on the speaker being asked.

The final function of style switching proposed by Ikuta is that of discourse cohesion. This has to do with style shifting from the long form to the short form in order to indicate structural changes within a conversation. The following is an example from Ikuta of this type of shift.

(6)

1. S: Soo desyoo ka. ***long***
' I wonder if that's really so.'

2. Da tte tenisu mo sugoi desyoo? ***long***
'I mean, tennis is also way up there, isn't it?'

3. K: Ie, hyaku-man to mo, nihyaku-man to mo, tenisu zinkoo wa huete ori masu keredomo, ***long***
'No, the number of tennis players may have increased to even a million, or two, but.'

doo site mo toppu ga dame na n desu. ***long***
'the top people are still no good.'

5. Mukasi no hoo ga zyoozu datta desu ne. ***long***
'It was better ten or twenty years ago - right? '

6. → Shimizu-san, kumagai-safi nante, dehai ni hatu sanka de ikinari kessyoo made itta. ***short***
'Simizu and Kumagai, for example, made the final round at their very first participation in the Davis Cup'

7. → Sore-igo sonna seeseki ageta hito wa hitori mo inai. ***short***
'Since then, no one's obtained results like that.'

In this example, the switch to the short form in lines 6 and 7 cannot be explained by a shift in empathy. Rather, lines 6 and 7 are secondary to, but still relevant to, the topic at hand. Ikuta refers to lines 6 and 7 as "illustrative

instances" that support what was being discussed in lines 3 to 5. So a switch such as this serves as a method to organize spoken discourse, where utterances 3 to 5 are the main topic of conversation, and utterances 6 and 7 are a sub topic, or embedded in a sense.

A study by Maynard (1991) relates the usage of the long and short form to addressee awareness, where a higher level of addressee awareness is associated with the long form and self-addressed utterances are associated with the short form.[4] Maynard found that the short form was chosen when a speaker expressed surprise, suddenly remembered something, or had a sudden emotional surge. The following is an example from Maynard that displays this type of usage.

(7)

1 A : Dooshiyoo, Kimi-can tachi nani hanashita in da. ***short***
'What should we do, what did Kimi talk about?'

3 Aa wakatta. ***short***
'Oh I got it.'

4 Kyooshoku no hanashi da. ***short***
'It's about teaching.'

[4] Maynard distinguishes between utterances in the short form occurring with interpersonal particles, and those which do not. Those occurring without interpersonal particles, such as *yo* or *ne*, are referred to as abrupt forms. While this differs from other studies, including the present, which do not make this distinction, the functions of style shifting that Maynard identifies are applicable to style shifting from the long to short form, which will be shown in the qualitative analysis portion of this study. Once again, not confuse the reader, the terms short and long form are employed here, regardless of the slight variation in methodological choice.

In lines 1 and 2, speaker A is wondering what her friend was talking about, and in line 3 she finally recalls what it was.

Maynard also shows how the short form is used when the speaker takes "a point of view internal to the world under discussion," such as in the next example.

(8)

1 A: Uchi no chichioya soo da yo. ***short***
'My dad is like that, you know.'

2 Soide norikomu to nee,
'When he gets on (the train),'

3 kutsu o nuide nee,
'he takes off his shoes.'

4 biiru o katte nomi-hajimeru. ***short***
'he buys beer and begins to drink.'

5 Shinbunshi shiku no. ***short***
'He spreads the newspaper.'

In this example, the speaker is taking a narrative perspective while describing the actions of their father.

Another type of style shifting found by Maynard was an echo question and response, shown in the next example.

(9)

1 A: Tsuisuto no Kame-chan tte shitte-ru? ***short***
'Do you know Kame of the group Twist?'

2 B: Shitte-ru. ***short***
'Yes, I know.'

In line 1 speaker A asks speaker B if they know of a certain person, and ends their question with the short form. Speaker B replies that they do, using the identical form of the verb in the short form. Maynard claims this type of usage is jointly created by the participants and seems to be motivated in part by its rhythmic nature.

Cook (1999) argues that one cannot assign style shifts with one meaning. Instead one must take into account the situational meanings that arise through social interaction on a case by case basis. Cook claims that the long form has two indexical values, addressee deference, as well as speaker-focused self-presentation, and that over the course of any given social interaction, contextual features dictate which form is used. The following example from Cook's data is an excerpt from a television program where a chef is demonstrating how to skewer chicken and green onions.

(10)

1 M: Chotto mawasu n desu ne. ***long***
'Turn it a little bit'

2 Kyokutan ni mawasanakute mo, kagen de
'Even though you don't turn it a lot, by turning a bit'

3 I: Haa.
'Yes.'

4 M: warenai yoo n narimasu kara ***long***
'it won't break, so'

5 I: Haa.
'Yes.'

6 M: Mawasanai to hosoi negi wa koo kushi ga futoi to toku ni warete
shimaimasu shi ***long***
'If you don't turn it, slender green onions, in particular when a stick is thick, will break and'

7 →I: Sasu shunkan ni mawasu. ***short***
The moment you pierce (the onion), you turn (it).'

8 M: Soo desu. ***long***
'That's right.'

In line 7, the interviewer summarizes what the chef has said, and in this case uses the short form. According to Cook, doing so adds clarity for the audience, as well as a fresh touch to the interview. Both of these effects are dependent on the context of this particular setting and the moment at which they occur.

The studies mentioned up until this point were pivotal in setting a base for research into style shifting. Following these earlier publications a number of studies have added to this body of research, often with focus on a particular social setting and the style shifting that occurs within it. A volume on style shifting by Jones & Ono (2008) contains a number of studies on style shifting and its functions in various contexts. One study by Geyer (2008) looks at style shifting that occurs in faculty meetings between native speakers of Japanese. It was found that style shifting occurred for various discourse related reasons including marking solidarity, mitigation of FTAs, as

well as a need to display formality or deference. While it was noted that there were some differences in the amount of style shifting employed by the individuals, the long form was used as the dominant speech style, and the style shifting that occurred consisted of occasional usage of the short form.

Another study by Ikuta (2008) from the same volume looks at style shifting in a number of interviews between one female interviewer and five male interviewees in various occupations. Once again, a preference for the long form was found across the speakers, and style shifting was employed by switching to the short form largely as a discourse organization strategy, such as to mitigate FTAs, instigate more information, as well as for the interviewer to stand in for the interviewee.

Isaka (2010) conducted a study on style switching (once again from the long to short form) by native speakers in both native/native conversation and native/non-native conversation. It is particularly relevant to this thesis, as both her research and the present draw from the same corpus of spoken discourse as a data source. Her study followed the speech patterns of three interviewers (described in more detail in the methodology portion of this thesis), labeled as such because they participated in separate conversations with both other native speakers and non-native speakers of Japanese who were at an intermediate level. She classified the instances of style shifting by the interviewers into five categories. As her research was performed on the same corpus as the present study, the categories she defined are useful when considering the style shifting employed by the native speakers in the present

study. These categories are described in detail in the following pages, and are used in the qualitative analysis portion to classify style shifting by the native speakers.

The first category is 'assimilating new information,' where the interviewer learns something new, and attempts to process the new information or check understanding. The following excerpt from Isaka's study is an example of this type of usage. In this case the speakers are talking about an ESL class that Masato is taking.

(11)

1 Yui: iiesueru tanoshii desu ka. ***long***
'Is ESL fun?'

2 Masato: n= jugyoo ga choo tsumannai n su yo ne.
'Hm, the lessons are so boring.'

3 → Yui: tsumannai? ***short***
'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. ***long***
'Is the textbook also boring?'

7 Masato: n=.
'Yeah.'

Yui asks Masato how he likes his ESL class in line 1, and Masato explains that his ESL class is boring in line 2. According to Isaka, Yui's switch to the short form in line 3 suggests that Masato's response was unexpected, and she is confirming this new information or asking for clarification by repeating what he said in the short form.

The second category suggested by Isaka is 'style shifting as realization.' In this type of style shift, the interviewer realizes something, or becomes aware of something mid conversation, and expresses this using the short form. In the following excerpt, the interviewer (Risa) and Mie are discussing their school life.

(12)

1 Risa: e nanka baito toka shite nai n desu ka. ***long***
'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]. ***long***
'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 itchaimashita gomennasa=i. @ ***long***
'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=. ***short***
'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.
long
'That's right, you need a professor's approval or something, right?'

In line 1, Risa asks if Mie has a part time job, and Mie says that she can't in line 2. She then clarifies that in order to have a part time job, you have to have a high enough GPA, and in line 8 she reminds Risa that she failed a class, and as a result her GPA is not high enough. Risa's switch in line 13 to the short form is a result of her realizing this fact, and most likely recalling that Mie had already informed her of this earlier in the conversation.

The third category is the 'emotive expression' type, where a switch to the short form is used when a speaker wishes to indicate stronger or emotive

feelings. In the following example, Yui is telling Kimi about her experience skiing the previous week.

(13)

1 Kimi: e sore itsu itta n desu ka.
'Well, when was it?'

2 Yui: kinyoobi ni ikimashita. ***long***
'I went there on Friday.'

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

4 → Yui: su ggoi samukatta=. ***short***
'It was so cold.'

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

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

In line 4, Yui switches to the short form when telling Kimi how cold it was, and by doing so she puts emphasis on just how cold it really was.

The fourth category proposed by Isaka is suggesting candidate wording. In this category the speaker who holds the floor pauses mid-utterance, and at this point, the other speaker suggests a continuation of their utterance by suggesting a word or phrase in the short form. In the following excerpt, the speakers are discussing their future plans.

(14)

1 Risa: nihon ni kaeru yotei nai n desu ka. ***long***
'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. ***short***
'would like to have (one).'

6 Mie: mitsukerereba ne=,
'if I can find (one).'

In line 1, Risa begins by asking Mie if she has plans to return to Japan. Mie replies that she might return to Japan, but in line 4 produces the incomplete utterance *demo kotchi de= shigoto==* 'but a job here.' Rie interjects with a suggested completion *ga shitai* 'would like to have one' using the short form.

The final category proposed by Isaka is style shifting as self-talk. In this type a speaker switches to the short form when thinking aloud or talking to themselves. In the following excerpt the two speakers are talking about Masato's ESL class.

(15)

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. ***long***
'Oh, is it so?'

3 Masato: s (H)

4 → Yui: dare ka shitteru ko iru kana=. ***short***
'I wonder if I know anyone.'

5 … dare ka nihon jin no hito imasu ka. ***long***
'Are there any Japanese students?'

6 Masato: jibun no kurasu ima nihon jin inai n desu yo ne.
'There are no Japanese people in my class currently.'

7 Yui: a= inai n desu ka. ***long***
'Oh, there is no one.'

In line one Masato mentions that he is in class level 125. In line 4, Yui seems to wonder aloud if she knows anyone, and this utterance is in the short form. She immediately follows this with a question directed at Masato using the long form asking him if there are any Japanese students, to which he reply's there is no one.

As mentioned earlier, Isaka's research was performed on the same corpus used for this study. As such, the various functions she describes here are useful in accounting for the style shifting performed by the native speakers examined in later chapters. However, the present study differs from Isaka's in that it accounts for the different dominant speech styles of each speaker, and it also focuses on style shifting by the non-native speakers.

The majority of studies on style shifting have looked at style shifting from the long form to the short form. Of the studies presented so far, only

Ikuta's (1983) study mentions a type of shift from the short to long form (when the speaker was asking a personal question). One study by Yamazaki (2000) has highlighted style shifting from the short form to the long form as a way to be "playful." Specifically, Yamazaki highlighted how participants who were close to each other and would otherwise use the short form predominantly would switch to the long form as a way to indicate closeness, or to be playful.

The studies presented in this section have focused on style shifting by native speakers. Recently, a few studies have looked at the usage of short and long forms by non-native speakers as well. This brings us to the following section, which outlines research on politeness and style shifting in L2 Japanese discourse.

1.4 Politeness and style shifting in L2 Japanese

Teaching just how politeness works in Japanese, as well as how to engage in style shifting, is no easy task. Using the distinction introduced by Usami, one can easily teach normative politeness; that is the traditional understanding of what forms are intrinsically polite, and which are not. Pragmatic politeness is much more complex, and as a result it is usually left out of Japanese as a foreign language instruction.

Japanese language textbooks tend to overemphasize normative politeness and leave out style shifting altogether. In *Nakama* (Hatasa et al, 2000), the Japanese textbook used by the participants in the present study, it

describes usage of the short form as casual speech, and the usage of the long form as polite speech. The following is an excerpt from Nakama describing how to use the two forms.

"When you ask questions or make requests to your friends, rather than to your teachers, you can use the casual form of speech."

On top of these rather simplistic descriptions on how to use the two forms, dialogs within the text do not contain style shifting. Consider the following dialog from Nakama.

(16)

A: ~san wa donna tokoro ni sunde imasu ka. ***long***
'What type of place do you live in?'

B: watashi wa apaato ni sunde imasu. ***long***
'I live in an apartment'

A: sou desu ka. watashi mo apaato ni sunde imasu. ***long***
'Is that so. I also live in an apartment.'

B: aa, sou desu ka. ~san no apaato wa donna tokoro ni arimasu ka. ***long***
'Is that so. What type of place is your apartment in?'

A: sou desu ne. watashi no apaato wa kouen no chikaku ni arimasu. ***long***
'Hmm, yeah. My apartment is near a park.'

B: sou desu ka. ii desu ne. ***long***
'Is that so. That's nice.'

A: ~san no apaato no chikaku ni wa donna mono ga arimasu ka. ***long***
'What type of things are near your apartment?'

B. gakkou ga arimasu. ***long***
'There is a school'

It's interesting to note that this long exchange did not contain any style shifting at all. It was conducted exclusively in the long form. Now consider the next example, also found in *Nakama*.

(17)

A: donna koto o suru no ga kirai na no. ***short***
'*What type of things do you not like doing?*'

B: souji o suru no ga kirai na n da. (male) / kirai na no. (female) ***short***
'*I don't like cleaning.*'

A: doushite souji ga kirai na no. ***short***
'*Why don't you like cleaning?*'

B: omoshirokunai n da. (male) / omoshirokunai no. (female) ***short***
'*It's not fun.*'

Contrasting the previous example, this exchange is conducted entirely in the short form. It should be mentioned that dialogs found in the short form are few and far between, which in itself seems to suggest overemphasis on long form usage. To say the very least, it is clear that *Nakama* portrays usage of the two forms in a black and white manner, and to many learners of Japanese it likely comes across as one either uses the long form or the short form; you do not mix them.

In addition to this there is the added complication of L1 interference arising from the differences in politeness standards that exist cross-culturally. It was mentioned earlier that, when it comes to linguistic politeness in American English, there is more room for choice when it comes to the expressions that are chosen for various acts, whereas in Japanese the

linguistic forms that are expected in certain situations are more set (Hill et al, 1986). This undoubtedly has an effect on L2 speakers and their ability to engage in native-like usage of the short and long forms.

Indeed, the literature indicates that non-native speakers of Japanese do struggle with the short and long form in Japanese. A 2001 study conducted by Cook, aptly titled "Why Can't Learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language Distinguish Polite from Impolite Speech Styles?" demonstrated that L2 speakers seemed to miss certain pragmatic features of short and long form usage in Japanese that would be obvious to native speakers. Specifically, as a midterm exam question, L2 speakers were asked to choose an appropriate candidate for a job based on recordings of the candidates' self-introductions. The students chose the candidate who fit the job description best despite the overuse of the short form. However, an interviewee who overused the short form would be highly disapproved of in an interview setting in Japan and would likely not be chosen because of excessive short form usage alone, which the non-native speakers seemed to be completely unaware of.

Time spent abroad has been suggested to be linked with over usage of the short form by L2 speakers as well. Students have been shown to use the long form predominately before study abroad in Japan, but after returning they tend to mix the two forms at random, as well as use the short form more than native speakers would in certain circumstances (Marriott, 1995; Iwasaki, 2008).

However, studies since then have given more credit to non-native speakers and suggest that their choices to switch styles are less random, and more of a deliberate choice. Iwasaki's (2008) study looked at five male students ranging from an intermediate to advanced level of Japanese, and compared their performance in oral proficiency exams both before and after studying abroad in Japan. The interviews were conducted by the speakers' former Japanese instructor. Qualitative analysis of these post study abroad interviews showed evidence that the non-native speakers were making active choices with regard to which speech styles to use at any given time. For example, one non-native speaker who employed the short form as their dominant speech style would switch to the long form when asking the interviewer questions, which seemed to indicate his understanding of the long form being used to show deference to another person. Another student who chose the long form as their dominant speech style was found to switch to the short form in order to introduce background information subordinate to the main idea. This aligned with Maynard's (1991) study on style shifting by native speakers.

Cook (2008) also conducted a study on novice to advanced level non-native speakers currently studying abroad and living with homestay families. As it was found that the predominant speech style amongst the families was the short form, her focus was on style shifting from the short form to the long form. She found that the long form was used by the Japanese families in (1) set formulas; (2) the display of various social identities linked to the

responsibility or authority of the parent(s); and (3) reported speech. Her qualitative analysis found that while there were differences in ability among the non-native speakers, the more advanced learners of Japanese were able to switch to the long form in the same manner as native speakers.

It has also been recognized that L2 speakers may actively choose to speak in a way which might not be like a native speaker due to influence from the politeness ideologies in their native languages. A study by Brown (2010b) on L2 speakers of Korean with Western[5] backgrounds and their choices to use certain politeness markers highlighted the importance of acknowledging that the acquisition of politeness strategies by L2 learners is fundamentally different than that of L1 acquisition. Brown states that L2 speakers already have a fully developed understanding of what it means to be polite in their native language, and often it is difficult to separate this from what it means to be polite according to the norms of the target language. In fact, even with the knowledge of the difference in politeness norms, they may actively choose to go against the norms found in their L2 in favor of the politeness norms of their L1. In one example from Brown's study, an L2 speaker was in conversation with a native speaker of Korean. Early on in the conversation the participants exchanged their age, which Brown states is often a strategy on the part of native speakers to determine the age rank of the speakers, and this in turn dictates what forms are to be used. It was revealed that the L2 speaker was two years younger than the native speaker

[5] Brown clarifies his usage of Western to indicate those who were educated and socialized in European, American, and Australasian countries.

and, according to Korean politeness norms, this would dictate that the L2 speaker should make use of Korean addressee honorifics. Instead, the L2 speaker chose not to employ these forms. The reason for this was discovered in reflective interviews held after the recording took place. The L2 speaker admitted that they felt two years was not enough of an age difference to warrant usage of referent honorifics. Indeed, a two year age difference in the eyes of "Western" politeness ideologies would not warrant any special effort to employ specific politeness strategies, but in fact it would in native Korean speech (Hijirida and Sohn, 1986). This, among other examples from Brown's study, shows the impact politeness ideologies from non-native speakers' L1 can have on their usage of the L2.

This section has highlighted studies on politeness and style shifting focused on non-native speakers. Generally, in the Japanese as a foreign language classroom, learners of Japanese are taught the very basics of politeness and how to use the long and short forms. They are taught the definitions of normative politeness as described by Usami, which basically dictates that the short form is to be used with close friends and acquaintances, and the long form is used in situations where you must be polite, such as with people you don't know and those of a higher age and rank. Style shifting is left out of the curriculum completely, and learners must pick up on these skills from exposure to native speaker usage of the language. Previous studies have shown non-native speakers overusing the short form (particularly after extended periods abroad), or mixing the forms

without reason. However, more recent research has shown that non-native speakers make active choices on which forms to use, which can be similar to native speakers. Or their choices on style usage may align with the politeness norms of their L1. These studies on non-native speakers of Japanese and how they use short and long forms in their speech have been few and far between and tend to be limited to conversations or interviews between non-native speakers and those with whom they are closely acquainted, which brings us to the present study.

1.5 The present study

Previous research focusing on style shifting by non-native speakers (Marriot, 1995; Iwasaki, 2008; Cook, 2008) often have looked at style shifting in interviews between non-native speakers and native speakers with whom they are closely acquainted (for example, their instructors/former instructors, or in the case of Cook's study, non-native speakers and their homestay families). To my knowledge there have not been any comprehensive studies which look at style shifting in conversations between unacquainted native and non-native speakers, with the exception of Isaka's study, outlined earlier. However, though it used the same database as the present study, it did not take into consideration style shifting by the non-native speakers, and it also only looked at style shifting from the long to short form.

Non-native speakers' ability to incorporate factors of language use into their speech that are not explicitly taught in the classroom has been documented in the past (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2006; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2003, 2004). The aim of this particular study is to examine the dynamics of politeness and style shifting in native/non-native conversations, with a larger focus on non-native speakers. In particular, it looks to determine the ratio of short to long form usage by both speakers when placed in conversation with each other, which form surfaces as being dominant, and to what extent. It also looks to analyze why certain forms are chosen over others, if non-native speakers have a sensitivity to which forms should be used, and if they engage in style shifting. If they do, it aims to determine how it functions given the context in which it occurs.

2. Methodology

In order to determine the short/long form usage across conversations, I adopted a strategy similar to that developed by Usami (2006), which was described in section 1.2. According Usami, one can classify certain parts of Japanese speech (such as predicates, sentence final particles, etc.) as being polite, non-polite, or non-marked. Then, across a segment of discourse, you can count the number of markers that fit into each category, determining the ratio of form use and the dominant speech styles, and as a result, use of the non-dominant speech style is considered marked. For the purpose of this study, I wanted to look at predicate verb usage. Modifying Usami's

methodology, rather than using the terms polite and non-polite I classified sentence final verbs as being either long or short, and decided to leave out utterances that were unmarked from consideration (as my main concern was the usage of short and long forms specifically). From this, the dominant speech styles and the ratio of short to long form use was calculated, and if the short form was dominant, usage of the long form would be considered marked. As Usami mentions, you must look at these instances at a discourse level to determine their function. So for the qualitative portion, I looked at the instances that were considered marked on a discourse level (i.e. if the short form was dominant, I looked at instances of long form use). The corpus used, how the data was selected, and how instances of short/long form use were coded is discussed in the following sections.

2.1 The Corpus

The present study analyzes a corpus of conversational data which was collected at a Canadian university in 2006. The corpus in its entirety consists of 44 conversations between two participants, and each conversation is between 30 and 40 minutes long. 12 of the 44 conversations are between two native speakers of Japanese and the remaining 32 conversations are between a native speaker of Japanese and a non-native speaker of Japanese. Both men and women participate in the corpus, and all are around the same age (19-22). None of the participants have been acquainted prior to the recording taking place and the setting is identical for

all 44 conversations. Each pair of speakers sat across from each other at a table in a quiet room located on the campus of the University the speakers attended. Speakers were left alone for the duration of the recording except for when they were brought tea and snacks within the first half of the conversation.

Four of the native speakers participated in both native/native conversations and native/non-native conversations, and are referred to as the interviewers. However, they were not given any direction on what the topic of conversation should be and as a result it varies from conversation to conversation. The only request made to the interviewers was that they facilitate conversation with the non-native speakers to avoid long pauses without speech being produced.

The non-native speakers had studied Japanese for approximately two years at the time of recording and their native languages varied. The native speakers of Japanese, including three of the four interviewers, were all from Japan and their stay in Canada was less than six months at the time of recording. The forth interviewer whose stay in Canada was greater than six months only participated in the first six conversations out of the total 44 included in the corpus, and these six conversations were excluded from consideration in the present study. For the most part, the interviews were conducted in Standard Japanese.

2.2 Data Selection

In order to exclude the possibility of L1 variety in the non-native speakers, only conversations with non-native speakers who had English as their native language were observed. This consisted of 12 conversations in Standard Japanese between native and non-native speakers in which there were three different interviewers.

While for the most part the native/native conversations were conducted in Standard Japanese, there were some conversations where different dialects surfaced, and these particular conversations were labeled as being in different dialects at the time the corpus was developed. As some dialects appear to organize grammatical forms differently, only conversations conducted mostly or all in Standard Japanese were selected. This resulted in a total of six conversations between native speakers, again in which there were three different interviewers (the same 3 interviewers who participated in the native/ non-native conversations).

2.3 Procedure

It should be first noted that all of the names of the participants have been changed. For the quantitative portion of the study the first five minutes of each conversation was ignored and the following 30 minutes from each conversation were analyzed. The reasoning behind omitting the first five minutes was that I wanted to determine the overall dominant speech style during the conversation. Often speakers when they first meet will start off

using the long form for a while, and once they become more relaxed, they will switch to the short form (Ikuta, 1983). Given this fact, it seemed logical that it may take some time for the speakers to settle on a dominant style, and as a result I chose to ignore the first five minutes of the conversation for the quantitative analysis portion of this study.

As was mentioned earlier, the quantitative methodology for this portion of the study was loosely based off Usami's (2006) method for determining discourse politeness defaults and dominant speech styles described in section 1. 2. Each utterance that ended in a verb was noted as being either in the short or long form and recorded. The following is an example from the data showing an exchange containing both long and short forms.

(18)

1 Kristy: juu nana sai
'17 years old'

2 Shiori: atashi daijobu da to omoimasu ka? \ ***long***
'Do you think I'm ok?'

3 Kirsty: <@ hai @>
'yes'

4 Shiori: <@ daijobu da to omou=? @> ***short***
'Do you think I'm ok?'

5 [honto?] /
'really?'

6 Kirsty: [@]

7 Shiori: atashi demo jissai ni juu ni
'But I'm actually 22'

8 Kristy: @

9 Shiori: ni juu ni ssai
'22 years old'

10 Kristy: aaah
'Ooh'

11 Shiori: chotto hazukashii desu
'It's a little embarrassing'

In this example, the long form was employed once by the native speaker, Shiori, in line 2, and the short form was also employed by her in line 4. After the total number of instances of long form and short form usage over the conversation were calculated they were totaled to determine the ratio of long to short form use for each conversation.

It should be noted here that only verb endings in the sentence final position were analyzed as it has been suggested that the short form of the verb occurring in an embedded clause or before certain conjunctions does not necessarily have any impolite connotations; rather the short form is required for grammatical reasons and therefore usage of the long form may not be appropriate (Makino, 1983). As a result, it would not be indicative of marked usage of the short form in an interaction where the dominant speech style is the long form. Consider the following example from the data.

(19)
Kristy: kanada ni itta tok- **itta** koto ga *arimasu* ka?
'Have you ever been to Canada?'

The short form of the verb *iku* 'to go' in the past tense *itta* 'went' (in bold font) occurs here before *koto* 'thing' as an embedded clause. However, the verb at the end, *arimasu* 'exist' is conjugated into the long form. In this case, the instance of the long form, *arimasu* 'exist' would be counted, but the instance of the short form *itta* 'went' would not.

In addition to this, the copula endings *da* and *desu* are often taken into account in studies pertaining to style shifting. These function in the same way as the short and long form of verbs respectively with one important distinction. Native speakers often omit *da* in spoken discourse, and in the case of native speakers this would be considered marked in a stretch of discourse predominantly the long form. While the copula markers *da* (or lack thereof) and *desu* without a doubt are incorporated when Japanese native speakers engage in style shifting, these markers were purposely excluded from consideration in this study out of concern with how it would affect the analysis of the utterances by the non-native speakers. Non-native speakers have a tendency to sometimes speak in single word utterances, or occasionally let their phrases drift off without actually finishing them. As a result, determining whether or not such instances were a conscious choice to omit *desu* by the non-native speakers is extremely difficult. Consider the following example from the data.

(20)

1 Shiori: kurisuti san wa doko ni sunde imasu ka?
'Where do you live, Kristy?'

2 Kristy: ima,
'now'

3 aah,
'umm'

4 totemo chikaku,
'very close'

5 Shiori: aah chikai
'oh, close'

6 Kristy: chikai
'close'

In line 4, Kristy uses the word *chikaku* 'close' in its adverbial form, which could be have been followed by a verb in either short or long form, or followed with *desu,* in addition to being left without a marker as Kristy does. However, she seems to drift off in line 4, which could suggest that she isn't sure how she should end the phrase. It's possible she was thinking of an appropriate predicate ending to follow. However, she doesn't complete her utterance, and this prompts Shiori to reply with *chikai* 'close' in its adjectival form, likely to confirm Kristy's intended meaning. It's not clear if Kristy purposely meant to leave off a verb ending, *desu* or *da,* or if she simply was confused about which form to use. While instances such as these are not restricted to non-native speakers (native speakers are subject to this as well)

it was expected that this would happen more often with the non-native speakers given their proficiency level. As a result it was decided that *da* and *desu* would be excluded from consideration in the present study.

Previous studies have shown that time spent abroad can influence non-native speakers' usage of the short form. I wanted to see if exposure to Japanese had any effect on the non-native speakers' usage of the short form in this study. Information on all participants' age and gender had been gathered at the time the recordings were made, as well as information on the non-native speakers' current exposure to various sources of Japanese in hours per week. The information on time spent per week doing various activities was grouped into categories based on their function, such as reading and writing activities and speaking and listening activities, and these variables were tested to see if they had any correlation with the amount of short form usage by the non-native speakers.

While the quantitative portion provides an general overview of what forms were used by the speakers, qualitative analysis is necessary to obtain more detailed information on how the forms are being used. For this portion of the study three conversations between native and non-native speakers were chosen randomly, controlling for one conversation per interviewer. In order to determine how the dominant speech style was negotiated between the participants, or if it was due to accommodation from either the native or non-native speakers, it was expected that the first five minutes of the conversation would give some insight. So for this portion of the study, the

entire conversation was examined. As mentioned earlier, instances of style shifting were analyzed according to the dominant speech style during the segment in which it occurred. For example, if the long form was the dominant speech style of a speaker, instances of short form usage were analyzed as being a style shift from the long to short form, and vice versa.

3. Quantitative analysis

3.1 Frequency of forms and noticeable patterns in the native/native dyads

The main focus of this study was short and long form usage, dominant speech styles, and instances of style shifting in native/non-native conversation, in particular by the non-native speakers. In order to have a basis for comparison on which forms would be dominant for native speakers in this type of setting, quantitative analysis was performed on six conversations between native speakers from the corpus. Table 5 shows the breakdown of speech forms used by the native speakers.

Yuko, Risa, and Shiori were the three interviewers who also participated in conversations with non-native speakers within the same corpus. As is shown, there seems to be a dominant speech style for each speaker, albeit some more strongly than others, and the dominant speech style was the same for both speakers in 5 out of 6 of the conversations.

Table 5 Occurrences of long and short form usage in native/native dyads

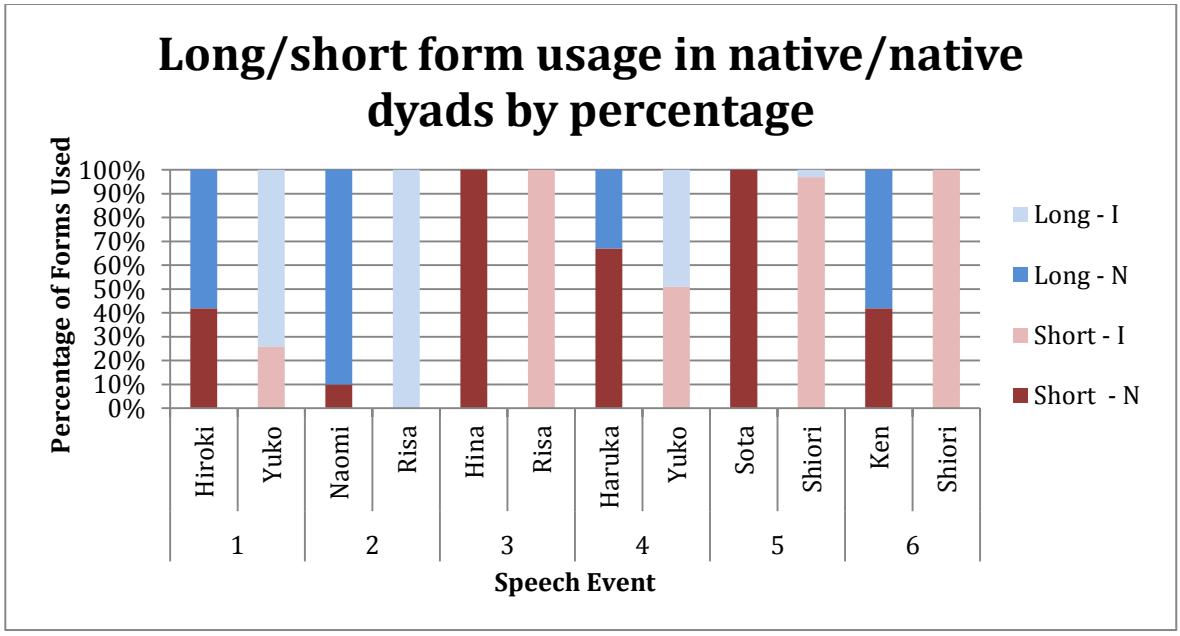
Conversation	Speaker	Age	Gender	Long	Short	Dominant Speech Style
1	Hiroki	19	M	11	8	Long
	Yuko	21	F	20	7	Long
2	Naomi	22	F	64	7	Long
	Risa	20	F	31	0	Long
3	Hina	19	F	0	82	Short
	Risa	20	F	0	86	Short
4	Haruka	21	F	9	18	Short
	Yuko	21	F	23	24	Short
5	Sota	21	M	0	45	Short
	Shiori	21	F	1	37	Short
6	Ken	20	M	21	15	Long
	Shiori	21	F	0	116	Short

For example, in conversation 3, Hina and Risa employed entirely short forms, while in conversation 1, Hiroki and Yuko used mostly long forms. As the number of instances likely varies as a result of how much speech was produced by each speaker, it is more useful to look at the proportion of each form used relative to the total number of instances of both the long and short form observed. Table 6 shows the proportion of forms used by each speaker, and Fig. 1 shows the proportions displayed graphically, where the short and long forms used by the interviewers are displayed in light red and light blue respectively, and those used by the native speaker participants are displayed in dark red and dark blue.

Table 6 Ratio of long and short form usage in the native/native dyads

Conversation	Speaker	Age	Gender	Long	Short	Dominant Speech Style
1	Hiroki	19	M	0.58	0.42	Long
	Yuko	21	F	0.74	0.26	Long
2	Naomi	22	F	0.90	0.10	Long
	Risa	20	F	1.00	0.00	Long
3	Hina	19	F	0.00	1.00	Short
	Risa	20	F	0.00	1.00	Short
4	Haruka	21	F	0.33	0.67	Short
	Yuko	21	F	0.49	0.51	Short
5	Sota	21	M	0.00	1.00	Short
	Shiori	21	F	0.03	0.97	Short
6	Ken	20	M	0.58	0.42	Long
	Shiori	21	F	0.00	1.00	Short

Fig. 1



It is easy to see the proportion of short and long form usage by each speaker in these representations. From this we can see that in 5 out of 6 of the conversations the speakers appear to negotiate a common dominant speech style. In conversations where there wasn't a strong tendency toward either

mostly short form usage or mostly long form usage, the amount of style shifting engaged in by any two speakers in a given conversation seemed to be fairly close. For example, in conversation 4, Haruka used 67% short forms, and Yuko used short forms 51% of the time. In conversation 1, Hiroki used short forms 42% of the time, and Yuko used short forms 26% of the time.

So why is there variation between speakers on the choice of a dominant speech style? Of course individual preference and intuition play a role in what forms native speakers choose to use, but as was determined by Hill et al. (1986), when Japanese speakers are presented with social settings involved situations with people of varying rank, age, etc., Japanese speakers tend to have an agreed standard on which linguistic forms are appropriate. Ide (1982) outlines "ground rules" that must be considered when it comes to choosing socially appropriate linguistic forms. They are as follows: "Be polite to a person of a higher social position," “Be polite to a person with power,” and "Be polite to an older person." Hijirida & Sohn (1986) also point out that Japanese and Korean speakers have a greater sensitivity to age, and even an age gap as small as two years can instigate certain politeness markers that wouldn't be found in speech between those of the same age.

It is likely a combination of factors that contributed to the variation of dominant speech styles across the conversations, and as a result an analysis of each conversation individually at the discourse level would be necessary to determine the most likely reasons. Individual preference can also not be ruled out, which might contribute to the one exception, conversation 6,

where Shiori used a significantly larger proportion of the short form than her partner. Shiori stood out as a short form dominant speaker throughout the entire data set used for this study, which suggests she prefers the short form over the long form.

So while 6 conversations are clearly not enough to come to definite conclusions, it is clear to see that style shifting is employed by the majority of native speakers, whether it is from the long form to the short, or vice versa. Native speakers also seem to settle on a common dominant speech style, although this varies from conversation to conversation. In addition to the tendency toward a shared dominant speech style, the proportion of short to long form usage tends to align between speakers who are in conversation with each other as well.

3.2 Frequency of forms and noticeable patterns in the native/non-native dyads

Now that the overall short/long form usage for the native speakers has been determined, we will now look at the overall frequencies found in the native/non-native speakers and see how it compares to the established native/native baseline. Table 7 outlines the results obtained from a quantitative analysis of the types of forms used by both native and non-native speakers in their conversations with each other.

Table 7 Occurrences of long and short form usage in native/non-native dyads

Conversation	Speaker	N/NN	Age	Gender	Long	Short	Dominant Speech Style
1	Mike	NN	21	M	11	54	Short
	Yuko	N	21	F	26	21	Long
2	Tessa	NN	22	F	8	50	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	2	63	Short
3	Amy	NN	19	F	37	12	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	55	6	Long
4	Arty	NN	21	M	36	8	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	65	16	Long
5	Kristy	NN	19	F	4	42	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	14	53	Short
6	Jason	NN	22	M	23	13	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	44	13	Long
7	Melissa	NN	20	F	18	34	Short
	Yuko	N	21	F	31	41	Short
8	Ernest	NN	19	M	28	11	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	27	14	Long
9	Parker	NN	20	M	1	53	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	1	96	Short
10	Jennifer	NN	21	F	27	18	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	15	14	Long
11	Kris	NN	21	M	68	4	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	36	6	Long
12	Vivian	NN	20	F	30	25	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	31	27	Long

As was the case in the native/native dyads, the count is dependent on the amount spoken by each speaker. Table 8 shows the breakdown of each form as a proportion of the total number of forms used in table form, and this information is represented graphically in Fig. 2.

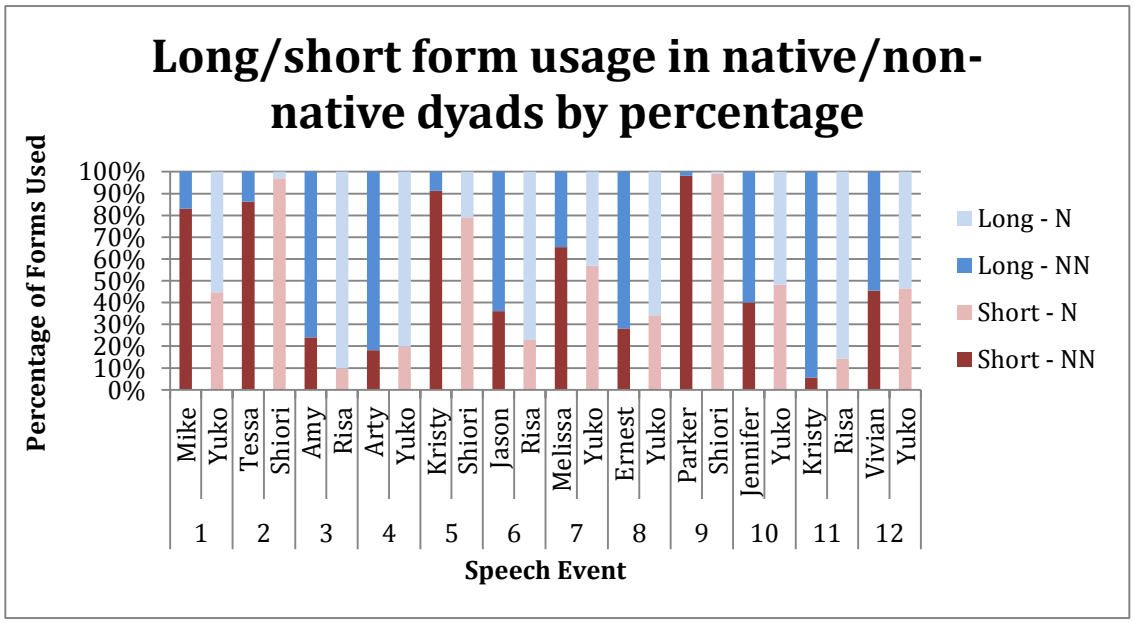
From these representations there are a few interesting things to note. One is that the dominant speech level of each conversation differs from

conversation to conversation, as was the case with native speakers. It also appears that there is a correlation between the proportion of forms used by the native speakers and that of the non-native speakers in each conversational setting, which indicates that the speakers tend toward a similar ratio of short/long form usage when in conversation with each other. This was also the case with the native speakers.

Table 8 Ratio of long and short form usage for in native/non-native dyads

Conversation	Speaker	N/NN	Age	Gender	Long	Short	Dominant Speech Style
1	Mike	NN	21	M	0.17	0.83	Short
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.55	0.45	Long
2	Tessa	NN	22	F	0.14	0.86	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	0.03	0.97	Short
3	Amy	NN	19	F	0.76	0.24	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	0.90	0.10	Long
4	Arty	NN	21	M	0.82	0.18	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.80	0.20	Long
5	Kristy	NN	19	F	0.09	0.91	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	0.21	0.79	Short
6	Jason	NN	22	M	0.64	0.36	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	0.77	0.23	Long
7	Melissa	NN	20	F	0.35	0.65	Short
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.43	0.57	Short
8	Ernest	NN	19	M	0.72	0.28	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.66	0.34	Long
9	Parker	NN	20	M	0.02	0.98	Short
	Shiori	N	21	F	0.01	0.99	Short
10	Jennifer	NN	21	F	0.60	0.40	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.52	0.48	Long
11	Kris	NN	21	M	0.94	0.06	Long
	Risa	N	20	F	0.86	0.14	Long
12	Vivian	NN	20	F	0.55	0.45	Long
	Yuko	N	21	F	0.53	0.47	Long

Fig. 2

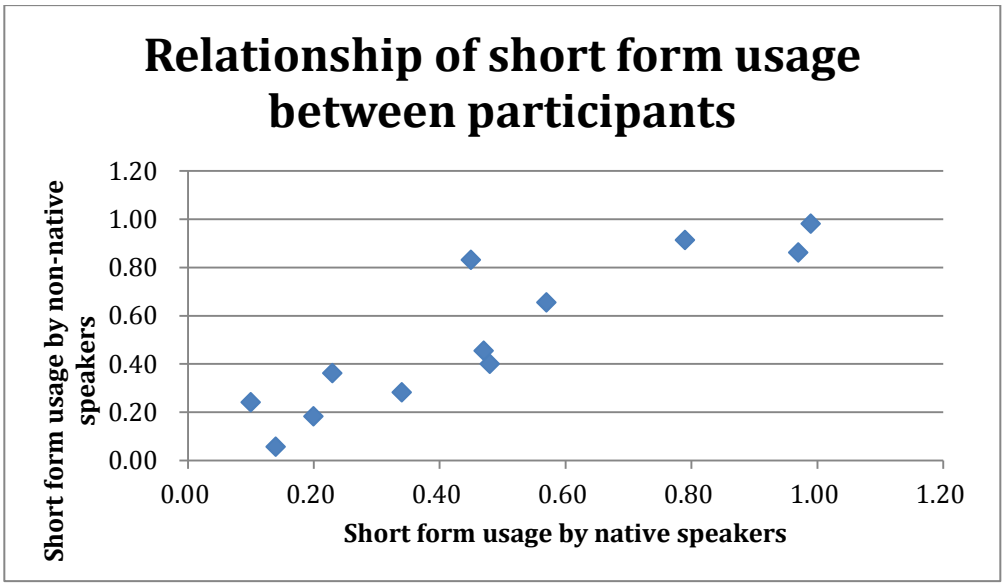


For example, in conversation 5, 90% of Kristy's verb endings were marked as being in the short form, and 79% of Shiori's verb endings were marked as being in the short form. In conversation 8, however, 28% of Ernest's verb endings were marked as being in the short form, and 34% of Yuko's verb endings were marked as being in the short form. This correlation was found in 11 out of 12 of the conversations. As a result the dominant speech style was the same for both speakers in all of the conversations except the first between Mike and Yuko, where Mike used a significantly greater proportion of short forms than Yuko.

In fact, the correlation coefficient between the ratio of short form usage by the native speakers and the non-native speakers is quiet high, at

0.9[6]. Fig. 3 shows a scatterplot of the ratio of short forms used by the native speakers against the non-native speakers.

Fig. 3



This could be a result of either the non-native speaker's ability to adapt their speech style in accordance with the native speaker's speech style. On the other hand, it could also be a result of the native speakers' adjusting their speech style in accordance with the forms used by the non-native speaker. Likely, it is a factor of both. Of course, the only method to attempt to explain this would be a closer analysis of every conversation, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a closer analysis of three conversations is

[6] The correlation coefficient is the same for the ratio of long form usage of the native speakers and that of the non-native speakers. This is because the ratio of long form usage + the ratio of short form usage = 1.

presented in following chapters and it gives some insight as to who may be accommodating to whom.

Studies on non-native speakers have suggested that extended time abroad with direct exposure to authentic Japanese can result in an over usage of the short form (Marriott, 1995; Iwasaki, 2008) and so it's possible that exposure to authentic Japanese through various sources, even while not actually living in Japan, could have an effect on the amount of short forms used by the non-native speakers in this study. Information on the non-native speaker's exposure to Japanese in hours per week was collected at the time the conversations were recorded, and is shown in Table 9 on the following page.

Rather than considering each column individually, activities that were related were grouped together as shown in Table 10. Activities related to listening and speaking, such as watching Japanese dramas or talking to a native speaker, were placed in the "Exposure to authentic listening materials and speaking practice" category. Similarly, the other activities were grouped into the remaining categories, "Exposure to authentic reading materials and writing practice," "Time spent doing course-related work outside of class (listening or speaking)" and " Time spent doing course related work outside of class (reading or writing)."

Table 9 Current language exposure in hours per week

Conversation	Participants	Talking to Native Speaker(s) in person	Talking to a native speaker(s) on the phone or internet	Emailing native speaker(s)	Chatting online with native speaker(s)	Corresponding with a Japanese pen pal the old fashioned way	Watching Japanese dramas, movies, anime, etc.	Listening to Japanese music	Listening to Japanese audio programs (online radio, etc.)	Reading Japanese comics	Reading Japanese books, news articles, or magazines	Playing Japanese games	Keeping a Japanese journal or blog	Doing course-related work outside of class? (listening or speaking)	Doing course related work outside of class (reading or writing)	Reading Japanese online in blogs, chat rooms or bulletin boards
1	**Mike**	7	2	2	4			2							10	
2	**Tessa**	1		0.5			5	10	2			4		7	5	
3	**Amy**	2		1			2	1								
4	**Arty**	1					2	5				2		3	3	1
5	**Kristy**	3			1			1	2					1	1	
6	**Jason**	0.5					1	1						1	1	
7	**Melissa**			1			1	3		1		1		1		
8	**Ernest**	1	1	0.5			0.75	2			1			1	0.5	
9	**Parker**	10	2	1	2		1	1		1	1	4		2	4	1
10	**Jennife**	2	1	1		1	1	1		4	1	3		2	1	
11	**Kris**	1	1	1										2	3	
12	**Vivian**	4		1		1	1	0.5	2	2	1		0.	3	10	3

Table 10 Current language exposure in hours per week grouped by type

Conversation	Participants	Exposure to authentic listening materials and speaking practice	Exposure to authentic reading materials and writing practice	Time spent doing course-related work outside of class (listening or speaking)	Time spent doing course related work outside of class (reading or writing)
1	**Mike**	11	6		10
2	**Tessa**	18	0.5	7	5
3	**Amy**	9	1		
4	**Arty**	8	1	3	3
5	**Kristy**	8	1	1	1
6	**Jason**	2.5	0	1	1
7	**Melissa**	4	2	1	
8	**Ernest**	5.75	1.5	1	0.5
9	**Parker**	14	6	2	4
10	**Jennifer**	9	7	2	1
11	**Kris**	5	1	2	3
12	**Vivian**	7.5	8.5	3	10

In order to see if an increased exposure to various types of Japanese could be associated with the amount of short form usage by the non-native speakers, the correlation coefficient was determined for the ratio of short forms used by the non-native speakers and each of the variables in Table 10. The results are shown in Table 11.

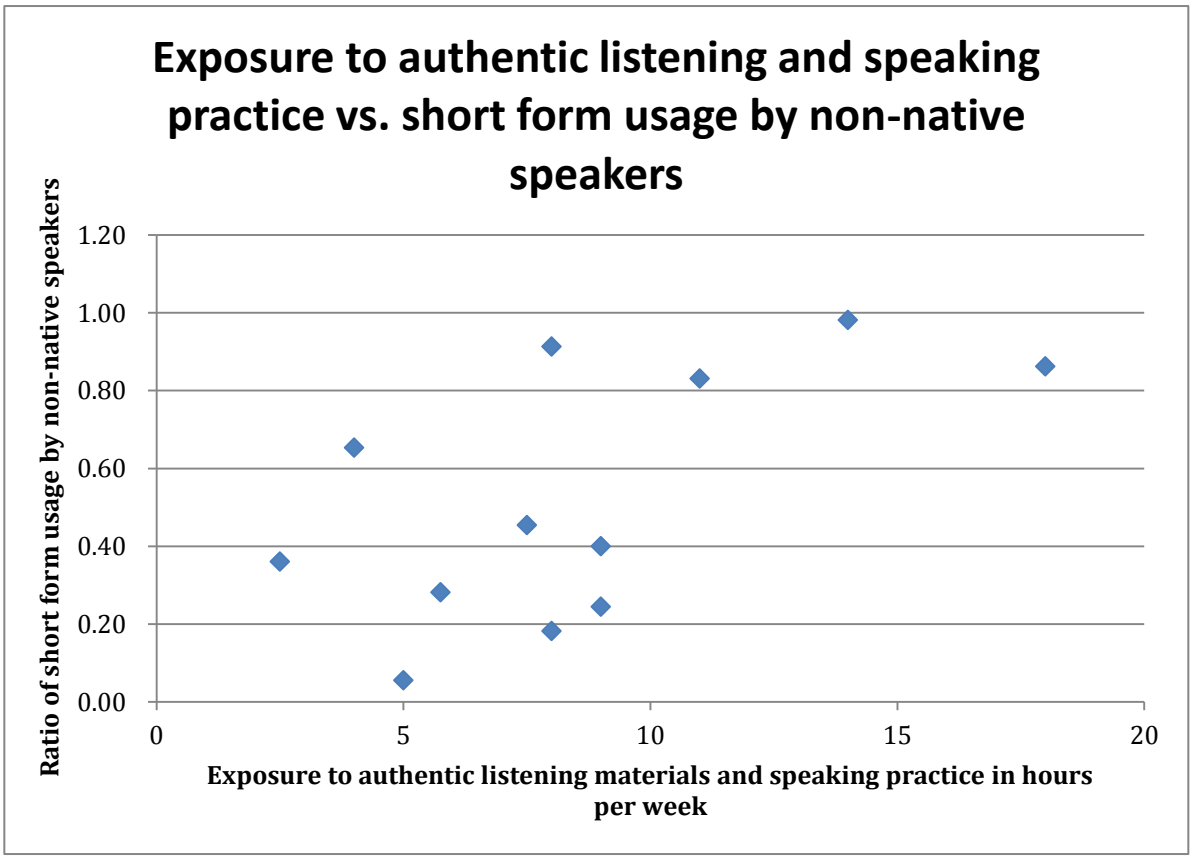
Table 11 Correlation coefficients between exposure to Japanese and short form usage

Exposure to authentic listening materials and speaking practice	Exposure to authentic reading materials and writing practice	Time spent doing course-related work outside of class? (listening or speaking)	Time spent doing course related work outside of class (reading or writing)
0.60	0.26	0.23	0.29

Interestingly, the only variable which seemed to have any possible correlation with the ratio of short form usage was the exposure to authentic listening materials and speaking practice.

In order to visually represent this relationship, the two variables were plotted in Fig. 4. As is clear, the more exposure to authentic listening materials and speaking practice, the higher the ratio of short forms used by the non-native speakers in this particular study.

Fig. 4



So from the quantitative analysis, we have found that the native and non-native speakers tend towards a shared dominant speech style. In addition to this, the ratio of form usage by each speaker tends to be similar as well. Both of these results parallel the quantitative analysis of the native speaker conversations. There is also evidence that an increased exposure to authentic Japanese by listening to Japanese media, or practicing speaking with native speakers, may increase short form usage by the non-native speakers. However, as this is quantitative analysis, one must not jump to

conclusions. A careful analysis of the data at a discourse level is necessary, which leads us to the next chapter.

4. Qualitative analysis

To further understand the nature of style shifting and how the forms were used by each of the speakers an analysis at the discourse level is in order. Three conversations were chosen at random as case studies from the 12 conversations used for the quantitative analysis portion, and as each native speaker appeared to have unique speech patterns one conversation was chosen per native speaker interviewer. As an exception, conversation 9 was excluded from consideration as it was conducted almost exclusively in the short form and thus would not be fruitful in terms of analyzing speech style shifts.

For the qualitative analysis, the entire conversations were analyzed. As each non-native speaker has a unique background which may contribute to their speech patterns a brief summary on the time they have spent in Japan and their current exposure to Japanese is given as an introduction to each case study.

4.1 Shiori and Kristy

4.1.1 Background

The first case study was conversation 5, between Shiori and Kristy. Kristy is a 19 year old woman which makes her 2 years younger than her 21 year old

native counterpart Shiori. Her time spent in Japan has been limited to a 2 week long school trip in 2003, and a 2 week sister town exchange in 2004. Before traveling to Japan, she did not have any exposure to Japanese in the form of the activities listed in table 9, but she was enrolled in high school Japanese courses before her trip. Currently she spends 3 hours per week speaking with native speakers of Japanese (mostly with a native speaker she is in a language exchange with), 1 hour per week chatting online with native speakers, and 2 hours per week listing to Japanese podcasts. Outside of class she spends 1 hour per week studying reading and writing related course work, and another hour studying listening and speaking related course work.

The overall dominant speech style for Kristy and Shiori's conversation was the short form. However, after closer analysis, it was clear that both speakers actually began their conversation in the long form. Both used the long form significantly more in the first 10 minutes of the conversation than in the rest of the conversation. Fig. 5 displays the breakdown of forms used over the conversation in 5 minute intervals to give a visual representation of how the conversation progressed. In this graph the red bars represent the short form usage, and the blue bars represent the long form usage.

Fig. 5 Number of occurrences of the short and long form in 5 minute intervals in conversation 5

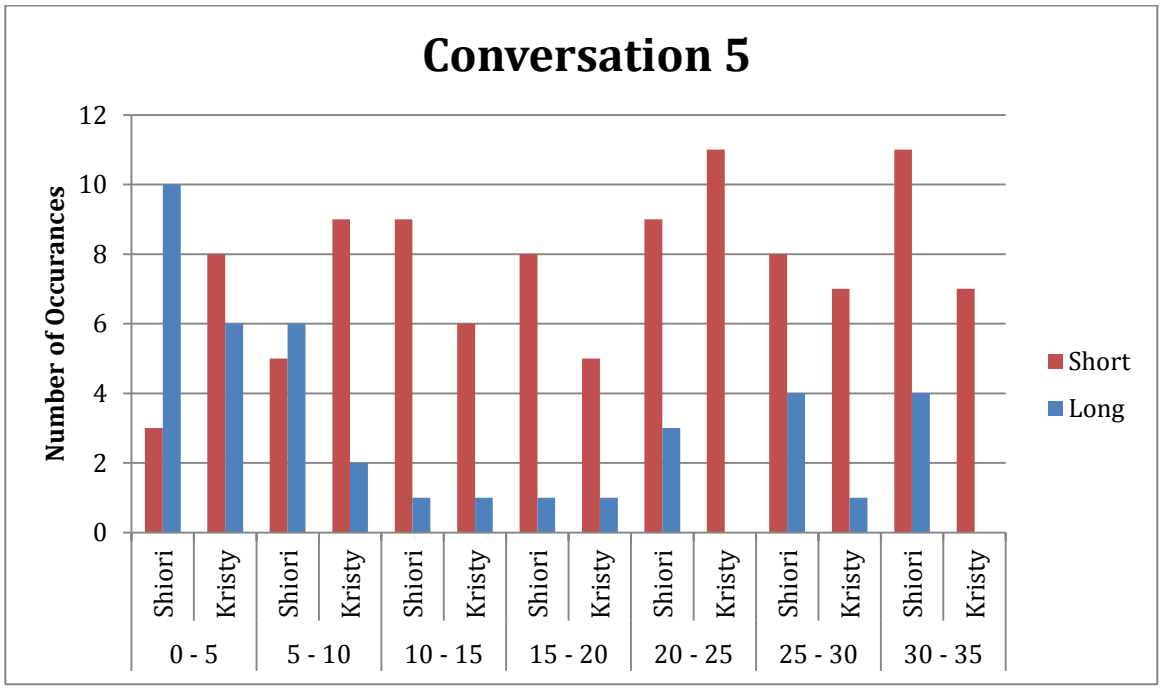
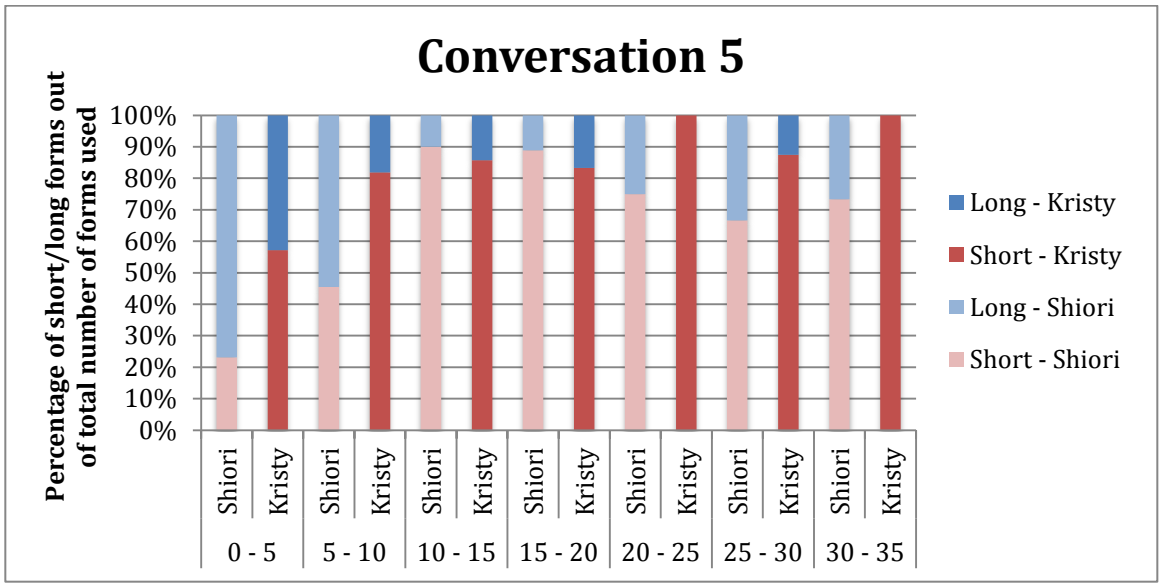


Fig. 6 Ratio of short/long form usage in 5 minute intervals in conversation 5



The number of occurrences varies according to the amount of speech produced by each speaker, so percentages of form usage are a better representation. This is shown in Fig. 6, where each bar is divided into the percentage of each form used by each speaker in 5 minute segments. The progression of the dominant speech style from the long to short form is clear to see in the graphical representation. Evidence as to how the short form became the dominant speech style is presented in the next section.

4.1.2 Analysis

In the case of Shiori and Kristy, it was shown in the quantitative analysis portion of this thesis that their dominant speech style was the short form for the majority of the conversation. However, the previous section showed that the long form was dominant in the beginning of the conversation. This seems to suggest that at some point during the conversation one, or both, of the speakers switched to a predominant usage of the short form, and as a result changed the dominant speech style to the short form. What follows is a number of examples to demonstrate how this unfolded in Shiori's and Kristy's conversation.

As was already mentioned, in the first few minutes most exchanges are conducted using the long form. The following example is an exchange between Kristy and Shiori that occurred approximately 3 minutes into the

conversation. In this example Kristy is asking Shiori if she has ever been to Canada before her current stay studying at the university.

(21)

1 Kristy: kanada ni itta to-
'went to Canada...'

2 Shiori: un
'uh huh'

3 Kristy: itta koto ga arimasu ka? ***long***
'...have you ever went?'

4 <N1 be-[bef-] N1>

5 Shiori: <N1 [bef]ore? N1>

6 un arimasu. ***long***
'yes, I have'

In this example, Kristy uses the long form when asking the question of Shiori in line 3. Shiori also responds to Kristy using the long form. This example exemplifies a number of exchanges in the first 5 minutes of the event in which Shiori and Kristy address each other using the long form.

The following segment directly follows exchange 21. Here the short form is used by Shiori for the first time in the conversation, while she describes the different times she has visited Canada in the past.

(22)

6 un arimasu. ***long***
'yes, I have'

7 Shiori: koukou no toki ni hajimete edomonton,
'In high school I came to Edmonton for the first time'

8 Kristy: aah

9 Shiori: ni- nishuukan tomatte,
'and stayed for two weeks'

10 de daigaku ichi nen sei no toki ni mata
'and then when I was a first-year in university I came again'

11 edomonton ni,
'to Edmonton'

12 Kristy: aah sokka
'oh, I see'

13 Shiori: ni shuukan kite,
'stayed for 2 weeks'

14 → sou de ima koko de benkyou shiteru. ***short***
'yeah, and now I am studying here'

15 Kristy: aah ok
'aaa, ok'

16 Shiori: hajime no koukou no toki ni kita toki wa koukan ryuugakusei,
'the first time I came here in high school I was an exchange student'

17 niishuukan dake,
'for only two weeks'

It is interesting to note that at this point the dominant speech style is still the long form during this segment of conversation. It's possible to use previous analyses on style shifting from the long to short form on Shiori's usage of the short form here. In line 14, Shiori is in the midst of a longer dialog describing her previous experiences in Canada. This is indicated by her continuation of the dialog in line 16. This seems to fit the type of style shift described by Maynard (1991), when a speaker's addressee awareness is low and they embark on a narrative that is embedded in the current dialog. The example from Maynard's study as described earlier is repeated here for the sake of convenience.

(23)

1 A: Uchi no chichioya soo da yo. ***short***
'My dad is like that, you know.'

2 Soide norikomu to nee,
'When he gets on (the train),'

3 kutsu o nuide nee,
'he takes off his shoes.'

4 biiru o katte nomi-hajimeru. ***short***
'he buys beer and begins to drink.'

5 Shinbunshi shiku no. ***short***
'He spreads the newspaper.'

In this case the speaker from Maynard's study uses the short form when describing their father in the context of a narrative; a different time and place to the current setting. This switch is similar to Shiori's switch in line 14 of

example 22 when she is describing her previous experiences travelling to Canada.

Of course, Shiori's statement in line 14 is actually describing her present situation. But I argue that while this statement is semantically referring to the present moment, this is part of an ongoing narrative found in lines 7 to 17 of example 22 that continues on into example 24 (found below), and her point of view during this narrative represents a viewpoint separate from her being a participant in the current conversation.

The conversation between Kristy and Shiori in examples 21 and 22 continues as follows:

(24)

16 Shiori: hajime no koukou no toki ni kita toki wa koukan ryuugakusei,
'the first time I came here in high school I was an exchange student'

17 niishuukan dake,
'for only two weeks'

18 de,
'and'

19 daigaku ichinensei no toki ni hosuto family ni
'when I was a first year university student I went to my host family'

20 ai ni hitori kojintekini,
'to visit, privately'

21 → kojinteki wakaru? ***short***
'do you understand kojinteki*'*

22 Kristy: → aa wakaranai ***short***
'I don't understand'

23 Shiori: <N1 privately N1>

24 Kristy: <N1 aaah ok N1>

In line 21, Shiori is asking Kristy if she understands the word she just used. While this example is a direct question to Kristy, it is also an aside from the current topic. In this instance, the usage of the short form marks the exchange as an embedded topic, or an aside. Instances of style shifting similar to this were noted by Ikuta (1983) as a method of discourse cohesion. Consider the following example from Ikuta's study.

(25)

1. S: Soo desyoo ka. ***long***
' I wonder if that's really so.'

2. Da tte tenisu mo sugoi desyoo? ***long***
'I mean, tennis is also way up there, isn't it?'

3. K: Ie, hyaku-man to mo, nihyaku-man to mo, tenisu zinkoo wa huete ori masu keredomo, ***long***
'No, the number of tennis players may have increased to even a million, or two, but.'

doo site mo toppu ga dame na n desu. ***long***
'the top people are still no good.'

5. Mukasi no hoo ga zyoozu datta desu ne. ***long***
'It was better ten or twenty years ago - right? '

6. → Shimizu-san, kumagai-safi nante, dehai ni hatu sanka de ikinari kessyoo made itta. ***short***

'Simizu and Kumagai, for example, made the final round at their very first participation in the Davis Cup'

7. → Sore-igo sonna seeseki ageta hito wa hitori mo inai. ***short***

'Since then, no one's obtained results like that.'

In this case, the utterances in 6 and 7 indicate a subordinate portion of the discourse that is also dependent on the previous utterances. This is similar to Shiori and Kristy, as Shiori's question is subordinate to the main topic of conversation, but also dependent on previous utterances.

As for Kristy's response to Shiori in the short form, this could be an accommodation to Shiori asking the question in the short form in the first place, or a result of the phrase *wakaranai* 'I don't understand' being a fixed expression, which is discussed in more detail later on in this paper.

What the previous examples seem to show is that if the conversation had continued from this point onward with the long form as the dominant speech style, these instances of short form usage would not seem out of place, as they can be explained by previous studies examining style shifting from the long form to the short form.

However, following the exchange in the previous examples Kristy switches to almost entirely short form usage of verbs for the remainder of the conversation. This is not the case for Shiori, and what results is a number of exchanges where Kristy asks a question of Shiori in the short form, yet Shiori responds using the long form. The next example displays this type of exchange. Incidentally, Kristy and Shiori's conversation took place on

October 30th, the day before Halloween, and in the following example Kristy is asking Shiori what her plans are.

(26)

1 Kristy: ashita halloween dakara nani shiteru no? ***short***
'Tomorrow is Halloween, so what are you doing?'

2 Shiori: ashita wa trick or treat ikimasu. ***long***
'I'm going Trick-or-Treating'

In line 1, Kristy asks Shiori what she is doing on Halloween and uses the short form. Shiori replies that she is going trick or treating, but instead chooses to use the long form. This is one example among many of Kristy asking a question of Shiori in the short form, and Shiori replying in the long form.

Eventually though, both speakers settle on the short form as the dominant speech style, although it does appear that Kristy's transition is more abrupt than Shiori's, who chooses to continue using the long form for a greater duration. So while it was Shiori that was the first of the two to use the short form, it is likely that her initial usage of the short form was evidence of style shifting motivated by reasons suggested in earlier studies. It also seems to be the case that it is Shiori who accommodates to Kristy's usage of the short form over the course of the conversation as a whole. Of course Shiori's willingness to engage in style shifting in the first place is likely a factor in Kristy's decision to switch to the usage of the short form as well.

This does not seem to be the case for all native speakers, as shown in a following case study.

The dominant speech style appears to have fully transitioned to the short form around 10 minutes into the conversation, and from that point onward there are a select number of speech style shifts to the long form. While the focus of this paper is style shifting by non-native speakers, Shiori's usage of style shifting from the short to the long form will be discussed in more depth because it has not been touched on in previous studies in a setting such as this.

Shiori uses the long form in ways typical of native speakers in native/native conversation, such as an addressee honorific, in direct questions to Kristy, mitigating Face Threatening Acts, and as a way to be playful.

One of Shiori's style shifts to the long form as a question directed at Kristy is shown in example 27.

(27)

1 Shiori: eiga wa yoku mimasu ka? ***long***
'Do you watch movies a lot?'

2 Kristy: hai yoku mimasu ***long***
'Yes, I do'

In line 1, Shiori is asking a question directly to Kristy. Shiori's use of the long form in this way seems to fit the standard definition of the long form being an addressee honorific. When asking Kristy a question, Kristy becomes the

direct focus of the utterance, and by using the long form Shiori is being respectful of Kristy. It also has been noted that usage of the long form can be a method for speakers to mitigate face threatening acts (Geyer, 2008). Asking a direct question of Kristy is a face threatening act, so use of the long form here may also be used to mitigate that threat.

Other examples of style shifting to the long form to mitigate FTAs were found in Shiori's speech. The following example follows a segment of the conversation where Shiori and Kristy are talking about their hobbies. The next example is preceded by a number of exchanges in the short form regarding Kristy and her involvement in sports.

(28)

1 Shiori: atashi wa supotsu ga dekimasen ***long***
'I can't play sports'

2 Kristy: aaa [@]
'Ooh'

3 Shiori: [@]

4 demo tenisu o shimasu ***long***
'but I play tennis'

Shiori introduces in line 1 that she cannot play sports and she uses the long form to do so. Immediately following this statement she introduces that she plays tennis. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speakers aim to protect both their own and their partner's face in conversation, which includes the desire to be liked by others. The fact that Shiori does not play

sports and Kristy does, combined with the uncertainty of Kristy's opinion of tennis, makes Shiori's statements in line 1 and line 4 risky for maintaining her face, and likely play a role in her decision to use the long form here.

It has also been shown that the long form can be used in a joking or playful manner when the dominant speech style is the short form. This type of usage in native/native conversation was described by Yamazaki (2000). Shiori's use of the long form in one instance seems to resemble this. In this example, Kristy and Shiori have been talking about trick or treating, as Halloween happened to be the day after the conversation took place. Shiori asks until what age Canadians participate in trick or treating. Kristy responds with 17. It has already been established that Shiori is going trick or treating tomorrow, so Shiori asks if Kristy thinks she will be ok given her age.

(29)

1 Kristy: juu nana sai
'17 years old'

2 Shiori: atashi daijobu da to omoimasu ka? \ ***long***
'Do you think I'm ok?'

3 Kirsty: <@ hai @>
'yes'

4 Shiori: <@ daijobu da to omou=? @> ***short***
'Do you think I'm ok?'

5 [honto?] /
'really?'

6 Kirsty: [@]

7 Shiori: atashi demo jissai ni juu ni
'But I'm actually 22'

8 Kristy: @

9 Shiori: ni juu ni ssai
'22 years old'

10 Kristy: aaah
'Ooh'

11 Shiori: chotto hazukashii desu
'It's a little embarrassing'

In line 2, when Shiori asks Kristy if she thinks it is ok for her to go trick or treating, she appears to lower her voice to one of mock seriousness. Regardless of Shiori's serious tone of voice, Kristy responds with yes, *hai* in a laughing tone and this seems to indicate that Kristy recognizes Shiori's utterance as a joke. Shiori's intention of line 2 being in jest is made more clear when she repeats herself again using the short form in line 4, and then uses *honto?* 'really?' in line 5 with a clear rise in pitch, reconfirming Kristy's affirmation of *hai* 'yes' in line 3. Shiori then further clarifies the joke by admitting her real age, and states that it is a little embarrassing to go trick or treating when she is so much older than the norm.

While Shiori's question in line 2 also is a direct question to Kristy, which fits into Shiori's previous usage of the long form, it should be mentioned that at this point in the conversation Shiori had switched to

asking direct questions in the short form as well. This suggests a different motivation behind her use of the long form here; namely, to emphasize that her statement is in jest.

While Kristy seems to pick up on Shiori's usage of the long form to indicate playfulness, a closer look at Kristy's use of the long form while the short form is the dominant speech style seems to indicate an uncertainty with incorporating them herself. She also uses them less frequently once the dominant speech style transitions to the short form, with very few instances of the long form to observe. None of these shifts resemble style shifting by native speakers, or appear to serve any other unique discourse related functions.

In the following example, Shiori is asking Kristy what type of dance she does.

(30)

1 Shiori: donna dansu desu ka?
'what kind of dance?

2 Kristy: ano,
'umm'

3 Jazzu to,
'Jazz and'

4 <L1 modern? L1>

5 Shiori: hee
'ooh'

6 Kristy: hai so aa,
'yeah, so, umm'

7 Mai shuu san kai dansu o <FADE OUT> shimasu, <FADE OUT>
long
'I dance three times every week'

In line 7, Kristy uses the long form, and it isn't clear why. In fact, her volume of speech fades to almost a whisper, which indicates she may be second guessing her choice of using the long form.

The next example was introduced in the discussion on Shiori's use of the long form when asking questions of Kristy. Here Shiori is asking Kristy if she watches movies.

(31)

1 Shiori: eiga wa yoku mimasu ka?
'Do you watch movies a lot?'

2 Kristy: hai, yoku mimasu
'yeah, I watch [movies] a lot'

In this example it is also unclear why she uses the long form, but it is likely related to the question being asked by Shiori in the long form. In fact, it should also be mentioned here that in line 1 of example 30, Shiori uses the form *desu* in line 1 when asking Kristy what type of dance she does. While the *desu* form was not the focus of this study (for reasons mentioned in section 2.3) it is the long form counterpart used for nouns, and it may also have had an effect on Kristy's choice to use the long form in line 7. So while Kristy doesn't seem to have a clear grasp on how to use the long form in the

ways that native speakers do, she may occasionally draw on the native speaker's usage as an example.

In summary, once Shiori and Kristy's conversation switched to a dominant use of the short form it was found that Shiori used the long form in ways that seem to fit with previous research on style shifting in native speaker talk. However, Kristy did not use the long form unless the long form was used by the native speaker in a preceding utterance. So while Kristy is perceptive of the forms being used by the native speaker and uses the long form accordingly, she does not seem to switch to the long form independently of Shiori for any other obvious discourse related reasons.

4.2 Ernest and Yuko

4.2.1 Background

The second case study was conversation 8, between Ernest and Yuko. Ernest is a 19 year old man, which makes him 2 years younger than 21 year old Yuko. Just over a year before the recording was made, Ernest spent 6 weeks on a trip to Japan where he often spoke with native speakers and listened to authentic material. Before his trip to Japan Ernest did not have any exposure to authentic Japanese, but currently he spends 2 hours per week speaking with native speakers in person, on the phone, or over the internet, 30 minutes a week e-mailing native speakers, 2 hours and 45 minutes watching Japanese TV, dramas, and listening to Japanese music, and 1 hour reading Japanese books or magazines. He spends 1 hour doing listening and speaking

course related work outside of class, and 30 minutes doing reading and writing related course work. Ernest took Japanese classes in high school, and was enrolled in a 3rd year university level Japanese course at the time of the recording.

The dominant speech style of Ernest and Yuko's conversation was the long form throughout the conversation. Both speakers did switch occasionally to the short form. Fig. 7 shows the breakdown of their conversation by the number of occurrences of each form in 5 minute segments. As the number of occurrences varies according to the amount of speech produced by each speaker, percentages of each form give a better representation. This is shown in Fig. 8, where each bar is divided into the percentage of each form used by each speaker in the 5 minute segments. As can be seen, the ratio of forms used remains fairly constant, with short form use ranging from 10 to 50%, and long form use ranging from 50 to 100% for both speakers.

Fig. 7 Number of occurrences of the short and long form in 5 minute intervals in conversation 8

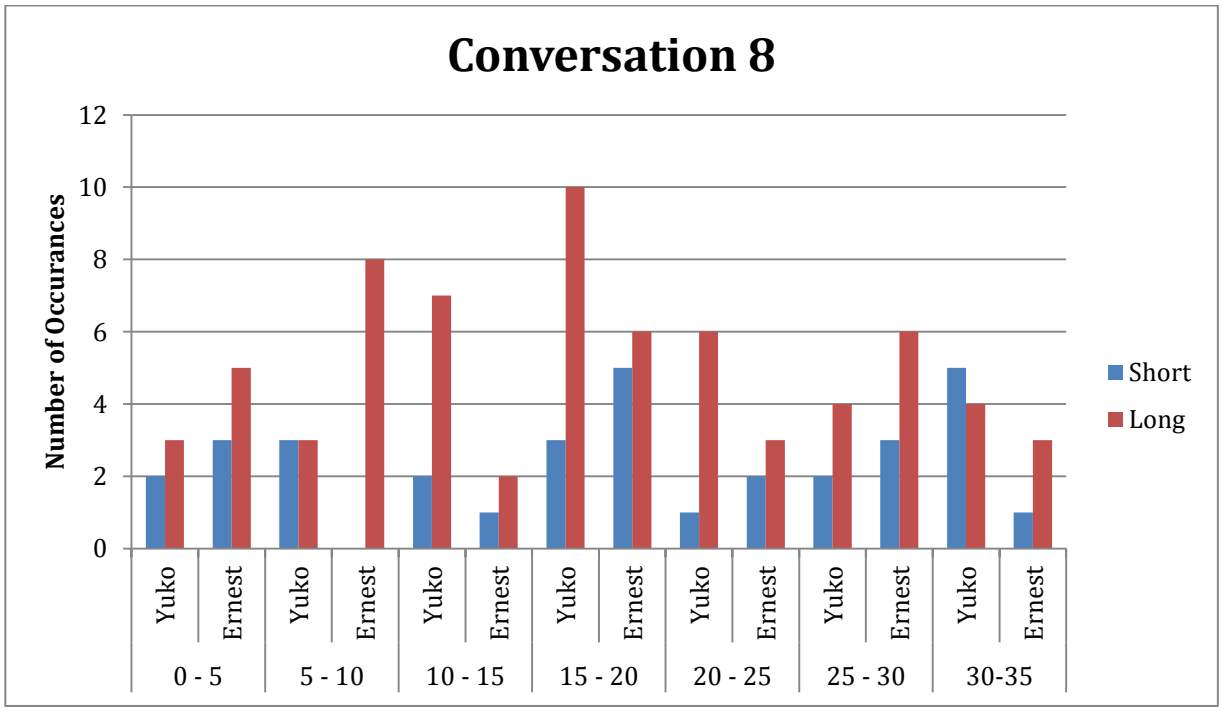
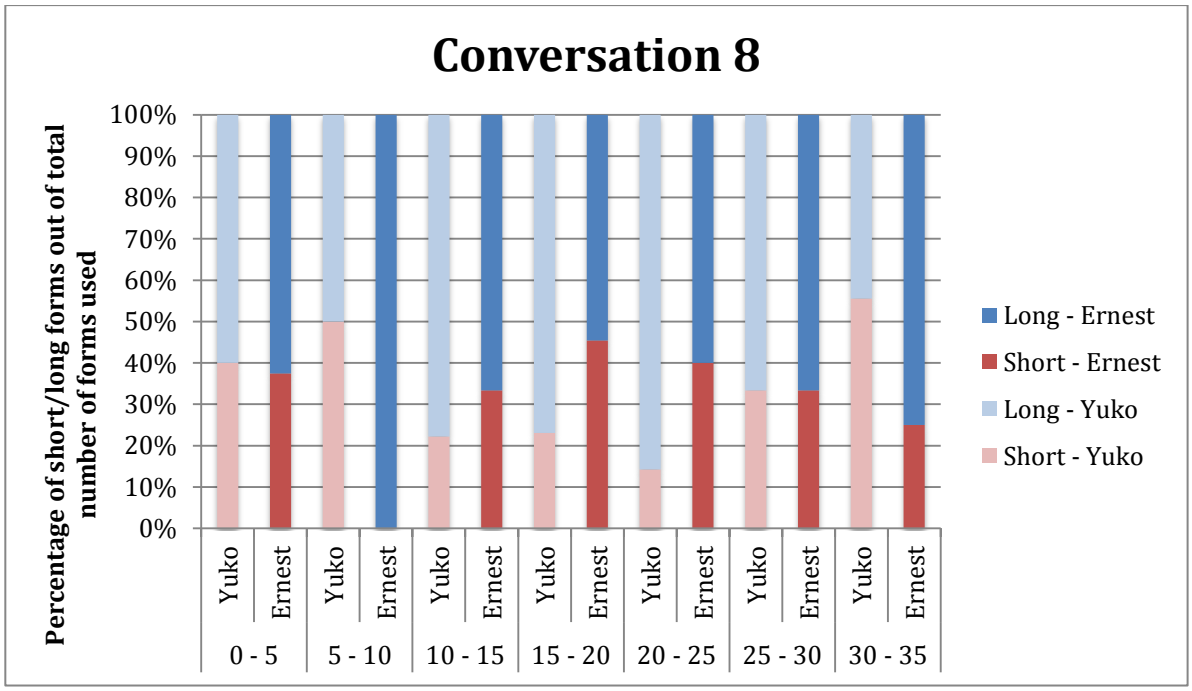


Fig. 8 Ratio of short/long form usage in 5 minute intervals in conversation 8



4.2.2 Analysis

In the case of Yuko and Ernest, their distribution of both forms is fairly even throughout their interaction, as can be seen in Fig. 8. There did not seem to be accommodation from either parties. The conversation begins with Ernest and Yuko introducing themselves to each other using the long form, and they continue to use the long form predominantly throughout the conversation while switching occasionally into the short form from time to time.

As was the case with conversation 5, style shifting by Yuko was that typical of a native speaker, and she was found to mostly engage in style shifting to provide a suggested candidate wording for Ernest. Ernest was also found to engage in style shifting to the short form when using the phrase *wakaranai* 'I don't understand.' He was also found to use style shifting similar to the native speakers in Isaka's study, engaging in style shifting as realization, and emotive expression.

The most prominent type of style shifting from Yuko and Ernest's conversation involved suggestive candidate wording, similar to that found in the study conducted by Isaka (2010), from the native speaker, followed by a confirmation response from the non-native speaker. This usually is initiated by a pause or hesitation from the non-native speaker, which appears to indicate uncertainty on which word to use or what to say. The native speaker then interjects with a suggestion for which word to use, and this is often followed with a repetition of the suggested word by the non-native speaker. Example 32 shows an example of this from the data. In this example Yuko

expresses her surprise that Ernest travelled to Japan on his own. Ernest explains to Yuko that while he went to Japan on his own, he had friends there.

(32)

1 Yuko: hitori de,
2 itta n desu ka?
'Did you go by yourself?'

3 Ernest: aah hitori de
'Umm, by myself'

4 de[mo,
5 demo] demo
'but, but, but'

6 Yuko: [hitori de?]
'By yourself?'

7 Ernest: ee ano,
'Umm'

8 watashi wa takusan,
'I lots'

9 nihonjin tomodachi ga,
'Japanese friends'

10 emm,
'umm'

11 Yuko: → iru? ***short***
'exist?'
12 Ernest: → iru hai ***short***
'exist, yeah'

Ernest's hesitation is shown in line 10 when he uses the filler, *emm* which prompts Yuko to suggest *iru* 'exist', a verb which might be used to complete Ernest's utterance in line 9. Ernest then echoes this response as confirmation that this is indeed what he was attempting to explain, and as further confirmation, includes *hai* 'yes.' This was found three times in Ernest and Yuko's conversation. In addition to these three instances that included an echo response from Ernest, suggestive candidate wording by the native speaker was found three more times but without the echo response.

The short form of the verb *wakaru* 'to understand' in its negative form, *wakaranai* 'don't understand' used by Ernest was found three times in the conversation, and contributed significantly to his style shifting. This seems to suggest that the word may be somewhat lexically fixed. In example 33, prior to the transcribed portion of the conversation, Yuko has just finished explaining that she watches English movies to practice her English skills. Ernest then states that he also watches Japanese dramas to practice his listening skills. Yuko asks him what dramas he has watched, and he then explains that while he doesn't know the names of the dramas, he still watches them sometimes.

(33)

1 Ernest: watashi mo,
2 ano,
3 nihongo no,
4 kiku renshuu [no tame ni,]
'Me too, in order to practice listening to Japanese'

5 Yuko: [un un un]
'yeah, yeah, yeah'

6 Ernest: nihon no dorama o [mimasu] ***long***
'I watch Japanese dramas a lot'

7 Yuko: [dorama]
'Dramas'
8 nan no dorama o mimashita ka? ***long***
'What dramas have you seen?'

9 Ernest: aaa,
'aaa'

10 etto,
'umm'

11 um,
'umm'

12 → namae o wakaranai. ***short***
'I don't know the names'

13 Yuko: un un
'yeah, yeah'

14 Ernest: ano,
'umm'

15 emm,
'umm'

16 ano tokidoki,
'umm sometimes'

17 dorama o mimasu. ***long***
'I watch dramas'

This example shows that regardless of the long form being employed by Yuko in line 6 in a question directed at Ernest, and even by Ernest himself in line 17 immediately after his usage of *wakaranai*, Ernest still choses to use *wakaranai* in the short form[7] in line 12.

Ernest also showed signs of native-like style shifting in his conversation with Yuko. One example was of style shifting as realization, a function of style shifting in which native speakers are found to engage in (Isaka 2010). This type of style shifting is found when a speaker suddenly realizes something during a segment of discourse. Prior to the following transcribed segment, Yuko and Ernest are discussing Ernest's desire to go back to Japan, and Ernest mentions that he would like to study abroad.

(34)

1 Yuko: demo,
2 nanka,
3 sou iu,
4 nihon no ryuugaku puroguramu arimasu yo ne, ***long***
5 [name of university].
'But, there is like, a study abroad program at [name of university], right?'

6 Ernest: ryuugaku no puro[guramu?]
'study abroad program?'

[7] Usage of *wakaranai* in this manner by Ernest was found three times in the conversation, whereas it was only used in the long form once in a reply to Yuko, whose question was in the long form as well. In addition to this, Ernest only used *wakaru* 'I understand' in the short form once, but in this case it resembled style shifting as realization, which is discussed later in the section (example 35). *wakaranai* was also used three times by Kristy, and three times by Kris (but not by Risa or Shiori). This evidence suggests the fixedness of the phrase *wakaranai* in the non-native speakers' speech.

7 Yuko: [puroguramu]
'program'

8 Ernest: umm
'umm'

9 Yuko: nai kana=, ***short***
'I wonder if there is'

10 Ernest: → un aru [aru]. ***short***
'yeah, there is, there is'

11 Yuko: [ari]masu yo ne. ***long***
'there is one, isn't there'

In line 4, Yuko suggests that there is a study abroad program at the university where they are both currently studying. In line 6, Ernest seems to be unsure of what Yuko is saying, by repeating *ryuugaku no puroguramu* 'study abroad program' as a question, and then in line 8 hesitates with the filler *umm.* Then in line 10, he appears to understand what Yuko means, and replies with *aru aru* 'there is, there is' in line 10.

It could be argued that 1) *aru* 'there is' is a fixed phrase like *wakaranai* or 2) Ernest's response in line 10 was motivated by Yuko's usage of the short form in line 9. However, this is the only instance where Ernest uses the short form of the verb *aru,* yet he uses it in its long form *arimasu* four times during the conversation. As for Ernest's usage of the short form being motivated by Yuko, consider the following example. Here Yuko uses the long form to ask a question of Ernest, and he responds in the short form. In this example, Yuko is describing her grandparents who live back in Japan.

(35)

1 Yuko: yoku obaachan toka asobi ni ikimasu yo. ***long***
' I go to see my grandmother a lot'

2 sugoi ojiichan to obaachan wa,
'It's amazing, my grandmother and gradfather,'

3 nandarou,
'what is it?'

4 nouka?
'farmers?'

5 Ernest: nouka?
'farmers?'

6 nouka toka arimasu ka ***long***
'Are there farmers?'

7 nanka,
'like,'

8 yasai o tsukuttari
' growing vegetables,'

9 Ernest: → aa hai hai hai wakaru ***short***
'oh, yeah, yeah, I understand'

In this example, Yuko uses the long form in line 1 when telling Ernest how she visits her grandparents a lot. She then further tries to describe them in lines 2 to 6, but uses the word *nouka* 'farmer' with an upwards intonation, as she seems to recognize this may be a word that Ernest is not familiar with. Ernest doesn't seem to understand at first, given how he repeats it again in

line 5. However, Yuko describes farmers in line 8 as people who grow vegetables, and Ernest then realizes what she means. This is shown with his repetition of *hai* 'yes' three time, and then further emphasized with using the verb *wakaru* 'understand' in the short form.

Ernest also employs style shifting as emotive expression, another form of style shifting by native speakers found by Isaka (2010). This type of style shifting is employed by speakers when they wish to express stronger or emotive feelings into the conversation.

In Ernest and Yuko's prior exchanges Ernest admits to not liking sports. He mentions that he does like dancing and belongs to a dance school in which he is learning salsa. In the following exchange Yuko suggests that dancing is similar to sports.

(36)

1 Yuko: atashi dansu toka yatta koto nai n desu.
'I've never danced before'

2 Ernest: aah
'ooh'

3 Yuko: @@@
4 sokka supotsu wa suki-
5 demo sarusa mo,
'right, so you don't like sports, but Salsa...'

6 Ernest: un
'yeah'

7 Yuko: supotsu mitai na kanji desu yo ne.
'...is kind of like a sport, isn't it.'

8 Ernest: he=
'huh?'

9 Yuko: sonna koto nai? ***short***
'It isn't?'

10 Ernest: → chigau to omou. ***short***
'I think it's different.'

11 Yuko: <@ chigau @> ***short***
'different'

12 aa sou na n da
'is that so'

In line 4 it can be inferred from previous conversation that she is about to repeat that Ernest does not like sports, but then cuts herself off to say that salsa is kind of like sports, in line 7. Ernest reacts with surprise to this by his extended exclamation *he=* 'huh?' in line 8. Yuko then responds with, *sonna koto nai?* 'that isn't the case?' in line 9, and Ernest responds with, *chigau to omou* 'I don't think so' in line 10. In this example, it seems like Ernest is trying to emphasize that he thinks that salsa is very different than sports, and by using the short form in line 10 he puts emotive emphasis on that statement.

4.3 Risa and Kris

4.3.1 Background

The third case study was conversation 11, between Risa and Kris. Kris is a 21 year old man, making him a year older than his native speaker counterpart,

Risa. His experience in Japan has been fairly recent, spending one month of his summer vacation there approximately four months before the recording was made. Before his travel to Japan he spent one hour per week speaking with a native speaker, one hour per week studying course-related speaking and listening material, and two hours per week studying reading and writing course related material. While in Japan, he made efforts to speak Japanese with his Japanese friend. Since returning, Kris spends approximately two hours per week speaking with native speakers either in person, over the phone or on the internet, one hour per week e-mailing native speakers, two hours per week working on listening and speaking course related material, and three hours per week working on reading and writing course related material.

The dominant speech style of Risa and Kris' conversation is the long form. Both speakers occasionally switched to the short form, but less often than Ernest and Yuko did in conversation 8. Fig. 9 shows the number of occurrences of each form in five minute segments. Once again, the number of occurrences is highly dependent on the amount of speech produced by each speaker, and in order to account for this Fig. 10 shows the breakdown in terms of the ratio of each form used to the total number of forms used by each speaker.

Fig. 9 Number of occurrences of the short and long form in 5 minute intervals in conversation 11

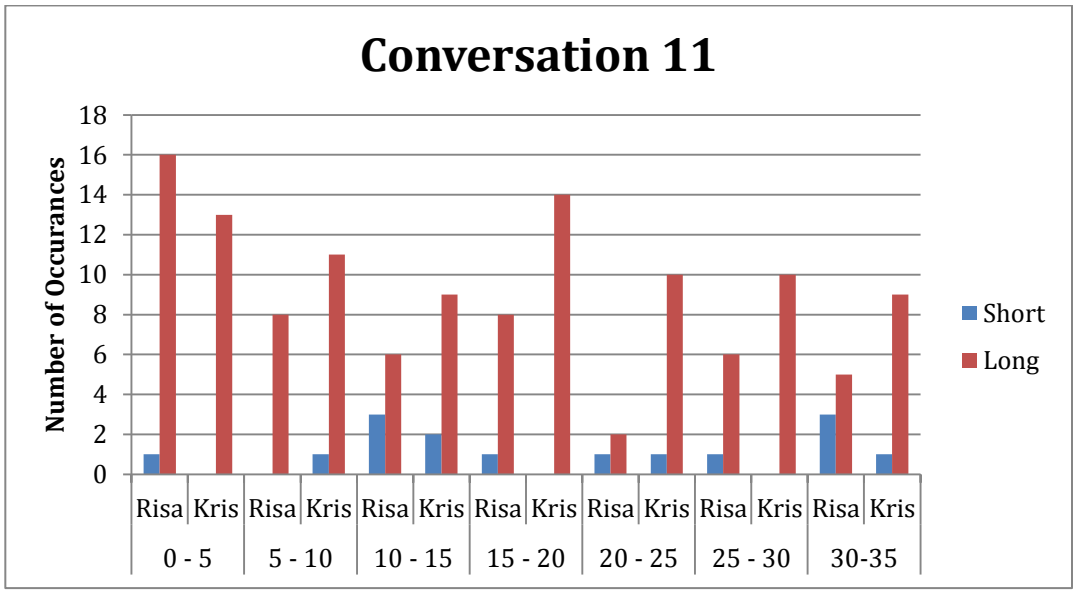
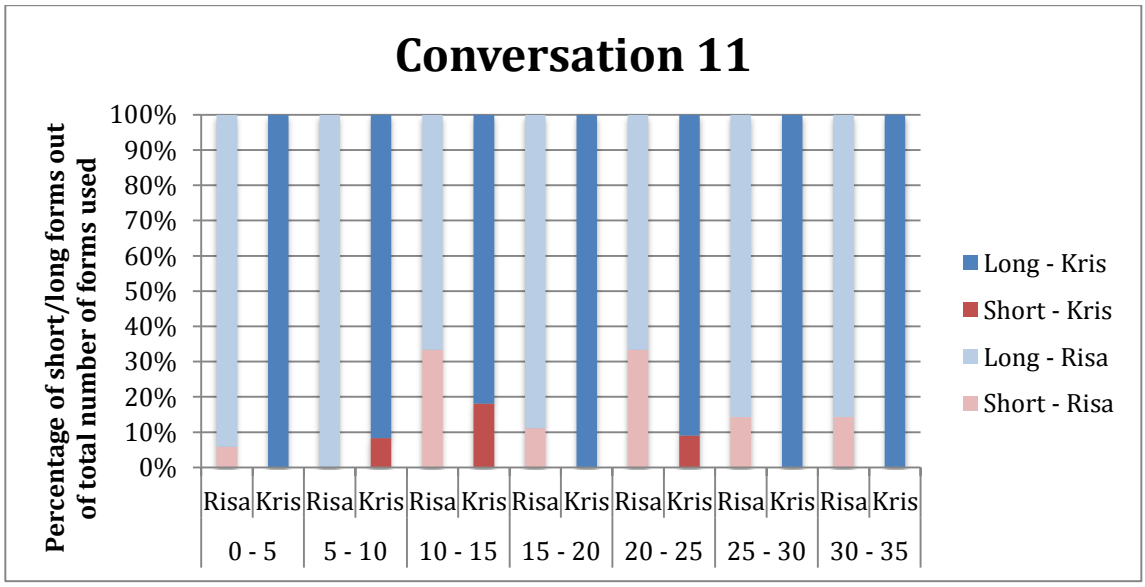


Fig. 10 Ratio of short/long form usage in 5 minute intervals in conversation 11



4.3.2 Analysis

As was the case with Conversation 8, the use of the long and short form is distributed fairly evenly throughout the conversation. However, there appeared to be an even stronger tendency toward using the long form in this conversation, with much less evidence of style shifting than found in conversation 8. A closer look at the data actually showed evidence that Kris seemed to be aware of this and at times would correct his usage of the short form to the long form. What follows is an example of this from the data. In this example, Risa is asking Kris if he experienced jet lag on his trip to Japan. Kris replies that he didn't and isn't sure why.

(37)

1 Risa: nakatta desu ka?
'you didn't have it?'

2 Kris: hm?
'hm?'

3 Risa: jisaboke nakatta desu ka?
'you didn't have jet lag?'

4 Kris: nakatta desu
'I didn't'

5 Risa: nakatta desu ka
'you didn't?'

6 Kris: un
'yeah'

7 Risa: he=
'huh'

8 Kris: → doushite wakaranai. ***short***
'I don't know why'

9 → wakarimasen. ***long***
'I don't know'

An interesting thing to note is that Kris had used *wakaranai* 'I don't understand' twice already earlier on in the conversation, but did not attempt to correct himself. This suggests that *wakaranai* 'I don't understand' is possibly lexically fixed, as it was found in conversation 8. More importantly, it suggests that at some point during the conversation, Kris became more aware that he was expected to use the long form of the verb and started correcting himself when he used the short form. This happens once more in the conversation, as shown in the next example, which starts out with Risa asking Kris why he has to take another year of school. Kris explains that he is currently only taking four classes and you have to take five in order to finish school in four years.

(38)
1 Risa: doushite desu ka?
'why?'

2 Kris: ano,
3 watashi wa,
4 jugyo o yotsu,
5 totte imasu ga,
6 futsuu wa,
7 ano,
8 itsutsu
'Umm, I am taking four classes, but normally five...'

9 Risa: un
'yeah'

10 Kris: o toreba,
11 yo nen de,
'...if you take, in four years'

12 Risa: un
'yeah'

13 Kris: → deki[ru] ***short***
'you can do it'

14 Risa: [un] un
'yeah, yeah'

15 Kris: → dekimasu ***long***
'you can do it'

16 Risa: hai
'yes'

17 aa naruhodo
'aah, I see'

Kris' sudden awareness that he should be using long forms, thus in that he started self-correcting his usages of the short form to the long form, is likely a result of Risa's tendency toward the usage of long forms. This was shown in the quantitative analysis in her conversations with other non-native speakers, where her usage of the long forms ranged from 77% to 86% (Yuko ranged from 43% to 80%, and Shiori from 1% to 21%). This type of self-correction was not found in the conversation between Ernest and Yuko,

where there seemed to be more style shifting to the short form than in Kris and Risa's conversation. Contrasting Risa, Yuko's usage of the short form across the conversations ranged from 52% to 80%. As a result, it seems as though Kris is adjusting his speech patterns to Risa.

Risa's limited usage of the short form of verbs can all be classified into the categories determined by Isaka (2010): emotive emphasis, suggestive candidate wording, and self-talk. Kris' usage of the short form was also limited to very few instances. Two were self-corrected, as mentioned earlier, and the other two were the verb *wakaranai* 'I don't know' which, as has been suggested, appears to be a more or less fixed phrase.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary

By analyzing a corpus containing conversations between unacquainted native speakers of Japanese, as well as conversations between unacquainted native and a non-native speakers of Japanese, the present study used quantitative analysis to determine the frequency of which speakers employ the long and short forms, and their dominant speech styles. It attempted to distinguish any patterns that arose from the data, as well as hypothesize reasons why certain speech styles are chosen in the conversations that were analyzed.

Through qualitative analysis of conversations between native and non-native speakers, it looked to identify how dominant speech styles are

negotiated between the speakers, and determine if there was any evidence of accommodation, either by the native or the non-native speakers. It also looked to identify the types of style shifting, with emphasis on the non-native speakers, in order to determine if they are able to style shift in ways similar to native speakers, or perhaps for other discourse related reasons.

The quantitative analysis of the native speakers revealed that in general they tended toward a shared dominant speech style, though the dominant speech style varied from conversation to conversation. The speakers also tended toward a similar ratio of long to short form use; in other words the ratio of long form use to short form use for the two speakers was similar within each conversation. While the quantitative analysis was limited to 6 conversations, this provided a baseline for comparison with the conversations between the native and non-native speakers.

The quantitative analysis of the native and non-native conversations had striking similarities to the native/native conversations. Each speaker also tended to have a dominant speech style, and this dominant speech style was also shared between the two speakers in 11 out of 12 of the conversations. Again, the ratio of long/short forms for speakers in the same conversation was highly correlated, as shown by a correlation coefficient of 0.90.

The non-native speakers' exposure to Japanese was also examined to see if it may be a factor in their usage of short forms. While the data was limited, there did seem to be a trend toward a greater short form usage

among the speakers who had a greater exposure to authentic listening material and speaking practice, such as watching Japanese TV, and talking with native speakers. However, no such correlation was found with short form usage and reading and writing activities, or any course-related studying.

The qualitative analysis revealed more insight into how the different forms were used by the individual speakers, how the dominant speech styles were negotiated, and if there was any evidence of accommodation (Beebe and Giles, 1984). In Kristy and Shiori's conversation (Conversation 5), both speakers started out by using the long form, which certainly shows some awareness on Kristy's part that long forms are appropriate when meeting someone for the first time. However, Kristy's sudden switch into the short form was abrupt, and it appeared she wasn't aware of the functions of style shifting from the short to long form. Shiori's gradual switch into a predominant usage of the short form suggests she may have been accommodating to Kristy, and that Kristy's tendency toward short form usage could be a result to her relatively high exposure to authentic Japanese. Of course it's also possible that Shiori starts using more short forms the more relaxed and comfortable she is, as native speakers have a tendency to do (Ikuta, 1983).

It is also important to note that Shiori has a clear tendency toward short form usage, as shown by every conversation she appeared in within this study's dataset. Unfortunately, in all of her three conversations with

non-native speakers, the non-native speakers had a high exposure to Japanese listening, so it's difficult to know how influential Shiori is in creating a short form dominant environment. Given that the qualitative analysis revealed evidence that it was Shiori accommodating to Kristy (since Kristy switched into a predominant usage of the short form much earlier than Shiori) it seems likely that Shiori is more willing to adapt to a non-native speakers usage of short forms since she seems to prefer them anyway. As there are no conversations between Shiori and a non-native speaker with little to no exposure to authentic Japanese listening and speaking practice, we can't say for sure what would happen in that situation.

However, this is not to say that there were no situations where the non-native speakers adapted to the native speakers. In the conversation between Risa and Kris (Conversation 11), Kris seemed to self-correct his instances of the short form when faced with Risa's strong tendency toward the long form. In fact, in all three of Risa's conversations with non-native speakers she used the long form predominantly. In Cook's (2008) study on non-native speakers and their interactions with their homestay families, she noted that some of the native speakers would use the long form as a teacher's voice to socialize the non-native speakers into 'proper' usage of Japanese. It's quite possible that Risa is engaging in similar behavior, and that she is more aware of her role as a native speaker with a responsibility to socialize the non-native speakers. This also resulted in Kris' self-awareness of his usage of

the short form, which was revealed by his choice to self-correct to the long form.

The usage of the long form as a teacher's voice may also be the case with Yuko, but to a lesser degree, as her conversations contained a higher ratio of short forms than did Risa's. She also used the short form predominantly in one of her conversations with a native speaker, but in 5 out of 6 of her conversations with non-native speakers, she used the long form predominantly. Even in the conversation where she used the short form predominantly, it wasn't by very much, with the ratio of long forms at 43%, and the ratio of short forms at 57%. Her usage of style shifting mostly as a tool to aid the non-native speakers with suggestive candidate wording could suggest a tendency to take on a 'teacher' type role. This also may explain the one exception where the dominant speech style was not matched between the two speakers, conversation 1 between Mike and Yuko, where Mike used short forms 80% of the time, and Yuko only 45%. Mike's high exposure to authentic Japanese listening and speaking practice is likely behind his higher proportion of short form use. However, unlike Shiori, Yuko is less willing to shift to a dominant usage of the short form, which resulted in the mismatched dominant speech styles in that particular conversation alone.

While Yuko tended toward a dominant usage of the long form, she did engage in style shifting to the short form more often than Risa. It's possible that this played a role in Ernest's use of style shifting, which was also found to be similar to native speakers, unlike Risa's partner Kris who engaged in

style shifting much less and even self-corrected some of his utterances in the short form to the long form.

This study also found the usage of *wakaranai* 'I don't understand' to be used in the short form by all three non-native speakers. It should be mentioned that Yuko used *wakaranai* twice in her conversation with Ernest, but never used it in the long form. Shiori and Risa did not use *wakaranai* or *wakarimasen* in their conversations with Kristy and Kris respectively. Unfortunately, Yuko alone is not enough to determine if *wakaranai* is fixed for native speakers, but if it is, the results here suggest that this type of style shifting to a fixed phrase may be easier for non-native speakers to pick up on, as it was used by all three non-native speakers. If there is no evidence for this phrase being fixed for native speakers, it alternatively suggests that learners may learn certain phrases as a whole, or in chunks, perhaps because they use them more often in a certain form. Regardless, if it is fixed for only non-native speakers, or for native speakers as well, the 'fixedness' of certain grammatical structures in Japanese has been suggested in the past (Ono and Thompson, 2009) and it's not surprising that it plays a role in the conversations presented here.

5.2 Implications of the present study

As this is a study of native/non-native conversation, the most obvious implications surround L2 acquisition and how non-native speakers use their L2. Currently, it is still common for Japanese as a foreign language

instruction to leave out style shifting entirely from the curriculum. As native speakers often aren't aware they engage in style shifting it is understandable that this is often left out of the curriculum. And one could expect that non-native speakers, given exposure to native Japanese speech, would be able to pick up on style shifting as native speakers do. However, the results of this study highlight some issues that may arise from this practice. One of the major concerns is that native speakers of Japanese learn Japanese from other native speakers. They are able to pick up on the different situations that call for different politeness strategies. However, this is much more complicated for non-native speakers. First and foremost, non-native speakers most typically learn in the classroom. If they are presented information in the classroom in a black and white manner, some students may put greater importance on these facts than they should. To complicate this further, we no longer live in an age where non-native speakers must travel abroad to be exposed to Japanese. The internet alone provides a number of opportunities for non-native speakers to be exposed to Japanese speech, and they must reconcile the disconnect that arises between what they are taught, and how native speakers speak (Jones & Ono, 2005). Then, when placed in conversation with native speakers, they may come across situations where the native speakers use different speech styles than they have learned in class (or through Japanese exposure), due to accommodation or, in some cases, the native speaker employing teacher talk (Cook, 2008; Beebe & Giles,

1984). This could cause them to second guess the skills they have picked up on their own.

While it would be impossible to introduce all of the ways in which style shifting is used in native conversation, I think at the very least non-native speakers need to be made aware that it exists. It is simply too complicated of a subject to leave completely up to the discernment a non-native speaker, especially when faced with textbooks that may not portray Japanese speech in a way that is similar to native speakers, a variety of authentic Japanese media, and native speakers who adapt their speech patterns when in conversations with them. Non-native speakers should also be made aware of situations where certain dominant speech styles are expected, such as formal interviews, or when in conversation with your professor, which are examples of situations where non-native speakers have struggled with language use in the past (Cook, 2001; Iwasaki, 2010), especially if the politeness strategies employed by Japanese speakers differ from that of the non-native speakers' native language.

That being said, it needs to be stressed that non-native speakers should not be held up to the standards of native speakers (Cook, 2008). In fact, Japanese non-native speakers' attempts to emulate native speakers in some instances have been shown to result in negative reactions from the native speakers themselves (Iino, 1996). And as shown in this study, conversations between native and non-native speakers differ from those of exclusively native speakers. So when it comes to the use of long and short

forms in Japanese, a balance needs to be struck between giving non-native speakers necessary information, so that when they use forms in certain situations they know the various ways in which their usage can be perceived, and the freedom to use the forms according to their own judgment. Recent studies on learners of German have emphasized the importance in not restricting language usage in the classroom to the L2 (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004) as it in turn limits the learners abilities to develop valuable skills such as code -switching which will serve them as future bilingual speakers. Learners who were not limited to strict usage of the L2 were found to incorporate code-switching that closely approximated code-switching of fully bilingual speakers. The present study showed that non-native speakers are sensitive to which forms they are using, and in some cases were able to switch between the two forms in ways that served specific discourse-related functions. But for other students, the classroom principle of using either all short forms, or all long forms, seemed to have an effect. If students are given the knowledge, and more importantly the freedom, to develop style shifting skills in the classroom, they may be able develop style shifting skills that are unique to them as L2 speakers of Japanese.

5.3 Limitations of the study and future studies

The present study was limited in a variety of ways, which also paves the way for future research into speech styles and style shifting in L2 discourse. The

first drawback is its size, especially the qualitative analysis, which was limited to three conversations. Secondly, only non-native speakers with English as a native language were observed. Exploring non-native speakers with different native languages with different politeness strategies, perhaps even those who have native languages with politeness standards similar to Japanese, would provide greater insight into how style shifting is acquired by non-native speakers. At the very least, I hope this study has shed some light on how speech styles are utilized and negotiated in native/non-native discourse, and brought to light the significance of style shifting in this particular type of discourse. I also hope that it paves the way for future research on strategies for Japanese foreign language instruction on politeness, speech styles and style shifting, as the present study has shown it will not be a simple task.

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Appendix 1: Transcript Conventions

Adopted from Du Bois et al. (1993)

[ ]	**Speech overlap**
=	**Lengthening**
..	**Pause**
.	**Transitional Continuity (Final)**
,	**Transitional Continuity (Continuing)**
?	**Transitional Continuity (Appeal)**
@	**Laughter**
<@ @>	**Laugh quality**
(H)	**Inhalation**
(Hx)	**Exhalation**
<L1 L1>	**Native Language**
<FADE OUT FADE OUT>	**Fades out**
/	**Terminal pitch direction (Rise)**
****	**Terminal pitch direction (Fall)**