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Combining Clauses by Native and Non-native Speakers of Japanese

by

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Abstract

This study explores how native and non-native speakers (L1 English intermediate) of Japanese combine clauses in spoken language, examines how clause-combining is presented in Japanese textbooks, and makes suggestions to teaching.

It was found that native speakers tend to combine clauses but non-native speakers tend *not* to. Of the three ways to combine clauses, the native speakers used conjunctive suffixes the most, followed by conjunctive particles. Conjunctions were used least. The non-native speakers showed a preference for conjunctions.

Most of the forms used by the non-native speakers were used by the native speakers and covered in the textbooks. The forms frequently used by the non-native speakers were used by the native speakers frequently, and were taught early. However, some of the forms which the native speakers used were not presented in the textbooks at all.

Introducing clause-combining forms from the beginning and teaching important forms in the textbooks is suggested.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1 Framework and Previous Studies 1

1.2 Clauses in Japanese 6

1.2.1 Unconnected Clauses 8

1.2.2 Connected Clauses 10

1.3 Purpose of the Present Study 14

Chapter 2: Methodology 15

2.1 Conversation Data 15

2.2 Methodology 16

2.3 Categorizing Stems as Conjunctive Suffixes 18

2.4 Excluded Utterances 19

2.5 Textbooks 23

Chapter 3: Results 25

3.1 Connected and Unconnected Clauses 25

3.2 Individual Differences 27

3.3 Specific Forms Used by Native Speakers and Non-native Speakers 30

Chapter 4: Discussion 37

4.1 Summary and Possible Explanations 37

4.1.1 Possible Explanations for Combining Clauses by Native and Non-native Speakers 37

4.1.2 Frequently Used Forms by Non-native Speakers and Potential Influence of Input 38

4.1.2.1 Influence from Native Speakers 39

4.1.2.2 Influence from Language Textbooks 43

4.1.3 Possible Explanations for Different Conjunctions Used by Native and Non-native Speakers 43

4.1.3.1 Use of Less Frequent Forms with Similar Sequential Meanings 45
4.1.3.2 Use of *to* 'and' 49

Chapter 5: Pedagogical Suggestions 53
5.1 Combining Clauses by Native Speakers and Non-native Speakers and Suggestions 53
5.2 Frequently Used Forms by Non-native Speakers and Suggestions 54
5.3 Different Conjunctions Used by Native and Non-native Speakers and Suggestions 55
5.3.1 Use of Less Frequent Forms with Similar Sequential Meanings 55
5.3.2 Use of *to* 57

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusion 58
6.1 Summary 58
6.2 Importance of Discourse Studies 59
6.3 Limitation of the Study 60

Appendix 61

References 63

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Framework and Previous Studies

This study explores how Japanese native and non-native speakers combine clauses in conversations and compares those conversations with how clause-combining is presented in language textbooks. The reason behind this study is to understand how the Japanese language is spoken versus how the language is taught, and to see if we can make suggestions to Japanese pedagogy.

The study of how second language (L2 hereafter) is learned is called Second Language Acquisition (SLA hereafter). SLA has accumulated five perspectives; Contrast Analysis, Error Analysis, Performance Analysis, Discourse Analysis, and Sentence Processing Analysis (Jiang, 2005), as each has its advantages and limitations. Contrast Analysis compares the learners' first language and the target language and maps the similarities and the difficulties. It was suggested that similar structures would be easy to master and the different ones to be difficult to master, but it was discovered that this wasn't always the case. Error Analysis identifies errors, describes errors, classifies errors, explains errors, and evaluates errors. However, Error Analysis is from the researchers' point of view and only looks at errors. It discounts correct sentences. So, learners might avoid certain structures they have trouble with in order to avoid making mistakes. Therefore, you can't get the whole picture of what learners' are capable of producing. Performance Analysis looks at the learners' whole language also known as interlanguage. However, Performance Analysis focuses on language at the sentence level and doesn't take context into consideration. Discourse Analysis

looks at language at the discourse level. Therefore, it not only includes the speaker but also the listener and the context. Sentence Processing Analysis focuses on the learners' cognitive processing of language (Jiang, 2005).

A relatively new approach developed within Discourse Analysis is a discourse-centered approach suggested by Ono and Jones (2005). In this approach, one of the things researchers do is explore the discrepancies between real speech and language textbooks dialogues and make suggestions to language teaching. The approach comes from the idea that textbook dialogues are constructed and do not represent the way people really speak in naturally occurring conversations and exchanges. What we *think* we do when we talk, like when we assume which grammar structure would theoretically be most appropriate for certain situations, is often quite different from what we *actually* do. The differences might go unnoticed because we are not in the habit of reflecting on or analyzing the way we speak in the midst of or after a conversation. Ono and Jones (2005) emphasized that they do not suggest that teachers ought to completely discount constructed textbook dialogues. Instead, they suggest that by taking advantage of discourse-centered research and its teaching implications, the designers of teaching materials such as textbooks would have a more in-depth understanding of how various linguistic forms are used and how various speech acts are carried out, particularly naturally occurring speech acts. Teachers, consequently, would also benefit from the findings of these studies and apply the theories and results to better select and assess teaching materials, and to supplement their lessons if such materials are found wanting.

Learning from discourse studies could be of particular importance to teachers of language as no textbook dialogues are perfectly natural, but teachers can alter lesson plans and supplement any materials based on these discourse studies and their respective findings (Ono and Jones 2008).

There aren't many studies which have employed the discourse-centered approach, but one systematic study is Mori's (2005) on Japanese *dooshite* 'why.' She considered the differences between the uses of *dooshite* 'why?' in textbooks and those used by native speakers who engaged in actual interactions. The following is one of the textbook examples which she employed. In the following, A tells B that s/he doesn't eat breakfast and then B asks A for further explanation. In response, A provides B with a reason that s/he doesn't have money. Refer to appendix for transcription conventions.

<u>Example 1</u>

A: watashi wa asagohan wo tabe-masen.
I Top breakfast O eat-Neg
'I don't eat breakfast.'

B: **dooshite** desu ka.
why COP FP
'Why?'

A: okane ga ari-masen kara. B san wa.
money S exist-Neg because. B san Top
'Because I have no money. What about you, B?'

(Genki 1: 127)

The above is an example of how textbooks teach the *dooshite* ‘why?’ structure. In example 1, *dooshite* ‘why?’ is used by B after A’s utterance, *watashi wa asagohan wo tabemasen* ‘I don’t eat breakfast.’ Mori (2005), however, pointed out that in her spoken data that native speakers say *dooshite* ‘why?’ immediately after interlocutors’ delivery of an opinion and creates challenging tones. In English, asking *why?* does not necessarily take on the challenging tone associated with the choice of *dooshite* ‘why?’. Such a meaning in English might be conveyed in intonation, not in the query itself. However, no such explanation is found in textbooks. Mori (2005) provides an example that an American student who did a home stay in Japan always responded with *dooshite* ‘why?’ when her host family told her to do something. Her host family didn’t understand why she always asked for an explanation but interpreted that as the American way (Mori 2005). In conclusion, Mori (2005) suggested that when teaching *dooshite* ‘why?’ teachers ought to focus on its pragmatic aspect as well as its grammatical structure and function to exchange information. Otherwise, there is the possibility it could lead to a socio-cultural misunderstanding that Americans (or foreigners) always question/challenge you. Her study thus supports that closer examination of language use is essential to prepare more appropriate materials for language teaching (e.g. Jones and Ono 2008).

Another pertinent study is on so-called conditionals (*tara/nara/ba/to*) in Japanese by Ono and Jones (2008). They pointed out that linguists traditionally attempt to show how the grammar works for each of the conditional forms and how the meaning differs between the respective forms, and especially how to

differentiate between their uses and meanings, that is, how they *cannot* be used (e.g. Kuno 1973). Japanese language textbooks have followed the same trend (e.g. Tohsaku 1995b, Hatasa et al. 2000). The following are examples from Ono and Jones' (2008) research on conditionals of how linguists and language textbook authors present so-called conditionals.

Example 2

(2a)

Asu	Tokyo ni	iku	**nara**/*it**tara**	issho	ni	tsurete	itte	kudasai
tomorrow	Tokyo to	go	nara/went-tara	together	with	take	go	please

'Please take me with you if you are going to go to Tokyo tomorrow'

(Kuno 1973)

(2b)

Conditional (…**to**, -**tara**,-**ba**)	ii/yokatta	+ noni
…to, -tara, -ba	good/was good	+ noni

'It would/ would have been good if …. would happen/ would have happened.'

(Tohsaku 1995b)

As you can see, examples 2a and 2b illustrate how two or more conditional forms are introduced together, suggesting that they are regarded as a set in the Japanese grammar. However, the focus of Ono and Jones' study (2008) was whether conditional forms are rule based or lexicalized expressions. They found that so-called conditionals are more often in semi-fixed expressions than in rule-based sentences. For example, *soo-ie ba* literally means 'if (I) said so', but it's a semi-fixed expression meaning 'now that you mentioned it' or 'come to think of it.' They also found that so-called conditional forms (-*tara/nara/-ba/to*)

were not used at the same frequency. -*Tara* was used quite frequently and *nara* was found to be extremely rare.

In conclusion, Ono and Jones (2008) suggested that teachers *not* take a rule-based stance when they introduce so-called conditionals, but teach what is most commonly used in naturally occurring conversation without teaching uses in comparison to or in relation to other conditional forms. In short, different conditional forms should not be taught simultaneously at first. Given the fact that classroom instruction time is limited, teachers should introduce their students to, and have them practice using, forms most frequently used by native speakers. Their study thus confirm the importance of examining everyday speech as our goal is to understand how particular forms from specific languages are used in real- world contexts and teach *realistic* language.

1.2 Clauses in Japanese

In the previous section, previous studies which systematically looked at the discrepancies between textbook dialogues and natural speech were reviewed. One area which hasn't been explored is clauses, or more specifically, how clauses are combined in Japanese by native and the non native speakers. This, consequently, is going to be the topic of my research.

First, I need to define clauses and sentences in Japanese. From what I understood from Iwasaki and Ono (2007), there are two types of sentences in Japanese: spontaneous sentences and un-spontaneous sentences. The following is an example of spontaneous sentences from Iwasaki and Ono (2007).

Example 3

Jaa	mama	tabechau	yo
then	mom	eat	FP

'Then I (your mom) will eat it.'

(Iwasaki and Ono 2007: 1)

As seen in example 3, spontaneous sentences are short in length (one intonation unit[1]) and grammatically complete. We recognize example 3, for example, as a complete clause because there is no sequential form (-*te*) used, such as *tabechatte* 'eat it, and', that would indicate the speaker will continue the sentence. Also, spontaneous sentences are mostly "conversational phrases" such as *taihen desu ne* 'that's tough.'(Iwasaki and Ono 2007: 2). In sum, spontaneous sentences are simple and unconnected. The following, then, is an example of un-spontaneous sentences.

Example 4

1 koo yatte nete**tara**,
this did and sleeping-TARA
'when I was sleeping like this'

2 nanka shita kara,
like below from
'like from the bottom'

3 …dan to osareta yoona kanji n nat**te**,
bang QT pushed like feeling to became and
'I felt like something pushed me hard and'

4 nani kana to omot**te**,

[1] Utterances in spoken language are produced in increments termed intonation units (Chafe 1987). An intonation unit is defined as a stretch of speech occurring under a single unified intonation contour. (Du Bois et al. 1992)

what wonder QT thought and

‘I wondered what happened and’

5 ochi **tara**,

fell TARA

‘when I fell,’

6 oki **tara**,

woke up TARA

‘when I woke up’

7 moo sugoi yureteru desho,

already greatly shaking Cop

‘it was shaking so hard, you know’

(Iwasaki and Ono 2007: 4)

As you can see in example 4, un-spontaneous sentences are long in length and consist of multiple clauses (multiple intonation units) to convey rather complex information. Such clauses are combined with conjunctive suffixes such as -*te* ‘and’ (sequential form) or the conjunctive particle *kedo* ‘though’ and the last clauses end with final forms. In other words, un-spontaneous sentences are complex and connected.

In conclusion, I am going to call short, simple, and complete clauses (defined as spontaneous sentences by Iwasaki and Ono (2007)) un-connected clauses and long, complex, and incomplete sentences (defined as un-spontaneous sentences by Iwasaki and Ono (2007)) connected clauses in this study.

1.2.1 Unconnected Clauses

This section provides more examples of unconnected clauses in Japanese. From the following example on, unless specified all of the examples are from the

conversation data which I employed in this study. In the following example, native speaker T tells S (interviewer) that his trip to Jasper, Canada was cancelled. Here, we will focus only on Speaker T's utterance in lines 2 and 3.

Example 5

1 S: honto wa iku yotee datta no,
truth Top go plan Cop FP
'Were you going to go?'
→2 T: iku yotee datta.
go plan Cop
'I was going to go.'
→3 iki takatta mon.
go wanted because
'Because I wanted to go.'
4 S: shokkujanai sore.
shock – Neg that
'Wasn't that shocking?'

As seen in the above example, S asks T if he was going to go to Jasper, Canada in line 1. T answers yes in line 2, and adds that he wanted to go in line 3. Then S asks T if that was shocking in line 4. T's utterances in line 2 and 3 are both grammatically complete and independent clauses because they stand on their own. In addition, as Iwasaki and Ono (1998, 2007) defined, both lines 2 and 3 are short in length and appear to be intonation units which can be said fast and smoothly. Line 2 and 3, therefore, are examples of unconnected clauses.

1.2.2 Connected Clauses

Let's turn to connected clauses. As mentioned previously, Iwasaki and Ono (1998, 2007) found that un-spontaneous sentences consist of multiple clauses. There was no explicit explanation of this in language textbooks or grammar books such as Martin (2004), but there seem to be three ways to combine clauses in Japanese.[2] The first way is to use conjunctions. The following example is from the textbooks which were examined in this study. In the following example, we see how two independent clauses can be connected/combined using the conjunction *soshite* 'and.'

Example 6

watashi wa nihon kara kimashita. **Soshite** tanaka-san mo nihon kara kimashita.

I Top Japan from came and Mr. Tanaka also Japan from came

'I'm from Japan. And Mr. Tanaka is from Japan, too.'

(Nakama 1: 48)

As seen in example 6, there are two clauses: *watashi wa nihon kara kimashita* 'I'm from Japan' and *tanaka-san mo nihon kara kimashita* 'Mr. Tanaka is from Japan, too.' They are both grammatically complete independent grammatical clauses because they can stand on their own. They are not like what is found in Example 4; they, however, are combined with the conjunction *soshite* 'and.'

[2] As it will be discussed in 2.3, the fourth way is to use stems. In this study, however, stems are considered as conjunctive suffixes. Thus, I say there are three ways to combine clauses in Japanese.

The second way to combine clauses is to use conjunctive suffixes, such as the sequential form -*te* 'and' mentioned earlier by Iwasaki and Ono (1998, 2007). The following example shows how the textbook which I examined in this study introduces the use of conjunctive suffix -*te* 'and.'

<u>Example 7</u>

Kono daigaku niwa yuumei na toshokan ga at**te** ookii taiikukan mo arimasu.
this college in famous library S exist and big gym also exist
'This college has a famous library, and it also has a large athletic center.'
(Nakama 1: 335)

As you can see, example 7 is a sentence which consists of two clauses: *kono daigaku niwa yuumei na toshokan ga atte* 'This college has a famous library and' and *ookii taiikukan mo arimasu* 'It also has a large athletic center.' Note that *masu* at the end of the second clause is used to mark politeness. What's happening at the end of the first clause is that the verb *atte* 'has/exists and,' which derives from *aru* 'has/exists,' combines the first clause with the second clause. In other words, two independent clauses, *kono daigaku niwa yuumei na toshokan ga aru* 'This college has a famous library' and *ookii taiikukan mo aru* 'It also has a large athletic center' can be connected with conjunctions, such as *soshite* 'and' (mentioned earlier), conjunctive suffixes, such as -*te* 'and,' or conjunctive particles, such as *kedo* 'but' (which will be mentioned next). However, in the case of example 7, conjunctive suffix -*te* 'and' is used. Upon using conjunctive

suffixes, such as *-te* 'and' to combine clauses, the verb *aru* 'has/exists' at the end of the first clause needs to be inflected and changed into *atte* 'has/exists.'

English grammar doesn't change the shapes of predicates, but uses conjunctions such as *and* to combine clauses.[3] Japanese, however, is a clause-chaining language and can combine multiple clauses like chains by changing shapes of predicates. Clause-chaining languages have Subject Object Verb structure and decisions as to whether you end a sentence or not end a sentence and continue using a verb are made at the end of each clause (Iwasaki and Ono 2007: 5). It's important to note that SVO languages, such as English, don't allow this clause-chaining phenomenon to occur. In SOV languages, the speaker has the option to continue the sentence by chaining the verb to the following clause or end the sentence. Therefore, clause-chaining languages draw a distinction between final and non-final clauses (Iwasaki and Ono 2007). In other words, the first clause in example 3, *kono daigaku niwa yuumei na toshokan ga atte* 'This college has a famous library,' is ungrammatical when it's used on its own. It can't stand on its own and therefore requires the second clause to create a grammatical sentence. Therefore, if you wanted to make the first clause final, independent and grammatical, *atte* 'has/exists and' needs to be changed to *aru* 'has' and conjunctions, such as *soshite* 'and,' needs to be placed between the first and the second clauses.

Lastly, the third way to combine clauses is to use conjunctive particles. The following example shows how the conjunctive particle *noni* 'although'

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[3] Chafe (1988) discovered that in English conversations, 44 % of intonation units are connected and 56% not connected. In addition, 50% of connected intonation unites are combined with *and* and 40 % with *so*.

combines two clauses. The example is from one of the textbooks I examined in this study.

Example 8
akachan ga naiteiru **noni** okaasan wa nani mo shinai.
baby S crying although mother Top what even don't
'Although the baby is crying, the mother doesn't do anything.'
(Nakama 2: 454)

Example 8 consists of two independent clauses: *akachan ga naiteiru* 'the baby is crying' and *okaasan wa nani mo shinai* 'the mother doesn't do anything.' As you can see, those two clauses are combined with the conjunctive particle *noni* 'although.' Conjunctive particles also change the shape of the predicates because they are attached to the predicates and change the shape of the words. As you might remember, conjunctions are not attached to anything. They are independent words. In the case of example 8, the conjunctive particle *noni* 'although' is added at the end of the first clause, *akachan ga naiteiru* 'the baby is crying' and the predicate is changed into *akachan ga naiteiru noni* 'though the baby is crying'. Also, because example 8 consists of two independent clauses, conjunctions such as *keredomo* 'however' can combine the two. The difference between *akachan ga naiteiru noni okaasan wa nani mo shinai* 'Although the baby is crying, the mother doesn't do anything' and *akachan ga naiteiru. keredomo okaasan wa nani mo shina*i 'The baby is crying. However, the mother doesn't do anything' is that the first is one sentence which consists of two clauses (combined with the conjunctive particle *noni* 'although' attached on the predicate of the first

clause) and the latter has two sentences (each sentence is made of an independent clause and the two are combined with the conjunction *keredomo* 'however').

1.3 Purpose of the Present Study

This study will explore how native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses in spoken language. As mentioned in the previous section, there are three ways to combine clauses in Japanese: using conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, or conjunctive particles. The question, therefore, is how native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses in spoken Japanese. Are there any differences between native and non-native speakers in their preferences in the three ways of combining clauses? Or, do they connect/combine clauses at all? Also, I will examine how clause-combining is presented in the Japanese textbooks *Nakama* 1 and 2. As I will explain more in section 2.5, *Nakama* 1 and 2 are the textbooks which all of the non-native speakers except one in this study used. Ono and Jones (2005) suggested that dialogues in language textbooks don't reflect actual speech, but specifically, is it the case for combining clauses? How are they different exactly if so? Based on the previous findings, I would also like to see if there are any suggestions we can make to improve Japanese language teaching.

Chapter 2: Data and Methodology

2.1 Conversation Data

In this study, I will examine conversation data[4] collected at a Canadian university. The data involve interviewers (three Japanese native speakers), six native speakers and six non-native speakers (L1 English) of Japanese. All the participants in the data are university students aged 19 to 22. The non-native speakers are full time students at the university and the Japanese native speakers and the interviewers (Japanese native speakers) came to the university as exchange students. In terms of language exposure, both the interviewers and the native speakers have stayed in Canada for less than six months, and the non-native speakers, except one, have studied Japanese for two years using *Nakama* 1 and 2 at the Canadian university, and all but one has spent only a few weeks in Japan. The exceptional student, P, did a one year exchange in high school and skipped the two years of Japanese studies at the university. In other words, he didn't study *Nakama* 1 or 2 at all. However, P was included in the study as he was placed in the same third year Japanese class with others by the institution. The non-native speakers might have participated in extra-curricular activities such as Japanese conversation club where they meet with Japanese native exchange students once a week and practice Japanese.

The circumstance of the recording was one on one interview-like setting where one of the three interviewers (Japanese native speakers) met and spoke with one of the six native speakers or one of the six non-native speakers for the

[4] The corpus data were collected by Dr. Tsuyoshi Ono at the University of Alberta. The researcher wasn't involved in the process of data collection. The data were not transcribed and thus the researcher selected segments and transcribed them for the current study.

first time. Each conversation lasted about an hour, but random five minute segments were selected by the researcher for the native speakers and ten minute segment for the non-native speakers. I originally chose five minute segments for both native and non-native speakers, but it was found that the non-native speakers didn't speak as much as the native speakers did, and in order to have similar numbers of clauses in each conversation, the length of conversation needed to be doubled for the non-native speakers.

Utterances by the interviewers were excluded from the study and only the utterances produced by the 12 participants (6 native speakers and 6 non-native speakers) were analyzed in this study. The interviewers received no specific instructions or pre-determined topics. However, they tended to ask the native speakers about their experience in Canada and the non-native speakers about their experience in Japan or studying Japanese. These pseudo-conversations appeared to be similar to the format of conventional textbook dialogues; one person generally seeks information while the other provides it in a question/answer pattern. Example 1, which we saw earlier, is an example of this type. The benefit of such data is that the conversations reflect or resemble those of textbooks, but are occurring spontaneously, thereby providing us a good opportunity to study and compare them.

2.2 Methodology

In order to see how clauses are combined, the total numbers of clauses, conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, and conjunctive particles appearing in the conversations will be counted and the ratio of clauses associated with these clause-combining forms will be calculated. Originally, I attempted to determine

what forms combine what clauses and count the numbers of such clauses and forms. However, there were some cases where classification of clauses and forms were difficult. The following example explains why. In example 9, native speaker N tells R (interviewer) that she did a home stay in Toronto a couple of years ago and her English improved a little.

Example 9

1 N: …toronto ni hoomusutee o,
Toronto to homestay O
→2 shiteta n desu yo,
did Cop FP
'I did a homestay in Toronto, you know.'
3 R: a=,
a
'uh-huh'
→4 N: **de**=,
de
'and'
→5 **sorede**=,
and
'and'
6 ano= ma,
well well
'well…

7 chotto eego ga,
a little English S
8 ma honto ni,
well really
→9 sukoshi desu **kedo**,
little Cop though
'though only by little my English improved'
10 R: un un,
'uh-huh'
→ 11 N: watashi hoogakubu na **node**=…..
I lawschool Cop so
'I'm a law student, so... '

As I began to determine the frequency with which clauses are associated with clause-combining forms in my data, I soon discovered that it was often not easy to tell which clause-combining form belongs to which specific clause. In example 9, for example, there are two conjunctions *de* and *sorede* in lines 4 and 5. The question is if they belong to the preceding clause *toronto ni hoomusutee o shiteta n desu yo* 'I did a homestay in Toronto, you know' in lines 1-2 or the following clause *ano= ma chotto eego ga ma honto ni sukoshi desu kedo* 'my English improved, but only a little' in lines 6-9. Or do they belong to two different clauses: *de* the preceding and *sorede* the following clauses? Also note that the clause in line 9 already has a clause-combining form: the conjunctive particle *kedo*. In order to avoid making arbitrary decisions on how many formal connections each clause has in such examples, I decided to simply divide the total number of clauses by the total number of clause-combining forms in order to get a rough idea of the degree to which clauses are connected to other clauses in my data. In this approach, though what forms combine what clauses will not be determined, none of the devices will be disregarded.

2.3 Categorizing Stems as Conjunctive Suffixes

As mentioned earlier, this study explores if native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses, and if so, how (using conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions). There was a type of form where I had to consider its categorization: verb stems. As briefly mentioned in footnote 2, the fourth way to combine clauses is using stems. In the following example, native speaker K tells the interviewer that she was asked to move out of her apartment.

Example 10

1 K: dochira ni shite mo detette
which to do also move-please
→ 2 tte yuu koto ni **nari**=,
QT say thing became and
'I was asked to move out in any case and'
3 ..de nanka,
And well
'and well….'
4 sono imotooto ga kuru no ga,
that younger sis S come Nom S
5 juunigatsu ka ichigatsu daroo na,
December or January
6 tte ittetta kara=…..
QT said so
'(she) was saying that her sister is coming either in December or in January, so….'

As you can see in line 2, the stem of the verb *naru* 'become/happen', *nari* 'became/happened and', is used and is connected to *sono imooto ga kuru no ga juunigatsu ka ichigatsu daroo na tte itteta* '(she) was saying that her sister is coming either in December or in January' in lines 4, 5 and 6. After consideration, stems were categorized as conjunctive suffixes because, as mentioned in 1.2, you need to inflect predicates with conjunctive suffixes, and changing the verb *naru* 'become/happen' into *nari* 'became/happened and' follows the same pattern. Therefore, I'll suggest that there are three ways to combine clauses in this study.

2.4 Excluded Utterances

There are three types of utterances excluded from this study: backchanneling expressions, so-called fillers, and utterances without predicates. Backchanneling expressions are also called continuers (Schegloff 1982) or reactive tokens (Clancy et al. 1996), depending on the theoretical framework, and

short utterances, such as “uh huh” or “yeah” are such examples in English (Kita and Ide 2007). They are used to “make the conversation go smoothly” (Makino et al 1998), respond to questions, elaborate on/confirm the speaker’s statements, or cause a topic shift (Hatasa 2007). So-called fillers are used to fill in pauses involving false starts, paraphrases and expressions, such as “well” or “let’s see” in English (Makino et al 1998). Utterances without predicates are literally the ones without predicates. The following table shows some examples of the excluded utterances.

Table 1: Excluded Utterances

Backchanneling Expressions	So-called Fillers	Utterances w/o Predicates
sugoi ‘impressive’	etto nee ‘let’s see’	hoteru kaa ‘Hotel’
soo soo soo ‘yes, yes, yes’	nan dakke ‘what was that?’	eego mitaina ‘’like in English?
maji de ‘seriously?’	nan te yuu n daro ‘what-cha-ma-call-it ?’	
he= ‘uh-huh’	doo nan daroo ne ‘I wonder…’	
desu yo ne ‘isn’t that right?’		

As you can see in the left column in table 1, *sugoi* ‘impressive,’ *soo soo soo* ‘yes, yes, yes,’ *maji de* ‘seriously?,’ *he=* ‘uh-huh,’ and *desu yo ne* ’isn’t that right?’ are examples of back channels. The following example shows how the backchannel, *majide* ‘seriously?’ is used in the data I analyzed. S (interviewer) tells T (native speaker) about her Banff, Canada trip and says that Moraine Lake she was more beautiful than Lake Louise.

Example 11

1 S: sore,
that
2 metcha kiree datta,
really beautiful Cop
'That (Moraine Lake) was really beautiful.'
→3 T: majide,
seriously
'Seriously?'
4 S" reikuruiizu yori kiree datta,
Lake Louise than more beautiful Cop
'It was more beautiful than Lake Louise.'

The second type of utterances excluded is so-called fillers, which you see in the middle column in table 1. As can be seen, *etto nee* 'let's see,' *nan dakke* 'what was that?' *nan te yuu n daro* 'what-cha-ma-call-it?,' and *doo nan daroo ne* 'I wonder…' are examples of excluded utterances. For example, *nan dakke* 'what was that?' is a clause with the predicate *dakke* (past tense of copula verb plus the question marker). The following example shows how *nan dakke* 'what was that?' is used in the data I analyzed. In example 12, native speaker T asks S (interviewer) if S went to the mountain in Banff, Canada.

Example 12

1 T: nanka,
like
→2 nan dakke,
what Cop
'Well, what was that called?'
3 yama itta,
mountain went
'Did you go to that mountain?'
4 roopuuei agatte noboru yatsu,
ropeway go and climb thing
'The one you take the ropeway and go up'
5 S: a=,
ah

6 roopuuei wa ittenai,
ropeway TOP go-Neg
'Ah, I didn't to go the ropeway.

As can be seen in example 12, T says *nan dakke* 'what was that?' in line 2. By saying this, T may be word searching or trying to think of what to say next (the content, not just specific words). Because he can't remember the name of the mountain, he continues and describes the mountain, which has a ropeway to go up to the top, in line 4. What should be noted is that T is just word searching and not asking questions even though it's a question sentence (clause with the predicate). In fact, S says *roopuwei wa ittenai* 'I didn't to go the ropeway' in line 6 without answering T's question. Because some utterances have clauses with predicates but they function as so-called fillers, those so-called fillers were excluded and not counted as clauses.

The last type of utterances excluded is the one without predicates, which you see in the right column in table 1. For example, *hoteru kaa* 'Hotel, and' *eego mitaina* 'like in English?' were excluded. More precisely, in the cases of *hoteru kaa* 'Hotel,' it has a sentence final particle *ka* 'is it?' and *eego mitaina* ''like in English?' has a sentence final utterance/particle (Maynard 2004) *mitaina* 'like' but they both have no copula verb (predicate). As mentioned in 1.2.2, changing shapes of predicates is necessary to combine clauses using conjunctive suffixes. Since this study explores how native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses and see if they have any preference (conjunctive suffixes,

conjunctive particles, or conjunctions), utterances without predicates[5] were excluded from the study.

2.5 Textbooks

As to better understand the how and why non-native speakers combine clauses, textbooks will be examined and we will discuss if there is any connection between language input and non-native speakers' discourse. Given the fact that the non-native speakers in the data studied Japanese as a foreign language as opposed to Japanese as a second language[6], and all but one have spent little time in Japan, it's reasonable to consider that a sizable amount of their input came from what is covered in their language class, especially its main written material, the textbooks. In other words, textbooks are one of the main sources from which learners get information about the language. To be specific, I will look at *Nakama* 1 (Makino et al 1998) and 2 (Hatasa et al 2000) because these are the textbooks which the non-native speakers in this study used. *Nakama* 1 and 2 are widely recognized textbooks and one of the most used textbooks in North America. They are designed to present the fundamentals of the Japanese language primarily to university students.

According to Makino and Hatasa (1998, 2000), *Nakama* 1 and 2 focus on proficiency-based foreign language learning. In terms of proficiency levels, successful students should reach a basic survival level that roughly corresponds to the Novice High level of the proficiency guidelines of the American Council on

[5] Japanese clauses cannot be combined using conjunctive suffixes or conjunctive particles if there are no predicates.
[6] Japanese taught in Japan and that taught abroad are differentiated: The first is called Japanese as a second language and the latter is called Japanese as a foreign language.

the Teaching of Foreign Languages at the end of *Nakama* 1. Also, at the end of *Nakama* 2, a student's level should reach a basic communicative level that corresponds roughly to the intermediate-to-Mid level of the proficiency guidelines. (*Nakama* 1: xiv) Hatasa and Makino also state that:

> Learners who studied *Nakama* 1 and 2 are expected to have four balanced skills: listening, speaking, writing, and reading. *Nakama* 1 and 2 are designed to strike a balance between the curriculum focused only on speaking and listening over the first two years of instruction and the curriculum that equally emphasizes all four skills from the very beginning. In the first of these curricula, the sudden change from speaking and listening to reading and writing at the third year-level (intermediate) is difficult for students. It does not provide students with enough time to develop reading proficiency before graduation within a four-year college system. On the other hand, in the second curriculum, equal emphasis on all four skills from the beginning is overwhelming for students of Japanese (Hatasa, Hatasa, and Makino 1998, 2000: xiv).

At the university where the data was collected, *Nakama* 1 was used in their first year of instruction and *Nakama* 2 in their second year of instruction. *Nakama* 1 consists of 12 chapters and *Nakama* 2 has 10 chapters to achieve the above outcomes. The non-native speakers in the data, except one student, studied Japanese for two years using *Nakama* 1 and 2. The exceptional student, P didn't study the textbooks, but was placed in the same class as the others for his third year Japanese by the institution. Therefore, all of their levels were more or less the same and should be advanced beginner or intermediate.

Chapter 3: Results

3.1 Connected and Unconnected Clauses

As mentioned earlier, I explored how native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses in spoken language in this study. There are three ways to combine clauses in Japanese: using conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, or conjunctive particles, but how do native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses in spoken Japanese? Are there any differences between native and non-native speakers in their preferences in the three ways of combining clauses? Or, do they combine clauses at all? In order to see how clauses are combined, the total numbers of clauses, conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, and conjunctive particles appearing in conversations were counted and the ratio of clause connections was calculated. As explained in 2.2, specifically what devices (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions) combine what clauses was not examined, but the total number of clauses was simply divided by the total number of devices (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions).

First of all, I would like to see if native and non-native speakers of Japanese connect or do not connect clauses. The following table shows the results. Note that from the following table on, unless specified the number of devices used by all the participants are grouped together to see native/non-native trends.

Table 2: Connected and Unconnected clauses

	Native	**Non-native**
Connected Clauses	**60** % (215)	**23.5** % (57)
Unconnected Clauses	**40** % (143)	**76.5** % (186)
Total	**100** % (358)	**100** % (243)

What you see in parentheses is the raw frequency of occurrence. As is seen in the middle column in table 2, 60 % of native speakers' clauses were connected and 40% were unconnected. In contrast, as can be seen in the right column, 23.5% of non-native speakers' clauses were connected and 76.5 % were unconnected. In other words, native speakers tend to combine clauses, while non-native speakers tend *not* to combine clauses.

Now, I would like to see how native and non-native speakers combine clauses. Therefore we'll only look at 215 connected clauses hereafter. The following are the details of the connected clauses. What did native and non-native speakers of Japanese use? The following table shows what device (conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, or conjunctive particles) was used to combine clauses.

Table 3: Connected Clauses

		Native Speakers	**Non-native**
Connected Clauses	**Conjunctive Suffixes**	**53** % (114)	**22.8** % (13)
	Conjunctive Particles	**38.6** % (83)	**26.3**% (15)
	Conjunctions	**8.4** % (18)	**50.9** % (29)
Total		**100** % (215)	**100** % (57)

What is seen in the parentheses are the raw figures. As seen in the table, native speakers used conjunctive suffixes 53% of the time, conjunctive particles 38.6%, and conjunctions 8.4% of the time to connect clauses. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, used conjunctions 50.9% of the time, conjunctive particles 26.3%, and conjunctive suffixes 22.8% of the time to connect clauses. In other words, native speakers used conjunctive suffixes the most and conjunctions the least, whereas non-native speakers used conjunctions the most and conjunctive suffixes the least. Essentially, the preferences among the three ways of combining clauses are reversed between natives and non-natives.

3.2 Individual Differences

In this section, we shall determine if there are any differences among the speakers. In section 3.1, we looked at what percentage of clauses by the native/non-native speakers were connected or unconnected and what devices (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions) were used to combine clauses. In order to examine the group trend, I grouped all the speakers'

clauses together and calculated the percentages. Doing so, however, disregarded individual differences. Therefore, in this section, I would like to explore whether each individual speaker followed the group trend or not.

I would like to look at the native speakers first. As we saw in section 3.1, the native speakers' group trend was that they used conjunctive suffixes the most and conjunctions the least. The following chart shows the device types used by the native speakers.

Chart 1: Native speakers' individual differences

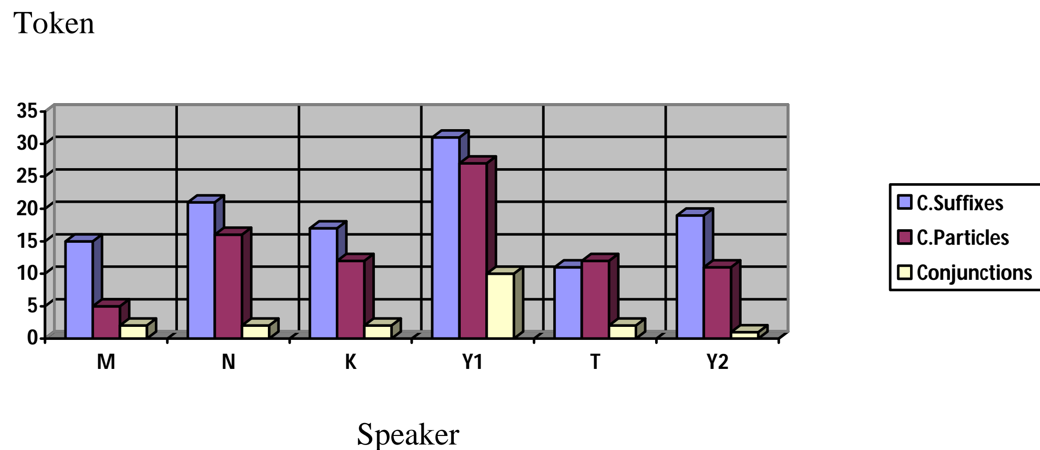

Chart 1 shows the device types used by the six native speakers. As you can see, most followed the same trend: conjunctive suffixes were used the most and conjunctions were used the least. Unlike the others, speaker T used conjunctive particles slightly more often than conjunctive suffixes, but conjunctions the least. Overall, they followed the same trend.

Next, I would like to look at the non-native speakers. As seen in section 3.1, the non-native speakers' group trend was that they used conjunctions the

most and conjunctive suffixes the least. The following chart shows the device types used by the non-native speakers.

<u>Chart 2: Non-native speakers' individual differences</u>

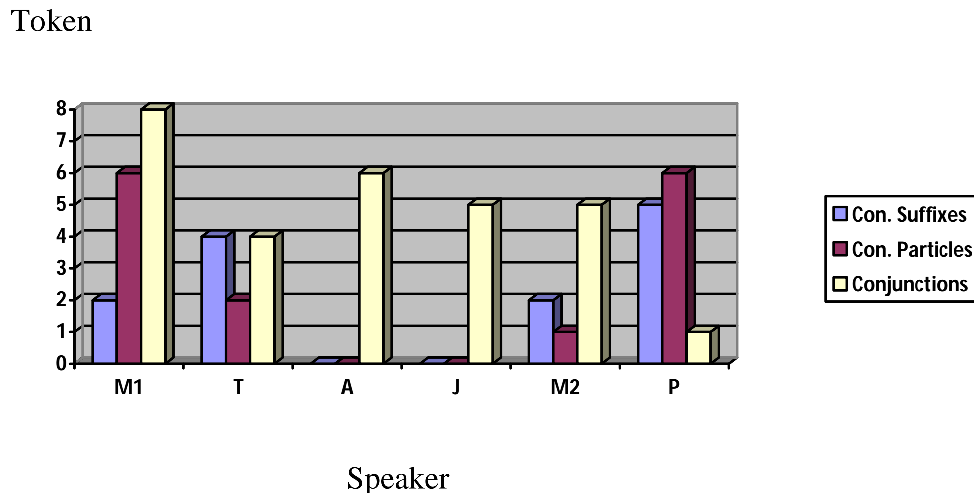

Chart 2 shows the device types used by the six non-native speakers. As you can see in the chart, the non-native speakers exhibited more individual variations than the native speakers did. When we looked at the result in section 3.1 there appeared to be a group trend: conjunctions were used the most and conjunctive suffixes were used the least. However, when we look at chart 2, we know that the trend didn't represent each individual's preference. One thing I can say about the non-native speakers is that conjunctions were the most preferred method by four of the six speakers. For T, conjunctions were one of the most preferred ways to combine clauses.

Another thing that should be mentioned is that the way speaker P connected clauses was closer to that of the native speakers. He used conjunctive

particles the most (as opposed to conjunctive suffixes), but conjunctions the least. As you might remember, the native speakers used conjunctive suffixes the most and conjunctions the least. As I mentioned in section 2.1, P was the one who had done one year exchange in high school in Japan and had not studied *Nakama* 1 and 2. This speaker will be discussed further on in the thesis.

Overall, it was found that using conjunctions was the most preferred device to combine clauses by the non-native speakers. There was no clear trend in the use of conjunctive particles and conjunctive suffixes.

3.3 Specific Forms Used by Native Speakers and Non-native Speakers

In the previous section, individual differences among the native and the non-native speakers were discussed. In this section, we'd like to see if there are any differences between the native and non-native speakers as a whole in terms of their choices of forms. In section 3.1 and 3.2, we looked at what devices (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions) were used. In this section, we're going to closely examine precisely what forms were used in each device category.

The following table shows the conjunctive suffixes that the native and the non-native speakers used. The numbers next to each form are tokens. Note that in the following table, all of the tokens by individual speakers are grouped together in order to see native/non-native trends.

Table 4: Conjunctive suffixes

Native		Non-native	
-te 'and'	98	-te 'and'	12
-tara 'when/if'	8		
Stem	5		
-ba ;when/if'	5		
-tari 'things like…'	4		
Total	120	Total	12

As seen in the table, the native speakers used several conjunctive suffix forms but the non-natives only used *–te* form. As you can see in the first row, (-*te)* was used the most by both the native and non-native speakers. The following example shows how the non-native speaker P used the conjunctive suffix -*te* 'and.' In example 13, P tells the interviewer (native speaker) S that he wants to go back to Japan and live there someday.

Example 13

→1 P: nihon ni modot**te** sumitai.
Japan to return and want to live
'I want to go back to Japan and live there'
2 S: a soo na n da=,
ah so Nom Cop
'is that so?'

As you can see in line 1, *modotte* 'return and', which is derived from the verb *modoru* 'return', is used. As mentioned earlier, -*te* 'and' is a sequential form. I would also like to point out that the native speakers also used -*tara* 'when/if' frequently. The following example shows how native speaker N uses -*tara* 'when/if' in addition to the sequential form of copula verb *desu* 'is' (called *-te* form in this study), *de* 'is and'. In example 14, N tells the interviewer R that she

has to start looking for a job when she goes back to Japan. (It's typical for Japanese university students to find a job prior to their graduation.)

Example 14

→1 N: kaet**tara** shuukatsu de=,
Return-TARA job-hunting and
'When I go back to Japan, it's time for job hunting and'
2 R: un,
uh-huh
'Uh-huh'

As you can see in line 1, *kaettara* 'when I return' which derives from the verb *kaeru* 'return' is used. Next, I would like to look at conjunctive particles. The following chart shows the conjunctive particles which native and non-native speakers used.

Table 5: Conjunctive particles

Native		Non-native	
kedo 'though'	39	kara 'so'	8
kara 'so'	12	kedo 'though'	5
shi 'and'	19	shi 'and'	1
to 'when/ if'	8	nara 'if'	1
node 'so'	6	to 'when/ if'	1
noni 'although'	2		
Total	86	Total	15

As seen in the above table, the native speakers used *kedo* 'though', *kara* 'so' *shi* 'and' frequently. In particular, *kedo* 'though' was used by the native speakers quite frequently. The following example shows how native speaker T uses the conjunctive particle *kedo* 'though.' In example 15, T tells the interviewer

S that he was concerned about high calories in Canadian food but found it wasn't too bad.

Example 15

1 T: wa= nanka,
wow like
'like wow'
→2 karorii takasoo toka omotta **kedo**,
calories high like thought though
'Though I thought calories must be high'
3 S: un,
uh-huh
'Uh-huh'
4 T: igai to,
surprise and
'To my surprise'
daijoubu da yo,
alright Cop FP
'It's alright, you know.'

As you can see in line 2, the conjunctive particle *kedo* 'though' is added after the verb *omotta* 'thought'. The forms frequently used by native speakers (*kedo* 'though', *kara* 'so' and *shi* 'and') were also used by non-native speakers, though the frequencies differed where *kara* 'so' was most frequent. Lastly, the following table shows the conjunctions which native and non-native speakers used.

Table 6: Conjunctions

Native		Non-native	
de 'and'	18	demo 'but'	25
demo 'but'	16	to * 'and'	8
dakara 'so'	15	sono ato de 'after that'	6
tte yuu ka 'rather'	8	soshite 'and'	5
sore de 'and'	6	dakara 'so'	4
dakedo 'though'	4	sorekara 'and then'	2
shikamo 'also'	3		
sore nano ni 'however'	1		
datte 'because'	1		
Total	72	Total	50

As you can see, two of the three most frequently used conjunctions by the native speakers (*demo* 'but' and *dakara* 'so') were also used by the non-native speakers. For some reason *de* 'and' was not used by the non-native speakers. The following example shows how one of the non-native speakers J used *demo* 'but'. In example 16, J explains to the interviewer R that he ate something strange in Japan and it had an acquiring taste.

Example 16

1 J: mono,
thing
'food'
2 tabemashita,
ate
'I ate'
3 R: un,
uh-huh
'Uh-huh'
4 J: un,
yes
'Uh-huh'
5 henna=,

strange
'strange'
6 [mono],
thing
'food'
7 R: [un un un],
yes yes yes
'Uh-huh'
→ 8 J: **demo**=,
but
'But'
9 a=,
ah
'Ah'
10 sono ato de,
that after and
'After that'
11 [suki],
like
'like it'
12 R: [dan dan],
gradually
'eventually'

As you can see in line 8, non-native speaker J used the conjunction *demo* 'but' as a clause-combining device.

Interestingly, the table further shows that, other than *demo* 'but' and *dakara* 'so', native and non-native speakers used two different sets of conjunctions. Moreover, many of these conjunctions, not shared by natives and non-natives, are found to be associated with similar meanings. For example, native speakers used *de* [7]'and' and *sore de* 'and' but non-native speaker used *to** 'and', sono *ato de* 'after that', *soshite* 'and' and *sorekara* 'after that.' They all share similar additive and/or sequential meanings. As far as I am aware, there has

[7] There is a study done on *sorede* 'and', *nde* 'and', and *de* 'and' by Sadler (2001). She studied their occurrences and *de* 'and' was found to occur the most (66.5%), *sorede* 'and' the second (24.1%) and *nde* 'and' the least (9.4%). This corresponds to the result from the current study that native speakers used *de* 'and' more than *sorede* 'and.' In this study, *nde* 'and' wasn't used at all.

been no study on these forms with similar meanings, how they are different, and how they are used in conversations. Therefore, how they differ from each other semantically and how they are used differently remains in question. This will be discussed later.

Finally, it should also be noted that non-native speakers used the nominal particle *to* ‘and’ ungrammatically to combine clauses. In the Japanese grammar, the particle *to* ‘and’ can combine two noun phrases, such as *ringo to banana desu* ‘These are apples and bananas.’ The particle *to* ‘and’, however, cannot combine clauses. Possible explanations for the ungrammatical use of *to* ‘and’ will be provided later.

To summarize, the overall forms frequently used by the native speakers are also used by the non-native speakers regardless of device types (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions). Native and non-native speakers used two different sets of conjunctions which have similar sequential/additive meanings.

Chapter 4: Discussion

4.1 Summary and Possible Explanations

In the previous chapter, the results from the data analysis were presented. It was found that native speakers tend to combine clauses, while non-native speakers tend *not* to combine clauses. Regarding device preferences, native speakers combined clauses using conjunctive suffixes the most, conjunctive particles the second, and conjunctions the least. For non-native speakers, they showed their preference for conjunctions. In other words, their preference of device for combining clauses was more or less reversed. In terms of their choices of device forms, native speakers used a larger variety of conjunctive suffixes and particles than non-native speakers. Among the ones used by non-native speakers are the frequently used by native speakers. That is, most of the frequent conjunctive suffixes and conjunctive particles are also used by non-natives but the rest of the native conjunctive suffixes and conjunctive particles are not used by non-native speakers. On the other hand, while a few frequent conjunctions (i.e., *demo* and *dakara*) are shared by native speakers and non-native speakers, the two groups of speakers used two different sets of forms for less frequent conjunctions. In this chapter, possible explanations for the above findings will be provided further.

4.1.1 Combining Clauses by Non-native Speakers and Potential Influence of English and Additional Factors

Regarding the non-natives' preference for conjunctions, it might be transfer from the native language of the non-native speakers: English. English grammar does not change the shapes of predicates to combine clauses

(conjunctive suffixes) or add a new part (particle) to the word (conjunctive particles) but simply inserts conjunctions between clauses. Also in Japanese, for conjunctions, you just insert another word (conjunction) between clauses. This may be why non-native speakers might have opted to use a method they are used to in their native language.

An additional factor is the complexity of using conjunctive suffixes and conjunctive particles in conversations. As mentioned earlier, conjunctive suffixes and conjunctive particles require some change in the shape of predicate and it seems logical to assume that this process is cognitively more demanding than simply inserting conjunctions in the utterance. Maintaining conversations is already cognitively challenging because it requires understanding the conversations and producing correct sentences using complex grammar. Therefore, it's plausible that non-the native speakers who don't feel comfortable changing the shape of verbs, adjectives, or nouns have chosen to use conjunctions as a conversation strategy because it may be that they didn't want to be embarrassed by struggling with producing appropriate predicate forms and slowing or hindering a conversation.

4.1.2 Frequently Used Forms by Non-native Speakers and Potential Influence of Input.

For connected clauses, in general, forms frequently used by the native speakers were also used by the non-native speakers, regardless of device types (conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions). This might have something to do with the language exposure or the input non-natives get.

4.1.2.1 Influence from Native Speakers

The non-native speakers may have been exposed to the way native speakers combine clauses. Possible sources are their teachers, friends, TV, and the internet. Such may be the case with Speaker P, who, as you may recall, had the most exposure to spontaneous Japanese conversation during his one year stay in Japan. Speaker P combines clauses in the way that Japanese native speakers do, which could be connected to his input.

4.1.2.2 Influence from Language Textbooks

It appears that language textbooks play a large role in the way non native speakers combine clauses. In fact, most forms used by non-native speakers are covered in the textbooks and the frequent forms used by non-native speakers are taught early in their language instruction. The following tables show the forms used by the non-native speakers and when each form is taught in the textbooks. First, let's look at conjunctive suffixes.

Table 7a: Conjunctive Suffixes Used by Non-native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama.*

Form	Token	*Nakama*	Year/Semester
-te 'and'	98	*Nakama* 1 Chap 10	1st yr/2nd semester

As seen in table 7a, the sequential form -*te* 'and' is taught in *Nakama* 1 chapter 10, which means during the first year of instruction (second semester) for these non-natives. The following table shows the conjunctive suffixes used only by the native speakers and when each form is taught in the textbooks.

Table 7b: Conjunctive Suffixes Used Only by Native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama*

-tara ‘when/if’	8	*Nakama* 2 Chap 3	2nd yr/1st semester
stem	5	Never	
-ba ‘when/if’	5	*Nakama* 2 Chap 7	2nd yr/2nd semester
-tari ‘things like…’	4	*Nakama* 1 Chap 11	1st yr/2nd semester

As you can see, *tari* ‘things like’ is introduced relatively early in *Nakama*. However, the non-nantive speakers didn’t use it at all. Next, I would like to show when each conjunctive particle used by non-native speakers is introduced in the textbooks.

Table 8a: Conjunctive Particles Used by Non-native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama*.

Form	Token	*Nakama*	Year/Semester
kara ‘so’	8	*Nakama* 1 Chap 6	1st yr/ 1st semester
kedo ‘though’	5	*Nakama* 2 Chap 2 [8]	2nd yr/1st semester
nara ‘if’	1	*Nakama* 2 Chap 4	2nd yr/ 1st semester
shi ‘and’	1	*Nakama* 2 Chap 4	2nd yr/ 1st semester
to ‘when/ if’	1	*Nakama* 2 Chap 6	2nd yr/ 2nd semester

As is seen in table 8a, all of the forms are covered in the textbooks. *Kara* ‘so’, which the non-native speakers used the most frequently, is taught in *Nakama* 1 Chapter 6 (first year, first semester) and *Kedo* ‘though’, the second frequent form, is taught in *Nakama* 2 Chapter 2 (second year, first semester). In other words, *Kara* ’so’, which was the most often used conjunctive particle by the non-

[8] *Kedo* ‘though’ appears in *Nakama* 2 Chapter 2 and there is an exercise where learners need to make a sentence using *kedo* ‘though’. However, it’s never officially introduced or how it should be used.

native speakers, is introduced earliest in *Nakama* among all the conjunctive particles used by them. The following table shows the conjunctive suffixes used only by the native speakers and when each form is taught in the textbooks.

Table 8b Conjunctive Suffixes Used Only by Native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama*

Form	Token	*Nakama*	Year/Semester
node 'so'	6	*Nakama* 2 Chapter 1	2nd yr/1st semester
noni 'although'	2	*Nakama* 2 Chapter 9	2nd yr/2nd semester

As you can see, *node* 'so' is introduced in *Nakama* 2 chapter 1, and *noni* 'although' is introduced in *Nakama* 2 chapter 9. Note that *node* 'so' is introduced relatively early. However, the non-native speakers didn't use *node* 'so' at all. Lastly, I would like to look at conjunctions.

Table 9a Conjunctions Used by Non-native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama*

Form	Token	*Nakama*	Year/Semester
demo 'but'	25	Nakama 1 Chap 6/7	1st yr/ 1st semester
to [9]* 'and'	8	Nakama 1 Chap 2	1st yr/ 1st semester
sono ato de 'after that'	6	Nakama 2 Chap 2	2nd yr/ 1st semester
soshite 'and'	5	Nakama 1 Chap 2	1st yr/ 1st semester
dakara 'so'	4	Nakama 2 Chap 2	2nd yr/ 1st semester
sorekara 'and then'	2	Nakama 1 Chap 6/7	1st yr/ 1st semester

[9] As is explained earlier, the particle *to* 'and' which combines nouns (noun phrases) was incorrectly used to combine clauses by non-native speakers.

As is seen in table 9, all of the forms used by the non-native speakers are covered in their textbooks. Also, *demo* 'but', which the non-native speakers used the most frequently, is taught in their first year of instruction (first semester). One thing which might be noticed in this table is the discrepancy between the frequency of various forms and their first introductions. That is, it doesn't appear the most frequent form was taught the earliest or the least frequent form the latest. For instance, *demo* 'but' was used a lot more frequently than *soshite* 'and' even though *soshite* 'and' is taught earlier than *demo* 'but'. One reason for this might be the amount of input they get. *Demo* 'but' seems to be used quite often throughout the remaining chapters after its first introduction in *Nakama* but *soshite* 'and' was used only once in a dialogue throughout *Nakama* 1 and 2. As you can see in table 6 above, *soshite* 'and' is not used by native speakers at all. Also, to my native ear, the non-native speakers' uses of *soshite* 'and' sound a little awkward. This will be further discussed in 4.1.3.

The following table shows the conjunctions used only by the native speakers and when each form is introduced in the textbooks.

Table 9b Conjunctions Used Only by Native Speakers and Their Introduction in *Nakama*

Form	Token	*Nakama*	Year/Semester
de 'and'	18	Nakama 2 Chap 7	2nd yr/ 2nd semester
tte yuu ka 'rather'	8	Never	N/A
sore de 'and'	6	Nakama 2 Chap 10	2nd yr/ 2nd semester
dakedo 'though'	4	Nakama 2 Chap 2	2nd yr/ 1st semester
shikamo 'also'	3	Never	N/A
sore nano ni 'however'	1	Never	N/A
datte 'because'	1	Never	N/A

As you can see, the forms used only by the native speakers are either taught rather late or not taught at all in *Nakama* except for *dakedo* 'though'.

In summary, by investigating the correlation between the forms frequently used by the non-native speakers and when each form was taught in the textbooks, it was suggested that the forms used by the non-native speakers are taught in the textbooks and the forms frequently used by them are taught early. However, there were some forms which native speakers used but the textbooks don't teach at all.

4.1.3 Possible Explanations for Different Conjunctions Used by Native and Non-native Speakers

In this section, I will first talk about the less frequent sequential conjunctions used by the non-native speakers and how awkward it is when the same form, *sono ato de* 'after that', is used repeatedly. After that, the non-native speakers' uses of the conjunction *soshite* 'and' will be discussed next and the ungrammatically used nominal particle *to* 'and' the last.

As we have seen in section 3.3, it was found that native and the non-native speakers used more different forms for conjunctions than for conjunctive suffixes, or conjunctive particles. Moreover, less frequently used conjunctions were found to share similar sequential meanings. For example, native speakers used *de* 'and' and *sore de* 'and' but the non-native speaker used *to* *'and', *sono ato de* 'after that', *soshite* 'and' and *sorekara* 'after that.' Interestingly, the non-native speakers tended to pick one or two forms and used it/them throughout the conversations. The following table shows the conjunctions with sequential meanings used by the six non-native speakers in this study.

Table 10: Conjunctions with Sequential Meanings Used by Non-native Speakers

Speaker	M1	T	A	J	M2	P
Conjunction Forms	sono ato de 'after that'	to* 'and'	soshite 'and'	sorekara 'after that'	N/A	soshite 'and'
			to* 'and'	to* 'and'		
				sono ato de 'after that'		

As you can see in table 10, the non-native speakers didn't use many conjunction forms with sequential meanings. Specifically, M2 used none, M1, T and P used one form, A used two forms and J used three forms. However, T, A, and J used the conjunction *to* 'and' ungrammatically.

Why, then, did the non-native speakers pick one or two conjunction forms and repeatedly used it/them? It might be partly because differences among these

sequential conjunctions are not taught in the textbooks. It might also be because it is probably easier for the non-native speakers to stick with one form in having a conversation, which is already cognitively pretty demanding.

However, I would like to point out that when the same conjunction form is repeatedly used, it seems to sound awkward. The following sections present examples.

4.1.3.1 Use of Less Frequent Forms with Similar Sequential Meanings

The following example shows how the conjunction *sono ato de* 'after that' is repeatedly used by the non-native speakers. In example 17, the non-native speaker M talks about his trip to Japan:

Example 17

1 M: [shizuoka],
shizuoka
'Shizuoka'
2 F: [shizuoka],
shizuoka
'Shizuoka'
→3 M: **sonoatode** futsukakan,
that after two days
'after that for two days'
4 <L2 NO L2>
'no'
5 futsukakan?
two days
'For two days?'
6 F: un,
yes
'Uh-huh'
7M: un, <L2 two L2>.
'Yes, two'
8 futsukakan ano,
Two days well
'Well, for two days'
9 nagoya ni itta=.

Nagoya to went
'I went to Nagoya'
10 F: u=n,
yes
'Uh-huh'
11M: ano,
well
'Well'
→12 **sonoato de**=,
that after
'**After that**'
13 …kyoto ni,
Kyoto to
'to Kyoto'
14 F: un un,
yes, yes
'Uh-huh'
15 M: itta=,
went
'went to'
16 futsuka kan,
two days
'for two days'
17 …ano=,
well
'Well'
→18 **sonoato de**=,
that after
'**After that**'
19 ano,
well
'well'
20 …tookyoo ni,
Tokyo to
'to Tokyo'
21 …un,
yes
'Yes'
22 tomodachi,
friend
'friend'
23 tookyoo de=,
Tokyo in
'in Tokyo'
24 tomodachi ni [aimashita],
friend with met

'met with friends'

As you can see in example 17, the non-native speaker M used *sono ato de* 'after that' in lines 3, 12, and 18 and, as mentioned earlier, consecutive uses of *sono ato de* 'after that' sound somewhat awkward to my native ear, and this intuition was confirmed by the native speakers I consulted with. This is probably because natives don't normally use the same forms repeatedly. In fact, the native speakers in this study mixed various conjunction forms with similar meanings in the data. The following example shows how the native speakers mixed different conjunction forms. In the following example 9 (we have seen this example earlier in section 2.2), native speaker N tells R (interviewer) that she did a home stay in Toronto a couple of years ago and her English improved a little. The following is taken from the corpus data analyzed in this study.

Example 9

1 N: …toronto ni hoomusutee o,
     Toronto to homestay O
2   shiteta n desu yo,
     did   Cop FP
     'I did a homestay in Toronto, you know.'
3 R: a=,
     a
     'uh-huh'
→4 N: **de**=,
     de
     'and'
→5   **sorede**=,
     and
     'and'
6   ano= ma,
     well well
     'well…
7   chotto eego ga,

a little English S
8 ma honto ni…………………………
well really

As you can see, N used the conjunction *de* 'and' in line 4 and another conjunction *sorede* 'and' in line 5 instead of using *de* 'and' again in line 5.

No such behavior is described in the textbooks (Makino, Hatasa, et al. 1998, 2000) or grammar books (e.g. Martin 2004) but my impression is that if some other conjunctions with a similar meaning are used, the segment becomes more natural.

Next, I'm going to talk about the conjunction *soshite* 'and' which was used by the non-native speakers. *Soshite* 'and' is another conjunction which sounded awkward to my native ears. The following shows how the conjunction *soshite* 'and' was used by the non-native speaker A. In example 18, A tells the interviewer R that since she only spoke little Japanese, her home stay experience was tough.

<u>Example 18</u>

1: A: a=,
a
'Umn'
2 chotto nihongo=,
little Japanese
'Little Japanese'
3 R: un=,
yes
'Uh=huh'
4 A: ga=,
S
5 ..a=,
a
'Umn'

6 …deki=mashita,
could do
'I was able to speak'
7 R: un un,
yes yes
'Uh-huh'
8 A: sonotoki ni,
that time at
'At that time'
9 R: un un,
yes yes
'Uh-huh'
→ 10 A: **soshite**=,
and
'And'
11 totemo muzukashikatta,
very was hard
'It was very hard'

As you can see in line 10, *soshite* 'and' is used, and it sounds unnatural. This intuition was also confirmed by the native speakers I consulted with. This is probably because *soshite* 'and' is primarily a written form. In fact the native speakers in this study didn't use the conjunction *soshite* 'and' in their conversations at all. However, no such description was found in the textbooks (Makino, Hatasa, et al. 1998, 2000) or grammar books (e.g. Martin 2004). If the non-native speakers happen to pick *soshite* 'and' as their sole sequential conjunction, which happens in my data, it ends up sounding awkward to the ears of native speakers.

4.1.3.2 Use of *to*

It was also found that the non-native speakers used the nominal particle *to* 'and' ungrammatically as an additive conjunction. As mentioned before, the particle *to* 'and' can combine two noun phrases, such as *arisu-san to arisu-san no*

tomodachi wa daigakusee desu. 'Alice and Alice's friend are college students.' (*Nakama* 1: 47) The particle *to* 'and', however, *cannot* combine clauses in Japanese. Having said that, I would like to provide an example of how the non-native speakers ungrammatically used the particle *to* 'and' to combine clauses. In example 19, the non-native speaker A talks about her home stay in Japan.

Example 19

1 A: watashi wa=,
I Top
'I'
2 a=,
a
'um'
3 chotto nihongo ga shittemashita,
little Japanese S knew
'I was able to speak Japanese a little'
→4 **to**=,*
and
'and'
5 R: un,
yes
'uh-huh'
6 A: watashi no hosutofamirii no imooto wa,
my hostfamily's younger sister Top
'my host sister'
7 ..a,
a
'um'
8 eego ga,
English S
'English'
9 hanasemasen,
couldn't speak
'can't speak'
→10 **to**=,*
and
'**and**'
11 kaiwa=,
conversation

'conversation'
12 wa totemo [muzukashikatta],
Top very difficult
'was very difficult'

As seen in lines 4 and 10, A used the particle *to* 'and' ungrammatically. I would like to point out that A wasn't only speaker who used *to* 'and' ungrammatically. As we saw in table 10, 3 of 6 non-native speakers used *to* 'and' ungrammatically.

One thing which should be noted is the textbook the non-native speakers studied (*Nakama* 1) explains that the particle *to* 'and' can be used to connect noun phrases and *not* to combine clauses. The following is quoted from *Nakama* 1.

> The particle *to* 'and' is used only to connect nouns. It cannot be used to connect two or more sentences or verb phrases. To connect sentences, use the conjunction *soshite* 'and'.
>
> tanaka san **to** watashi wa nihon kara kimashita.
> Tanaka Mr. and I Top Japan from came
> *'Mr Tanaka and I are from Japan.'*
>
> watashi wa nihon kara kimashita. Soshite tanaka-san mo nihon kara kimashita.
> I Top Japan from came and Tanaka Mr also Japan from came
> *'I'm from Japan. And Mr. Tanaka is from Japan, too.'*
>
> (*Nakama* 1: 47-48)

Despite the explicit explanation and examples shown above, half the non-native speakers, including A, did use particle *to* 'and' to combine clauses.

One possible explanation for this is that the translation 'and' for *to* in the word glossary in *Nakama* might have given the wrong idea that *to*, like *and* in English, could be used to combine clauses (L1 transfer). Word glossaries tend to give minimal translations but learners tend to use word glossaries as dictionaries.

Another possible explanation is that the non-native speakers are confused with the conjunctive particle *to* 'when/if'. The following textbook example shows how the conjunctive particle *to* 'when/if' is used.

Example 20

hidari ni magaru **to** kooen ga sugu hidari ni miemasu.
left to turn if park S soon left on can see
'If you turn to your left, you can see the park just ahead'
(*Nakama* 2: Chapter 6, 299)

Because the conjunctive particle *to* 'if/when' combines the first clause *hidari ni magaru* 'turn to your left' with the second clause *kooen ga sugu hidari ni miemasu* 'you can see the park just ahead', these non-native speakers might have over-generalized this grammar rule and incorrectly used the particle *to* 'and' to combine clauses. When *Nakama* 1 introduces the sequential conjunctive suffix *–te* 'and' for the first time in chapter 10, it reminds the learners of the rules that *–te* 'and' cannot combine clauses. However, when *Nakama* 2 introduces the conjunctive particle in chapter 6, it doesn't remind them of the rules anymore. It might be the case that learners might need constant reminders.

The last possible explanation is that the non-native speakers didn't understand the metalinguistic explanation of how the nominal particle *to* 'and' and the conjunctive particle *to* 'and' should be used in the textbooks. More explicit explanation by their instructors might be necessary for the learners to understand the grammar rules.

Chapter 5: Pedagogical Suggestions

In this section, I would like to review the findings presented in 4.1 and make pedagogical suggestions. In my investigation, I have found that the examination of actual spoken discourse can lend valuable insight into how various linguistic forms are employed. My hope is that teachers of Japanese will be able to learn from the findings of this study so that they can evaluate teaching materials and select suitable materials to use or create more appropriate ones. It seems reasonable to think that no textbooks dialogues are perfectly natural, but teachers can modify lesson plans and supplement any materials based on these discourse studies and their respective findings.

5.1 Combining Clauses by Non-native Speakers and Suggestions

It was found that native speakers tend to connect clauses, while the non-native speakers tend *not* to connect clauses. Of all the three ways to combine clauses (using conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, or conjunctions), conjunctive suffixes were the most preferred device for native speakers. Contrariwise, native speakers preferred conjunctions. Suggested explanations are transfer from English, and the complexity of using conjunctive suffixes and conjunctive particles in conversations.

My suggestion to teaching is to create a chapter on combining clauses in language textbooks. Producing complex sentences requires a certain level of proficiency and thus the chapter shouldn't be introduced too early. Realistically, second semester in the second year or later will probably be appropriate.

In the chapter, I would suggest showing transcripts of how native speakers converse with each other in naturally occurring conversations, providing the

explanation that native speakers tend to combine clauses in conversations. It should explicitly explain that there are three ways to combine clauses in Japanese (using conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles and conjunctions) and native speakers use conjunctive suffixes the most, conjunctive particles the second and conjunctions the least. It might also be beneficial for non-native speakers to mention that non-native speakers whose L1 is English tend not to combine clauses and they prefer conjunctions as a clause-combining device. Also, I would suggest having learners transcribe their own speech and examine it in comparison to a sample from native speakers. It might be a little challenging, so the latter half in *Nakama* 2 (second year, second semester) might be suitable. Ono and Jones (2005) suggested that learners benefit from closely looking at their own discourse because they find their strength and weaknesses. In addition, I would suggest creating exercises where learners need to combine multiple clauses using conjunctive suffixes, conjunctive particles, and conjunctions. It might be practical to create an exercise which resembles the situation where the data was collected. That is, they talk about their recent activities or experiences in a narrative style.

5.2 Frequently Used Forms by Non-native Speakers and Suggestions

It was found that forms frequently used by native speakers were also used by the non-native speakers. Possible explanations I have suggested are that non-native speakers learn how to combine clauses by being exposed to the way native speakers naturally combine clauses. Their language teachers, friends, and TV might account for it. Also, their language textbooks play an important role in the way they speak. In fact, the forms used by the non-native speakers are covered in

the textbooks and the frequent forms used by them are taught early in their language instruction.

A suggestion for teaching is introducing clause-combining forms from earlier stages of their instruction and making learners familiarize with clause-combining forms. Creating a chapter on clause-combining and having learners do integrated exercises will be useful, but as suggested earlier, forming complex sentences requires a certain level of proficiency. Therefore, forms should be introduced early for the exposure, but a chapter for clause-combing shouldn't be introduced too early. Also, all of the important forms should be taught in the textbooks. For example, *de* 'and', *dakara* 'so', and *tte iu ka* 'rather') were frequently used by the native speakers but not by the non-native speakers and they are not presented in the textbooks. Such forms, therefore, should be presented in the language textbooks.

5.3 Different Conjunctions Used by Native and Non-native Speakers and Suggestions

5.3.1 Use of Less Frequent Forms with Similar Sequential Meanings

It was found that less frequently used conjunctions share similar additive/sequential meanings. For example, native speakers used *de* 'and' and *sore de* 'and' but the non-native speakers used *to* *'and', *sono ato de* 'after that', *soshite* 'and' and *sorekara* 'after that.' Additionally, the non-native speakers used the particle *to* 'and' ungrammatically.

Interestingly, the non-native speakers seem to pick one or two forms among these forms with similar meaning and used it/them throughout the

conversations. It might be partly because differences among these sequential conjunctions are not taught in the textbooks. It might also be because it is probably easier for the non-native speakers to stick with one form in a conversation, which is already cognitively demanding. In contrast, the native speakers in this study mixed various conjunction forms with similar meanings in the data. No such behavior is described in the textbooks (Makino, Hatasa, et al. 1998, 2000) or grammar books (e.g. Martin 2004) but my impression is that if some other conjunctions with a similar meaning are used, the segment becomes more natural.

Also, the non-native speakers' uses of *soshite* 'and' sounded awkward. This is probably because *soshite* 'and' is primarily a written form. In fact, the native speakers in this study didn't use the conjunction *soshite* 'and' in their conversations at all. However, no such description was found in the textbooks (Makino, Hatasa, et al. 1998, 2000) or grammar books (e.g. Martin 2004). If the non-native speakers happen to pick *soshite* 'and' as its sole sequential conjunction, which happens in my data, it results in awkward-sounding language to the ears of native speakers.

My suggestion to teaching is, again, creating a chapter for clause-combining, explaining the differences among forms with similar meanings. How such forms should be differentiated and used (mixed) needs to be explained along with relevant examples. I also suggest creating exercises where they have to choose the most appropriate conjunctions for each context.

5.3.2 Use of *to*

It was found that half the non-native speakers in this study used the particle *to* ‘and’ to combine clauses despite the explicit explanation and examples shown in the textbook.

One possible explanation for this is that the translation ‘and’ for *to* in the word glossary in *Nakama* might have given the wrong idea that *to*, like *and* in English, could be used to combine clauses (L1 transfer). Another is that the non-native speakers are confused with the conjunctive particle *to* ‘when/if’. Because the conjunctive particle *to* ‘if/when’ can combine clauses they might have over-generalized this grammar rule and incorrectly used the particle *to* ‘and’ to combine clauses. I also suggested the possibility of them not understanding the metalinguistic explanations for how the nominal particle *to* ‘and’ and the conjunctive particle *to* ‘and’ should be differentiated.

My suggestion to teaching is providing explicit explanations and repeatedly reminding learners of the differences between the Japanese and English grammars in combining clauses. I also recommend creating exercises where students are asked to combine noun phrases using the particle *to* ‘and’ clauses using the conjunctive particle *to* ‘if/when.’ As suggested earlier, providing a task where they have to tell a story might be also helpful. Then teachers can remind them of the fact that the particle *to* ‘and’ cannot be used to combine clauses in storytelling.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This study explored how native and non-native speakers of Japanese combine clauses in spoken language. There are three ways to combine clauses in Japanese: using conjunctions, conjunctive suffixes, or conjunctive particles, but are there any differences between native and non-natives in their preferences in the three ways of combining clauses? Or, do they connect/combine clauses at all? It was found that the native speakers tend to combine clauses but the non-native speakers tend *not* to combine clauses. Of the three ways to combine clauses, the native speakers used conjunctive suffixes the most, conjunctive particles the second and conjunctions the least. The non-native speakers showed their preference for conjunctions.

Also, this study examined how clause-combining is represented in the Japanese textbooks *Nakama* 1 and 2. It was found that most of the forms used by the non-native speakers were used by the native speakers and covered in the textbooks. The forms frequently used by the non-native speakers were found to be used by native speakers frequently and taught early. Also, some of the forms which the native speakers used were not presented in the textbooks at all. After seeing if there are any suggestions we can make to improve Japanese language teaching, I suggest introducing clause-combining forms from earlier stages of learners' acquisition and making familiarize themselves with combined clauses, and creating a chapter on clause-combining in the later stage of instruction and go over the overview of clause-combining in Japanese. In the chapter, we should show transcripts of how native speakers combine clauses in naturally occurring

conversations, explaining that native speakers tend to combine clauses using conjunctive suffixes the most, conjunctive particles the second and conjunctions the least, while non-native speakers tend not to combine clauses and prefer conjunctions. It would be useful to have learners transcribe their own speech and compare their own to a sample of native speakers'.

Lastly, I suggest teaching the important forms (forms frequently used by native speakers) in the early stages of acquisition. As for the forms with similar meanings, it was found that the differences are not explained and how they should be differentiated or used (mixed) is not taught. I suggested teaching the differences among the words with similar meanings and how they should be used. However, that won't be able to be accomplished without discourse studies, as discussed in 6.2.

6.2 Importance of Discourse Studies

This study explored how Japanese native and non-native speakers combine clauses in spontaneous conversations and examined how clause-combining is presented in the language textbooks. By studying native and non-native speaker discourse, we learned that forms taught in the language books were used by the non-native speakers. We also learned that there is no chapter on clause-combining and some important forms (forms frequently used by native speakers) are not covered in the textbooks and that the non-native speakers didn't combine clauses naturally. This supports Fujii (2005) in that studying learner discourse is important for teachers because they know where learners have problems and why some sentences and discourse organizations are awkward. This also supports Ono and Jones (2005) in that teachers need to alter and supplement

materials when teaching. However, this cannot be accomplished without discourse studies. One remaining issue of the Japanese clause combining is how native speakers differentiate forms with similar meanings and mix them in conversations. The current study did not systematically look into that. As what we *think* we do when we talk is different from what we *actually* do, future studies should employ a discourse centered approach as to make pedagogical suggestions.

6.3 Limitation of the study

It should be pointed out that limitation of this study comes from the data used for this study. The corpus is comparatively small, consisting of twelve conversations with ninety minutes in the total length. Also, all of the conversations were interview-like settings and were different from naturally occurring conversation. Also, the participants in the twelve conversations do not by any means represent the linguistic behavior of all speech communities. The corpus was relatively small and the results of this study only indicate a tendency that requires further validation with larger and more comprehensive data. In the future, it would be interesting to conduct an additional study based on naturally occurring data to see if there are any differences in results.

Appendix

Transcription Conventions

1) Most excerpts consist of three lines: the first is Japanese transliteration in alphabets, the second is morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the third is approximate English translation.
2) Lines (Hereafter, the "line" refers to the first line with Japanese transliteration until explained otherwise.) are divided based on intonation units. Du Bois et al. (1993) explain intonation units as follows:

   > Roughly speaking, an intonation unit is a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour. It tends to be marked by cues such as a pause and a shift upward in overall pitch level at its beginning, and a lengthening of its final syllable.

   Since this definition is based on English, the detailed characteristics of intonation units may differ in Japanese; however, the general description seems to apply to Japanese as well.
3) Each line is followed by a period, a comma, a question mark, a double hyphen or nothing.
   - The period '.': "a class of intonation contours whose transitional continuity is regularly understood as *final*"
   - The comma ',': "a class of intonation contours whose transitional continuity is regularly understood as *continuing*".
   - The question mark '?': "a class of intonation contours whose transitional continuity is regularly understood as an *appeal* ... 'Appeal' here refers to when a speaker, in producing an utterance, seeks a validating response from a listener".
   - The double hyphen '--': a truncated intonation unit due to a false start, an interruption from the listener, or for other reasons.
   - If there is nothing at the end of the line that means the intonation unit continues to the next line. In other words, the unit was too long to be fitted within one line.
4) Square brackets '[ ]' represent speech overlap. If there is another speech overlap nearby, double square brackets '[[ ]]' for the second one, and numbered square brackets '[3 3]' from the third one on were used in order to avoid confusion.
5) Three dots '...' indicate an easily identifiable pause, whereas two dots '..' represent a shorter pause.
6) Equal sign '=' indicates lengthening of a syllable.
7) Hyphen '-' indicates a truncated word.
8) The capital letter 'X' is used for each syllable of inaudible speech. Alternatively, the utterance enclosed in '<X X>' indicates uncertainty of the accuracy.
9) The '@' symbol represents each "syllable" of laughter. The text that is enclosed in '<@ @>' indicates the laughing quality of the utterance.
10) (H) symbolizes inhalation; (Hx) symbolizes exhalation.

11) The text that is enclosed in ‘<Q Q>’ is a quotation of somebody else’s utterance.
12) ‘<F F>’ indicates a particularly loud (forte) segment.
13) ‘<CR CR>’ indicates a segment that becomes gradually louder (crescendo).
14) ‘<HI HI>’ indicates a segment with higher pitch level.
15) ‘<A A>’ indicates a particularly rapid speech (allegro).
16) Double parentheses ‘((   ))’ represent comments by the transcriber or the author.
17) The linguistic unit in discussion is bolded.
18) The following abbreviations are used for the Japanese gloss:

Cop:	various forms of copula verb *be*
FP:	final particle
LK:	linking nominal
Neg:	negative morpheme
Nom:	nominalizer
O:	object marker
S:	subject marker
Q:	question marker
QT:	quotative marker
Tag:	tag-like expression
Top:	topic marker

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