INDIVIDUAL VARIATION
IN
JAPANESE FOREIGNER TALK

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Foreigner Talk" (FT) is a relatively new term in the socio-linguistic vocabulary. The term was first introduced by Ferguson in the late sixties to denote collectively the various adjustments, or "corrections" which native speakers of a language make to their "normal" speech to forestall, or remove, linguistic problems of communication with foreigners.

Research in this area is still very much at the exploratory stage. But, on the basis of the data reported to date, Foreigner Talk can be broadly categorized into the "talking down" and the "talking-up" or "language of classroom instruction" varieties which, however, are not mutually exclusive.

The "talking down" variety is characterised (in English) by such features as ungrammaticality of utterances through, for instance, omission of the copula, articles or prepositions; usage of "me" for "I" or "my", "he" for "him"; invariant usage of "no" in negative structures (e.g. no nice, no see) non-inflection for plurality or tenses, usage of basic vocabulary including stereotipic FT words like, for instance, "savvy"; distorted pronunciation; and numerous other features which, in various combinations result in a markedly deviant type of language.

The second variety: the "talking-up" or "language of classroom instruction" variety is characterised by corrections which "decomplexify" the language on the levels of grammar, vocabulary, etc. by, for instance, avoidance of complex grammatical structures or low-frequency "difficult" words, but which seldom transgress the rules of the standard language.

Examples of the "talking down" variety can be found in popular media, or literature, and vestiges of it remain in the various pidgin languages (Muhlhauser 1981). However, within the context of current research, actually observed usage of this variety has been reported only for a specific type of situation. In each case this type of Foreigner Talk occurred with a particular type of addressee/s of low socio-economic status, limited education and low proficiency in the speaker's language. (Meisel 1977; Clyne 1978).

Investigations undertaken in a classroom environment (Henzl 1974; 1979), situations in which the foreigner was the customer (Arthur et. al. 1980; Hatch et. al. 1978) and peer level interaction between educated people. (Long
1981; Freed 1981) have shown that production of the "talking down" variety of Foreigner Talk is constrained by configuration of variables of which the communicative situation is comprised viz. status of the foreigner vis a vis the native speaker, purpose of communication, presence or absence of others, the physical setting in which the interaction occurs, topics spoken about etc. (Hymes 1974).

However, as the primary function of Foreigner Talk is to facilitate communication, in the instances when it is important that the message be fully understood by the foreigner, the need to communicate may "override" the situational constraints. Features characteristic of the "talking down" variety have been reported for a pedagogical situation by Hatch et al. (1978) and for a bureaucratic situation by Snow et al. (1981).

While a number of the previously mentioned investigations broadened the general framework of FT research by including situational variation, this investigation extends this framework further by including individual variation. It examines variation in Foreigner Talk of three native speakers of Japanese, of comparable personal attributes, interacting with the same group of Australians, in the same setting and for the same purpose.

Individual variation is viewed here from the corrective competence perspective. Foreigner Talk is envisaged as the aggregate result of multiple correction processes applied to various aspects of language; and the variation in the resultant Foreigner Talk is viewed as the reflection of an individual's ability to control simultaneously these multiple processes - in other words his corrective competence (Neustupny 1985).

In this investigation features of Japanese Foreigner Talk, for a specific contact situation, on the levels of linguistic expression of politeness, grammatical complexity and selection/correction of vocabulary are described and their distribution and frequency of occurrence in the three sets of data are compared.

1.1 THE INVESTIGATED SITUATION

The data consist of three tape-recorded conversations between three different native speakers of Japanese (NS1, NS2 and NS3) and a group of Australian adults (FS1 - FS8) interacting within a communicative situation which can best be described as an informal learning situation centred upon the participation of a native speaker
visitor in a Japanese conversation class.

The FS group consisted of four male and four female adult native speakers of Australian English. At the time of recording, the FS participants were enrolled in the third year Japanese language course at Swinburne Institute of Technology. Proficiency in spoken Japanese of the FS group varied from good to poor in accordance with the length of formal study of the Japanese language, degree of exposure to the Japanese speaking environment and general language aptitude of each participant.

The three male speakers comprising the NS sample were Japanese businessmen on temporary posting to Melbourne from their parent companies in Japan. NS1 and NS3 held executive positions in different departments of the same motor-car manufacturing company and NS2 occupied an executive position in a bank. All had completed university education which included the study of the English language at tertiary level. None had any teacher training nor had ever been engaged in any teaching activity. The difference between the three NSs lay in the length of residence outside Japan and the frequency of contact with foreigners: at the time of recording NS1 has been in Australia for only two months, NS3 for approximately two years and NS2 has lived in foreign countries, including Australia, for over four years. Their proficiency in English paralleled the variable of the length of exposure to non-Japanese speaking environment: NS1's English was poor while that of NS2 and NS3 was good and fair respectively. A further difference between the three NSs was that each of them was born and brought up in a different part of Japan. NS1 was born near Nagoya and educated in Nagoya. NS2 was born near Tokyo and, with the exception of the years abroad, spent most of his adult life in Tokyo. NS3 was born near Kobe and educated in Kyoto.

Prior to the interaction with the FS group, none of the NSs had ever met any of the FS participants. Until meeting with them, during the conversation period, the NS visitors had no specific knowledge regarding the composition of the FS group nor language proficiency of the individual FSs.

The basic structure of the three conversations was that of question/answer routines: the FS participants took turns at asking questions to which the NSs provided detailed, and often lengthy, answers. The topics introduced in the conversation at each session fell broadly into three categories: topics relating to the work domain of the NS visitor; topics relating to NS's
personal experiences either in Japan or in Australia, and individual topics of a more general nature, for instance difficulty of the Japanese language, Melbourne trams, Japanese gardens and similar.

1.2 PROCEDURES

The conversations were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants and co-operation of the FS group. The tape-recorded data were transcribed in full and independently checked for accuracy by two native speakers. The task of interpreting the Foreigner Talk features was undertaken in collaboration with a number of Japanese businessmen. Each tape had been listened to in full by at least two informants and the validity of their interpretation checked and discussed with at least two others.

2. "POLITENESS SECTOR"

Neustupny (1978) has introduced the concept of "politeness sector" as an all-embracing term for the rules of polite speech, manners, etiquette etc.; that is "rules of politeness, rules of communication of distance between the communicating personal" (Neustupny 1984, p.192).

In this section the correction strategies of the three NSs are examined in relation to three features of the Japanese "politeness sector": personal pronouns, honorifics and speech variety.

2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Politeness in interpersonal interaction in Japanese can be expressed by selection of appropriate personal pronouns dictated by the variables of the social context in which the interaction takes place e.g. status relationship between the participants, situation, event, etc. (Suzuki 1976; Hinds 1976).

To avoid unnecessary repetition, all personal pronouns which collectively occurred in the three sets of data are listed below with accompanying brief definitions based on Keigo Yoohoo Jiten (Okuyama 1976, pp. 111 - 511).

FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

Watakushi/watakushitachi
The most polite self-designating form (singular/plural); used in formal communicative situations in speaking to status superiors etc.
Watashi/Watashitachi
A variant of the above (singular/plural) marked with a slightly lower politeness feature than watakushi.

Wareware
Plural form semantically close to watakushitachi but ascribed with slightly more formal/ceremonial connotations in modern Japanese; often used in public speeches; in interpersonal interaction should not be used to status-in inferiors.

Bokura
One of the two plural forms of the masculine first person pronoun boku; lower degree of politeness than watashi/watashitachi; should not be used in interaction with status superiors as it does not combine readily with honorific speech level.

SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

Anata
The most polite second-person pronoun; designated by the National Language Commission's edict "Kore kara uo Keigo" as standard addressee-designating form but, reportedly, is not used very often in modern Japanese; difficult to use towards status superiors as it is not ascribed with high honorific value; used by females to females and males to males/females providing that the addressee is not a status-superior requiring an honorific style of address.

Omae
Low politeess level; usage restricted to status-in inferiors; depending on a situation, may carry insulting connotations.

THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS

Kare/karera:
Singular/plural forms of masculine third person pronoun; not included in the repertoire of honorific expressions; restricted usage in interpersonal interaction; not used if the referent is status superior; considered to be an "unpleasing" expression to use in interaction with status superiors even if the person referred to is a status-equal to the speaker. However, where used to designate a "neutral" referent, that is person not directly connected with speaker/addressee, an anonymous group of people etc. the restrictions outlined above do not apply.
Kanojo
Feminine third person pronoun; low politeness level; not used in honorific speech; usage in interpersonal interaction restricted as kare (above).

The first, second and third person pronouns used by the three NSs are listed in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP</th>
<th>NS1</th>
<th>NS2</th>
<th>NS3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watakushi (Tachi)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watashi (Tachi)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wareware</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anata</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omae</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kare (Ra)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanojo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

As shown in Table 1 the most polite/formal personal pronouns were selected by each visitor. As far as the variation in the type of the polite/formal first person pronoun is concerned, analysis of the data did not show any overt evidence that switching from watakushi to watashi at different stages of the interaction could be ascribed to any specific variable (information content, particular FS addressee, specific communication problem etc.) and, therefore, I have interpreted the alternative usage of the two pronouns as free variation.

The context in which wareware pronoun occurred suggests that NS2 and NS3 switched to this pronoun in the instances in which they wished to convey a "feeling of unity" (Hinds 1978) with a particular group of coreferents: "we = the employees of (A) bank/company" (NS2; NS3) or "we = the post-war generation" (NS3).

NS2 was the only speaker to use the 1st person pronoun bokura. Switching from watakushi to boku to ore in conversation with strangers has been reported by Kurokawa and interpreted by him as an indication of the speaker's
linguistic adjustment to the status difference between himself and the addressee which he progressively assesses during the interaction (Kurokawa 1972). There is some evidence in my data that this may have occurred in conversation 2 vis a vis a particular FS addressee rather than the addressee group as a whole. Bokura occurred in the final stages of the conversation. NS2 used this pronoun twice when answering a question from FS2 (youngest, female FS). Subsequently, however, when answering a question asked by FS8 (oldest, male FS) NS2 reverted to using watashí. None of my informants could provide an explanation but, at the same time, none of them evaluated usage of bokura as "impolite" or inappropriate to the situation.

An interesting feature shown in Table 1 is that although in the speech of NS2 and NS3 free variation between watashí and watashi occurred in practically equal proportion, watashí predominated in the speech of NS1. Since, as will be demonstrated later, NS1's speech was more overtly marked as Foreigner Talk than the speech of NS2 and NS3, the more invariant usage of watashí might also represent a feature of his correction strategy.

2.1.2 SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

The second person pronoun anata was used only by NS1. As defined by Okuyama anata is the most polite second person pronoun and its usage is unacceptable only in address to status superiors (Okuyama 1976). Consequently, usage of anata by NS1 to FS-addressees whose status was not overtly marked as "superior" did not transgress the politeness level appropriate to peer-level interaction between strangers.

However, the fact that anata occurred only in the speech of NS1 strongly suggests that usage of this pronoun represents a feature of NS1's Foreigner Talk. This is supported by contextual analysis which showed that NS1 used anata in combination with an honorific verb ossharu* which should have obviated the need to explicitly specify the addressee.

NS1: Ima anata ga oshhatta yoo ni
"As you have just said...."

*Ossharu is the honorific counterpart to the verb ju "to say" and, consequently, its usage in reference to the addressee includes the meaning "you".
In a similar utterance of NS2 you was indicated by the addressee's name suffixed with -san. In NS3's version you was indicated by the honorific verb osharu.

NS2: Ima (FS7)-san osshatta koto....

"The matter (you) have referred to...."

NS3: Ima oshhatta jookyoo wa.....

"The situation (you) have mentioned....."

Omae was used by NS2 within the context of a "quotation" utterance reporting words addressed to him by his superiors at the (A) bank at the time when he still occupied a very subordinate position. Consequently, introduction of omae into the conversation with the FS group did not represent a "talking down" feature of FT as the pronoun was not used to address any of the FS participants.

2.1.3 THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS

Usage of third person pronouns by NS2 and NS3 also conformed to the politeness rules of the Japanese social usage of the language. Karera was used in reference to an anonymous collectivity of people e.g. bank customers (NS2) or members of trade unions (NS3).

Kare was used by NS3 to refer to the French painter Millet, and kanojo was used by NS3 to refer to his wife.

The only example of reference made to a FS participant, other than the addressee, was found in NS2 data. In this case NS2 followed the socially acceptable practice of using some other designator, in lieu of personal pronoun, to specify the person to whom reference was made:

NS2: ..Ojoosan ga osshatta yoo ni...

"as the young lady has said...."

2.2 HONORIFICS

The "politeness sector" of Japanese communicative competence includes a very complex system of honorifics, that is "those modes of communication of politeness which rely on language, that is grammar, lexicon and pronunciation" (Neustupny 1978, p.196).

For purposes of this discussion, the Japanese honorifics can be briefly outlined in terms of three basic categories:
a) Addressee honorifics (teineigo) with which the speaker expresses politeness to the addressee.

b) Referent honorifics (sonkeigo) with which the speaker expresses politeness to the person spoken about:

c) The so-called "humble" forms (kenjoogo) with which the speaker conveys politeness by "lowering" his own status.

The speech level selected by each NS visitor and consistently maintained throughout the interaction, was the addressee honorific level marked by -mas- suffixation of verbs and the copular form des-. In this respect, therefore, it might be said that the three NSs adhered to the norm for linguistic expression of politeness applicable to a comparable NS-NS interaction in which, as pointed out by Neustupny, the presence of a semantic feature [+ outgroup addressee] "is almost directly connected with the expression feature [+ formal] and in the case of verbs it is also invariably represented by a single shape -mas-". (Neustupny 1978, p.221).

The politeness of the addressee honorific speech level was further emphasized by usage of the "humble" verb orimasu which, in free variation with its addressee honorific counterpart imasu, occurred throughout the three sets of data when the speakers referred to themselves, their companies or other speaker-related topics. Although there was no significant quantitative or distributional difference between speakers in the usage of orimasu, other "humble" verbs in this category, albeit very few, were used only by NS2 and NS3.

EXAMPLES:

NS2: Kantan ni jiko shookai o itashimasu. "I shall perform a simple self-introduction."

NS3: Ima mooshimashita yoo ni..... "As I have just said....."  

It should be noted however that most of the examples found in the data occurred at the very beginning of the interaction, in the self-introduction speeches. As self-introduction speeches, referred to by Minami as "extended aisatsu", are customarily couched in very polite style (Minami 1974), the difference between NS1 and the other two speakers, in this instance, can perhaps be attributed partially to the fact that NS1 did not begin his conversation session with self-introduction.
The predominantly neutrally descriptive content of the NSs' contributions to the conversation did not lend itself to an extensive usage of referent honorifics. The few occurrences are listed in Table 2.

### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent Honorifics</th>
<th>NS1</th>
<th>NS2</th>
<th>NS3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ossharu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irasshuru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gozonji/Goshoochi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-V-ni naru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-V-suru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kata/Katagata</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go/o prefix</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoroshii</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RP = Referent-Participant  
RO = Referent - Other

Occurrences of referent honorifics in my data lent themselves to a two-fold categorization:

a) Expressions used in direct address to either individual members of the FS group or the FS group jointly, or in reference to a member of the participant group (coded RP).

b) Expressions used in reference to persons other than the participants (coded RO).

As shown in Table 2, there was a difference between NS2 and the other two speakers in the quantity and variety of RP honorifics. This difference can be connected with the fact that NS2 was the only one to direct questions of personal nature to the FS group. The two questions are cited below.
EXAMPLES:

NS2: Minasan no katagata ginkoo kinyuu kankei ni tsutometerassharu kata imasu ka.
"Does anyone amongst you work in a banking-related occupation?"

NS2: ...Naze nihongo ni kyoomi o motte irassharu ka to iu koto desu.
"Why are you interested in the Japanese language?"

Allowing for individual variation in the choice of expression, contextual usage of other referent honorifics was very similar for the three NSs in the following contexts:

a) Reference to something said by one of the FSs.

NS1: Anata ga osshatta yoo na kankei.....
"The connections you have mentioned..."

b) Rhetorical question.

NS2: (R) ginkoo wa... goshoochi ka to omoimasu keredomo......
"The (R) bank, as you know...."

c) In the NS1 and NS3 data referent honorifics occurred also in request for confirmation that the proffered information fulfilled the expectations of the listener.

NS1: Soo iu kotae de yoroshii desu ka
"Was this kind of answer satisfactory?"

NS3: Yoroshii desu ka.
"Are you satisfied (with the answer)?"

d) Request for clarification of the meaning of FS's question.

NS3: Go-shitsumon ga yoku wakarimasen keredomo.....
"I do not understand your question..."

It is interesting to note that honorific form of reference to the FS participants was not extended to include utterances which, although directly addressed to the listener/s, performed the function of checking the addressee/s' comprehension of a word, a phrase, or a longer portion of the discourse. Such utterances were encoded as wakarimasu ka "do you understand". For instance, the two examples of wakarimasu ka "do you
understand", excerpted from NS2 and NS3 data, occurred in each case within the same turn* in which referent honorifics were used.

NS2: 

"The matter you have just raised....."

NS3: 

"Bachelor.... do you understand?"

Mizutani points out that explicit comprehension checking is not a socially acceptable custom in Japan (Mizutani 1979). My data suggests, therefore, that explicit comprehension checking which represents a Foreigner Talk feature, was found by NSs to be incompatible with referent honorifics.

Neustupny points out that "rules concerning assignment of expression features to referents who are not present in the speech act situation use a considerable number of peripheral features, and are among the most complicated in the system" (Neustupny 1978, p.227). Consequently, as interpretation of this category lies outside the scope of this discussion, RO honorific usage (or non-usage) by the three NSs is included only as a further example of the difference between their respective communication strategies.

NS2 referred in honorific terms to a variety of people: Japanese businessmen visiting Australia, bank customers, Australian acquaintances etc.

NS2: 

"As the people who come here are mostly connected with banking... with business..."

NS2: 

"The two or three Australians whom I have met..."

* "Turn" denotes an uninterrupted sequence of speech, of any length, by a single person.
NS3, on the other hand, restricted his honorific usage to his senpai, that is seniors in the work situation.

NS3: Watakushitachi no senpai... watakushitachi yorimo izen ni kaigai de hataraketa hitotachi wa minna Nihon ni kaette kōrareta ato... ikkagetsu ka... nikangetsu kurai rehabilitation ga hitsuyō da... koo itte oraremasu.
"Our seniors, the people who have worked overseas before us, say that upon returning to Japan, they needed a rehabilitation period of a month or two".

NS1, in contrast to the other two speakers, did not use any honorifics in the RO category.

The data suggest that regional difference was manifested in the selection of type of referent honorifics used by NS2 and NS3. NS2 whose linguistic background was Kanto dialect used the whole range of honorifics while NS3 who was born and brought up in the Kansai province used only the passive. Also, the usage of referent honorifics vis-à-vis his senpai (seniors) probably reflects the regional background of NS3 as it represents typically Kansai usage which does not occur in Kanto varieties of Japanese.

Opportunities for referring directly to the FS participants or people not present during the conversation were limited. The visitors did not address many personal questions to the FS participants and spoke mainly about places, work procedures and similar topics. However, where the opportunity presented itself, NS2 used referent honorifics very consistently with the exception of the previously mentioned comprehension checking utterances. The same applied to NS3. However, some inconsistency in this respect was found in NS1's data.

Comparison of the two examples, excerpted from NS1's and NS3's speech shows an interesting difference between the two speakers.

NS3: ...Ooosaka-tte gozonji desu ka
"Do you know of Osaka?"

NS1: (Speaking about one of Melbourne suburbs)... (Z)... ano... shittemasu ka.
"Do you know of (Z)?"

Unlike the previously mentioned comprehension checking phrases wakarimasu ka, which represent a feature of Foreigner Talk, the utterances exemplified above were directed at checking the extent of shared knowledge
between the participants, and similar questions occur in NS-NS conversations. The fact that NS3 used referent honorific ござんじ だせゅ か で す while NS1 encoded the same question as addressee honorific しってます か suggests that NS1 corrected towards "simplification of honorifics" at least for part of the time.

2.3 SPEECH VARIETY

Neustupny, discussing linguistic homogeneity of modern Japan, states that "the spread of the Modern Japanese Standard as a means of both written and spoken national language has been remarkably successful. It is true that the dialects survive as native varieties of a large number of speakers, but for all speakers the school-acquired Standard is superposed (Neustupny 1978, p.163).

The two supradialectal, superposed varieties of Modern Japanese are Standard Japanese (nyoojuungo) and Common Japanese (kyootsuugo).

Standard Japanese (SJ), based on the Tokyo dialect, can best be described as the "model" offering clearly defined prescriptions for "correct" structuring of the language; it represents the language of formal public address, mass-media as well as education (Neustupny 1985). Common Japanese (CJ), on the other hand, represents the more popularly used variety marked by colloquialisms, idiomatic expressions, variation in accent and intonation, etc. (Kokugogaku Jiten 1973; and, amongst others, by a variety of grammatical contractions, particularly prevalent in informal, in-group speech (Tanaka 1978).

That politeness can be expressed through selection of a speech variety has been noted by Martin in his investigation of honorific speech in interpersonal interaction in Japan (Martin 1964). However, in Martin's study the distinction is made only between Standard Japanese and regional dialects. To the best of my knowledge the difference between Standard Japanese and Common Japanese has not been discussed from the politeness level perspective in the currently available literature on social usage of language in the Japanese speech community.

However, in view of the fact that Standard Japanese represents the language of formal public address etc., it can be safely assumed that it is ascribed with a higher degree of politeness/formality than Common Japanese.

In view of the fact that the three NSs were born and brought up in different parts of Japan, it can be assumed
that their verbal repertoire included a regional dialect. However, similarly to the dialect/standard language use situations described by Ferguson for other speech communities (Ferguson 1972, p.232), in Japan usage of dialects is restricted to the home and similar in-group situations, and Standard/Common Japanese are the varieties used for inter-regional communication and intra-regional outgroup communication between educated Japanese (Neustupny 1978). Consequently, the two options available to the three NSs in selection of a speech variety for communication with the FS group were Standard Japanese and Common Japanese.

Due to poor sound quality of the tape-recorded material it was sometimes difficult to determine to what extent, if at all, the speech of the three NSs differed from SJ pronunciation. On the basis of analysis of grammar and vocabulary I have categorized the speech variety of each speaker as CJ strongly corrected in the direction of SJ. Usage of grammatical contractions pointed to CJ while non-usage of colloquialisms, idiomatic expressions and non-standard vocabulary (other than English) suggested that the NSs corrected towards SJ.

The distribution of contracted grammatical forms in the speech of the three NSs indicated a significant difference between them in the amount of correction towards SJ as postulated above. To exemplify this point I have examined the frequency of occurrence of the three types of contractions which were fairly consistently used by the three NSs:

a) copula in the negative:

standard: de wa nai/arimasen
contracted: ja nai/arimasen

b) progressive form of verb:

standard: shitte iru/imasu
contracted: shitteru/shittemasu

c) noun/verb to iu/iimasu

standard: Meruborun Nooto to iu hon
contracted: Meruborun Nooto-tte iu hon

standard: masutaa dekinai to iu yoo na ini de...
contracted: massutaa dekinai-tte iu yoo na ini de...
Analysis of the data showed a significant difference between NS2 and the other two speakers. NS2 applied the contraction process to nearly half (42.5%) of the possible grammatical structures he used in contrast to 22.5% - (NS1) and 8.9% - (NS3). 93.7% of the occurrences of the copula in the negative in the speech of NS2 were contracted as well as 66.7% of the verbs in the progressive form. Although the contracted form of N/V to IU in his data occurred with less frequency than its standard counterpart, nevertheless he used the contracted form significantly more often than NS1 and NS3*. Furthermore, while NS1 and NS3 used only the three contracted forms discussed above, isolated occurrences of other contractions were found in NS2 data, e.g. Doko ka - Dokka; Soko kara - Sokkara.

Henzl reports for her investigation of FT in a pedagogical situation that native speakers of Czech addressed a group of language learners exclusively in Literary Czech but used Colloquial Czech to convey the same information to native speakers (Henzl 1974). An interesting result of my investigation is, therefore, the fact that this feature was not more strongly marked in my data. However, some possible reasons for the difference between Henzl's findings and the results of this investigation suggest themselves.

In Henzl's investigation the classroom setting and the definition of the addressee group as "beginner" language learners represent the two variables which overtly marked the situation as a teaching situation. This may have influenced more sustained effort on the part of the native speakers to correct towards Literary Czech which, similarly to SJ, is the "language of classroom instruction". Furthermore, Henzl's subjects described pictures etc. to the student groups but did not converse with them. Consequently the task involved only the process of encoding the information. It may be assumed, therefore, that the opportunity for careful monitoring of speech in Henzl's situation was greater than in the situation on which my investigation is based.

As far as the difference between the three NSs is concerned, the less frequent usage of contracted forms by NS1 and NS3 might be interpreted as an indication that these two speakers were able to control this aspect of correction better than NS2. On the other hand, however,

*(NS2 - 23.2%; NS1 - 7.1%; NS3 - 4.4%).
the difference between NS2 and the other two speakers might also reflect the difference in their dialectal background. As mentioned previously, NS2 was the only speaker of the three who was born in the Tokyo area. Consequently his native dialect was closest to CJ which "possesses in essence the features of the language of the middle and higher classes in Tokyo" (Yamagiwa 1965, p.212). On the other hand, NS1 and NS3 were born and educated in the provinces and the contractions might have been less firmly established in their idiosyncratic varies of CJ.

Looking at the data from the politeness perspective, correction towards SJ, noted for each conversation, indicates that in terms of speech variety, high level of politeness was maintained throughout the interaction.

The overall results of examination of the three NSs speech in relation to the "politeness sector" indicate that they interacted with the FS group on peer-level and linguistically treated their conversation partners with the same degree of politeness and formality as would be found in an interaction between NS strangers in a comparable situation.

As far as the correction strategies are concerned, analysis of the data suggests that NS1's communication strategy included more correction towards Foreigner Talk than the strategies of the other two speakers. Conversely, NS2's communication strategy seemed to be least affected by the fact that the listener group were foreigners.

3 GRAMMATICAL COMPLEXITY

This section examines variation in the correction strategies of the three NSs in relation to grammatical complexity of their speech.

3.1 "BASIC" STRUCTURES

Henzl, investigating Foreigner Talk in a pedagogical situation, found that "in general, sentences had a smaller number of words in FLCR speech than in CC samples.... a lesser occurrence of subordinate clauses and the exclusion of unfinished sentences from FLCR speech also reflected the tendency for subjects to speak in concise, well formed sentences" (Henzl 1974, p.211). In my previous study I have also found the same phenomenon: the Japanese subjects spoke in grammatically correct but very short sentences which strongly resembled "basic grammar patterns" found in elementary foreign
language textbooks (Skoutarides 1980).

Analysis of the data showed numerous corrections to remedy errors associated with impromptu speech (Coulthard 1977; Labov 1972;). But examples of "basic grammar" sentences were few. However, significantly to the discussion of the difference between the correction strategies of the three NSs, more examples of short, well-formed sentences were found in the NS1 data. There was no overt evidence of avoidance of subordinate clauses and, contrary to Henzl's findings and to the results of my previous study, the data abounded with unfinished sentences, false starts, asides, hesitation markers and similar characteristics of "Native Talk" in informal NS-NS interaction.

Henzl's results indicated that "there was a tendency to lower the inflectional complexity of nominal and verbal categories" in speech directed to language learners (Henzl 1974, p. 213). As nouns in Japanese do not inflect for gender or plurality. I have examined the data for evidence of avoidance of grammatical tenses etc., indicated in Japanese by verbal inflections. The results were negative. Although most of the verbs occurred in either simple present/past or progressive present/past tense, this can be attributed to the descriptive character of the discourse rather than avoidance of grammatical forms. Although there was some variation between the three sets of data, verbs inflected for the passive, potential, causative forms etc. comprised approximately 12% of all the verbs used by each NS.

As there was no significant difference between the three speakers in this respect, the only conclusion to be reached was that avoidance of specific grammatical inflections was not an overtly marked feature of Foreigner Talk in this data.

As numerous false starts, unfinished sentences, asides etc. made it unviable to use a sentence as a primary unit of analysis, I have approached examination of the data for grammatical complexity from what Widdowson refers to as "referential force" perspective (Widdowson 1977).

In other words, I decided to base the analysis on the distribution of the grammatical categories of vocabulary in the "referential", or "information", and "elaborative", or "non-information", units.
3.2 GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

All the words* used by the three NSs were broadly categorized in the first instance, into nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and miscellaneous. The last category included sentence connectives, hesitation markers, and similar words which did not lend themselves to classification into the five major categories.

English words were classified in the same way and included in the relevant categories.

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAT.</th>
<th>NS1</th>
<th>NS2</th>
<th>NS3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISC</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2391</td>
<td>2203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = noun  V = verb  ADJ = adjective  ADV = adverb
NUM = numerals (dates, percentages etc.)
MIS = sentence connectives, pause fillers etc.

*Word count initially was based on the Alpha unit count: one of the methods adopted by the National Language Research Institute of Japan for counting of Japanese vocabulary. This method limits the count to semantically independent units of speech. Case particles, postpositional particles, the copula, auxiliary verbs and nominal components of syntactic structures (e.g. *koto ga dekiru*) are excluded from the count.
Table 3 illustrates distribution of words into the different grammatical categories. Comparison of the relevant percentage figures shows a very similar distribution pattern in the three sets of data. Each speaker used proportionately more nouns (AV 45%) than verbs (AV 22%) and more verbs than adjectives (AV 8%). NS1 and NS2 used proportionately slightly less adverbs (AV 7%) than adjectives but a reverse pattern was noted for NS3 (10.3%). Contextual analysis showed that the difference can be attributed to what I have assumed to be a feature of NS3's idiosyncratic dialect, that is apparent predilection for the word hijoo ni (extremely) which represents the highest frequency word in his data.

A small percentage of words in each set of data was recorded in the "numeral" category (AV 3.5%) and comparable percentage figures (AV 14%) in each conversation were listed under "miscellaneous". Comparing the distribution pattern per speaker, the only significant difference to emerge at this stage was the proportionately greater number of nouns shown for NS1. 50% of NS1's speech consisted of nouns. In comparison with NS2 and NS3 he used 7% and 8% more nouns than the other two speakers.

3.3 CATEGORIZATION OF WORDS INTO IN AND NIN WORDS

To evaluate the grammatical complexity and the difference between the three individual correction strategies in respect to this aspect of the language a distinction had to be made between [+ information] and [- information] function of the words comprising the total word output of the three NSs. This necessitated modification of the initially adopted ALPHA unit count to include only words which performed the function of transmitting new information and which, for purposes of this discussion, are designated as "information" words (IN) and "non-information" words (NIN). Consequently, in addition to the words assigned to the "miscellaneous" category in Table 3, the following are excluded from the revised word count: deictic demonstratives, nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial components of "stylistic ornamentation" strings (e.g. soo ju yoo na koto) which Martin describes as "verbal auxiliary expressions, stylization devices, purely formal uses of quotations and extravagant nominalizations" (Martin 1975, p. 914); words used in asides (speaking to oneself), and similar informationally redundant units of speech (ALPHA X Unit count).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAT.</th>
<th>NS1</th>
<th>NS2</th>
<th>NS3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>54.9%</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>1648</td>
<td>1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = noun      V = verb      ADJ = adjective      ADV = adverb
NUM = numerals

To facilitate discussion, all tabulated information pertaining to this section of the discussion is summarized and presented in graph form.
Graph 1, derived from comparison of percentage figures in Tables 3 and 4, indicates that the NIN words constituted 23.5%, 31.1% and 26.2% of the total number of words recorded for NS1, NS2 and NS3 respectively. Within these, occurrences of NIN in the "noun", "verb", "adjective" and "adverb" categories jointly accounted for NS1 10.4%, NS2 18.2% and NS3 9.8% of each set of data, showing a proportionally higher frequency of NIN word usage by NS2 than by the other two speakers. This represents an overall difference of 7.6% and 4.9% more NIN words in NS2's speech when compared with the speech of NS1 and NS3.

Graph 2

PROPORTION OF NIN TO IN PER GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY
The similarity between NS1 and NS3, in respect to the frequency of NIN word occurrences, was already indicated by the information illustrated in Graph 1. This is further emphasized when the percentage figures for NIN word distribution within grammatical categories are compared. As shown in Graph 2, with the exception of the "adverb" category in which NS3 used 12.7% less adverbial NIN words than NS1, the variation in the "noun", "verb" and "adjective" categories was less than 1.5% in any one category. At the same time, however, the difference in the frequency of NIN word occurrences in the speech of NS2 is very significant. NS2 used approximately 5% more NIN words in the noun category, 10% more NIN words in the verb category and 18% more NIN words in the adjective category than the other two speakers. In the adverb category there was a variation of approx. 8%-21% but in overall terms more NIN words in this category were used by NS2 than the other two speakers. Consequently this indicates a significant difference in the structuring of the NS2 utterances when compared with NS1 and NS3.

While all speakers used anaphoric expressions to refer to information encoded in the preceding portions of the discourse, asides, rhetorical questions and a variety of style elaborating devices, which according to Martin, characterise the Japanese linguistic expression, (Martin 1975, p. 914) NS2 incorporated significantly more of these "non-information" elements in his speech.

The data indicate, therefore, that this aspect of NS2's communicative behaviour bore closer resemblance to what one would expect to find in a comparable NS-NS interaction. For instance, stereotypic "sentence openers" (Martin 1975, p. 1045), like the examples cited below, were used only by NS2.

Soo iu imi de...
"In this sense..."

Koo iu fuu ni iu to...
"Saying it this way..."

Soo iu wake de..
"Therefore..."
Other examples of "stylistic ornamentation", although found also in the speech of NS1 and NS3 occurred with a significantly greater frequency in the NS2 data, e.g. sentence endings:

...soo ja nai ka to omou n desu
"I think so"

...to iu koto desu.
"and that's what it is..."

or special use of "quotations" to denote something or someone:

Ginkoo to iu no wa...
"The (thing) which is called bank..."

Although there was no significant difference between NS1 and NS3 in terms of the overall frequency of NIN word occurrences, the correlation of NIN words in the noun category with the total number of nouns indicated that, in at least one aspect, the correction strategy of NS1 differed quantatively from that of NS3 (and, of course NS2). As mentioned in conjunction with the description of the information illustrated in Table 3, 50% of the words used by NS1 were nouns. This was 7% and 8% more than recorded for NS2 and NS3.

Furthermore, 93.3% of the 50% consisted of "information" nouns.* The data indicate, therefore, that NS1's correction strategy, when compared with NS2/NS3, was characterised by more frequent verbalization of contextually "understood" nouns which, in NS-NS interaction, would most likely be omitted or replaced with some form of anaphoric reference (Hinds 1976; 1978).

Contextual analysis revealed that utterances like the example cited below were found only in NS1 data.

...Oosutoraria no dooro wa Nihon no dooro yorimo...
Meruborun no yoo na machi ni chikai tokoro wa... ii to omoimasu. Nihon ni mo Oosutoraria no dooro...
Meruborun no dooro yorimo motto ii dooro wa arimasu...

"Australian roads, in places close to towns like Melbourne are, I think, better than Japanese roads. In Japan too there are roads which are better than Australian roads... than Melbourne roads..."

*(NS2 - 87.9%, IN words: 43%N; NS3 - 92.3% IN words: 41.8%N).
Although, as pointed out by Martin, in Japanese, unlike in English, there is no stricture against repeating the initially introduced noun any number of times within an utterance (Martin 1975), it is more common for contextually understood nouns and particularly topic-nouns (marked with particle wa) to be omitted or replaced by some form of anaphoric reference (Martin 1975; Hinds 1978). It can be assumed that four occurrences of dooro (five including the correction of Australian roads to Melbourne roads) in a text of eighteen words would be considered excessive in NS-NS interaction. Therefore, the structuring of the utterance, cited above, represents an example of correction (FT) directed at the encoding of the message in very explicit terms to make the information content more readily comprehensible to the foreigner addressee.

This is confirmed by the fact that similar examples of "minimal transformation of the underlying structure" were identified as a FT feature in "careful speech" of the Japanese subjects in my study of Foreigner Talk undertaken prior to this investigation. Related to this FT feature was the feature of "excessive pronominalization", that is verbalization of first and second person pronouns in an environment in which they are usually omitted in Japanese (Skoutarides 1980).

Consequently, I have examined the data for the presence of this feature in the correction strategies of the three NSs.

3.4 EXCESSIVE PRONOMINALIZATION.

Usage of personal pronouns by the three NSs has already been discussed from the politeness perspective. Here distribution of personal pronouns in relation to the grammatical structuring of NS speech is examined.

Suzuki points out that "...present day Japanese first and second pronouns, considered more numerous than in European languages, are in fact not used very much" (Suzuki 1976, p. 93) and this aspect of the Japanese communicative behaviour has received a considerable coverage in the literature on the Japanese language. Apart from the sociolinguistic aspect of usage (or rather, non-usage) of personal pronouns in interpersonal interaction, outlined in the relevant literature, the low frequency with which personal pronouns occur in Japanese is also related to the grammatical rules of the language. The rules of Japanese grammar permit "suppression of words or phrases presumably intended by the speaker and understood by the listener (Martin 1975, p. 28).
Consequently, this allows suppression of personal pronouns in communicative situations, particularly in dyadic interaction, in which I (the speaker) and you (the addressee) can be clearly understood from the context.

It has to be pointed out that very little research based on actually observed data has been carried out up to date. The investigations which had been undertaken appear to have been directed predominantly at enumeration and semantic description of the different pronominal variants and postulation of paradigms for "ideal" usage of these in a variety of often hypothetical situations. Thus, while information is available as to who should use what pronoun to whom and in what kind of a situation, I have not been able to find a single fully comprehensive reference, based on observed rather than elicited data, which would indicate the extent to which actual usage of personal pronouns in "real life" situations approximates the postulated paradigms. That, in fact, personal pronouns might be used more often than suggested by the relevant literature is indicated by the findings of research on spoken Japanese carried out by the National Language Institute of Japan. Watashi/Watakushi has been listed as one of the twenty most frequently occurring nouns, and a variety of second person pronouns are included, in a relatively prominent position, in the list of 465 most frequently occurring words (Shibu et al. 1980).

Rules allowing deletion of personal pronouns have been specified by Hinds and others (Hinds 1978). However, I have not been able to find any mention in the relevant literature which would indicate that application of these rules is obligatory. As Hinds points out "There are instances... when all conditions for zero anaphora are met and yet the noun phrase is present in the surface form of the utterance" (Hinds 1978, p. 164), and as Hinds points out also, personal pronouns appear to be retained in the surface structure for emphasis, acknowledgement of a change in topic, etc.

In view of the scarcity of comparable data, I have had to rely, therefore, exclusively on my NS informants' impressionistic evaluation of the "excess" or otherwise of the personal pronoun distribution in the three sets of data.

The frequency of personal pronoun (PP) occurrence is recorded in Table 5.
TABLE 5
PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>1ST PP</th>
<th>2ND PP</th>
<th>3RD PP</th>
<th>TPP</th>
<th>TPSC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two sets of percentage figures show the proportion of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronouns to the total number of personal pronouns used by each NS as well as the proportion of these pronouns to the total number of IN words in each set of data.

Information recorded in Table 5 indicates that, in overall terms, personal pronouns constituted less than 4% of the total number of IN words used by each NS. As mentioned previously, it is difficult to determine how these statistics compare with the frequency of occurrence in comparable native situations. However, taking into consideration the fact that over 80% of the PP entries for each set of data consist of first person pronouns, the frequency of occurrence per conversation does not seem to be excessive. The fact that topics changed frequently and the visitors' answers involved a considerable amount of descriptive self-related information would have necessitated more frequent usage of first person pronouns than in other types of conversation.

In evaluating the personal pronoun distribution with the NS informants I have concentrated, therefore, on contextual analysis of usage of personal pronouns in the type of utterances in which the referent was clearly understood from the context and no grammatical constraints on deletion of the pronoun were present (Hinds 1978; Kuno 1972).
In analysing the data for evidence of excessive pronominalization, I have also examined the distribution of pronouns in the possessive case.

As indicated by the percentage figures in Table 5 the proportionally largest percentage of personal pronouns was recorded for NS3. NS3 used 1.1% more personal pronouns than NS1 and 2.2% more than NS2. The difference between NS2 and NS3 was attributed to the difference in discussed topics. NS3 spoke for a considerable length of time about the post-war generation to which he referred to alternately as watakushitachi no sedai, watakushitachi or wareware "our generation/we/we". NS2, on the other hand, spoke more often about the bank or bank related topics which did not necessitate as many references to self. Neither of the two speakers used second person pronouns and the few occurrences of third person pronoun accounted only for 0.1% for NS2 and 0.4% for NS3.

"Overusage" of personal pronouns was noted only for the NS1 data.

3.4.1 NS1 - EXCESSIVE PRONOMINALIZATION

Example 1

A "cluster" of first and second person pronouns occurred in conjunction with a specific communication problem in conversation with FS2. The topic pertained to motorcars and FS2 was trying to ask a question which assumedly pertained to conservation of natural resources.

FS2: ...shigen... shigen... donna doryoku....
"natural resources.. natural resources.. what kind.... efforts...."

NS1 related the question to the "motor car" topic and explained that low fuel consumption is taken into consideration when new cars are being designed. However, he seemed uncertain whether he had decoded the question correctly and, to ascertain that he did, created a communication problem by asking FS2 the following question:
NS1: Nani ga tarinakatta deshoo ka.  
"My answer may have been insufficient..."

(long pause)

Ano... ima go-shitsumon de... watakushi... chotto kikiotoshimashita... kikanakatta...
"I have failed to catch your question... I did not hear it..."

FS2: Moo ichido itte kudasai.  
"Please say it once more".

NS1: Aa... anoo... watakushi wa... ima... anata ni kotaemashita... kotaemashita. Anata no shitsumon ni... watakushi wa kotaemashita....... ga anoo... anata no shitsumon sareta koto o zenbu kotaenai deshoo... nani ga tarinakatta deshoo ka.
"I have just answered you. I have answered your question but perhaps I have not answered everything your question asked... was there any insufficiency in my reply?"

NS1: Eeto... is there any lack of... watakushi no eigo mo hijoo ni....  
"...is there any lack of... my English is also extremely..."

There were seven personal pronouns in this short dialogue, of which five "clustered" in the first clarification turn. It is interesting to note that in an attempt to explain his original question NS1 seems to have resorted to a correction strategy noted as "basics" of communication: the primary need to establish identification—"names for interlocutors... a pronominal system to designate a thou-you party and I-we party" (Le Page (quoting Cassidy 1971) 1977, p. 234). The first sentence of the utterance in which the "cluster" of pronouns occurred does little more than "point" to "I-the speaker" and "you-the addressee". In the second sentence NS1 repeated every element of the previous utterance and expanded the message only slightly by adding the word shitsumon (question) and selecting anata no shitsumon as a more explicit and, therefore, presumably "simpler" equivalent to the previously introduced go-shitsumon; both expressions translate to "your question" but in the case of go-shitsumon the meaning of "your" is derived from the honorific prefix go-.
These five pronouns, three occurrence of watakushi "I" and two of anata "you" were unanimously identified by my informants as excessive - not on semantic or syntactic grounds, however, but because the whole utterance was Foreigner Talk and they could not envisage a situation in which a native speaker of Japanese would have to resort to such "extreme simplification measures" to convey a message to another adult native speaker.

I might mention here the categorization problem presented by the other two occurrences of watakushi in the same "problem" segment. To me they represented "excessive pronominalization", very similar to the five pronouns mentioned above, in that the entire segment was Foreigner Talk elicited by a clearly defined communication problem. The majority of my informants, however, evaluating usage of the two pronouns in relation to the narrower context of an utterance, had found them acceptable.

Example 2

An example of starting an answer with a pronoun, occurred in a conversation with FS3. And, as in the preceding case, "excessive pronominalization" marked a communication problem. FS3 was trying to obtain information as to where NS1 worked. But, as in the case of FS2, could not formulate a question:

FS3: Aa... eer... (NS1)-san wa... (Z)* .... city kara tsutomete imasu ka.
"Mr. NS1... do you work from (Z)... from the city..."

NS1 decoded the utterance as a question pertaining to where he lived, and answered accordingly:

NS1: Ee. Watakushi wa (S) kara tsutome ni ittemasu. Watakushi ga sunde iru tokoro wa (S) de... soko kara kuruma de (Z) made ittemasu.
"Yes. I go to work from (S). The place where I live now is (S) and from there (I) go to work by car."

According to the literature on the subject, and the impressionistic evaluation by NS informants, a direct question, and particularly one which like FS3's question included the name of the addressee, should have obviated the need to include a first person pronoun in the answer.

*(S) and (Z) are used to code the names of Melbourne suburbs
The second occurrence of watakushi, similarly to the two occurrences in Example 1, represents a contextual rather than grammatical "excess". It occurred as an adjunct to another FT feature: "extensive input" by repetition of the information. Repetition of the message, often in a slightly altered form, has been reported as FT characteristic by Hatch et al. (1978), and a very similar feature of overelaboration of the message was identified in my previous study (Skoutarides 1980).

The utterances in which the "excessive pronominalization" feature was exemplified illustrate also the "short, well formed sentence" feature of NS1's correction strategy. As already mentioned, examples of this FT feature were found mainly in NS1 data. It is interesting to note that the "short, well formed" sentences are not grammatically simplistic (passive voice in Ex. 1; relative clause in Ex. 2), but are "simplified" by elimination of informationally redundant elements on the one hand and non-deletion of the contextually "understood" elements on the other. This aspect of NS1's correction strategy has already been discussed in conjunction with the distribution of the IN and NIN words. The few examples of "excessive pronominalization" illustrate intensification of the same type of correction which, in this case, was specifically directed at removal of communication problems.

As already mentioned, in conjunction with the discussion of the personal pronoun usage in the "politeness sector" anata was used only by NS1. This suggests that the three occurrences of anata which were not evaluated as "excess" by the NS informants might, nevertheless, represent a feature of NS1's Foreigner Talk.

The four examples of "excessive" first person pronoun used in the possessive case were very similar in that they were included in a descriptive sentence identifying the company in which NS1 was employed. The company is referred to in Australia by two different names of which one is a translation of the name of the parent company in Japan. As the FS questions did not always make it clear whether the required information pertained to the Australian or the Japanese company, NS1 usually prefixed the explanation with identification of the company.

The few examples in which the excessive usage of first person pronoun occurred represent over-correction directed towards this purpose, for instance:

Watakushi no (X) no (A) no kaisha
"My (Australian name), (Japanese name) company"
Consequently, inclusion of watakushi no "my" in the descriptive sentences of this type represents a different FT feature to the previously mentioned "excessive pronominalization" in that watakushi no constitutes an "incidental" component of "extensive input" feature.

Consequently, as indicated by the above examples, NS1 was the only speaker of the three whose correction strategy, examined in this section, was overtly marked as Foreigner Talk.

4. VOCABULARY

In this section the differences between the three NSs are examined in regard to the selection and correction of vocabulary.

4.1 ETYMOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

The term "etymological" is used here in the broad meaning of the word and refers to the practice of classifying Japanese vocabulary into wago (native Japanese), kango (Chinese origin) and gairaigo (loanwords) categories, whether these categories reflect the true etymological history of different words or not (Tanaka 1978, pp. 127 - 128).

Information presented in Table 6 shows the distribution of words (counted in ALPHA units) into wago (W), kango (K), gairaigo (G), and hybrid (H). I.e. kango-wago, kango-gairaigo etc., compounds (Tanaka 1978, p. 137), and English (E) categories. Proper nouns are treated as a separate category and for purposes of this analysis are excluded from the word count.

**Table 6**

DISTRIBUTION OF VOCABULARY PER ETYMOLOGICAL CATEGORY (ALPHA UNIT COUNT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71.3%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>1421</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>2227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>1231</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>2111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58.3%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32
It should be of some interest to compare the above figures with the currently available data on spoken Japanese in NS-NS communication to ascertain whether any conclusions concerning usage in my data could be deduced. To allow some validity of comparison, the native statistics must be selected from the very few investigations on spoken Japanese, which represent vocabulary usage in a situation approximating most closely the situation investigated in this study. Comparison is made, therefore, with percentage figures, showing the distribution of vocabulary as provided by Shibu et al. for their "situation 1 - public life situation", that is interaction between educated adult native speakers of Japanese, within the precincts of a university or a research centre. The topics discussed pertained to research projects, campus activities etc. and as such, necessitated usage of at least some specialist vocabulary (Shibu et al. 1980). However, despite the similarity in terms of situational factors, the diverse nature of our investigations allowed little more than comparison of the general distribution pattern.

The only comment which can be made on this basis is that the percentage figures for distribution of the Japanese vocabulary in my data, listed in Table 6, in overall terms, approximated the corresponding information recorded by Shibu et al. for NS-NS interactions in their "situation 1": wago 70.2%, kango 24.8%, gairaigo 3.5%, hybrid 1.5% (Shibu et al. 1980). Consequently, the difference between this set of results and my findings recorded in Table 6 lies principally in the additional category of English in the latter. This is a marked feature of Japanese Foreigner Talk in the context of the situation investigated in this study.

Looking at Table 6 from the individual communicative strategy perspective, the percentage figures suggest a difference between the three NSs in usage of the different types of vocabulary, particularly in relation to wago and English vocabulary. This difference becomes more apparent when the distribution of only "information" words (IN) (ALPHA x unit count) is taken into consideration.
As can be seen from Table 7, NS1 behaved linguistically differently to the other two speakers for whom the relevant percentage figures show a very similar distribution. NS1 used 13.2% and 17.8% more wago vocabulary than NS2 and NS3 respectively. Furthermore he was the only speaker of the three to use proportionately more wago than the total number of IN words in other categories of his speech. (60.7% W- 39.3% other.)

It was impossible to determine exactly, without access to comparable data on NS1's speech to NS addressees, the extent to which the higher frequency of wago occurrences in the speech of NS1 can be equated with correction towards "common-level" vocabulary noted by Henzl (Henzl 1974). As pointed out by Tanaka, one of the features characterising conversational discourse in Japanese is represented by higher frequency of usage of common-level wago words in proportion to the semantically narrowly defined kango (Tanaka 1978). However, the difference between NS1 and NS2/NS3 in this respect suggests that correction towards wago was a feature of NS1's Foreigner Talk.

The few examples of the same information encoded by NS1 and NS2/NS3 illustrate this point:

NS1: Nihon no kaisha kara........ okurarete kimashita.  "I was sent (to Australia) by the Japanese company."

NS3: Oosutoraria ni...... haizoku sareru yoo ni narimasite...  "I was posted to Australia."
NS1: Gakkoo o dete kara.....
"After I left the university (lit. school)."
NS3: Daigaku o sotsugyoo shimashite.....
"After I graduated from the university."

NS1: (AB) ni haitte.....
"I entered the (AB) company....."
NS1: Nyuukoo shimashite.....
"I took up position in a bank....."
NS3: (AB) de..... nyuusha shimashite
"I took up a position in (AB) company."

As indicated by the examples, NS1 selected superordinate wago synonyms to convey the information encoded by NS2 and NS3 much more precisely in kango vocabulary. The verbs: okuru, deru and hairu "send, leave, enter" occur with high frequency in Japanese in a variety of contexts, for instance, sending a letter, leaving a room or entering a house while usage of haizoku is limited to posting or attaching of personnel; sotsugyoo refers to graduation from an educational institution, while nyuukoo and nyuusha are even more narrowly defined and can only mean taking up of employment in a bank or a company respectively.

The other significant difference between NS1 and NS2/NS3 is indicated by the percentage figures for usage of English; NS2 and NS3 used approximately twice as many English words as NS1 which suggests a possibility that they compensated, to some extent, for the "difficulty" of kango expressions by post-correcting to English.

4.2 WORD SUBSTITUTION (WS)

The term "word substitution" is used here to denote a post-correction process whereby an initially introduced word is replaced by a Japanese synonym or an English equivalent; or its meaning is clarified by paraphrase, circumlocution or exemplification. This feature has been reported for Foreigner Talk in European Languages (Henzl 1974; 1979; Hatch et al. 1978; Freed 1981) and was also identified as one of the Japanese Foreigner Talk features in my previous study (Skoutarides 1980).

Adopting the premise (subsequently verified by contextual analysis) that application of the correction processes on the level of vocabulary would be restricted to "information" (IN) words, the word count applicable to this section of the investigation is based on the ALPHA x unit count.
TABLE 8  
PROPORTION OF WS TO IN PER NS  
(ALPHA X UNIT COUNT)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>WS</th>
<th>TIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WS = Words to which the post-correction process was applied.  
TIN = Total number of IN words.

The words counted as WS are all the words which the NS, spontaneously or in response to a clarification request from the FS, post-corrected in the manner defined under 4.2.

As shown in Table 8, WS process was applied to approximately 3% - 4% of the total number of IN words in each set of data. Considering the fact that a substantial proportion of IN words used by each speaker were words of high frequency of usage (e.g. imasu "to be"; ikimasu "to go" etc.) the figures indicate that the three NSs relied on this FT feature to a considerable extent.

In terms of comparison between speakers, the relevant percentage figures indicate that NS3 employed this FT feature more often (+1.2%) than either NS1 or NS2 for whom identical figures of 2.9% were recorded.

As far as the distribution pattern is concerned, statistical analysis, involving correlation of WS to IN per topic as well as progressive plotting of WS occurrences per NS-turn from the beginning to the end of the interaction, brought forth only the obvious: that new subject matter involving introduction of new vocabulary as well as the complexity of the information to be conveyed (e.g. banking procedures, motor-car manufacture etc.) can be considered as the main factors determining the frequency of WS occurrence in a given topic.

To determine the type of vocabulary to which the WS post-correction process was applied with the greatest
frequency, the distribution of WS per etymological category was analysed.

4.2.1 DISTRIBUTION OF WS PER ETYMOLOGICAL CATEGORY

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF WS PER ETYMOLOGICAL CATEGORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>PN</th>
<th>TIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>68.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W = Wago  K = Kango  G = Gairaigo  H = Hybrid  PN = Proper noun  Tin = Total number of Japanese IN to which post-correction was applied.

The significant figures recorded in Table 9 pertain to the kango category. As indicated by the percentage figures, the post-correction process was applied by each speaker, and particularly by NS2, predominantly to kango vocabulary - not an unexpected result considering the fact that, in most cases, usage of low frequency kango words was necessary to convey the complex "specialist" content of the conversations.

In terms of WS distribution in relation to the total number of WS occurrences in each set of data the relevant percentage figures (Table 9) indicated a similarity between NS1 and NS3 and singled out NS2 as the speaker who concentrated to a significantly greater extent on post-correction of kango vocabulary.*

*(NS2 = 83.3%; NS1 = 65.9%; NS3 = 68.7%).

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However, when the frequency of WS occurrence is examined in relation to the total number of kango IN words used by each speaker, the fact that NS1 was the speaker who post-corrected more kango vocabulary is made evident. The relevant information extracted from Tables 7 and 9 is illustrated in Graph 3.

**GRAPH 3**

**PROPORTION OF WS TO KANGO IN PER NS**

As already mentioned in conjunction with the discussion of the distribution of vocabulary per etymological category kango vocabulary used by NS1 constituted 27.1% of his total IN output. NS1 used 8.3% and 12.7% less kango vocabulary than NS2 and NS3 respectively.

As illustrated in Graph 3, NS1 post-corrected approximately the same number of kango words as the other two speakers, but his range of kango vocabulary was smaller.**

**(NS1 - 8.8% WS; NS2 - 7.5% WS; NS3 - 7.5% WS).**
Although 1.3% does not represent a statistically significant difference, it does indicate that NS1, to a greater extent than NS2/NS3, perceived the kango vocabulary as "difficult". This result suggests, therefore, that NS1's correction strategy involved not only more extensive pre-correction towards usage of common level wago vocabulary but also more extensive post-correction of the kango words he used in the encoding of the message. On the other hand, NS2 and NS3 pre-corrected towards wago less frequently and post-corrected proportionally less kango vocabulary than NS1.

4.2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF WS PER GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78.6%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77.1%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77.6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = noun  V = verb  ADJ = adjective  ADV = adverb  OTHER = dates, numbers etc.

Chapman, conducting experiments in the interpretation of deviant utterances in English, notes the dominant role of nouns in determining the basic content of a message (Chapman 1974, p.63). Olsson, commenting on Chapman's findings ascribes the reason for this dominance to the fact that "nouns represent in a sense the semantically tangible elements in an utterance, the protagonists so to speak, whereas verbs, adjectives and adverbs describe these protagonists in terms of, for instance, their relations, properties and actions" (Olsson 1977, p.74). My findings, recorded in Table 10, indicate an equally dominant role of nouns in intercultural communication; nearly 80% of the post-corrected words in each set of
data are listed under the noun category with the balance of WS being distributed amongst the remaining grammatical categories. This indicates that only marginal application of post-correction to words other than nouns occurred.

Correlation of the frequency of WS occurrence to the total number of nouns used by each speaker showed only marginal variation. Each speaker post-corrected approximately 5% of the IN nouns he used. The only comment to be made here, therefore, is that in regard to post-correction of vocabulary examined in terms of its grammatical function there was no significant difference between the three NSs.

4.2.3 TYPE OF POST-CORRECTION

Assuming that the method of post-correction might vary between the individual communication strategies, I have examined the distribution of the type of post-correction favoured by the three NSs.

TABLE 11
TYPE OF POST-CORRECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>JS</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>P/C</th>
<th>EX</th>
<th>TIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JS = Japanese, synonym  E = English
P/C = Paraphrase/circumlocution  EX = Exemplification
TIN = Total number of Japanese IN to which post-correction process was applied.
Table 11 shows that clarification of the meaning of the "problem" vocabulary by means of exemplification was the least used method and that, although NS1 and NS3 used paraphrase/circumlocution more than NS2, this method too was not employed very extensively by any of the NSs. The significant figures in Table 11 pertain, therefore, to post-correction by means of Japanese or English synonyms.

It is interesting to note the difference between NS1 and the other two speakers when the figures listed in the "Japanese synonym" and "English" categories are compared.

NS1 used both methods of post-correction in practically equal proportion (+2.8% for English represents a difference of 1 WS) while both NS2 and NS3 post-corrected predominantly by means of English. A particularly high percentage figure for this method of post-correction was recorded for NS2 (81.2% NS2; 64.2% NS3).

When the figures for WS post-corrected by paraphrase/circumlocution are included in the percentage of post-correction effected by means of the Japanese language, the data indicate clearly that NS1 relied on his native tongue for clarification purposes to a significantly greater extent than NS2 and NS3: Japanese was used to post-correct 54.8% of the total number of WS in NS1 data in contrast to 35.8% recorded for NS2 and only 16.7% recorded for NS3.

An interesting result here is the correlation between method of correction and the three NSs' proficiency in English. NS1's proficiency in the English language was much lower, and the period of acculturation to the English speaking environment was much shorter than that of NS2 and NS3. The data suggest, therefore, that native speaker's proficiency in the language of the FS addressee might be considered as one of the factors which determine selection of the type of post-correction for a situation like the one investigated in this study. In other words, the data suggest that NS1, who lacked the appropriate English vocabulary, had to draw more extensively on the semantic competence in his native language to select suitable clarification procedures while NS2 and NS3 could take the "easy way out" and draw upon their larger repertoire of English words to effect the post-correction.
4.2.4 AVOIDANCE OF "PROBLEM" WORDS

The term "avoidance" is used here to denote a correction process in which the post-correction of a word is extended to include its subsequent occurrence. Contextual analysis of the data revealed several examples of this type of correction: each speaker showed a tendency towards avoidance, in the subsequent utterances, of the "problem word/s" to which the post-correction process had been applied. In the few instances in which the encoding of the information necessitated repetition of the same word, each speaker selected the post-corrected version in preference to the one which had been identified as a "problem" when initially introduced. There was no perceivable difference between the three speakers in this respect.

For instance, NS1 was asked a question about the length of the production cycle for a new motor-car model. Description of the process, which starts with the building of a clay model, necessitated introduction of the "key" word nendo which NS1 post-corrected to clay. Within the same segment there were no further occurrences of nendo but clay was repeated three times.

Very similar approach to the "problem" word was noted for NS2. NS2 was asked whether Japanese companies preferred their senior male personnel to be married. The encoding of an appropriate answer brought forth dokushin, a word unfamiliar to the FSs, which NS2 post-corrected to single... bachelor. Within the segment devoted to this topic, NS2 repeated dokushin twice and bachelor four times which suggests that his correction strategy also included the feature of "avoidance".

Similarly, NS3 introduced the words koyoo seido and nenkoo joretsu while explaining the Japanese company system. Both expressions were post-corrected to life employment system and seniority promotion respectively, and in the subsequent reference to these two features of the Japanese company system, koyoo occurred once while the post-corrected versions, in a variety of forms, occurred seven times (life employment system (1); life employment no system (1); seniority system (1) and life employment (4) ).
4.3 **ENGLISH (EL)**

The term "English" is used here to denote a pre-* or post-correction process which results in usage of English words in lieu of Japanese.

**TABLE 12**

**DISTRIBUTION OF EL PER TYPE OF CORRECTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>CS</th>
<th>POC</th>
<th>PRC</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CS = Words used to code-switch on sentential/part sentential level
POC = Words used in post-correction
PRC = Words used in pre-correction

English words constituted 6.2%, 12.5% and 12.7% of the total number of IN words (ALPHA x unit count) recorded for NS1, NS2 and NS3 respectively. As illustrated in Table 12, the overall distribution pattern was comparable for the three sets of data: approximately 30% - 40% of English words were used to effect post-correction (POC) of the initially introduced Japanese words. The balance, with the exception of a small number of words (2% - 4%) used by each NS to formulate a sentence or part-sentence (CS), were introduced into the NS utterances as a part of the FT pre-correction (or transfer) process (PRC).

4.3.1 **CODE-SWITCHING (CS)**

As indicated by the percentage figures recorded under CS in Table 13, each speaker briefly code-switched to English on a sentence of part-sentence level at some stage of the interaction. It is interesting to note that the environment in which code-switching occurred was different in each set of data.

* "Pre-correction denotes the process whereby selection of a word is made prior to uttering it."
NS1's code-switching represents post-correction of "clarification" utterance, initially encoded in Japanese, with which he tried to explain the meaning of nani ga tarinakatta deshoo ka "my answer might not have been adequate" to FS2. As the attempts at clarification in Japanese were unsuccessful, NS1 "translated" the problem sentence into English as "is there any lack of...". NS1's code-switching, therefore, represents a corrective adjustment elicited by a specific communication problem and applied only as a "last resort" measure.

In contrast to this, the English sentence in NS2's data, as exemplified below, was used more as an incidental "aside" - an adjunct to the preceding clarification utterances but not a clarification device in itself.

FS2: Aaa... kurondon... rondon to iu kotoba wa nan desu ka.
"What does the word kurondon... rondon mean?"
NS2: Aaa... ano.. London
FS2: Ah... London.. London
NS2: Nihon... nihonshiki ni iu to Rondon ni narimasu...
my English pronunciation is quite bad.
"Pronounced in Japanese it becomes Rondon..."

In NS3 data there was one example of code-switching to effect post-correction i.e. translation of a whole phrase "tannaru keizai teki katsudoo igai ni" to "not simple mere economic activity". The above, unlike the code-switching of NS1, represents an example of spontaneous post-correction not related to an overtly marked communication problem. Two more occurrences were found in NS3's data which can best be described perhaps as admixture of English triggered by the overall difficulty of communicating in Foreigner Talk rather than specific communication needs.

NS3: I am sorry but... wakarimasen
"... I don't understand"
NS3: ... usagi goya ni sumu... rabbit... rabbit house...
something like that...
"(They) live in rabbit hatches..."

Although, of course, no definite conclusions can be reached on the basis of the few examples, the data suggest that code-switching on sentence/part sentence level should be included amongst the features characterising Japanese FT in Australian-Japanese contact situations. The data indicate also that, in some cases at least, code-switching will be triggered by the "foreign" element of the situation rather than specific communication needs.
4.3.2 POST-CORRECTION

As usage of English words to effect post-correction was discussed previously (cf. 4.2.3), the only comment to be made here is to note the variation in the frequency of POC occurrence recorded for each speaker (36% - NS1; 28.9% - NS2; 40.5% - NS3).

Analysis of the English words used to effect post-correction did not show any definite trend pointing towards preference for a specific type of English vocabulary (e.g. technical etc.) for post-correction purposes. The wide range of English words used in post-correction (e.g. correctly, steel plate, police, West Germany, twenty years) suggests that selection of English rather than Japanese vocabulary for post-correction purposes is perhaps motivated more by the availability of a suitable English word to the native speaker than some other considerations.

4.3.3 PRE-CORRECTION

The percentage figures recorded in Table 13 for PRC occurrences show that, in each conversation, a substantial number of English words* was introduced independently of the post-correction process discussed above. These figures have to be treated with caution, however, as it was very difficult to draw an absolute demarcation line between usage of English words triggered specifically by the speaker-perceived communication needs, that is pre-correction towards FT and interference from English which represents a different linguistic phenomenon (Neustupny 1985; Masumi-so 1983).

Neustupny points out that usage of English words reported for the speech of the expatriate Japanese community in Australia may be "influenced by the trend to refer to 'Australian' items in English, and by a more or less established practice of doing so" (Neustupny 1985 p.53). It can be assumed, therefore, that some of the English words in the three sets of data could represent this kind of usage, e.g. reference to company positions viz. director (NS1, NS2, NS3), manager (NS1, NS2, NS3) boss (NS1) etc.; reference to "Australian" items which perhaps conjure different imagery from their Japanese counterparts e.g. country (NS1) as opposed to inaka or Chinese resutoran (NS1, NS2) as opposed to chuuka ryooriten etc.

*NS1 - 60%; NS2 - 69%; NS3 - 55.3%
At the same time, however, the variation in the quantity and type of English vocabulary reported for code-mixing in the speech of the Japanese residents in Australia (Masumi-So, 1983) made it difficult to determine exactly how many of the English words were used by the three NSs to "facilitate" communication with the FS group and how many could be regarded as an example of what Neustupny refers to as "mixing deviance", that is inability of the NS to "keep Japanese and English competence apart (Neustupny 1985, p.53).

In general, contextual analysis did not show any specific trend on the basis of which one could postulate the reasons for the selection of the particular English words in the contexts in which they occurred. The randomness of selection suggests, as has already been mentioned, that the primary criterion might often be more the speaker's knowledge of an appropriate English word rather than the "difficulty" of the Japanese equivalent for which it is substituted or even the "key" role of a particular word in the context of the message.

However, there was also evidence of some systematic pre-correction to English by NS3. At several points towards the end of the conversation NS3 adopted the strategy of pre-correcting practically every "key" word of the message to English.

FS3: Kenkoo hoken wa doo desu ka
"What about health insurance?"
NS3: Kenkoo hoken wa... ano... osoraku oosutoraria to anmari kawaranai shisutemu desu ne. Seifu to company to... sorekara... employee ga sorezore contribute suru kenkoo no insurance desu.
"In regard to health insurance... it probably is not very different from the Australian system. It is a health insurance (system) to which the government, the company and the employees, contribute."

As exemplified by the excerpt cited above, the "key" elements pertaining to the explanation of the health insurance system in Japan: "company", "employee", "contribute" and "insurance" were encoded in English and the meaning of the "supporting" information encoded in Japanese could easily be deduced from the context.

An interesting result, which emerged when contextual usage of English words was examined, is that NS1 and NS2 (but not NS3) post-corrected some of the English words they used into Japanese. This suggests that, at some points of the interaction at least, both speakers were
aware of deviating from "native talk" and evaluated these deviations negatively. The "secondary adjustments" applied to remove the "inadequacies" (Neustupny 1985, p.59) were effected in the same way in the six examples found in the two sets of data: The English word was post-corrected by literal translation into Japanese and, in some cases, followed by an "explanatory remark", e.g. ...to iimasu ga... "it is called..." etc.

NS1
1) ...parts ...bubun desu ne.
2) ...kochira no press ...shinbun to iimasu ne.

NS2
1) ...kotoshi wa centenary... hyakunen no kinen...
kotoshi na n desu.
2) ....Nihon no ginkoo ga hijoo ni internationalization... kokusaika to shoo shitemasu.

Although the examples of secondary adjustments represent the exception rather than the rule, and the reasons for selecting the particular English words for post-correction can only be a matter of speculation, the data suggest that application of "secondary corrective adjustments", which Neustupny regards as "an important characteristic of contact situations" (Neustupny 1985, p.59) should also be included amongst the features characterising Japanese Foreigner Talk.
5. CONCLUSIONS

In this study politeness, grammar and vocabulary features characterising Japanese Foreigner Talk for a specific contact situation were examined from the perspective of variation. To minimise the influence of situational variables on the individual correction strategies, my investigation was based on case studies of three Japanese businessmen interacting with the same group of Australian adults, in the same setting and for the same purpose. Consequently, variation in the correction strategies examined in this study represents individual response to the "foreign" element of the situation as well as an individual's corrective competence, that is his ability to apply and control the multiple correction processes of which Foreigner Talk is comprised.

As indicated by previous discussion NS1's correction strategy embraced every aspect of linguistic communication investigated in this study. The correction strategies of NS2 and NS3, on the other hand, were centred on the vocabulary.

Correction on the vocabulary level represents the most overtly marked FT feature shared by the three NSs. However, despite a considerable degree of similarity, there were also significant differences between the three speakers in this area of correction.

The two strategies of correction consistently employed by each speaker were post-correction of words and usage of English. In regard to the former, correction processes were applied predominantly to kango vocabulary and, in terms of grammatical categories, to nouns.

There was a significant difference between NS1 and the other two speakers in the method of post-correction. NS1 relied to a much greater extent on Japanese synonyms or paraphrase/circumlocution of the meaning of the "problem" words. NS2 and NS3, whose proficiency in English was much higher than that of NS1, made greater use of English vocabulary.

The difference in the competence in English was reflected also on the pre-correction level. Although English words in lieu of their Japanese equivalents were used by each speaker, pre-correction to English was more prominent in the speech of NS2 and NS3. On the other hand, pre-correction to wago was noted only for NS1.
Although in terms of quantity, usage of English words was comparable for NS2 and NS3, there was a significant difference between them in the employment of this FT feature. NS2's pre-correction to English was limited to isolated words within fairly long stretches of speech. NS3, however, for part of the time at least, applied this correction process more effectively by systematically replacing every "key" word in an utterance with an English word.

Another area of similarity between the three NSs might be represented by correction towards Standard Japanese. In this area, significantly more Common Japanese features were found in the speech of NS2 than in the speech of NS1 and NS3. However, due to the difference in the regional background of the three speakers no definite conclusions could be drawn in respect to this aspect of the language.

NS1 seems to have been the speaker most sensitive to language related problems inherent in this type of contact situation. In addition to adjustments on the vocabulary level, he also systematically applied correction processes to other levels of the language to forestall (or remove) comprehension problems of his interlocutors.

For instance, within the "Politeness Sector" some evidence of correction towards "simplification of honorifics" was noted in regard to referent honorifics. Similarly, explicit "naming" of the addressee by means of second person pronoun also indicated correction towards Foreigner Talk.

Analysis of the grammatical features of NS1's data revealed strong evidence of fairly consistent pre-correction towards reduction of informationally redundant elements in the structuring of his utterances. At the same time, it was also noted that he made an equally consistent effort at maximizing the referential force of the message by including in his utterances many elements, including personal pronouns, which would normally be deleted in speech addressed to NS addressees.

In contrast to NS1, NS2's speech seemed to be least affected by the foreignness of the addressees. With the exception of the two FT features "word substitution" and "English", there was no overt evidence in the data that any further concessions were made to the possible comprehension problems of the FS group.
Unlike NS1 who consistently maintained his Foreigner Talk variety, and NS2 who equally consistently maintained the marginal level of correction, NS3's correction strategy was very erratic. On one hand, some of his utterances did not differ in principle from NS2's speech. In terms of vocabulary and grammatical configuration these utterances could be equated with his "native talk" register. On the other hand, particularly towards the end of the interaction, he seems to have adopted a strategy of communicating in English while the rest of the message which, consequently, could be largely deduced from the context, was encoded in Japanese. Randomness of distribution of both types of utterances indicated that NS3 did not control his Foreigner Talk variety to the same extent as the other two speakers.

The results of this study show, therefore, that each of the three NSs responded to the same communicative situation differently. Consequently, although it might be possible, on the basis of my findings, to anticipate occurrence of certain Foreigner Talk features for a situation like the one examined in this study, their distribution and frequency of usage cannot be predicted.

The results of this study demonstrate that Foreigner Talk depends not only on the communicative situation but also, to a very great extent, on an individual's perception of the situation and his ability to effect appropriate correction processes.
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