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# Japanese-English Bilinguals' Competence Of Speech Acts In Politeness

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JAPANESE-ENGLISH BILINGUALS' COMPETENCE OF SPEECH ACTS IN POLITENESS

A Thesis  
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Department of Modern Languages  
The University of Mississippi

by

CHIKAKO TAKEHARA

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## ABSTRACT

The perceptions and norms of speech acts vary depending on the actor's culture and language (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). Politeness also has diverse benchmarks depending on culture and language, as noted by Ide et al. (1992) who argue that the concept of politeness is different in Japanese and English. When considering the fact that it is challenging to possess bicultural competence and equal proficiency in both languages (Baker, 2011), how one retains this competence becomes a noteworthy question. Thus, this study investigated whether bilinguals who move to a L2 dominant country retain their communicative competence of L1 politeness even after residing there for an extended period of time. This paper presents a case study of Japanese-English bilinguals who were born in Japan to Japanese parents and are currently living in an English speaking country. Through a written discourse completion task (DCT) and semi-structured interviews, their performance of refusal and acceptance to invitations, requests, and compliments, which should indicate characteristics of Japanese speech acts, was evaluated. The answers on the DCT were analyzed in terms of grammatical accuracy and politeness, rated by native monolingual speakers on a Likert scale from polite to impolite. The interview revealed their perception of lexical forms in Japanese and Japanese society, along with the formation of their own identities. Competence of Japanese speech acts of the three participants varied by contexts, and it was influenced by their daily language use, age of arrival, and length of stay outside Japan. Their self-perception also corresponded with their results of the DCT. In addition, Japanese monolingual speakers who

took the DCT as a control group demonstrated unexpected Japanese speech acts, which may provide proof of speech act variability depending on the generation in which speakers were born.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Communication requires two necessary elements: producing words and doing things with the words (called ‘speech acts’). If a person lacks either one of these essential parts of communication, a breakdown occurs. As Austin (1975) states, “to say something is to do something” (p. 121). People convey and imply their feelings and thoughts through performing speech acts. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that speech acts are considered to be universal; however, many studies have shown that perceptions and norms of speech acts vary depending on cultures and languages (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). If a person only knows about language (i.e. declarative knowledge), he/she can hardly behave appropriately in a specific community without knowing the implications of speech acts (i.e. procedural knowledge). Both the language socialization and sociocognitive approaches suggest that people generally learn with help from experts (proficient people in a specific society or community) and through experiences in the community (Atkinson, 2011; Duff & Talmy, 2011). In other words, people learn how to perform speech acts by interacting with people in specific groups. Therefore, the community will have a significant influence on a person’s ability to perform speech acts successfully. However, if people reside for a while in a foreign country where cultural norms are different from their home countries, their competence to perform speech acts in their L1 might be affected, changed, or lost due to the influence of L2, which is the language of wider communication in their country of residence. In order to investigate the above stated hypothesis, this study explores Japanese-English bilinguals

who were born in Japan, speak Japanese as their L1, and have lived in two or more different countries. The study also examines their proficiency in performing speech acts in Japanese.

In addition, in order to maintain social relationships, politeness, defined as appropriateness in a specific society, is key (Meier, 1995). Okabe (1990) mentions that politeness plays a significant role in communication since politeness reduces the discord between people in interactions (as cited in Ogawa & Gudykunst, 1999-2000, p. 47). If people ignore politeness in communication, they damage their social image. Depending on the culture, however, politeness is indicated in different ways and perceived with different meanings. Meier (1995) mentions that “every society has some sort of norms for appropriate behavior, although these norms will vary” (p. 388). For instance, in discussing apology forms, Bardovi-Harlig (2001) states that Japanese English learners use an apology phrase such as “I’m sorry” to convey appreciation. Although the Japanese mean “Thank you” by saying “I’m sorry,” English native speaking addressees might feel strange and become confused by such utterances. Like this example, politeness has complex and interesting aspects in different cultures and languages; therefore, this research focuses on politeness. The research questions to be investigated are:

- 1) Do Japanese-English bilinguals utilize uniquely Japanese speech acts? If so, how do they utilize them?
- 2) Do they retain and follow the politeness principles in response to invitations, requests, and compliments?
- 3) Are their responses considered appropriate Japanese speech acts in politeness by native Japanese monolingual speakers or are they more like American?

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Bilingualism and Biculturalism**

Today, more than half of the people all over the world are bilingual (Grosjean, 2015). Researchers have studied bilingualism or multilingualism for decades, and there are various definitions of bilingualism. McGroarty and Fitzsimmons-Doolan's (2014) definition, for example, is "a person with age-appropriate skills in two languages" (p. 502). While some definitions emphasize language skills or fluency, other definitions focus on the frequency of language use. Grosjean (2010) states that "bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (p. 4). Since this study examines speech acts that are observed and used in interacting with people in a specific community in daily life, Grosjean's definition is applied here to describe a bilingual.

In addition, this research focuses on particular people who become bilingual because of immigration. These days, a great number of immigrants move to other countries from their home countries due to political conflicts and business. If they move to countries where languages different from their mother tongues are dominant, they need to learn the majority language to live in that society. After spending several years in a new country, there is a high possibility that these immigrants will become bilingual, as a "circumstantial bilingual," according to Baker (2011), who also mentions acquiring cultural competence along with language skill. In general,

many bilinguals become bicultural or multicultural except where they never have or do not have enough experiences of language socialization in a target language community. In particular, circumstantial bilinguals usually go through a process of acculturation as well as language learning in the host country (Baker, 2011). According to Baker, in order to be bicultural, bilinguals need to have “knowledge of language cultures; feelings and attitudes towards those two cultures; behaving in culturally appropriate ways; awareness and empathy” and “confidence to express biculturalism” (p. 4). These key factors of being bicultural bilinguals are taken into account, as this study emphasizes culturally appropriate behaviors and actions as it examines speech acts in bilingual Japanese Americans.

## **2.2. Speech Acts Categories**

In communication, people do not only produce words but also perform speech acts with the words. Cutting (2005) states that “what we mean is actually not in the words themselves but in the meaning implied” (p. 16). Thus, performing speech acts and perceiving speech acts are essential skills to communicate with others. Austin (1962) defines speech acts as the actions and behaviors performed via utterances. Speech acts indicate two aspects: (1) the illocutionary force: what speakers are doing with the words, and (2) the perlocutionary effect: what kind of results emerge from the words (Austin, 1962). According to Searle (1976), speech acts are categorized into five groups: declarations, representatives, commissives, directives, and expressives. Declarations include acts of changing the world by what speakers say, such as “I bet,” “I declare,” and “I resign.” Representatives cover acts of stating beliefs, such as describing, insisting, and predicting. Commissives are acts of commitment to future actions, such as promising, offering, and refusing. Directives include acts of making addressees do something,

such as requesting, inviting, and suggesting. Expressives state what speakers feel, such as apologizing, complimenting, and regretting (Cutting, 2005). Given their prevalence in communication, speech acts are an essential part of making meaning in any language. This research focuses on commissives, directives, and expressives.

### **2.3. Influence of First Language and Culture**

Bardovi-Harlig (2001) states that the first language and culture have the most widely examined influence on speech act realization. Takahashi (1996) also concludes that the L1 is the central cause of the patterns that emerge in the L2. In other words, the first language and first culture have a huge impact on the second language and second culture. Thus, it is hypothesized that Japanese-English bilinguals (whose first language is not English but Japanese) in this study could still utilize uniquely Japanese speech acts in Japanese even though they have been immersed into an English-dominant society for an extended period of time. However, Baker (2011) concludes that it is challenging to possess equal proficiency in both languages, so only one language often becomes dominant. Therefore, under the one language dominant environment, bilinguals' speech acts in the first language might be influenced by the dominant language, and their behaviors in the first language might change over time. Consequently, this research will investigate Japanese-English bilinguals living in an English-dominant environment with regard to their Japanese speech act competences.

### **2.4. Politeness and Culture**

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that it is inevitable for people to recognize and display an understanding of 'face' (the public image of self/addressees) in communication so that they can have social relationships with each other. Positive face is when people want to be approved

and appreciated by others, and negative face is when people desire not to be imposed upon by others. If a person is criticized about his/her opinion by others, the person's positive face is threatened. If a person is ordered to do something by others, his/her negative face is threatened. These acts are called Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). People need to respect each other's face and avoid FTAs, whether or not people are from different cultures, so as to have interaction with others in a specific community (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Cutting (2005) states that "culture and language learning is a major variable in differentiating one culture from another along the lines of politeness and saving face" (p. 51). In addition, she insists that all issues of politeness and language are completely culture-bound, that is, there is a strong correlation between politeness and culture. Japan, for instance, has a debt-sensitive culture while American culture is considered to be a non-debt-sensitive culture (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Brown & Levinson, even offering a glass of water causes a massive debt to a recipient in Japan while offers are rarely regarded as FTA in the U.S.A. Consequently, the question arises as to whether or not circumstantial bilinguals retain politeness competence in their first language even though they are mainly surrounded by the second language society. Rinnert and Kobayashi's (1999) research shows that polite forms are used by Japanese speakers more frequently than English speakers. Particularly when Japanese people talk to a higher status person, a rule of *wakimae* (discernment) is followed by the speakers (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). According to Maynard (1997), *wakimae* is "sets of social norms of appropriate behavior people must observe to be considered polite in society" (p. 57). Hill et al. (1986) claims that discernment is a significant element in politeness in Japanese culture whereas it is considered to be of little importance in English speaking cultures. They also defined that

discernment indicates social indexing, which is used in Japanese politeness, and volition, which conveys the speaker's self-intentions to achieve, is employed more in English politeness. Also, Ide et al (1992) argues about another different concept of politeness in Japanese and English. While *politeness* is considered equivalent to *friendly* in English, *teineina* (politeness) and *shitashigena* (friendly) have different dimensions in Japanese. While *teineina* (politeness) means being polite to others, *shitashigena* (friendly) might indicate impoliteness, especially when talking to older people or people with higher status, such as a boss or customers at a business. Maynard (1997) claims that “while Americans make an effort to diminish social deference, Japanese make an effort to recognize deference and follow the *wakimae* conventions by choosing differentiating expressions” (p. 58).

## **2.5. Politeness Principles**

Three major principles of politeness have been advocated by Lakoff (1973, 1975), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), and Leech (1983). Lakoff's principles consist of: (1) don't impose, (2) give options, and (3) make the addressees feel good. Brown and Levinson's principles are for 'face': on record, off record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and FTA. Leech's principle is based on speakers' and listeners' costs and benefits. His principle offers these six maxims:

1. Tact: Focus on the hearer, and minimize the hearer's imposition (negative politeness) and maximize the hearer's benefit (positive politeness)
2. Generosity: Focus on the speaker, and minimize the speaker's benefit and maximize the speaker's imposition
3. Approbation: Minimize dispraise of the hearer, and maximize praise of the hearer
4. Modesty: Minimize praise of the speaker, and maximize dispraise of the speaker



5. Agreement: Minimize disagreement between the speaker and the hearer, and maximize agreement between the speaker and the hearer

6. Sympathy: Minimize antipathy between the speaker and the hearer, and maximize sympathy between the speaker and the hearer

Of these six maxims in Leech's politeness principle, tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, and sympathy, as well as Lakoff's principles, are used in this study. The examples for each principle in Japanese are the following:

tact (A) and generosity (B):

A: *Oisogashii tokoro moshiwake arimasen ga, sukoshi dake kono shiryō o okari shitemo yoroshii desho ka.*

I am sorry to interrupt you, but could I borrow this document for a minute?

B: *Mochiron, iidesu yo. Shibaraku tsukaimasen node, osukina dake doozo.*

Sure. Because I don't use it for a while, you can keep it however long you want.

Approbation:

C: *Sono pinku no doresu karitemo ii?*

Can I borrow that pink dress?

D: *Un mochiron ii kedo kore yori ima kiteiru sono shiroi no no hoga niatteru to omou yo.*

Sure, but I think you look better in the white one you are wearing now.

Modesty:

E: *Eigo paafekuto desu ne.*

Your English is perfect, isn't it?

F: *Iya iya, sonna koto naidesu yo. Yoku machigae te bakari nandesu yo.*

No, not at all. I quite often make mistakes, actually.

Sympathy:

G: *Sumimasen ga, dentaku o okari shitemo yoroshii desu ka.*

Sorry to bother you, but could I please borrow your calculator?

H: *Mochiron desu. Kono keisan muzukashii desu yo ne. Watashi mo kuro shimashita kara.*

Sure. This calculation is difficult, isn't it? Because I also had some difficulties with this.

Based on these examples, this research examines the three research questions.

## **2.6. Deference and Use of Different Lexical Forms in Japanese**

In Japanese politeness, language use, particularly usage of three different types of lexical forms, is very significant (Ogawa & Gudykunst, 1999-2000). Japanese people distinguish the three lexical forms to utilize depending on contexts, one's own status in a group, and relationships between conversational participants (Matsumoto, 1988, 1989; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). The basic form is called plain, which is the verb-ending form *da*. The plain form is employed in casual conversations, especially between people who possess the same rank or status in a specific group, such as friends and people at their same age. The polite form is the second type of the lexical forms, whose verb-ending is *desu/masu*. The polite form is considered to be more polite than the plain, and it is used in formal conversations. A form that is more polite than the polite form is the honorific form. Honorifics increase "the level of formality, which consequently raises the level of politeness" (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999, p. 1177). With these three types of lexical forms, for instance, "Do you eat this?" is uttered in Japanese as follows;

(1) Plain form: *Kore taberu?*

(2) Polite form: *Kore tabe masu ka?*

(3) Honorific form: *Kochira meshiagari masu ka?*

The sentence (1) is a casual speech style produced in close relationships. Since (2) includes the polite form, *masu*, it is relatively polite. Due to the word *meshiagari* (conjugation of *meshiagaru*), which is an honorific form of the word *taberu*, (3) is the most polite utterance. Corresponding with their rank or status regarding other members of a specific group, Japanese people are anticipated to behave adequately (Matsumoto, 1988). Also, according to Matsumoto (1988), “deference in Japanese culture focuses on the ranking difference between the conversational participants.” Thus, she concludes that Japanese natives must make lexical choices according to the relationships between the conversational participants. In order to demonstrate the deference in such a society, the use of honorifics is inevitable in Japanese conversations. Moreover, in Japanese society, it is imperative to recognize the social contexts and one’s own status or position in a specific group or a conversation (Matsumoto, 1988), as conveying deference utilizing the proper lexical forms is considered to be crucial for Japanese speakers. As mentioned above, while deference is employed for a person who maintains higher status position in Japan, people demonstrate the deference to a person who has similar qualities or who holds the same position in western culture (Matsumoto, 1988). Consequently, since Japanese employment of deference and the use of the lexical forms compared to the western culture is conceptually unique, this research investigate the bilinguals’ knowledge and competence of Japanese speech acts in politeness.

## **2.7. Characteristics of Japanese Speech Acts in Politeness**

As Baker (2011) insists, the important elements in communication are “not only the structure of language (e.g. grammar, vocabulary) but also who is saying what, to whom, in which circumstances” (p. 5). Certain felicity conditions must be met so that speech acts can be performed and recognized appropriately in any language. However, speech acts and politeness display different characteristics between cultures or languages. Depending on their cultures, speakers express their intentions through different speech acts. In Japanese, for instance, refusing is accompanied by a vague reason such as “I have something to do” (Barnlund & Yoshioka, 1990). In contrast, Anglo-Americans tend to add a concrete reason that has a precise explanation such as “I have a business lunch today” (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990). In addition, while refusals produced by native English speakers normally incorporate regrets, excuses, and face-saving closings or offers, Japanese natives consider incomplete refusing sentences to be genuinely polite (Kreuz & Roberts, 2017). Also, Japanese speakers “avoid direct confrontation, as in ‘you’re wrong’ or ‘that’s not true’; look for harmony” (Cutting, 2005, p. 67). Tannen (1994) also states that Japanese speakers are famous for avoiding saying ‘no’ since direct refusal is regarded as too risky and face-threatening (as cited in Cutting, 2005, p. 167).

Gagné (2010) also concludes that since saving others’ face is considered to be more crucial than saving one’s own self-image by Japanese speakers, positive face strategy is used more frequently than negative face strategy in Japanese.

In addition to refusal, another unique Japanese speech act is observed in responding to compliments. Ishihara and Cohen (2010) mention that rejecting compliments is a symbol of Japanese speakers. Rejecting compliments is often seen in Japanese native speakers’ conversations while Americans’ saying “Thank you” to compliments is observed quite

frequently. Chen (1993) also state that acceptance as a compliment response is observed from native English speakers while rejecting and downgrading compliments are employed in Asian countries such as Japan.

Since Japanese and English have those remarkable different aspects, Japanese-English bilinguals might not be able to show appropriate Japanese politeness in their speech acts. To explore this question, this study will specifically examine their responses to three different categories: invitations, requests, and compliments. As mentioned earlier, Japanese native speakers put significance on saving others' face, and they are reluctant to say 'no' directly. Thus, examining bilinguals' refusal responses and even acceptances to invitations and requests leads to indications of their Japanese speech act competence. Refusing compliments is well-known for Japanese speakers; therefore, by using compliments, the bilinguals' proficiencies in politeness can be investigated.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Participants**

Comparative case studies were implemented for this research. According to Gall, Gall, and Borg (2003), the case study is the “most widely used approach to qualitative research in education” (as cited in Duff, 2008, p. 21). In the case study, “the individual’s behaviors, performance, knowledge, and/or perspectives are then studied very closely and intensively... to address timely questions regarding language acquisition...” (Duff, 2012, p. 95). In this investigation, three Japanese-English bilinguals whose parents are Japanese were studied. They were born in Japan, moved to English speaking countries, and are still residing there currently. In order to investigate whether age of arrival and length of stay outside Japan contribute to the speech act competence, people having a different background were selected as participants for this study. Moeka, a fifteen-year old girl, left for England at four years old, and she moved to the U.S.A. at nine years old. She has been in the states for six years. She is currently a freshman in high school. Shiori, a twenty-year old girl, moved to the Philippines at ten years old and lived there for three years. She then went back to Japan and left for the U.S.A at sixteen years old. She is a college student majoring in economics. Four and a half years have passed since she moved to the United States. Nami, a twenty-year old girl, moved to England at three years old and moved back to Japan at eight years old. Then she moved to the U.S.A at seventeen years old, and she

has been residing in the states for three years. She is a college student majoring in business. Since they go to English language medium schools, they speak English outside the home. However, they also speak Japanese in certain situations such as in the home and in specific Japanese communities (either with Japanese friends or Japanese “cram” or supplementary school).

### **3.2. Method**

To investigate the first research question - whether the participants observe the politeness principles in some situations or contexts - a written discourse completion task (DCT) in Japanese was administered to the participants. The DCT consisted of nine situations where they were asked to respond to invitations, requests, and compliments to examine their actual performances (see Appendix I).

### **3.3. Procedure**

The DCT was also administered to three female native Japanese speakers in their early twenties and three female native English speakers in their early twenties who were monolingual and monocultural as a control group. These people in the control group were college students (undergraduate and graduate). People who were similar in age, status, and gender to the bilinguals were selected as the control group. Also, to examine the second research question, three native monolingual Japanese speakers were asked to rate the bilinguals’ answers on the DCT in terms of levels of politeness, from 1 to 4 (on the Likert scale). In order to examine perceptions of the bilingual responses by various evaluators, people whose ages and occupations were different were selected as evaluators: (1) an undergraduate student in her early twenties, (2) a full-time worker in her early twenties, and (3) a Japanese high-school teacher in her early

thirties. Since speech acts are performed on social norms, the participants' social awareness of speech acts in Japanese and their background need to be investigated; therefore, in addition to the DCT, the participants were interviewed for approximately thirty minutes about their backgrounds, their thoughts on being bilingual, and their responses to the DCT, in order to reveal their ideologies and hidden beliefs toward politeness (see Appendix II). The interviews were conducted in Japanese. After these three investigations, the results of the DCT were analyzed in terms of grammatical accuracy and politeness by the researcher.



## 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1. Results and Discussion of DCT

All the nine questions revealed the bilinguals, the Japanese Monolingual Speakers (JMS), and the English Monolingual Speakers (EMS)' speech acts. Also, the Japanese Monolingual Raters (JMR)' evaluations examined the bilinguals' speech acts.

Table 1

*Q1. Refusing the Invitation for Lunch with Professors.*

JMS 1	<p><i>Osasoi arigatou gozaimasu. Totemo goissho shitai no desuga, sono hi wa doshitemo hazusenai yoji ga atte sanka dekikanemasu. Moshi yoroshikereba, mata tsugino kikai ni osasoi itadakenai deshoka. Hontoni sumimasen.</i></p> <p>Thank you for your invitation. Although I would love to go with you, I cannot join you because I have other plans that I cannot cancel on that day. If you do not mind, would you please invite me next time? I am really sorry.</p>
JMS 2	<p><i>Sumimasen, hontoni sanka sasete itadakitai desu kedo, doshitemo hazusenai yotei ga arimashite... tsugi no kikai ni sanka sase te kudasai.</i></p>

	<p>I am sorry. Although I would really like to join, I have other plans that I cannot cancel... please let me join next time.</p>
JMS 3	<p><i>Sumimasen. Sono hi wa chotto aitenai n desu yo. Raishu no mokuyobi nara iki tai desu.</i></p> <p>I am sorry. I am not available on that day. I would like to go if it is next Thursday.</p>
Moeka	<p><i>Sasotte kurete arigatou gozaimasu. Zannen nagara mokuyobi ha ikemasen. Mata kondo jikan ga attara ohiru o tabemasho.</i></p> <p>Thank you for inviting. I'm afraid I cannot go on Thursday. Let's have lunch if we have time next.</p>
Shiori	<p><i>Totemo ikitai no desu ga, sono hi wa zannen nagara yotei ga haitte simatte ite...</i></p> <p><i>Tsugi no kikai ni wa zehi sasotte itadake masu ka?</i></p> <p>Although I would love to go, I'm afraid other plans are on my schedule on that day...</p> <p>Would you please invite me next time?</p>
Nami	<p><i>Mokuyobi desu ka... sekkaku no kikai desu ga, jijo ga atte ikemasen. Suimasen.</i></p> <p>It is on Thursday... Despite this excellent chance, I cannot go for some reasons. I am sorry.</p>
EMS1	<p>Thank you so much for the invite. I'm so sorry. Is there any way I can reschedule with you?</p>
EMS2	<p>While I would like to have lunch with you both, my schedule does not permit me to do so. Would it be possible to meet with you both on another day.</p>

EMS3	<p>I would love to, but I'm afraid that I already have plans for lunch on Thursday.</p> <p>Please tell her I said hello!</p>
------	--

The commonality observed among the bilinguals' responses is the vague reasons for absence from the lunch. None of them specified any reasons. Nami and Shiori's justifications were ambiguous, such as having other plans and using the phrase "some reasons." In Moeka's response, she did not even say any reasons, and she merely mentioned her absence. However, she is the only one who demonstrated her appreciation for the invitation. Although the other two girls, Nami and Shiori, did not state their gratitude directly, they expressed their desire of participation in the lunch as a positive politeness strategy, which saves other's positive face, including "this excellent chance" and "I would love to go," before their refusing expressions. Other commonalities of the bilinguals' responses include mentioning the next opportunity of having lunch with the professors. Although Nami did not touch on it, Moeka and Shiori proposed the possibility of another time. Moeka's response merely conveyed her desire whereas Shiori asked the professor about the possibility of rescheduling.

The Japanese monolingual speakers' (JMS) responses consist of both similar and different features to the bilinguals' responses. Like the two of the bilinguals' responses (Nami and Shiori), two of the Japanese monolinguals' responses (JMS1 and JMS2) encompassed imprecise reasons to decline the invitation, and both of them utilized the exact same phrase, "other plans that I cannot cancel." The other Japanese monolingual (JMS3) simply expressed her unavailability without any reasons like Moeka's response. Moreover, all of the Japanese

monolinguals mentioned the next opportunity regardless of the honorific or polite form applied in each response. While JMS1 and JMS2 utilized the honorific forms, such as “Osasoi itadake nai desho ka” and “sanka sase te kudasai,” JMS3 used the simple polite form, “iki tai desu.” Furthermore, JMS1 and JMS2 employed the same positive politeness as the one Nami and Shiori used, such as “I would really like to join” and “I would love to go with you” as a hedge so as to save the professor’s positive face. As a dissimilar aspect to the bilinguals’ replies except for Nami’s, all of the Japanese monolinguals’ responses contained the apologetic phrases, including “I am sorry” and “I am really sorry.”

The same characteristics viewed in the responses of the bilinguals and Japanese monolingual speakers were also observed in the English monolingual speakers’ (EMS) replies. EMS2 and EMS3 utilized the positive politeness strategy through hedges, including “I would like to” and “I would love to.” EMS1 also expressed her gratitude for the invitation in the beginning of her response. Moreover, although she did not say her refusal response directly, she stated her apology, “I am so sorry,” which was observed in replies of all the Japanese monolingual speakers and Nami. In addition, EMS1 and EMS2 touched on the future opportunity like the bilinguals and the Japanese monolinguals. However, the structure of the English monolinguals’ expression is different in a sense that they specifically asked any possible ways or dates they can make up for, while the bilinguals and the Japanese monolinguals merely asked the professor to invite them next time. Furthermore, none of the English monolingual speakers’ responses incorporate any peculiar reasons for refusals. This contradicts the Anglo-American’s tendency mentioned in Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz’s research (1990) to specify a reason with a precise explanation when rejecting. The phenomenon of providing an

ambiguous reason as an excuse for refusals was observed among all the responses of the participants in this research.

Japanese monolingual raters' (JMR) evaluations of Nami's response were divergent. JMR1 evaluated it impolite since her expression was too direct to be respectful to the professor. Also, her expression, "it is a rare opportunity," did not convey her desire of participation for the lunch according to JMR1. The rater also stated Nami should have saved the professor's face by indicating her appreciation for the invitation. In addition, JMR2 rated Nami's reply as somewhat impolite due to her usage of a specific expression: "It is on Thursday... (Mokuyobi desu ka...)" sounded somewhat impolite to the rater considering the hierarchical situation of a professor and a student. JMR2 claimed that this expression would be acceptable in a conversation with somebody closer to a speaker, not with a higher person like a professor. On the other hand, Nami's response was considered to be somewhat polite by JMR3. Her response sounded fine for the rater, and the rater's first impression of her utterance was decent. Thus, Nami's response sounds differently depending on receivers.

The JMRs' impressions of Moeka's response were divided into two: somewhat impolite and somewhat polite. Due to Moeka's lack of knowledge of hierarchy and forms of Japanese, JMR1 and JMR3 regarded her response as somewhat impolite. Considering the Moeka's position, the arbitrary and assertive invitation for the next lunch to the professor sounded inadequate to both raters. JMR3 suggested that an interrogative invitation would be more appropriate than the assertive invitation for a person of higher status. Also, JMR3 insisted that her usage of the word form, "kure te" in the utterance "Sasotte kure te" should be the honorific form "itadai te" since she was talking to the professor who was in a higher status. However,

JMR2's perception of Moeka's response was that it was somewhat polite because of the expressions of her gratitude and the suggestion for the next opportunity. Although her reply did not sound fully polite, JMR2's impression of her response appeared to be acceptable to her.

Although the ratings of Shiori's reply were split into two like Moeka's, all evaluators labeled her response as polite and somewhat polite. Her response conveyed her positive feeling to the invitation, the reason of her absence, and mention of the future possibility. Therefore, all the raters had a good impression toward her reply.

The most significant finding from this question one is that all of the subjects employed ambiguous reasons to refuse invitations regardless of their first languages and the environments of their major language use. As Barnlund and Yoshioka (1990) claim, Japanese subjects followed the Japanese speech act of providing a vague reason in order to reject one's offers or invitations. However, uttering imprecise rationales might not be a uniquely Japanese speech act, since our subjects of EMSs demonstrated the same speech act in their responses in this research. In addition, JMR3 considered JMS3's utterance "I am not available on that day" to be rude due to the lack of precise justifications for her unavailability. According to JMR3, unambiguous reasons are necessary to be more polite. Thus, judging the bilinguals' responses from this point of view is speculative though all of the bilinguals followed the "Japanese" speech act.

Another unanticipated discovery is the phenomenon that the subjects of Japanese speakers utilized direct negating words as their refusals instead of utilizing incomplete refusing sentences (Kreuz & Roberts, 2017). In spite of the fact that Japanese natives tend to avoid saying "no" directly (Tannen, 1994, as cited in Cutting, 2005, p. 167), two of the JMSs used the negating word in their utterances, which was also observed from Moeka and Nami's responses.

On the other hand, only one of the EMSs' responses incorporated negation. In other words, EMSs were more indirect than the bilinguals and JMSs. Furthermore, only one (JMR1) out of the three judges pointed out the issue of the direct refusals which caused impoliteness. Shiori was the only bilingual who observed the Japanese speech act of avoiding saying "no" and employing an incomplete refusing sentence. However, it is also doubtful that evading an utterance of direct negation is perceived as a Japanese speech act.

The commonality among all of the participants was expressing their desires as hedges before the refusing sentences, including "I would love to" and "this excellent chance." This speech act follows the third politeness principle of Lakoff's that states that a speaker should make the addressees feel good. Of the bilinguals, Nami and Shiori observed this politeness principle through the hedges. Another commonality was providing options. Seven out of the nine subjects touched on alternative options through offers. This phenomenon followed the second politeness principle of Lakoff's that states that a speaker should give options to the hearer. Of the bilinguals, Moeka and Shiori demonstrated their speech acts following the principle by providing alternative options.

One thing observed from all the JMSs' responses was apology. Their apologies indicated their deference to the addressees, which was considered to be a positive politeness strategy (Kreuz & Roberts, 2017). Since Japanese culture is a debt-sensitive culture, refusing invitations is considered to be a tremendous FTA compared to American culture which is a non-debt-sensitive culture (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Therefore, all of the JMSs expressed their apology for the FTA caused by refusals. Moreover, considering the fact that the inviter was a professor, Japanese natives illustrated their deference to the professor through their apology, which

revealed that the JMSs followed the rule of *wakimae*, the particular norms of adequate behavior Japanese natives have to follow in order to be considered to be polite (Maynard, 1997). From this point of view, Nami, whose response included her apology, exhibited that she followed the Japanese politeness strategy in her speech act for refusal.

The evaluations from JMRs disclosed that the use of the lexical forms and notion of discernment (*wakimae*) played a significant role in Japanese politeness. As Matsumoto (1988) emphasizes the importance of recognizing one's own position in a conversation, considering the relationships between the subjects and the professor and their own position in the conversation was a key to being perceived as polite or impolite in this question. In practice, all of the JMRs mentioned the same expression "considering the addressee is a professor..." as their justifications to judge the bilingual and Japanese native subjects' responses. From this point of view, Moeka's response hardly followed the discernment politeness even though she employed somewhat moderate lexical forms. Due to the expression "let's," she failed to illustrate *wakimae* and humbleness to the professor. Though the professor was higher than Moeka in the situation, she put herself higher than or on the same level as the professor by uttering her desire. This phenomenon of Moeka's speech act is construed as volitional politeness proposed by Hill et al. (1986), which is considered to be English polite expressions. Thus, Moeka's response was relatively influenced by English speakers' speech acts.



Table 2

*Q2. Turning Down Father's Coworker's Offer of Lending You the Popular Book*

<p>JMS1</p>	<p><i>Okizukai itadaki arigato gozaimasu. Demo, ima yonde iru hon ga nakanaka yomi owaranai node, sore o yomi owaranai uchi wa tsugino hon ni te o dasanai yoni shite iru n desu. Sekkaku okoe kake shite itadaita noni, moshiwake arimasen.</i></p> <p>Thank you for your thoughtfulness. But, because the book I am reading now is not easily going to end yet, I try not to touch a next book until I finish reading it. I am so sorry despite your offer.</p>
<p>JMS2</p>	<p><i>Ima chotto isogashikute, yomu noni jikan ga kakatte shimatte hon o kaesu no ga osoku natte shimau to omou node, mata kondo kashite kudasai.</i></p> <p>I am a little busy now and it will take long time to read it. I think returning the book will be late, so please lend it to me next time.</p>
<p>JMS3</p>	<p><i>So nan desu ka! Ando-san ga osusume suru hon nara nankai mo yomi naoshitai desu. Saikin tosho kaado moratta node jibun de konyu shite mimasu ne!</i></p> <p>Oh, I see! Because the book is Ando-san's recommendation, I want to read it many times. I was given a book gift card recently, so I will purchase it on my own!</p>
<p>Moeka</p>	<p><i>Arigato gozaimasu! Yonde mimasu.</i></p> <p>Thank you! I will try to read it.</p>

Shiori	<p><i>Donna naiyo nandesu ka? (naiyo o kiita ato ni) Omoshiro so desu ne, ima wa sukoshi isogashii n desu kedo, kondo kikai ga attara karite mo ii desu ka?</i></p> <p>What kind of content is it? (after listening to the content) Sounds interesting, though I am a little busy now, can I borrow it if there is another chance?</p>
Nami	<p><i>Kotowaru no wa moshiwake nai node, arigato gozaimasu to itte kariru.</i></p> <p>I would feel terrible if I turn it down, so I will borrow it with saying thank you.</p>
EMS1	<p>Thank you for being so generous, but I'm not interested in that genre of books. Thank you!</p>
EMS2	<p>Thank you so much for the offer Mr. Brown. However, I am not very interested in that particular book. I am more interested in books of a different genre.</p>
EMS3	<p>I'm actually in the middle of reading another book at the moment. Thank you for offering though! I appreciate it.</p>

As for question two, the bilinguals exposed two different attitudes as their responses: acceptance due to an apologetic feeling and refusal with the positive politeness strategy. Though the content of the question implicitly instructed the participants to refuse the offer, two of the bilingual speakers accepted the offer. While Nami asked the researcher if it would be fine to accept the offer beforehand, Moeka typed her accepting response without asking. Due to their guilty feelings of declining the offer, they chose the acceptance although they recognized the

concept of the question. They mentioned that they would search the content of the book on the Internet afterwards so as to convey their thoughts of the book to the colleague of their father when returning it. Whereas Nami and Moeka selected accepting the offer as a polite behave, Shiori refused the offer with some expressions which demonstrated her interest in the book. She utilized the politeness strategy that she expressed her agreement with the interesting book by asking the content of the book and uttering “Sounds interesting,” and then she explained her busy situation as a reason of rejecting. In addition, she requested the next possibility to borrow the book instead of merely turning down the offer, which is considered to be saving face of the father’s coworker. Showing her interest in the book and mentioning the next opportunity lead his positive face to be saved. Consequently, question two revealed the bilinguals’ speech acts in politeness through the different strategies.

The JMSs’ responses are very different from each other and the bilinguals’ replies. However, only JMS2’s response was analogous to Shiori’s response in a sense that both of them touched on their busy situation as a reason for refusal and the possibility of borrowing the book next time. JMS2’s justification for refusing explicated the potential risk of imposition for the owner of the book that returning it would be late. JMS2 followed the tact of the Leech (1983)’s politeness principle which minimizes cost to other as a rational for refusal. Although JSM3 also observed the tact that purchasing the book on her own caused the owner of the book’s cost to be minimized, her rationale for refusal indicated her intention of reading the book actually instead of just refusing to read the book, which was observed from the other JMSs’ replies. In JMS1’s case, she described her personal situation that she was currently reading another book in order to reject the offer. Also, she displayed her respect to the colleague of her father by uttering her

appreciation and apology. Accordingly, the bilinguals and the JMSs exposed different speech acts individually while the responses of Shiori and JMS2 had the two commonalities. A possible cause for this result is that the bilinguals had an immediate environment to ask the researcher for the alternative option of accepting the offer while the JMSs had no accesses to the researcher instantly when taking the DCT.

While there was one commonality observed among the bilinguals and the JMSs, nothing common was seen between the bilinguals and the EMSs. However, two similarities were observed from the EMSs' responses. All of them demonstrated their appreciation to the father's coworker while only JMS1 appreciated his kindness except the accepting responses of Moeka and Nami. In addition, EMS1 and EMS2 directly stated that they were not interested in the book, which was never observed from the replies of the bilinguals and the JMSs. On the other hand, EMS3 utilized the same justification as JMS1 that she was reading another book. Although there was no commonalities between the bilinguals and the EMSs, question three disclosed one commonality between EMS3 and JMS1.

The results of the JMRs' evaluation of the bilinguals' responses were relatively comparable with each other except the evaluation of Nami's one. Nami's response was rated as polite and somewhat polite by JMR1 and JMR3 since she accepted the offer in spite of the fact that she was not interested in the book. JMR1 claimed that receiving other's kindness regardless of a receiver's aim is a key to saving other's face. Thus, Nami's speech act is considered to be polite. However, JMR2 regarded her response as somewhat impolite since an additional expression was necessary to continue the conversation. She mentioned that though Nami's utterance was not completely impolite since she expressed her appreciation, it would be more

polite if she uttered another expression. While Nami's response was perceived as comparatively polite, it also sounded somewhat impolite. Moeka's answer was considered to be polite and somewhat polite by the JMRs. JMR2 and JMR3 labeled it somewhat polite since she accepted the offer kindly and she stated her appreciation and intention with the adequate number of utterances (no more and no less than necessary). Also, her response was evaluated polite by JMR1. Because refusing offers would be obscene, her speech act of receiving the offer was discerned polite. All of the JMRs identified Shiori's response as somewhat polite although only her response was refusal. According to all the JMRs, their speech act would be accepting the offer if they were in the same situation since rejecting causes them to feel guilty. In particular, considering the fact that the person offering the book is a father's coworker, the JMRs thought they needed to save both father and the coworker's faces by receiving the offer. Thus, acceptance was the most appropriate choice for the raters. Nevertheless, since Shiori's utterance indicated her interest in the book, and asking the next possibility to borrow it will rarely threaten other's face, all of the JMRs regarded her response as somewhat polite. Consequently, the bilinguals' responses were considered to be nearly polite while Nami's response was rated somewhat impolite by one rater.

The notable difference between Japanese speakers including the bilinguals and English speakers is that none of the bilinguals and JMSs conveyed their indifference to the book while two of the EMSs uttered their personal preference directly. According to Ogawa & Gudykunst (1999-2000), "politeness rules in collectivistic cultures should emphasize considering others' feelings and establishing rapport with members of the ingroup more than politeness rules in individualistic cultures" (pp. 49-50). Japan is one of the collectivistic cultures while the United

States is considered to be the individualistic cultures (Kreuz & Roberts, 2017). Thus, this phenomenon of the bilinguals and JMSs represents the Japanese speech act, which is employed to save the face of the father's colleague. Not only did it save his face, but the father's face was also saved according to JMRs since family members' inappropriate or impolite behavior damaged other members of the family. In other words, the Japanese subjects followed the concept of *wakimae* (discernment) by avoiding any expressions of indifference to the book, which led to saving both the colleague and father's faces. Also, this speech act followed the approbation of Leech's politeness principle since not mentioning disinterest in the book minimized dispraise of the colleague who recommended the book. Among the bilinguals' responses, this speech act was observed from Shiori's. Thus, it was likely that she utilized the Japanese speech act.

Shiori's response also incorporated other politeness strategies. In spite of her indifference to the book, she demonstrated her deference to the father's colleague by asking the content of the book and showing her sympathy toward the book. These speech acts of hers illustrated that she followed the sympathy of Leech's principles and the third principle of Lakoff's that make the addressees feel good. In addition, her asking the next time to borrow the book indicated that she proposed an alternative option, which represented the second principle of Lakoff's that give options. Therefore, Shiori retained and followed the politeness principle.

Moeka and Nami also showed their Japanese speech act competence in their responses. They were the only participants who accepted the offer instead of rejecting. Due to their feeling of guilt for refusal, they avoided saying 'no' to the offer, which was considered to be Japanese speech act (Tannen, 1994, as cited in Cutting, 2005, p. 167). Moreover, since saying 'no' to the

offer is FTA of the father’s coworker, they accepted the offer in order to avoid direct confrontation (Cutting, 2005) despite their honest feeling of indifference to the book. Due to the environment of implementing the DCT as mentioned above, nobody accepted the offer among JMSs. However, all of the JMRs preferred accepting the offer to refusing in this situation. As their rationale, they touched on the relationships between the speaker and the addressee. If the speaker and the addressee have close relationships, it is more likely to decline the offer. On the other hand, if there are different ranks or statuses between the conversation participants, it is unlikely to refuse the offer. Depending on the type of relationship, whether or not they refuse the offer, is determined regardless of their personal feelings. With this regard, *wakimae* (discernment) skill is necessary to behave appropriately in Japanese society. From this point of view, Moeka and Nami utilized *wakimae* skill and followed the Japanese speech act.

Table 3

*Q3. Accepting the Second Helpings of Food*

JMS1	<p><i>Tottemo oishii node mo sukoshi itadaketara na to omotteta n desu! Arigato gozaimasu. Itadakimasu.</i></p> <p>I was thinking I wish I could have a little more because it is very delicious!</p> <p>Thank you. Please let me have.</p>
JMS2	<p><i>Arigato gozaimasu. Zehi itadakimasu.</i></p> <p>Thank you. Definitely please let me have.</p>
JMS3	<p><i>Tottemo oishi katta desu! Okawari itadaite mo yoroshii desu ka?</i></p>

	It was very delicious! Would you mind if I had second helpings of food?
Moeka	<i>Iidesuka? Okawari hoshii desu. Onegai shimasu.</i> Could I? I want second helpings of food. Please.
Shiori	<i>Iidesuka? Arigato gozaimasu!</i> Could I? Thank you!
Nami	<i>Iidesuka? Arigato gozaimasu.</i> Could I? Thank you.
EMS1	Yes, please! Thank you for offering!
EMS2	I would like a little bit more food if that's okay. Thank you so much for your hospitality.
EMS3	I would like some more. Thank you for offering!

The bilinguals' responses for this question three hardly disclosed any significant differences. Nami and Shiori's utterances were almost same except the exclamation mark. They asked for permission "Could I?" and then expressed their gratitude. The phrase "Could I?" was used by Moeka, too. All of the bilinguals utilized the phrase as a first utterance. While Nami and Shiori appreciated the offer from their friend's mother by uttering "Thank you," Moeka mentioned her feeling for the second helpings of food and utilized "Onegai shimasu," which is a Japanese common phrase used when asking one's help to convey thankfulness beforehand. Overall, all of the bilinguals demonstrated the same accepting attitude toward the offer.



Three commonalities were observed from the JMSs' responses: appreciation for the offer, thoughts of food, and gratitude for food. JMS1 and JMS2 uttered "Thank you" as an appreciating expression. Also, JMS1 and JMS3 provided their thoughts of the served food with the mother in order to give her compliment, which was never viewed among the bilinguals' replies. In addition, in the end of their responses, JMS1 and JMS2 utilized an essential phrase "itadaki masu (please let me have)" used before eating food. This phrase illustrates one's gratitude for served food. Although JMS3 employed the exact same phrase as the other two JMSs, she asked a permission of having the second helpings of food using the same verb "itadaku," which is a humble form of *eat* and *have*. The humble form is a part of the honorific form, and it is used when a speaker lower oneself in order to show deference to an addressee. Unlike the JMSs' responses, either the phrase "itadaki masu" or the word "itadaku" was not observed from the bilinguals' responses while the bilinguals employed the grateful phrase "thank you."

The similar aspects of accepting the offer were seen from the EMSs' responses. All of them stated their desires for the second helpings of food and their gratitude through the phrase "thank you." However, the EMSs' replies did not incorporate either asking permission, which was monitored from the bilinguals and JMS3's responses, nor compliment of the served food, which was discovered from the JMS1 and JMS2's responses. Thus, there were both similar and unlike points with the bilinguals and the JMSs' speech acts discovered from the EMSs' ones.

The evaluations of the bilinguals' responses for question three varied depending on the evaluators. Since Nami and Shiori's responses were almost same, the ratings were also same. JMR1 and JMR3 rated it somewhat polite. JMR1's justification was that these two responses were quite natural and normal, and accepting the offer without denying was perceived as polite.

Moreover, both JMR1 and JMR3 discussed the tone of the utterance. The exclamation mark in the Shiori's response indicated cheerfulness, which provided more polite impression with the listener. JMR3 also insisted the importance of a speaker's personality to judge politeness. If Nami and Shiori's replies were uttered by a person who is cheerful and energetic, the utterance would convey a good impression. However, if the person were quiet and introverted, the utterance would sound somewhat impolite. Therefore, JMR2 claimed that Nami and Shiori's responses can be considered either somewhat polite or somewhat impolite depending on the speaker's character. While JMR1 and JMR3 considered the two bilinguals' speech acts to be somewhat polite, JMR2 regarded it as somewhat impolite since the utterance was too simple to sound polite. It would be more polite if it incorporated compliment of the served food because praising others is an important strategy to be polite and respectful to the person. Like the evaluations of the Nami and Shiori's replies, Moeka's response was rated both somewhat polite and somewhat impolite. JMR2 and JMR3 labeled it somewhat polite though they provided negative comments. JMR2 received a too aggressive impression by the phrase "onagai shimasu (please)," while she also recognized that the phrase possibly indicated her want for the food. Moreover, JMR3 pointed out the word choice of "hoshii (want)." Due to the fact that the verb is not a humble form but a mere polite form, Moeka's utterance sounded slightly inappropriate to JMR3. However, JMR3 again mentioned that the impression of this expression would change depending on a speaker's personality. Because of the two rationales, JMR2 and JMR3 selected somewhat polite instead of polite. On the other hand, JMR1 thought the Moeka's response as somewhat impolite due to the lack of thankful words and complimentary expressions. Whereas JMR1 admitted the good impression of asking permission through "Could I?" appreciation and compliment were

essential elements to satisfy other's positive face. Consequently, the bilinguals' speech acts for accepting offer delivered various impressions depending on addressees.

The major difference between the bilinguals and JMSs is the use of honorifics. While all of the JMSs employed "itadaku" as mentioned earlier, none of the bilinguals utilized this word in their responses. Thus, compared to the JMSs' responses, the bilinguals' utterances relatively sounded less polite. In addition, there was no expression which illustrated they actually followed the politeness principles or Japanese speech acts. On the other hand, the JMSs' utterances included the honorifics, compliments of the served food, and gratitude, which followed approbation of Leech's principles and the third principle of Lakoff's that make the addressee feel good. Therefore, the bilinguals' speech acts observed in this question revealed that they hardly follow the politeness principles.

Moeka's utterance was somewhat similar to the EMSs' responses in a sense that all of them expressed their desire directly, such as "I want," "Yes, please!", and "I would like." These direct expressions were never seen from the JMSs and the rest of the bilinguals' speech acts. Since American culture is perceived as self-orientation while Japanese society is based on other-oriented (Hill et al., 1986; Ogawa & Gudykunst, 1999-2000), EMSs was likely to convey their emotions more directly than the JMSs, who expressed their desire indirectly, such as by asking questions. Thus, Moeka's speech act in this question was considered more American than Japanese.

Another remarkable finding that was discovered from this question was that none of the bilinguals and JMSs uttered "Sumimasen (I am sorry)" as an expression of appreciation.

Although Japanese speakers typically utilize the apologizing expression as a thankful meaning

(Bardovi-Harlig, 2001), this phenomenon was never observed in this research. However, a Japanese female in her thirties, who took the same DCT as a pilot test, uttered the grateful meaning of apology “Sumimasen” to convey her gratitude to the offer. In addition to her, JMR1, who was also in her thirties, utilized “Sumimasen” when being asked her response in this situation. In the both cases, the apologizing phrase was accompanied with the simple expression of gratitude “thank you.” Consequently, in younger generation, particularly early twenties, the familiar set of phrase for appreciation “sorry” and “thank you” among the older generations might be no longer employed or is less likely to be utilized.

While there were several notable finding discovered in this question, there was no definitive fact that made the bilinguals’ speech act considered Japanese.

Table 4

*Q4. Refusing the Request for Borrowing Your Dress from a Senior Girl in the Tennis Club*

JMS1	<p><i>Sumimasen. Ima kuriiningu ni dashite ite, temoto ni nai n desu. Soreni, senpai hosoi node zettai ni saizu okii to omoi masu! Hazukashii node, okashi deki nai desu yo.</i></p> <p>I am sorry. Now I am having it dry-cleaned, so I don’t have it on hand.</p> <p>Besides, I think my dress is absolutely too large for you because you are slim! It’s embarrassing, so I cannot lend it to you.</p>
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JMS2	<p><i>Sono wanpiisu ima sentaku chu deshi te... Betsu no wanpiisu de yokereba okashi shimasu yo.</i></p> <p>That dress is in the wash now, so... If you don't mind some other dresses, I will lend it to you.</p>
JMS3	<p><i>Gomennasai. Chodo ima kuriiningu dashite te. Kono aida kiteta senpai no wanpiisu suteki deshita yo!</i></p> <p>I am sorry. I am having it dry-cleaned right now, so. Your dress that you wore the other day was fabulous!</p>
Moeka	<p><i>Gomen. Ima kuriiningu de aratte moratteru n da~. Raishu made kaette konai kedo, mata kondo karitemo iiyo.</i></p> <p>Sorry. I'm having it washed at a dry-cleaner's now. Though it will not be back until next week, you can borrow it next time.</p>
Shiori	<p><i>Gomennasai, yohuku o kashikari suruno wa sukoshi nigate de...</i></p> <p>I am sorry, I am a little uncomfortable with lending and borrowing clothes, so...</p>
Nami	<p><i>Suimasen, ima kuriining ni dashite te... Ashita niwa chotto maniawanai to omoimasu.</i></p> <p>I am sorry, I'm having it dry-cleaned now, so... I don't think it will make it tomorrow.</p>
EMS1	<p>I'm sorry, I don't feel comfortable lending it to you. I hope you understand.</p>

EMS2	It's actually my favorite dress and I don't typically lend this dress to anyone.  But, would you like to look in my closet and see if there is another dress that you'd be interested in?
EMS3	Honestly, I'd rather you didn't borrow that particular dress because it's very special to me. Is there another dress that you might like to borrow?

While the bilinguals' responses for question four diversified from one to another, two commonalities were observed. All of the responses started with apologizing expressions "gomennasai" and "suimasen." After the apologies, they explained justifications to refuse the request. While Shiori brought up her personal preference as a rationale of refusal, Nami and Moeka provided the ordinary and reasonable reason that the dress was at a dry-cleaners. In addition, Moeka offered another option to the requestor that she let the person borrow her dress next time. There was one difference observed between the two older girls and the youngest girl, Moeka. While the two girls utilized the polite forms since the requestor was older than them, Moeka's utterance was completely formed in a casual way. Normally, she speaks Japanese in a formal way only with adults, such as parents of her friends and organizers of the camp which she attends. Also, due to her unawareness of the concept of "senpai (senior)" that Japanese natives employs the polite form to talk to "senpai" even if there is an only one year age difference between the speaker and the hearer, the polite form was not used in her utterance. Accordingly, the bilinguals' responses for question three revealed their use of apologies and their plausible justifications for refusals.

The two commonalities observed from the bilinguals' replies were also discovered from the JMSs' responses. JMS1 and JMS3 indicated their apologies in the beginning of their utterances. Also, as a rationale for refusal, all of them utilized either dry-cleaner or washing. As well as the rationales, their utterances consisted of additional remarks. JMS1 provided a compliment with the senior person through her modesty about the size of her dress. In the JMS3's response, a compliment of the senior person's dress was included. These two JMSs refused the request indirectly through the compliments of the requestor. This phenomenon was never incorporated in the bilinguals' responses. On the other hand, like Moeka's response, JMS2 gave the requestor an alternative option that let the person borrow a different dress. Therefore, the three similarities and one difference between the bilinguals and the JMSs were identified in this question.

The commonalities among the EMSs' speech acts were being honest and providing options. All of the EMSs illustrated their honest feelings about lending the dress to others, such as discomfort like Shiori's response, and the fact that the dress was their favorite one. Nobody utilized the prevaricating justification, including dry-cleaner or washing like Nami, Moeka, and all of the JMSs. On the other hand, only EMS1 apologized of refusing while all of the bilinguals' responses did not incorporate apologies. Moreover, EMS2 and EMS3 offered another dress to lend the requestor as Moeka and JMS2 did the same. Thus, whereas giving options was similar to the bilinguals and the JMSs, presenting their faithfulness was considered to be unique EMSs' speech act though Shiori's response included this aspect.

The JMRs' evaluations of Moeka and Nami's responses were corresponding whereas Shiori's response was interpreted from two different perspectives. JMR1 and JMR2 recognized

the Moeka's response as somewhat impolite, and JMR3 labeled it impolite due to the lack of using the polite form. Utilizing the casual form to the senior person posing the request brought inadequate impression to the JMRs. According to JMR3, the expression "kari te mo ii yo (you can borrow it)" sounded arrogant to the rater regardless of the used form. She insisted that "kashi masu yo (I will lend it to you)" sounded more polite and humble. As for Nami's response, JMR1 considered it to be polite, and JMR2 and JMR3 thought it as somewhat polite. Although her utterance included the reasonable reason regarded as polite by all of the JMRs, JMR2 suggested giving options should be added to her response. On the contrary, JMR1 acknowledged her honesty through the expression "Ashita ni wa maniwawa nai to omoi masu yo (I don't think it will make it tomorrow)." In addition, since the request was too sudden to accept, her response sounded decent according to JMR1. However, from JMR2's perspective, this expression, particularly "nai to omoi masu yo (I don't think)" sounded too obscure to be polite. The rater claimed that in this context, saying directly, such as "Ashita ni wa maniwawa nai desu (It will not make it tomorrow)," would provide a polite impression with the addressee. While the JMRs' opinions for Moeka and Nami's responses were alike, Shiori's response carried different impressions. JMR3 evaluated it somewhat polite in spite of the fact that her utterance might threaten the senior person's face. Her expression "yohuku o kashi kari suru no wa sukoshi nigatte de (I am a little uncomfortable with lending and borrowing clothes)" might be interpreted directly that she was reluctant to lend her dress to the senior person, which was perceived as somewhat impolite. Although JMR1 also pointed out the same point, she rated her response somewhat impolite unlike JMR3, who evaluated it somewhat polite. Her response was also considered to be somewhat impolite by JMR2. The rater suggested that some expressions which



saves the addressee's face be consisted in Shiori's utterance. Whereas the raters had different impressions toward Shiori's reply, they had related feelings for the other two bilinguals.

The commonality among the bilinguals and the JMSs' responses that they uttered their apologies is because there is "the need to apologize to an older person or to a superior may be very pronounced" (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984, p. 209) in Japanese society. Since the requestor was older than the subjects, they were aware of *wakimae* (discernment) and followed the Japanese politeness strategy. Thus, it is likely that all of the bilinguals possess the competence of the Japanese speech acts in terms of apology.

Another finding from this question is the Japanese speakers including the bilinguals told white lies, such as dry-cleaning and washing as a reason for refusal whereas none of the EMSs employed this politeness strategy. In order to save the requestor's positive face, they hardly expressed their true preference of not lending their dress. Instead, they utilized reasonable justification that avoided FTA to the requestor. Regarding this speech act, Ishihara and Cohen (2010) state that "since a refusal could endanger personal ties and relationships, it may be considered acceptable to present even a fictitious reason for not being able to comply." This phenomenon also attributed to the Japanese politeness strategy that saving other's face is more crucial than one's own face (Gagné, 2010). Therefore, Moeka and Nami, who concealed their honest feelings, displayed the Japanese speech act in this question while Shiori's response, which expressed her discomfort honestly, was influenced by American speech act.

As Kreuz and Roberts (2017) state that Japanese speakers consider incomplete rejecting statements to be genuinely polite, this characteristic of Japanese speech act was observed from Shiori, Nami, and two of the JMSs in this study. Some parts of their utterances ended with

“so...,” which could have continued, but not finished completely. From this point of perception, Shiori and Nami retained the competence of this Japanese speech act. However, one of JMRs insisted that incompleteness and ambiguity occasionally cause impolite impressions depending on a context. Consequently, it is not truly possible that incomplete refusals deliver politeness in Japanese. Understanding the context is a key to acting appropriately.

The EMSs’ responses reflected on the typical native English speakers’ refusals that consist of regrets, excuses, and face-saving closing or offers (Kreuz & Roberts, 2017). While all of the EMSs demonstrated these three elements in their speech acts, Moeka also followed the English speaker’s politeness strategy. Her utterance included all of the three essences. Furthermore, her lack of *wakimae* (discernment) caused the use of the plain forms and casual speech style to the senior person. Thus, her competence of speech act was considered to be more American than Japanese.

Table 5

*Q5. Refusing the Request for Borrowing Your Cellphone from a Stranger*

JMS1	<p><i>Gomennasai, chotto owatashi suru no wa kowai node, watashi ga sosa shite supiikaa de tuwa shite itadaku no de daijobu desu ka.</i></p> <p>I am sorry, because it is scary to hand it to you, would it be okay if I dialed it and you talked on speaker phone?</p>
JMS2	<p><i>Bango o oshiete itadakereba, watashi ga okake shimasuyo.</i></p> <p>If you tell me the number, I will call your friend for you.</p>

JMS3	<p><i>Sumimasen. Shiranai kata to renraku o toru no wa chotto. Achira ni koshudenwa ga arimasu yo. Annai shimasu.</i></p> <p>I am sorry. Contacting an unknown person is a little... There is a payphone over there. I will take you there.</p>
Moeka	<p>Acceptance: <i>Iiyo, dono denwabango o denwa suru?</i></p> <p>Yes, which number do you want to call?</p> <p>Refusal: <i>Gomennasi! Jitsuwa watashi no keitai mo ima denchi kirete iru n da.</i></p> <p>I am sorry! Actually, my phone is also out of battery</p>
Shiori	<p>Acceptance: <i>So desu ne, denwabango o oshiete itadake masu ka? (Supiikaa moodo de denwa o suru)</i></p> <p>I see, would you please tell me the phone number? (I will call on speaker mode)</p> <p>Refusal: <i>Sumimasen, isoide ru mono de... Demo achira ni koban ga arimashita yo, denwa o kashite moraeru kamo shiremasen.</i></p> <p>I am sorry but I am in a hurry, so... But, there was a police box over there, so you might be able to have them to lend a phone to you.</p>
Nami	<p><i>Eki nara tabun koshu denwa ga aru to omoi masu yo.</i></p> <p>I think there are probably payphones if it is in the station.</p>
EMS1	<p>I'm sorry, I'm in a rush and I don't have time to stop. Sorry!</p>

EMS2	I don't normally lend my phone out to other people. But, would you like for me to dial the number and I can out the call on speaker phone. If you aren't comfortable with that, I'd be happy to call someone for you.
EMS3	I'd rather you use the pay phone down the street instead.

Question five, which revealed different refusing speech acts of the bilinguals to a stranger, discovered no commonalities among all of their responses. However, there were three common elements found between the two bilinguals. Moeka and Shiori's utterances began with their apologies. Also, they mentioned their rationales for refusals, such as being in a hurry and phone's being out of battery. In Shiori's case, she added a suggestion that provided the information of possibility with the stranger to borrow a phone at a police box. This phenomenon was also observed from Nami's response. Unlike Shiori, Nami's utterance only incorporated an option of the fact there were payphones in the station. In other words, Nami implied her refusal through a suggestion without apologetic expressions or refusing words while Moeka utilized apologies and justifications to convey their refusals, and Shiori's response included additional suggestion as well as the apology and reason for refusal. However, Moeka and Shiori initially asked the researcher the possibility of accepting the request. Their initial responses were accepting the request since they sometimes encounter similar situations to this question and they rarely reject the request. Thus, they provided both accepting and refusing responses to this question. In their accepting responses, they utilized different speech acts. While Moeka dialed the phone number and gave her phone to the stranger, Shiori let the stranger talk on the speaker

mode instead handing out her phone to the requestor. Consequently, regardless of accepting or refusing, the bilinguals' speech acts to the stranger were varied.

The comparable features with the bilinguals' speech acts were seen from the JMSs' responses. JMS1 and JMS3 apologized as a start of their utterances, and then they stated their rationales for refusals. While this structure of these two responses was similar to Moeka and Shiori's responses, the JMSs' rationales were different from the two bilingual girls whose reasons for refusal were related to their current situations. The JMSs expressed their psychological thoughts and fears of lending their phones to a stranger or making a contact with a stranger. After their justifications, JMS3 uttered her suggestion that there was a payphone over there, which was also observed from Nami's response. Unlike Nami, JMS3 offered a guide to the payphone in addition to the suggestion. While JMS3 provided the suggestion, JMS1 gave another option that she dialed the phone number and had the stranger talk on the speaker phone instead of handing her phone out. This action was also seen from JMS2's response. However, JMS2's utterance excluded either an apology or suggestion like Nami's one. JMS2's response implied her refusal instead of employing direct refusing expressions. Accordingly, each bilingual' response contained similar characteristic of the JMRs' replies.

The EMS's speech acts were completely divergent. EMS1's response consisted of her apology, which was observed from Moeka, Shiori, JMS1, and JMS3, and her current situation being in a hurry as a reason for refusal, which was viewed from Shiori. In EMS2's case, she provided her reluctant feelings of lending her phone to others, which was seen from JMS1 and JMS3's speech acts. Moreover, EMS2 brought two options that the stranger could talk on speaker phone, which was also discovered from Shiori's accepting response, and EMS2 would

call someone instead of the stranger's calling. From EMS3's response, the similar suggestion to Nami and Shiori's responses regarding a payphone was observed. Nevertheless, unlike Nami's utterance, which merely mentioned the payphone to convey implicitly her refusal, EMS3 directly suggested the stranger use the payphone by uttering, "I'd rather you use." This question five disclosed the variation of the EMSs' speech acts for refusing the stranger.

JMR's evaluations of the bilinguals' responses for question five were diverse. Nami's speech act was rated somewhat impolite by JMR1 and JMR3 while JMR2 labeled it somewhat polite. Nami's utterance sounded unkind and blunt to JMR1 and JMR3. JMR1 also stated that mentioning her refusal directly with a suggestion for the payphone would be more polite than the implication. JMR2 emphasized the importance of providing a rationale for refusals. Moeka's response was considered to be somewhat polite by JMR1 and JMR3 whereas it was perceived as somewhat impolite by JMR2 due to the lack of suggestions or alternative options. Although JMR1 and JMR3 touched on dubiousness of Moeka's justification (out of battery), both of them accepted this expression as a decent reason. JMR3 also pointed out the casual form used in the end of Moeka's utterance, which caused her response to lose the politeness slightly. As for Shiori's speech act, all of the JMRs evaluated it differently. JMR3 regarded it as polite since it consisted of all necessary elements for refusal: an apology, a rationale, and a suggestion. Due to the uncertainty through the word "might," JMR1 judged Shiori's reply as somewhat polite while the rater acknowledged her usage of the common expression for refusals "be in a hurry." On the contrary, JMR2's rate for Shiori's response was somewhat impolite. JMR2 referred the deficiency of a guide to the payphone, though her suggestion about the payphone was supported

by the rater. In this question, the divergent impressions of the bilinguals' speech acts were observed by the JMRs.

The most common speech act among the bilinguals and JMSs was providing a statement of alternative. Instead of saying 'no' directly to the stranger, they uttered alternative options, such as using and guiding to payphones, going to the police box, and offering to call by oneself. According to Ishihara and Cohen (2010), statement of alternative is one of Japanese refusal strategies. Thus, Nami and Shiori, who utilized this strategy, followed the Japanese speech act for refusal.

Shiori also displayed her ability of Japanese speech acts by another utterance. Her response comprised an incomplete sentence to express her reason for refusal. Since this speech act is also Japanese politeness strategy, she was likely to maintain her competence of Japanese speech act.

While Moeka did not demonstrate the most prevalent speech act among the bilinguals and JMSs, statement of alternative, in her response, other Japanese speech acts were observed from her response: apology and white lie. As Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) mention Japanese refusal begin with apology, Moeka's response started with an apology expression. Moreover, in order to save the requestor's positive face, she utilized the fictional statement that her phone was out of battery as a justification for refusal. As mentioned earlier, this speech act is also familiar with Japanese natives. Therefore, Moeka followed the Japanese politeness strategy in this question.

Table 6

*Q6. Accepting the Request for Giving Your Coworker at Your Part-time Job a Ride to the Bookstore*

JMS1	<p><i>Aite iru node daijobu desu yo. Kuruma no naka, kitanakatta ra sumimasen.</i></p> <p>I am available, so no problem. Excuse my car if its inside is messy.</p>
JMS2	<p><i>Iidesu yo. Watashi mo chodo honya ni ikitakatta node.</i></p> <p>No problem. Because actually I also want to go to the bookstore.</p>
JMS3	<p><i>Iidesu yo! A, demo sono ato yotei ga aru node ie made okuru koto ga dekimasen. Sore demo yokereba!</i></p> <p>No problem! Ah, because I have other plans after that, I cannot send you back home. If it is fine with you!</p>
Moeka	<p><i>Mochiron! Watashi mo honya ni itte atarashii hon o kao to omotte itanda.</i></p> <p>Of course! I was also thinking I would go to the bookstore to buy a new book.</p>
Shiori	<p><i>Mochiron iidesu yo, nanika kaitai hon ga aru n desu ka?</i></p> <p>Of course, no problem, is there any book that you want to buy?</p>
Nami	<p><i>Iidesu yo! Baito no ato hima nanode.</i></p> <p>No problem! Because I am free after my part-time job.</p>
EMS1	<p>Of course. Where is the bookstore?</p>
EMS2	<p>As long as my schedule stays open, I have no problem taking you to the book-store.</p>



EMS3	Sure, I don't mind bringing you to the bookstore.
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Common phrases utilized the bilinguals and different speech acts after accepting the request were revealed in question six. The expression “of course” was uttered in the beginning of Moeka and Shiori’s response to accept the request. Also, “no problem” was another common phrase for acceptance observed from Shiori and Nami’s utterances. After their acceptances, Moeka and Nami’s responses were connected with additional statements that decreased the requestor’s cost, such as indicating Nami’s free time and Moeka’s desire for purchase of books. On the other hand, Shiori expressed her interest in the requestor’s plan through the direct question after accepting the request. As an accepting response to the request, the bilinguals employed the similar expressions and additional statements to the accepting utterances.

While there were a few similarities with the bilinguals’ responses in the JMSs’ replies, exclusive speech acts were observed from the JMSs’ response. JMS2 and JMS3 accepted the request by utilizing the same expression “no problem” as Nami and Shiori did. JMS1 expressed her acceptance following the statement of her available situation. In addition to that, JMS1 mentioned the dirtiness of her car and apology of that, which was never viewed from the bilinguals’ speech acts. Moreover, JMS3 demonstrated a unique speech act that none of the bilinguals presented. JMS3’s response included her unavailability of sending the requestor back her home since she anticipated further steps. While the two of the JMSs revealed the uncommon utterances among the bilinguals, JMS2’s response was analogous to Moeka’s response which illustrated their wants for going to the bookstore.

There was one similarity with the bilinguals' replies discovered from the EMSs' responses whereas two uncommon utterances were observed. EMS1 and EMS3 utilized the expression "of course" and "sure" in order to admit the request like Moeka and Shiori. EMS3 uttered not only an accepting word but also her feeling of the request. EMS1's response incorporated the question regarding the location of the bookstore. This question style was seen from Shiori's response, too. In EMS2's response, her acceptance was accompanied with the expression which indicated one condition "as long as my schedule stays open," which was never viewed from the bilinguals and JMSs' utterances. On the other hand, the common utterance that conveyed the speaker's same desire as the requestor to go to the bookstore was unstated in the EMSs' responses.

The bilinguals' responses for question six were evaluated polite or somewhat polite by all of the JMRs. Nami's speech acts were considered to be polite by JMR1 and JMR3 due to the naturalness of her utterance. JMR1 mentioned that Nami's response mitigated the requestor's guilty of imposing on Nami for favors. However, JMR2 perceived her response as somewhat polite because of the word choice. Considering that the requestor was older than her, utilizing more honorific forms would lead her utterance to sound more polite according to JMR2. Regarding Shiori's response, JMR1 and JMR2 labeled it somewhat polite. While JMR2 interpreted her curiosity of the requestor's purchase as a polite strategy to continue the conversation, the question of the requestor's purchase sounded unnecessary to JMR1 since going to the bookstore normally means purchasing a book. JMR3 rated Shiori's speech act polite because of the same rationales as JMR2 stated. JMR3 insisted that continuing and expanding the conversation were important to show her interest to the addressee. All of the JMRs' judgments of

Moeka's response were somewhat polite due to the different rationales. JMR1 referred that the statement of Moeka's desire for purchasing a book was needless since the requestor never asked her about it. According to JMR1, mentioning something that is not mentioned by another is unneeded, and referring her desire only for going to the bookstore would be ample to save the requestor's face. This justification was also insisted by JMR3. Adjusting oneself to a speaker obscurely rather than specifically is considered to be polite from JMR3's point of view. This ideology was also claimed by JMR2 since adjusting oneself to the requestor led the person's guilty of request to be minimized. In addition, the rater pointed out Moeka's lack of usage of the polite form in the end of her utterance, which caused the rater to evaluate somewhat polite instead of polite. Overall, the JMRs' impressions of the bilinguals' speech acts were related with each other.

In spite of the fact that all of the responses for this question was very divergent, there was one important finding discovered from the bilinguals and JMSs' answers. Considering the Japanese politeness strategy that saving other's face is more significant than one's own face (Gagné, 2010), additional statements that mitigate the requestor's imposition to the speaker seem to be necessary, including alignment and reinforcement. These speech acts were observed from Moeka and Nami's responses as well as JMS2's, while this phenomenon was never seen from EMSs' responses. Thus, Moeka and Nami displayed that they followed the Japanese politeness strategy in this question.

While Moeka's response demonstrated her competence of Japanese speech acts, her lack of knowledge of *wakimae* (discernment) was also revealed through her use of plain forms in her utterances. Since the requestor was a senior person at her part-time job, utilizing polite or

honorific forms was an appropriate behavior in this situation. Whereas the other bilinguals and JMSs employed the polite and honorific forms, Moeka's response was formed by plain forms. Since she normally uses only plain forms with her friends even though her friends are older than her, she is less likely to be aware of the Japanese social norm of utilizing proper forms depending on the addressees.

Table 7

*Q7. Compliment of Your Achievement at Tennis Tournament from Your Friend's Mother*

JMS1	<i>Arigato gozaimasu. Buin no minna ga oen shite kureta kara da to omoi masu.</i> Thank you. I think it was because all members of the club were cheering me on.
JMS2	<i>Arigato gozaimasu. So itte itadakeru to, mata ganbare masu.</i> Thank you. Thanks to your kind words, I can do my best again.
JMS3	<i>Arigato gozaimasu! Nakanaka kibishii shiai datta n desu kedo, nantoka katemashita! Honto ni uresikatta desu!</i> Thank you! Although it was a pretty hard game, I managed to win! I was really happy!
Moeka	<i>Arigato gozaimasu! Erika chan mo tennisu jozu dayo.</i> Thank you! Erika is also good at tennis.
Shiori	<i>Arigato gozaimasu! Ganbari mashita!</i>

	Thank you! I worked hard!
Nami	<i>Arigato gozaimasu! Yusho dekiru nante omowa nakatta desu!</i> Thank you! I didn't expect I could win first prize!
EMS1	Thank you! I worked so hard for this, and I'm glad it paid off. Thank you!
EMS2	Thank you so much. I worked really hard during practices and my faith in Jesus Christ really spurred me forward to accomplish a win.
EMS3	Thank you! Yes, I did win first place. I'm very excited about it.

Question seven asking the response to the compliment from a friend's mother discovered one commonality from the bilingual replies. All of them expressed their gratitude for the compliment in the beginning of their responses. After the thankful expression, they demonstrated divergent speech acts. Shiori mentioned herself working hard. Nami stated her unexpected feeling for the achievement. While Shiori and Nami touched on themselves, Moeka provided a compliment to her friend (the mother's daughter) regarding the friend's ability of tennis. Although there was the one common expression seen from the bilinguals' responses, their speech acts after the grateful words varied.

The JMSs' responses were also distinctive like the bilinguals' ones. All of the JMSs showed their appreciation to the mother first. After that, JMS3 mentioned the process of her achievement and her pleasure. In terms of mentioning herself, Shiori's response was similar to this speech act. On the other hand, JMS1 and JMS2's responses were dissimilar to any of the bilinguals' speech acts. JMS1 considered her achievement because of the club members'

cheering. She did not mention about herself but about the third party, the members of the tennis club. In JMS2's utterance, her respect and thankfulness to the mother was observed, which was never seen from any other bilinguals and JMS's speech acts. Thus, the JMSs' different speech acts were found out in this question.

In the EMSs' responses, three commonalities were discovered. All of their responses started with their gratitude like the bilinguals and the JMSs. EMS1 and EMS 2 mentioned their hard working like Shiori. Moreover, EMS1 and EMS3 touched on their emotions such as gladness and excitement, which were also seen from JMS3's response. There was another unique statement observed from EMS2's response. Since EMS2 is Christian, she brought up Jesus Christ as a reason of her achievement. While this speech act was uncommon among the other participants, three commonalities were viewed among the bilinguals, the JMSs, and the EMSs.

The JMRs' evaluations varied except their evaluations of Nami's response. Their evaluations for Nami's response were polite and somewhat polite. JMR1 and JMR3 considered it to be polite due to her modesty expressed through her second utterance about unexpectedness. This expression made Nami lower herself, which provided the polite impression to the raters. However, JMR2 did not receive the same impression through the utterance. JMR2 regarded it as just her comment about the game. Since the rater did not feel any politeness from the expression, the rater labeled it somewhat polite. As for Moeka's response, the evaluations were divided into two: somewhat polite and somewhat impolite. JMR2 and JMR3 rated it somewhat polite due to her second utterance. JMR2 insisted that her way of speaking sounded arrogant although praising her friend was a good speech act. JMR3 claimed that different expressions such as "Erika's match was also neck-and-neck" would be more polite than Moeka's utterance, which did not

sound compliment to the rater. Also, JMR3 pointed out Moeka's lack of using the polite form in the end of the second sentence. Thus, JMR3 considered it to be somewhat polite. JMR1 also mentioned that Moeka's compliment to her friend Erika sounded arrogant. Moreover, Moeka's compliment was not about Erika's matches but about Erika's general tennis ability, which provided an impression of incongruity in the conversation with JMR1. Therefore, the rater perceived Moeka's reply as somewhat impolite. The JMRs interpreted Shiori's response completely differently. JMR3 rated it polite because of simplicity of her response. JMR2 also admitted the simplicity as a good impression. However, the rater regarded it as somewhat impolite since Shiori's utterances rarely conveyed an impression of politeness to the rater. JMR1 considered Shiori's response as somewhat polite since there was nothing to show her modesty in her utterances. Consequently, Nami's response delivered the polite impression to the JMRs while the other two bilinguals' responses were construed in a variety of ways by the raters.

The most intriguing finding from this question was that everyone accepted the compliment through the appreciation expressions "thank you" although additional expressions following the acceptance varied, such as additional acceptances and evasions (Home, 1988). The additional acceptance included agreeing "I did win first prize" by EMS3, qualifying "I worked hard" by Shiori, EMS1 and 2, and "I managed to win" by JMS3, downgrading "I didn't expect I could win" by Nami, and returning a compliment "Erika is also good at tennis" by Moeka. Statements of shifting credit, such as JMS1 and EMS2's responses, were categorized as evading expressions. Whereas this phenomenon was accordant with the native English speakers' speech act that they tend to accept compliments more frequently than Japanese natives (Chen, 1993), it contradicted the Japanese speech act of denial of compliments (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010).

However, the Japanese female in her thirties who participated in this research as a pilot test taker, displayed her rejection of the compliment, “Ie ie (no, no),” which was a typical Japanese speech act. Like the unfamiliar phenomenon in question three, the Japanese speech act of refusal of compliments might not be observed in younger generations. This hypothesis needs a further research. Since there was no remarkable difference between the responses of all the subjects, the bilinguals’ speech acts viewed from this question were too complex to be evaluated.

Table 8

*Q8. Compliment for Your Father Playing Soccer from Your Father’s Friend*

JMS1	<p><i>Tabun, kyo wa goto san ga kite kureta kara, harikitteru n da to omoi masu yo.</i></p> <p>Probably, because today you (Ms. Goto) came here, I think he is enthusiastically playing.</p>
JMS2	<p><i>Iya iya, yoku mieru no wa sakkaa no toki dake desu yo.</i></p> <p>No no, looking cool is only when he plays soccer.</p>
JMS3	<p><i>Ie de wa tada no ojisan nan desu kedo ne. Shiai o miru to yappari otosan o hokori ni omoi masu ne!</i></p> <p>He is just an old guy at home though. When I see his game, actually I am proud of my dad.</p>
Moeka	<p><i>Arigato~!</i></p> <p>Thanks~!</p>



Shiori	<i>Sakkaa shiteru to kakkoyoku mie masu ne!</i> Only if he plays soccer, he looks cool.
Nami	<i>Ieie, tamatama desu yo warai</i> No no, it just happened lol
EMS1	He is awesome. Thank you so much!
EMS2	Yeah, my dad is pretty cool. I'm proud to call him my dad.
EMS3	He is pretty great, isn't he?

One similarity among the bilinguals' responses was found out in question eight. The phenomenon of refusing the compliment and degrading their father were observed from Nami and Shiori's speech acts through Nami's refusing expressions "no no," and Shiori's conditional phrase "only if." On the contrary, Moeka demonstrated her acceptance of the compliment by uttering "thank you." While Nami and Shiori revealed the Japanese speech acts that downgrading inside family members to others, Moeka showed her appreciation to the compliment, which was similar to the responses of EMSs.

The similar features with Nami and Shiori's responses were also viewed from the JMSs' responses. Rejecting the compliment like Nami's utterance was shown in JMS2's response. Moreover, the phenomenon of downgrading their father was observed from JMS2 and JMS3's speech acts. While JMS3 degraded her father, her second utterance expressed her respect to her father by uttering "I'm proud of my dad." In JMS1's response, consideration to the father's friend was expressed in order to make the person's feeling good, which was the third principle of

Leech's politeness principle. This speech act was never observed from the bilinguals' responses. The common phenomenon of downgrading the father was revealed from the bilinguals' responses and the JMSs' responses whereas the unique speech act of considering the speaker's feeling was seen in this question.

The EMSs' responses demonstrated two commonalities: accepting the compliment and complimenting their own fathers. These two commonalities were viewed from all of the EMSs' responses. In addition, EMS1 added her appreciation in her utterance like Moeka. Also, EMS2 mentioned her respect to her father through the word "proud," which was also seen from the JMS3's response. Accordingly, accepting the compliment, which was hardly observed from the bilinguals and the JMSs' speech acts, was discovered from the EMSs' responses in this question.

JMRs' judgments of the bilinguals' responses were almost same. Nami's responses were regarded as somewhat polite by all of the JMRs. JMR2 commented that since her utterance included refusals for the compliment and downgrading the father, her response was somewhat polite. On the other hand, JMR1 and JMR3 mentioned negative points. JMR1 insisted that only downgrading the father was slightly rude to the father's friend since the friend provided the compliment of the father. A little acceptance of the compliment would be polite to the speaker according to JMR1. Also, JMR3 claimed that only degrading the father sounded blunt although her utterance was fine if the relationship between Nami and the father's friend was close. The JMRs' evaluation of Shiori's responses were polite and somewhat polite. JMR1 labeled it polite since Shiori's modesty was observed from the response, which was interpreted that her father was not normally cool. JMR 2 and JMR3 rated Shiori's response somewhat polite due to the lack of refusal to the compliment. Although they admitted her modesty through the utterance, the

typical Japanese refusing expression “no no” would make her speech act more polite. In Moeka’s case, all of the JMRs considered her response to be somewhat impolite or impolite due to her lack of knowledge of modesty and polite form. JMR3 stated that depending on the relationship between Moeka and the father’s friend, Moeka’s utterance might sound fine. However, using the polite form “Arigato gozaimasu” rather than “Arigato” would be more proper in this situation according to JMR3. JMR2 referred that Moeka’s response was different from a typical Japanese response, which incorporated refusal and modesty. For this question, the JMRs’ impressions for the bilinguals’ speech acts were quite consistent.

Unlike question seven, which revealed unfamiliar speech act of Japanese speakers that they accepted the compliment, the typical Japanese speech act of refusing compliments was displayed by most of the bilinguals and JMSs’ utterances in this question. In particular, since the compliment was not for the participants themselves but for their fathers, they directly rejected by saying “Ie ie (no no)” or “Iya iya (no no)” or shifted credit to the complimenting person. This phenomenon proved Daikuhara (1986)’s statement that Japanese people were unlikely to compliment their own spouse, parents, and children in front of a third party since it would be equivalent to self-praise. From this point of view, Shiori and Nami possessed competence of the Japanese speech act of refusing compliments. On the other hand, Moeka followed the American speech act that Americans tend to praise their own families in front of a third party (Daikuhara, 1986). All of the EMSs demonstrated this American speech act in their responses in this question. Thus, Moeka was likely to be influenced by American politeness strategy while Nami and Shiori observed the Japanese politeness strategy.

Table 9

## Q9. Compliment of Your Room from Your Friend

JMS1	<p><i>Arigato! Demo, erika no heya no ho ga kawaii komono ippai atte suteki dayo! Itsumo iinaa tte omotteru yo!</i></p> <p>Thanks! But Erika's room is more fabulous because there are many cute home accessories! I'm always impressed with it.</p>
JMS2	<p><i>Demo kono hiroso o umaku ikashikire te nai n dayo ne.</i></p> <p>But, I haven't been able to make use of this much space.</p>
JMS3	<p><i>Arigato! Erika chan no oheya ni mo kondo shotai shite ne!</i></p> <p>Thanks! Invite me to your (Erika's) room next time!</p>
Moeka	<p><i>Arigato~ Erika no mo kawaii jan</i></p> <p>Thanks~ Erika's room is also cute, isn't it?</p>
Shiori	<p><i>So kana? Arigato! Erika wa donna heya ni sunderu no?</i></p> <p>Is it so? Thanks! What kind of room do you live?</p>
Nami	<p><i>Erika no heya datte kawaii jan!</i></p> <p>Even Erika's room is cute, isn't it?</p>
EMS1	<p>No, you have no need to be jealous at all! I do love it though. Thank you!</p>
EMS2	<p>Well, thank you so much Jenny. I just found lots of items for the room that were on sale. I'm sure your room is just as cute.</p>
EMS3	<p>Thank you! I like hanging out in here with my dog, but sometimes I have a hard time keeping it clean.</p>

There were two commonalities among the bilinguals' responses for question nine. Shiori and Moeka accepted the compliment through the expression "thank you." However, Shiori expressed her slight humbleness by saying, "Is it so?" The second commonality was providing the compliment to their friend back, which was observed from Nami and Moeka's speech acts. While Nami and Moeka displayed the same speech act, Shiori expressed her curiosity of the friend's room through her question. Whereas Shiori demonstrated her unique speech acts such as showing her humbleness and interest, the two commonalities, including appreciation and compliment to the speaker, were discovered from the bilinguals' utterances.

The similar speech acts were observed from the JMSs' responses: gratitude and compliment to the friend. JMS1 and JMS3's responses began with their gratitude "thank you." JMS1 continued her utterance by providing compliments of her friend's room. JMS3 requested an invitation to the friend's room next time after the thankful expression. On the contrary, JMS2 revealed her refusal to the compliment by uttering the downside of her room, which was never observed from the bilinguals' responses. Question nine discovered the common speech acts of appreciating and complimenting the speaker back among the bilinguals' responses and the JMSs' responses.

Two commonalities that were observed from all of the EMSs' replies: acceptance of the compliment and grateful expression. All of them uttered "thank you," and touched on their positive feelings of their own rooms as accepting the compliments from their friend. However, EMS3 mentioned a counterpart of her room, which was similar to the JMS2's utterance. Also, EMS1 started her response with denial phrase "no" and a statement of unnecessary of the friend's

jealous. This phenomenon was explained by Herbert and Straight (1989) that “the preference of response strategies other than acceptance may be related to the notion of democracy and equality of all human beings” (p. 39). Thus, EMS1’s response was a combination of rejecting and acceptance. Furthermore, the phenomenon of giving a compliment back to the friend was observed from EMS2’s speech acts like Nami, Moeka, and JMS1. Consequently, question nine identified the common speech acts among the EMSs, including accepting the compliment and appreciation to the compliment.

The evaluations of the bilinguals’ responses for question nine were divergent depending on the raters. Only the judgment of Nami’s response was almost same. JMR1 rated her response polite while JMR2 and JMR3 labeled it somewhat polite. Complimenting each other was typical Japanese acts and considered to be polite according to JMR1 and JMR2. JMR3 suggested that appreciation for the compliment and showing modesty would make Nami’s utterance more polite. The rating for Shiori’s response was various. JMR3 regarded it as polite since Shiori showed her modesty through the utterance “Is it so?”, expressing her gratitude, and expanding the conversation by asking about the friend’s room. On the other hand, JMR1 labeled it somewhat polite due to the utterance “Is it so?” This phrase sounded sarcasm to the rater, and the rater insisted just “thank you” would be more polite. Furthermore, JMR2 perceived Shiori’s response as somewhat impolite due to her question of the friend’s room. Although the rater acknowledged Shiori’s first and second utterances were common phrases in Japanese, the question concerning her friend’s room delivered the impression of Shiori’s disrespectful attitude toward the friend. As for Moeka’s response, the evaluations were divided into three. JMR3 considered it to be polite since her utterance incorporated her appreciation and compliment to the

friend. However, JMR1 interpreted Moeka's compliment as unnatural and insincere because of the particle "mo." This word means "also" in English. It indicated that Moeka considered her room to be cute first, and then she commented her friend Erika's room was also cute. This usage of "mo" provided JMR1 and JMR2 with an arrogant impression. JMR2 compared Moeka's response with Nami's response, which employed "datte" instead of "mo" in order to compliment Erika's room. "Datte" means "even" in English. Since "datte" made an impression better, Nami's response sounded more polite than Moeka's response. Accordingly, question nine explored the bilinguals' speech acts were interpreted differently depending on recipients.

This question discovered the Japanese speech act of acceptance of the compliment, which confuted the typical Japanese speech act of denial of compliments. Most of the bilinguals and JMSs uttered "thank you" as an acceptance of the compliment instead of refusing the compliment, such as "sonna koto nai yo (that is not true)" which was generated by the Japanese female pilot test taker. Only Shiori uttered somewhat denial phrase "Is it so?" in the beginning of her response. Thus, from this point of view, she was likely to retain the Japanese typical speech act.

On the other hand, the result of this question found it difficult to judge the bilinguals' responses since there was no remarkable difference among all the participants' speech acts. In spite of the fact that Nami did not express her appreciation, her response was returning compliment to the complimenter. Since this speech act is categorized as acceptance (Holms, 1988), Nami's response was also considered to be acceptance. Like her response, the other subjects who accepted the compliment also returned compliments to the complimenter. Nevertheless, it might be possible that their utterances were considered to be Japanese speech act

from Daikuhara's (1986) point of view that most of Japanese compliment responses avoid one's own praise. Since nobody mentioned positive aspects of their own room in their responses, they avoided their own praise. However, EMS2 and EMS3 also evaded their own room relatively in addition to their appreciation expression, which was considered to be acceptance of compliments. Consequently, most of the subjects' utterances were a combination of acceptance and rejecting or evasion. Due to the complex of compliment responses, it is challenging to define the difference between Japanese speech act and American speech act in this question.

#### **4.2. Results and Discussion of Interviews**

Interviews revealed participants' perceptions of language use, such as codeswitching between Japanese and English and interactions that determine the use of one language over another, their stance-taking depending on the two languages they employ, and how bilingual Japanese-English speakers use the two languages to construct their identities. The Interviews disclosed their commonalities, including positive influence by interactions with Japanese native speakers, their concerns of the use of lexical forms in Japanese, and their negative impressions of Japanese society, such as sensitivity and stressfulness. On the other hand, their differences, such as their daily language use, their fear of returning Japan, and their own identities, were also revealed in the interviews.

The first question of the interviews revealed their language use, including the number of languages employed on a daily basis and frequencies of utilizing each language. The languages utilized include Japanese and English, along with one or two other languages, such as Spanish, Latin, German, and Chinese. The latter languages were learned at their schools. All of them mainly employ English while their use of Japanese varies. Nami speaks Japanese whenever she



is with Japanese friends who are exchange students at her American university. Additionally, since she works at a Japanese supplementary school as a part time job, she teaches Japanese elementary school children in Japanese. Among the three bilingual girls, Nami has the most opportunities to talk in Japanese. Shiori rarely speaks Japanese since she does not live with her family or have any Japanese friends at her university. Although she seldom speaks Japanese while she is in the U.S.A., she sometimes utilizes her Japanese literacy skills. However, she normally goes back to Japan once a year and stays there for one or two months, which provides her with the opportunities to converse in Japanese. Furthermore, she occasionally texts her family and conducts Internet searches in Japanese. In Moeka's case, she goes to a Japanese cram school once a week to maintain and improve her Japanese skill, where she must speak Japanese. She also has some Japanese-English bilingual friends. However, she communicates with them in mostly English although they sometimes code switch. Moreover, she goes to a camp once a month which is for Japanese monolingual and Japanese-English bilingual people living in the U.S.A. During the camp, they do activities, including barbeque, ice-skating, Christmas party, a one-day ski trip, and bake sales. Also, they do volunteer work, such as assisting seasonal events for Japanese children and families, and participating Japanese festivals held in the area where she resides. Whenever she communicates with a director of the camp or Japanese monolingual people there, she talks in Japanese. Also, she occasionally speaks to her mother in Japanese. These interviews indicate that their main language in their daily lives is English rather than Japanese. Japanese is the second most frequently used language for them in spite of the fact that they were born in Japan and their parents are natives of Japan.

Their language use when they interact with their families was disclosed by the second question, and it is disparate depending on each family. Nami speaks only Japanese with her family, although her father and younger brother also speak English as well as Japanese. Due to the fact that her mother's English skill is limited, her family's language of communication is Japanese. On the other hand, Moeka's family has the opposite habit from Nami's family. Moeka's family members, except her mother, primarily converse in English. Her mother speaks Japanese to her daughters in order for the children to maintain their Japanese skills. Despite the fact that her mother speaks to everybody in Japanese, her and her sister's replies are uttered in English. She stated that this occurrence was due to English being easier mode of communication than Japanese for her and her sister. However, during the interview, for which her mother present, she used more Japanese than English when she asked her mother questions. Although not confirmed, it is speculated that since there was the interviewer who talked to her in Japanese, Japanese was chosen over English to ask her mother these questions. Considering that she employs Japanese when talking to her Japanese friends' mothers, it seems that she employs Japanese whenever there is somebody who speaks Japanese primarily. Whereas Nami primarily employs Japanese with her family and Moeka employs English with her family, Shiori employs both languages. Her family uses Japanese as the dominant language. However, they tend to switch to English if someone in her family starts talking in English. Her parents try to converse in Japanese as much as possible in order to maintain their children's Japanese skills. However, Shiori and her younger sister are likely to talk in English more often than Japanese, even though her sister currently lives in Japan. Since her younger sister spent three years in the U.S.A. when she was at an elementary school, she feels more comfortable speaking English than Japanese.

Thus, Shiori and her sister frequently communicate with each other in English. According to Moeka, her friends whose Japanese skills are better than hers have a tendency of speaking Japanese with their own families. It was her perception that the previously mentioned language use with family might play a significant role in terms of language skills.

The third question addressed how the interviewees were affected by local Japanese communities within their respective cities in the United States. The common theme that all the bilinguals mentioned for this question dealt with their knowledge of vocabulary. They often notice unfamiliar words when conversing with Japanese monolinguals and more proficient bilinguals. However, rather than avoiding speaking to Japanese monolinguals because of their lack of expertise, Japanese-English bilinguals stated that these interactions were opportunities to increase their Japanese vocabulary. In Nami's case, she is more aware of Japanese words that she rarely uses when interacting with adults or elderly people. According to Shiori, conversing with Japanese speakers makes her vocabulary richer. Also, Moeka stated that her Japanese oral skills, especially her vocabulary skills, had definitely improved by communicating with a Japanese girl who had moved to the U.S.A. While she recognized her Japanese skills improved from this experience, she is also aware of her lack of Japanese literacy skills. Although the number of kanji characters that children at her age are supposed to know is 1856 according to Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (2010), she said that she was able to write and read at a 6<sup>th</sup> grade level of kanji, which means 1006 characters. She also has a difficulty reading newspaper and books. Books for people at her age are difficult to understand for her. Answers to this question suggest that being part of a Japanese community and interacting

with people who speak Japanese provided the bilinguals with an awareness of their language skills.

For the fourth question regarding Japanese schools to which they are/were going, they revealed their different perceptions toward the schools. Nami had been attending a Japanese school in England for two years when she was in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. She did not have a good experience at the Japanese school at that time since the school had strict rules for study and behavior. However, she mentioned that she might not have learned kanji very well if she had not gone to the school. In Moeka's case, she attended a Japanese supplementary school in England and the U.S.A for six years until she turned twelve years old. After that, she started to go to Japanese cram school once a week and still attends. This school is designated for Japanese-English bilingual children who reside in the US for a long time like Moeka. She studies Japanese there for two hours a week, focusing on kanji, writing, and reading. Her teacher is flexible in a sense that Moeka is allowed to speak English when she is not sure how to say something in Japanese. Although she regards this cram school as a school that offers a relaxed environment, conducive to language learning, she believes it is not very helpful for her Japanese skills since the class lasts only two hours, and she believes that studying at a desk is not the best way to improve her Japanese. She prefers talking with Japanese monolingual people in order to enhance her Japanese skills, in particular her oral skills. She also compared herself with her classmates at school. According to her, their Japanese oral skills are better than hers though they were born in the U.S.A., unlike Moeka, who was born in Japan. She believed this phenomenon was due to their use of Japanese with their families. Unlike Nami and Moeka, Shiori had no chance to go to Japanese school in either the Philippines or the U.S.A. However, the school she attended upon

returning to Japan was solely designated for international students and Japanese nationals who have lived abroad for an extensive period of time. Thus, while she studied most of the school subjects in Japanese at school, she was mainly surrounded by Japanese-English bilingual people. She normally communicated with them in both Japanese and English.

As a part of the fourth question, the interviewees expressed their different feelings when speaking to Japanese speakers versus when speaking to English speakers. Both Nami and Shiori mentioned that they lacked knowledge of the honorific forms and they did not feel comfortable when talking with Japanese people. Shiori expressed her further thoughts on this issue:

“I was very nervous when talking with Japanese people.”

“Since I have to be careful with not only language itself but also manner and so on, I cannot be myself.”

“Because others are sensitive to other’s feelings, I don’t think it is fine that only I am insensitive to other’s feelings.”

In Japanese society, sensitiveness is a key to keeping a good rapport with each other. The Japanese translation of being sensitive to other’s feelings is *ki o tsukau*. According to Chung, Hara, Yang, and Ryu (2003), *ki* is “attention to others” (p.49), and *ki o tsukau* “is required for harmonious communication, and one’s personality is evaluated by the extent to which we pay attention to others” (p.49). Nami also said that she felt she needed to demonstrate more humility to communicate with Japanese people whereas she normally expresses her feeling directly to non-Japanese people. In addition, Moeka stated that Japanese people are very polite and they do not say more than necessary. It indicates the face-saving strategies that avoid threatening others’ face are important to keeping a harmony with others, especially in Japan.

With regards to sensitiveness, which minimizes discomfort of others, Nami and Shiori are more careful of being sensitive to other's feelings (*ki o tsukau*) when they are with Japanese people compared to when they are with non-Japanese people. Nami expressed that she could say openly what she thinks and feels to American people. However, as mentioned above, with Japanese people, she should be aware of how others perceive her based on what she utters. If she said something in the same way as she expresses her thoughts to non-Japanese people, it would be likely to cause Japanese people's negative face to be threatened. Therefore, she thinks she needs to be sensitive to other's feelings (*ki o tsukau*) when interacting with Japanese. This implies that Nami is aware of face-saving strategies to minimize displeasure of others. Also, Shiori is unsure about how much, and when, she should convey what is on her mind when interacting with Japanese speakers. In her opinion, young people expressing their opinions openly is normally more acceptable in American society than in Japanese society. This illustrates that she notices the hierarchy system in Japanese society: young people are supposed to respect elderly people, no matter the situation.

The two elder bilinguals confessed their anxiety and worry about going back to Japan for the fifth question of the interviews while the youngest girl, Moeka, seldom has any fears. In particular, they expressed worry over participating in specific Japanese cultural practices. Moreover, the bilinguals revealed their concerns of interfacing with Japanese people and living in Japan. Nami stated that she was worried about culture more than language issues, such as the sensitiveness (*ki o tsukau*) and manners since she experienced more stress living in Japan than in America. Shiori brought up the differences of friendliness between Japanese people and international people. She claimed that the way of closing the distance between people was

different in Japan. She experienced the most difficulty interacting with young people when she went back to Japan. She visited her friend's university and hung out with some friends of her friend. However, she felt there were some certain distance between her and the friends of her friend, and she did not get along so well with them. She assumed that they were not willing to be friendly with her because she was just a visitor. On the other hand, she can be friendly with international people more easily since she rarely feels the distance that she felt with the young people in Japan. No matter how long the friendship lasts, non-Japanese people are friendlier, and Shiori can enjoy the moment with them. Thus, she believed that there might be many Japanese people who were not sure about building close friendships and relationships in general. This perception is observed in Kito's research (2005) conducted in order to examine the level of self-disclosure in different relationships and different cultures among Japanese and American College students. The research revealed that American students disclosed more than Japanese students, which indicates that there is a different level of self-disclosure between Japanese and American people. In other words, Japanese people have a tendency to withhold their personal matter compared to American people. Due to this fact, Shiori felt a certain distance between her and the friends of her friend, which led her to consider Japanese people to be less friendly than non-Japanese people. While Nami and Shiori, girls in their twenties, indicated their worries about interaction with Japanese people, Moeka, a teenager girl, insisted that her use of honorifics would not change regardless of her interlocutors. Although she says she is unwilling to go back to Japan, she believes she would be fine even if she had to live in Japan. She used to go back to Japan once a year for eight years. She stayed for about one month each time. However, at the time of the interview it had been three years since she went back there last time. Considering the

fact that she has no experience living for an extended period of time in Japan after she went to England at four years old, the reason why she has no fear about going back to Japan is apparently that she hardly has any images of living in Japan and interacting with Japanese monolingual people. Their views about a normative Japanese identity informed their concerns. Nami and Moeka's impressions of Japanese people were similar: "Everybody is same and they listen to and follow elder people." On the other hand, Shiori expressed a different impression toward Japanese people: "I was thinking all Japanese people were same and they thought cooperativeness important, but when I went back to Japan, I felt actually they wore whatever outfits they want."

In addition to the cultural aspects of Japanese society, the bilinguals noted their concerns about their command of honorific usage in Japanese. Two of them - Nami and Shiori - were concerned with the way they used honorifics. Shiori, in particular, confessed that she had no idea which level of honorific she should use in order to be considered polite. In part, their lack of expertise may be due to the lack of opportunities to use honorific words in their daily lives. Whereas Shiori and Nami expressed concern about their difficulties with how to use honorific, Moeka insisted that she had no concern with the use of honorific. She uses only polite forms, which is the lowest level of honorific, such as *desu* and *masu*, since she hardly knows other honorific words and expressions. She had no intention to use more or higher level of honorific since she has never faced any troubles caused by not using honorifics. As she claimed, her way of speaking was considered to be casual and she seldom used either the honorific or the polite forms during the interview while the interview was conducted in both the honorifics and polite forms.



As for the final question concerning their identities, while each girl touched on self-perception, their thoughts on the subject were divergent. Nami defined herself as Japanese due to her way of thinking and her behavior. On the contrary, Moeka regarded herself as American. She stated that her usage of speech, thoughts, and the manner in which she expressed her opinions contributed to her “American” identity. Not only Moeka, but also her friends, labeled her the most American among her friends by virtue of her behavior. When asked how she feels about going back to Japan, she said, “It’s not like going back to Japan for me, it would rather be like moving to Japan from U.S.A. It is more like just going to Japan and coming back to U.S.A.” However, she also disclosed her desire to speak and better understand Japanese language because she is Japanese. While two of the bilinguals chose either Japanese or American as a dominant identity, Shiori expressed her identity as mixed with Japanese and American identities. She said, “Reflecting on my behavior, I’m not American. However, I feel a gap between Japanese people and me. I guess my identity has ended up being mixed up.” She also noted that she might not be aware of what characteristics truly define Japanese people, since her friends in Japan are also Japanese-English bilinguals. All of them, including Shiori herself, have been influenced by other cultures and languages. This occasionally makes her confused as to who she is as a person.

The bilinguals’ thoughts of self-perception correlated with the results of the DCT. Nami, who regarded herself as Japanese, demonstrated her competence of Japanese speech acts in the most proper, Japanese way. On the other hand, Moeka, whose responses on the DCT were most influenced by American speech acts, expressed her identity as American. Moreover, Shiori, who defined herself as both Japanese and American, revealed her high competence of Japanese speech acts. However, her responses for question four and seven illustrated her speech acts

which were strongly influenced by American culture. Thus, her speech acts were mixed with Japanese and American, just as her self-perception was mixed. Consequently, the last question of this interview unfolded that all of them defined themselves differently: Japanese, American, and Japanese-American mixed, which corresponded with their competences of Japanese speech acts.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In order to investigate whether circumstantial bilinguals retain their competence of speech acts in their first language after an extended period time residing in countries where their L2 is spoken, DCT and interviews were conducted with the Japanese-English bilinguals living in the U.S. These studies revealed the bilinguals' divergent competence of speech acts in Japanese, the effects of their daily language use, age of arrival, and length of stay outside Japan on their speech acts, the inevitability of *wakimae* (discernment) and proper usage of lexical forms, and unusual commonalities of typical Japanese speech acts.

Depending on the questions in the DCT, the Japanese-English bilinguals demonstrated uniquely Japanese speech acts or speech acts influenced by those typical in America. In particular, question two (refusal to father's coworker's offer of lending you the popular book) and question six (acceptance of the request for giving your coworker at your part-time job a ride to the bookstore) revealed that the bilinguals' speech acts followed Japanese politeness strategies, and the evaluations by Japanese monolingual raters were likely to be polite on average. The speech acts affected by American politeness strategies were also observed from various questions on the DCT. Although all the bilingual subjects relatively displayed Americanized speech acts, some of the speech acts performed by Shiori and Moeka were perceived to be those conventionally employed by Americans. In Shiori's case, stating her

preference directly (question three) and qualifying as acceptance of compliment (question seven) rarely followed the typical Japanese speech acts, such as uttering white lies to save face and avoiding self-praise. Instead, those of her speech acts were analogous to the EMSs' speech acts. Concerning Moeka's case, her acceptance of the compliment to her family members (question eight) was considered to be an American speech act since Japanese people seldom praise their own families in public while Americans are likely to do so (Daikuhara, 1986). Furthermore, Moeka's utterances were relatively perceived as impolite due to her lack of knowledge of *wakimae* (discernment) and the use of polite and honorific forms.

Another finding from this research was that the bilinguals' daily language use, their age of arrival and length of stay outside Japan were likely to affect their competence of speech acts. Whereas Shiori and Moeka's speech acts were somewhat influenced by American speech acts, Nami was more likely to observe the Japanese politeness strategies. Although Shiori's length of stay outside Japan was shorter than Nami, Shiori's speech acts more closely resembled American speech acts. This could be due to her age of arrival and her daily language use. She spent most of her adolescence outside Japan, when an identity tends to be formed, and currently she seldom interacts with Japanese speakers. Therefore, her lack of language socialization in which novices learn social norms from experts and through experience in a specific community (Atkinson, 2011; Duff & Talmy, 2011) caused some of her speech acts to be influenced by American culture. In addition, Moeka's speech acts were also caused by her long length of stay outside Japan and her reduced use of Japanese. Although she has more opportunities to interact with Japanese speakers, including the Japanese cram school and the camp, her Japanese-speaking friends have also been residing in the United States for an extended period time. They are also

immersed in American culture like Moeka. Thus, she rarely has experienced language socialization in Japanese, which led her to lack of her competence of typical Japanese speech acts. Moreover, her daily use of her primarily language, English, caused her lack of knowledge of the lexical forms.

The DCT and the evaluations by JMRs discovered that the concept of *wakimae* (discernment) and the use of appropriate lexical forms in Japanese were remarkable aspects necessary to perform adequate speech acts in Japanese culture. JMRs mentioned the use of proper lexical forms when judging the bilinguals' speech acts. The usage of appropriate lexical forms is determined by relationships between conversational participants. Thus, recognizing the concept of *wakimae* (discernment) was necessary for the bilinguals to utilize adequate lexical forms in order to demonstrate their deference, which "focuses on the ranking difference between the conversational participants" (Matsumoto, 1988). However, due to lack of knowledge of such Japanese cultural norms, Moeka's utterances were considered to be somewhat impolite by JMRs. Consequently, lack of awareness of concepts of Japanese speech acts might engender FTA to addressees, and it is possible that Japanese natives will be offended by the bilinguals' speech acts. Therefore, pragmatics competence is inevitable as well as knowledge of language itself so as to perform appropriate behavior in a specific society.

The last finding from this research was that even JMSs performed unexpected Japanese speech acts. For question three (accepting the second helpings of food), nobody uttered apology-appreciation "sumimasen," which was considered to be a uniquely Japanese speech act, whereas a Japanese female in her thirties employed the apology-appreciation expression in her response. It is speculated that part of the uniquely Japanese speech acts might have been developing.

Moreover, for question seven (compliment from the friend's mother), refusals of the compliment, which was a typical Japanese response to compliments, was never observed from both the bilinguals and JMSs' speech acts, while the female Japanese in her thirties performed the refusal expression. Due to the limitation of this research, it is risky to conclude that these unusual speech acts are new Japanese speech acts, and it needs further research. However, these findings are intriguing and provide evidence that a reexamination on of Japanese speech acts is necessary.

Since this research was limited in terms of the research methodology and the number of participants, further research with more participants and alternative methodologies is needed to define bilinguals' competence of speech acts in general. Regarding the number of participants, this research only focused four subjects for each category: Japanese-English bilinguals, Japanese monolingual speakers, English monolingual speakers, and Japanese monolingual raters. Even within the same culture, the subjects demonstrated various speech acts in this research. Thus, more participants will be needed to generalize findings. In addition, from the study of evaluations of the participants' speech acts, it was revealed that perceptions and impressions varied depending on the recipients. Thus, it is essential to have more evaluators in future research. Furthermore, DCT has its limitations in investigating authentic and natural speech acts of subjects, since it is not an oral task but a written task (Rose & Ono, 1995). Therefore, alternative methodologies such as oral DCT will need to be considered for future research.

## LIST OF REFERENCES

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## LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: DCT

Invitation:

1. At university, your professor, Professor Sato invites you to lunch with another professor, Professor Suzuki, whom you have wanted to talk with. However, you cannot attend the lunch, unfortunately.

Professor Sato: *Sooieba, Suzuki sensei to ohanashi ga shitai to mae ni itteta wane.*

*Konshu no mokuyobi ni chodo Suzuki sensei to ohiru o taberunda kedo yokattara isshoni dokashira.*

Speaking of which, you have said you wanted to talk with Ms. Suzuki before, haven't you? I'm going to have lunch with her this Thursday. Why don't you join us?

You (student): \_\_\_\_\_.

2. You are at your father's coworker's (Ando-san) home to have dinner together. Now everybody is talking about a Japanese book which many people are into recently. Ando-san has just offered to lend you the book. However, since you are not interested in the book, you do not intend to borrow it.

Ando-san: *Ano hon, ima nihon de sugoi hayatte iru n dayo ne. Kanari osusume dayo. Aa, chodo yomi owatta tokoro dakara, moshi yokatta ra kasha te ageru yo. Zettai kiniiru to omou yo. Yomukai?*

The book has been a big hit in Japan recently. I highly recommend that you read it. Oh, I just finished reading it, so if you want to read it, I can lend you it. I am sure you will like it. Do you want to borrow it?

You: \_\_\_\_\_.

3. At your friend's home, her mother is offering you second helpings of food. You like this food very much, so you would like to have more.

Your friend's mother: *Mada takusan nokotteru kara, yokattara mo chotto do?*

There is a lot left, so do you want some more?

You: \_\_\_\_\_.

Request:

1. At high school, one of the senior girls (who is older than you) in your tennis club asks you to borrow your dress for going out. However, you are reluctant to lend it to her because the dress is your favorite.

Yumi (senior): *Konomae Emi-chan ga kiteta ano kawaii pinku no wanpiisu karitemo*

*ii? Ashita dekakeru kara, sono toki ni kite ikitai no.*

Can I borrow your pink dress that you were wearing before? I would like to wear it when going out tomorrow.

Emi (you): \_\_\_\_\_.

2. You are walking on a street in Japan. Suddenly, a stranger asks you to borrow your cellphone. However, you are not comfortable with letting her use your phone.

Stranger: *Suimasen, keitai no denchi ga nakunatte shimatte, tomodachi ni*

*renraku o tori tai n desu ga, keitai o okari shite mo yoroshii desu ka.*

Excuse me, my phone is out of battery, but I need to contact my friend, would you mind if I could borrow your phone?

You: \_\_\_\_\_.



3. Your co-worker (Sachiko-san) at your part-time job, who is older than you, asks you to give her a ride to a book store which is ten minutes away from your work. You do not have any plans after work.

Sachiko-san: *Chotto onegai ga arunda kedo, kyo kono ato aiteru? Chotto honya san ni ikitaku te, moshi aitetara turetette moratte mo ii kana?*

I have a favor to ask of you, are you available after work? I want to go to the Bookstore. If you are available, can you take me there?

You: \_\_\_\_\_.

Compliment:

1. In the neighborhood, your friend (Erika)'s mother praises your results in the tennis tournament.

Erika's mother: *Konomae no taikai de yusho shitandatte ne. Omedeto. Sugoi wa ne, Emi chan.*

I heard you won first prize in the tournament, didn't you?

Congratulations. You did a great job, Emi.

Emi (you): \_\_\_\_\_.

2. You are watching a soccer game which your father is playing in. You are sitting with your father's friend (Goto-san). She praises your father in playing soccer.

Goto-san: *Otosan sugoi nee. Hitori de niten mo irechau nante. Kakkoi otoosan de ii wa ne!*

Your father is doing great! He got two goals. You are lucky to have such a cool father!

You: \_\_\_\_\_.

3. Your friend (Erika) is visiting your room for the first time. She gives you a compliment about your room.

Your friend: *Waa hiroi oheya da nee! Shikamo sugoi kawaii! Inaa, urayamashii.*

Wow, such a spacious room. Also, this is so cute! I'm so jealous of you.

You: \_\_\_\_\_.

## APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Tell me about yourself and your background. What languages do you know and how would you rate your proficiency in each of them? How much do you use each language in a daily basis and with whom?
- 2) Who is in your family and what languages do they speak? What do you speak most often with them?
- 3) Are you part of a Japanese community in the US? If yes, how has that impacted the languages that you use?
- 4) How is your Japanese school here? Who are the other students and what are their language abilities? How do you feel like your school has helped your language abilities? Does it impact how you talk to Japanese and non-Japanese people?
- 5) What do you think about going back to Japan? How often do you go back to Japan?  
Have you had any troubles in terms of communicating with Japanese people?
- 6) What do you think about your personality (identity)? Do you think you are more Japanese or more American?

## VITA

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