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English and Japanese Demonstratives: A Contrastive Analysis of Second Language Acquisition

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As seemingly simple and straightforward constructions, demonstratives are taught to foreign language learners at a rather early stage in their language instruction. For native speakers of Japanese, English "this" and "that" seem fairly easy to acquire, just as the Japanese demonstratives ***ko****,* ***so****, and* ***a*** *seem like unproblematic constructions for native speakers of English. However, language teachers often find that even fairly advanced learners of Japanese or English have trouble with many of the less transparent issues surrounding demonstrative usage.*

The present paper focuses on the demonstratives "this," "that," ***ko****,* ***so****, and* ***a*** *and the peculiar problems that they pose for L2 students. We will show that in accordance with Strauss (1993a, 1993b) and Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992), instruction of demonstratives based on the traditional analysis of plus/minus proximity is inadequate. Data from intermediate and advanced L2 learners as well as from native speakers of each language are examined according to recent models (i.e., Strauss' focus schema and Kinsui and Takubo's domain theory of the speaker's experience/perception), which prove to be promising alternatives in teaching demonstratives to L2 learners of Japanese and English.*

INTRODUCTION

While the appropriate use of demonstratives by native speakers of English and Japanese in their respective L1s is effortless, the same cannot be said about these constructions in English and Japanese as a second/foreign language. Although these functional lexical items are usually presented to language learners at a very early stage of instruction, complete acquisition only occurs at a fairly advanced level.

Especially challenging are those situations in which a learner must use a system different from the native two- or three-step system (e.g., English to Japanese and vice versa). Traditionally *ko*, *so*, and *a* are taught as the direct equivalents to "this" and "that," and in order to keep the issue simple, course textbooks tend to focus on spatio-temporal deixis or plus/minus proximity as a basis for determining the appropriate use of each form; very little, if any, description is based on discourse reference or the type of emotional impact that

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the choice of one word over another may imply. Teachers of English and Japanese as a foreign language to learners with the opposite L1 background often find that even advanced students encounter a range of difficulties in using these seemingly simple five lexical items.

Our pilot studies (Hayashi, 1991 in English; Niimura, 1992 in Japanese) reveal that the area which poses the most difficulty for L2 learners in the acquisition of demonstratives in English and Japanese is discourse reference. In addition, we found, to our surprise, that even spatio-temporal deixis was not fully acquired by advanced learners. In this paper, we have expanded the original study with a larger subject pool and gathered more data with an additional cloze test. The data are closely examined and discussed in relation to the recent models of English demonstratives (Strauss, 1993a, 1993b) and Japanese demonstratives (Kinsui & Takubo, 1990, 1992), and we will conclude with some pedagogical implications.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"This" and "that"

"This" and "that"[1] have been presented in grammar texts (e.g., Frank, 1972; Leech & Svartvik, 1975; Quirk et al., 1985) as demonstratives in a two-step system in English. According to these accounts and others, "this" and "that" indicate spatio-temporal distance (i.e., pointing to a referent near or not near the speaker in the domains of space and time). Halliday discusses demonstratives in terms of discourse reference, particularly with respect to anaphora, something already mentioned in the discourse; cataphora, something yet to be mentioned; or exophora, something relevant to but outside of the immediate discourse. Other studies suggest that the concept of 'proximity to the speaker' may also be related to psychological and emotional proximity and that these demonstratives thus express certain psychological attitudes in addition to spatio-temporal deixis (Lakoff, 1974; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Lyons, 1977). All of these earlier accounts are based on sentence level examples.

Examining an extensive corpus of various genres of spontaneous spoken discourse (e.g., telephone conversation, radio talk show, history lecture, social gathering), Strauss (1993a, 1993b) proposes an alternative model to the traditional notion of plus/minus proximity to speaker, basing her framework on that developed by Kirsner (1979, 1990) and Diver (1984) and adding to current theory that "it" should also be included in the analysis of the demonstratives "this" and "that." Strauss demonstrates that the traditional notions of plus/minus proximity cannot effectively account for the distribution of the three forms in her database, noting the strikingly low frequency of tokens used in contexts where actual distance could be measured and the high frequency of tokens in contexts where actual distance could never be measured. Instead, she proposes a more dynamic and participant interactive account in which "this" represents the referentially *high focus* form, "that," the *mid focus* form, and "it," the referentially *low focus* form. Focus in this framework involves the degree of attention on the referent, and she further notes that there are two additional factors

which are "subordinate to and implicit in the notion of degree of focus motivating the speaker's choice of forms : 1) the relative amount of information that the speaker presumes the hearer to have with respect to the referent, and 2) the relative importance of the referent itself to the speaker" (1993a, p. 404). The model is reproduced in Figure 1 below:

	Form	MEANING SIGNAL	Hearer	Referent
degree of attention to pay to referent	**This**	HIGH FOCUS	new information (not shared)	important
	That	MEDIUM FOCUS	↓	↓
	It	LOW FOCUS	shared information	unimportant

Figure 1: Strauss' (1993a, 1993b) schema of focus for demonstrative reference

Our initial hypothesis is that this schema of 'FOCUS,' together with the incorporation of "it" into the scope of linguistic analysis will benefit Japanese learners of English by providing a clearer picture of the types of elements which motivate demonstrative use by native speakers in actual discourse. In order to test this hypothesis preliminarily, we elicited English data from both L2 learners and native speakers to examine the feasibility of pedagogical contributions of this model.

Ko, *so*, and *a*

The Japanese demonstratives, which begin with the prefixes *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* appear in a variety of lexical items and functions. The range of forms that this paper will examine include phrases such as *kore*, *sore*, *are* (for inanimates) *koko*, *soko*, *asoko* (for locations), *konna*, *sonna*, *anna* (as type modifiers), and so forth. For the purpose of this study, all of the above mentioned forms will be categorized simply as *ko*, *so*, and *a*.

Traditional accounts of *ko*, *so*, and *a* seem to be based on the spatio-temporal aspects of demonstratives such that *ko* is used for a close referent, *a* for a distant referent, and *so* for referents in between. In particular, Sakuma (1936) explained *ko*, *so*, and *a* by introducing the concept of the Speaker and the Hearer. In Sakuma's framework, the Speaker and Hearer stand in opposition to each other; the Speaker's territory is expressed with *ko*, the Hearer's with *so* and referents which do not involve either the Speaker's or the Hearer's territory are marked with *a*.

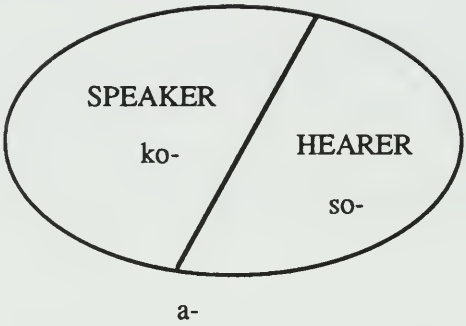

Figure 2: Sakuma's (1936) model

Sakuma's model, although far from comprehensive, was accepted as the basic model of Japanese demonstratives for many years. Sakata (1971) extended this model by proposing that there are cases in which the Speaker and the Hearer share the same space. Combining the models of Sakuma (1936) and Sakata (1971), Takahashi and Suzuki (1982) suggest an even more complete model as shown in Figure 3.

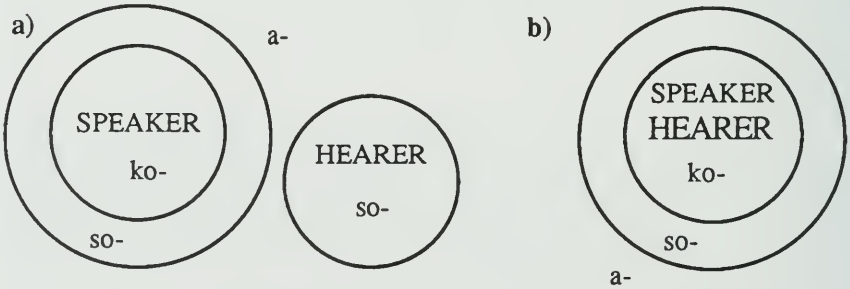

Figure 3: Takahashi & Suzuki's (1982) model

The Takahashi and Suzuki model reflects a dual system: one in which the viewpoints of the Speaker and Hearer stand in opposition to each other (Figure 3-a), and one in which the Speaker and Hearer share the same space with the same viewpoint (Figure 3-b). Distinguishing between the two different viewpoints

(i.e., opposing and sharing stances) is important for Japanese demonstrative studies, but they are still within a traditional Speaker-Hearer framework.

In contrast to the above Speaker/Hearer type of framework, Kuroda (1979) and Horiguchi (1978) propose radically different approaches. Both Kuroda (1979) and Horiguchi (1978) claim that the selection of *ko, so,* and *a* depends exclusively on the Speaker's psychological proximity to and involvement with a referent. Hence, in these models, the role of the Hearer is significantly weakened.

Kamio (1979, 1986) elaborates the notion of 'territory' into the "Theory of Territory (*nawabari*) of Information," a dynamic theory with wide application. Kamio argues that psychological proximity between Speaker/Hearer and the information in the sentence (or referent in the case of demonstratives) determines the types of sentence structure as well as the choice of one form over the other.

New insights in the area of Japanese demonstratives were introduced by Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992), who propose a comprehensive account of the deictic and discourse uses of demonstratives, incorporating Kamio's theory of territory of information and Fauconnier's (1985) "mental spaces" theory. Kinsui and Takubo developed a new model of Japanese demonstratives in which an object perceived in the real world is placed in "mental spaces" to be linguistically coded and dealt with in a similar way as it would be in discourse reference. Kinsui and Takubo argue that the choice of demonstratives in Japanese depends on the Speaker's psychological proximity to the referent. According to this framework, then, whether or not the referent is in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience is a crucial factor. *Ko* and *a* are used for referents in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience, with *ko* signaling a highlighted referent and *a* a non-highlighted one. According to this framework, it could also be said that *ko* is used for a referent which is in the Speaker's control or influence, *a* for a referent beyond the Speaker's control, and *so* for a referent which is not in the domain of the Speaker's direct or personal experience. Thus, an object in the Hearer's direct or personal experience is referred to using *so* because from the Speaker's viewpoint, it does not belong in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience.

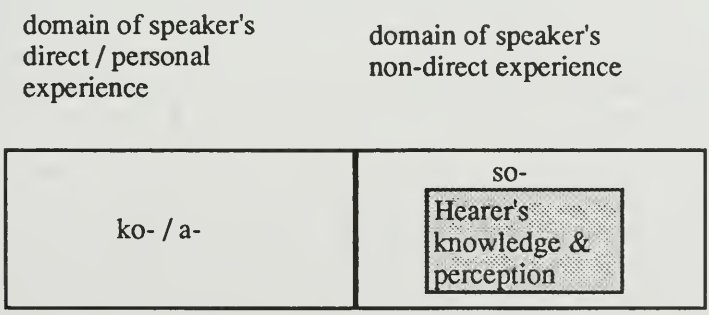

Figure 4: Kinsui & Takubo's (1990, 1992) framework

Kinsui and Takubo also propose a 'trigger hierarchy' for the choice of Japanese demonstratives where more than one demonstrative is possible. In this case, the choice is made primarily on the basis of real space; the next criterion would be based on real/direct experience. This is apparently not the case with English—a fact which highlights just how different the demonstrative systems are in the two languages.

In the traditional literature, then, both English and Japanese demonstratives were explained predominantly on the basis of plus/minus proximity and distance which has proved to be insufficient to account for the distribution of forms in discourse data. As mentioned previously, Strauss has shown that this distinction actually fails to account for the form distribution in English and has established an alternative model. Furthermore, Strauss' framework is similar to that proposed by Kinsui and Takubo in that the speaker's choice of demonstrative is highly subjective.

However, there are also significant differences between these models, particularly with respect to the discussion of the factors determining choice of form. In the model for English, demonstrative choice is determined primarily in the domain of FOCUS or "degree of attention to be paid to a particular referent," with two other subordinate factors (i.e., the relative amount of information that is presumed by the speaker to be shared with the listener and the degree of importance placed on the referent by the speaker). In contrast, in the Japanese model, demonstrative choice is first made within the domain of the speaker's experience. That is, the form of the referent is determined by the domain it falls in, the speaker's direct experience, or the speaker's indirect experience. If the referent is in the domain of the speaker's direct experience, the notion of highlighting the referent comes into play. When different options are available in choosing a demonstrative for a referent, real space (i.e., physical proximity) assumes primacy.

METHODOLOGY AND SUBJECTS

A cooperative pilot study (Hayashi, 1991; Niimura, 1992) revealed that native speakers of Japanese and English find it difficult to acquire demonstratives in the L2, despite the fact that these lexical items are introduced very early in second language classrooms. In an attempt to analyze more deeply what types of conceptual problems these forms pose to L2 learners of Japanese and English and to thereby suggest some future improvements to the existing explanations and grammatical accounts for each language, we developed a set of cloze tests which would help to determine more precisely those factors which motivate native speakers in their choice of demonstratives as well as those factors which might be influencing the choice by L2 speakers at their various levels of proficiency.

The data for this paper were gathered from three separate cloze tests that were designed and administered by the authors. The tests were administered to a large number of subjects, including both L2 learners and native speakers in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

The subjects[2] were placed into one of the following groups: (A) English speakers: 1) native speakers of English, 2) Japanese nationals who are advanced-

level speakers of English, 3) Japanese nationals who are intermediate-level speakers of English; (B) Japanese speakers: 4) native speakers of Japanese, 5) native speakers of English who are advanced-level speakers of Japanese, and 6) English native speakers who are intermediate-level speakers of Japanese.

The native speakers of English included people of six different nationalities, with the majority being British (40) or American (47).[3] The five remaining speakers were from New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, and India. These native speaker subjects ranged in age from teenagers to adults in their sixties, and their occupations also spanned a wide range, from office clerks and retired gardeners, to language and linguistics teachers. The advanced non-native speakers of English are Japanese nationals living in the USA, the UK, or Japan and working in fields which require the use of English such as university professors of English literature, linguistics, and language; high school English teachers; researchers; interpreters; translators; and office workers. They too ranged in age from their 20s to their 60s. The intermediate level non-native speakers of English are sophomores, juniors, and seniors in the English Literature and Linguistics Department of a small private college in northeastern Japan. All subjects in this last group are female.

The native speakers of Japanese are mostly Japanese language teachers or students at Japanese universities and ranged in age from their 20s to 60s. The advanced non-native speakers of Japanese are all professionals working in Japan such as university instructors, translators, or specialists in cross-cultural training or business management. The length of stay in Japan for these subjects at the time of data collection ranged from 3.5 to 13 years. This group, consisting of both male and female subjects, also range in age from their 20s to 60s, and have no problem in daily communication in Japanese; many have a high level of competence in reading and writing Japanese as well. The last group, the intermediate level non-native speakers of Japanese, consists of foreign students learning Japanese at private universities in Tokyo and English university students majoring in Japanese in London. All were native speakers of English who were mostly in their 20s. Their length of stay in Japan was from less than one year to two years.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The cloze tests have been reproduced in the appendices: Cloze Test A, based on a British comic strip, was designed to test for spatio-temporal deixis and discourse reference use of "this," "that," and "it" in English; Cloze Test B was designed for the English discourse use (anaphoric and cataphoric) of "this" and "that;" and Cloze Test C, to test for both spatio-temporal deixis and discourse reference for Japanese *ko* , *so* , and *a*. The results of the three cloze tests are also shown in the Appendices 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

Let us first look at some of the factors involved in spatio-temporal deixis in English. Examples (1) - (3) below are excerpted from Cloze Test A. This test was devised through the use of a British comic strip, "Beryl the Peril."[4] We removed all demonstrative referents (i.e., "this," "that," and "it") from the cartoon and replaced them with a blank; the subjects were asked to fill in the blank with

the most appropriate demonstrative form. Examples (1) and (2) appear to be clear examples of spatial deixis.

The utterance in Example (1) appears as item A-1 on the cloze test. It is also excerpted from the initial frame in the comic (i.e., it is the opening line of the story). In this example, Beryl's father notices a stain on the carpet and bends down to have a closer look. His utterance, simultaneous to his intent examination of the carpet, appears as follows:

(1)
[Cloze item A-1]

"HMM! _1_ A BAD STAIN ON THE CARPET! "

The speaker's face is very close to the stain and there would be no question that this is an instance of plus proximity, yet only 28% of the native speakers chose "this is" for item A-1. Instead, 68% of the native speakers opted for "that's" —our first piece of evidence in support of Strauss' (1993a, 1993b) hypothesis. What seems to be going on here is that "this," being a high focus marker and thus worthy of heightened attention, is not the preferred answer. The speaker just noticed something and commented on it to himself, without showing any type of strong curiosity about what he is looking at.

In sharp contrast, 69% of the advanced level L2 speakers and 71% of the intermediate level (native speakers of Japanese) selected "this" as the most appropriate response, which we feel is influenced by the fact that the speaker's face is so close to the stain on the carpet. In Japanese, the demonstrative *ko* can be the only appropriate answer in this type of context because, according to Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992) anything within the speaker's territory, especially something within physical reach, would be referred to by *ko*. Actual space takes primacy in the choice of demonstratives in Japanese, but not in English.

In Example (2), from Cloze item A-4, Beryl's father finds a piece of paper on the floor, which looks like a handwritten note of some type. He is standing upright, looking down at the paper and utters:

(2)
[Cloze item A-4]

"HELLO, WHAT'S _4_?"

In English, both "this" and "that" are entirely possible in this type of situation, however 76% of the native speakers chose "this" over "that" even though the father's physical distance from the referent is greater than in the first example. Just as in the first example, the father has noticed something on the carpet, but here, he seems to be showing a strong degree of curiosity which would also warrant the use of a high focus marker. The remaining 24% chose medium focus "that," probably because they wanted to express the relative physical distance of the object or some type of psychological remoteness on the

part of the father, that is, his annoyance or irritation at finding a sheet of paper in the middle of the floor.

The results from the advanced EFL speakers indicate that 84% of the intermediate level speakers and 55% of the advanced level speakers chose "this" over "that." In an identical context in Japanese the appropriate response would still clearly be *ko* because the referent is still considered to be in a plus proximity relation to the speaker according to the Japanese system.

Thus, we could argue from Examples (1) and (2) (cloze items A-1 and A-4) that spatial deictic demonstratives in English are often chosen by the speaker on the basis of FOCUS, rather than solely (or even primarily) by the physical proximity of the referent, having witnessed the choice of medium focus "that" for (1) and a high focus "this" for (2) regardless of its actual physical proximity of the referent to the speaker. In contrast, the fact that Japanese demonstratives in spatial deixis are primarily bound by certain constraints of physical proximity may account for the fact that so many Japanese subjects opted for the less preferred "this" in Example (1).

Example (3) includes two instances of exophoric reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), in which case the referent is neither present in real space nor in the text, but understood from the context. These examples are taken from items A-2 and A-3 and appear in the third frame of the comic. In the second frame, immediately preceding this interaction (which contains no dialogue at all), Beryl is leapfrogging over her father, who is still bending down looking at the stain on the carpet. Items A-2 and A-3 both refer to Beryl's action of leapfrogging over her father.

(3)
[Cloze items A-2 and A-3]

Beryl:	"I JUST COULDN'T RESIST 2_, DAD!"
Dad:	"WELL, LOOK OUT! I MEAN TO PAY YOU BACK FOR 3_!"

For Cloze A-2, more native speakers (75%) chose the low focus "it" over "that," even though "that" appeared in the original wording of the comic strip. Some native speakers who chose "it" commented that they would actually prefer nothing in the blank, which also supports Strauss' characterization of "it" as being the least referentially strong in terms of focus of attention (since the next lower step would be a zero marking) as well as with the greatest degree of shared information and the lowest degree of importance to the referent—in this case, an action which the speaker herself has just done. Since cloze A-2 is associated with a past-time reference (even if this past time happened just a moment ago), "this" is not at all a likely choice. In terms of time, "*that* tends to be associated with a past-time referent and *this* for one in the present or future" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 60). However, if we were to apply this to an identical context in Japanese, *ko* would be the preferred choice since the referent is in "the domain of the Speaker's direct experience" and also since it occurred at a time which is very close to the present, which, in Japanese, includes the near-past. This might

well explain why 10% of both the advanced and intermediate level non-native speakers answered the item with "this." Not a single native speaker chose "this" as a possible answer.

In Cloze A-3, Beryl's father's utterance, we see that 64% of the native speakers chose "that" to refer to the action which took place just a second before, while 27% chose "this." Perhaps the native speakers who chose "this" did so because Beryl's father is still on the floor, and by using "this" they are expressing a present reality. Only 9% of the native speakers chose low focus "it."

It is interesting to now compare these native speaker results with the variation in responses from the non-native subjects, in which 18% of the advanced and 26% of the intermediate speakers chose "it;" 33% of the advanced and 54% of the intermediate speakers chose "that;" and 50% of the advanced and 20% of the intermediate speakers chose "this." This is again a case where *ko* would be used in an identical context in Japanese, because it refers to what the speaker himself has experienced in the near past. As seen in Cloze items A-2 and A-3, the notion of focus (high, medium, or low) seems to be given the most weight in the choice of demonstratives in English for exophoric reference, while the speaker's direct and/or personal experience as well as temporal proximity are heavily weighted in Japanese. These differences may account for the gap between the native and non-native choices.

Let us now turn to the data for spatio-temporal usage of Japanese demonstratives by L2 learners. Cloze Test C, testing for demonstratives in Japanese, is based on two conversations between friends, one short narrative passage, and one statement. The interaction shown in (4) is a conversation in Japanese between two friends, Akiko and Hiroshi. Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family. This set of Cloze items, C-1 through C-5 (except C-3), was designed to test deictic reference with *ko*. In this type of setting where two people are sitting side by side and one is showing a family photo to the other, any person in the photo would be referred to by *ko* when pointed out by the speaker, since the image of the person is within his/her reachable distance.

(4)
[Cloze C, items 1-5)

A. Akiko and Hiroshi are sitting close to each other.
Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family.

あき子： （ 1 ）れ、私の家族の写真よ。
Akiko: This is a picture of my family.
ひろし： どれどれ、よく見せて。
Hiroshi: Well, let me have a good look.
あき子： （ 2 ）れが私の父。 （ 3 ）のとなりにいるのが母。
母のうしろは弟。
Akiko: This is my father. The person next to him is my mother.
My brother is standing in back of her.
ひろし： あ、（ 4 ）の人はきっと妹さんでしょう？ とてもよく似ている。
Hiroshi: This (person) is your sister, I suppose. She looks just like you.
あき子： ええ、そう。
Akiko: Yes, that's right.
ひろし： 妹さんのうしろの（ 5 ）の人は？
Hioshi: Who is the person in back of her?
あき子： 妹のフィアンセよ。 来月結婚することになってるの。
Akiko: That's my sister's fiance. They're going to get married next month.

The responses by the non-native speakers for Cloze C-1 ('This is a picture of my family') and C-2 ('This is my father') seem to fall within a fairly acceptable range. However, for C-4 ('This must be your sister'), 99% of the native speakers chose *ko*, in contrast with 69% of the advanced non-native speakers who chose *ko* and 37% of the intermediate speakers. For Cloze C-5 ('Who is the person behind her?'), the numbers are even more drastic: Ninety-nine percent of the native speakers again chose *ko*, in contrast with 53% and 12% of the advanced and intermediate level speakers. It would appear that non-native speakers do not apply Kinsui and Takubo's "real space priority" principle. Thus, it is evident that non-native speakers of both Japanese and English have not acquired full mastery of demonstratives for spatial deixis nor for exophoric usage.

We now turn our attention to English demonstrative usage in discourse reference (i.e., anaphoric and cataphoric), which was elicited by the comic strip cloze items A-5, A-6, and A-7. This area demonstrated marked differences between the native and non-native speakers in the study.

Cloze A-5 contains a clear instance of anaphoric reference, referring to the piece of paper that Beryl's father found on the floor originally introduced by "this" in the previous frame and in the previous example. Example (5) below repeats Cloze item A-4 for the sake of continuity and introduces Cloze item A-5:

(5)
[Cloze items A-4 and A-5]

Dad: (Finding a piece of paper on the floor)
"HELLO, WHAT'S 4 ?"
(Bending his knees to take a closer look at it)
"_5_ SAYS 'IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR BERYL,
SHE'S RIGHT BEHIND YOU!"

For A-5, 93% of the native speakers chose low focus "it." The non-native advanced speakers responded in a way very similar to native speakers; however, the responses from the intermediate level varied substantially, showing the following distribution: 79% chose "it," 18% chose "this" and 3% chose "that." In English, after a referent has already been introduced into a particular context, it would generally be replaced by the low focus marker "it" or other pronouns unless the speaker intends to highlight that referent in some way. This is not the case in Japanese. In Japanese, the same demonstrative would be used repeatedly for a referent and not replaced by any other pronoun (Kinsui & Takubo, 1990). For example, in this identical situation in Japanese, the piece of paper discovered by the father on the floor would be introduced with *ko* in A-4 and would be referred to again by *ko* in A-5.[5]

The comic strip story continues in the following manner for Cloze item A-6, shown below as example (6):

(6)
[Cloze item A-6]

(Having been fooled by Beryl once again, the father says to himself:)
"I'LL CATCH HER YET---WHEN SHE'S LEAST EXPECTING 6 !"

Here, 100% of the native speakers chose "it," compared to 69% and 28% for the advanced and intermediate non-native speakers, respectively, who selected "it." "It" in A-6 refers to the father's assertion that he will get Beryl back in a similar way (i.e., 'catch her'). The information is not new information and this expression would seem to resist the use of "this" or "that" since any focus here would not be relevant. However, 65% of the intermediate level and 26% of the advanced level speakers chose medium focus "that." This fact seems to indicate that L2 learners encounter difficulty in choosing between medium focus "that" and low focus "it."

Cloze item A-7, reproduced in (7) below is also an instance of anaphoric reference. Having succeeded in catching Beryl (i.e., leapfrogging over her), her father happily shouts:

(7)
[Cloze item A-7]

"YAHOO! I'VE DONE 7 AT LAST!"

Again, 100% of the native speakers chose "it," compared to the 91% and 70% of the advanced and intermediate level non-native speakers, respectively. Twenty-one percent of intermediate level non-native speakers chose "this." It seems probable that this is due to interference from L1 rules, (i.e., priority given to real space (and time)) since her father is in the midst of leapfrogging over Beryl when this utterance is produced.

In Cloze items A-5 to A-7, low focus "it" was overwhelmingly favored by native speakers. However, non-native speakers seem to have difficulty with "it," perhaps because they do not realize that the notion of FOCUS could be a significant determining factor in demonstrative choice in English, and are instead applying other rules, including those governing demonstrative usage in their L1.

Cloze Test B was designed to focus on the distinction between demonstrative use in anaphoric and cataphoric reference in English. This test involves a series of short independent exchanges and one short conversation. Example (8) includes the dialogues from Cloze items B-1, B-4, and B-8:

(8)
[Cloze items B-1, B-4, and B-8]

B-1	Brenda:	Tomomi, how old are you?
	Tomomi:	_1_'s a personal question!
B-4	Tomomi:	The newspapers say that the US and Japan will go to war soon.
	Brenda:	_4_must be a sick joke.
B-8	Tomomi:	I hear that the mayor of Murata is in trouble.
	Brenda:	_8_is an understatement!

The native speakers all chose "that" in B-1 and B-8, and 88% chose "that" for B-4, while the non-native speaker choices, especially those made by speakers at the intermediate level, yielded a wide range of responses. In these three cloze items, "that" is used to refer back to the other person's comment or question (i.e., the referent is the entire preceding utterance by the other person) and the speaker's response with "that" sounds less positive with respect to the referent, apparently indicating an annoyed, critical, or accusing tone. The psychological distance seems greater in items B-1 and B-8 where 100% of the native speakers responded with "that." Cloze item B-4 is similar, but not all native speakers responded with "that" (i.e., 88% selected "that," 15% selected "it," and 3% selected "this"). In contrast, as in Example (9) from Cloze item B-3, when the referent is the speaker's own previous statement, native speaker choices varied among "this" (48%), "that" (39%) and "the" (17%).

(9)
[Cloze item B-3]

Tomomi:	The minesweepers finally left Japan.
	_3_action worries a lot of people.

Brenda: I know. But I'm glad that the Japanese finally DID something.

The findings in (8) and (9) above match Halliday and Hasan's (1976) basic observation that "in dialogue there is some tendency for the speaker to use *this* to refer to something he himself has said and *that* to refer to something said by his interlocutor" (p. 60). However, a number of questions with respect to the distribution of responses still remain. For example, to support their above claim, Halliday and Hasan argue that this alternation between "this" and "that" occurs because what the speaker has just said is, textually speaking, near the speaker, whereas what the interlocutor has said is not, but this does not account for the variety in the above data, particularly items B-3 and B-4. Further, Strauss' schema of FOCUS may explain the variety of responses in B-3, but does not seem to explain the variations among B-1, B-4, and B-8. This is, therefore, an area which should be further investigated and developed into a new model. There is a definite need for a clearer, more precise framework for L2 learners, especially since the data show that a significant number of non-native speakers chose "it" over "that,"--a choice which stands in sharp contrast with any of the native speaker preferences.

Cloze item B-9, represented below as Example (10), is another good example which yields a wide gap between native and non-native speaker responses:

(10)
[Cloze item B-9]

(Conversation between John and Hiroshi in Tokyo)

John: Where does your family live, Hiroshi?
Hiroshi: In Sendai, in the Tohoku region.
John: Is 9 near Tokyo or far away?

Native speakers overwhelmingly chose medium focus "that" (94%) while the majority of non-native speakers (72% of advanced and 70% of intermediate) chose low focus "it." This difference may be accounted for by Strauss' FOCUS schema, since the referent ('Sendai') would need a higher focus item than low focus "it."

We will now turn to the anaphoric demonstratives in Japanese in Cloze Test C, specifically in Cloze items C-6 through C-8, as shown in (11) and C-9, as shown in (12). These examples indicate the confusion of usage between *so* and *a* among non-native speakers.

(11)
[Cloze C, items 6-8]

田中： 大学院生の木村さんをごぞんじですよね。
Tanaka: You know the graduate student, Mr. Kimura, don't you?
佐藤： ええ、知っています。 (6) の人とは高校時代から友達です。
Sato: Yes, I do. I've been friends with him since high school.
田中： じゃあ、婚約なさったこともごぞんじですね。
Tanaka: Well, then, you know that he's engaged.
佐藤： えっ、(7) れは知りませんでした。 どんなかたですか、
(8) の婚約者は。
Sato: Engaged? I didn't know that. Who is his fiancee?

In (11), 100% of the native speakers chose *so* for C-8, in contrast with 81% of the advanced and 42% of the intermediate non-native speakers. Many other non-native speakers (17% of advanced and 40% of intermediate) chose *a* , a clearly ungrammatical choice for this situation. *A* cannot be used for a referent which is introduced into the context by another speaker and about which the speaker has no knowledge. In a case such as C-8, *so* is the only possible choice for a referent which falls out of the domain of the speaker's direct experience. A similar distribution based on different grammatical reasons obtains in (12), from Cloze item 9.

(12)
[Cloze item C-9]

きのう学校から帰る途中、外国人に道を聞かれました。 (9) の人は日本は
はじめてなのに日本語がとてもじょうずでした。
A foreigner asked me for some directions on my way home from school yesterday. He/she was very good at Japanese even though (he/she said) it was his/her first visit to Japan.

For this item 99% of the native speakers chose *so* whereas the responses among the non-natives varied. Twenty-four percent of the advanced and 37% of the intermediate speakers chose *a*. In this particular case, it is not impossible to use *ko* or *a*. For example, if the speaker wants to highlight the referent (*gaikokujin* 'a foreigner') to continue talking about it, *ko* could be used; moreover, the speaker could use *a* because the referent is in the domain of direct experience, but not in the immediate proximity. However, *so* sounds the most natural for this utterance since it is a simple statement with no particular emphasis or stance implied by the speaker.

Cataphoric reference was tested in Cloze C-10 in Japanese and Cloze B-2 in English. Example (13) below shows Cloze item C-10, and (14), Cloze item B-2.

(13)
[Cloze item C-10]

(10) れは誰にも言わないでほしいのですが、実は私はゴキブリがこわいのです。
cockroach

I want you to keep this secret--I'm afraid of cockroaches!

(14)
[Cloze item B-2]

Tomomi: What do you think of _2_ idea? Let's go to Bali.
Brenda: Great! I'm ready when you are!

While the native speakers of both Japanese and English unanimously chose *ko* and "this" for (13) and (14) respectively, the distribution among the less advanced non-native speakers indicate that the issue is not such a straightforward one to non-native speakers. For example, 37% of the intermediate level L2 speakers of English made an incorrect choice of demonstrative in English as did 30% of the L2 intermediate speakers of Japanese.

To summarize thus far, we have found that neither advanced nor intermediate level L2 learners of English and Japanese have full control of demonstratives for either spatio-temporal deixis or discourse reference. As our data show, non-native usage of demonstratives is far from perfect. While it may be possible to easily learn demonstratives as lexical items, it seems to be extremely challenging to become an L2 speaker with a complete picture of the demonstrative systems for each language and how these systems function pragmatically. We cannot assume that even professionals using a second language daily on a relatively high level are necessarily "advanced," at least not in the area of the manipulation of demonstrative reference. Indeed, interaction in the L2 with others on a frequent basis and in a meaningful context seems to be a necessary condition for the complete acquisition of demonstratives.

CONCLUSION

Our data were analyzed in relation to the models proposed by Strauss (1993a, 1993b) and Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992) to examine their pedagogical feasibility. These models provide a vast improvement over the traditional plus/minus proximity models which seem to still be the prevalent models in pedagogical theory. Almost all of the native speaker results in this study could be better accounted for by these two frameworks, and we found that these models would be beneficial for L2 learners as they try to more fully master the

demonstrative systems for each language. Our data also reveal, however, that there is still room for improvement.

In terms of pedagogical implications, our study gives us several points to consider. For example, although demonstratives are rather easy to learn lexically, mastering the particular restrictions surrounding their usage in spatio-temporal deixis requires a great deal of well prepared, carefully planned practice (both inside and outside the classroom) in a variety of "real" or "authentic-like" contexts, with background knowledge of Strauss' focus schema and Kinsui and Takubo's framework of domains. Since the speaker's psychological relationship to the referent is an important determining factor for demonstrative choice in both models, it is indispensable to incorporate highly interactive and communicative activities in the classroom to help students master these systems.

Similar recommendations can be made about the use of demonstratives in discourse reference since this does not seem to be treated in much detail in any language course textbook. Anaphora and cataphora need to be taught to L2 learners in richer contexts which reflect actual native speaker usage and with carefully designed exercises and explanations which capture these governing rules.

Since English and Japanese are so vastly different from each other it may be better to teach one system to L2 learners of the other language in a deductive way. That is, both differences and similarities can be explained to students; for example, it would be beneficial for students to learn at an early stage that the priority of factors which determine demonstrative choice is different between English and Japanese, but that there is a similarity in cataphoric usage, that is, plus proximity "this" and *ko* are predominantly used in English and in Japanese, respectively. This fact does not imply, however, that there is a simple match between "this" and *ko*. As is often the case with languages, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the English and Japanese lexicons; "this," "that," and "it" cannot be translated as *ko, a* and *so*. The fact that each of these lexical items has its own concept and function needs to be pointed out when L1 and L2 demonstratives are contrasted.

Another implication of the present study is that L2 learners need to know that the use of demonstratives is highly subjective, both in English and in Japanese. Although the basis for demonstrative use is physical proximity, psychological factors appear to actually be more important. The speaker's point of view, and not mere physical proximity, is a crucial decisive factor in demonstrative choice—a fact that students would most likely never infer from traditional classroom instruction and textbooks based on the traditional literature. While psychological factors (focus) dominate in the choice of English demonstratives, whether the referent belongs in the domain of the speaker's direct experience or not is the basic determinant of Japanese demonstrative choice. There is a "trigger hierarchy" in Japanese; that is, real space (physical proximity) overrules the other factors when there are choices in Japanese demonstrative use. English, however, does not have such a hierarchy.

It has been shown with our data that both Strauss' FOCUS schema for English demonstratives and Kinsui and Takubo's domain theory for Japanese have high potential in pedagogical applications. The two theories, however, need to be tested on more data with more examples from a wider variety of contexts. Although the concept of "high, medium, and low" focus looks easy

for learners, this framework should be investigated with an eye toward making it a tool for teaching/learning English demonstratives. The same is true with the framework for Japanese demonstratives. For Kinsui and Takubo's theory to be helpful for teachers/learners, the domain theory and trigger hierarchy need to be developed into a better pedagogical frame.

The study of demonstratives is still a rich area for linguistic investigation from the points of view of a single language as well as from cross-linguistic perspectives.

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NOTES

1. Reference to these two basic forms (this and that) will also include their corresponding plural forms (these and those).

2. The total number of subjects for each category and for each cloze task is shown in the Tables which discuss the results of each test.

3. While it is often said that British English and American English have somewhat different uses of "this" and "that" (e.g."Who is that?" vs. "Who is this?" uttered by someone who has just answered the phone and inquiring about the identity of the caller), there were no significant differences in our data except in Cloze item A-1, where the choice of "this" by American subjects was slightly higher than that by the British.

4. "Beryl the Peril" © 1994 D.C. Thomson & Co., Ltd. 1994.

5. This is, if it is even referred to at all. In a natural sounding interaction, there would be no demonstrative used in A-5 at all, since noun phrases once brought into discourse are usually ellipted as long as the ellipsis would cause no ambiguity between other referents in the discourse.

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Brenda Hayashi is interested in data-based studies of English and Japanese learning, and is especially interested in issues related to L2 acquisition and attrition.

APPENDIX

CLOZE TEST A

Please fill in (1) - (7) in the comic with a word/phrase listed below:
[this that it this is that's it's]

Table 1: Results of Cloze Test A
(tokens; % of usage)

		Native Speakers of English		Non-native Speakers of E Advanced		Non-native Speakers of E Intermediate	
		(N = 92)		(N = 129)		(N = 104)	
1	THAT'S	63	68%	23	18%	15	14%
	THIS IS	26	28%	89	69%	74	71%
	IT'S	3	3%	17	13%	15	14%
2	THAT	23	25%	29	22%	27	26%
	IT	69	75%	87	67%	67	64%
	THIS	0	0%	13	10%	10	10%
3	THAT	59	64%	42	33%	56	54%
	IT	8	9%	23	18%	27	26%
	THIS	25	27%	64	50%	21	20%
4	THIS	70	76%	71	55%	87	84%
	THAT	22	24%	57	44%	16	15%
	IT	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
5	IT	86	93%	119	92%	82	79%
	THIS	6	7%	10	8%	19	18%
	THAT	0	0%	0	0%	3	3%
6	IT	92	100%	89	69%	29	28%
	THIS	0	0%	7	5%	7	7%
	THAT	0	0%	33	26%	68	65%
7	IT	92	100%	117	91%	73	70%
	THAT	0	0%	6	5%	9	9%
	THIS	0	0%	6	5%	22	21%

Notes: A small number of NSs indicated the use of THERE'S/none (0) for 1 . The first phrase was chosen for the data when there were more than one phrase/word answered.

CLOZE TEST B

Please fill in the blank spaces.

1. Brenda: Tomomi, how old are you?
   Tomomi: _____'s a personal question!

2. Tomomi: What do you think of _____ idea? Let's go to Bali.
   Brenda: Great! I'm ready when you are!

3. Tomomi: The minesweepers finally left Japan. _____ action worries a lot of people.
   Brenda: I know. But I'm glad that the Japanese finally DID something.

4. Tomomi: The newspapers say that the US and Japan will go to war soon.
   Brenda: _____ must be a sick joke.

5. Brenda: Hello, Dr. Shimizu. It's me again.
   Doctor: Well, hi. How's _____ leg of yours? Is it healing well?

6. Brenda: Tomomi says there's _____ man you should meet.
   Michiko: Oh, is she trying to find me another boyfriend?

7. Brenda: There's _____ stupid politician again!
   Tomomi: Now, now, don't get upset.

8. Tomomi: I hear that the mayor of Murata is in trouble.
   Brenda: _____ is an understatement!

9 - 11 (Conversation between John and Hiroshi in Tokyo)

John: Where does your family live, Hiroshi?
Hiroshi: In Sendai, in the Tohoku region.
John: Is _____ near Tokyo or far away?
Hiroshi: Pretty far away. It takes about 2 hours by bullet train. I guess you've never been there.
John: No, I really don't know much about _____ place.
Hiroshi: Well, do you want to come up with me sometime? Like, what about _____ next vacation?

Table 2: Result of Cloze Test B
(tokens; % of usage)

	Native Speakers of English		Non-native Speakers of E Advanced		Non-native Speakers of E Intermediate	
	(N = 66)		(N = 72)		(N = 60)	
1. THAT	66	100%	52	72%	43	72%
IT	0	0%	18	25%	14	23%
THIS	0	0%	2	3%	3	5%
2. THIS	64	97%	61	85%	38	63%
THE	1	2%	7	10%	12	20%
THAT	1	2%	3	5%	3	5%
A	0		0%0	0%	7	12%
3. THIS	32	48%	25	35%	23	38%
THAT	26	39%	18	25%	9	15%
THE	11	17%	28	39%	25	42%
ITS	0	0%	3	4%	2	3%

4.	THAT	58	88%	47	65%	15	25%
	IT	10	15%	26	36%	46	77%
	THIS	2	3%	3	4%	1	2%
5.	THAT	66	100%	28	39%	8	13%
	THE	0	0%	28	39%	24	40%
	A	0		8	11%	24	40%
		0%					
	THIS	0	0%	6	8%	4	7%
6.	A	51	77%	57	79%	48	80%
	THIS	16		3		4% 1	2%
		24%					
	THE	1		5	7%	10	17%
		2%					
	THAT	0	0%	6	8%	7	12%
7.	THAT	65	98%	22	31%	10	17%
	THE	1	2%	15	21%	10	17%
	A	0	0%	27	38%	37	62%
	THIS	0	0%	2	3%	0	0%
8.	THAT	66	100%	53	74%	15	25%
	IT	0	0%	19	26%	26	43%
	THIS	0	0%	2	3%	19	32%
9.	THAT	62	94%	14	19%	15	25%
	IT	6	9%	52	72%	42	70%
	THIS	0	0%	1	1%	1	2%
	SENDAI	0	0%	1	1%	2	3%
10.	THAT	38	58%	22	31%	16	27%
	THE	31	47%	44	61%	40	67%
	THIS	1	2%	2	3%	1	2%
	ITS	0	0%	2	3%	2	3%
11.	THE	33	50%	50	69%	36	60%
	THIS	32	48%	15	21%	12	20%
	YOUR/OUR	6	9%	0	0%	0	0%
	A	0	0%	2	3%	7	12%
	0	0	0%	3	4%	3	5%

Note: Multiple answers were given in some cases.

CLOZE TEST C

(insert Cloze Test C here)

Please fill in each (　　) with こ、そ、or あ.

A. Akiko and Hiroshi are sitting close to each other.
Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family.

あき子：　（　1　）れ、私の家族の写真よ。
ひろし：　どれどれ、よく見せて。
あき子：　（　2　）れが私の父。　（　3　）のとなりにいるのが母。
母のうしろは弟。
ひろし：　あ、（　4　）の人はきっと妹さんでしょう？　とてもよく似ている。
あき子：　ええ、そう。
ひろし：　妹さんのうしろの（　5　）の人は？
あき子：　妹のフィアンセよ。　来月結婚することになってるの。

B.

田中：　大学院生の木村さんをごぞんじですよね。
佐藤：　ええ、知っています。　（　6　）の人とは高校時代から友達です。
田中：　じゃあ、婚約なさったこともごぞんじですね。
佐藤：　えっ、（　7　）れは知りませんでした。　どんなかたですか。
（　8　）の婚約者は。

C.

きのう学校から帰る途中、外国人に道を聞かれました。　（　9　）の人は日本は
はじめてなのに日本語がとてもじょうずでした。

D.

（　10　）れは誰にも言わないでほしいのですが、実は私はゴキブリがこわいのです。
cockroach

Table 3: Result of Cloze Test C
(tokens; % of usage)

	Native Speakers of Japanese		Non-native Speakers of J Advanced		Non-native Speakers of J Intermediate	
	(N = 76)		(N = 59)		(N = 43)	
1. *ko*	76	100%	58	98%	43	100%
so	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
a	0		0%1	2%	0	0%
2. *ko*	76	100%	53	90%	33	77%
so	0	0%	1	2%	7	16%
a	0	0%	5	8%	3	7%
3. *so*	69	91%	49	83%	36	84%
ko	7	9%	9	15%	4	9%
a	0	0%	1	2%	3	7%
4. *ko*	75	99%	41	69%	16	37%
so	1	1%	6	10%	14	33%
a	0	0%	12	20%	13	30%
5. *ko*	75	99%	31	53%	5	12%
so	1	1%	16	27%	20	47%
a	0	0%	11	19%	16	37%
0	0	0%	1	2%	2	5%
6. *a*	56	74%	46	78%	23	53%
so	20	26%	13	22%	15	35%
ko	0	0%	0	0%	5	12%
7. *so*	76	100%	58	98%	35	81%
a	0	0%	0	0%	6	14%
ko	0	0%	1	2%	2	5%
8. *so*	76	100%	48	81%	18	42%
a	0	0%	10	17%	17	40%
ko	0	0%	1	2%	6	14%
0	0		0%0	0%	2	5%
9. *so*	75	99%	43	73%	25	58%
a	0	0%	14	24%	16	37%
ko	1	1%	2	3%	2	5%
10. *ko*	76	100%	55	93%	30	70%
so	0	0%	3	5%	8	19%
a	0	0%	1	2%	4	9%
0	0		0% 0	0%	1	2%