An *Issei* Japanese American's Interlanguage: Negation, Time Reference, and Topicalization

Kazuko Matsumoto

This article reports the findings of an analysis of an *issei* (first-generation) Japanese American's English interlanguage from three perspectives: (a) negation, (b) time reference, and (c) topicalization. A quantitative and normative analysis of the informant's interlanguage negation has resulted in placing him in the mid-mesolang stage of Stauble's (1984) Japanese-English negation continuum. A qualitative analysis of time reference showed that this mid mesolang speaker's primary means of expressing temporality is by the use of pragmatic devices such as time adverbials and implicit reference rather than by relying on verb phrase morphology. The learner's use of interlanguage topicalizations, which is argued to occur as a result of transfer from "*wa* constructions*" in Japanese, appeared in the form of three major syntactic constructions: (a) *NP + copula* constructions, where a copula is used as a topic-marker, (b) left-dislocation clauses with a sentence-initial topic NP and a re-sumptive pronoun, and (c) other "topic + comment" constructions without topic-marking copulas or resumptive pronouns. The findings of this case study suggest that the two major forces which have guided this Japanese speaker in constructing his English interlanguage system over the past years of natural-istic acquisition in the U.S. are native language transfer and simplification.

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Abstract in Japanese

日系アメリカ人一世の中間言語分析：
否定・時制表現・題目構文を中心に

本稿は、1915年に15才で日本人移民として岡山より渡米し、自然な形で第2言語としての英語を習得したロサンゼルス在住の88才の日系アメリカ人一世Tの中間言語の分析結果の報告である。95分間のインタビュー・データの分析は、否定表現、時制表現、題目構文に関して行われ、結果は次の3点に要約される。(1)否定表現は、過去形のマーキングの欠如を特徴とし、Stauble (1984) のmid mesolang の段階に属する。(2)時刻表現のための主たる手段は、verb phrase morphology よりもむしろ、time adverbials 及び implicit reference 等の prag-matic なものである。(3)題目化は、Np＋copula、left-dislocation、他の topic＋comment 構文の3種の形態となって表れ、日本語の〝は″構文からの transfer と考えられる。このケース・スタディの結果は、Tのアメリカ合衆国における English interlanguage の構築の過程を導いた主要な力は、母国語である日本語からの transfer 及び simplification であることを示唆している。

Prologue: Taka's Return to Japan in 1941

Nineteen-forty-one! August. That's last boat. You see, I was not this state. I was in Washington. Seattle. Last boat—last boat. August I think fifteen twenty. Something like that. And the Hiemaru going to like Japan. That's last one. Over here San Francisco Tatsudamaru. And there that's last boat. A--nd cut off transportation! Japanese soldier invade to the a--h South French Indo China. Now the Vietman call. But them days call South Indo China. And America stopped for trading Japan, a--nd frozing all property property. Yeah. So last boat I take it. Only I got two hundred dollars. I can take it back there. Wife also. Not more than a two hundred dollars. All freeze up. Yeah.

1. Introduction

Researchers in the field of second language (L2) acquisition have conducted descriptive analytical studies of L2 learners' English interlanguages from different perspectives: for example, negation (e.g., Kuwahata, 1984; Stauble, 1984), expression of temporality (e.g., Schumann, 1987), and verb phrase morphology (e.g., Robison, 1990). Some of these studies focused on English interlanguages acquired or learned by native speakers of Japanese, but none of them seem to have approached the analysis with sensitivity to the ethnical historical background underlying the learner's naturalistic L2 acquisition.

This paper provides a description and a preliminary account of an *issei* Japanese American's English interlanguage from the perspectives of negation, time reference, and characteristic syntactic constructions used by the learner. Specifically, the research questions this paper addresses are the following: (a) How does the learner express negation in his interlanguage system; (b) how does the learner establish or switch time reference in the discourse; and (c) what characteristic interlanguage constructions does the learner use? A quantitative analysis will be done with negation, whereas time reference will be analyzed qualitatively. A qualitative analysis of the informant's characteristic inter-

language constructions, which is the main focus of this paper, deals with topicalization constructions.

2. Method

2.1. Informant

The informant of this study, Taka (a pseudonym), is an 88-year-old male *issei* Japanese American who came from Okayama, Japan, to the United States in 1915 at the age of fifteen with no previous English education in his home country.[1] Although he was back in Japan from 1941 to 1948 (because of World War II), he has been living in the U.S. for about 66 years. On arrival in the U.S., he began to work instead of attending grade school, and subsequently he was engaged in various jobs. He worked as a gardener from 1958 to 1982, but he had already retired at the time of the interview for this study. The only formal instruction he had was night-school English classes he took for a couple of months right after his arrival in the U.S. He says that he has acquired L2 English primarily through daily communicative interaction with the English-speaking people by whom he has been employed. The highest level of education he completed in his home country was primary school.

2.2. Data Collection

A 95-minute interview was conducted with the informant at his home in West Los Angeles in January 1990. The interviewer was a *sansei* (third-generation) Japanese American (a native speaker of American English with very little knowledge of Japanese) who had already known the informant at the time of the interview. This helped Taka to talk candidly without becoming cautious. The present author observed the interview and took notes whenever necessary. After the interview was recorded and transcribed, a retrospective interview was conducted with the learner in Japanese to correct the transcribed data and clarify his intended meaning of some interlanguage constructions. In order to further increase the accuracy of the transcription, the transcript was crosschecked by two native English speakers (including the interviewer) with previous familiarity with the interviewee's English interlanguage, and two native Japanese speakers.

2.3. Data Analysis

The recorded interview data were transcribed and coded following the conventions specified by Andersen (1990, pp. 29-54). For each basic unit of transcription (i.e., a clause or a clause fragment),[2] six types of coding were done: (a) time reference (anterior or nonanterior),[3] (b) clause type (negative statement or question), (c) verb category (simple, copula, progressive auxiliary, perfect "have" auxiliary, modal auxiliary, or quasi-auxiliary), (d) form used (*no, not, don't, doesn't,* or *didn't*), (e) form required (same forms as in previous section), and (f) position of negator for auxiliaries (zero, after, or before auxiliary).[4] Based on the coding of these six columns, normative matrices for negation (i.e., matrix based on a hypothetical native English norm) were prepared, and two quantitative measures (i.e., %SOC = percent supplied in obligatory contexts and %TLU = percent target-like use) were calculated.

3. Results and Discussion

The results of the analysis of the interview data from three perspectives (i.e., negation, time reference, and topicalization) are presented below.

3.1. Negation

The research questions (RQ) concerning interlanguage negation this section addresses are the following (Andersen, 1990, pp. 76-81):

RQ1(form): What negative form or forms does the learner use in (a) propositional negation and (b) constituent negation?

RQ2 (position): What position does the negator have in propositional negation?

RQ2a (normative): When native English would require an auxiliary (and then the expected native order would be auxiliary + negator).

RQ2b (autonomous): What systematic distribution is there for neg position in negated propositions?[5]

RQ3 (do support-1): What forms does the learner use in contexts which would require do support in English?

RQ3a (*don't*): When native English requires *don't*, what does the learner do?

RQ3b (*doesn't*): When native English requires *doesn't*, what does the learner do?

RQ3c (*didn't*): When native English requires *didn't*, what does the learner do?

RQ4 (do support-2): If the learner indeed uses either of the do-support forms *doesn't* or *didn't* even a small percentage of the time, what is the distribution of the target English form (*doesn't didn't*) vs. the nontarget forms (such as *no not don*)?[6]

Results of Normative Analysis: Table 1 tabulates the forms Taka used in the six categories of negation against the forms that would be required in standard native English. The results of normative analysis (i.e., analysis based on native speakers' norm) of the data are given below the table.

Constituent Negation: Taka supplied *no* in 26 of 27 (96%) obligatory contexts and all (100%) of 26 uses of *no* were target-like. He also supplied *not* correctly in all of 15 (100%) contexts requiring it, and his target-like usage of *not* was 100%. There was one context which required *no* but he supplied *nothing* as a negative quantifier.

Propositional Negation

Simple Verb Negation: The learner correctly supplied *don't* in 28 of 29 (97%) obligatory contexts, but only 28 out of 51 (55%) of all uses of *don't* were used in target-like ways. The learner never (0%) used *didn't* in 27 contexts that required it; instead *don't* was used in 22 out of 27 (81%) such contexts, the remaining contexts being supplied with *doesn't* (4%), *no* (4%), and *not* (11%). He also had one context requiring *doesn't* but he used *don't* in that context.

Copula Negation: Taka used *isn't* in 4 of 7 (57%) obligatory contexts, and 67% of all uses (4 out of 6) of *isn't* were target-like. He

Table 1
Normative Matrices for Negation

Used			Required	
Constituent Negation			no + X	not + X
no + X			26	0
not + X			0	15
nothing + X			1	0
Simple Verb Negation	don't	doesn't	didn't	
Don't	28	1	22	
Doesn't	0	0	1	
Didn't	0	0	0	
no	1	0	1	
not	0	3	0	
Copula Negation	'm not	isn't	wasn't	
'm not	0	2	0	
isn't	0	4	2	
wasn't	0	1	0	
not	0	3	2	
Progressive Aux Negation	isn't		wasn't	
isn't	0		0	
wasn't	0		0	
not	0		1	
Perfect Aux Negation	haven't Vn		hadn't Vn	
don't V	0		1	
not V	1		0	
not Vn	0		1	
Modal Aux Negation	can't	couldn't	won't	shouldn't
can't	9	7	0	0
couldn't	0	0	0	0
won't	0	0	0	0
shouldn't	0	0	0	0

correctly supplied *wasn't* in one of 5 (20%) obligatory contexts and his use of *wasn't* was target-like. *Not* was used (i.e., no copula was supplied) in 3 out of 7 (43%) contexts requiring *isn't* and in 2 out of 5 (40%) contexts requiring *wasn't*. Also he used *isn't* in 2 out of 5 (40%) contexts that required *wasn't*.

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Copula Negation: Taka used *isn't* in 4 of 7 (57%) obligatory contexts, and 67% of all uses (4 out of 6) of *isn't* were target-like. He correctly supplied *wasn't* in one of 5 (20%) obligatory contexts and his use of *wasn't* was target-like. *Not* was used (i.e., no copula was supplied) in 3 out of 7 (43%) contexts requiring *isn't* and in 2 out of 5 (40%) contexts requiring *wasn't*. Also he used *isn't* in 2 out of 5 (40%) contexts that required *wasn't*.

Progressive Auxiliary Negation: The learner used *not* (i.e., deleted progressive auxiliary) in one context which required *wasn't*.

Perfect Auxiliary Negation: Taka didn't use *have, has,* or *had* in three contexts which required them. Instead he used *not V* in one context requiring *haven't Vn; not Vn* and *not V* were used in two contexts requiring *hadn't Vn*.

Modal Auxiliary negation: The only negated modal auxiliary Taka used was *can't*. He correctly supplied 9 out of 9 (100%) required contexts with *can't*, but only 56% (9 of 16) of his uses of *can't* were target-like (the remaining 7 contexts (44%) required use of *couldn't*).

Summary of Negative Forms Used in Propositional Negation: The number and percentage of negative forms used by the learner Taka in propositional negation are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2:
Number and Percentage of Negative Forms
Used in Propositional Negation

Simple Verb Negation	TOTAL:	57
Unanalyzed don't		51 [73.0%]
Unanalyzed doesn't		1 [1.8 %]
No + V		2 [3.5%]
Not + V		3 [5.3%]
Modal Aux Negation	TOTAL:	16
Unanalyzed can't		16 [100%]
Copula Negation	TOTAL	14
∅ - cop not		5 [36 %]
Cop + not		9 [64 %]
∅ - cop no		0
Cop + no		0
Perfect Aux Negation	TOTAL:	3
don't V		1 [33 %]
not V		1 [33 %]
∅ - had not Vn		1 [33 %]
Progressive Aux Negation	TOTAL:	1
∅ - aux not Ving		1 [100%]
TOTAL		133 [100%]

This shows that in 57 simple verb negation contexts Taka used unanalyzed *don't* which was used in both present and past tense contexts 73% of the time. The percentage (8.8%) of his use of *no/not + verb* constructions is considerably low. In 16 modal negation contexts Taka supplied unanalyzed *can't* which was used in both present and past tense contexts 100% of the time. The table also indicates that in 14 copula negation contexts the percentage (64%) of copula suppletion (i.e., use of *copula + not* constructions) was higher than that (36%) of copula deletion (i.e., use of *zero copula + not* constructions).

These features of Taka's negative constructions (especially the dominant use of unanalyzed *don't* and some traces of *no/not + verb* structures for main verb negation) place him in the mid mesolang range of the Japanese-English negation continuum (Stauble, 1984, p. 341). However, he also retains basilang or lower mesolang negation characteristics such as 100 percent use of *can't* as negated modals. His interlanguage also has signs of upper mesolang, which largely consist in the relatively low percentage of copula deletion.

Summary of Taka's Interlanguage Negation: The major findings of the normative analysis are as follows: (a) *no + phrase* constructions = 96% (SOC), 100% (TLU); (b) *not + phrase* constructions = 100% (SOC), 100% (TLU); (c) *don't* = 97% (SOC), 55% (TLU); (d) *isn't* = 57% (SOC), 67% (TLU); and (e) *can't* = 100% (SOC), 56% (TLU). As represented by the use of *don't* and *can't* in past tense contexts in the data, the learner's interlanguage negation is best characterized by the lack of past-marking. Taka positioned the negator (e.g., *not*) immediately before the verb phrase 100% of the time, which confirms Andersen's (1990, p. 79) hypothesis which states that for propositional negation the negator, regardless of the form, will be placed immediately before the verb phrase. Further, consistent with another hypothesis of Andersen (1990, p. 79) that the position of the negator will usually be the same from beginning to very advanced stages of acquisition of negation (i.e., no real interlanguage development is hypothesized for position of the negator), the learner followed the general "negator + negated constituent" rule for position for both propositional and constituent negation 100% of the time. The main findings which have resulted in placing Taka in the mid mesolang stage of the negation continuum are: (a) predominant use of unanalyzed *don't*, (b) small amount of *no/not + verb* constructions, and (c) establishment of *not + phrases*.[7]

3.2. Time Reference

The hypotheses to be considered in this section in answering the research question "How does the speaker (S) establish, maintain,

clarify, or re-establish time reference?" are as follows (Andersen, 1990, pp. 66-70):

HYPOTHESIS 1: The S will establish/maintain/clarify time reference with time and place adverbials.

HYPOTHESIS 2: The S and the interviewer will *understand* the time reference intended, although not explicitly stated, because of shared and/or previously established information.

HYPOTHESIS 3: The S will *begin* an episode with a clear reference to a particular time frame and then let that *beginning* reference cover the entire episode.

Results of Qualitative Analysis: The qualitative analysis is based on three representative episodes taken from the transcript containing primarily anterior, primarily nonanterior, and frequent switches between anterior and nonanterior temporal references.

In Episode 1, Taka (T) is explaining to the interviewer (I) how he came to Los Angeles from Spokane. In the middle of the passage, Taka establishes the anterior time reference by beginning the clause with *but* but with no explicit time adverbial (which would be "those days") following it. But the use of *but* clearly marks the switch from present (which is denoted by time adverb *now*) to past time frame in this context even though *take* has no explicit morphology. This example suggests that the S will establish/switch time reference with such contrast markers as *but* on the assumption that the interviewer can understand the intended time reference from the discourse context. This could alternatively be viewed as a subhypothesis of Hypothesis 2 listed above (in this case, the time frame of *take long time* can be inferred from the previously established information, i.e., *Quite a distance.*).

Episode 1:
I: When you moved from Spokane to Los Angeles, you drove a car down here?
T: No. I ah no no I take a bus. Bus yeah. *Quite a distance.* But bus running day and night you know. I think ah I think about - are

there how many hour - about fifteen twenty hour I think. I remember right. *Now* the different you know. *But* take long time.

I: Oh so you never bought a car until you were here in Los Angeles?

T: No. No, my son, first son, he drove car from Spokane to here. Yeah. But ah I am not come to - not drive a my car. I had a car alright, give to my son. You see? I - I use bus. Yes.

The following episode, in which Taka is talking about his hobby of writing poems and stories, contains primarily nonanterior (i.e., present) time reference. This example demonstrates that the learner establishes anterior temporal reference with the use of two time adverbials (i.e., *couple years ago* and *when I was young*) within the continuing nonanterior time frame during the episode (Hypothesis 1). Thus the verbs *get* and *like* can be assumed to denote the anterior time reference even though they lack explicit morphology to encode the switch from present to past time frame.

Episode 2:

I : Did you write poems every year?

T: Pretty near yeah. Every year something. I'm a writer too. Japanese writing for story. Love story too.

I: Oh yeah?

T: Can't you imagine? [Laughter] *Couple years ago* I get a first prize for love story. [Laughter] That's not kidding.

I: Wow! How many stories have you written?

T: Well I don't know how much. I can't figure out. Thatsa *when I was young*, I like - I like that you know. So I like read it, I like write it. Don't know how much. Yeah.

In Episode 3, the informant is talking about weeding he did after rice plantation in Japan during World War II. He first switches from anterior (past) to nonanterior (present), which is indicated by the use of time adverbials *now* and *nowadays*. He then switches from present to past reference, which is marked by the time adverbial *when I was there*, and again switches from past to present temporal reference with the use of *now*. This shows that the time adverbials play an important role in

establishing the time reference (Hypothesis 1) in the absence of correct morphological markings (e.g., use of *don't* for anterior reference and *killed* for present reference). The speaker then re-establishes the anterior time reference by saying *That's hard work,* that is, by stating the information already shared or previously established earlier in the interview (Hypothesis 2). This sentence, at the same time, has the function of forming the time frame for the following clauses (Hypothesis 3); thus the verbs such as *is* and *cultivate* can be assumed to belong to the same anterior time frame even though they have incorrect or no morphological markings (Hypothesis 3). He goes on to explain how hard they worked during the war, and then switches from anterior to present time reference, which is clearly marked by the temporal change marker *but* and the time adverb *now.* We can also see that he repeats time adverbs (*now, nowadays,* and *nowaday*) to maintain the nonanterior (present) temporal frame through the end of the episode.

Episode 3:

T: So after planted ready, then we gonna fighting for weeds. But *now nowadays* they use for thatsa anti-weeds poison. You see, thatsa *when I was there*, they don't have that kind of medicine. But *now* is use - use for anti-weeds. Pull 'em up pull 'em up anti-weeds. They killed weeds you know. Yeah. *That's hard work.* Plantation is pretty hard work. Right after, don't give us much chance. Right away for, cultivate for field.

I: Every day?

T: Yeah. Every day. No Sunday. No holiday. Nothing.

I: Oh! [Laughter]

T: Yeah. Sun rising and sun down. *But now* the different though. You know *now* the different. Too much ah improvement *nowadays.* Yeah. They are use machineries and ah weeds-killer big help *nowaday.* Yeah. You know *nowaday* Japan is farmer hard to get married. Because young girl don't want to marry for farmer. Reason why working too hard. Yeah.

In sum, the above-presented examples illustrate that the informant's primary means of establishing a specific time frame within the dis-

course is the use of time adverbials typically at the beginning of a clause (Hypothesis 1). Among the time adverbials used in the data, *now* and *them days* (i.e., those days) were most frequently employed especially to immediately contrast two clauses with anterior vs. nonanterior time reference with *but* being supplied between the two clauses as a contrast marker in most cases.

3.3. Characteristic Features in Taka's Interlanguage Constructions

Several features were found to be characteristic of the informant Taka's interlanguage constructions. The in-depth analysis of this paper, however, will focus on topicalization, which appeared most frequently and therefore, was most characteristic of the informant's interlanguage data. The analysis will be done in terms of transfer from Japanese syntax, more specifically, in terms of the functions of two particles in Japanese, i.e., *wa* and *ga*. For a full account of *wa* vs. *ga* in Japanese, see Kuno (1973, pp. 38-61).

Topicalization Constructions in Taka's Interlanguage: The Japanese "*wa* and *ga* constructions" appeared as transfer in Taka's English interlanguage in the form of three constructions: (a) an NP immediately followed by a present tense copula (i.e., *is, are,* or *am*), (b) constructions equivalent to English left-dislocation constructions with resumptive pronouns, and (c) other topicalization constructions without topic-marking copulas or resumptive pronouns. All of the (a) constructions and most of the (c) constructions are nonnative-like, whereas the (b) structures are native-like. Some of the informant's interlanguage constructions which fall into these categories are presented below as illustrative examples for analysis in terms of the functions of the Japanese particles *wa* and *ga*.

NP + Copula Constructions: One of the notable features of Taka's interlanguage is the nonnative-like use of a present tense copula (i.e., *is, are,* or *am*) immediately after an NP as a topic marker, which is considered to correspond to the Japanese topic-marking particle *wa*.[8] When these *NP + copula* constructions were used in the interview as topicalization ([+TOPIC]) constructions, that is, to present a topic (*wa*

[+topic]) or to show contrast (*wa* [+contrast]), the copula was usually followed by a short pause or a pause filler *ah* (phonetically [ɑ]) and both the topic NP and the topic marker copula were generally pronounced with relatively strong stress. This suggests that his usage of *NP + copula* constructions has an emphatic function. These constructions occurred only in *wa* contexts; never did they appear in *ga* contexts. Further, the topic NPs in these constructions tend to be generic (e.g., *field, straw, cow, Japan*), which also seems consistent with Japanese speakers' interlanguage data provided by previous researchers (e.g., Walters, 1984).

For example, Taka, when asked about the size of rice fields when he was farming in Japan during World War II, answers as follows, using *is* as a topic marker (note that the topic *field* is old information and the comment *not big* provides new information):

1. I: How big a field?
   T:We—ll <u>field is</u> ah not big. Each farmer about - about - oh *dono* (= every) farmer about ah about two acres.

In the following utterances the learner presents *Japan* as a topic which is followed by the topic marker copula *is*, and then uses *now is* to contrast the present time and those days with regard to technological development:

2. <u>Japan is</u> ah <u>now - now is</u> ah rich country in the world, but them days, oh, can't afford for no machine nothing.

In the following example, Taka begins his answer with *straw is* when asked what he used to do with rice straws after threshing them up in Japan during World War II:

3. <u>Straw is</u> ah - <u>straw is</u> keep for a fertilizer.

Furthermore, in the example below, he uses *this is* to explain further the rainy season in Japan:

4. Start May, June, about two month day and night, raining day and night. <u>This is</u> rice need lots of water.

Generally the informant's use of *this is* and *that is*, which occurred

more frequently,[9] was for additional explanations of what he had just said. This can be considered to occur as a result of transfer from topicalization involving demonstrative pronouns such as *kore* "this," *sore* "it," and *are* "that" in Japanese.

Left-dislocation Constructions: Another noticeable feature of Taka's interlanguage is his native-like use of left-dislocation clauses, which are topicalization constructions with sentence-initial topics and resumptive pronouns (cf. Radford, 1988, pp. 530-533). The left-dislocations appeared dominantly in *wa* contexts; however, unlike the *NP + copula* constructions, they also appeared in *ga* [+exhaustive] as well as *ga* [+descriptive] contexts although only in a couple of cases.[10] Each clause-initial left-dislocated NP was usually followed by a short pause so as to be distinguished from the comment portion.

In the example given below, Taka first confirms that the interviewer knows *Dr. Seto*. He then presents it as a topic (which is now old information) and makes a comment about that topic (which is new information) in the left-dislocation clause with the resumptive pronoun *he* as its subject:

5. T: You know Dr. Seto?
   I: Yes.
   T: Dr. Seto, he know very well my friend Suzuki, Bob Suzuki.

The following left-dislocation clause has the resumptive pronoun *it* as its object. It also corresponds to the *wa* [+topic] construction in Japanese:

6. So Japanese book, mostly I read it many many over.

In the following case, the left-dislocated topic NP has the feature [+contrast]; the learner is comparing teaching of English by Japanese-born Japanese with that by American-born Japanese as to its effectiveness:

7. But Japanese-born Japanese-born Japanese teach for English, that's pretty difficulty.

Other Topicalization Constructions: The informant's other topicali-

zation constructions appeared in the form of "topic + comment" structures without a topic marker copula or a resumptive pronoun.

Examples of the learner's use of such topic-comment constructions which correspond to the *wa* ([+topic] or [+contrast]) constructions in Japanese are listed below: [11]

8. Northridge College, vice president is Japanese.

9. And Sundays, service.

10. Japanese nappa, seed up. But ah tomato cucumber, buy nurseries.

Summary of Taka's Use of Topicalization Constructions: In summary, the three types of constructions the learner employed for topicalization in his English interlanguage are the following: (a) use of a copula [+present] as a topic marker immediately after an NP, (b) left-dislocation clauses with resumptive pronouns, and (c) other topic-comment constructions without topic marker copulas or resumptive pronouns. Of these, his nonnative-like use of a copula as a topic marker is especially interesting. The fact that only the present tense copula is selected for marking the topic could be attributed to its simplicity, frequency, and acquisition order, that is, copulas are generally acquired early (cf. Andersen, 1978). Or at least it suggests that the present tense copula is perceptually close to the Japanese topic marker *wa*. As suggested above, one possible answer to the question of when such *NP + copula* constructions, instead of other topicalizations, are used is that they are employed for emphasis and with generic NPs. However, to what extent these features are shared with other Japanese speakers' English interlanguage and to what extent they are idiosyncratic to this single learner should be examined further.

It seems evident that the informant has in his mind the particles, especially *wa*, which dominate the basic structures of modern Japanese. There are even three cases where the particle *wa* appeared in his interlanguage as topic markers, further evidence of transfer from Japanese syntax in Taka's interlanguage. For example:

11. And Japan car *wa* after - after came to the California.

Other Characteristic Features in Taka's Interlanguage: Some of the other notable features in the informant's English interlanguage are given below with brief explanations.

Ellipsis of Subjects: Taka deleted subject pronouns, especially first-person pronouns (i.e., *I* and *we*) and meaningless formal *it* in some contexts. This phenomenon could also be explained in terms of transfer from the pro-drop characteristics of Japanese, in which subjects do not have to be repeated provided that they are recoverable from the discourse context (cf. Hinds, 1983, pp. 49-50; Kuno, 1978, pp. 103-123). Examples of such subject deletion are listed below:

12. Have to buy big big store in Los Angeles.
13. First come in America, anti-Japanese movement too pretty strong.
14. Can't buy for land. Can't buy for house.

Transfer from Japanese Word Order: One aspect of Taka's interlanguage which has exhibited transfer from Japanese word order is the predominant use of time expressions before verbs and at clause-initial positions. Examples of his preverbal use of time adverbials follow:

15. But most of them two month grow this high.
16. Yeah five month grow up.

Others: Other characteristic features observed in Taka's interlanguage include frequent use of *you know* at clause-final positions, *thatsa* as pause fillers and *yeah/yes* in response to the interviewer's backchannel signals, frequent use of coordinating conjunction (*and/but*) constructions, and use of *alright* at clause-final positions as an indicator of affirmation of the clause.

4. Conclusion

This article has examined the English interlanguage of the native Japanese speaker Taka from three perspectives: (a) negation, (b) time reference, and (c) topicalization. Normative and quantitative analyses were done with his interlanguage negation, which have placed this learner in the mid mesolang range of Stauble's (1984) Japanese-English negation continuum. Qualitative analysis of time reference has

shown that this mid-mesolang speaker, as has been demonstrated by previous studies with basilang speakers (e.g., Schumann, 1987), relies primarily on pragmatic devices such as time adverbials (e.g., *now*) and implicit reference to be inferred from the discourse context in expressing temporality rather than accomplishing temporal marking by verb phrase morphology. The learner's interlanguage topicalizations, which have been argued to occur as a result of transfer from the "*wa* constructions" in the Japanese language, took the form of three major syntactic constructions: (a) *NP + copula* constructions, (b) left-dislocation clauses, and (c) other "topic + comment" constructions with no copulas being supplied between the topic and the comment portions or without resumptive pronouns. While his use of topicalization constructions has been illustrated with examples from the data, in what contexts or situations a specific type of topicalization is selected to be used, and to what extent these features are generalizable to other Japanese speakers' English interlanguage merit further investigation.

In sum, the findings of the present case study suggest that the two major forces which have guided this Japanese speaker in constructing his English interlanguage system as an *issei* Japanese American are native language transfer and simplification (cf. Andersen, 1983a, 1989; Schumann, 1982). The dominant force of L1 transfer can be best seen in his use of topicalization constructions which reflect high-frequency occurrence of the "*wa* constructions" in Japanese. Simplification in terms of the fully-developed adult native English can be best exemplified by his reliance on pragmatic devices (i.e., time adverbials and discourse context) in the absence of verb phrase morphology to express temporality in the interlanguage discourse. Interestingly and importantly, however, such simplification has been observed effective as well as efficient enough not to interfere with communication at all.

Afterword: Taka as a Gardener

Oh yes. Hard work, but good—very good for health. Outside, fresh airs you know. And then work only kind in- indepen- independent like you know. Some—some owners says "want to

do that. Do this. Do this home. Take some of 'em." They are watching pretty close you know. Open the window like that, watching. That's no good. Mostly womans do that stuff. Yeah yeah. But ah mostly maybe watch—watch us for ah first—first of one or two month. They know—they know how I'm—I'm working. They trust once, they don't see much. Yeah yeah. I think a pretty good job though. Garderner. But nowadays all Mexican take Japanese—fellow Japanese. Used to be Japanese. Whole ninety percent Japanese gardener. But now—now I think about— Japanese getting old you know. And young Japanese like you ah, more study, more education, get more high job. And after—after us, Mexican take us—take Japanese job. Nowaday yes.

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Notes

[1]The Japanese who immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1900s are usually called *issei* (first-generation) Japanese Americans. Like most *issei* Japanese, the informant Taka emigrated to the U.S. to join his pioneer parents (this is what they call *yobiyose*). He reports that in the course of acquiring L2 English through interacting with native speakers, he experienced great hardship, especially in the midst of anti-Japanese movements and racism prevalent on the mainland (cf. Takaki, 1989). Most of the *issei* Japanese are presently in their mid- or late-eighties or early nineties. The less acculturated Japanese have had contact only with other Japanese living within a Japanese community and therefore can speak very little English (for example, Taka's 85-year-old wife speaks almost no English).

[2]A clause consists of a main verb (with or without any auxiliary) and elements that logically relate to it (e.g., subject, object, time adverbial). A clause fragment is defined as an independent clause-like construction which contains fewer than the total number of elements normally found in a clause, usually because of ellipsis. The transcription

of Taka's interlanguage talk during the 95-minute interview contained a total of 1,693 such basic units.

[3]In coding double negative constructions (e.g., we don't have no fertilizer), which are a norm among working-class people (Andersen, personal communication), each of the propositional negations (e.g., *don't*) and the negative quantifiers (e.g., *no fertilizer*) were coded individually.

[4]The *anterior* (anterior to the time of speaking) reference generally refers to *past* time reference, whereas the *nonanterior* reference includes *present, future, irrealis* (i.e., situations or events that have no real time reference because they have not been realized) and *generic* (i.e., segments of discourse that are essentially timeless and true at any time, whether in an anterior time frame or a current one) (Andersen, 1990, pp. 65-66).

[5]RQ2a is phrased in terms of native speakers' norm, whereas RQ2b is phrased in terms independent (i.e., "autonomous") from the target English norm. Although this paper adopted "normative" instead of "autonomous" analysis of negation, largely because of its convenience, I believe, following Andersen (1983b), that it is best to describe interlanguage in its own terms without forcing it into a target standard English framework. That is, interlanguage of nonnative speakers should be best seen on its own, and should not be treated as "inferior" to standard native English.

[6]The form *don* is used here to refer to an "unanalyzed *don't*," which the learner uses without knowing or analyzing that *don't* consists of "*do + not.*"

[7]In a total of 57 simple verb negation contexts stative verbs (SVs) were negated 75% of the time, whereas action verbs (AVs) were negated 25% of the time. In 5 *no/ not + V* constructions, Taka negated AVs (e.g., *finish, come*) 80% of the time. In 52 *don' t/doesn' t + V* constructions, Taka negated SVs (e.g., *know, have*) 81% of the time. This exhibits the learner's distinct tendency to negate SVs with *don't* and to negate AVs with *no* and *not.*

[8]In the retrospective interview it was confirmed that the informant's use of *NP + copula* is equivalent in meaning to *NP + wa* in Japanese. Also, previous studies report similar results with Japanese speakers of L2 English acquired naturally (see Andersen, 1984, pp. 86-87; Heubner, 1983; Walters, 1984).

[9]In the interview data *that is* and *that is ah* and their contracted forms *that's* and *thatsa* frequently appeared as topicalization constructions or pause fillers or combinations of both (actually in Japanese discourse "demonstrative pronoun (*kore, sore, are*) + *wa*" constructions often have dual functions: as pause fillers and as topics). However, this paper considers only the non-contracted forms as occurrences of topicalization.

[10]The data show that left-dislocation constructions were used to express discourse functions involving three types of information flow: (a) OLD —> NEW for *wa* [+topic]; (b) NEW —> NEW for *ga* [+descriptive]; and (c) NEW —> OLD for *ga* [+exhaustive].

[11]It seems that most of Taka's interlanguage topicalizations of this type have been
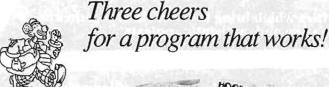
produced as a result of transfer from the "gapless" topic constructions in Japanese, which have been analyzed in some previous studies (e.g., Shibatani, 1990) as involving a "base-generated," not "derived," topic.

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