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Perception of English Passives by Japanese ESL Learners : Do Adversity Passives in L1 Transfer?

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THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Koichi Sawasaki for the Master of Arts in TESOL were presented May 28, 1998, and accepted by the thesis committee and the department.

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Koichi Sawasaki for the Master of Arts in TESOL presented May 28, 1998.

Title: Perception of English Passives by Japanese ESL learners: Do adversity passives in L1 transfer?

The role of the first language (L1) in second language acquisition (SLA) has been disputed among researchers since the classic Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) was proposed. Some recent research shows that similarities between L1 and a second language (L2) can cause negative L1 transfer. Others claim that functional differences between L1 and L2 should play more significant roles for L1 interference.

The purpose of the present study is to examine whether negative L1 transfer would occur when Japanese learning English as a second language (ESL) perceive English passives. Japanese has so-called *adversity passives*, a productive linguistic system of expressing adversity, which makes Japanese different from English both structurally and pragmatically. The influence of L1

due to this difference is examined in terms of the following three aspects: (i) structural L1 interference; (ii) pragmatic L1 interference in be-passives; (iii) pragmatic L1 interference in the be- and get-passive relations.

Thirty adult advanced Japanese ESL learners (JPN group) and 30 adult native speakers of English (AME group) participated in this study by answering a grammaticality judgment test and/or questionnaire for unpleasantness. The data were analyzed using paired t-tests, t-tests, and/or Kruskal-Wallis tests at the significance level of 0.05.

The test results suggested that there are at least some possibilities of structural L1 interference only when the JPN subjects tried to judge the grammaticality of English passives whose passivized verb was transitive. On the other hand, clear evidence of pragmatic L1 interference was observed when the JPN subjects tried to detect sentence connotations of be-passives. However, it was also found that in spite of this L1 interference, the learners can concurrently acquire the proper pragmatic values of be-passives. Another interesting finding was that both JPN and AME subjects, against expectation, tended to regard passives with a human subject as an indicator of adversity.

These findings seem to support the claim that functional differences between L1 and L2 are a significant factor for L1 interference.

PERCEPTION OF ENGLISH PASSIVES
BY JAPANESE ESL LEARNERS:
DO ADVERSITY PASSIVES IN L1 TRANSFER?

by

KOICHI SAWASAKI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to investigate how the first language (L1) plays a role when Japanese people learning English as a second language (ESL) acquire English passives. The role of L1 in second language acquisition (SLA) has been disputed by many researchers over several decades. An extreme view for this is the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH), which claims that the more the second language (L2) is structurally different from L1 the more likely that L1 interferes with the learning process (Lado, 1964). On the other hand, a moderate view shows that the small differences or similarities between the two languages would cause negative L1 transfer (Schachter, 1974; Zobl, 1980b). Yet other researchers argue that functional differences are a more crucial factor for the L1 interference than are structural differences (Long and Sato, 1984; Rutherford, 1983, 1984; Watabe, Brown and Ueta, 1991). In this study, I will examine whether or not the features of Japanese adversity passives interfere with the Japanese ESL learners' perception when they read English passives, due to the structural and pragmatic differences between English and Japanese.

Passives are different both pragmatically and structurally between English and Japanese. According to Siewierska (1984), Japanese productively expresses adversative implications in the passives while English does not have this function as commonly as Japanese does. Such passives are called *adversity passives*. Example (1) below illustrates an adversity passive in Japanese, and shows how Japanese and English passives are pragmatically different.

(1) Active: Gakusee-ga sensee-o mi-ta.

student-SUB teacher-ACC see-PAST

"The student saw the teacher."

Passive: Sensee-ga gakusee-ni mi-rare-ta.

teacher-SUB student-by see-PASS-PAST

Literal meaning (Lit): "The teacher was seen by the student."

Gloss: "The teacher was adversely seen by the student."

The passive in (1) has a negative connotation of the student's seeing the teacher although the active in (1) is neutral. Unlike Japanese, English passives, as in "The teacher was seen by the student," are neutral in their own right. The possible English passive equivalent of (1) would be a get-passive, such as "The teacher got seen by the student," which is likely to imply that an unfortunate event happened to the teacher. However, get-passives,

although similar, are not identical with Japanese adversity passives. For example, Chappell (1980) and Hatcher (1949) claim that get-passives can express not only adversity but also benefit, depending on a context, which is not the case in Japanese.

Japanese adversity passives can also be structurally different from English passives as exemplified in examples (2) and (3).

(2) Taro-ga Mary-ni uta-o utaw-are-ta.

Taro-SUB Mary-by song-ACC sing-PASS-PAST

Lit: "Taro was sung a song by Mary"

Gloss: "Taro was adversely affected by Mary's singing a song."

(3) Taro-ga Mary-ni gakkoo-ni ik-are-ta.

Taro-SUB Mary-by school-to go-PASS-PAST

Lit: "Taro was gone to school by Mary."

Gloss: "Taro was adversely affected by Mary's going to school."

Both (2) and (3) are perfectly grammatical in Japanese, but English does not allow such sentence structures. The structure of (2) is ungrammatical in English because the passive preserves the direct object *song*. The structure of (3) is ungrammatical because an intransitive verb *go* is passivized.

Passives such as (2) and (3) are structurally called *indirect passives*, and

passives such as (1) are structurally called *direct passives*. Almost all the indirect passives are adversity passives, and many of the direct passives function as adversity passives in Japanese.

Different definitions for adversity passives have been proposed by several researchers. However, their basic features can be summarized as follows: (i) the same adversative implications are not present in an active voice, and (ii) the sentence subject is usually a human or at least higher animate.

These structural and pragmatic differences of the passives and their influence on SLA by Japanese ESL learners have been studied by Shimonishi (1977) and Watabe et al. (1991). Watabe et al. do not find any statistically significant evidence of negative L1 transfer when Japanese ESL learners produce passives. Shimonishi also shows that adversative implications are not prominently detected by Japanese ESL learners when they read English passives.

However, their research designs give rise to a few questions which need further investigation. First, it is not clear whether or not the learners correctly understand that some Japanese passives are structurally different from English passives because the learners' grammatical ability for the English passives is not tested in either of the studies. Second, a paragraph containing a passive is used in Shimonishi's study when the learners are asked if there is any adversative implication in a passive. This makes it unclear whether the

learners interpreted the passive from the passive in question alone or from the contextual information of the paragraph. Third, no studies examine how the learners would treat get-passives (adversative passives) in comparison with be-passives (non-adversative passives).

Motivated by these questions, this study tries to reveal how, in decontextualized circumstances, Japanese ESL learners would perceive English passives in terms of grammaticality and adversative implications. From this point of view, I will examine the question of whether or not the structural and pragmatic differences between English and Japanese passives may cause L1 transfer. In the rest of this study, L1 interference due to adversative features of Japanese passives refers specifically to the interference in terms of perception, rather than production, unless otherwise mentioned. Moreover, in discussing passives, I will only focus on the morphologically marked passives. Thus, so-called English middle passives such as "This book reads well" will be excluded from this study.

Research Hypotheses

To examine if the differences between English and Japanese passives will influence Japanese ESL learners' perception, the following three sets of hypotheses are proposed. The null hypotheses (H_0) in the following sets hypothesize that Japanese ESL learners would perceive English passives in

the same way as native English speakers do. The alternative hypotheses (H_1) hypothesize that Japanese ESL learners would interpret English passives differently from native English speakers using their L1 knowledge. The acceptance of each H_1 (or the rejection of each H_0) would yield evidence that L1 features of adversity passives interfere with the learners' perception when Japanese acquire English, due to the structural and/or pragmatic differences between English and Japanese passives.

Hypothesis 1: Structural L1 interference.

H_0 : Japanese ESL learners will judge the grammaticality of English passives based on the L2 rules.

H_1 : Japanese ESL learners will tend to judge the grammaticality of English passives based on the L1 rules.

As aforementioned, Japanese has two structurally different adversity passives, the direct and indirect passives, as shown in (1) to (3) above, while English has only a direct passive type. This H_1 will be accepted if Japanese ESL learners tend to judge sentences such as (4) and (5) to be grammatical.

(4) *The policeman was suddenly run away by a suspect.

(An intransitive verb is passivized.)

(5) *I was used my brand-new camera by my mother.

(A direct object of a transitive verb is preserved.)

Hypothesis 2: Pragmatic L1 interference in be-passives.

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will interpret be-passives neutrally.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive negative implications in be-passives. Also, Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive be-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

As stated earlier, English be-passives do not imply adversity. This H₁ will thus be accepted if Japanese ESL learners tend to detect unpleasant feelings from be-passives such as (6) below more than native English speakers do. In addition, because Japanese adversity passives usually have a human or at least higher animate subject, the H₁ will further be accepted if Japanese ESL learners tend to detect unpleasant feelings from sentences such as (6) more than from sentences such as (7).

(6) Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class.

(7) That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom.

Hypothesis 3: Pragmatic L1 interference in the be- and get-passive

relations.

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will differentiate be- and get-passives; i.e., they will perceive negative implications only in get-passives.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will not differentiate be- and get-passives; i.e., they will tend to perceive negative implications both in be- and get-passives. Also, they will tend to interpret both be- and get-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

As aforementioned, only get-passives imply adversative implications in English passives. This H₁ will thus be accepted if Japanese ESL learners tend to detect unpleasant feelings from both sentences such as (8) and (9) below. In addition, this H₁ will further be accepted if Japanese ESL learners tend to detect unpleasant feelings from sentences containing a human subject such as (8) and (9) more than from sentences containing an inanimate subject such as (10) and (11), whether they are be-passives or get-passives.

- (8) Jane will be moved to the accounting section by her manager.
- (9) Jane will get moved to the accounting section by her manager.
- (10) A big shelf will be moved to the accounting section.
- (11) A big shelf will get moved to the accounting section.

To examine these hypotheses, a grammaticality judgment test and a questionnaire for unpleasantness will be administered to Japanese ESL learners and to native speakers of English. These will be discussed extensively in later chapters.

Definition of Terms

The following is the basic terminology which will be used in this thesis. More on these will be explained in chapter two. See the list of abbreviation (Appendix A) for the abbreviations used in this study.

Adversity passives: A type of passive defined in terms of its pragmatic function. In adversity passives, implications of adversity are regularly added onto the literal meaning of the sentence, but the same implications are absent when the sentence is converted into an active voice. English get-passives are examples of this, but they are more prominently observed in Japanese and many other Asian languages (Davies, 1995; Siewierska, 1984).

There are some discrepancies in the terminology referring to adversity passives in Japanese. Kuno (1973) and Watabe, et al. (1991), for example, call them "adversity passives," but they are also called "adversative passives" (Jordan, 1990; Shibatani, 1990), or "instrumental passives" (Monane, 1985). In this study, I will use the term "adversity passives."

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH): A theory of second language acquisition. CAH claims that the greater the differences between L1 and L2 are the harder it is to learn L2 because L2 learners need to practice unfamiliar patterns for their mastery.

Direct passives: A type of passive defined in terms of its structure. The subject of a direct passive becomes an internal argument (e.g., an object of a verb) in a corresponding active sentence. English passives are only this type. Japanese also has this type as well as indirect passives, and adversity implications are likely to be expressed when a subject is higher animate.

Indirect passives: A type of passive defined in terms of its structure. The subject of an indirect passive is an extra argument which is not found in its corresponding active sentence. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be passivized in this way. The extra argument must be higher animate, and the sentence almost always carries adversative implications. Japanese has this type while English does not. As are adversity passives, indirect passives are most prominently observed in Asian languages (Siewierska, 1984).

Interlanguage (IL): A language of second language learners. It is suggested as a developmental continuum between the learners' first language and second language. Interlanguage is said to be a systematic language in its own right, rather than merely erroneous production of the target language. (See Selinker, 1971.)

L1 interference: A synonym of negative L1 transfer. (See L1 transfer.)

L1 transfer: Influence of learners' first language in the process of second language acquisition. There are two kinds of L1 transfers: positive L1 transfer and negative L1 transfer. In positive L1 transfer, features of the learners' first language are reflected on their interlanguage in appropriate ways. In negative L1 transfer, the features are reflected in inappropriate ways. The term of negative L1 transfer is used interchangeably with L1 interference.

Subject-prominent languages and topic prominent languages:

According to Li and Thompson (1974), subject-prominent languages are the ones such as English and the other Indo-European languages, which have relatively rigid grammatical relations and constraints between a subject and verb. Topic-prominent languages are the ones such as Chinese, which have relatively loose grammatical relation between a subject and verb. Instead, they show stronger relations and constraints between a topic and its comment in a sentence. Japanese is placed in a third type, which is both topic- and subject-prominent.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In discussing the relationship between Japanese adversity passives and their influence on Japanese ESL learners' perception, it will be necessary to start with comparing the English and Japanese passives. This chapter thus first presents the similarities and differences of the passives in the two languages in terms of structure and pragmatic features. It then shows how these differences and similarities might influence SLA.

English Passives and Japanese Passives: Structural Comparison

Direct passives. Passives in English are basically characterized by the structure of *be/get/become + V -en* (Jespersen, 1964). Thus:

(12) Active: Mary ate sushi.

Passive: Sushi was eaten by Mary.

In Japanese, the canonical word order is SOV, and the passive structure is morphologically marked by a verbal suffix *-(r)are*. Also, each NP

is followed by an appropriate post-positional case particle (e.g., *ga* for subject, *o* for object, and *ni* for instrument). Thus:

(13) Active: Mary-ga sushi-o tabe-ta.

Mary-SUB sushi-ACC eat-PAST

"Mary ate sushi."

Passive: Sushi-ga Mary-ni tabe-rare-ta.

sushi-SUB Mary-by eat-PASS-PAST

"Sushi was eaten by Mary."

The passive in (13) seems to have a structure similar to the English passive in (12). Both passives can be rewritten in an active sentence without changing its literal meaning, and such a passive structure is called direct passive.

Indirect passives. Besides direct passives, Japanese has another common type of passive construction which is not found in English. This type is called indirect passive as opposed to direct passives (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard, 1976; Kuno, 1973, 1983; Siewierska, 1984; Shibatani, 1990). In indirect passives, a direct object of a transitive verb remains as an object, instead of changing into a sentence subject such as *sushi* in (14a) below. Also, an intransitive verb such as *cry* can be passivized as illustrated in (15a) below. Moreover, indirect passives almost always acquire an adversative

implication which is not found in their active sentence.

(14a) Mike-ga Mary-ni sushi-o tabe-rare-ta.

Mike-SUB Mary-by sushi-ACC eat-PASS-PAST

Lit: "Mike was eaten sushi by Mary."

Gloss: "Mike was adversely affected by Mary's eating sushi."

(15a) Mike-ga Mary-ni nak-are-ta.

Mike-SUB Mary-by cry-PASS-PAST

Lit: "Mike was cried by Mary."

Gloss: "Mike was adversely affected by Mary's crying."

Kuno (1973) and Shibatani (1990) claim that the basic feature of indirect passives is their extra noun phrase in the subject position which is not present in the active sentence. That is, indirect passives have no synonymous active sentence unlike Japanese direct passives and English passives. For example, the active counterparts of (14a) and (15a) would be (14b) and (15b) below, respectively, but *Mike*, which is a subject of the passive sentences, cannot be filled in at any position.

(14b) Mary-ga sushi-o tabe-ta.

Mary-SUB sushi-ACC eat-PAST

"Mary ate sushi."

(15b) Mary-ga nai-ta.

Mary-SUB cry-PAST

"Mary cried."

The sentences become ungrammatical if they have *Mike* as a predicate argument, as illustrated in (14c) and (15c).

(14c) *Mary-ga sushi-o Mike-o/ni tabe-ta.

Mary-SUB sushi-ACC Mike-ACC/DAT eat-PAST

(15c) *Mary-ga Mike-o/ni nai-ta.

Mary-SUB Mike-ACC/DAT cry-PAST

According to Miyagawa (1989), the extra NP (Mike) is given an experiencer role by the passive morpheme *-(r)are*, and no predicate in the active sentence assigns it a role.

Indirect passives are often found in Asian languages such as Japanese, Vietnamese, and Thai (Davies, 1995; Shibatani, 1990; Siewierska, 1984; Thepkanjana, 1986), but they simply do not exist in English.

English and Japanese Passives: Pragmatic Comparison

Non-adversity passives. Siewierska (1984) claims that the major functions of English passives are topicalization and impersonalization.

Topicalization in passives is observed when "(t)he subject/agent argument of the active sentence ceases to be the *topic*, and a non-agent argument of the active then assumes, by whatever means, the clausal-topic function" (Givón, 1984, p.168). According to Siewierska, a topic constituent is unmarked, old information in the discourse which is mutually understood, and such unmarked information tends to precede marked, new information in a sentence structure. Thus, if a non-agent NP needs to be topicalized in English, one good way to do so is to place it in the sentence initial position as a subject by passivization as shown in (16) below.

- (16) George Forman beat Joe Frazier, but he was beaten by Muhammad Ali. (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983, p. 228)

Impersonalization in passives is observed when "(t)he identity of the subject/agent of the active is suppressed, by whatever means" (Givón, 1985, p.168). The subject tends to be suppressed when it is irrelevant, unknown, or the speaker wishes to avoid a subjective statement (Jespersen, 1964; Siewierska, 1984), as illustrated in (17) and (18) below.

- (17) Oranges are grown in California.

- (18) It is assumed/believed that he will announce his candidacy soon.

(Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983, p. 228)

Due to their objective implication, passives of this type are employed prominently in science writing and journalistic writing (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983; Shibatani, 1985).

Japanese passives also carry a function of impersonalization as shown in examples (19) and (20).

(19) Sono wakai heetai-wa senzyoo-de ut-are-ta.

that young soldier-TOP battlefield-at shoot-PASS-PAST

"That young soldier was shot on the battlefield."

(20) Koyama-san-wa gooman da to omow-are-te imasu.

Koyama-Mr/Ms.-TOP arrogant is COMP think-PASS-GER is

"Mr/Ms. Koyama is thought to be arrogant."

(Monane, 1985, p.102, translation by the author)

As in English, this type of passive is also heavily used in non-personal writing such as newspapers and textbooks (Kokuritu Kokugo Kenkyusyo, 1978; Shibatani, 1985).

Topicalization in Japanese passives is not as significant as in English, however. In Japanese, sentences are not constrained by morphological subject-predicate agreement rules as in English. Instead, they form a strong topic-comment structure, which allows an entity in a sentence to be freely topicalized without relying on a passivization strategy (Li and Thompson,

1976). As illustrated in (21a) to (21c) below, a sentence topic is usually placed sentence-initially with the topic particle *wa*. Moreover, the mutually understood entity (including the topic) is often deleted unless the speaker feels it is necessary to repeat it (Li and Thompson; Jorden, 1987). Thus, it is sometimes not possible to detect an actual grammatical relation in a sentence without contextual information. For example, (21c) is ambiguous in that the subject can be either Japanese or fish depending on context.

(21a) Kono sakana-wa plankton-o yoku tabe-ru.

this fish-TOP plankton-ACC a lot eat-PRES

"Speaking of this fish, it eats plankton a lot."

(21b) Kono sakana-wa nihonjin-ga yoku tabe-ru.

this fish-TOP Japanese-SUB a lot eat-PRES

"Speaking of this fish, Japanese eat it a lot."

(21c) Kono sakana-wa yoku tabe-ru.

this fish-TOP a lot eat-PRES

"Speaking of this fish, it eats (plankton) a lot," or

"Speaking of this fish, (Japanese) eat it a lot."

Although it is possible to passivize (21), the above topicalization strategy is so frequently employed in Japanese that passivization tends to be used instead for other purposes (Li and Thompson; Watabe, Brown, and Ueta, 1991).

Adversity passives in Japanese. It was stated earlier that Japanese indirect passives almost always carry implications of adversity as examples (14) and (15), repeated below as (22) and (23) show.

(22) Mike-ga Mary-ni sushi-o tabe-rare-ta.

"Mike was adversely affected by Mary's eating sushi."

(23) Mike-ga Mary-ni nak-are-ta.

"Mike was adversely affected by Mary's crying."

There are other infrequent cases, as (24), in which indirect passives can carry beneficial implications instead of adversity.

(24) Taro-ga sensee-ni musuko-o home-rare-ta.

Taro-SUB teacher-by son-ACC praise-PASS-PAST

"Taro had his son praised by his teacher."

Tsujimura (1996) claims that (24) expresses the strong positive, beneficial effect on Taro of the teacher's praising his son. However, most linguists agree that indirect passives basically indicate an adversative reading because adversity is always expressed when the literal meaning of the sentence is neutral.

An explanation for the origin of the adversative implications of

Japanese passives is offered by Shibatani (1985). He suggests that the adversity is the result of a sentence subject being strongly affected. According to him, a subject of a passive sentence is affected because of its patienthood and also because of its position as the subject, which acquires the highest focus in a sentence. He notes, "the affectedness of the patient subject in a passive is more pronounced than the patient object of an active sentence" (p. 841). He further speculates that the affectedness of the subject has directed passives of some languages to develop into a more specific pragmatic function, which is one of adversity.

Indirect passives are not the only passives in Japanese which carry adversity. Some direct passives can also carry an adversative implication. As example (25) and (26) show, they are direct passives which imply adversity.

(25) Randy-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta.

Randy-SUB personnel section-to transfer-PASS-PAST

"Randy was adversely transferred to the personnel section."

(26) Koichi-ga ie-ni kaes-are-ta.

Koichi-SUB home-to return-PASS-PAST

"Koichi was adversely returned to his home."

(Examples were taken based on Howard and Niyekawa-Howard, 1976)

There is no completely agreed-upon condition among scholars as to

precisely when direct passives in Japanese convey adversative implications. Shibatani (1990), for example, argues that the implications of adversity tend to be created with a group of verbs which express less physical impingement associated with the subject (e.g., *see*, *admire*, and *like*). In contrast, he claims that a group of verbs which express stronger physical impingement associated with the subject (e.g., *kill*, *break*, and *hit*) is less likely to imply adversity through a passive structure in their own right.

A different argument, proposed by Kuno (1983), is that adversity is implied when a subject of the passive sentence is not directly affected by the verb. For example, he claims that (27) is an example of adversity passive because Mike's action (i.e., to enter PSU) does not directly affect PSU.

(27) PSU-ga Mike-ni nyuugakus-are-ta. (Adversity passive)

PSU-SUB Mike-by enter-PASS-PAST

Lit: "PSU was entered by Mike."

Gloss: "PSU was adversely affected by Mike's entering the school."

On the other hand, (28) and (29) are non-adversity passives because in them it is highly possible that Taro is directly affected by Mike's action (i.e., to admire Taro and to kill Taro).

(28) Taro-ga Mike-ni sonkees-are-ta. (Non-adversity passive)

Taro-SUB Mike-by admire-PASS-PAST

"Taro was admired by Mike."

(29) Taro-ga Mike-ni koros-are-ta. (Non-adversity passive)

Taro-SUB Mike-by kill-PASS-PAST

"Taro was killed by Mike."

Kuno further claims that this same argument is analogous to the condition of English passives that a verb can be passivized only when the passive subject is directly affected by the verb. For instance, "Taro was admired by Mike" is acceptable in English while "PSU was entered by Mike" is anomalous. Thus, he argues that when a subject lacks direct affectedness in relation with its verb, the sentence then tries to compensate for the missing affectedness by adding the adversative implication.

The explanations by Kuno (1983) and Shibatani (1990) have some problems, however. For example, Kuno's argument cannot explain why the earlier examples (25) and (26) are adversity passives. If Kuno is right, (25) and (26) should probably be non-adversative because both *transfer* and *return* seem to directly affect their subjects, *Randy* and *Koichi*. Moreover, Kuno and Shibatani offer contradictory examples. In Shibatani's view, verbs such as *like* and *admire* form an adversity passive, but the same verbs derive

a non-adversity passive in Kuno's view.

These problems are probably inevitable because the definitions of "physical impingement" by Shibatani and "direct affectedness" by Kuno are vague in nature. Therefore, a claim agreed on by many scholars is a more general condition. That is, direct passives are most likely to (but do not always) have an adversative reading when they have a human or at least higher animate subject (Kuno, 1973, 1976; Howard & Niyekawa-Howard, 1976; Shibatani, 1990; Tateishi, 1994). Example (30) below illustrates that adversity is lacking when the subject is inanimate (i.e., *this document*), and adversity is implied when the subject is human (i.e., *Randy*).

(30a) Randy-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta. (Adversity passive)

"Randy was adversely transferred to the personnel section."

(30b) Kono syorui-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta. (Non-adversity passive)

"This document was transferred to the personnel section."

In classical Japanese, passives were in many cases used with feelings of adversity, and inanimate subjects were rarely found in passives (The Japan Foundation, 1978; Komai and Rohlich, 1991). Although this is no longer true in modern Japanese due to the widespread influence of the translation from European languages, whether or not the subject is human still seems to be a valid condition for adversity passives in many instances.

Adversity passives in English. Several researchers have pointed out that English passives are likely to express adversity with get-passive constructions whereas there are no such implications with the use of be-passives. Lakoff (1971), for example, states that get-passives in English are reminiscent of the use of Japanese adversity passives.

The *get* in get-passives basically functions to emphasize a resulting state (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik, 1972), or an actional feature (Stein, 1979), of an event, whereas *be* in be-passives is rather neutral and stative. Thus, stative verbs such as *love*, *consider*, and *resemble* are not appropriate for get-passives (Chappell, 1980; Stein, 1979).

Lakoff (1971), in addition to these characteristics, claims that get-passives are frequently used "to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events described in the sentence" (p. 154). Hatcher (1949) observes that sentences such as (31) and (32) below hold undesirable implications of the action caused by "the subject's responsibility."

(31) Mike got left behind.

(32) Jeff got found out.

She further notes:

. . . it is apt to be the result, to some degree, of his carelessness (if not of actual misbehavior); and we tend to feel that such accidents might have been avoided, with greater foresight or virtue on the part of the subject. (p. 437)

Chappell (1980), agreeing with Hatcher, claims that this implication allows "the speaker to make an inference of a negative nature about the subject" (p. 430). She also shows that the same statement has different implications depending on whether a be-passive or get-passive could be used, as exemplified in (33).

(33) Christ was/got crucified.

(Chappell, p. 426)

According to Chappell, *was* is most likely to be used if the speaker feels that the crucifixion was predestined and there was no other choice. On the other hand, *got* is most likely to be used if the speaker feels that Christ could have prevented the crucifixion for some reason. With the same reason, Chappell further argues that a get-passive becomes less appropriate if a subject is an innocent victim, even when the sentence in question expresses an adversative instance, as in (34).

- (34) Half the population of Kampuchea was/?got systematically annihilated under the Pol pot regime. (p. 425)

It should be noted that this "subject's responsibility" is not necessarily detected from Japanese adversity passives. For example, the earlier example (30a), repeated here as (35), carries an adversative feeling whether or not Randy could have prevented being transferred to the personnel section.

- (35) Randy-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta. (Adversity passive)

"Randy was adversely transferred to the personnel section."

Get-passives with an inanimate subject could also have an adversative connotation, but in this case they should be used "when it is clear *who* is affected by this state of affairs" (Chappell, 1980, p.440).

- (36) Three telephone boxes got smashed up outside that post office.

(p. 442)

Chappell claims that the adversely affected entity in (36) is not the three telephone boxes but rather the people responsible for this incident, who are most likely to be telephone company personnel. The sentence thus becomes anomalous when the responsible individual is not detected from context, as

illustrated in (37) below.

(37) A proposal was/?got rejected.

Sussex (1982), on the other hand, argues that the adversity get-passives with inanimate subject tend to become more marginal when the sentence is shorter and simpler. For example, (38b) is more acceptable than (38a).

(38a) Jane's bike got stolen.

(38b) Jane's bike got stolen by some louts on Saturday night. (Sussex, p. 91)

These examples may suggest that adversity get-passives with an inanimate subject are less likely to occur, and that if they occur they tend to need contextual information to support their adversity.

It should be pointed out, however, that get-passives do not always represent adversity. As stated earlier, get-passives are frequently used to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events (Lakoff, 1972), and this attitude can also be accompanied with a positive feeling as well as a negative one. Get-passives are thus frequently used to express benefit as in (39).

(39) Mary got admitted to a ph.D program!

Moreover, Chappell (1980) and Hatcher (1949) claim that get-passives in fact can equally express fortunate and unfortunate implications. For example, a statement such as (40) can be either a positive or negative incident.

(40) Jane got photographed dancing with Prince Charles. (Chappell, p. 444)

Chappell hence concludes that "it does not depend on the meaning of a particular passive verb, whether a get-passive is interpreted as 'beneficial' or

Table 1

Brief Comparison of Adversity Passives

Structure	
English	Direct passives: S + be/get + V-ed + by-NP (transitive verb) Indirect passives: N/A
Japanese	Direct passives: S + NP-ni + V-(r)are (transitive verb) Indirect passives: S + O + NP-ni + V-(r)are (transitive verb) S + NP-ni + V-(r)are (intransitive verb)
Adversity passives and their conditions	
English	Some get-passives (colloquial): - They can also express benefit. - They take an actional verb and often a human subject. - The subject's responsibility is emphasized.
Japanese	Some direct passives: - They mostly take a human subject. Indirect passives: - They are almost always adversity passives.

'adversative'" (p. 444), but rather that the actual implication is determined by context and speaker's intentions.

Finally, get-passives are restricted in their use regardless of adversity because they are generally regarded as colloquial and avoided in formal style (Quirk et al., 1972). Sussex (1982) reports that get-passives are less frequently used in England than in Australia, and they are not as commonly used in Australia as are used in North America.

In summation, Table 1 above shows a brief comparison of adversity passives between English and Japanese.

The Role of the First Language (L1) in Second Language (L2) Learning

As has been discussed, both English and Japanese have adversative functions in their passives, but the Japanese adversity passives cover a broader range in their structure and use. This difference then calls to question whether or not these adversative features in Japanese passives influence interlanguage (IL) when Japanese learn English as a second language (ESL).

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH). The role of L1 has been disputed by many researchers. Lado (1964) argues that the greater the differences between L1 and L2 are the harder it is to learn L2. His claim has developed into the theory of CAH, which tries to predict when L1 interference will occur or will not occur in terms of the structural differences and similarities between L1 and L2.

This view, however, has been attacked by frequent criticism. Gillis and Weber (1976) and Whiteman and Jackson (1972) find no clear evidence of L1 interference by Japanese ESL learners in spite of the L1 and L2 differences (e.g., negatives and interrogatives). Other studies claim that there are more crucial factors than L1 and L2 differences, such as Chomsky's Universal Grammar (Hornstein and Lightfoot, 1981), typological markedness (Eckman, 1977) and the general rules for acquisition (Zobl, 1980a).

Thus, CAH today is mostly used to explain some IL errors made by L2 learners rather than to predict the IL errors or interference (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991; Wardhough, 1970).

L1 interference due to the L1 and L2 similarities. There is some research showing that the similarities between L1 and L2 could cause difficulties in second language acquisition (SLA). Wode (1978) claims that "(o)nly if L1 and L2 have structures meeting a crucial similarity measure, will there be interference, i.e., reliance on prior L1 knowledge" (p. 116).

Ervin-Tripp (1974) reports that English speaking children learning French produce sentences such as "*Je vois elle (I see her)," instead of inverting the pronoun and main verb; i.e., "Je la vois (I her see)," or possibly, "*Je elle vois." Zobl (1980b), taking this example, suggests that the English speaking learners adapt the English SVO word order due to the similarities shared by the two languages.

Schachter (1974) also observes similar effects of L1 on L2 by

comparing relative clauses produced by Persian, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese ESL learners. The relative clauses in Chinese and Japanese differ structurally from English because they are placed before the relativized noun. The relative clauses in Persian and Arabic are similar with English in that they are placed after the relativized noun, but they are different from English in that they have pronominal reflexes (e.g., the book which I read it). The results show that the Persian and Arabic groups have created many more relative clauses than the Chinese and Japanese groups have. However, due to the use of pronominal reflexes by Persian and Arabics, these clauses contain more errors. From these results, she argues that the Japanese and Chinese have not produced many relative clauses because they have avoided using them. The same has not happened to the Persian and Arabic, but they have instead made errors by overgeneralizing their L1 rules in English. Schachter thus concludes:

If the constructions are similar in the learner's mind, he will transfer his native language. If they are radically different, he will either reject the new construction or use it only with extreme caution. (p. 212)

L1 interference due to the functional L1 and L2 differences. While CAH emphasizes the differences and similarities in syntax, there is a view claiming that functional differences such as semantics, pragmatics, and

discourse, would more significantly influence SLA (Long and Sato, 1984; Rutherford, 1983, 1984; Watabe et al., 1991).

One such example is typological transfer between subject-prominent and topic-prominent languages. According to Li and Thompson (1976), languages such as English and other Indo-European languages are strong subject-prominent languages, where the subject plays a more significant role than the topic in a sentence in terms of subject-predicate relation. On the other hand, in comparison to English, Japanese is a rather topic-prominent language, where the discourse topic plays a more significant role than the subject in a sentence in terms of topic-comment relation.

Studies show that Japanese ESL learners tend to overmark a topic when writing in English (e.g., Sasaki, 1990; Sawasaki, 1996; Schachter and Rutherford, 1979; Yip and Matthews, 1995). Well-known examples of this are the excessive use of malformed passives and extraposed constructions by Japanese. Sentence (41) and (42) exemplify such instances found by Schachter and Rutherford.

- (41) *Irrational emotions are bad but rational emotions must use for judging
(Malformed passive)
- (42) It is believed that sweet flag leaves contain the power to expel sickness and evil. (Extraposed construction)

In (41), they claim that the sentence seems to be an error of passive formation, but it is in fact an active sentence in which the topic (i.e., rational emotions) is preposed and understood arguments are deleted. Thus (41) should read:

(43) Irrational emotions are bad, but rational emotions, [one] must use [them] for judging. (Schachter and Rutherford, p. 8)

In (42), on the other hand, Schachter and Rutherford argue that a topic is indirectly overmarked by avoiding to prepose a non-topical constituent in the sentence initial position. According to them, the extraposed constructions found in the text by Japanese are always generic, new information which has not yet come up as a topic. Because the topic-comment feature of Japanese strongly prefers a topic at the sentence-initial position, placing such non-topical information first in the sentence is deliberately avoided.

Similar findings are more frequently reported in Chinese ESL learners (Jordens, 1995; Rutherford, 1983; Schachter and Rutherford, 1979; Yip, 1995; Yip and Matthews, 1995). This is because, according to Li and Thompson (1976), Chinese is a stronger topic-prominent language than Japanese is.

On the other hand, however, there is a claim that a learners' topic-emphasis strategy is a rather universal developmental feature in the early stage of SLA, regardless of the typological differences between L1 and L2

(Fuller and Gundel, 1987) . In their study, Fuller and Gundel show that beginning ESL speakers of non-topic-prominent L1 such as Arabic and Spanish tend to overmark a topic in speech, as well as do the ESL speakers of topic-prominent L1 such as Japanese and Korean. Jin (1994), opposing Fuller and Gundel, finds that American college students learning Chinese tend to transfer the subject-predicate relation of their L1, where a topic-comment style is more natural. Although Jin claims that the typological differences cause transfer in both ways (i.e., topic-prominent L1 to subject-prominent L2 and vice versa), further research should be awaited for the reciprocal typological transfer in SLA.

It is worth noting that Li and Thompson (1976) claim that the adversity passives in Japanese are one of the byproducts of topic-prominent languages. According to them, because a topic in a topic-prominent language can be freely preposed in a sentence without preserving a subject-predicate relation, passives in such a language tend to either lose their topicalization value or gain extra value for themselves. As such examples, they cite Chinese, whose passives are rarely used, and the adversity passives in Japanese.

Previous research on acquisition of passives by Japanese ESL learners. Very little research has been done on the relationship between acquisition of English passives and interference of adversity passives in the learners' L1. Heckler (1985), using a fill-in-the-blank type test, examines acquisition of the grammatical structure of English passives by Arabic,

Japanese, and Spanish ESL learners. Based on the result that the Japanese group has gained the best score, he argues that Japanese ESL learners have fewer difficulties in acquiring the English passive structures. However, this study does not reveal transfer effects of Japanese indirect passive structure on the learners' IL because they are simply not tested in the study.

Watabe et al. (1991), comparing English texts written by Japanese ESL learners and native speakers of English, investigate whether or not the Japanese group tends to employ adversity passives when describing an unfortunate event. They find that there are no statistically significant differences in the number of passive constructions created between both subject groups. However, the descriptive data show that Japanese ESL learners tend to use more human subjects than native speakers of English to express their own unfortunate experience, which leads them to suggest that this is an indirect influence of L1 in which Japanese adversity passives usually have a human subject. They thus conclude that pragmatic features of Japanese adversity passives transfer in the process of SLA at least in some way.

Unlike the pragmatic features, Watabe et al. (1991) claim that L1 syntactic features do not negatively transfer. They find very few examples of indirect passives created by the Japanese subjects. Thus, they also conclude that acquiring a syntactic form of English passives is not a major problem for Japanese ESL learners, compared with pragmatic functions. However, these

results could have the alternative interpretation that the Japanese subjects in this study in fact have avoided using indirect passives because they are not sure of the structure. Thus, this study alone cannot reveal the influence of L1 passive structures.

Research on how Japanese ESL learners and native speakers of English perceive English passives is introduced in a study by Shimonishi (1977). She claims that Japanese ESL learners tend to perceive modesty rather than adversity from English passive constructions. Her data show that adversative implications are equally felt both by Japanese ESL learners and native speakers of English.

The problem of Shimonishi's study is that the way she provides passive sentences to her subjects seems to lack validity. The subjects are more likely to judge the implications of the passives in question from its contextual information and/or lexical content of the passive sentence rather than its syntactic structure as a passive. For example, she prepares the following passage and asks what kind of implications the underlined passives carries:

After I graduated from the university in Japan, I was taking some course in linguistics at the graduate school of the International Christian University. (1)My study at the university was interrupted when (2) I was asked to train interpreters by the Tokyo Olympic Committee. . . . (p. 105)

It is easily assumed that the subjects' judgment will be influenced by the favorable sociocultural meaning that the *Tokyo Olympic Committee* conveys.

As has been seen, the relationship between the acquisition of English passives and L1 transfer of adversity passives that has been covered in the previous studies are yet limited. As far as I know, for example, there is no study that investigates how Japanese adversity passives influence the use of be-passives and get-passives in English. Further examination of this issue is still desired from different perspectives.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

As was discussed in the previous chapters, Japanese and English passives have structural and pragmatic differences, and the aim of this study is to investigate whether or not these differences will influence Japanese ESL learners' perception toward English passives. In Chapter 1, three research hypotheses were proposed for this purpose. In order to test these hypotheses, 30 Japanese ESL learners and 30 native speakers of English were asked to participate in this study by answering a grammaticality judgment test and/or questionnaire for unpleasantness. A detailed description of the research design is presented in this chapter.

Subjects

There are total of 60 subjects of two groups who were recruited on a voluntary basis: 30 adult Japanese ESL learners as an experimental group (JPN) and 30 adult native speakers of English as a control group (AME). The JPN group was restricted to only those who had basic English education in Japan and those who were enrolled in a regular program at Portland State

University. Those who had been exposed to English for more than one year in an English speaking country before graduation from a high school and those who were taking any ESL class were disqualified. Japanese students who were enrolled in an ESL program were excluded because they may have difficulties in understanding vocabulary in the survey, and also that some of them may lack appropriate grammatical knowledge of English passives for the purpose of this study. The AME group consisted of native speakers of English living in the Portland area. They were restricted to only those who had not studied Japanese or other Asian languages, which might have adversity passives, for more than one year.

Materials

An anonymous, closed-ended survey form was designed for this study. The survey form to be answered by the JPN group consists of three parts: grammaticality judgment test, questionnaire for unpleasantness, and background information on the subjects (see Appendix B for the complete survey form). The survey form to be answered by the AME group consists of two parts: questionnaire for unpleasantness, and background information on the subjects. The AME group did not have to take the grammaticality judgment test because their answers were already predictable due to the grammaticality of each sentence.

Grammaticality judgment test. This test was made to examine the structural aspects of L1 interference of adversity passives. This corresponds to Hypothesis 1 proposed in chapter one, which is repeated below.

Hypothesis 1: Structural L1 interference in indirect passives

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will judge grammaticality of English passives based on the L2 rules.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will tend to judge grammaticality of English passives based on the L1 rules.

The test contained a total of 36 questions, each of which is a short English be-passive sentence. The subjects were asked to determine whether each sentence was *correct* or *incorrect*. The 36 questions consist of three different structural types: 12 indirect passives with an intransitive verb, 12 indirect passives with a direct object preserved, and 12 direct passives as exemplified below (see Appendix C for the complete list):

A. Indirect passives with an intransitive verb (*Intransitive Indirect*)

(e.g., *Tom was died by his father when he was young.)

B. Indirect passives with a direct object preserved (*Transitive Indirect*)

(e.g., *Cathy was stolen her bicycle last week.)

C. Direct passives (*Direct*)

(e.g., No special seasoning was used to cook this dish.)

Of the three, only the *Direct* passives are grammatical, but the grammatical structures of all the sentences are allowed in Japanese. All the sentences were randomized for the test.

Questionnaire for unpleasantness. This questionnaire was prepared to examine the pragmatic aspects of L1 interference of adversity passives. This corresponds to Hypotheses 2 and 3 proposed in chapter one, which are repeated below.

Hypothesis 2: Pragmatic L1 transfer in be-passives

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will interpret be-passives neutrally.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive negative implications in be-passives. Also, Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive be-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

Hypothesis 3: Pragmatic L1 transfer in the be- and get-passive relations

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will differentiate be- and get-passives; i.e., they will perceive negative implications only in get-passives.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will not differentiate be- and get-passives;

i.e., they will tend to perceive negative implications both in be- and get-passives. Also, they will tend to interpret both be- and get-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

The questionnaire is made up of a total of 60 short English sentences, grouped into 12 sets of five sentences. Each set consists of the following five types, which share the same lexical verb (see Appendix D for the complete list):

A. Active sentence (*Active*)

(e.g., The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class.)

B. Be-passive with a human subject (*Be-pass H*)

(e.g., Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class.)

C. Be-passive with a non-human subject (*Be-pass NH*)

(e.g., That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom.)

D. Get-passive with a human subject (*Get-pass H*)

(e.g., Mr. Suzuki got placed in a level B class.)

E. Get-passive with a non-human subject (*Get-Pass NH*)

(e.g., That cabinet got placed in the level B classroom.)

All 60 sentences were randomized, and, for each, both JPN and AME

subjects were asked to choose the most appropriate answer from three choices (*unpleasant*, *neutral*, and *pleasant*) about the connotation that the sentence conveys. This questionnaire is ultimately looking at the subjects' binary choice, *unpleasant* or *not unpleasant*, because its purpose is to examine whether or not the unpleasant implications of Japanese adversity passives would interfere with the perception of Japanese ESL learners. However, this binary choice was avoided in the survey form to eliminate unnaturalness which would be especially felt by the AME subjects, who presumably have no reason to regard any of the be-passives as particularly unpleasant. As a result, the trinary choice was formulated.

The trinary choice consequently necessitates at least some sentences in the questionnaire to carry pleasant implications. This is because for the JPN subjects none of the sentence structures should in fact be especially pleasant in connotation, which may make them wonder why the questionnaire has the *pleasant* choice. Thus, of the 12 sets of five sentences, 3 sets (i.e., 15 sentences) were made as distracters or dummy questions. They contain a verb whose lexical meaning is thought to be positive (i.e., *admire*, *award*, and *praise*).

The rest of the sets, which are 9 non-dummy sets (i.e., 45 sentences), were carefully designed so that the subjects' judgments would be minimally affected by a particular word or phrase in a sentence. They were chosen after

having been pilot-tested to 13 native speakers of English. The test originally contained 14 sets of sentences (3 dummy sets and 11 non-dummy sets), which were randomly presented. The subjects read each sentence and chose one from *unpleasant*, *neutral*, or *pleasant*. After the test, the answers for the active sentences of the 11 non-dummy question sets were examined, and those which were detected to be unpleasant by more than half of the subjects were removed from the questionnaire. Because an active structure should be free from unpleasant implications in its own right, the unpleasant implications detected by the majority of the subjects may have been derived from a particular word or phrase in a sentence. As a result, 2 sets were eliminated, and it was decided to use the remaining 9 sets for the questionnaire. (See Appendix E for the results.)

Background information of the subjects. This part is made up of several simple questions which ask about the subjects' past foreign language education. This was added to screen the subjects according to the qualifications stated earlier.

Procedures

Test schedules were divided into several sessions depending on each subject's availability. Some sessions were done individually while others were conducted in groups. The subjects were allowed to ask questions freely so that they did not have to consult with others nor use a dictionary. Time

limitation was not set up for the session, but most of the subjects finished it within 30 minutes. After completion of the test and questionnaire, all the participants were rewarded with two US dollars or a gift certificate with near equal value.

After each session, the subjects were checked for whether they met the qualifications stated earlier. Those who were found to be disqualified were immediately excluded from the study, and the data collection procedure was repeated until the number of qualified subjects reached 30 in each subject group.

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the 60 qualified subjects were statistically analyzed as shown below. As is conventional in applied linguistic research, the significance level for the statistical tests was set at 0.05 for all the analyses in this study.

Grammaticality judgment test. For each type of the three passive structures in the test, the mean number of correct answers was counted. Because two questions were left unanswered, it was then decided to calculate the mean ratios of correct answers, instead of simply using the frequency of correct answers, so that the influence of the unanswered questions would be appropriately eliminated from the analyses. The ratios were calculated by dividing the number of correct answers by the total number of answers.

Finally, the mean ratios of each structural type were compared using the paired-t tests.

Questionnaire for unpleasantness. Because the purpose of this questionnaire is to examine whether or not the subjects would detect unpleasant implications from a given passive sentence, the obtained data were treated in terms of *unpleasant* or *not unpleasant*; i.e., the answers of *neutral* and *pleasant* were counted as the same answer. Also, the answers for the dummy questions were removed from the data before the analyses were made.

First, each sentence of the remaining 45 questions was compared in terms of the ranking of *unpleasant* and *not unpleasant* between subject groups, using the Kruskal-Wallis test. Second, for each of the five sentence types, the mean ratios of the answers of *unpleasant* were calculated and analyzed using paired t-tests and t-tests. The ratios were calculated by dividing the number of answers of *unpleasant* by the total number of answers. It was decided to use the ratios, instead of simply using the frequency of *unpleasant* answers, in order to avoid the influence of unanswered questions because four questions were left unanswered.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Subjects

There were a total of 66 subjects who participated in this study: 30 Japanese ESL learners (JPN) and 36 native speakers of English (AME). Six of the 36 AME subjects were disqualified because they have studied Japanese for more than one year, which violates the qualifications stated in chapter 2. Their data were thus eliminated from any analyses. No JPN subject was disqualified.

The average length of the JPN subjects' studying English was 12.2 years, and the average length of their staying in an English speaking country was 3.3 years. (See Appendix F for a complete list.)

Grammaticality Judgment Test

The 30 JPN subjects took the test which consists of 36 questions. Of a total of 1080 possible answers (i.e., 30 subjects X 36 questions), 1078 answers were obtained and two questions were left unanswered. (See Appendix G for a complete list.) The 1078 answers were then grouped into

three passive types; i.e., indirect passives with an intransitive verb (*Intransitive Indirect*), indirect passives with a direct object preserved (*Transitive Indirect*), and direct passives (*Direct*), which is the only one of the three with a grammatical structure.

The grouped data were analyzed in terms of how correct the subjects' judgments were. Figure 1 below shows the mean ratios of the three passive types in which the subjects correctly answered the questions; i.e., number of correct answers ÷ (number of correct answers + number of wrong answers). The figure illustrates that the *Direct* passives (ratio = 0.8111) gained the highest score while the *Transitive Indirect* passives (ratio = 0.6162) gained the lowest. The *Intransitive Indirect* passives (ratio = 0.7417) fell in the middle of the other two.

Figure 1

Mean Ratios of the Correct Answers

(Max = 1.0000, n = 30)

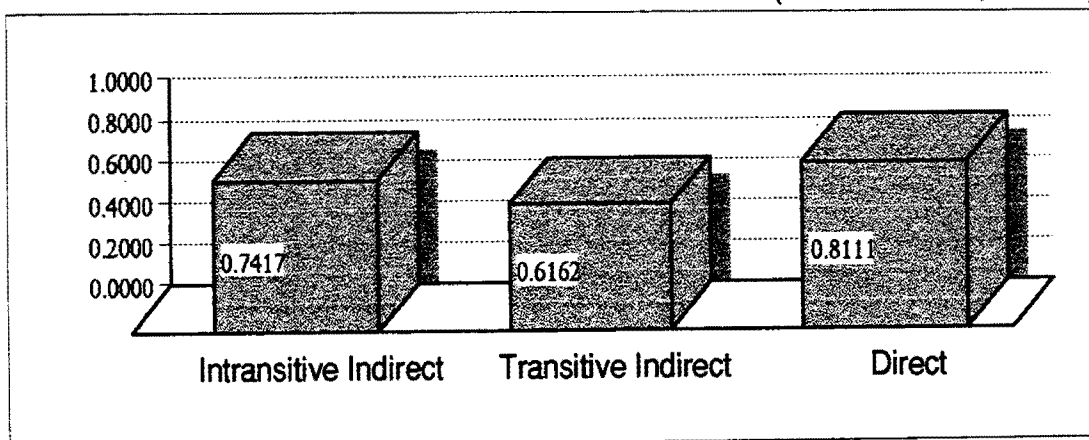


Table 2

One-tailed Paired t-tests for Mean Ratios of Correct Answers between Three Passive Types

<u>Comparison</u>	(n = 30)		(df = 29)
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Intransitive Indirect/Transitive Indirect	0.7417/0.6162	0.217/0.155	0.003*
Direct/Intransitive Indirect	0.8111/0.7417	0.126/0.217	0.090
Direct/Transitive Indirect	0.8111/0.6162	0.126/0.155	0.000*

* indicates $p < 0.05$.

Table 2 above shows the results of the statistical comparison of the ratios presented in Figure 1. The one-tailed paired t-tests revealed that the ratio of the *Transitive Indirect* passives was significantly lower than both the *Intransitive Indirect* and *Direct* passives. However, the ratios of the *Intransitive Indirect* and *Direct* passives were not significantly different from each other.

Questionnaire for Unpleasantness

Data were taken from the 30 JPN and 30 AME subjects who filled in the questionnaire consisting of 60 questions (15 dummy questions and 45 non-dummy questions). Of a total of 2700 possible answers (i.e., 60 subjects X 45 non-dummy questions), 2696 answers were obtained and four questions were left unanswered. (See Appendix H and I.) The answers were then

dichotomized into the answers for *unpleasant* and answers for *not unpleasant* by codifying the *unpleasant* answers as 1 and the *neutral* and *pleasant* answers as 2.

Comparison of individual sentence. First, the answers of an individual sentence were compared between two subject groups using the Kruskal-Wallis tests. As a result, of 45 non-dummy sentences, the answers of only five sentences were found to be significantly different between the JPN and AME subjects. These five sentences are shown in Table 3 below. As can be seen in the table, the mean ranks of the JPN subjects for these five sentences were lower than those of the AME subjects, which indicates that the JPN subjects tended to detect more unpleasant implications from the sentences than the AME subjects did. (See Appendix J for complete results.)

Table 3

Five Sentences Which Were Significantly Different in the Kruskal-Wallis Tests

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>JPN Rank</i>	<i>AME Rank</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Alice followed Scott. (17)	Active	27.00	34.00	0.0206
I was taken upstairs by Tom when I entered the house. (31)	Be-pass H	26.50	34.50	0.0298
The ball was caught in center field. (29)	Be-pass NH	28.00	33.00	0.0462
The car was followed by a truck. (32)	Be-pass NH	34.50	36.50	0.0011
The earth got approached by a small spacecraft. (47)	Get-pass NH	26.00	35.00	0.0178
* The numbers in parentheses indicate the number in the questionnaire.				

Comparison of sentence types between two subject groups. The answers of an individual sentence were grouped into five sentence types for further analyses; i.e., active sentences (*Active*), be-passives with a human subject (*Be-pass H*), be-passives with a non-human subject (*Be-pass NH*), get-passives with a human subject (*Get-pass H*), and get-passives with a non-human subjects (*Get-pass NH*). Those composite data were then examined in terms of how likely each sentence type was perceived as *unpleasant*. This was done by calculating and comparing the mean ratios of unpleasantness for the five sentence types; i.e., number of answers for *unpleasant* ÷ (number of answers for *unpleasant* + number of answers for *not unpleasant*).

As shown in Figure 2 below, the mean ratios of unpleasantness for all five sentence types were not very high in the two subject groups: not a single ratio exceeded 0.5000. However, the figure also shows that the JPN subjects judged all the sentence types with a higher ratio of unpleasantness than the AME subjects did.

The statistical analyses of these differences are illustrated in Table 4 below. The one-tailed t-tests revealed that ratios of the JPN subjects were significantly higher in the *Be-pass H* and *Be-pass NH* types. However, no significant differences were observed in the *Active* type and neither type of the get-passives.

Figure 2

Mean Ratios of the *Unpleasant* Answers (1)

(Max = 1.0000, n = 60)

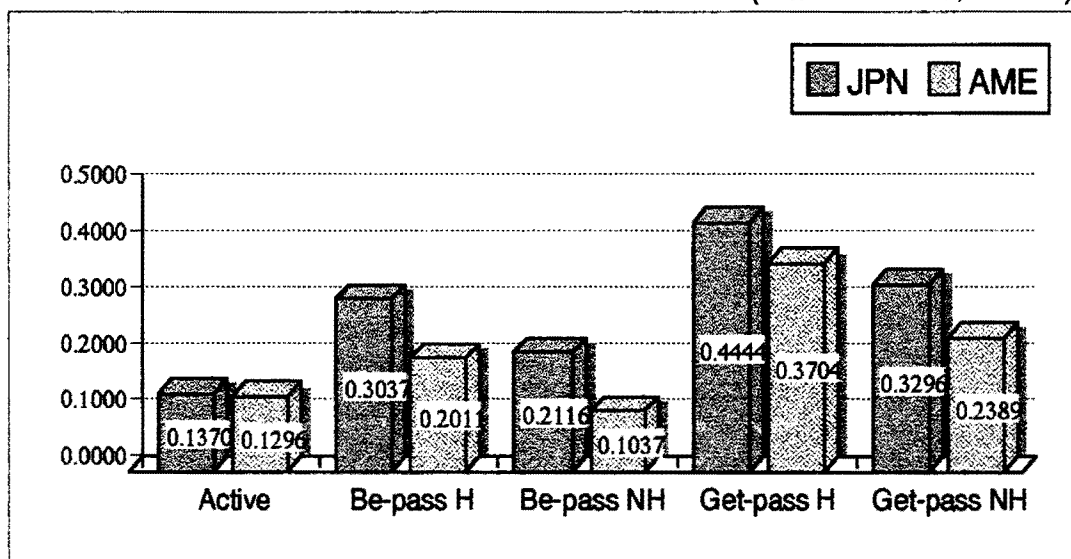


Table 4

One-tailed t-tests for Mean Ratios of *Unpleasant* Answers between JPN and AME Groups (1)

<u>Type</u>	JPN (n = 30)		AME (n = 30)		(df = 58)
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Active	0.1370	0.136	0.1296	0.192	0.432
Be-Pass H	0.3037	0.237	0.2011	0.225	0.045*
Be-Pass NH	0.2116	0.171	0.1037	0.154	0.007*
Get-Pass H	0.4444	0.266	0.3704	0.294	0.155
Get-Pass NH	0.3296	0.236	0.2389	0.261	0.082

Null Hypothesis: JPN = AME

Alternative Hypothesis: JPN > AME

* indicates $p < 0.05$.

Next, the data were looked at in terms of be-passives (*Be-pass* = *Be-pass H* + *Be-pass NH*), get-passives (*Get-pass* = *Get-pass H* + *Get-pass NH*), passives with a human subject (*Pass H* = *Be-pass H* + *Get-pass H*), and passives with a non-human subject (*Pass NH* = *Be-pass NH* + *Get-pass NH*). As can be seen in Figure 3 below, the JPN subjects judged all the sentence types with a higher ratio of unpleasantness than the AME subjects did. The results of the one-tailed t-tests in Table 5 below show that these differences were significant in the *Be-pass* and *Pass NH*. However, no significant differences were found in the *Active*, *Get-pass* and *Pass H* types.

Figure 3

Mean Ratios of the *Unpleasant* Answers (2)

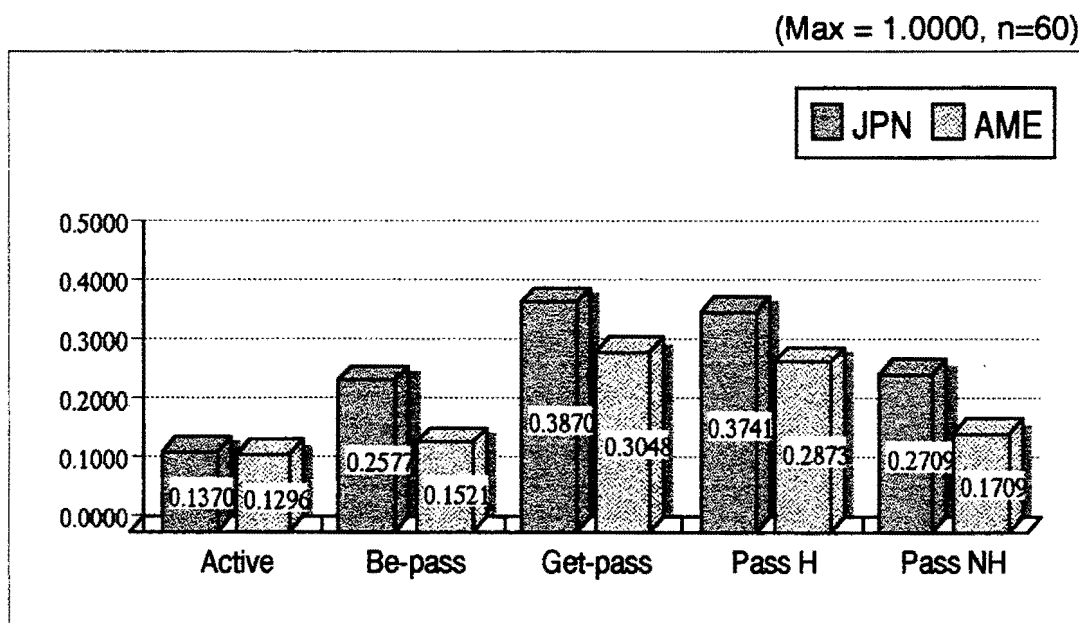


Table 5

One-tailed t-tests for Mean Ratios of Unpleasant Answers between JPN and AME Groups (2)

<u>Type</u>	JPN (n = 30)		AME (n = 30)		(df = 58)
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Active	0.1370	0.136	0.1296	0.192	0.432
Be-Pass	0.2577	0.033	0.1521	0.042	0.009*
Get-Pass	0.3870	0.121	0.3048	0.116	0.098
Pass H	0.3741	0.084	0.2873	0.098	0.071
Pass NH	0.2709	0.030	0.1709	0.035	0.007*

Null Hypothesis: JPN = AME

Alternative Hypothesis: JPN > AME

* indicates $p < 0.05$.

Comparison of sentence types within a subject group. The same data presented in Figure 2 were also compared within each subject group. Within the JPN subjects, as in Figure 2, the *Active* type (ratio = 0.1370) was marked with the lowest ratio of unpleasantness, and the *Get-pass H* type (ratio = 0.4444) was marked with the highest ratio. When the relationship between passive types with a human and non-human subject was looked at, the *Be-pass H* type (ratio = 0.3037) was rated higher than the *Be-pass NH* type (ratio = 0.2116), and the *Get-pass H* type (0.4444) was also rated higher than the *Get-pass NH* type (ratio = 0.3296). In the comparison of the be- and get-passive types, both *Get-pass H* (ratio = 0.4444) and *Get-pass NH* (ratio =

0.3296) types were marked with higher ratios than were the *Be-pass H* (ratio = 0.3037) and *Be-pass NH* (ratio = 0.2116) types. Similar results were also observed within the AME subjects except that the *Be-pass NH* type (ratio = 0.1037) was marked with the lowest ratio.

The mean ratios were then statistically examined using the one-tailed paired t-tests. Based on the above observations, the p-values of the tests are presented in Table 6 below. In the table, the mean ratio of each sentence type listed in the column heading is compared with the mean ratio of each sentence type listed in the row heading. Each p-value is shown where the mean ratio of the sentence type in the column heading is higher than the mean ratio of the sentence type in the row heading. For example, there are two p-values listed under the *Be-pass H* column for each subject group; i.e., p-values on the *Active* row and *Be-pass NH* row. This means that the mean ratio of *Be-pass H* type was higher in comparison with the mean ratios of the *Active* and *Be-pass NH* type. Also, the p-values in the column indicate that the differences were statistically significant. On the other hand, in the same *Be-pass H* column, the p-values on the *Get-pass H* and *Get-pass NH* rows are missing. This means that the mean ratio of the *Be-pass H* was lower than the two, and that the appropriate p-values are listed on the *Be-pass H* row under the *Get-pass H* and *Get-pass NH* columns. The actual mean ratios are not shown in this table (see Figure 2).

Table 6

p-values of One-tailed Paired t-tests for Mean Ratios of *Unpleasant***Answers within Subject Group (1)**

		(df = 29)				
		<u>Active</u>	<u>Be-pass H</u>	<u>Be-pass NH</u>	<u>Get-pass H</u>	<u>Get-pass NH</u>
<u>Active</u>	(JPN)	-----	0.000*	0.017*	0.000*	0.001*
	(AME)	-----	0.001*		0.000*	0.012*
<u>Be-pass H</u>	(JPN)		-----		0.004*	0.344
	(AME)		-----		0.000*	0.227
<u>Be-pass NH</u>	(JPN)		0.035*	-----	0.001*	0.024*
	(AME)	0.190	0.002*	-----	0.000*	0.004*
<u>Get-pass H</u>	(JPN)				-----	
	(AME)				-----	
<u>Get-pass NH</u>	(JPN)				0.008*	-----
	(AME)				0.000*	-----

Mean ratio of sentence type in column heading is higher than mean ratio of sentence type in row heading, at p-value given.

Null Hypothesis: Sentence type in the column heading = Sentence type in the row heading.

Alternative Hypothesis: Sentence type in the column heading > Sentence type in the row heading.

* indicates $p < 0.05$.

The tests revealed that, within the JPN group, all the descriptive differences in Figure 3 were statistically significant except for the relationship between the *Be-pass H* and *Get-pass NH* types. That is, the *Active* type was significantly lower than the other types, and the *Get-pass H* type was significantly higher than any of the other types. For the human and non-

human subject relation, the *Be-pass H* and *Get-pass H* types were significantly higher than the *Be-pass NH* and *Get-pass NH* types, respectively. For the be- and get-passive relations, the *Get-pass H* type was significantly higher than both *Be-pass H* and *Be-pass NH*, but the *Get-pass NH* type was only significantly higher than the *Be-pass NH* type. There was no significant difference between the *Get-pass NH* and *Be-pass H* types. The same was true within the AME group except that there was no significant difference between the *Active* and *Be-pass NH* types.

Next, the data were examined in terms of *Be-pass* (= *Be-pass H* + *Be-pass NH*), *Get-pass* (= *Get-pass H* + *Get-pass NH*), *Pass H* (= *Be-pass H* + *Get-pass H*), and *Pass NH* (= *Be-pass NH* + *Get-pass NH*). Based on the data in Figure 3, the p-values of the one-tailed paired t-tests were calculated. The results are presented in Table 7 below in the same manner as Table 6. It shows that for both subject groups, as anticipated, the *Pass H* type was rated significantly higher than the *Pass NH*, and the *Get-pass* type was also rated significantly higher than the *Be-pass*. It should be noted that not a single passive type was marked with a significantly higher ratio than the *Pass NH* and *Be-pass* types. The JPN and AME groups showed contrast when the *Active* type was compared with the other types. While the ratio of the *Active* type was significantly lower than any of the other types when compared within

the JPN group, it was only significantly lower than the *Get-pass* and *Pass H* types when compared within the AME group. No significant differences were found between the *Active* and *Be-pass* type, and between the *Active* and *Pass NH* types within the AME group.

Table 7

p-values of One-tailed Paired t-tests for Mean Ratios of *Unpleasant* Answers within Subject Group (2)

		(df = 29)				
		<u>Active</u>	<u>Be-pass</u>	<u>Get-pass</u>	<u>Pass H</u>	<u>Pass NH</u>
<u>Active</u>	(JPN)	----	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
	(AME)	----	0.143	0.000*	0.000*	0.088
<u>Be-pass</u>	(JPN)		----	0.006*	0.001*	0.341
	(AME)		----	0.001*	0.000*	0.229
<u>Get-pass</u>	(JPN)			----		
	(AME)			----		
<u>Pass H</u>	(JPN)			0.344	----	
	(AME)			0.239	----	
<u>Pass NH</u>	(JPN)			0.001*	0.009*	----
	(AME)			0.000*	0.000*	----

Mean ratio of sentence type in column heading is higher than mean ratio of sentence type in row heading, at p-value given.

Null Hypothesis: Sentence type in the column heading = Sentence type in the row heading.

Alternative Hypothesis: Sentence type in the column heading > Sentence type in the row heading.

* indicates $p < 0.05$.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Based on the results presented in the previous chapter, this chapter discusses what these results would suggest in terms of the research question stated in chapter 1; i.e., whether or not structural and pragmatic features of Japanese adversity passives would cause L1 interference when Japanese ESL learners perceive English passives. In order to investigate this question, three research hypotheses were proposed in chapter 1: the hypothesis on the structural L1 interference in indirect passives, the hypothesis on pragmatic L1 interference in be-passives, and the hypothesis on pragmatic L1 interference in the be- and get-passive relations. Each hypothesis is made up of a null hypothesis (H_0) which hypothesizes that Japanese ESL learners would perceive English passives in the same way as native English speakers do, and an alternative hypothesis (H_1) which hypothesizes that Japanese ESL learners would interpret English passives differently from native English speakers using their L1 knowledge. The following discussion presents findings for each of these hypotheses.

Findings on Research Hypothesis 1

Structural L1 interference in indirect passives

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will judge the grammaticality of English passives based on the L2 rules.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will tend to judge the grammaticality of English passives based on the L1 rules.

Hypothesis 1 was examined by looking at the data obtained from the grammaticality judgment test, which was answered by the 30 JPN subject group. The test consisted of three types of passives: the *Intransitive Indirect*, *Transitive Indirect*, and *Direct* types. Examples are shown below.

A. *Intransitive Indirect*

*Tom was died by his father when he was young.

B. *Transitive Indirect*

*Cathy was stolen her bicycle last week.

C. *Direct*

No special seasoning was used to cook this dish.

These three types represent the structural similarities and differences

between their L1 and L2 rules. While the grammatical structures of all three types are allowed in Japanese, only the *Direct* type is grammatical in English. Of the three types, the *Direct* type earned the highest mean ratio of the correct answers (ratio = 0.8111), which probably reflects the fact that it is the only structure that both languages allow (see Figure 1 in chapter 4). In the rest of the discussion, I will use the *Direct* passive type as a baseline for evaluating the subjects' performance on the other two types.

The results of the test seem to show that this H_1 was partially rejected and partially accepted. It seems to have been rejected in the case of the *Intransitive Indirect* passive type. When the *Intransitive Indirect* and *Direct* passive types were compared, the answers of both types were found to have no significant differences (see Table 2 in chapter 4). In other words, the JPN subjects tended to accept the *Direct* passive type, but tended to reject the *Intransitive Indirect* passive type, as a grammatical structure in English, which is congruous with English grammar. The results thus suggest that the learners try to interpret passives based on L2 rules, and that L1 rules for passive structures do not interfere with their judgment when the passivized verb is intransitive.

As opposed to the *Intransitive Indirect* type, the H_1 seems to have been accepted in the case of the *Transitive Indirect* type. When all three passive types were statistically compared, the *Transitive Indirect* type

received fewer correct answers than the other two types (see Table 2). This shows that the subjects had difficulties in judging the *Transitive Indirect* type. What this could suggest is that the learners tended to interpret transitive passives using their L1 rules due to structural L1 interference.

In summation, the results revealed that the grammaticality judgment of Japanese ESL learners seems to be based on L2 rules when a passivized verb is intransitive, and that their judgment seems to be based on L1 rules when a passivized verb is transitive. A question remains, however, about what makes transitive and intransitive verbs different.

A possible explanation for this may be found by looking at some differences between these two passives. When the structures of the two passives are compared with allowed structures of English passives, the *Transitive Indirect* passives appear to be more similar to the allowed English passive structures than the *Intransitive Indirect* passives. First, both the *Transitive Indirect* passive type and allowed English passives have a passivized verb which is transitive. Moreover, the structure of the *Transitive Indirect* passives is extremely reminiscent of the structure of the English ditransitive passives, in which a ditransitive verb such as *buy*, *teach*, and *tell*, is passivized. Examples (44) and (45) below illustrate that both passive types share similarities in that a verb has three arguments, and that a direct object (i.e., *my brand-new camera* and *a story*) is preserved in a verb complement

position.

(44) *I was used my brand-new camera by my mother. (*Transitive Indirect*)

(45) I was told a story by my mother. (Passive of a ditransitive verb)

By having heard or read English passive sentences such as (45) above, Japanese ESL learners may have thought that the English ditransitive passive structure is very similar to the Japanese *Transitive Indirect* passive structure such as (44).

On the other hand, the learners may not be able to relate the structure of the *Intransitive Indirect* passives such as (46) below with instances of actual English passives because they have obviously heard or read no instances of English in which an intransitive verb is passivized.

(46) *Tom was died by his father two years ago. (*Intransitive Indirect*)

Unlike Japanese indirect passives, an English intransitive verb is not allowed to be passivized, nor is it possible to have two arguments. As a result, while the *Transitive Indirect* type can be similar to English passive structures, the *Intransitive Indirect* passives are structurally very different from any grammatical structure of English, for Japanese ESL learners.

These structural similarities may have caused the JPN subjects to confuse and misjudge the grammaticality of the *Transitive Indirect* passives. This seems to support the claim that similarities between L1 and L2 cause L1 interference, which was mentioned in chapter 2 (Schachter, 1974; Wode, 1978; Zobl, 1980b). According to this claim, L1 forms tend to transfer negatively when L1 and L2 forms are basically similar, with only small differences; e.g., English and French are similar in that both have SVO canonical word order, but a verb and object are inverted in French when the object is a pronoun. It also claims that L1 forms tends not to transfer when L1 and L2 forms are radically different.

Thus, it could be said that when a passivized verb is transitive the structural differences between the two languages appear to be too subtle for Japanese ESL learners to differentiate the *Transitive Indirect* passives from regular English passives such as ditransitive passives. As a result, structural L1 interference tends to occur, and learning is inhibited. On the other hand, when a passivized verb is intransitive the structural dissimilarities of the two languages are clear enough for the learners to differentiate the grammaticality of the *Intransitive Indirect* passives from regular English passives. As a result, learning is facilitated, and the learners acquire English passive structures without L1 interference.

It should be noted that there might be yet another possibility to explain

why the JPN subjects treated transitive and intransitive passive verbs differently, however. That is, the subjects' grammaticality judgments were in fact based on neither L1 nor L2 specific rules. Instead, they might have complied with more general principles for passives such as universal markedness in terms of language typology or Chomsky's Universal Grammar. More specifically, it might be necessary to assume some kind of hierarchy of markedness or innate parametric settings regarding such principles. On the one hand, such principles may prompt Japanese ESL learners to judge English passives with an intransitive verb correctly, but on the other hand, the same principle may prompt the learners to overgeneralize the principle and misjudge the passives with a transitive verb. Although this explanation is intriguing, I will not mention it further here because it is out of the scope of this study, which is to examine the role of L1 in SLA.

In conclusion, it can be said that the results offer at least some possibilities to assume that the structural L1 interference occurs when Japanese ESL learners judge grammaticality of transitive passives. However, this study alone does not provide enough evidence to fully support it.

Findings on Research Hypothesis 2

Pragmatic L1 interference in be-passives

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will interpret be-passives neutrally.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive negative implications in be-passives. Also, Japanese ESL learners will tend to perceive be-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

Hypothesis 2 is twofold: it hypothesizes about the negative implications of be-passives in comparison with native speakers of English and the negative implications of be-passives in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship. These two were examined by looking at the data obtained from the questionnaire for unpleasantness, which was filled out by the 30 JPN and 30 AME subjects. Of the five sentence types that the questionnaire contained, the data of three sentence types were extracted for examination; i.e., the *Active*, *Be-pass H*, *Be-pass NH*. Examples of each type are shown below.

- A. *Active*: The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class.
- B. *Be-pass H*: Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class.
- C. *Be-pass NH*: That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom.

The *Active* type will be shown below as control data which indicate neutral implications. In both English and Japanese, active sentences should be neutral in meaning, being free from any adversative implications. This was supported by the statistical results of the questionnaire reported in chapter 4.

The JPN subjects perceived the *Active* type with the same degree of unpleasantness as the AME subjects did (see Table 4). Moreover, the *Active* type was found to carry the least implication of unpleasantness (see Table 6).

The results show very little evidence to accept the H_1 when individual sentences were compared between two subject groups (see Table 3). However, the results offer evidence in favor of the H_1 when the composite data for each sentence type were compared, as shown below.

Negative implications of be-passives in comparison with native speakers of English. The first part of the H_1 , which predicts the negative implications of be-passives as perceived by Japanese ESL learners in comparison with native speakers of English, was accepted. The statistical analyses of the results show that the JPN subjects perceived more unpleasant implications in the *Be-pass* type than they did in the *Active* type (see Table 7). This contrasts with the results of the AME subjects, who perceived the *Active* and *Be-pass* types with the same degree of neutrality. Thus, it follows from the above results that Japanese ESL learners, unlike native speakers of English, are likely to regard an English be-passive structure as an indicator of adversative implications.

It can be said that this excessive negative implication which the Japanese ESL learners tend to perceive from be-passives is a result of pragmatic L1 interference. As was stated in chapter 2, many instances of the

Japanese passives are adversity passives: they usually have a human subject, but some can also have a non-human subject. The influence of these pragmatic features probably makes the learners assume erroneously that the same rules are also applied to English be-passives. This false assumption may be easily motivated because the pragmatic differences are in many cases not apparent since they are usually carried in the non-literal level. Such differences may be difficult for L2 learners to detect and may require a long time to learn. Consequently, the erroneous assumption by the learners causes L1 interference by making them perceive English be-passives more negatively than native speakers of English.

Negative implications of be-passives in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship. The latter part of the H_1 , which predicts the negative implications of be-passives as perceived by the JPN subjects in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship, was accepted. However, the data also revealed that this H_1 had an unexpected serious drawback.

First, the H_1 was accepted in that the JPN subjects treated a human subject of be-passives as a stronger indicator of adversity than a non-human subject. The data show that the JPN subjects perceived a higher degree of unpleasantness from the *Be-pass H* type than from the *Be-pass NH* type when they were statistically compared (see Table 6). This complies with the

tendency of Japanese adversity passives that adversative implications are more likely to be expressed when the sentence subject is human. Thus, the results appear to support the hypothesis that Japanese ESL learners perceive English be-passives using their L1 pragmatic knowledge about adversative implications in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship.

However, the acceptance of this H₁ does not lead to evidence of L1 interference but rather shows positive L1 transfer. In other words, the pragmatic L1 rules did not cause the JPN subjects to perceive be-passives differently from the AME subjects in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship. Instead, the two groups reacted the same way. When the *Be-pass H* and *Be-pass NH* types were statistically compared, the *Be-pass H* type was found to carry more unpleasant implications not only for the JPN group but also for the AME group (see Table 4).

This indicates that a human subject is not an indicator of adversity only for Japanese passives. Rather, it is more natural to assume that both Japanese and English share the general tendency that adversative implications are likely to be expressed when a passive has a human subject. This assumption is further supported by the result that unlike the *Be-pass H* type, the *Be-pass NH* type was perceived with the same degree of neutrality as was the *Active* type by the AME subjects (see Table 6).

What this would mean is that the hypothesis regarding a human and

non-human subject relationship is in fact irrelevant to the question that this study is trying to investigate. Because the aim of this study is to examine whether or not the differences between Japanese and English passives cause L1 interference, all the hypotheses had to be made based on the different passive features between the two languages. The hypothesis in question, too, was originally made on the premise that only Japanese would differentiate human and non-human subjects in terms of adversity, so that the acceptance of the H_1 would give evidence of L1 interference. The denial of this original premise, as it turns out, makes the hypothesis insignificant because neither acceptance nor rejection of the H_1 leads to evidence of L1 interference.

This general tendency shared by both languages was not predicted before the study. However, Shibatani's remark (1985) mentioned in chapter 2 may offer an explanation for the tendency. He claims that a subject of a passive sentence tends to be strongly affected due to its patienthood and subjecthood. A passive subject is usually a patient of the verb, which by nature has affected implications. Moreover, the affectedness is augmented even in the sentence-initial position as a subject, which acquires the most pronounced focus in the sentence. Although this claim may not fully explain the differences between a subject being human or non-human, it can be assumed that the affectedness of an animate entity is more easily associated with a negative effect than is the affectedness of an inanimate entity. Chappell

(1980) seems to support this view with his earlier example (36), which is restated here as (47).

(47) Three telephone boxes got smashed up outside that post office. (p.442)

Chappell claims that (47) expresses adversity due to its get-passive construction, but that the adversity is not associated with its inanimate subject *Three telephone boxes* but instead with a hidden animate entity such as telephone company personnel. Therefore, Shibatani's remark, supported by Chappell, makes it more understandable that a human subject in a passive is more readily interpreted adversely than is a non-human subject.

Shibatani's claim was originally made to explain the origin of the adversative implication of Japanese passives. However, the results of this study seem to offer significant empirical evidence to suggest that the claim could also be applied to passives across languages.

Moreover, this finding may necessitate a reexamination of the definition of Japanese adversity passives. In chapter 2, I stated that a general condition for Japanese direct passives to carry adversative implications is that their subject should be human or higher animate, by illustrating (30a) and (30b), which are repeated below as (48a) and (48b).

(48a) Randy-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta. (Adversity passive)

"Randy was adversely transferred to the personnel section."

(48b) Kono syorui-ga zinzika-ni mawas-are-ta. (Non-adversity passives)

"This document was transferred to the personnel section."

If a subject being human or higher animate is the only condition for adversity, it would mean that the finding of this study suggests that a Japanese direct passive such as (48a) and an English be-passive such as (48c) below equally express adversity because the subject is human.

(48c) Randy was transferred to the personnel section.

However, I still feel that (48a) implies a stronger connotation of adversity than (48c) does, in spite of the fact that both sentences have a human subject. If my intuition is correct, it would indicate that there should be another factor, besides the subject being human, which makes Japanese direct passives adversative.

In conclusion, the results pointed to the irrelevant hypothesis involving a human and non-human relationship. However, the finding also revealed new topics for study: language typology regarding adversative passives, and reexamination of Japanese adversity passives.

Findings on Research Hypothesis 3

Pragmatic L1 interference in the be- and get-passive relations

H₀: Japanese ESL learners will differentiate be- and get-passives; i.e., they will perceive negative implications only in get-passives.

H₁: Japanese ESL learners will not differentiate be- and get-passives; i.e., they will tend to perceive negative implications both in be- and get-passives. Also, they will tend to interpret both be- and get-passives more negatively if they contain a human subject.

As with Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 3 is also twofold: it hypothesizes about the negative implications of be-passives in comparison with get-passives and the negative implications of be- and get-passives in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship. They were examined by looking at the data from the same questionnaire which was used for Hypothesis 2. All five sentence types of the questionnaire (i.e., *Active*, *Be-pass H*, *Be-pass NH*, *Get-pass H*, and *Get-pass NH*) were compared. Examples of each type are shown below.

A. *Active*: The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class.

B. *Be-pass H*: Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class.

C. *Be-pass NH*: That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom.

D. *Get-pass H*: Mr. Suzuki got placed in a level B class.

E. *Get-pass NH*: That cabinet got placed in the level B classroom.

As was in Hypothesis 2, the results show very little evidence to accept the H_1 when individual sentences were compared between two subject groups (see Table 3). However, the results offer evidence in favor of the H_1 when the composite data per each sentence type were compared, as shown below.

Negative implications of be-passives in comparison with get-passives. The first part of the H_1 , which predicts the negative implications of both get- and be-passives perceived by Japanese ESL learners, was partially accepted and partially rejected. The partial acceptance stems from the result that the JPN subjects detected more unpleasant implications from the *Be-pass* and *Get-pass* types than they did from the *Active* type (see Table 7). As had been expected, this contrasts with the results of the AME subjects, who detected unpleasant implications only from the *Get-pass* type but detected neutral implications from the *Be-pass* type. This suggests that Japanese ESL learners tend to regard both be- and get-passive structures as an indicator of adversity. Also, this is assumed to be a result of the influence from the pragmatic L1 features that many instances of Japanese passives carry adversity.

However, the results also offer findings which suggest the partial rejection of the H_1 in that the JPN subjects' perceptions towards be- and get-passives were not identical. When the data were statistically compared, it was found that the JPN subjects detected a greater degree of adversative implications in the *Get-pass* type than in the *Be-pass* type (see Table 7). This result cannot be fully explained by the influence of the learners' pragmatic L1 features. If the L1 influence alone caused the adversative implications, the JPN subjects should have perceived be- and get-passives with the same degree of unpleasantness, which turned out to be not the case. It should therefore rather be assumed that even though the pragmatic L1 interference occurs, Japanese ESL learners concurrently learn that get-passives carry more adversative implications than be-passives.

It may be that this learning is facilitated by positive evidence from the learners' environment. By hearing and reading English be-passives, many of which do not specifically carry positive or negative connotations in their own right, the learners may inductively start to learn the proper pragmatic value of be-passives and be forced to modify their false assumption that be-passive structures are an indicator of adversity. As a result, the degree of adversative implications perceived from be-passives may be reduced. Meanwhile, however, it is probably true that the effect of pragmatic L1 interference is still too strong to suppress entirely. As I claimed earlier in the discussion of

Hypothesis 2, this strong L1 interference is caused by the pragmatic differences between Japanese and English which may be relatively difficult to detect due to their non-apparent nature. Consequently, on the one hand, the effects of positive input prompt the Japanese ESL learners to differentiate be- and get-passives, but on the other hand, L1 interference keeps causing them to perceive adversative implications from be-passives at the same time.

Finally, it should be worth noting an interesting finding about English get-passives. As was mentioned in chapter 2, unlike Japanese adversity passives, get-passives can express not only adversity but also benefit depending on context. In other words, although Japanese adversity passives and English get-passives look similar, they are not identical. However, the results seem to show evidence which rejects this claim. When the data were looked at in terms of pleasantness that the subjects perceived from get-passives (Appendix I), both JPN and AME subjects did not particularly feel stronger pleasant implications from get-passives compared to the other sentence types. More interestingly, the data descriptively show that the pleasantness felt from get-passives were marked with the least ratio among all the sentence types. On the contrary, when unpleasantness felt for get-passives was looked at, it was found that both the JPN and AME groups perceived them with the highest degree of unpleasantness (see Table 6 and Table 7 in chapter 4). These would mean that when a sentence with neutral meaning is passivized with a *get* auxiliary verb the resulting get-passive is

more likely to imply negative connotations in their own right than to imply beneficial connotations. This would consequently make English get-passives and Japanese adversity passives (with a direct structure) more similar to each other than it could have been predicted from the previous research. This seems to be supported by the result that both JPN and AME subjects felt the same degree of unpleasantness (see 4 and Table 5), indicating that Japanese ESL learners have very little difficulties in acquiring the implications of get-passives.

Negative implications of be- and get-passives in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship. The latter part of the H₁, which predicts the negative implications of be- and get-passives perceived by the JPN subjects in terms of a human and non-human subject relationship, was found to be irrelevant to the purpose of this study for the same reason mentioned in the discussion of Hypothesis 2. Both JPN and AME subjects tended to perceive stronger adversative implications from the get-passives with a human subject than from those with a non-human subject (see Table 6). This suggests, along with the results of be-passives, that adversative implications of Japanese adversity passives are more likely to transfer when passives contain a human subject. However, this is positive L1 transfer, which does not interfere with the learning process because the two languages share the tendency that passives with a human subject are more likely to carry adversative implications.

Conclusion

Summary of the findings. This study has examined whether or not structural and pragmatic features of Japanese adversity passives would cause L1 interference when Japanese ESL learners perceive English passives. The results showed that the L1 passive features would negatively transfer both structurally and pragmatically, but they yielded clearer evidence for pragmatic interference than for structural interference.

When Japanese ESL learners try to judge the grammaticality of indirect passive structures, they tend to judge the structure to be grammatical when a passivized verb is transitive, but they do not when a passivized verb is intransitive. One interpretation for this is that the structural L1 interference occurs when a verb is transitive due to the subtle structural differences between Japanese and English; i.e., similarities between ditransitive passives and indirect transitive passives. The interference may not occur when a verb is intransitive due to the clear difference between the two languages; i.e., no instance of passives with an intransitive verb in English. Another interpretation is that the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs are not due to L1 interference but rather due to more general principles of passives in terms of language typology or Universal Grammar. The present study does not offer enough evidence to specify which would be the more appropriate explanation.

On the other hand, pragmatic L1 interference occurs in a clearer way when the learners try to perceive be- and get-passives. The learners tend to

perceive adversative implications from both be- and get-passives due to the strong influence of Japanese adversity passives. The influence from their L1 is strong probably because the pragmatic differences between the two languages are difficult to learn due to their non-apparent nature. At the same time, however, the learners can differentiate be- and get-passives by perceiving less adversative implications from be-passives. This suggests that while the learners have difficulties in overcoming the L1 interference, they start to acquire the proper pragmatic values of be-passives through positive input.

Table 8

Summary of Structural and Pragmatic L1 Interferences

<i>Circumstance</i>	<i>Interference</i>	<i>Cause</i>
<i>(Structural L1 interference: Indirect Passive Structure)</i>		
Intransitive verb	No?	L1 & L2 differences are clear.
(same as above)	No?	UG parameter/typological hierarchy/etc?
Transitive verb	Yes?	L1 & L2 are similar with subtle differences.
(same as above)	No?	UG parameter/typological hierarchy/etc?
<i>(Pragmatic L1 Interference: Adversative Implications)</i>		
Be-passives	Yes	L1 & L2 differences are not visible.
Be/Get-passive relation	Yes	L1 & L2 differences are not visible.
(same as above)	No	Learning through positive input.
Human subject	N/A	(L1 & L2 are the same.)

An interesting finding is that a subject being human or non-human does not cause L1 interference. Rather, a human subject is an indicator of adversity not only for Japanese but also for English.

The data also revealed that as opposed to the claims from previous research, get-passives in English seem to have stronger tendency to carry negative implications rather than positive implications in non-contextual situations.

The summary of the structural and pragmatic L1 interferences are presented in Table 8 above.

Implications for SLA theory. In chapter 2, three kinds of theory were introduced regarding the role of L1 in SLA. They are: the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH), L1 interference due to L1 and L2 similarities, and L1 interference due to functional differences. The CAH, which predicts that the greater the differences between L1 and L2 are the harder it is to learn L2, was denied. The findings of this study revealed that the clear structural differences of the two languages did not cause L1 interference. The second theory, which claims that L1 interference tends to occur when L1 and L2 are similar, was not fully supported. Structural similarities between Japanese indirect passives and English ditransitive passives appeared to trigger L1 interference, but there is not sufficient evidence to confirm this. It is the third theory, which claims that functional differences are a more crucial factor for L1 interference than

structural differences, that the findings seem to best support. While the findings do not offer clear evidence of structural L1 interference, they show evidence of pragmatic L1 interference more explicitly. This difference may suggest that pragmatic differences are more readily observable because they are more likely to cause negative transfer than are structural differences.

Implications for the research by Watabe, Brown, and Ueta. As

mentioned in chapters 1 and 2, this study was partly motivated by the research by Watabe, et al (1991), who examined the acquisition of English passives by Japanese ESL learners in terms of their writing performance. Comparison of the two studies shows several discrepancies between the findings.

First, Watabe et al. claim that L1 passive structures do not transfer because they find very few examples of indirect passive structures created by the learners in the writing samples. In this study, however, at least some evidence of structural interference was found. Second, Watabe, et al. did not find any statistically significant evidence of pragmatic L1 interference in terms of the number of passives they produced. However, statistically significant differences in terms of the unpleasantness perceived by the subjects were found in this study.

These discrepancies seem to suggest the difference between the learners' productive and perceptive performances. Statistical analyses revealed both structural and pragmatic interferences in the learners' perceptive performance level, which this study examined. On the other hand, no such

clear evidence was found in the productive performance level which Watabe et al. investigated.

At least two kinds of explanation can be suggested as reasons for these discrepancies. First, passive structures are more difficult to elicit from informants because passives are a more marked structure than active sentences, which will make the data less obtainable. On the other hand, passives are more easily tested in the perceptive level, and more raw data can be obtained. Second, the informants can choose to avoid using passives if they are not sure about the usage or structure in the production data, which is not likely to happen in the perception data especially in a study like this. Although it is not certain if one of these (or both) happened to the subjects in the study by Watabe, et al., this study did reveal that there are at least some differences between the learners' perception and production data.

Implications for teaching. Although this study found evidence of structural and pragmatic L1 interferences, the question remains as to what to do about it. Should ESL instructors bring this issue to the classroom so that their Japanese students can better understand English passives? If so, the instructors should be careful not to be misguided by the statistical results.

For example, the results of the questionnaire for unpleasantness descriptively show that all the differences between the JPN and AME subjects are in fact not drastic. The ratios of *Be-pass H* and *Be-pass NH* types (see Table 4) and the *Be-pass* and *Pass NH* types (see Table 5) were found to be

significantly different between the two groups, but the actual differences in the ratios are 0.1026, 0.1079, 0.1056, and 0.1000, respectively. This becomes clearer when each individual sentence was compared between the two subject groups. The Kruskal-Wallis tests show that of the total of 36 passives, the answers of only four passives were found to be significantly different (see Table 3).

These may suggest that although the statistics offer significant results, it does not necessarily mean that these will always cause serious trouble for Japanese to acquire English. However, it is desirable for the instructors to be aware of the possibility that the learners may unknowingly misunderstand English passives due to the structural and pragmatic differences between the two languages. I hope that this study will in this respect be of guidance for the instructors.

Limitations and implications for further studies. Although this study sheds some light on the relationship between Japanese adversity passives and their acquisitional effects when Japanese learn English, there are still many aspects of this relationship that this research does not reveal. For example, because the Japanese subjects were limited to the ESL learners who were studying in a regular program at Portland State University, the findings of this study cannot be applied to other Japanese groups of different English proficiency levels. A cross-sectional study among Japanese ESL/EFL learners at different proficiency levels may reveal other findings on

developmental routes of acquisition of English passives. Furthermore, the validity of the findings should be also tested by comparing ESL learners of other L1s both with and without adversative passives. Such a cross-sectional study may reveal whether the result that the Japanese subjects in this study tended to misjudge the indirect passive structures with a transitive verb is due to L1 interference or due to other reasons such as language typology and Universal Grammar. It may also be interesting to examine how second language learners will acquire English middle passives: if there are any difficulties in learning thematic alternation of a predicate when passivization is not marked morphologically.

Finally, it should be mentioned that this study revealed the general tendency that human subjects of passives tend to trigger adversative implications, which was not predicted from the previous studies. Although this finding was not directly relevant to the purpose of this particular study, it offers new issues which are worth further examinations of linguistic typological study and Japanese adversity passives.

It is my hope that the findings and limitations of this study will direct such further studies and bring benefits not only to the researchers of SLA but also to the researchers of other linguistic fields.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative case marker
CAH	Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis
COMP	Complementizer
DAT	Dative case marker
GER	Gerund
IL	Interlanguage
L1	First language
L2	Second language
Lit	Literal meaning
SUB	Subject case marker
PASS	Passive marker
PAST	Past tense marker
PRES	Present tense marker
SLA	Second language acquisition
TOP	Topic marker

APPENDIX B
SURVEY FORMS

Part I

Are the following sentences grammatically correct? Please choose one (correct or incorrect) for each sentence. (The words are all spelled correctly.)

下記の文は、文法的に正しいですか？正しいか正しくないか、二つの中から一つ選んで下さい。（単語のスペルは皆あっています。）

- 1 It's embarrassing for me to be called my name out loud on the street.
 Correct Incorrect
- 2 Tom was died by his father when he was young.
 Correct Incorrect
- 3 I didn't expect Mike to be praised his brother by his teacher in front of the other students.
 Correct Incorrect
- 4 I don't like to be made fun of my culture.
 Correct Incorrect
- 5 It's embarrassing for me to be coughed by someone in front of me.
 Correct Incorrect
- 6 We were walked into our house by a policeman.
 Correct Incorrect
- 7 I was used my brand-new camera by my brother.
 Correct Incorrect

- 8 I didn't expect Ken to be gone away by his girlfriend.
 Correct Incorrect
- 9 No special seasoning was used to cook this dish.
 Correct Incorrect
- 10 This story is read by many people.
 Correct Incorrect
- 11 It's embarrassing for my name to be called out loud on the street.
 Correct Incorrect
- 12 Mary is likely to be teased her funny behavior by her friends.
 Correct Incorrect
- 13 The policeman was suddenly run away by a suspect.
 Correct Incorrect
- 14 My dictionary was stolen by somebody in this room last week.
 Correct Incorrect
- 15 Jane seems to be cried by her baby in the middle of the night.
 Correct Incorrect
- 16 Mike was eaten his favorite pizza by his friend while he was out.
 Correct Incorrect
- 17 Cathy seems to have been stolen her bicycle last week.
 Correct Incorrect
- 18 Professor Walker was slept by his student when he was giving a lecture.
 Correct Incorrect
- 19 I was disturbed my study when my mother came into my room.
 Correct Incorrect

- 20 I was read my diary by my mother.
 Correct Incorrect
- 21 John is likely to be teased by his friends.
 Correct Incorrect
- 22 It's very likely for passengers on a midnight train to be vomited by a drunk.
 Correct Incorrect
- 23 The sushi and tempura were eaten by the cats while we were out.
 Correct Incorrect
- 24 I didn't expect my brother to be praised by his teacher in front of the other students.
 Correct Incorrect
- 25 I was left my baggage at the airport.
 Correct Incorrect
- 26 The teacher was come to his house by his students.
 Correct Incorrect
- 27 We don't like anyone to be made fun of in this room.
 Correct Incorrect
- 28 This CD seems to have been stolen from that CD shop.
 Correct Incorrect
- 29 I don't want to be smoked by my friends in my room.
 Correct Incorrect
- 30 Cathy was stolen her bicycle last week.
 Correct Incorrect
- 31 I was left alone at the airport.
 Correct Incorrect

32 Mary doesn't want to be criticized her job by her husband.

Correct Incorrect

33 I was disturbed by my mother when I was studying.

Correct Incorrect

34 Chris was stayed in her small room by two of her friends last night.

Correct Incorrect

35 I don't want any of my friends to be criticized in my room.

Correct Incorrect

36 I never like to be arrived by my friend very early in the morning.

Correct Incorrect

Part II

What kind of connotations do you think each of the following sentences have? Do you think they are expressing an "Unpleasant" feeling, a "Neutral" feeling, or a "Pleasant" feeling? Please choose one for each. (All the sentences are grammatically correct.)

下記のそれぞれの文は、どのような意味合いを伝えていると思いますか？不快な雰囲気 (Unpleasant)、中立 (Neutral)、好ましい雰囲気 (Pleasant) のうちから一つ選んで下さい。(文は全て文法上正しいものです。)

- 1 The car was taken to my garage while I was out.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 2 That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 3 I was caught by my friend in the hallway.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 4 John will get moved to the accounting section by his manager.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 5 That idea got admired by Mary's classmates.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 6 Mary was admired by her classmates.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 7 Cathy was awarded a prize.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 8 The company will send Judy to the Portland branch next year.
 1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

- 9 I got approached by a TV interviewer on the street.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 10 They awarded Cathy a prize.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 11 Mary got admired by her classmates.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 12 Scott was followed by Alice.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 13 Mike got examined by his doctor.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 14 A big bookshelf will be moved to the accounting section.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 15 I got taken upstairs by Tom when I entered the house.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 16 My teacher asked me to attend the meeting tomorrow.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 17 Alice followed Scott.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 18 A TV interviewer approached me on the street.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 19 The teacher praised John.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 20 The car got taken to my garage while I was out.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

- 21 These documents will be sent to the Portland branch next year.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 22 The car got followed by a truck.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 23 John was praised by his teacher.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 24 Mr. Suzuki got placed in a level B class.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 25 A big bookshelf will get moved to the accounting section.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 26 I was asked to attend the meeting tomorrow.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 27 The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 28 Scott got followed by Alice.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 29 The ball was caught in center field.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 30 Judy will get sent to the Portland branch by the company next year.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 31 I was taken upstairs by Tom when I entered the house.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 32 The car was followed by a truck.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

- 33 Cathy got awarded a prize.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 34 The company was asked to attend the meeting tomorrow.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 35 John got praised by his teacher.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 36 The earth was approached by a small spacecraft.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 37 This book was awarded a prize.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 38 The manager will move Jane to the accounting section.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 39 The ball got caught in center field.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 40 Mike was examined by his doctor.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 41 This book got awarded a prize.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 42 Mary's classmates admired her.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 43 Jane will be moved to the accounting section by her manager.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 44 My friends caught me in the hallway.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

- 45 That idea was admired by Mary's classmates.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 46 Tom took me upstairs when I entered the house.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 47 The earth got approached by a small spacecraft.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 48 This homework got praised by the teacher.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 49 I got caught by my friend in the hallway.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 50 The company got asked to attend the meeting tomorrow.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 51 This homework was praised by the teacher.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 52 A doctor examined Mike.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 53 That cabinet got placed in the level B classroom.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 54 I got asked to attend the meeting tomorrow.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 55 These documents will get sent to the Portland branch next year.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant
- 56 The test was examined by the doctor.
1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

57 I was approached by a TV interviewer on the street.

1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

58 Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class.

1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

59 The test got examined by the doctor.

1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

60 Judy will be sent to the Portland branch by the company next year.

1. Unpleasant 2. Neutral 3. Pleasant

Background Information

1. What is your first language?

Japanese

English

Other (please specify)

2. If your first language is Japanese, please answer the following questions.
If your first language is not Japanese, skip this and go to the question 3.

a. What is your total time you studied English?

b. What is your total time you spent in an English speaking country?

c. Have you lived in an English speaking country before you graduated
from high school for more than one year?

yes

where and for how long?

no

d. What class(es) are you currently taking at PSU?

ESL

Regular program

3. Have you studied languages other than English before?

(For both native speakers of Japanese and English)

Language	Length	Where? (at school? living abroad?)
_____	____ yr ____ mo	_____
_____	____ yr ____ mo	_____
_____	____ yr ____ mo	_____
_____	____ yr ____ mo	_____

Thank you for your cooperation.
ご協力ありがとうございました。

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to take part in this linguistic research project.

I understand that the study involves answering a written test and questionnaire about English sentences. I also understand that this will not be used to judge my academic level or ability and thus the results of this will not affect my academic status or grades.

Koichi Sawasaki has told me that the purpose of this study is to examine how a Japanese learning English perceives and interprets English sentences.

I may not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study. But the study may help to increase knowledge that may help others in the future.

Koichi Sawasaki has offered to answer any questions I have about the study and what I am expected to do.

He has promised that all information I give will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and that the names of all people in the study will remain anonymous.

I understand that I will be rewarded with 2 US dollars or a gift certificate of near equal value upon completion of my participation. But I also understand that I do not have to take part in this study, and that I may withdraw from this study without hurting my course grades or my relationship with Portland State University or any other institution that I belong to.

I have read and understand the above information and agree to take part in this study.

Date: _____ Signature: _____

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the Chair of the Human Subject Research Review Committee, Research and Sponsored Projects, 105 Neuberger Hall, Portland State University, 503/725-3417.

同意書

私、_____は、この言語学に関する研究に協力することに同意します。

私は、この研究が筆記によるテストとアンケートから成っており、これが私の学力を測るためのものでないこと、またこの結果が私の成績や大学での身分に影響しないことを理解しています。

本研究者である澤崎宏一は、この調査が、英語を勉強する日本人がどのように英語の文を捉え、解釈するかを調べるものであることを私に説明しました。

私がこの研究に協力することで直接の利益は受けないかも知れませんが、将来第三者にとって有益なものになることは考えられます。

澤崎宏一は、この研究に協力するにあたって、私の質問に答え、私の役目を明確にしました。又、私の提供する情報は、法律の定める範囲に於いて機密に保管され、協力者全員の名前は匿名扱いとされることを約束しました。

協力を完了した場合は、2 USドルの報酬を、現金又は相当額のギフト券で受け取ることを了解しています。しかし、私は、この研究に協力する義務はなく、途中で協力を放棄することもでき、いかなる場合であっても、このことが私の成績やポートランド州立大学での私の立場を左右しないことも理解しています。

私は上記を読み、理解した上でこの研究に協力することに同意します。

日付： _____ 署名： _____

*本件に関して御質問、御不明な点のある場合は、下記までお問い合わせ下さい。

The Chair of the Human Subject Research Review Committee, Research and Sponsored Projects, 105 Neuberger Hall, Portland State University, 503/725-3417

APPENDIX C
LIST OF THE THREE PASSIVE TYPES
IN THE GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TEST

*The numbers in parentheses indicate the number in the test.

A. Indirect passives with an intransitive verb (ungrammatical):

- Tom was died by his father when he was young. (2)
 It's embarrassing for me to be coughed by someone in front of me. (5)
 We were walked into our house by a policeman. (6)
 I didn't expect Ken to be gone away by his girlfriend. (8)
 The policeman was suddenly run away by a suspect. (13)
 Jane seems to be cried by her baby in the middle of the night. (15)
 Professor Walker was slept by his student when he was giving a lecture. (18)
 It's very likely for passengers on a midnight train to be vomited by a drunk. (22)
 The teacher was come to his house by his students. (26)
 I don't want to be smoked by my friends in my room. (29)
 Chris was stayed in her small room by two of her friends last night. (34)
 I never like to be arrived by my friend very early in the morning. (36)

B. Indirect passives with a direct object preserved (ungrammatical):

- It's embarrassing for me to be called my name out loud on the street. (1)
 I didn't expect Mike to be praised his brother by his teacher in front of the other students. (3)
 I don't like to be made fun of my culture. (4)
 I was used my brand-new camera by my brother. (7)
 Mary is likely to be teased her funny behavior by her friends. (12)
 Mike was eaten his favorite pizza by his friend while he was out. (16)
 Cathy seems to have been stolen her bicycle last week. (17)
 I was disturbed my study when my mother came into my room. (19)
 I was read my diary by my mother. (20)
 I was left my baggage at the airport. (25)

Cathy was stolen her bicycle last week. (30)

Mary doesn't want to be criticized her job by her husband. (32)

C. Direct passives (grammatical):

No special seasoning was used to cook this dish. (9)

This story is read by many people. (10)

It's embarrassing for my name to be called out loud on the street. (11)

My dictionary was stolen by somebody in this room last week. (14)

John is likely to be teased by his friends. (21)

The sushi and tempura were eaten by the cats while we were out. (23)

I didn't expect my brother to be praised by his teacher in front of the other students. (24)

We don't like anyone to be made fun of in this room. (27)

This CD seems to have been stolen from that CD shop. (28)

I was left alone at the airport. (31)

I was disturbed by my mother when I was studying. (33)

I don't want any of my friends to be criticized in my room. (35)

APPENDIX D

LIST OF TWELVE SETS OF THE SENTENCE TYPES

IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNPLEASANTNESS

The questionnaire consists of twelve sets of sentences. Each set consists of the following five types of sentence (A to E):

- A: Active sentence
- B: Be-passive with a human subject
- C: Be-passive with a non-human subject
- D: Get-passive with a human subject
- E: Get-passive with a non-human subject

The last three sets of the following list are distracters which contain lexically positive meaning in their verb. The numbers in parentheses indicate the numbers in the questionnaire.

- A. The manager will move Jane to the accounting section. (38)
 - B. Jane will be moved to the accounting section by her manager. (43)
 - C. A big bookshelf will be moved to the accounting section. (14)
 - D. John will get moved to the accounting section by his manager. (4)
 - E. A big bookshelf will get moved to the accounting section. (25)
-
- A. The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class. (27)
 - B. Mr. Suzuki was placed in a level B class. (58)
 - C. That cabinet was placed in the level B classroom. (2)
 - D. Mr. Suzuki got placed in a level B class. (24)
 - E. That cabinet got placed in the level B classroom. (53)
-
- A. A doctor examined Mike. (52)
 - B. Mike was examined by his doctor. (40)
 - C. The test was examined by the doctor. (56)
 - D. Mike got examined by his doctor. (13)
 - E. The test got examined by the doctor. (59)

- A. Alice followed Scott. (17)
 - B. Scott was followed by Alice. (12)
 - C. The car was followed by a truck. (32)
 - D. Scott got followed by Alice. (28)
 - E. The car got followed by a truck. (22)
-
- A. My teacher asked me to attend the meeting tomorrow. (16)
 - B. I was asked to attend the meeting tomorrow. (26)
 - C. The company was asked to attend the meeting tomorrow. (34)
 - D. I got asked to attend the meeting tomorrow. (54)
 - E. The company got asked to attend the meeting tomorrow. (50)
-
- A. The company will send Judy to the Portland branch next year. (8)
 - B. Judy will be sent to the Portland branch by the company next year. (60)
 - C. These documents will be sent to the Portland branch next year. (21)
 - D. Judy will get sent to the Portland branch by the company next year. (30)
 - E. These documents will get sent to the Portland branch next year. (55)
-
- A. Tom took me upstairs when I entered the house. (46)
 - B. I was taken upstairs by Tom when I entered the house. (31)
 - C. The car was taken to my garage while I was out. (1)
 - D. I got taken upstairs by Tom when I entered the house. (15)
 - E. The car got taken to my garage while I was out. (20)
-
- A. My friends caught me in the hallway. (44)
 - B. I was caught by my friend in the hallway. (3)
 - C. The ball was caught in center field. (29)
 - D. I got caught by my friend in the hallway. (49)
 - E. The ball got caught in center field. (39)
-
- A. A TV interviewer approached me on the street. (18)
 - B. I was approached by a TV interviewer on the street. (57)
 - C. The earth was approached by a small spacecraft. (36)
 - D. I got approached by a TV interviewer on the street. (9)
 - E. The earth got approached by a small spacecraft. (47)

(Distracters)

- A. Mary's classmates admired her. (42)
 - B. Mary was admired by her classmates. (6)
 - C. That idea was admired by Mary's classmates. (45)
 - D. Mary got admired by her classmates. (11)
 - E. That idea got admired by Mary's classmates. (5)
-
- A. They awarded Cathy a prize. (10)
 - B. Cathy was awarded a prize. (7)
 - C. This book was awarded a prize. (37)
 - D. Cathy got awarded a prize. (33)
 - E. This book got awarded a prize. (41)
-
- A. The teacher praised John. (19)
 - B. John was praised by his teacher. (23)
 - C. This homework was praised by the teacher. (51)
 - D. John got praised by his teacher. (35)
 - E. This homework got praised by the teacher. (48)

APPENDIX E

PILOT TEST FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNPLEASANTNESS

The test consists of 14 sets of short English sentences, 12 of which are identical with the sets presented in Appendix D. The remaining two sets which were eliminated from the list after the pilot study are:

- A. They requested Mary to show her passport.
 - B. Mary was requested to show her passport.
 - C. The company was requested to show its official document.
 - D. Mary got requested to show her passport.
 - E. The company got requested to show its official document.
-
- A. Mary's family left Mary in her room.
 - B. Mary was left in her room.
 - C. A wallet was left in Mary's room.
 - D. Mary got left in her room.
 - E. A wallet got left in Mary's room.

(Also see the next page.)

Table 9

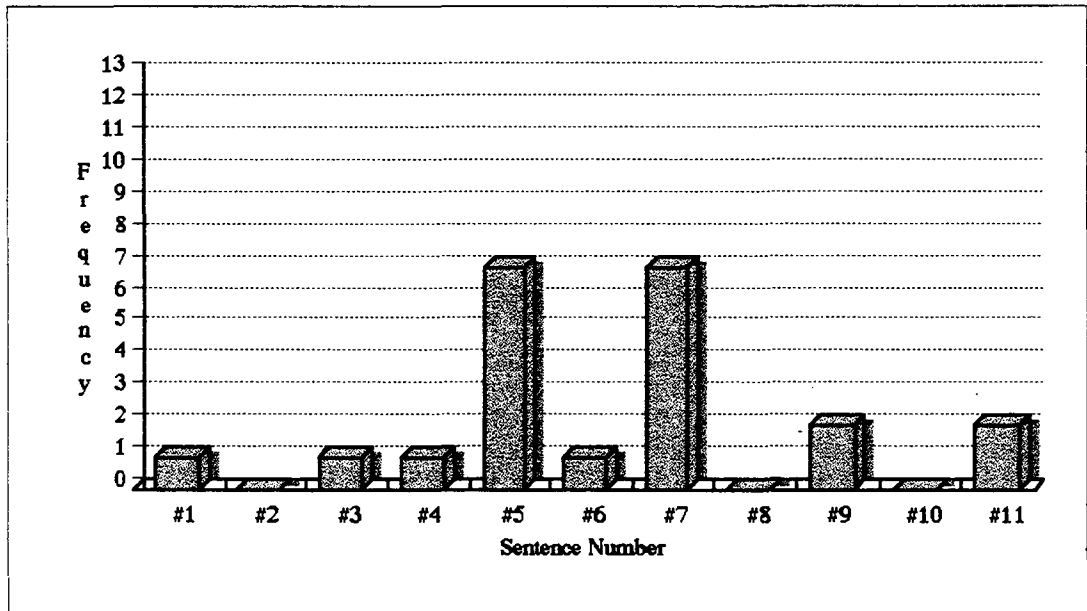
Active Sentences of the Non-dummy Sets in the Pilot Test

1. The manager will move Jane to the accounting section.
2. The school placed Mr. Suzuki in a level B class.
3. A doctor examined Mike.
4. Alice followed Scott.
5. They requested Mary to show her passport.
6. My teacher asked me to attend the meeting tomorrow.
7. Mary's family left Mary in her room.
8. The company will send Judy to the Portland branch next year.
9. Tom took me upstairs when I entered the house.
10. My friends caught me in the hallway.
11. A TV interviewer approached me on the street.

Figure 4

Number of Unpleasant Answers for Active Sentences in the Pilot Test

(n=13)



After the pilot test, sentences 5 and 7 were removed from the questionnaire.

APPENDIX F

JPN SUBJECTS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION

ABOUT THE LENGTH OF STUDYING ENGLISH

AND LIVING IN AN ENGLISH SPEAKING COUNTRY

Subject	Time Studied (yr/mo)		Time Lived (yr/mo)		Subject	Time Studied (yr/mo)		Time Lived (yr/mo)	
1	10	0	2	0	20	15	0	5	0
2	10	0	2	6	21	9	0	3	6
3	11	0	5	0	22	10	0	4	0
4	11	0	4	6	23	10	0	3	0
5	15	0	6	0	24	10	8	4	8
6	16	0	3	0	25	11	0	5	0
7	9	0	0	10	26	11	0	5	0
8	12	0	1	4	27	10	0	4	0
9	23	0	2	6	28	---	---	2	0
10	10	0	4	0	29	12	0	3	0
11	11	0	4	0	30	13	0	3	0
12	11	0	1	0	Average	12	2	3	4
13	12	0	1	1					
14	10	0	3	0					
15	22	0	2	5					
16	12	0	6	0					
17	15	0	2	0					
18	10	0	4	0					
19	11	0	3	6					

APPENDIX G

RAW DATA OF GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TEST

0 = No answer

1 = Answer for *Correct*

2 = Answer for *Incorrect*

Subject Answers for question 1 to 36

JPN01 12211122112111122112111121111211111111
 JPN02 222212221121222222221111221122111212
 JPN03 121111211121111222121111221122111222
 JPN04 121111221121211222121211222122111212
 JPN05 122222221122222222222211222122121222
 JPN06 122121221122212222221211221222121212
 JPN07 122112222121212222221211221122111212
 JPN08 122111222121112212121111212121211211
 JPN09 122122221121212222221111222122111222
 JPN10 222112211122211222122111222122111222
 JPN11 122222222122212222122111221222211212
 JPN12 221222222122212212222111212121221222
 JPN13 22222121112111212111111121111111222
 JPN14 122112211121112122121111221122111212
 JPN15 122121221121212222121211221122111212
 JPN16 222111221121111222221211221112111221
 JPN17 122211221122212222221111221122121212
 JPN18 221112222121212212121211221122111222
 JPN19 222111211122111212112111221111111211

JPN20 222111221112212222211111221122101212
JPN21 122121221121212222121111221222111212
JPN22 12111121212211121212121122111111212
JPN23 122112221111212212121211222112121211
JPN24 121212221111212212221211222121112212
JPN25 121111221111212122121111221122111212
JPN26 222112211101112222121111221122111212
JPN27 121122221121212212221211222221111212
JPN28 122122221112212122122211222122211222
JPN29 222122221111212222121221221122111212
JPN30 122121212122111112122211221121111212

APPENDIX H

RAW DATA OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNPLEASANTNESS

- 0 = No answer
 1 = Answer for *Unpleasant*
 2 = Answer for *Neutral*,
 3 = Answer for *Pleasant*

Subject Answers for question 1 to 60

JPN01 22213332233222222312132232121323332322233223213112211122212
 JPN02 22113333233112211232213222122113131312133113213113221212212
 JPN03 2222231313332313333222223311212232123122322231122232222322
 JPN04 222221323321222213322132221221132323222312212222222223222
 JPN05 22112331132112223221213123212211222131333312321212322222222
 JPN06 22112332123112222222131222121113232222122112122122221221221
 JPN07 11223332233112211231213122112111323131213112321322322223121
 JPN08 1231233223223323333232323222113321221223222211221322222222
 JPN09 132123132313111333313131133131331313321313333311113311133313
 JPN10 122223321232222211121312222221323232223322322322322221122
 JPN11 231132331223131333331233233212131121332313233311112322331312
 JPN12 322233322231222233321312222211323232213322322222222211212
 JPN13 231223331221122333323121312122123122232123112312112321221222
 JPN14 2221333123311212222213121112111223232222322332322322222222
 JPN15 22223332133122221132213222212221323222223223223223222221222
 JPN16 223232223132121211212133312123223232221233222213122231322212
 JPN17 222112221231221122212123332333213232321233133333113231323313
 JPN18 113332131133311333332333212312122132313233231322311322112312
 JPN19 221233322331201212322121222122213232222233223212112221222212

JPN20 221133323232221222212131212121123232221232122213112211121122
JPN21 222133321331121111322131222123113332322133323213123121211121
JPN22 221133322231221312322132222122213232322233222322223222222222
JPN23 122323233223233333313331322332232233133313333322223312232123
JPN24 2222333233322222233222322222222223232322233223223223222223222
JPN25 22233332332122122222131122111223233322232222213222221222222
JPN26 21111332323312122121213322212122323131223223221212222222222
JPN27 121133323331221223312132322122223232311233133213113222223212
JPN28 12222232322212113312223313212213132133233232322232233322122
JPN29 121223323331221223321121222223312231212133123123113221222123
JPN30 13213333333122222232213222211222323332223312322322222222222
AME01 222133322331221222322132331121122332312223322221132221222212
AME02 121233332332221222312132222233113332313233233223133222212213
AME03 22232332233222232232213223223332333133232332322212322222322
AME04 22233332232222222322233222222222212322232222222222222222
AME05 221333321332121222322131223121222223311223333112113211122010
AME06 22112332232222122231213122212112212231222322222223222222222
AME07 221123321222221222302131222123221232311213123212123222212212
AME08 232112321211132332213121133122231222321213232311111311123312
AME09 223233321331233121312231311131323333313233133333133121211111
AME10 121123312231222222312131233221223332321323213322123223323213
AME11 211233322332221323312131221211222323331223323222223222223232
AME12 3232333323322222232223222232223223232223322322322322222222
AME13 2232333223322212223222322223212323232223323322322322222122
AME14 1233333223322322213122322322222323132223333322332322322222
AME15 22123332333212122332213223312222223332223322322222322222222
AME16 22323332333222222332223221222223233322233232232323222223222
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AME18 2222333223322222231213222212222323232223323322312322222222

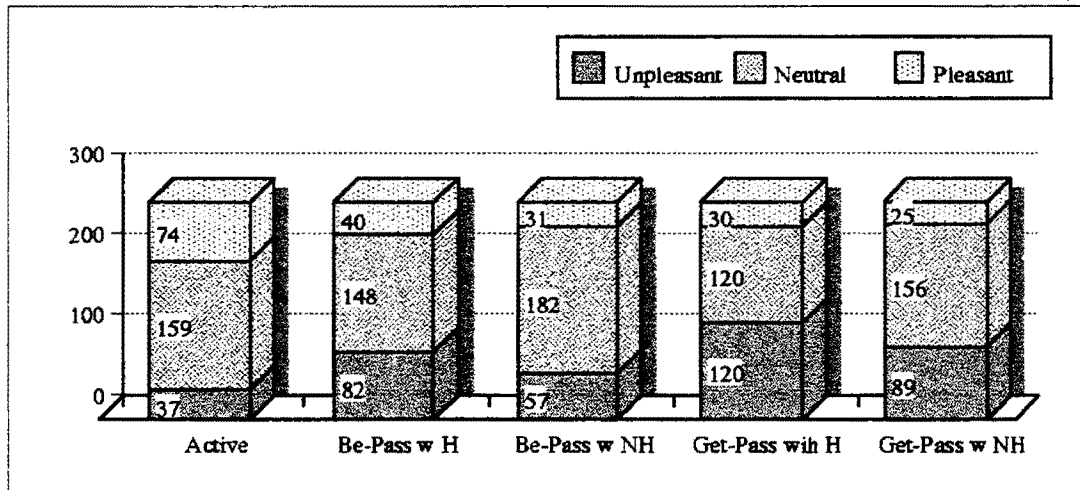
AME19 22123333332222223221323222222323232223323322312322222222
AME20 22113332233212222322232232323232322133213223223122222223
AME21 123133311331121111312132112131113133313133133313113321211212
AME22 2232333223322222232223222223222323232223321322322322222222
AME23 311133311331221112312131211121123131212123113112113221112111
AME24 22333332332222223222312212232232323322333322332322222123
AME25 32333332333122232333223222212222323332222323323312222223222
AME26 22222222222222222222122112222222321233223213123223222122
AME27 2212333223322212223222322222222323232223322322312322322222
AME28 2222333323322212223221322221222232323212332232231232222222
AME29 111333231331132221332231231123213131232123333213123223221123
AME30 123113333312121233333132233131232213322323331321112332333311

APPENDIX I

NUMBER OF OBTAINED ANSWERS FOR EACH SENTENCE TYPE

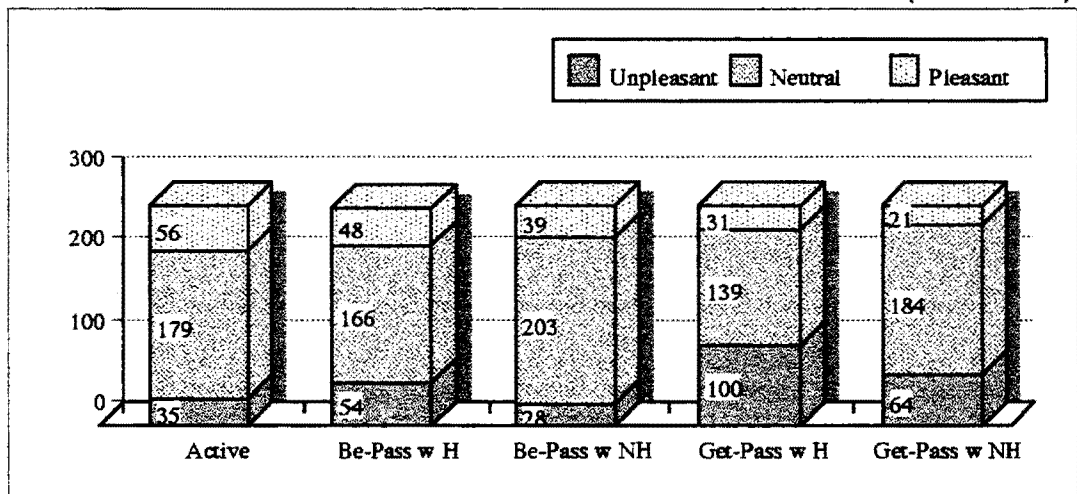
JPN Group

(Max = 270)



AME Group

(Max = 270)



9 sentences for each sentence type X 30 subjects = 270 max answers.

APPENDIX J
KRUSKAL-WALLIS TEST RESULTS

Sentence Type	No.	JPN Mean Rank	AME Mean Rank	Significance
Active	7	29.00	32.00	0.0780
Active	16	29.00	32.00	0.2821
Active	17	27.00	34.00	0.0206 *
Active	18	30.00	31.00	0.7200
Active	27	33.00	28.00	0.0730
Active	38	31.10	30.00	0.7675
Active	44	31.00	30.00	0.6901
Active	46	30.50	30.50	1.0000
Active	52	31.00	30.00	0.5569
Be-Pass H	3	31.50	29.50	0.6012
Be-Pass H	12	27.00	34.00	0.0691
Be-Pass H	26	29.50	31.50	0.4921
Be-Pass H	31	26.50	34.50	0.0298 *
Be-Pass H	40	29.50	31.50	0.5221
Be-Pass H	43	28.00	33.00	0.1393
Be-Pass H	57	28.00	33.00	0.0981
Be-Pass H	58	29.62	30.40	0.8081
Be-Pass H	60	30.05	29.95	0.9654
Be-Pass NH	1	28.50	32.50	0.2469
Be-Pass NH	2	30.50	30.50	1.0000
Be-Pass NH	14	28.45	31.50	0.0730
Be-Pass NH	21	29.50	31.50	0.1538
Be-Pass NH	29	28.00	33.00	0.0462 *
Be-Pass NH	32	34.50	36.50	0.0011 *

Sentence Type	No.	JPN Mean Rank	AME Mean Rank	Significance
Be-Pass NH	34	30.00	31.00	0.7200
Be-Pass NH	36	29.00	32.00	0.3512
Be-Pass NH	56	31.00	30.00	0.7200
Get-Pass H	4	38.00	33.00	0.1942
Get-Pass H	9	29.00	32.00	0.3941
Get-Pass H	13	28.50	32.50	0.2774
Get-Pass H	15	30.50	30.50	1.0000
Get-Pass H	24	29.00	32.00	0.4360
Get-Pass H	28	28.50	32.50	0.2959
Get-Pass H	30	31.00	30.00	0.7763
Get-Pass H	49	32.50	28.50	0.3014
Get-Pass H	54	27.50	33.50	0.0937
Get-Pass NH	20	29.70	30.31	0.8717
Get-Pass NH	22	27.50	33.50	0.1032
Get-Pass NH	25	30.50	30.50	1.0000
Get-Pass NH	39	30.50	30.50	1.0000
Get-Pass NH	47	26.00	35.00	0.0178 *
Get-Pass NH	50	27.50	33.50	0.0284
Get-Pass NH	53	29.50	31.50	0.3934
Get-Pass NH	55	30.00	31.00	0.6901
Get-Pass NH	59	30.50	30.50	1.0000

df = 1, n = 60

* indicates $p < 0.05$

The *Unpleasant* answers were codified as 1 and the *Neutral* and *Pleasant* answers were codified as 2.