

A Comparative Analysis of Requests in *Majo no Takkyūbin* and *Kiki's Delivery Service*

Kate Elwood

Introduction

Majo no Takkyūbin, a children's animated film directed by Hayao Miyazaki about a thirteen-year-old witch leaving home and starting life in a new town, was released in Japan in 1989. McCarthy (1999) notes that an English-language dub by Carl Macek, approved by Miyazaki, entitled "Kiki's Delivery Service" was shown on Japan Airlines' trans-Pacific flights. However, the film reached a much wider English-speaking audience when another English version of it with the same name (also approved by Miyazaki), commissioned by Disney and overseen by Jack Fletcher, was released on video in the U.S. in 1998.

Disney's "Kiki's Delivery Service" received very good reviews by American film critics. While most focused on the story and animation technique, virtually all mentioned at least briefly the English film's excellent voice cast. Jay Boya of The Orlando Sentinel wrote:

"A Japanese production from the acclaimed animator Hayao Miyazaki, it features a new English-language script and familiar, American-sounding voices. Trust me, the kids won't know the difference."

Ken Eisner of Variety concurred:

"Nippon's box office champ back in 1989, this breathtaking feature has been given deluxe English-lingo re-recording, led by Kirsten Dunst as a teenage witch-in-training and the late Phil Hartman as her wise-cracking cat. (It had a negligible Carl Macek dub job at the beginning of the decade.) ... Big draw for the parents will be the stellar voice cast, starting with Dunst, buoyantly believable as the 13-year-old witch who must leave home to find her way as a witch."

The English film has a few obvious differences from the Japanese original, most notably, new opening and ending music and some additional script, particularly for the role of the cat, Jiji. There is also one obvious change to the script in a scene in which Kiki first gets to know Osono, a woman who will befriend her. In the Japanese film, Osono offers Kiki coffee. However, probably because it would be strange in the U.S. to offer a young teen coffee, the dubbers changed the refreshment to cocoa.

While these are the only overt changes, the dubbed version is by no means a semantically identical rendition of the Japanese script and in fact, a direct translation of the Japanese script is widely available on the Internet for anime purists who do not know Japanese but want to experience the "real" version.

Part of the script changes can be attributed to the nature of dubbing compared to written translation or new performances in another language. For dubbing to appear natural to the viewer, it is necessary that when the mouth of the character speaking is visible, the length of the utterance in the dubbed language must be roughly the same as that of the original language. Yet, it does not appear likely that length considerations were the only foundation for modifications in the translation because sometimes the changed language is spoken when a character's mouth is not visible and at other times words closer to the original are of appropriate length but have not been employed.

Certainly, the dubbers sought to use turns of phrase that sound natural in English, something that is particularly important in a film

targeted at children. For example, when Osono tells Kiki that having a phone installed will be expensive, she says, *Mottainaiyo!* The Internet translator has rendered this quite precisely as “That’s wasteful” but it has become, less closely but more naturally, “Don’t waste your money!” in the English video. In this sort of example, one type of expression that is similar though not exactly equivalent in meaning to the original utterance may have been substituted simply because the closer approximation is used less frequently in English than the Japanese *mottainai* is used.

On the other hand, there are some modifications in the dubbed script that cannot be explained by considerations of simple lexical frequency, either. These changes appear to be related to pragmatic features of Japanese and English and if it is accepted that the both *Majo no Takkyūbin* and “Kiki’s Delivery Service” have natural-sounding scripts, a systematic analysis of the language used in the two versions can reveal interesting insight into cross-cultural differences.

Definitions of Requests

The present study examines the language used in making requests in the two versions of the Miyazaki film. Requests are an interesting area for study because they are inherently face-threatening, entailing an imposition on the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Additionally, there are many ways of expressing the same appeal. In the film, there are a range of request situations, including those between Kiki and her parents, her peers, her cat, and her delivery service customers, with varying degrees of imposition.

Searle (1979) asserts the following “felicity conditions” for “directives”, which include requests and commands: 1) preparatory: the hearer is able to perform the act; 2) sincerity: the speaker wants the hearer to perform the act; 3) content: the act specified is a future act; 4) essential: it counts as an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do

the act.

Tsui (1994) considers the difference between requests and orders as one of compliance: in orders, non-compliance is not an option. Trosberg (1995) further distinguishes requests from other impositive speech acts on the basis of “benefit to speaker” and “cost to hearer”. A suggestion is beneficial to both the hearer and the speaker. Advice, on the other hand, is characterized by the act being of benefit solely to the hearer. To complicate the matter, requests may be presented as advice or suggestions, while advice or suggestions may take the form of a request.

Thus, even the process of determining whether an utterance is a request can be a daunting task. It is not always clear whether compliance is mandatory or precisely who will benefit. For example, in the first request analyzed, Kiki’s mother tells her to write a letter as soon as she is settled. Obviously, Kiki’s mother wants the letter for selfish reasons, but does she also consider this action of benefit to Kiki? Is Kiki free to not act in accordance with her mother’s wishes? Because the film is fictional, it is impossible to assess the illocutionary effect of an utterance with total confidence. Moreover, while most of the hearers submit to the requests in the film, this by no means implies that they had no choice. For the purposes of this study, requests are broadly considered verbal attempts to try to get another person to do something.

English corpus study of requests

In a study based on the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English, a corpus consisting of 87 texts for a total of 435,000 words, mostly gathered in the 1970s in academic settings, and including face-to-face interchanges, phone conversations, speeches, interviews, etc., Aijmer (1996) found that when dividing the 465 requests in the corpus into 18 strategy types, the most frequent was asking about the hearer’s ability

to do something, numbering 137, followed by expressing a wish that the hearer do something and asking for permission to do something, with an incidence of 80 each. The next most frequent strategy was asking whether the hearer was willing to do the action, at 37. Of the remaining 14 types, no type was used more than 18 times in the corpus.

Aijmer further analyzed the frequency of request markers derived from a stem in the form of hearer-oriented questions with a modal auxiliary. These markers include openers to questions of hearer's ability and hearer's willingness. The analysis revealed that of 104 markers, 25 were in the form of *could you*, 20 were *can you*, 13 *would you*, and 10 *will you*. The remainder were modifications of these markers, for example, *would you mind* or *can't you*. Request markers for permission questions were similarly analyzed and out of 70 markers, the most frequent were *let me* (20), *may I* (11), and *can I* (10). Out of 75 occurrences of *please* in 14 types of requests markers, 27 were used with imperatives, 12 with *could you* and 8 or fewer times for each of the remaining markers.

Cross-cultural studies of requests in English and non-Japanese languages

Blum-Kulka (1989) found that in a comparison of the requests of Australian English, Canadian French, Hebrew, and Argentinian Spanish speakers, based on CCSARP data gathered through discourse completion tests encompassing a range of request situations filled in by 400 speakers of each of the various languages, conventionally indirect requests, that is, requests that are immediately recognizable as such but are not completely direct, were the most frequent for all the languages. They were used most often by Australian speakers (82.4% of the time), followed by Canadian French speakers (68.9%), Hebrew speakers (58.6%), and finally, Argentinian Spanish speakers (58.4%). Blum-Kulka further divided conventionally indirect strategies into four

categories covering utterances concerning the hearer's ability to perform the action, the hearer's willingness to perform the action, those related to the non-obviousness of compliance, and suggestory. For all four groups, the first category, utterances concerning the hearer's ability to do the action, was most frequent, although for the Hebrew speakers, utterances concerning the non-obviousness of compliance in the form of *is it possible* were a close second. The Canadian French group used no suggestory formulas.

The study also examined the request perspective, noting whether it was hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented, inclusive, or impersonal. Hearer-oriented requests were most common across the board, ranging from almost complete dominance for Argentinian Spanish at 97.4% to the lowest figure for Hebrew speakers, 54.8%. Australian English speakers used speaker-oriented requests 33.4% of the time and the Hebrew speakers impersonally oriented requests 30.3%.

In a study primarily focused on the interlanguage of Danish learners of English but which includes native-English speaker data, Trosberg (1995) compared requests used by native speakers of British English and Danish speakers in addition to those of the learners in 120 role-play conversations in which the requester and requestee are of equal rank or the requestee is of higher rank. The data was divided into eight strategy types within four categories: category 1 was hints; category 2, conventionally indirect requests that were hearer-oriented, either those related to ability or willingness or those using a suggestory formula. Category 3 was conventionally indirect requests that were speaker-oriented, either those related to wishes or those related to desires or needs. Category 4 was direct requests in the form of obligation, performatives, or imperatives.

Trosberg found that both the Danish speakers and the English speakers used requests related to ability or willingness the most often, followed by hints and requests related to wishes. Neither group used

obligation or performatives. The English group was almost twice as likely to use imperatives but they were only used in 9.6% of the requests and Trosberg notes that they were never used as an initial request but rather as a follow-up when the initial request was not complied with.

Cross-cultural study of requests in English and Japanese

Fukushima (1996) examined Japanese and British English requests in two situations in which the requester and requestee are of the same sex and social rank (students in the same dormitory). The first situation involved the relatively light imposition of borrowing salt, while the second involved the heavier imposition of having a friend stay in the requestees' room. The informants read the situation and uttered their requests into a tape recorder.

The requests were categorized in terms of structures of the head act and supportive moves, strategy types of the head act, forms and types of the head act, and types of supportive moves. Fukushima found that for the first situation both groups used a head act only most frequently, but in the second situation, while the English group used a head act only or a supporting move followed by a head act in roughly the same frequencies, the Japanese group overwhelmingly preferred to use a supporting move followed by a head act.

Regarding strategy types of the head act, the English group chose conventionally indirect requests with a frequency of 100% for both situations. However, the Japanese group used conventionally indirect requests only slightly more than bald on record (direct) requests for situation 1. In situation 2, while 90% used conventionally indirect requests, 10% used bald on record requests. Breaking down forms of the head act into the three categories of imperative, interrogatives, and declaratives, the data revealed that the English speakers used interrogatives at least 90% of the time for both situations, with some use

of declaratives. Imperatives were not used at all. However, the Japanese respondents used all three forms in somewhat more equal frequencies, with imperatives used most often for situation 1 and interrogatives used most for situation 2.

Fukushima classified head act types according to 13 categories, and found that for situation 1, the English group was most likely to ask permission or question the hearer's state by asking whether they had any salt. For situation 2, the English speakers questioned the hearer's will, desire or willingness most often, followed by asking permission on behalf of the third party, or questioning the hearer's ability to perform the act. The Japanese speakers, on the other hand, were most likely to express their desire in situation 1, a category not used by the English speakers in either situation, followed by questioning whether the hearer would do the action or questioning the hearer's will, desire or willingness. For situation 2, they were most likely to question whether the hearer would do the action or to ask permission. Regarding supportive moves, both the English and Japanese groups used grounders, that is, providing a reason for the request in both situations. The Japanese respondents also made mention of availability fairly often (30% frequency) in situation 1.

Classification of requests in *Majo no Takkyūbin and Kiki's Delivery Service*

25 requests were chosen from *Majo no Takkyūbin and Kiki's Delivery Service*, which were then classified based on the system developed by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and modified by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989). One further type of mitigating supportive move, "availability" was added, following Fukushima's (1996) classification. Requests were categorized according to:

1. Unit(s) for analysis: the number and order of head act(s) and supportive move(s).
2. Strategy type(s):
 - a) bald on record requests, that is, explicit statements of what the speaker would like the hearer to do, such as requests using imperatives, performative verbs, or statements related to the speaker's need or desire.
 - b) conventionally indirect requests, such as questions related to preparatory conditions, like "Can you...?" "Can I...?" or suggestions.
 - c) non-conventionally indirect requests, or hints.
3. Request perspective: hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented, inclusive, or impersonal.
4. Downgrader type(s) (if used): Downgraders are syntactic, phrasal, or lexical modifications of the head act which serve to minimize its impository nature, categorized as:

Syntactic downgraders

 - a) interrogative
 - b) negation
 - c) subjunctive
 - d) conditional
 - e) past tense
 - f) aspect

Lexical or phrasal downgraders

 - g) consultative (for example, "do you think..?")
 - h) politeness marker, (for example, "please")
 - i) understater (for example, "a bit".)
 - j) hedge (for example, "somehow" or "kind of")
 - k) subjectivizer (for example, "I wonder")
 - l) downtoner (for example, "perhaps")
 - m) cajoler (for example, "you know")
 - n) appealer (for example, "OK?")
5. Upgrader(s) (if used): Upgraders are phrasal, or lexical modifications of the head act which serve to intensify the request's impact, categorized as:
 - a) intensifier (for example, "terrible")
 - b) commitment indicator (for example, "surely...")
 - c) expletive (for example, "damn")
 - d) time intensifier (for example, "right now")
 - e) lexical uptoner (for example, "mess")
 - f) dermination marker (for example, "and that'sthat!")
 - g) repetition of request (literally or by paraphrase)
 - h) orthographic/suprasegmental emphasis (for example, "*your* room")

- i) emphatic addition (for example, "go and clean")
- j) pejorative determiner (for example, "*that* mess")
- 6. Supportive move(s) (if any): Supportive moves are external to the head act and can occur before the head act or after it, mitigating or aggravating the request:
 - Mitigating supportive moves
 - a) preparatory (for example, "I'd like to ask you something...")
 - b) getting a precommitment (for example, "Will you do me a favor?")
 - c) grounder (for example, reasons, explanations, or justifications)
 - d) disarmer (for example, "I know you're really busy, but...")
 - e) promise of reward ("I'll do the same for you")
 - f) availability
 - Aggravating supportive moves
 - a) insult (for example, "you pig!")
 - b) threat (for example, "if you don't, you'll be in trouble")
 - c) moralizing (for example, "we all have to do our share")

Results and analysis

Types of request structures

Regarding the types of request structures, both the Japanese and English scripts used requests with a head act only most often. This may be because most of the requests had a low degree of imposition and the reasons for the requests were generally self-evident. The English version used requests with only a head act 12% more often than the original film. The percentage of requests with a head act followed by a supporting move were only slightly greater in the English film, and it is in the structure supporting move followed by head act that the percentage difference is generally made up for. This type of structure was used 20% more often in the Japanese film, corresponding with the findings of Fukushima (1996) that when supportive moves are used in conjunction with head acts in Japanese, initial placement is favored.

Supporting moves present in the Japanese film have been omitted in the English film in four scenes, three with the structure of support-

ing move first and one with the supporting move following the head act. The three initial-placement supporting moves that have been cut are in the scenes in which Tonbo, a young boy who is interested in Kiki but toward whom Kiki is rather cool, invites her to a party and in a scene in which Kiki asks Osono to watch the store. The invitation scene, which encompasses two requests, is interesting because the first request in the Japanese film, to listen to what he has to say without getting angry has been significantly changed in the English version from a request to a confirmation, "Come on, you're not still mad at me, are you?" which has been provisionally recorded as a head act only structure, although it is technically not a request. The supporting move following the head act has been removed from the final request in which Kiki borrows a street cleaner's broom.

On the other hand, supporting moves not present in the original have been added to the English translation in two scenes: a final supporting move is added onto the mother's request that Kiki take her broom, and an initial supporting move has been attached to Tonbo's request to see Kiki's broom. In the scene in which Ket's mother asks him to let the dog out and that in which Ursula, a friend of Kiki's asks for milk instead of tea, the position of the supporting move and the head act have been reversed, in both cases moving it from the front of the request to the end.

Table 1: Breakdown of Types of Structures

Structure	HA	HA/SM	SM/HA	HA/SM/HA	SM/HA/SM
Japanese	11(44%)	4(16%)	8(32%)	1(4%)	1(4%)
English	14(56%)	5(20%)	3(12%)	1(4%)	2(8%)

Types of request strategies

Of the 25 requests analyzed in the Japanese film, 81% are bald on record requests, and the remainder are conventionally indirect re-

quests. (Because the request to turn on the radio included two head acts in both versions, the number of strategies and request perspectives is 26, not 25.) No non-conventionally indirect requests were used. However, in the dubbed version, 54% of the requests are conventionally indirect and 42% are bald on record requests. There was one non-conventionally indirect request, which was a conventionally indirect request in the original, in which a man asks Kiki to deliver a package by saying, "It's very urgent this package arrive as soon as possible" without specifying through direct or conventionally indirect forms that he would like Kiki to be the one to deliver it.

Essentially, 11 bald on record requests in the original have been changed to conventionally indirect requests. Of these, six of the Japanese bald on record requests use the performative verbs *tanomu*, *onegaishimasu*, and *uketamawarimasu*. While *tanomu* is casual, and is used twice by Tonbo, in making requests of Kiki, *onegaishimasu* and *uketamawarimasu* are polite ways of making requests and are used by Kiki in speaking to customers and once to Osono in a work-related situation. The English equivalents of these performatives, "I request..." or "I ask..." are more typically used in written communications or when addressing a larger audience.

One conventionally indirect request in the original has been changed to a bald on record request: when Ursula asks milk she uses the interrogative form *kureru?* but this has been changed to the elliptical "some milk" in the English version.

Table 2: Breakdown of Strategy Types

Strategy type	Bald on record	Conventionally indirect	Non-conventionally indirect
Japanese	21(81%)	5(19%)	0
English	10(38%)	15(58%)	1(4%)

Types of request perspectives

Speaker-oriented request perspectives are generally considered less intrusive than hearer-oriented ones. On the other hand, requests are typically associated with a hearer-oriented perspective. Both films used requests that were hearer-oriented the most, but the Japanese film used them 96% of the time, 35% more frequently than the English version. Accordingly, the percentage of speaker-oriented requests was more frequent in the English film. In fact, a speaker-oriented request is used in only one scene in the Japanese film out of the 25 requests scenes, when Kiki asks the dog, *Onegai dekimasuka?* ("Can I ask you to do this?") Interestingly, in the dubbed version, this request is changed to a hearer-oriented perspective: *Could you take this in, please?*, probably because the direct semantic equivalent is quite formal in English.

The Japanese performative verbs discussed above posed a problem in classifying. While the elided subject is clearly in the first person, the thrust of the utterance is on the hearer performing the action in a way that, it is not in, for example, *Can I...?* constructions. Therefore, the requests using performative verbs were counted as hearer-oriented. The higher incidence of hearer-oriented perspectives in the Japanese film is not surprising because it typically, but not always, corresponds to bald on requests, which were also more prevalent in the original film.

Table 3: Breakdown of Types of Request Perspective

Request perspective	Hearer-oriented	Speaker-oriented	Impersonal
Japanese	25(96%)	1(4%)	0
English	16(61%)	8(31%)	2(8%)

Types of request downgraders

Thirty-eight downgraders were used in the English requests,

somewhat more than in the original, in which there were 26. Because more than one downgrader was often used in one request, the numbers do not indicate that downgraders were used in all the situations. One or more downgraders were used in 11 Japanese requests. That is, downgraders were used in 40% of the Japanese requests. On the other hand, one or more downgraders were used in 20 of the English situations, that is, in 80% of the situations, twice as many as in the Japanese film

The interrogative form was the most common in the English film, occurring 15 times compared to six in the Japanese film, which is unsurprising because it is associated with conventionally indirect requests. Politeness markers, in the form of "please" were used eight times and the conditional, *would* or *could* was used seven times. The remaining English downgraders were a consultative device, *do you think?* used twice, three understaters, *at least*, *just a minute*, and *for a while*, and three appealers, *will you?*, *come on*, and *OK?*

The Japanese downgraders were harder to classify. While the *-masu* form is a syntactic politeness marker, it was counted as a lexical politeness marker. *Kudasai* was also included as a politeness

Table 4: Breakdown of Types of Request Downgraders

Downgrader	Japanese	English
Interrogative	6	15
Negation	3	0
Conditional	0	7
Consultative	0	2
Politeness marker	8	8
Understater	3	3
Subjectivizer	1	0
Downtoner	2	0
Appealer	4	3
Total	26	38

marker. No further distinctions were made between the addition of *kureru* to a request in the breakdown of types of downgraders, except indirectly as its use in a request made the whole request interrogative. Negation was used in three requests, but was not used in any English requests, corresponding to Trosberg's (1995) findings.

Chotto and *chotto dake* were classified as understaters, *kashira* as a subjectivizer, *ano* as a downtoner and *ne* as an appealer.

Types of request upgraders

Neither film used many upgraders although they were used more often in the original than in the translation. In classifying the five Japanese upgraders, *yo* and *wa* were counted as intensifiers, *ii darou* as a commitment indicator, and *sono (ongaku)* as a pejorative determiner. Repetition was used in the last request, when Kiki appends *Onegai* to her request to the street cleaner to lend him his broom. The form —*nasai* may be considered a type of upgrader as it intensifies the force of the request. However, it was not included in the classification beyond recording it as a bald on request.

For the two English upgraders, corresponding to the Japanese pejorative determiner, *that (radio)* was counted in the same way, and *be sure to* was considered an emphatic addition.

Table 5: Breakdown of Types of Request Upgraders

Upgrader	Japanese	English
Intensifier	3	
Commitment indicator	1	
Repetition	1	
Emphatic addition	0	1
Pejorative determiner	1	1
Total	5	2

Types of supportive moves in requests

14 mitigating supportive moves were used in the Japanese film in

13 situations out of 25 and 12 in the English film in 10 situations out of 25. No aggravating supportive moves were used. Grounders were the most common for each group, numbering eight each. It was observed that 2, or 25%, of the grounders ended with *kara*, explicitly signaling the utterance's function as a grounder but no English grounders used "because". In the scene in which Tonbo asks to see Kiki's broom, a grounder was added in the English version that was not present in the original giving his reason for the request: "You know, miss, I love flying, too", perhaps to add greater weight to his appeal, especially because Kiki does not know him yet and does not seem overly friendly toward him. Conversely, a grounder in the original in the scene in which Osono asks the customers in the store to wait, explaining that she must return the pacifier a customer left by accident, is changed to a disarmer, discussed below.

The second most frequent type in the Japanese film was preparatory moves, all three of which of which were apologies used to signal that a request was coming: *warui kedo*, *tanomu kara*, and *sumimasen*. *Nee, rajio ha iindeshou?* was counted as a disarmer because it enlisted Kiki's mother's cooperation in the request to the father, and *Kanarazu okaeshishimasu* was counted similarly because it anticipated the street cleaner's objections regarding the soundness of lending a broom to a strange girl. Availability was used once when Ursula appends *Miruku attara* to the front of her request.

The English film used a preparatory supportive move once, also an apology, *sorry*. One disarmer was the same as that in the Japanese, in the scene in which Kiki borrows her father's radio and the other disarmer was used in the situation in which Osono asks her customers to wait, saying, "I'll be right back." Availability was used in the same scene as in the original film, when Ursula asks for milk.

Table 6: Breakdown of Types of Supportive Moves in Requests

Supportive move	Japanese	English
Preparatory	3	1
Grounder	8	8
Disarmer	2	2
Availability	1	1
Total	14	12

Discussion and conclusion

There are a variety of differences in the way requests are made in *Majo no Takkyūbin* and *Kiki's Delivery Service*. 20% more of the requests in the original film follow a structure of a supporting move followed by a head act than in the English film. Some of these structures were reversed in the dubbed version and others were omitted. Supporting moves not present in the original were added in two scenes in the translated script. Overall, supporting moves were used in 12% more scenes in the original.

The Japanese film uses many more bald on record requests than the dubbed version, with a difference in frequency of 43%. The difference in frequency of conventionally indirect requests is accordingly greater in the English film, with a 39% greater degree of frequency. Only the translated script used a non-conventionally indirect request. However, this type of strategy was used only once.

In particular, 23% of the bald on record requests in the original use Japanese performative verbs. The English script uses no performative verbs, which is compatible with the findings of Trosberg (1995) who did not observe any use of performatives in English in the requests of 120 role-played conversations. While performative verbs are often used in service situations by workers to customers, as Kiki uses them in the film, in English they would seem overly formal or

overbearing. While Japanese students often translate *onegai shimasu* into English as verb + *please*, the English film has translated them as *could I, could you, can you, and will you*.

While hearer-oriented requests were the most common type in both films, they were much more prevalent in the original film, with a difference in frequency between the film versions of 35%. There was also a large difference in the frequency of downgraders, with the dubbed version using twice as many (80%) as the original (40%). The interrogative form was only used in 23% of the Japanese situations but featured in 58% of the English request scenes. Politeness markers, in the form of *-masu* suffixes in the Japanese film and the use of *please* in the translated script were of equal number.

Upgraders were not used very much in either film, although they were more frequent in the original. Intensifiers in the form of *yo* or *wa* were the most common. Supporting moves were used in 13 request situations out of 25 in the Japanese film and in 10 request situations out of 25 in the dubbed version. In both films, grounders were the most common type of supporting move.

While it is impossible to say that the findings of the present study "confirm" previous studies regarding the language used in English requests, because the film uses a fictional script, it is nonetheless interesting to note that the translator's intuitions about appropriate language use appear to be consistent with the previous research most notably in the high use of conventionally indirect request strategies, the use of speaker-oriented requests in approximately one-third of the situations, and a lack of use of performatives or negative forms in the English script.

It is important, however, to bear in mind that the language behavior data was derived from speakers of Australian and British English, rather than American English. It is not clear how much difference there is between the three dialects in the performance of

requests. A study of compliment responses on the part of American and South African speakers of English found that the South African speakers of English were more than twice as likely to accept a compliment as the American speakers of English (Herbert, 1989). Therefore, it is by no means clear that the Australian and British data is automatically applicable to American language behavior.

Regarding the difference in the results between the Japanese requests and the British English requests, Fukushima (1996) suggests that in Japanese the use of direct requests may be used to strengthen bonds of solidarity between equals. Fukushima further speculates that a difference in perception on the part of the Japanese and British English speakers regarding who is in the same group may account for the higher frequency of bald on record requests among the Japanese.

Certainly Tonbo appears much more presumptuous in the original. He may assume that he has a right to ask Kiki to see her broom because he has helped her escape from a policeman and because they are the same age. In the English version he also helps Kiki evade the law but all of his bald on record requests have been converted to conventionally indirect ones.

The request on the part of the witch she meets while flying to turn off her radio is conventionally indirect in both languages and uses the negative interrogative form in Japanese and the conditional interrogative form in English. It may seem strange that the witch, also Kiki's age, is using more indirect language and downgraders, but this appears to be a deliberate ploy to increase the sense of social distance between them. The witch's tone of voice and use of a pejorative determiner make clear her unfriendly attitude toward Kiki.

It is possible that the two versions of the film reveal differences in strategies of solidarity and perceptions of social distance. The two Kikis are clearly the same girl and yet the way they interact with others in request situations is not quite the same, at least on a semantic

level. Bassnet (1991) cites Eugene Nida's example of an "equivalent effect" translation of Romans 16:16 in which "greeting with a holy kiss" is rendered as "give one another a hearty handshake all around". While the English script of Miyazaki's film hardly contains this degree of modification, nonetheless it seems evident that the translators have strived for pragmatic, rather than semantic, equivalency.

McCarthy (1999) quotes Michael O. Johnson, the president of Buena Vista Home Entertainment Worldwide, Inc., the company in charge of the U.S. video distribution, as saying Disney "had become a caretaker for this wonderful animation on a worldwide basis, but we don't want to alter it. You don't want to take the Mona Lisa and make her smile. It is our responsibility to deliver these products as they were meant to be delivered." It appears that being true to the spirit of the film required pragmatic modification.

References

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Kiki's Delivery Service website: <http://www.nausicaa.net/miyazaki/kiki/>

Appendix 1: Classification of Japanese Requests

Situation	Structure	Strategy type	Request perspective	Downgrader	Upgrader	Supportive move
Letter	HA	bald	hearer		intensifier	
Take radio	HA/SM	bald	hearer			disarmer
Broom 1	SM/HA	bald	hearer			grounder
Broom 2	SM/HA	bald	hearer	appealer		grounder
Turn on radio	HA/SM/HA	bald/bald	hearer/hearer			grounder
Turn off radio	HA/SM	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., negative	pejorative deter.	grounder
Kiki's broom 1	HA	bald	hearer	interrog., negative, understater		
Kiki's broom 2	HA	bald	hearer	under-stater/appealer	commit. indicator	
Wait 1	SM/HA/SM	bald	hearer	understater		preparator/grounder
Wait 2	HA	bald	hearer			
Delivery 1	HA	bald	hearer	subjectivize		
Sign 1	HA	bald	hearer			
Cat 1	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., downtoner		
Open door	SM/HA	bald	hearer		intensifier	grounder
Cat 2	HA	con. indir.	speaker	interrog.		
Address	HA	bald	hearer			
Invite 1	SM/HA	bald	hearer		intensifier	preparator
Delivery 2	SM/HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., negative appealer		
Invite 2	SM/HA	bald	hearer	appealer		grounder
Store	SM/HA	bald	hearer			preparator
Quiet	HA/SM	bald	hearer			grounder
Sign 2	HA	bald	hearer	downtoner		
Phone	HA	bald	hearer			

Milk	SM/HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog.		availabil.
Broom 3	HA/SM	bald	hearer		repetition	disarmer

Appendix 2: Classification of English Requests

Situation	Structure	Strategy type	Request perspective	Down-grader	Upgrader	Supportive move
Letter	HA	bald	hearer		emphasis	
Take radio	HA/SM	con. indir.	speaker	interrog., understater		disarmer
Broom 1	SM/HA/SM	bald	speaker	conditional		grounder, grounder
Broom 2	SM/HA	bald	hearer	politeness		grounder
Turn on radio	HA/SM/HA	bald/con. indir.	hearer/hearer	/interrog.		grounder
Turn off radio	HA/SM	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., condition	pejorative deter.	grounder
Kiki's broom 1	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., consult, downtoner		
Kiki's broom 2	SM/HA	con. indir.	speaker	interrog.		grounder
Wait 1	SM/HA/SM	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., understater		preparator disarmer
Wait 2	HA	bald	hearer	interrog., appealer		
Delivery 1	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., consult		
Sign 1	HA	con. indir.	speaker	interrog., politeness		
Cat 1	HA	con. indir.	speaker	interrog., politeness		
Open door	HA/SM	bald	hearer			grounder
Cat 2	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., politeness		
Address	HA	con. indir.	impersonal	interrog.		
Invite 1	(HA)	con. indir.	hearer	interrog. appealer		
Delivery 2	SM/HA	non-con.indir.	impersonal		intensifier	
Invite 2	HA	bald	speaker			
Store	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog.		
Quiet	HA/SM	bald	hearer	politeness appealer		grounder
Sign 2	HA	con. indir.	hearer	interrog., politeness		
Phone	HA	bald	hearer	politeness		
Milk	HA/SM	bald	speaker			availabil.
Broom 3	HA	con. indir.	speaker	politeness understater		

1. (Letter) 落ち着く先が決まったらすぐ手紙を書くのよ。/ And be sure to write home as soon as you're settled.

2. (Take radio) お父さん、あのラジオちょうだい。(お母さんに) ねえ、ラジオはい

- いんでしょう? / Dad, oh, could I at least take the radio? Mom, didn't you say I could have the radio?
3. (Broom 1) だめよ、その小さなほうきじゃ。お母さんのほうきを持っていきなさい。 / Honey, it's too small to be really safe. I'd rather you took my broom. I know it better.
4. (Broom 2)... だからいいのよ。よく使い込んであるから嵐に驚かずに飛ぶわ。ね、そうしなさい。 / And that's why it's good. You can rely on it time after time in any kind of weather. Now Kiki, do this for me, please.
5. (Turn on radio) ジジ、ラジオつけて。今手がふさがっているの。早く! / Jiji, climb up and turn on the radio. I don't think I can handle it. Can you do it?
6. (Turn off radio) その音楽止めてくださらない? あたし、静かに飛ぶが好きなの。 / Would you mind turning off that radio? I prefer to fly without being distracted...
7. (Kiki's broom 1) ね、そのほうきをちょっと見せてくれない? / Do you think maybe you could teach me how to fly it?
8. (Kiki's broom 2) 頼むよ。ちょっとだけ。ね? いいだろう。 / You know, miss, I love flying, too. Can I see your broom?
9. (Wait 1) お客さん、悪いけど、ちょっと待って。これ、届けてくるから。 / I'm sorry, folks, but could you wait just a minute? I'll be right back.
10. (Wait 2) 入って待っていて。 / Come in and wait a minute, will you?
11. (Deliver 1) これを届けてほしいんだけど夕方まで間に合うかしら。 / Do you think you can deliver this by tonight?
12. (Sign 1) サインをお願いします。 / Could I please have your signature, Mam?
13. (Cat 1) あの、返していただけますか? / May I have it back, please?
14. (Open door) ケット、ジェフが出たがっているわ。開けてあげて。 / Ket, dear, go open the door. Jeff wants to go out.
15. (Cat 2) お願いできますか。 / Could you take this in, please?
16. (Address) ご住所を承ります。 / And the address?
17. (Invite 1) 頼むから、起こらないで聞いてよ。 / Come on, you're not still mad at me, are you?
18. (Deliver 2) ここで配達をやつとると聞いたんだが。こいつをお急ぎで運んでくれないかね? / They tell me you have a delivery service. It's very urgent this package arrive as soon as possible.
19. (Invite 2) 6時に迎えに来るからそれまでに決めておいてね。 / Well, I hope you make up your mind by 6:00 because that's when I'll be by to pick you up.
20. (Store) すみません、店番をお願いします。 / Can you watch the store until I get back, Osono?
21. (Quiet) 声をかけないで。集中しないとこの荷物重いんだから。 / Please don't talk. I'm trying to fly this broom, OK?

22. (Sign 2) あの、受け取りにサインをお願いします。/ Will you please sign this receipt for me?
23. (Phone) もう電話しないで。/ Please don't call me anymore.
24. (Milk) ミルクあったらくれる? / But some milk, if you have any.
25. (Broom 3) おじいさん、そのブラシを貸してください。お願い。かならずお返しします。/ Please sir, may I use your broom for a while?