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PREFACE

Michael S. Beamer, MA in ESL
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This volume is the result of the hard work and dedication of many people. All of the papers published here were among those presented at the fifth annual Conference for Graduate Students in the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. As always the goal of this conference is to provide a supportive and scholarly forum for graduate students to present their works to fellow students, faculty and community members. The keynote address was given by Professor Sharon Minichiello from the Department of History.

What makes this particular volume truly special is that the conference almost failed to happen--twice! The first scheduled date of the conference unfortunately fell during the first weekend of an unprecedented state-wide strike by all public school faculty members, from kindergarten through graduate school. During the strike and immediately after, members on the planning committee struggled with the decisions which needed to be made in order to still hold the conference. Because we had to reschedule the presenters, we were uncertain if enough would still be able to participate in a conference so close to the end of the semester to make it a viable conference. Running into many obstacles yet determined not to give up, we were finally able to hold the conference on April 28, 2001--a testament to the dedication of all involved.

Specifically, we, the co-chairs of the conference and co-editors of this volume, have to extend our sincere and heart-felt thanks to the following: Dean Roderick Jacobs and Associate Dean Joseph O'Mealy for their support and advice. The funding from the Dean's office not only enables the graduate students to present their works year after year, but also to have them published in the proceedings. Also, special thanks must go to Iris Chang and June Nakaki in the Dean's office for their immeasurable patience and hard work.

Finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to the members of the planning committee who stayed with us to the end and would not give up on the conference in one of the strangest and busiest semesters ever: from the Department of Second Language Studies: Hyunjung Shin and Heather Colwell; from the Department of Linguistics: Diana Stojanovic, Michiko Nakamura, and Keiko Ikeda; from the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures: Hiroyuki Nagahara; and from the Department of English: Tammy Pavich, Steven Tanaka, Meredith Lee, and Tia Berger. Also, we thank all those who helped on the day of the conference to moderate, keep time, register people, and in general make the conference a success. We hope you find the works in this volume stimulating, useful, and informative.

I. East Asian Languages and Literatures

Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language in a Teleconferencing Environment

Zhen Chen, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

1. Introduction

1.1. A Brief History of Distance Education

Despite its recent popularity, education at a distance is not new. It can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution era (Keegan, 1995: 108) some 160 years ago, and is associated with the development of technology, especially in transport and communications. It originated in Europe. The delivery media of the prototype of distance education were limited mainly to correspondence and later included broadcast media such as radio and/or TV. In the United States, the first correspondence program was initiated in 1891 by Wesleyan College (Shomaker, 1998: 4-5).

Distance education has suffered a poor image since the correspondence era. With the rapid development in information technology in the past two decades, the media for delivering distance education expanded to video, audio, audio-graphic, video-conferencing, and computer-conferencing (Moore, 1995: 32; Shomaker, 1998: 4). These telecommunication technologies have changed some features of distance education, and have also generated many debates about the proper definition and characteristics of distance education. Then, what is distance education?

1.2. Distance Education: The Experts' Definition

In 1996, the American Council of Education formed a national task force on distance education, which defined distance education as the following:

"Distance learning is a system and a process that connects learners with distributed learning resources. While distance learning takes a wide variety of forms, all distance learning is characterized by: Separation of *place* and/or *time* between instructor and learner, among learners, and/or between learners and learning resources. Interaction between the learner and the instructor, among learners, and/or between learners and learning resources conducted through one or more media. Use of electronic media is not necessarily required." ¹

1.3. The Focus of the Present Paper

This paper will narrow its focus mainly to the teleconferencing infrastructure, the most novel delivery method that has aroused great interest in distance education in the United States. Teleconferencing includes, but is not limited to, video-conferencing and computer-conferencing. An Interactive Television (ITV)-based course creates a typical video-conferencing environment. The computer-conferencing delivery format can be well-represented in a Web-based course. These two delivery forms help to fill the gap of the separation of *place* and *time*, respectively. University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM) has offered both types of conferencing courses in Chinese language education².

In particular, this paper, given the limited space, will only present descriptions³ of how video-conferencing media have been used in a Chinese as a foreign language teaching and learning environment to link the teachers to one or more distance classes.

2. The Current State of Distance Education for Chinese Language Instruction

Compared to the situation in Europe and Australia, distance education in the United States is rarely found on the research agenda of a university, though some universities have started registering students who wish to work in distance education. Studies on distance education for foreign languages are even more scarce.

The Hawai'ian Islands' geography augments the barriers of space and time between campuses. Many potential students of Chinese do not have access to educational programs from where they live. It is unrealistic, both economically and temporally, for teacher and students to commute on a daily basis. It is equally difficult to provide expert Chinese language instructors or assure minimal class sizes at the dispersed sites. Telecommunication technologies, seamlessly matching with distance educating programs, can break down the barriers.⁴

2.1. What is ITV?

Previously, ITV usually stands for *Instructional TV*. In more recent distance education literature, it refers to *Interactive TV*. Besides its technical features, the Distance Learning & Instructional Technology Services Center (DLIT) at UHM believes that ITV should also be "informational, interesting, innovative, inspiring, and intelligent TV"(DLIT, 1998: 1). At UHM, ITV courses are delivered via the Hawai'i Interactive Television System (HITS⁵) to outer islands as well as off-campus sites on Oahu. This four-channel interactive closed circuit television network can link the studio site at Manoa to three remote sites with two-way video and two-way audio transmission. It can also accommodate two more sites with one-way video and two-way audio service. Students are scattered on the main campus at Manoa, as well as remote sites such as Kapiolani (KCC), Leeward(LCC) on Oahu, Maui, Kauai, and Hilo, and so on.

2.2. The ITV Setting⁶

The studio site classroom at Manoa campus

The studio site classroom, also called the origination classroom, is set up resembling a traditional classroom, with the instructor seated in the front and students' seats arranged in a U-shape. The studio site classroom is equipped with the following:

- A. two *video cameras*: one focuses on the studio site students, one focuses on the instructor.
- B. three *55" monitors showing the program being broadcast*: two in the front, facing the students at the studio site, the other in the back, facing the instructor. Image or activities presented on these three monitors will be all the signals remote students can receive.
- C. three *35" monitors showing receiving sites*: all line up in the back facing the instructor. Up to three remote sites can be shown on these three monitors for the instructor to view student behaviors at remote sites.
- D. one *visual presenter*, viz. ELMO: serves not only as the function of the blackboard in the traditional classroom setting, but also gives full play to display authentic materials. A small preview monitor is placed facing the instructor, which allows the instructor to view what will be on the air.
- E. one *computer* with Internet connection.
- F. multiple *microphones*: wired on the student tables. Students are required to turn on the microphones whenever they speak to the class, so that the program producers who work in the master control room can put them on the air in order that remote students will be able to keep abreast of class proceedings. The instructor's microphone is always on.

Settings for remote sites vary from site to site. The basic provision includes: one camera which always captures the student(s), one monitor that receives the signals of the program transmitted from the studio site, student microphones or a telephone, and a visual presenter.

2.3. The ITV Scenario

In an ITV classroom setting, the instructor usually, but not necessarily, teaches at the studio site to a group of students. The learning environment for the studio site students does not significantly vary from the traditional setting. At the same time, remote students go to one of the receiving sites which is most convenient

for them. Their access to the class is via the receiving monitor at their sites. Remote students will not always see the entire classroom unless the program programmers put it on the "current program" monitor. However, when it comes to interaction, the two-way video and audio conferencing system makes it possible for real-time student-teacher and student-student interactions, even though they are not in the same classroom. Besides the textbook, remote students receive printed or written handouts, tests, and instructions via facsimile or the visual presenter. Their homework and completed tests are transmitted to the instructor on the due day via facsimile.

A typical module in the ITV lower-level Chinese language courses at UHM consists of five 50-minute sessions a week, using the same textbook as other conventional Chinese classes at the same level.

3. Advantages and Disadvantages of Distance Education for Teaching Chinese

3.1. Advantages

In general, the rising teleconferencing-based distance education program helps to make the university resources more widely and more fairly available to the dispersed students. It also enables synchronous and asynchronous group communications, hence stimulates interaction between faculty and students and among students. Specifically, the advantages of the ITV-based Chinese course can be summarized as:

(1) *ITV brings Chinese language expertise to dispersed local students*

Many universities on the neighbor islands and community colleges on Oahu find it difficult to provide Chinese language teachers or assure reasonable class sizes to offer such a course in a conventional classroom. The two-way video-conferencing system makes it possible to bring Chinese language specialists to their sites, allowing scattered students access to the same Chinese course without coming to the UHM on Oahu.

(2) *ITV makes it possible to teach and learn "face-to-face" at a distance*

As described previously, the video-conferencing medium resembles or simulates the setting of a traditional face-to-face classroom to the greatest extent. It links students at various locations with a teacher, allowing individuals or groups of distance learners to be taught in real-time by a classroom teacher. For the first time in history, teachers are able to teach "face-to-face" at a distance. This is essential and critical for foreign language education. The problem of conventional one-way video *Instructional* TV broadcasting is that it is almost impossible for the instructor to know how the students at the receiving sites grasp the language. With the video-conferencing system, remote students have almost the same audio and visual access to the class as conventional students and can interact with the instructor and their peers at any time during the class.

The final ITV evaluations at the end of each semester that I have taught always show that remote students are positive towards this medium. They highly appreciate the real-time feedback, and feel less isolated from the main campus classroom. The students in the main classroom also find it interesting and are satisfied with what video-conferencing brings to them. Of all sixteen evaluation sheets collected in the 1998-99 academic year of the Elementary Chinese ITV course, only one claimed that s/he would not take another ITV course.

(3) *ITV stimulates high interactivity*

Burge reviews Clark's (1994) argument that media do not in and of themselves cause learning to occur; they serve only as a means of delivery. Media attributes may have an impact on the "cost or speed of learning but only the use of adequate instructional methods will influence learning" (Clark, 1994, as cited in Burge, 1995: 153). However, Sholdt (1995) concludes the ITV media, to a certain extent, hampers student interaction. Two of the observations made in his quantitative study on eleven courses offered through HITS show that

- Learners at the studio site rated the interactive TV classroom as significantly more difficult for asking and answering questions with the instructor than in traditional settings, whereas learners at the remote sites did not rate the two environments as significantly different.

- Communicating with other ITV students at different sites was perceived to be more difficult than with other students in the traditional setting.

However, these results are not always the real picture of the ITV Chinese classroom. In the Spring of 1999, I taught two Elementary-level Chinese courses, one in a traditional classroom setting, the other in the ITV environment. Identical teaching methodology and approaches were adopted, and the same activities were designed and utilized in the classrooms. Evidence shows clearly that students (both studio and remote) in the ITV-based course are far more active than those in traditional setting in student-student, student-teacher interaction, not only in classroom oral interactions, but also in after-class written interaction via e-mail. Within the ITV setting, although a couple of remote students occasionally vented their frustrations on technical interference during interaction between sites, most students were elated when being assigned to conduct an interactive activity with students at other sites.

It is important to stress that it will be a waste of the technology if the ITV system is merely to be used as a vehicle for one-way transmission, such as in a conventional *Instructional TV* course. Fulford & Zhang (1993: 8-9) surmised that if there is no interaction there is less interest, and greater likelihood for attention drift and "renegade thought" patterns. Therefore, it is highly suggested that an ITV-based Chinese courses be carefully designed to stimulate interaction among all parties.

(4) *ITV promotes carefully planned and quality course delivery*

It is suggested in the UHM ITV Faculty handbook that "interaction must be carefully planned" (DLIT, 1998: 12). Also, it is suggested that student activities and lecture segments change every 10-15 minutes to prevent student inattention.

Latchem cites the observation made by Beckwith (1994) that "lecturers using video-conferencing make greater and better use of visual material and pay more attention to student feedback than typically applies in conventional teaching"(Latchem, 1995:102). It is true that ITV instructors usually spend considerable time in developing material, activities, reconfiguring the course, and making it more effective for distance delivery. It is more demanding than teaching in the conventional classroom. In addition, "careful attention has to be paid to the affective elements of the environment, such as vocal presence, eye gaze, acoustic courtesies, tactful phrasing of written text, visual presence and a comfortable, energized climate"(Burge,1995:157).

3.2. Disadvantages

Despite different transmission media, there are a number of disadvantages to distance education. For instance, the initial cost for setting up the ITV-based network at all the remote sites, the difficulty in accessing resource materials, remote students' psychological isolation, and the extra workload for instructors, especially for instructors who teach in Web-based courses. The following sections will discuss in more depth the issues of pedagogical and pragmatic disadvantages in delivering the ITV course and how they can be dealt with.

(1) *Remote students lack real face-to-face personal contact with the instructor*

The only student-teacher contact that remote students can get is via e-mail, telephone, or via an ITV system when the students and teacher are both on air for a very limited amount of time during each delivery session. This may, but not necessarily, cause remote students' psychological isolation.

It is therefore suggested that the instructor have some one-to-one on air office hours with each remote student. During such an office hour, the teacher can inquire about the learner's needs and progress in this learning environment, ask if there are any particular difficulties, go through (with the assistance of the visual presenter) the errors on the individual student's homework and tests. UHM ITV Faculty Handbook also encourages the instructor to travel to the remote sites and deliver the course from there at least once a semester.

(2) *The possible delay and lack of clarity of the faxed materials*

Extra class materials, such as activity handouts and tests, are usually faxed to the remote sites, and the coordinators at each site are usually (except for days when they are on leave) very helpful in making enough copies for each student at their site in time for class. However, it usually takes longer for an instructor to receive materials, e.g. homework or test, from students.

The visual quality of the materials that remote students receive are reduced after faxing and copying. It is suggested that instructors always fax the printed material with the original copy and with a clear layout. The original copy should also be ready to be viewed on the visual presenter (by zooming in) in case the remote students request clarification of certain information. Moreover, students' homework or tests written in pencil usually fade after being faxed, making it difficult for the teacher to grade. Therefore, remote students are highly encouraged to use pens or soft pencils on the turned-in materials.

(3) *Instructor lacks control of group behavior among remote students*

Because voices are amplified in the ITV classroom, student microphones are usually left off unless a certain student needs to speak to the entire class. The absence of audio exposure to the instructor and to the entire class may mean that students at remote sites can feel "free" to engage in inappropriate group behavior – all without the teacher's knowledge. For example, in an ITV Chinese classroom, even at the early stage of their Chinese learning, students are required to use *only* the target language in classroom communications. However, it will be difficult to supervise the execution of this classroom regulation. Remote students are prone to seek confirmation from their peer students at the same site by using a common language, may it be English, or another language shared by more than one remote student, such as Japanese or Korean.

4. How are the Four Language Skills Taught via Distance Education

The first question every ITV instructor must ask is how to modify normal classroom teaching to be effective in the ITV environment. Thanks to the two-way video and two-way audio telecommunication technology, an ITV classroom, including one studio site on the main campus and several remote sites, can be set up to resemble a traditional classroom to the greatest extent. It can be described as teaching "face-to-face" at a distance. Therefore, basically all four language skills, viz. listening, speaking, reading and writing, can be imparted to the students with slight adaptation when necessary.

Listening

Fleming (1999) gives the following ITV adaptation on Teaching Listening: Strategies⁷:

Since listening is a receptive skill, in each of these cases the "transaction" is one-directional. That makes these tasks relatively uncomplicated in communicative terms, since there is no negotiation. Even though listening tasks are simple in communicative terms, the technical requirements for various tasks can differ considerably, calling for different kinds of "shots" and the use of various equipment.

Basically, the remote students in an ITV-based Chinese course are exposed to the same amount of the instructor's delivery of the target language as those in the studio classroom. However, technically speaking, if the studio students forget to turn on the microphones when they speak to the class, the remote students will be unaware of what is going on (It may be due to the awareness of the physical distance, the remote students usually will not forget to turn on the microphone when they need to speak to the instructor or to the class). Also, if any student forgets to turn off the microphone after his/her speech, the background noise will be amplified and disturb the entire class. Nevertheless, all such kinds of audio interference are minor problems of all ITV-based classrooms, yet are easily detected and can be solved right away. Therefore, listening skills can be taught in an ITV-based course with no problems.

Speaking

The ITV adaptation on Teaching Speaking: Strategies⁸ offered by Fleming (1999) is as follows:

Speaking activities are generally more difficult to adapt for ITV than listening activities are, and in many cases the objectives of an activity must be more limited than in the traditional classroom version. Whereas in the traditional classroom students have unrestricted and equal opportunities to communicate with all of their classmates in the "mingling" format, in the ITV classroom all communication across sites must flow through the single channel, and some receive-site students may be forced to rely on that single source for information, which restricts their opportunities for interaction. Also, given the many different types of activities possible, many different kinds of "shots" and the use of various equipment may be necessary.

Moreover, as discussed in one of the disadvantages of the ITV-based course, the student microphones are required to be turned off when not speaking to the class; thus, the instructor will have no audio cue as to how remote students are doing, unless they are being called upon. However, it will be equally unfair to the studio students if the remote students are called on at a significantly higher frequency.

When students are directed to do certain role play activities, and if there is more than one remote site, besides walking around in the classroom to supervise how each group at the studio classroom works, the teacher can only listen to one site interaction through earphones, sometimes, which may even be interfered with background noise. For instance, if there are three remote students at the same site, the teacher can only hear the speech between the one student who is assigned to practice with a student at the studio site, but not the other two remote students. When there are more than two remote sites, the situation is more complex and the amount of time that the student-student speaking interaction among remote sites which can be supervised by the instructor is even lower.

Reading

The adapted Strategies for teaching reading and writing⁹ in an ITV classroom is described as follows by Fleming (1999): "In the written channel, adaptation for ITV becomes mostly a matter of managing document delivery. The instructor is faced with choosing between faxing and using the visual presenter, or some combination thereof."

For students *individual* reading, there is not much difference from that of the traditional classroom environment. Each student, whether s/he is at the studio classroom or a remote one, reads from his/her own copy of the textbook. Extra handouts, activities and tests are faxed to the remote sites and distributed among all students.

From the aspect of *collective* visual effectiveness, an ITV-based course may serve the need better than a traditional classroom. Thanks to the lens adjustable visual presenter, an instructor in an ITV classroom can self operate the presenter by zooming in or out to focus on the item to be shown, whether it is graphics, textbook, small objects, or handwritten information. It is particularly helpful in clearly showing Chinese characters that are constructed with many strokes. The exciting feature of using a visual presenter is that small items or authentic text can be enlarged and viewed clearly when zooming in. For example, if the teacher wants to introduce Chinese currency to the class, or show what a Chinese passport looks like, what s/he can do in a traditional classroom may be to give a brief introduction, then circulate the item in the classroom. However, in an ITV-based classroom, s/he can place the item on the visual presenter, zoom in and focus on the sections as s/he is pointing at it, and give an explanation at the same time.

Writing

The skill of writing taught in an ITV-based classroom does not vary significantly from that in a conventional classroom. When involved in some student-student written interaction, students in an ITV-based classroom might be much more highly motivated than those in the traditional classroom. In fact, evidence shows that the physical separation among students increases the authenticity and students' interests in interacting with each other. For example, the last assignment done by the HITS-ITV Chinese 101 students in the Fall semester of 1998 was to design and write a Christmas card to a designated student at a different site, exchange the card through fax, present it on the full-color visual presenter at one's own site, and reply to the one who wrote to him/her. Students turned out to be not only gifted in designing, but also very creative in written

communication using the Chinese language. Many students made an effort to use vocabulary and sentences patterns they had learned throughout the entire semester to compose this semi-authentic season's greeting activity. Quiet a few students spontaneously composed an extra, and different, card to the instructor.

However, for language teachers, it is unquestionable that some things cannot be taught at a distance. Whenever the class involves any other learning activity besides listening, speaking, reading, and writing, certain difficulties do occur. For example, usually during the Chinese Spring Festival, the Chinese 102 and 202 classes learn the lessons of "Dining" and "Chinese Festivals". One of the class activities is for each student to bring to the class whatever s/he thinks to be a typical Chinese dish. In the traditional classroom, after each student gives an introduction to each dish, the class can have a taste of the Chinese cuisine. Yet, such authentic "cultural taste" can hardly be shared among remote students in an ITV-based Chinese course. Come what may, it is impossible to "fax" the delicious dishes to or from the remote sites. At the most, they can only be presented on the visual presenter, making the remote students crave them.

5. The Contributions of Distance Education to the Field of Chinese Language Education

It is certainly true that many things can be taught either way, distance, or traditional, and, through different media. The purpose of this paper is to present variables in imparting knowledge, the Chinese language in particular. Neither does it mean to allege that distance education is the best means for providing education, nor does it mean to disparage the time-honored conventional language education models. As Latchem points out, "findings of no significant difference in learning outcomes are common in comparisons of videoconferenced and classroom teaching"(Latchem, 1995:100). However, the piloting experience of the tele-conferencing in Chinese distance education at UHM has shown that many of the features of distance education can be beneficial to the field of Chinese language education.

Evidence does show that "today, universities broadcast courses relying on these new facets of technology, better course design and quality control" (Shomaker, 1998: 9). It is true that to avoid the remote students experiencing psychological isolation, distance educators who teach through telecommunication technology are generally observed to devote more time and effort in curriculum development, designing and adapting activities that can promote interactions. Shomaker further reiterates that "distance education has also been a stimulus to educators to re-examine the format of traditional classroom delivery, the design of courses, and the characteristics that are vital to faculty delivery and student learning"(Shomaker, 1998:13).

Distance education also benefits students of the Chinese language by reaching students from a wider geographical area. It is mainly used to share expertise across a number of geographically dispersed sites, making Chinese, the national critical Less-Commonly Taught Language (LCTL) accessible to students in under-served area.

Nowadays, in the distance education environment, very often different media are used in combination for particular learning purposes. It is hoped that various course delivering models in distance Chinese language education can be of some help in inspiring the designing of more learner-centered, high interactivity activities for the conventional Chinese language classroom.

NOTES

1. American Council of Education -> Center for Adult Learning Educational Credentials -> Distance Learning -> Definition. Retrieved April 2, 2001 from the World Wide Web: http://www.acenet.edu/calec/dist_learning/dl_definitions.html (Last modified: April 20, 2000).
2. The design and research on both course types are grant projects undertaken by the University of Hawaii Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center (SLTCC), which houses the National Foreign Language Research Center (NFLRC), and the Language Telecommunications, Resource and Learning Center (LTRLC) of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at UHM. Courses are delivered by the East Asian Languages and Literatures Department (EALL) at UHM.
3. My views on distance education emerge from my own first-hand experience both as an instructor and as a guest to the teleconferencing courses. I wish to acknowledge the National Foreign Language Resource

- Center (NFLRC) and the department of East Asian Languages and Literatures (EALL) for providing me with the opportunity to teach four Chinese language courses via Hawaii Interactive Television System (HITS) during the 1998-2000 academic years. Thanks also goes to Jungying Lu-Chen and Stephen Fleming, who are in charge of the NFLRC web-based course design and delivery. They designated an access account for me so that I could observe and participate in the entire course as a guest.
4. A research program on sharing Chinese education with remote campuses via teleconferencing technologies is led by Stephen Fleming and Jungying Lu-Chen from EALL at UHM. Two types of courses, an ITV-based course and a Web-based course, are designed and delivered. The delivery of these courses provides dispersed students of the State of Hawai'i an equal opportunity for Chinese language education. Moreover, the research fills in the gap in the field of Chinese as foreign language in distance education.
 5. HITS - The Hawaii Interactive Television System (HITS) uses point-to-point and ITFS microwave technologies to provide 4 channels of video and audio communication among the Hawaiian islands. HITS programs may utilize both 2- way video/ 2-way audio and 1-way video/ 2-way audio. [Retrieved April 2, 2001 from the World Wide Web: UHM Distance Learning Faculty Handbook (Online version) <http://www.hawaii.edu/dl/faculty.html>] (Last modified: July 6, 2000)].
 6. For a more detailed description on an ITV classroom, please visit <http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/nflrc/sfleming/flitv/> composed by Stephen Fleming.
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Seitō and Nogami Yaeko

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ABSTRACT

Nogami Yaeko (1885-1985) is a modern female writer. She had an extraordinarily long writing career in Japan, yet she has not been studied a lot in USA. She started her career at the age of 22 and continued writing until she died at the age of 99. From her long career, I will examine Nogami's works in *Seitō* and highlight her message to Japanese female readers, namely, how to balance two aspects of 'femininity'¹ (e.g. motherhood) and 'intelligence'² in woman's life.

I. *Seitōsha* and *Seitō*

Seitōsha (Bluestocking Society)³ lasted from 1911 to 1916. Although there were earlier women's groups, such as Fukuda Hideko (1865-1927), *Seitōsha* tends to be considered the beginning of the Japanese feminist movement. It is also true that *Seitōsha* arouse nationwide interest by identifying the women (those women who began to penetrate the world of professional men: teachers, nurses, officials, artists, etc.) as "atarashii onna" (new women).

The *Seitōsha* was of bourgeois origin, and the most of its members had received a high school education or even attended a University. It is said that *Seitōsha* members shared the spiritual unrest and the consequent interest in Western individualism of the generation born after 1880. They started as a group of women interested in literature, but in their quest for self-realization, they necessarily became involved in the feminist movement.⁴

The *Seitōsha* started by publishing the literary magazine *Seitō* in September 1911. The name *Seitō* was inspired by the literary critic Ikuta Chōkō (1882-1936). Hiratsuka Raichō (1886-1971) was one of his pupils in a literary study group called the Keishū Bungaku Kai (Association of Women Writers). Together with four other women who knew each other from their school days, Raichō founded the group and its magazine, with her mother contributing the money that she had set aside for her daughter's wedding.

In the first issue, established women writers and poets like Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1941), Okada Yachiyo (1883-1962), Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) and Nogami Yaeko were represented. Though *Seitō* never achieved a literary reputation of its own, it was significant for the publication of such works as Raichō's prose-poem "Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta" (In the Beginning Woman was the Sun) and Yosano Akiko's poem "Sozorogoto" (Chat), both of which prophesied women's awakening. *Seitō* was the magazine by and for women, and it tried to liberate women's talent and self-consciousness.

Several hundred women entered *Seitōsha* and took part in its activities, such as public lectures. Unfortunately, however, it was not these activities that brought the *Seitōsha* its reputation of being an association of new women, but instead rumors of their allegedly scandalous way of life. A scandal was precipitated by Otake Kōkichi, a gifted painter with lesbian tendencies. Otake was forced to resign from the *Seitōsha* in 1912, but this incident caused misunderstandings.

From September 1911 to December 1912, the *Seitō* was dominated by literary contributions that more or less consciously illustrated women's problems in marriage and society. From 1913, it also contained essays and translations that treated the feminist movement generally or specific issues related to it. By 1914, the movement began to decline not only because of public criticism but also because many members had married and were occupied with children. In November 1914, Raichō, faced with family and financial hardships, thought of giving up the publication of *Seitō*. However, Itō Noe (1895-1923), already under the influence of the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae (1885-1923), decided to continue it on her own. She took over the editorship of the *Seitō* in January 1915 and dealt with issues like prostitution, abortion, and chastity, but she had to discontinue publication in 1916 because of financial difficulty.

II. Nogami Yaeko's works in *Seitō*

Although Nogami Yaeko was a member of *Seitōsha* for the first issue in September 1911, she withdrew in October 1911. Later she stated, "I was asked to join *Seitō* by Kiuchi Teiko, not directly from Hiratsuka herself...Ms. Kiuchi said, 'Compared to men, women writers do not have many opportunities to publish their works, so let's create such an opportunity through the efforts of women alone.' So I immediately agreed with her... However, as you see, it attracted journalistic attention, and it seemed to deviate from the original course. Also *Seitō* members held meetings very often and my *shosai-shugi* (Nogami's practice of secluding herself in her study to write, plus her household duties as a wife and mother) could not be maintained. Yet because of the relationship with Itō Noe, I constantly wrote for *Seitō* up till 'Sonya Kovalevski'."⁵ As she stated, she constantly wrote her works for *Seitō* from outside of *Seitōsha*. Below is a list of her major works published in *Seitō*:

<i>Kyōnosuke no Kyosui</i>	September 1912.
<i>Kindaijin no Kokuhaku</i>	October 1912-January 1913.
<i>Sonya Kovalevski no Jiden</i>	November 1913-August 1914.
<i>Atarashiki Inochi</i>	April 1914.

The most significant works are the latter two, but I will comment on each work:

First, *Kyōnosuke no Kyosui* (Kyōnosuke's doze) is a story about a boy who is apprenticed to a Nōgaku (Nō play) master. Since Nogami's husband Toyochirō was a scholar of Nōgaku, she, too, was familiar with its world. She wrote about the agony of the boy who is growing into to a man physically (e.g., his voice breaks) and emotionally. This story does not seem exactly to fit the intention of *Seitō*, but she ventured to write this story for *Seitō* anyway. She always seems to have had a well-balanced view of the outside world, and she wrote this story to remind women that the men, too, had physically and emotionally tough times pursuing their dreams.

Next, *Kindaijin no Kokuhaku* is the Japanese translation of Alfred De Musset's *La Confession d'un enfant du siècle*. The nineteenth century French poet, playwright, and novelist Musset (1810-1857) wrote this work probably as a true account of Musset's relations with George Sand (1804-1876). Sand was a writer who was also well known for her many love affairs such as with the composer, Chopin, after leaving her husband and her two children. Nogami translated the parts where Musset explains how his heart broke when he found Sand having an affair with his friend. Interestingly enough, Nogami also introduces a male point of view like *Kyōnosuke no Kyosui* by translating this work. Nogami presents not only how Sand had independence in choosing her lover but also how desperate her boyfriend, Musset, felt because of her love affair. In the story, the protagonist's friend says, "No perfect thing exists [in the world]. Intelligence makes people understand this [fact]. The desire to possess that perfect thing is the most dangerous stupidity of humankind."⁶ Nogami lets her readers realize that women have freedom to choose, however, nothing is perfect in this world. She also says that 'intelligence' helps us realize it.

In an interview, once Nogami reflects that the most memorable lectures from Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), a famous religious thinker and critic in her high school was: "My friend, the pastor, once talked about his wife. He boasted, 'my wife reads the bible in Hebrew, she bakes the best bread in the parish, and she sings the hymns most beautifully.' This is the ideal virtue of a woman."⁷ Nogami, too seems to not only give this message to the readers but also try to balance both 'femininity' and 'intelligence' in her life.

We can see the same message in her third work, *Sonya Kovalevski no Jiden*. (The Autobiography of Sonya Kovalevski). This is the Japanese translation of the first ten chapters of Sonya's biography by Anne Leffler and a part of Sonya's autobiographical novel, "The Sisters Rajevski". Sonya Kovalevski was a Russian mathematician and novelist born in Moscow in 1850. In 1868, as she could not receive a higher education in Russia because of her being a woman, she entered into a "platonic" marriage with a young paleontologist, Vladimir Kovalevski, and the two went to Germany to continue their studies. In 1869, she went to Heidelberg, where she studied under Helmholtz (a German physicist, 1821-94). From 1871 to 1874, she was taught privately by Karl Weierstrass (a German mathematician, 1815-97) at Berlin, as the public lectures were then not open to women. In 1874, the University of Göttingen granted her a degree in *absentia* for her thesis on partial

differential equations. She returns to Russia but later accepted an invitation to become a lecturer at the University of Stockholm. In 1883, she became an appointed professor, and in 1888 she was awarded the Prix Borodin of the French Academy for her paper on the rotation of a solid body round a fixed point. She died in Stockholm in 1891, at the height of her fame, shortly after her election to the St. Petersburg Academy of Science.

Understandably, Nogami was fascinated by Sonya's life and her struggle to attain the intellectual equality with men in Russia and Europe. Nogami seems to see and expect the similar movement in *Seitō* as she wrote, "I am once more intrigued by the rather similar features shared by the movement for liberation, which was directed toward a brighter future and gaining knowledge—the whirlwind that swept through the Russian intelligentsia of 1860-70 and marked a turning point in the youth of this pioneering woman—and the movement among the new women of Japan, centered at the time around Bluestocking."⁸ Nogami was also charmed by the sensitivity and womanly character of Sonya, such as Sonya's easily shedding tears. These two aspects, 'femininity' and 'intelligence', seem to be Yaeko's main concern; maybe she wondered how to balance them in a woman's life, just as Sonya sometimes had to face the choices between her academic career (mathematics) and her family. This conflict exemplifies the struggle in a woman between 'intelligence' and 'femininity.'

Nogami's belief that a woman needs these two elements, 'femininity' and 'intelligence', can be seen in her different works of that time. In 1914, while Nogami was writing *Sonya Kovalevskaya no Jiden* for *Seitō*, she also published a collection of children's stories called *Ningyō no Nozomi* (The desire of dolls). *Ningyō no Nozomi* is a story about three dolls: a British doll named Bell, a French doll named Elisa, and a Japanese doll named Tamako. One day they hear that the difference between dolls and human beings is whether there is spirit in them or not. So on March third, they decide to go to Olympus in Greece to get their spirit. On the way to Olympus, they meet Dukalion, who asks them if they are really ready to receive spirit. He warns, "When you don't have spirit, something joyful, something sad and something painful are just physical joy, sadness and pain. However, once you have spirit, not only will you experience deeper joy but you will also experience much more sadness and pain than mere physical sadness and pain. If you are not ready for those, you will regret and will miss those easy days when you only had a body."⁹ They agree and finally receive their spirit with delight. Then the other Gods offer to give one power to each of them as a gift of celebration. Elisa receives the gift of 'beauty', and Bell receives the gift of 'intelligence' after hearing Minerva's words, "Whether man or woman, there is nothing more miserable than a person without 'intelligence'." Lastly, Tamako could not decide whether she should ask for 'Beauty' or 'Intelligence.' Tamako remembered the accident of another doll and realized that 'Beauty' alone will not help her life but she needs lucid 'intelligence.' So she finally asks and receives 'a shining jewel of intelligence.' This is said to be based on Bullfinch's *Mythology*, which Nogami had translated the year before in 1913. With this story, Nogami sends the readers two clear messages: when a woman demands to be a human (i.e., not a doll anymore), then she should be ready not only for the deeper joy but also for the deeper sorrow and pain she will encounter outside her home. Whether a man or woman, there is no one more miserable than a person without 'intelligence.'

As I wrote before, Nogami was interested in how to balance 'femininity' and 'intelligence'. Her last (yet one of her most significant) works in *Seitō* was written regarding one of 'femininity' and was called *Atarashiki Inochi* (A New Life). This work describes the labor pains of a young mother from night until morning. This is based on her giving birth to her second son, and this story is unique because it dealt with pregnancy and labor, which only women can experience. She writes realistically. For example, she writes "during the contraction, when the nurse stopped rubbing my back, I said angrily, 'Rub me more,' and moaned like an animal."¹⁰ Yet she writes that giving birth is "something significant since all the children are the children of God."¹¹ The word "motherhood" (*bosei*) did not necessarily have a positive image at that time; rather, it was sometimes regarded as a disadvantage for women, since there was not much concept of birth control. Even for Hiratsuka Raichō, although later she changes, in *Seitō* (1914), she writes, "I hope you will understand that those women who value themselves most and those who are devoted to their jobs, should not give birth easily."¹² In this women's trend of giving up motherhood, Nogami wrote about her experience and reminded women that giving birth is also an important job for the world.

Through Nogami's works in *Seitō*, we can see her belief in 'femininity' and 'intelligence equality', or her constant wonder of how to balance 'femininity' and 'intelligence.' Her idea of balancing is taken for granted, nowadays, however, many people criticized the women at that time by saying, "New women do not fit into the

idea of 'a good wife and a wise mother.'" Many people criticized it because of the opportunity for women to pursue a higher education. However, Nogami believed in education and at the same time she suggested not to disregard femininity through her works in *Seitō*.

NOTES

1. I have used the word "femininity" for the Japanese word *onna rashisa*. According to *Kōjien*, *onna rashisa* means "femininity qualities, character, and appearance". What is regarded as "femininity" nowadays might be slightly different from that of Taishō. At that time, the nature to be 'a good wife and wise mother' was regarded as "femininity" in Japan.
2. I have used the word "intelligence" for the Japanese word *chie*, however *chie* can be used "wisdom". There is no difference between "intelligence" and "wisdom" in Japanese but there is a slight different in English.
3. The term "bluestocking" originates with an informal group of 18th Century intellectual women. Based in London, these women hosted social soirées with the sole intention of discussing the prevalent philosophical and literary notions of the day. The reference to the blue stocking comes from the blue stockings the members wore.
4. Josei Kaihō no Shisō to Kōdō: Senzen hen pp. 191-2.
5. Nogami Yaeko no Sekai, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), pp.24-5.
6. Kindaijin no Kokuhaku, (Tokyo: Seitō Sha, 1912), p.8.
7. Tsuma to Haha to Sakka no Tōitsu ni Ikita Jinsei, (Tokyo:Nihon Kōron, 1967), p.98.
8. Dawn to the West, (Tokyo: Columbia University, 1998), pp.1116.
9. Ningyō no Nozomi, (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nippon Sha, 1914), pp.163.
10. Atarashiki Inochi, (Tokyo:Seitō Sha, 1914), p.19.
11. Ibid. p.24.
12. Seitō o Yomu, (Tokyo: Ōfū Sha, 1998), p.228.

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Diversification or Unification? Language Change in Japanese Dialects and a 'Language Use' Perspective

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Introduction

Dialectology in Japan is a field of its own; it is one of the major components of *gen-go-seikatsu* (language-life) research (Shibata, 1977) in *Kokugogaku* (national language study). *Kokugogaku* has always criticized for being reclusive from western scholarship; yet increasing numbers of linguists who have familiarized themselves with so-called dialectology in both countries have pointed out that there are some differences. Prior to discussing further the cases in a particular Japanese dialect, we ought to orient ourselves by recognizing such differences.

In the United States, social dialects can be said to be the primary focus in today's dialect studies. The study done by Labov (1966), for example, deals with linguistic variations associated with socio-economic groups. Labov also treated ethnic groups, namely African Americans versus White Americans, as variable social divisions in the US (Labov and Harris, 1986). Within the ethnic varieties of English, three major contemporary language changes are observed in White American English dialects; Northern City Vowel Chain shift, Southern Vowel shift, and Low Vowel shift (Long, 1996). What Labov and his students found along with these dialectal changes is that the major cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Philadelphia and NY do not go through or receive influence from these changes.

Social dialects are not well studied in Japanese dialectology. Japanese study of dialects is very faithful to regional distribution of different linguistic variety. In order to study a particular region, say a major city in Japan, social economic class is not a popular variable used in previous studies; instead, age group is the most popular variable applied in research. In 1950's and 60's, age was particularly an important factor to divide a speech community or group, since it was a good indicator of other influential factors for language use, such as literacy (Shibata 1952).

There is a difference in what linguists examine or realize to be worth examining for English and Japanese. In English dialects, the phonemic level of linguistic variables has been receiving a great deal of attention, whereas morphological variables are treated as being more important in Japan (Long, 1996; Jinnouchi, 1995).

Standardization of Japanese dialects

One stream of standardization of a language, in which reduction of dialects other than the mainstream variety is promoted, is a political act. In Japan, this political act, or **language planning**, became salient around the 17th century. At that time, there was a shift of the linguistic center from Kamigata (part of Kyoto) to Edo (Tokyo) because the political center was embedded in Tokyo. Upon the breakdown of the feudal system, nationalism was activated. Capitalism was adopted, and the old social caste system was abolished (Uemura, 1975). Along with manufacturing technology and development of communication systems, urbanization was a symbol of nationalism. As one of such rapidly progressing movements, many believed that language must be unified; having a representative national language was one of the most powerful gestures for a country (Shibata, 1965, cited in Inoue et al. 1999). Development of a unified Japanese language was promoted so that compulsory education could be conducted using a 'unified, proper' language. It is true that few of the younger generation of regions outside of Tokyo are proficient in the original system of the dialect. However, it is not likely that the end of regional dialects is near and that the standard variety will take over any time soon. We must remind ourselves that a language changes in a consistent manner. Aitchison (1991:210) strongly reminds us of this point: "the majority of self-proclaimed 'experts' who argue that language is disintegrating have not considered the complexity of the factors involved in language change." Dialects or any language varieties have come to the forms that they are now by repeatedly going through changes (Shibata, 1997; Inoue, 1988). From the point of view of language change equaling a 'progress,' not a 'decay,' we can alter our camera angle to examine how the regional dialects transformed themselves due to language contact with the standard language. In the next

section I will explore two theories established on the basis of this notion of the ‘vitality’ of regional dialect. One such theory is Inoue’s New Dialect Formation, or *shin-hoogen*, and the other is Sanada’s Neo-dialect theory.

New Dialect Formation (*shin-hoogen*)

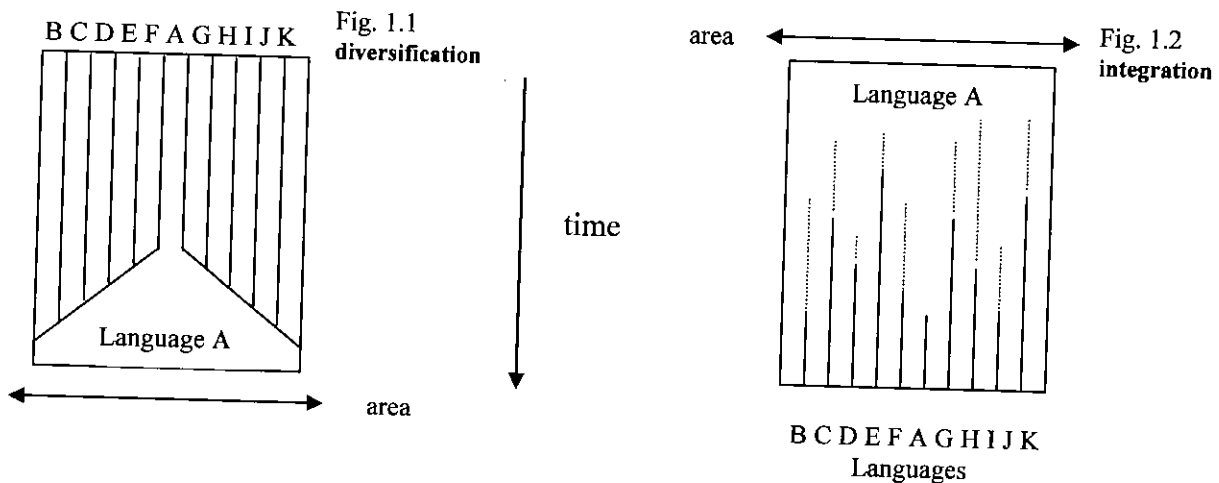
Inoue Fumio propounded his original theory called *shin-hoogen*, or New Dialect Formation in 1985, and he has refined the definition slightly in 1994 to what it is now (Inoue, 1994). *Shin-hoogen* basically refers to the internal linguistic change of a dialect. What has emerged from the original dialect variety must be treated also as a dialect by the users. Inoue (e.g., 1986, 1988, 1996) suggests the following three qualifications in order for a linguistic form to be “New Dialect Form”:

- 1) A new form is used more by younger people than by older people,
- 2) It is treated as stylistically low by users themselves, and
- 3) It differs from the standard form linguistically.

As these qualifications point out, the forms must be ‘new’ in the sense that their users are members of the younger generation, yet they are still regional dialect speakers. The speakers must recognize these forms as different from the standard variety both linguistically and stylistically. Inoue’s initial focus in his study was new forms emerging in the Tokyo urban area (Inoue, 1988). Some of the linguistic samples he pointed out in his 1988 book *Kotoba-no Shin-fuukei* are the following:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------|
| (i) | <i>chiga-katta</i> :: <i>chigawa-na-katta</i> | ‘was not wrong/different’ |
| (ii) | <i>X mitaku</i> :: <i>X mitai-ni</i> | ‘like X’ |
| (iii) | <i>X-chitta</i> :: <i>X-te-shimatta</i> | ‘have X(verb)ed’ |

Shin-hoogen does not simply refer to the new forms at the lexical level; it is an attempt to capture an observable **change-in-progress** (Inoue, 1996). It refers to process rather than the static state of a language. The direction of change that *shin-hoogen* is guiding is the opposite from standardization, which has already been discussed in this paper. In its initial stage, therefore, we can say that New Dialect Formation promotes **diversification** of a dialect from the standard variety (Inoue, 1986). Inoue (1986:343) defines diversification as the following: “differences in language between geographically distant areas become greater, so that a language becomes divided into dialects; later, the differences become even greater so that the dialects can be called separate languages.” For example, the younger speakers using ‘*X-chitta*’ over ‘*X-chatta*’ might cause the Tokyo regional dialect to become more salient from the standard. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg of the complexity of language vitality. Once a particular new form gains more and more users, and they start using it as if there was no other alternative way to say it, then the distribution of the new form actually contributed to unification or **integration**. At this point, the linguistic distance between the standard and the dialectal form is not any different from the previous picture. In a nutshell, a dialect goes through *both* diversification and integration processes to complete its life cycle. Figure 1.1 and 1.2 below, adopted from Inoue (1986, 1989), visualize the concept of diversification and integration. As these diagrams suggest, where a language change occurs (i.e., a change in a sub-group of the dialect variety, or a change which we find in a specific dialect entirely).



The Neo-Dialect Theory

In environments where we find linguistic contact among dialects (or any kind of linguistic varieties at any level — even if it is at the stylistic level in the same language, the same can be considered¹), the users of each variety compromise or ‘accommodate’ (Giles and Smith, 1979) their language for efficient communication. Trudgill (1986) suggests that there are three different ways in which the two languages ‘approach’ each other. They are:

- 1) by replacing their own variant of a form with that of the other speakers,
- 2) by using the other speaker’s variant in some words but not others,
- 3) by using pronunciations (or morphological manifestations for that matter) intermediate between those of the two dialects in contact.

He proposes that these three behaviors can be observed simultaneously in a contact situation. Trudgill (1986) regards all three situations as some form of ‘accommodation,’ adopting Giles and Smith’s accommodation theory (1979). The result of the contact situation that has gone through the third of the processes described above, namely forming a hybrid variety, is named ‘interdialect’ in his theory (Trudgill, 1986).

In the Japanese branch of dialectology, Jinnouchi (1995) also uses the term *chuukan hoogen* ‘interdialect’ in a similar definition as that of Trudgill’s. In Japan, we can easily think of contact situations between the standard variety and a regional dialect; hence it is merely human nature to find intermediate forms between the two. In this case, we need to be aware that one of the two varieties in contact is more powerful than the other. The intermediate forms between the standard and the dialect forms are most frequently seen as **standardization**, in which we find the dialectal speakers’ social motivation towards upward mobility, and a widening of communication networks in the modern world (Inoue, 1986). However, a detailed examination of the dialectal speakers’ use of such intermediate forms will tell us that this is not always the case; the new forms might have come about for just the opposite motivation, that is to say, to diverge from the standard variety. Sanada (1987) captured such an emergence, and he even further promoted the status of such new forms as being a whole new system of “Neo-Dialect.”

Is Neo-Dialect the same as interdialect? Not exactly. While Trudgill (1986) is concerned strictly with the intermediate forms linguistically, Sanada’s Neo-Dialect theory integrates the notion of the sociolinguistic vitality of such a new variety. Here is an example of Neo-Dialect found in Sanada (1999), which illustrates the point under discussion:

An excerpt from two male speakers of Kansai dialect (adopted from Sanada 1999:48)

- A- **De, sorede, oitoite.**
 “then, putting that aside,”
Tsugi no happyoo no toki wa sonna:: yarankatte n_(I)
 “for the next presentation, I didn’t do it so much,”
Zenjitsu ni sa, a::no:: dare yakke_(II), Kuroyanagi Tetsuko no
 “day before [the presentation], um, Kuroyanagi Tetsuko’s”
Tetsuko no heya, no, Nihonjin no kaiwa.
 “the conversation between Japanese speakers in Tetsuko no heya,”
 (some turns omitted)
- B- **Omae nande detekun nen_(III) baka:: tte.**
 “I said ‘Why are you showing up now, stupid!’”
Torarehen_(IV) yanke:: mo:: sorede, kanzen yottee henkoo site,
 “I can’t get the data! So, then, I changed my plan completely,”
 (continues) [:: indicates elongation of a vowel. A single comma indicates a natural pause in the utterance.]

Sanada analyzes this excerpt as being loaded with so-called hybrid forms between the standard variety and the Kansai dialect. For example, (I) *yara-n-katte* “did not do” is composed of a verbal stem *yara*, the dialectal negative form *-n* (Shibatani, 1990: 196) and the perfective suffix *-katta* (with a vowel shift from [a] to [e]), which is a standard form. If this were an original dialectal form, it would have been either *yara-nanda n* (*ya=COP*). In this excerpt, we find some traditional dialect expressions (see example (III) and (IV)) while we find usage of standard suffixes, as in (I), and the use of question marker *-ke* in example (II). Sanada (1999) points out that this speech style, in other words the style which incorporates the two varieties and represents a new dialect, has already become the “mother dialect variety” of these young speakers. Neo-Dialect, therefore, is both a style and it is a new form of a dialect of the young regional speakers.

Language Use Perspective and Dialect

Given the vitality of a dialect, we can alter our perspective to the point of view of the dialect speakers who are now left in the middle of such current language change, namely the juxtaposition of standard, dialectal, and even new dialectal forms to choose from in everyday interactions. How they use their broad linguistic repertoire is of sociolinguistic and pragmatic interest; hence it is the issue of “language use.”

Adoption of this “language use” perspective is still a new trend for the Japanese tradition of dialectology to explore². There have been researches that tried to get at ‘how and when’ questions in the past. The primary method popularly used is a survey or self-report format, and they rely on the subjects’ “honest” responses as their data (Shibatani, 1985). The subjects are to answer a question such as “do you use standard language or dialect when X” (X is a situation), and the accumulation of such surveys gets calculated to show a descriptive statistics. Given this as background motivation, we now make a transition to consider this notion of “language use” in relation to Japanese dialects with actual discourse data.

Research

Method

Three female Japanese from the Kansai area (Kyoto, Kobe, and Shiga) participated in this case study. They are all in their early 20’s, and they were born and raised in the same area which they are from. The researcher, who was born and raised in Osaka (i.e., another speaker of the Kansai dialect), performed the role of the interviewer. Throughout the interview, the researcher purposely spoke in dialectal accent patterns, but not necessarily altered the morphological forms in her speech to the dialectal variety. This so-called “channel cue” control (Labov, 1966) was done in order to create the environment in which the subjects feel appropriate to use dialect forms when they want to, at the same time they were not obligated to speak the dialect forms due to the researcher’s linguistic choice. The particular linguistic variety examined in the study is *negative affixation* of any predicate. Table 1 below shows an example of standard-dialect:

Table 1	morphology	examples
standard form	V _{RY} + nai / + nakatta V _{RY} +(ra)renai/+(ra)renakatta	tabenai ‘do(es) not eat’/ tabenakatta ‘did not eat’/ norenai ‘cannot ride’/ norenakatta ‘could not ride’
dialectal form	V _{MZ} + n / +nanda or +n katta* V _{RY} +hen / +hen katta V _{MZ} +hen/ + hen katta*	ika n ‘do(es) not go’/ ika n katta ‘did not go’ tabe-hen ‘do(es) not eat’/ tabe-hen katta ‘did not eat’ koo-hen ‘do(es) not come’/ koo-hen katta ‘did not come’

* forms are suggested as Neo-Dialect forms in Sanada (1987; 1995)

Results

Quantitative analysis naturally forces the researcher to see the scores in a pre-fixed category, hence it is possible that important aspect of the subjects’ conduct of dialect /standard usage is neglected. By examining the discourse produced by them, some interesting supporting findings for the quantitative results were generated. Appendix-A shows some excerpt samples of speech by the subjects in task B (interview format):

In SAMPLE-1, the interviewer asks a question *kore to itte nanika nigate na supootsu aru?* ‘do you have any sports that you are not good at?’ in line 1. In line 2, the subject responded to the question by saying *deki-*

nai. 'I cannot' using a standard form of negative affixation. Line 1 and 2 compose a conversational adjacency pair *summon* – *answer* (e.g., Sacks and Schegloff, 1973), and in this interaction both pairs were conducted in the standard forms. Line 4 is also part of her answering act; this observation can be supported by the linguistic manifestation of another standard form *deki-nai*, and also the non-colloquial form *naze nara* 'because' was used in the utterance initial. Later in this interaction, line 6, Kyoto moves onto expanding the discourse by indicating why she cannot figure skate ('the skates don't seem to slide for me'). Here we see a switch to the dialectal form in her speech. This switch from the standard to the dialectal style functions as shift in frame (Goffman, 1972; Nishimura, 1994). It helped the speaker to draw the line to where the answer completes, and where her personal information insertion starts.

SAMPLE-2 also shows a similar switch; in line 3 and 5, Kobe uses a dialectal negative form *deki-hen*³ 'I cannot,' when she was still expanding her discussion about her ability to play a Japanese harp. In line 6 the interviewer moves onto a new question (asking whether she can play the trumpet), and Kobe answers in line 7 *uun, yatta koto nai*. 'No, I've never done it.,' using the standard negation form. This tells us that Kobe also recognizes the *summon-answer* exchange pair, and deploys the standard-dialect variety switch to make such conversational sequence salient and efficient. Adopting the notion of interactional 'frame' (Tannen, 1993), we can analyze this incident as that the interviewer's language use in line 6 with *sositara* 'then,' the use of *masu* form of the verbal (*dekimasu ka?*) indexed some degree of formality as an interview, and the subject has cooperated to construct this interview frame by switching to the standard form.

SAMPLE-3 shows a small portion of Shiga speaker's speech. In this context, she is explaining about her father's likes/dislikes about food. The speaker utilized many quotes as part of her strategy, and we find that she is using the switch to the dialectal form, as well as quotative particles, to indicate where the quote actually starts. In line 7, *sira-n-katta* 'did not know' was said in a tone of voice that signals a surprise, acting out as if the speaker herself is the mother. The quote was vividly portrayed; hence the interviewer laughed at her act. The speaker's code shift to the dialectal form indeed attributed to this particular frame shift.

Conclusion: Language Use and Japanese Dialect Speakers

The results from the study reminds us that the bi-dialectal speakers do not necessarily stick to one style over the other even in a formal context, particularly when their interlocutor is also a bi-dialectal speaker of the same 'codes.' When we ask the subjects 'when and how' they use the dialectal variety and the standard variety, we often get rather a simplistic picture as to distribution of these styles. Hence, it is very informative to study how they actually do it with actual discourse data.

The analysis on dialect use in this study was derived from Conversation Analysis framework; the subjects frame their speech according to the unit in conversation sequence, and they deploy the code switch to do such framing. The excerpts discussed in this paper support this hypothesis. Okamoto (1995) discusses use of 'feminine' final particles in Japanese by young women as choice of speech styles. "The choice of speech styles or certain linguistic forms can be considered a matter of speaker's "strategic choice" (p.312). A skillful speaker uses whatever is available as resource to manage a conversation smoothly and effectively. For dialect speakers, the rich repertoire which paradigmatically vary from the dialectal forms to the standard forms, is the resource. We must note here that such a choice of language use must be appreciated by the interlocutors of each interaction. What it indexes in the interaction must be co-constructed (Tyler, 1995) and be situated for each context (Cook, 1999); the speakers of this study and the interviewer negotiated throughout the interaction as to what dialect-standard switching means.

When we want to account for the newly developing dialectal forms (either New Dialect Forms or Neo-Dialect style), it becomes even difficult for us to draw a line between the two "varieties" under discussion. Two dialects in contact may give rise over time to what Trudgill calls 'dialect continuum' (1986), with original dialects remaining at either end. Trudgill has adopted this notion from the well-known phenomenon of the post-Creole continuum. The acrolect comes into contact with its related basilect, say English Creole, which results in the growth of a whole series of intermediate mesolectal varieties (Rickford, 1987; Trudgill, 1986). This continuum approach may be rather a new perspective in the study of Japanese dialect studies; however, it seems to show quite a potential in capturing what is really going on as a whole picture. In this paper, I attempted to

show that we could portray the vitality of a dialect (or any language variety for this matter) by integrating language use perspective.

NOTES

I would like to thank Dr. Leon Serafim and Dr. Haruko Cook for valuable feedback on the drafts of this paper. The willing cooperation of the participants of the case study must be also given credit here. This study should be considered as a trigger to provoke further research in Japanese dialects and language use; a larger size study must be carried out to strengthen the validity of the analyses discussed in this paper.

1. Myers-Scotton (1998) adopts the term "variety" to refer to any level of linguistic system possible. Her definition of 'code' is also applicable here. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) also shows a similar perspective on the dialect-language scale; they use "variety" to refer to any linguistic system as well.
2. In Inoue's theory, the stylistic pattern for the new dialect forms was considered; however, Inoue limited the usage of the new forms to L-variety, or vernacular usage, following the mainstream view on local variety carrying 'covert' prestige (Labov, 1966). There are some linguists who cast doubts in this simplistic view; Sanada (1987; 1996), for example, suggests that in many contexts, dialect speakers in Kansai area in his study used the dialect to aim for overt prestige.
3. There are two variations to which verbal stem form the dialectal form '-hen' attaches to. 'deki-hen' is an original dialectal form, and 'deki-hin' with the vowel shift from [e] to [i] due to vowel harmony is a rather newer form (Sanada, 1987).

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DISCOURSE SAMPLE-1 : Kyoto Speaker (talking about sports)

- 1 I kore to itte nanika nigate na supootsu aru?
this QP say something not good at COP sports exist?
- 2 K shintaisoo, figyua sukeeto dekinai ne.
gymnastics, figure skating can-NEG FP
- 3 I dekinai.
cannot do.
- 4 K naze nara sukeeto ga deki-nai (((laugh))
because skate S can-NEG
- 5 I (((laugh)) jaa nee.
then FP
- 6 K sukeeto are suberaren nen ka [:: [cha, haken nen, koori no ue=
skating that slide-NEG NOM FP no, can wear NOM on the ice
- 7 I [((laugh))
- 8 K noren nen, hashiren nen, soshite subera-hen nen.
can get on NOM can run NOM and slide-NEG NOM.
- 9 I naruhodo. ((0.2)) e hashiren nen tte koori no ue katt [katt katt ((laugh))]
indeed. what can run NOM QP on the ice onomatopia of chipping ice
- 10 K [katt katt ((laugh))]
onomatopia of chipping ice
- 11 I sore, sore shitara okorareru yo.
that, that if do be scolded FP
- 12 K datte subera-hen nen mon ((giggling while saying))
because slide-NEG NOM FP

- 1 I Is there any sports that you are not good at?
- 2 K I can't do gymnastics or figure skating, you know.
- 3 I =you can't.
- 4 K because I can't skate (((laugh))
- 5 I [((laugh)) well then.

- 6 K *Skating, it won't slide, [you see. No, I can wear (the shoes)=*
 7 I *[(laugh)]*
 8 K *=I can get on the ice, I can run, and I can't slide.*
 9 I *I see. ((0.2)) what, you said you can run meaning that you are*
[(sound of chipping the ice) ((laugh))
 10 K *[(sound of chipping the ice)((laugh))*
 11 I *that, you will warn you not to do it if you do.*
 12 K *but I can't slide, so. ((giggling while saying)*

DISCOURSE SAMPLE-2 : Kobe Speaker (talking about Japanese harp that O learned to do in high school)

- 1 O kekkoo tanoshikatta. tyuukoo no kurabu de yattete[::
 quite fun-past junior-high school class in doing
- 2 I [aa, koto kurabu yatta n.
 oh, harp clup COP NOM
- 3 O un. demo jibun de choogen ~~dekken~~ nen kedo.
 yeah. but by myself adjument of string can-NEG NOM but
- 4 I a, soo nan. ima wa okoto wa?
 oh so NOM now TP harp TP?
- 5 O uun, kotchi de wa ~~yatte-hen~~ kana.
 no, here at TP do-NEG FP
- 6 I soshitara, koo to wa chotto chigau nen kedo, toranpetto wa dekimasu ka?
 then harp and TP little bit different NOM but trumpet TP can (do) Q
- 7 O uun, ~~yatta koto nai~~
 no, do-past chance doesn't exist
- 8 I =yatta koto nai.
 do-past chance doesn't exist
- 9 O muzukashisoo ya nee.
 difficult-appear COP FP
- 10 I soo yan nee. ((0.2)) wata[shi mo-
 so COP FP. ((0.2)) myse[lf too
- 11 O [haikatsuryoo ~~fara-na~~-sasoo.
 [breathing capacity suffice-NEG-appear
- 1 O *It was pretty fun. I was practicing (the harp) during junior and high school.*
 2 I *Oh, you were in the harp club.*
 3 O *Yeah. But I cannot adjust the strings by myself, though.*
 4 I *Oh, is that so. How about now?*
 5 O *No, I don't play it here.*
 6 I *then, it is a little bit different from the harp, but can you play the trumpet?*
 7 O *No, I've never done it. =*
 8 I *= never done it.*
 9 O *It looks difficult, isn't it.*
 10 I *It is, isn't it. me[too-*
 11 O *[I probably don't have enough breathing capacity.*

DISCOURSE SAMPLE-3: Shiga Speaker

(Talking about likes and dislikes of food, and I asked if S's father doesn't like anything)

- 1 S uchi no chichi wa ne, iwa-nai n. ((0.1)) "tabere-nai" toka, "kirai" toka.=
my father TP FP say-NEG NOM can eat-NEG like dislike like
- 2 I
= soo.
really
- 3 S tabeteru uchi ni, "aa, tabereru yoo ni natta tte [kan-
eating during "oh, can eat such became QP sort
- 4 I [aa honto.
oh really
- 5 S dakara saikin na, "jagaimo kirai yatte n [jitsuwa"
so recently FP "potatos dislike COP NOM actually"
- 6 I [((laugh))
- 7 S uchi no hahaoya ga "ee?=
my mother S "what?=
[sira-nakatta." toka itte. "itte [yo!" toka itte=
[know-NEG/past QP say say FP QP say=
- 8 I =sira[naka- [((laugh)) = un, iwanai
no. = know-NEG = yeah, say-NEG COP
- 9 S iwanai no. ((0.2))
say-NEG NOM
- 1 S My dad, he doesn't say (things like that). ((0.1)) Like "I can't eat" or "I
don't like it," =
- 2 I =really.
- 3 S After a while, It's like(he says) "Oh, now I became[able to eat it"
4 I [oh really.
- 5 S So, recently, (he says) "I didn't like potatos [actually"
6 I [((laugh))
- 7 S My mother says, "What?=
says. [I didn't know that." "Tell [me (these things)!" she
- 8 I = didn't [kno- [((laugh))
=yeah, so he won't say (it).
- 9 S He won't say (it). ((0.2))

HOW ARE TAIWANESE LYRICS WRITTEN?

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ABSTRACT

Many problems are associated with the writing of Taiwanese¹. Several different attempts have been made, but the standardization of Taiwanese orthography has not yet been achieved. One problem is that Taiwanese has been used primarily as spoken language, except for some small group of people, for the past hundred years or so. Therefore, Mandarin Chinese (or Japanese up until the end of the Japanese occupation of the island) has been used for writing purposes. In general, ordinary people do not use written Taiwanese. One exception is the lyrics of popular Taiwanese language songs. Lyrics must somehow be written to represent their Taiwanese sound values. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the most common strategies employed in writing Taiwanese song lyrics which can be found in cassette tapes or CDs. First I will consider some of the problems associated with the writing of Taiwanese. Then, I will describe common strategies for the writing of Taiwanese sounds found in the lyrics of Taiwanese popular songs.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the democratization of Taiwan, Taiwanese, the majority language spoken on the island in terms of the number of speakers, has been receiving official recognition in many public domains. According to Huang (1993:21), approximately 70% of the population speaks the language. Written Taiwanese, however, is still in the process of being standardized. The current situation somewhat resembles that of the early stages of the standardization of written Japanese.

There are many problems associated with the writing of Taiwanese. There have been several different proposals and attempts at writing Taiwanese (cf. Tiuⁿ 1995 for a discussion), but the standardization of Taiwanese orthography has not yet been achieved. One of the problems is that Taiwanese has been used primarily as a spoken language, except for some small groups of people. Therefore, people have been using Mandarin Chinese (or Japanese up until the end of the Japanese occupation of the island in 1945) for writing purposes. In general, ordinary people do not use Taiwanese to write. One exception is the lyrics of popular Taiwanese language songs. Lyrics must somehow be written to represent their Taiwanese sound values. The purpose of this paper is to describe the most common strategies employed in writing the Taiwanese song lyrics found in cassette tapes or CDs. First I will discuss some problems associated with the writing of Taiwanese. Then, I will describe common strategies for the writing of Taiwanese sounds found in the lyrics of Taiwanese songs.

2. WRITTEN TAIWANESE

Taiwanese has been used primarily as spoken language. However, there are some exceptions. The following table summarizes the language use situation in Taiwan since the Qing dynasty (Smith 1981:31-39; Shinohara 21-28, 195-198, 218-225).

<u>Period</u>	<u>Government</u>	<u>Written language</u>
1683-1895	Qing dynasty rule	Classical Chinese
1895-1945	Japanese occupation	Japanese
1945-2000	Kuo Min Tang rule	Mandarin Chinese

There is some publication in Taiwanese, but in general, ordinary people do not use Taiwanese for reading or writing purposes. As mentioned earlier, one exception is the lyrics of popular Taiwanese language songs found in cassette tapes, CDs or on the screen of *karaoke* machines. These lyrics must somehow be written to represent their Taiwanese sound values.

2.1 THREE MAJOR SYSTEMS FOR WRITING TAIWANESE

There are three major systems for writing Taiwanese:

- 1) Exclusive use of Chinese characters (Choân-hàn 全漢)
- 2) Exclusive use of romanization (Choân-ló 全羅)

3) Mixture of Chinese characters and romanization (Hàn-lô 漢羅)

Almost all lyrics found in cassette tapes and CDs use Chinese characters exclusively. One may find occasional uses of the Japanese *kana* syllabary and national phonetic alphabet (注音符號). Romanization, the so-called the Church Romanization System, has a 150 year history and was developed by missionaries to spread Christianity in the Hokkien speaking area (Tiuⁿ 1995). The exclusive use of romanization is commonly found in representing the lyrics of church hymns. These lyrics are often accompanied by a text in Chinese characters. The mixed system of Chinese characters and romanization is relatively new², and it has not yet been commonly utilized by ordinary people. Lyrics found in cassette tapes and CDs are not written in this system unless they are produced by advocates of this system.

2.2 SOME PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE WRITING OF TAIWANESE

There are two major problems in using Chinese characters to write Taiwanese. First of all, there are many Taiwanese morphemes whose etymological characters are not known. Such morphemes are often called *Ū-im-bô-jī* 有音無字, morphemes without characters, in Taiwanese (Tiuⁿ 1989:1). According to Cheng (1989a:332) approximately 5% of Taiwanese morphemes fall into this category. Most of them are function words, and thus they occur quite frequently in texts. Such function words constitute about 15% of running texts (Cheng 1989a:336). Another problem is a lack of standardization; thus many idiosyncratic character uses are found in written Taiwanese. We find great inconsistency in the use of Chinese characters to represent Taiwanese words. A certain writer may represent a single morpheme using several different characters, sometimes even in a single text (Tiuⁿ 1995:2). According to Chen (1989b:350-355), function words show the most variation in their written form.

Sometimes characters are created to represent Taiwanese morphemes whose etymological characters are not known. There are two strategies for creating such characters, phonetic compounding and meaning aggregation. In phonetic compounding, a semantic key is used as a radical of the character and a pronunciation key is given to represent the sound. For example, the morpheme *chiu* as in *bak-chiu* 'eye', is sometimes written as 瞶, where the radical 目 means 'eye', and 周 pronounced 'chiu' is the pronunciation key. Thus the whole word *bak-chiu* is written as 目瞶. Parts of characters can be combined based on the semantic value of each part. The morpheme *lò* 'tall' can be represented by a character which combines the 身 'body' and 長 'long'. Another example of popular Taiwanese characters, which are commonly used in lyrics, is the characters to represent the word *chhit-thô* (or *thit-thô*) 'to play'. The radical signifies 'running'. It is combined with characters which mean 'sun' and 'moon'. Therefore, running day and night represent 'playing'. These characters are listed below:

躰	<i>lò</i> 'tall'
迨迨	<i>chhit-thô</i> (or <i>thit-thô</i>) 'to play'

Chhit-thô (or *thit-thô*) 'to play' is often presented by the following combination, 七桃. This combination literally means 'seven peaches'. The pronunciation of the first syllable of the word 'to play' in Taiwanese is identical to that of 'seven' and the second syllable is identical to the pronunciation of the character for 'peach'. The advantage of using original characters to represent the word 'to play' is that no ambiguity arises if original characters are used. However, the word 'to play' is pronounced as *thit-thô* in some Taiwanese dialects. In these dialects, the pronunciation of the character 'seven' does not match with the first syllable of the word 'to play'.

There are three major ways to represent Taiwanese morphemes using existing characters when the etymological characters are not known. One way is to use characters based on their phonetic values per se, ignoring the semantic values. According to Cheng (1989a), this is the most common way to represent Taiwanese morphemes whose etymological characters are not known. 七桃 *chhit-thô* 'lit. seven peaches' to represent *chhit-thô* 'to play' is such an example. Examples like this are common in song lyrics.

Some characters are used to represent morphemes which have similar phonetic and semantic values. Another common method of using Chinese characters to represent Taiwanese morphemes is to use Chinese characters based on their semantic values alone, ignoring the phonetic values. This is also commonly found in

song lyrics, but sometimes this method causes problems because sometimes there is more than one corresponding Taiwanese word. Sometimes people misread the characters because their phonetic values may misleading.

Some Taiwanese morphemes are commonly written using a character which is not the etymological character even though such characters have been historically identified (Tiuⁿ 1995:5):

農	lāng	'people', but it is normally written by 人 (semantic borrowing)
較	kha	'foot' normally represented by 腳 which is used in Mandarin
蚊	báng	'mosquito' normally represented by 蚊 used in Mandarin

The following chart summarizes the use of Chinese characters in writing Taiwanese (Cheng 1989a:332-341):

- a) Creating new characters for Taiwanese morphemes 本土字
 - 1) Phonetic compounding 形聲
 - 2) Meaning aggregation 會意
- b) Using existing characters to represent Taiwanese morphemes
 - 1) Phonetic borrowing 假借
 - 2) Similarity of sound and meaning in Taiwanese 轉注
 - 3) Similarity of meaning (in Mandarin or classical Chinese) 訓用

2.2.1 EXISTENCE OF 'LITERARY READINGS' AND 'COLLOQUIAL READINGS' OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

In Taiwanese, Chinese characters may have both 'literary readings' and 'colloquial readings', and the choice of which reading to use is lexically or pragmatically conditioned. For example, the character 雨 'rain' has the following two readings:

雨	ú	literary reading	
	hō		
(1)	雨夜花, 雨夜花	Ú-iā-hoe, ú-iā-hoe	'A rainy night flower'
	受風雨吹落地	Siū hong-hō' chhe lòh tōe	'By the wind and rain, blown to the ground'

Oh (1993:79), who is a native speaker of Taiwanese, makes an interesting comment on the possible ambiguities one faces in reading Taiwanese written in Chinese characters:

‘雨’を ú と読むのは文言音。リズムの関係で hō (白話音) とも読む。漢字で書く限り、こういった欠陥を改めることができない。歌詞はとくに発音表記が必要である。でないと合唱すら不可能である。

Ú is the literary reading. It may be read as hō depending on the rhythm. As long as we write lyrics using Chinese characters, we will be faced with problems in choosing the intended pronunciation. If we do not solve this problem, we cannot even sing together. [translation by Ota]

Oh points out that it is sometimes hard for even native speakers to determine how some characters should be pronounced without having some sort of pronunciation key.

2.2.2 FUNCTION WORDS

A variety of Chinese characters are often employed to represent a single function word. In these cases, the use of Chinese characters causes confusion. The following are some examples of words which may be written differently or some characters which can be read in different ways:

要	iàu	is used for <i>beh</i> 'want'
欲	iók	is used for <i>beh</i> 'want' (classical character)

Ho	讓, 使, 令	(Taiwanese-Japanese dictionary 1931), 給, 被, 俾
給	hō	passive marker
	kā	disposal marker

3. TAIWANESE LYRICS

The two major strategies for choosing Chinese characters to represent a certain word are: (a) the use of a semantic based reading; and (b) phonetic substitution. Both strategies are commonly used with Taiwanese lyrics. In the following two lyrics, the negative morpheme, *m̄*, and *Siaⁿ-mih* 'what' are represented differently in the same string of words, *Siaⁿ-mih lóng m̄-kiāⁿ* 'I'm not afraid of anything'.

- (2) 有你有我 什麼攏驚 有你有我 心頭抓乎定
 Ū lí ū góa, *Siaⁿ-mih lóng m̄-kiāⁿ* (有你有我/王建傑 Wang 1999)
- (3) Oh! 再會吧! Oh! 啥物攏不驚
 Oh! chàì-hōe pah! Oh! *Siaⁿ-mih lóng m̄-kiāⁿ* (向前走/林強 Lin 1990)

'What' in (2) uses a semantic strategy whereas (3) uses a phonetic strategy. Both (2) and (3) use a semantic strategy for representing the negative morpheme. According to Cheng (1989a), ordinary people tend to use the phonetic substitution strategy more often, but the semantic strategy is also very common.

- (4) 我沒讀書 歹勢 歹勢 Góa bô thák chheh 'I don't study, sorry, sorry.'
 (我沒讀書/阿弟仔 Aadia 1999)

The character 沒 which is used in Mandarin for negation is used to represent the Taiwanese negative morpheme *bô* which can be represented as 無. The character 書 'book' is used to represent the Taiwanese word *chheh* 'book'. The character 書 should be pronounced *chu* in Taiwanese, and the etymological character for *chheh* is 冊. It seems better to use the character 冊 here to represent the word *chheh* rather than 書 because some people may think that it should be pronounced as *chu* rather than *chheh*. Thus *góa bô thák chheh* should be written 我無讀冊 rather than 我沒讀書. Some Taiwanese speakers whom I interviewed reported that they felt that such a way of writing is influenced by written Mandarin. Since written Taiwanese is not yet well-established, the lack of standardization causes people to depend on their knowledge of written Mandarin. The following lyrics may cause some confusion to readers who have not yet heard the song. The character 走 is used to represent the word *kiāⁿ* 'walk', but the Taiwanese pronunciation value of this character is *cháu*. The word *kiāⁿ* has the etymological character 行. Again in Mandarin, 'walk forward' is written as 向前走, but not 向前行, so 向前走 is probably preferred here.

- (5) Oh! 再會吧! Oh! 向前走 Oh! chàì-hōe pah! Oh! hiòng-chêng-kiāⁿ
 'Oh! Good-bye! Oh! Walk forward!' (向前走/林強 Lin 1990)

Misreading of lyrics caused by the ambiguous use of Chinese characters is also common. The following is an excerpt from a song called 'Mài koh gōng':

- (6) 酒空空 jiú khong-khong (often misread as *khang-khang*) (甬擱愁/蔡振南 Tsai 1997)

The first line starts as '酒空空'. When I asked five native speakers how to read this, four of them answered *jiú khang-khang* 'the wine is empty', but the intended reading is actually *jiú khong-khong* 'the wine, it's stupid'. The character 空 means 'empty' pronounced *khang*, but here the character is used to represent the word 'stupid'

which is pronounced *khong*. This kind of confusion is quite common in the reading of Taiwanese lyrics. Sometimes one has to listen to the song first before he/she can know how the lyrics should be read.

Another complication that makes Taiwanese lyrics difficult to read is the use of code-switching. Sometimes which language is to be used is indicated by (國) 'Mandarin' or (台) 'Taiwanese', but it is often not marked. Thus a singer cannot always tell what portion needs to be sung in Mandarin. Following are some example of code-switching:

- (7) 卡早聽人唱台北不是我的家 Khah chá thiaⁿ lāng chhiùⁿ, Táibēi bú shì wǒ de jiā
(向前走/林強 Lin 1990)
- (8) 叫一聲 My Baby 你若歡喜 (來蕃不) 沒有問題
(癡情酷恰恰/王建傑 Wang 1999)

The underlined portions above are sung in Mandarin, but there is no written cue that these lyrics should be sung in Mandarin. In (8) the word in the parenthesis, 來蕃不, should be read using the Mandarin pronunciation *láijiùbù*, which represents the Japanese word, *daijōbu* 'no problem'. The reverse situation can be found in the lyrics of a Mandarin song. The following is an excerpt from a Mandarin song, but should be read using the Taiwanese pronunciation *saⁿ oáⁿ ti kha*. This represent the Thai expression for 'how are you?'

- (9) 三碗豬腳 saⁿ oáⁿ ti kha sawáddii khâ [Thai] 'How are you'
(單眼皮女生/中國娃娃 China Dolls 2000)

The increasing use of foreign expressions adds to the complexity of reading Taiwanese song lyrics.

4. CONCLUSION

Almost all popular Taiwanese language song lyrics are written using Chinese characters. Although romanization could represent the pronunciation more accurately, it is not used at all in writing the lyrics of popular songs. The national phonetic alphabet is sometimes used and is preferred to Church romanization. The reason for this is that people are educated using the national phonetic alphabet in elementary school, but in general, the romanization of both Mandarin and Taiwanese is not taught in schools. Both semantic-based and phonetic-based strategies are common in choosing Chinese characters to represent Taiwanese words. The strong influence of written Mandarin is evident in writing Taiwanese lyrics. (1) Even when the etymological characters for the Taiwanese words in question are known and are commonly used characters, the use of a semantic-based strategy is common. (2) Taiwanese words are often written using Mandarin. As Oh (1993) has mentioned, written popular Taiwanese song lyrics often confuse readers. In order to resolve this problem, the standardization of written Taiwanese or the use of romanization would appear to be necessary.

NOTES

- 1 The term 'Taiwanese' used in this paper refers to varieties of Hokkien spoken in Taiwan. Taiwanese belongs to the Southern Min dialect group, and is variously referred to as Taiwanese, Taiwanese Hokkien, and Southern Min in English and has the following names in Chinese and Taiwanese (Higuchi 1998:14):

<u>Chinese characters</u>	<u>Mandarin</u>	<u>Taiwanese</u>	<u>English meaning</u>
台灣話	Táiwānhuà	Tāi-oân-oē	Taiwanese
福建話	Fújiànhuà	Hok-kiàn-oē	Hokkien
閩南話	Mǐnnánhuà	Ban-lâm-oē	Southern Min
福佬話	Fúlǎohuà	Ho-ló-oē	Hokkien People's language

The term 'Taiwanese' is somewhat controversial since there are other major languages spoken on Taiwan, and they are also Taiwanese languages (languages spoken on Taiwan). I chose the term 'Taiwanese' since it is the term used most often in papers written in English. It is not my intention to

- support any particular group of people by calling these varieties of Hokkien spoken on Taiwan as 'Taiwanese'.
- 2 The so-called *han-lo* system, a mixture of Chinese characters and romanization, was first advocated by Ikutoku Oh, and was first implemented by Robert Cheng.

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Miyamoto Yuriko's Women

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ABSTRACT

Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) lived and wrote both fiction and non-fiction during the most turbulent times in modern Japanese history. She lived through the First and Second World Wars. She was known to be a proletarian writer during and after her lifetime. However, her writing had a special focus on women. She was a prolific writer and was an editor of a women's magazine *Hataraku fujin* (Working Women).

Most of the protagonists in her fictional works were women. She depicted the historical situation in the 1920s and 30s in Japan and women's status during those times. She wrote about the pains that women had to go through, due to the status of women as second-class citizens. She wrote about the ambitions she had for women of her times. She once wrote that she wanted to write about women who could live on their own terms and not just as appendages of men. It is interesting to note that when she wrote on Karl Marx one would expect her, being a member of the Japan Communist Party, to write on Marx's communist ideas. She instead wrote how Marx's wife was supportive of his difficult life till her death.

Her novel *Nobuko* (1924-26) discusses marital relationships from the point of view of a free thinking woman at a time when men had all the privileges inside and outside the family. In *Kokoro no kawa* (*River of the Heart*, 1924), the protagonist does not want her daughter to undergo the same suffering that women have to, generation after generation at the hands of their husbands; she decides not to have children in order to stop the tradition in her own family. In *Fūchisō* (*Weathervane Plant*, 1947) she shows that it is not only men but also women who go through a lot of suffering at the hands of the authorities of militarist Japan in the 1930s. In *Banshū heiya* (*The Banshū Plains*, 1946), she shows the sufferings of women because of the policy of the authorities to conscript the men of the families—sons, fathers and husbands—to fight in the Second World War. These are only a few examples of her women protagonists.

This presentation will look at some of her works where she had expressed her concerns and ambitions that she felt for women of Japan at a time when women were expected to stay at home, and the Japanese government did everything to keep every woman of every class as just a "good wife and wise mother."

Miyamoto Yuriko's Women

This paper is about the women of Japan as seen through the eyes of the well-known writer Miyamoto Yuriko. Miyamoto was born in 1899 and lived through the most turbulent times in modern Japanese history—the First and Second World Wars. She lived and wrote during the three historical periods: the Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa (1926-1989) periods. She died in 1951. She was a member of the Proletarian Writers Federation, The Japan Communist Party and she married Miyamoto Kenji, who was also a member of the Communist Party. She often wrote on communism and fellow communists. For these reasons, she is commonly considered a proletarian writer. As I will discuss today, her writings focused on the concerns and ambitions she had for the Japanese women of her times. Most of the protagonists in her stories were women since the stories were often based on her own life. When Miyamoto was growing up, she watched Japanese women being treated as second-class citizens in their own country. Men had all the rights, including the right to divorce. She decided to raise her voice against this inequality.

Miyamoto was born into a family with a fairly good social status and financial standing. Her father, Chūjō Seiichirō, was an architect trained at Cambridge University and her mother, Yoshie, was a graduate of the Peers' Girls High school, a prestigious school attended by the daughters of parliament members and high government officials. Thus she had an opportunity to have a good education at a time when many of the girls her age did not have that privilege. Studying at school did not interest Miyamoto, however. In her essay *Onna no Gakkō* (1946), she states that studying at school was only preparation for a marriage. As soon as a girl graduated, she was expected to marry the boy chosen by her parents. The Meiji government expected women of all classes to stay home and look after the family, as signified by the slogan *ryōsai kenbo* [good wife, wise

mother]. Miyamoto complained in this essay that, as a result of this practice, girls hardly formed any long-lasting friendships while at school.

Since Miyamoto was not interested in this kind of education, she skipped classes frequently and instead spent a lot of time in the library reading a wide variety of authors, both Western and Japanese. This gave her a broad exposure to ideas from other parts of the world, including emancipation for women. Many critics have variously described her as a resistance writer, a proletarian writer, a pacifist, a feminist and a humanist. However, I think of her as a woman who went through a lot of personal suffering and confusion, which led her to become a humanist who loved human beings deeply. She was particularly concerned about the disadvantaged such as the Ainu people, poor peasants, exploited children and Japanese women.

Just as Marx felt that the working class should first become aware of its exploitation for its emancipation, Miyamoto believed that the women of Japan should become aware of their subservient position so that this awareness would liberate them. She conveyed this message in direct and indirect ways in her writing and by example. Though she was jailed several times for supporting the leftist movement, she showed that even jails could not destroy one's determination to live a life of one's own choice.

To illustrate her approach, I will discuss several of her works: *Nobuko* and *Fūchiso* and a few essays. These stories are based on her painful personal experiences and show her unusual life choices. She married a man who she selected on her own without involving her parents, and even proposed to him. In that marriage, she insisted that she would not have children because she wanted to become a professional writer. Later she divorced him. Afterwards, instead of moving back to live with her parents, which was the normal practice of the time, she moved in with a woman known to be lesbian. Some critics have suggested that she had a lesbian relationship with this friend, although she never confessed this in her own writing. She went to the Soviet Union with this friend and was impressed with the life of women there. Women in the Soviet Union could have a job while still having a family. This was not possible in Japan at the time. She started believing that socialism was the best form of governance for Japan. She later became a Communist when the Communist Party was still illegal in Japan. She married again, this time to Miyamoto Kenji, a communist, and she kept her family name Chūjō for a long time. She and her husband suffered incarceration barely a few months after they were married.

When many writers in the proletarian literary organization changed their stance of anti-war to one of war-cooperation, she stood her ground. As a consequence, she was forbidden to publish from 1941 until the end of the war but she did not sacrifice her commitment to communism. After the war, however, she began writing a long critical study opposing the Communist Party's dogmatic tendencies in literature. Unfortunately, she died before completing this work. In short, her entire life was an example to other women that it was possible to oppose social conventions at both the family and national level.

Miyamoto's story *Nobuko* describes events in her life starting from the circumstances that led to her meeting her first husband (Tsukuda in the story) until her divorce. Her protagonist, Nobuko, loves her husband deeply while her husband thinks that the marriage is just a matter of conjugal rights. She backs her husband even when her mother finds fault in everything he does. Later, Nobuko and her husband are asked to leave her parents' home because of the problems created by Tsukuda. While she lives alone with him, she slowly realizes that he is a small-minded man without ambition. She even views the freedoms he grants her, such as allowing her to get up anytime in the morning, traveling alone and not bearing children, as means to dominate her. Though he allows her to write, she is depressed by their monotonous and uninspiring lives. In this novel, Miyamoto expresses the opinion that true love between a man and a woman should be the basis for a married life; a couple should spend their married life with independence and interdependence.

Tsukuda expects Nobuko to be content as a housewife. But she needs an intellectually stimulating environment, which she equates to a fish's need of water for survival. One day, she complains that she feels worthless with the same routine life and needs to do something. Tsukuda tells her not to worry and that she will get used to the routine. Nobuko fears those words, "get used to." She thinks in her heart, "It is sad and depressing that a person would sooner or later get used to his environment, just like a domesticated animal. Would I also get used to this life? Would I lose interest and passion for the person I wanted to become? Would

"I die like this without ever realizing what I had lost?" In this important message, Miyamoto tells her readers, particularly women that unless they realize and question their situation they can never change it.

Nobuko finally tells Tsukuda that they should live separately for a time to see how they both feel about it. He gets angry and expresses concern about how the world will view them rather than finding ways to make both their lives happy, and insists on divorce.

Miyamoto expresses the situation of women in Japan throughout the novel. When Nobuko decides to divorce Tsukuda, her mother, who all along hated Tsukuda, tells her to remain married to him. Like Tsukuda, Nobuko's mother considers society's opinion more important than her daughter's happiness. She feels that Nobuko should persevere. This is because her mother has always been financially and emotionally dependent on her father and she thinks Nobuko should do the same.

Through her protagonist, Miyamoto expresses that to say marriage is merely mutual love is truly a narrow description. There is something more than just mutual love. She wants husband and wife to trust each other and desires that both should become human beings who continue to attain intellectual growth. She feels women should be able to decide the kind of life they want and live it. She does not want to see generations of women live wretched lives in Japan.

This novel was written in 1924, when women were still expected to be just "good wives and wise mothers." It was a very bold step. However, in the novel, Nobuko is able to decide on divorce only after she sees her female friend living an independent life. She feels happy reading letters from this friend or meeting her in person. This suggests that Miyamoto was herself like other Japanese women in being emotionally dependent on others. Nevertheless, her decision to escape her wretched marriage is itself a lesson to others.

She expresses in yet another story "Kokoro no kawa," that bearing children is a woman's personal choice. In that story, she even warns that even the best of husbands may end up calling their wives "hysterical" if they don't understand them.

Fūchiso a later story, is based on Miyamoto's life experiences when her husband Miyamoto Kenji (Jukichi in the story) returned from prison at the end of the Second World War after 12 years of incarceration for being a communist. This story describes how the cruel treatment meted out to prisoners changes their personalities and criticizes the Japanese government for its ill treatment of its citizens. But this story also shows the difficulties husband and wife go through after such a long separation. Jukichi, the protagonist Hiroko's husband, criticizes Hiroko for having the tenacity of a widow. Hiroko has witnessed how widows suffer during the war. She wonders how she could have survived all the financial and psychological turbulence caused by the government, which did not permit her to earn an income through publishing her works when her husband was in jail. When Hiroko sees her husband unable to stitch his own shirt button, she jokes with him by saying "warui teishu"—a bad husband. Not realizing that it is a joke, he objects to this. The protagonist Hiroko cries when he insists that he will stitch it on his own. She feels rejected by him.

In this story, Miyamoto shows a weak woman who depends on her husband emotionally and cries whenever he is not happy with her. But at the same time she shows that while her husband suffered in prison, she suffered outside prison. One's suffering is not worse than the other. Both withstood their sufferings with fortitude. But this story is clearly a love story about a couple separated by prison walls. Miyamoto shows how a couple needs to talk to each other whenever they encounter misunderstanding. She also says that it is alright to be emotionally dependent on one's husband if they love each other. Far from a strong feminist stance, her protagonist is a weak woman. Miyamoto herself might have changed due to her own suffering during the war. On the other hand, women were granted equality by law after the war. When there is equality both within and outside the family Miyamoto suggests it is acceptable if a woman depends on her husband. Only when a woman is suppressed does she need to object.

Miyamoto probably understood this weakness in herself and stated in her short essay "Watashi no kakitai onna" that she wanted to write about women who could live on their own terms and not just as appendages of men. When someone writes on Marx, he or she would be writing about Marx's theory on economics and politics. However, Miyamoto wrote about Marx's wife Jeni and how she was supportive of Marx through his

poverty and expulsion from one country after another, until her death. She seems to suggest that without the support of Jeni Marx could not have achieved in life what he really did. When she compares Maxim Gorky to Tolstoy, she throws light on how they viewed women. While Tolstoy found fault with women, Gorky felt that women should be loved and cherished. She chided Miyake Kaho, a woman writer of the Meiji period for saying through her protagonist in her short story "Yabu no uguisu" that women are intellectually inferior to men. She tried to call on women time and again through her writings to understand their own worth.

I therefore conclude this paper presentation with these last words: Miyamoto Miyamoto wanted to put women under a spotlight at a time when they were getting little attention as capable human beings and to call this to the attention of not only society but also women themselves.

Re-fictionalized Inversion and the Influence of Classical and Edo Characterization Techniques in Higuchi Ichiyô's "Wakaremichi"

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Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) is well known for the affinity between her short stories and the prose works of Ihara Saikaku (1642-93).¹ The similarity between Saikaku and Ichiyô, at least in terms of style, was noted in an *Osaka asahi shinbun* review of her very first published work, "Yamizakura" (1892) (Flowers at Dusk) (Danly 105). This early mention of the similarity between the two writers may have set the stage for what has become an important framework for situating Ichiyô's style and choice of subject matter for many Ichiyô scholars. Such scholars include Hishimoto Takeshi, Fuji Kimiaki, Seki Ryôichi, and Maeda Ai. Maeda, for example, claims in *Higuchi Ichiyô no sekai* that "Ichiyô unmistakably saw through to Saikaku's essence" (331). Despite the critical attention to the issue of Saikaku's influence, Ichiyô herself never mentions the author in any of her collected writings. Ichiyô's otherwise relatively comprehensive diary, for example, makes no mention of Saikaku or any of his works. Other primary source material, including an October 18, 1894 letter to Ichiyô from the writer Hirata Tokuboku in which he promises to bring Ichiyô the "kaku zenshû," (the complete Saikaku), as well as other manuscripts by the 21st, can, however, be found which attest to Ichiyô's interest in Saikaku (Hirata 144).

It is generally assumed that the affinities between Ichiyô and Saikaku are due, in large part, to the Meiji Saikaku revival that followed the 1894 publication of the complete works of Saikaku. Robert Danly, in the most comprehensive English language critical study of Higuchi Ichiyô's life and writing, "A Study of Higuchi Ichiyô," later published as *In the Shade of Spring Leaves*, claims that Ichiyô's "rediscovery" of Saikaku, combined with her experience living in the Ryûsenji area near the Yoshiwara district, provided "the inspiration for her greatest work" (Danly 203). Danly argues that the style of Ichiyô's four best stories, "Nigorie" (1895) ("Troubled Waters"), "Jûsan'ya" (1895) ("The Thirteenth Night"), "Takekurabe" (1896) ("Child's Play"), and "Wakaremichi" (1896) ("The Parting of the Ways") is markedly different from her previous stories and that Saikaku's influence was a necessary ingredient in accomplishing the stylistic writing changes which led to Ichiyô's success and her acceptance by the literary community. (109). According to Danly, one element that Ichiyô found appealing in the Edo writer was his use of non aristocratic, common people as a legitimate subject matter:

When she moved to Ryûsenji, she inadvertently discovered in the downtown and the demimonde a whole new material for her stories. Not long afterward, she took up the novels of a writer who proved irrefutably that low lowlifes--characters she had always relegated to the domain of gesaku--were indeed as acceptable and worthwhile a literary subject as the well-bred sons and daughters of high station. (203)

Danly's claim is that Ichiyô's reading of Saikaku led her to include the stories of common people involved in the Yoshiwara lifestyle in her work. It could be said that it is Danly's view that Saikaku's subject matter, rather than his treatment of the subject matter or his writing style that provided the initial impetus for Ichiyô's inspiration.

Although Danly does analyze at length the stylistic similarities between Saikaku and Ichiyô, what is lacking from his and other scholars' interpretations of the connection is an attention to Saikaku's methods of characterization. This paper takes the recognition that Ichiyô was influenced by Saikaku as a starting point for a wider investigation of Ichiyô's use of premodern characterization techniques.

While "Takekurabe" is arguably the most well read of Ichiyô's works in the West. It is curious, that Danly identifies her last story, "Wakaremichi," as her "best work." This is so, Danly argues, because of its "simplicity and restraint." In primatizing the text as he does Danly provides an argument for closer readings of "Wakaremichi" which give attention to Ichiyô's use of premodern elements.

The premodern characterization method that dominates "Wakaremichi" is what I would like to call the technique of re-fictionalization of Ichiyô's characters. This re-fictionalization is reminiscent of both classical and Edo literary techniques and involves a construction of character based on the association of the character with previous literary characters. This technique dates back at least to the classical period. Hikaru Genji's

romantic adventures in *Genji monogatari*, for example, are thought to have been modeled after Narihira's pursuits of love in *Ise monogatari*. *Genji*, *Ise*, and *Heike monogatari* (13th--14th c.) (*The Tale of the Heike*) formed the models upon which *nô* plays based their characters. In *nô* plays, this modeling tends to take the form of resurrecting the actual character from one of these works.

In Saikaku's works this re-fictionalizing technique shifted its emphasis from resurrecting an actual character to orienting a reader's reactions to a character around the character's similarity to a character in a previous work. An important example can be found in Saikaku's first prose work *Kôshoku ichidai otoko* (1682) (*The Life of an Amorous Man*) in which Saikaku is said to have modeled the hero Yonosuke and his pursuit of women after Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji*. Donald Keene in *World Within Walls* points out that many critics have read *Kôshoku ichidai otoko* as a parody due to its subject matter of a string of romances and the fact that Saikaku's work is divided into the same number of chapters (54) as *Genji monogatari* (168).

More than any other Edo writer, Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) was responsible for revolutionizing the classically inherited re-fictionalizing technique by popularizing the idea of modeling characters after real people. Chikamatsu presented a world in which common people, often beset by financial troubles as in the case of Kamiya Jihei of *Shinjû ten no Amijima*, (1721) (*The Love Suicides at Amijima*) sacrifice all for the pursuit of an idealized romantic relationship, much in the same way *Genji* focused his life on the pursuit of love. In this way Chikamatsu reversed the standard technique of re-fictionalizing characters by modeling stories based on real life people after the behaviors of classical characters.

It is my argument that in "Wakaremichi," Ichiyô makes use of the technique of re-fictionalization handed down to her from her reading of premodern literature. At the same time that this aspect of "Wakaremichi" is reminiscent of classical/Edo literature, it is necessary to keep in mind that "Wakaremichi" is distinctively modern in its depth of psychological realism.

Ichiyô was able to depict Kichi and Okyô, the main characters of "Wakaremichi," as unique individuals who are motivated by individual psychological needs and desires. For example, Okyô's final choice to better her position by becoming an *omekake*, someone's "mistress," or literally "concubine" stems from understandable financial motivations. This choice represents a realistic decision made by a woman who is, in her words, "sick of all this washing and sewing" (Danly 293-94). Okyô recognizes that it is not the ideal choice but it is one she is willing to live with. "It's not the sort of thing anybody wants to do," she explains, "but it's been decided. You can't change things" (295).

A degree of psychological realism is just as present in Kichi's character as in Okyô's. Kichi is insistent in his condemnation of Okyô's decision to become a mistress, and his reasons seem to stem from an overly strict application of patriarchal or perhaps even misogynistic views of the primacy of a woman's chastity. For Kichi, Okyô is either "the last person rotten enough to go of and do that [becoming a mistress] kind of thing" or a woman full of "lies, tricks, and selfishness" (294). While the characterization of a woman as either completely innocent and virtuous or completely deceitful and promiscuous follows a pattern of misogynistic attitudes, in Kichi's case, it may also be read as a psychologically realistic reaction of an as yet adolescent young man of sixteen in the face of losing the woman he loves to an older man. Such psychological realism is a method of characterization with more modern than premodern affinities.

At the same time that Ichiyô constructs a believable psychological framework for her characters actions, the effect of her use of re-fictionalizing techniques is to elevate the characters beyond their immediate psychological context by providing them with archetypal, or typological characteristics. Rather than detract from the story's effect, the juxtaposition of modern and premodern methods of characterization allows Ichiyô to create characters who are at once believable and real and at the same time related in the reader's mind to a history of characters and character types in Japanese literature who have faced similar situations of loss and conflict.

The basic plot of "Wakaremichi"--a beautiful young seamstress of unknown but possibly elevated background is discovered by the dwarf-like Kichi the umbrella oiler who loses her when she decides to change her situation by becoming a kept woman-- matches the style of what has been called Ichiyô's "beauty in the valley" (*taninaka no bijin*) model (Seki 218). This literary model is based on the *Genji monogatari* and the

scene where Genji and his friends discuss the desirability of finding a hidden beauty of noble birth tucked away in a forgotten moss-covered villa.

Okyō fits this model in that she is beautiful and in a sense tucked away waiting for a prince to find her. Kichi points to Okyō's beauty with his mention of her popularity among the men of the neighborhood: "Take the pawnbroker with the bald spot. He's head over heels in love with her, always ordering sewing from her and coming round on one pretext or another, sending her aprons and neckpieces and sashes--trying to win her over" (292). Kichi's rival, Hanji, also testifies to the conception of Okyō being too beautiful for her present environment: "She'll be wearing tasseled coats the next time we see her, la-de-da, and her hair all done up in ringlets, like a kept woman. You wait. With a face like hers, you don't think she's about to spend her whole life sewing, do you" (293). However, Ichiyō inverts the classical mode, first by casting Okyō as a near destitute seamstress, who claims, "I don't even have enough money to dress myself properly" (288), and second by casting her would be rescuing hero as the even more destitute Kichi.

In casting Okyō in the beauty in the valley mode, Ichiyō in effect re-fictionalizes her already fictionally constructed character by giving her literary associations beyond her context. Okyō is at once a psychologically realistic character and a character type in the classical style. This dual characterization provides a framework within which other re-fictionalizations in "Wakaremichi," can be placed. However, the framework set up by Okyō's relationship to the beauty in the valley model is not a framework of simple re-fictionalization but one of inverted re-fictionalization. In each and every case in which either Okyō or Kichi is related to a previous literary character or character motif, the reader's expected association is reversed.

Kichi is a character without a past, thus the reader, the other characters, and even Kichi himself are able to fictionalize his past for themselves. His coworkers at the umbrella shop, for example, invent the day of his parents' death in order to tease him about eating fish, an unacceptable breach of Buddhist propriety. "Eating fish on the anniversary of your parents' death! It serves you right that you're so short," the shop boys tease him (291). Although the shop boys use the technique of fictionalizing Kichi's past in order to belittle him, what Ichiyō accomplishes in this re-fictionalization is an association in the reader's mind of Kichi with a folk tale heritage of the individual of noble birth who by some mischance is unaware of his identity. At the same time that this association is made, Ichiyō reminds the reader that this folk tale model is ill suited to Kichi's actual situation. Even Kichi is convinced of his lowly origins: "It may be true. Who knows? I may be the child of a tramp" (290).

Okyō asks, "Don't you have some proof of your identity? A charm with your name on it, for instance? There must be some clue to your family's whereabouts" (290). Okyō supposes that Kichi may have some item in his possession that will help link him to a family. The presence of such an item would be in keeping with folk tale legends in which a lost son is able to find his family with such a clue. *Mamori bukuro* or charm bags were received at temples as protective amulets and the presence of such a charm would likely have the name of a specific temple on it. What is curious in the passage is the specificity of Okyō's reference. Okyō's term for this charm is "*sasazuru nishiki no mamori bukuro*" (bamboo grass brocade charm bag). Although charm bags were common enough items, it is curious that Okyō describes the bag as a "*sasazuru* charm bag" instead of a simple charm bag.

According to the *Genshoku senshoku daijiten* "*sasazurudonsu*" is a blue-green patterned damask (*donsu*) cloth with a design of bamboo grass and six pedaled flowers. Bamboo was brought to Japan in the Nara period (646-794) by nobility who wanted to emulate the sensibilities of Chinese poets. It began being used as an embroidered design on court costumes during the Heian period (794-1185) and became popular with military families during the Kamakura (1185-1382) and Sengoku periods (1482-1558), but it was not until the Edo period (1600-1868) that it began to be used widely by noble families as a family crest. In keeping with Okyō's reference to *sasazuru*, bamboo was often not depicted directly in design but merely suggested by the use of bamboo leaves or grass. (Dower 46-7) Although Okyō refers to a charm bag, and not a family crest directly, it is likely that such a reference can act in the same manner as the suggestion of the representation of bamboo itself through the depiction of bamboo leaves or grass. It is possible, then, to see the specificity of the reference as adding to the creation of a conception in the reader's mind linking Kichi to a noble origin. However, Kichi makes clear that he does not possess evidence of anything but the humblest of origins. The reader is simultaneously encouraged to associate Kichi with a history of lost and rediscovered noble heroes who return to

claim their rightful place as family heir, and reminded that in Kichi's case, he really may be the son of a beggar or "the crippled old lady with one eye who comes begging every morning" (290).

Okyô's past too is fictionalized, although not to the extreme degree that Kichi's is. Early in the story, Kichi mentions that she comes "from a good family," but no further reference is made to her family's social status (289). The reader is left to wonder whether this aspect of Okyô's family history is a true reference or simply the product of Kichi's imagination. Kichi even attempts to construct a past for Okyô whereby she may turn out to be his sister. "Are you sure you never had a younger brother," he asks. In response, Okyô makes the clearest reference to the actual past of either of the characters. "I was an only child," she states, "I never had any brothers or sisters." (289).

Another aspect of Ichiyô's inversion of the re-fictionalized aspects of Kichi is his nickname, *Issun Bôshi* (Tom Thumb). The term is associated with a folk tale success story of a young dwarflike hero. The story would have been well known to Ichiyô's initial readers as both a nursery type storybook tale and as a folk tale with a long history in Japanese literature.

In one version, a thumb-sized boy is born to a childless old couple. At twelve years old, the boy has still not grown any bigger and dismayed at his small size he goes to the capital to try his fortune. In the capital, he gains employment at the mansion of a rich man where he serves the beautiful daughter of the lord in the capacity of a paperweight for her writing practice. One day, on a visit to the Kiyomizu Temple, the princess and her party encounter ogres who attempt to kidnap the princess. Issun Bôshi steps in to defend her and defeats the ogres with a tiny sword. The fleeing ogres drop their magic mallet that Issun Bôshi picks up. The mallet is able to grant Issun Bôshi's request to be a normal size and, as a handsome man, he ends up marrying the princess ("Issun Bôshi" 395-402).

For a readership familiar with the "Issun Bôshi" tale, as Ichiyô's initial audience would have likely been, Kichi's nickname would have brought with it not only associations of smallness but the image of an underdog character who overcomes obstacles to become the successful husband of a beautiful princess. For Kichi's coworkers, however, it is a purely derogatory term devoid of the implied ending of the tale because, unlike the folk hero, Kichi seems destined for no greater future than a lifetime of oiling umbrellas. Kichi laments, "What am I but a boy who oils umbrellas? So what if I do the work of a hundred men? I'm not going to win any prizes for it. Morning and night, the only title I ever hear is 'Dwarf' . . . 'Dwarf [Issun Bôshi]" (294). In this way, the possibly elevated connotations of Kichi's nickname are inverted by the reality of his situation.

Perhaps the clearest example of inverted re-fictionalizing of Kichi is his association with the character Chôemon from the double love suicide puppet play *Katsuragawa renri no shigarami* (*The River Katsura and the Floodgate of Eternal Love*) (1776) by Suga Sensuke. Like many *shinjû* or double suicide plays, it is based on a real incident, the double suicide at the river Katsura of a thirty-eight-year-old obi merchant named Chôemon and the fourteen-year old Ohan, the daughter of his neighbor.

In one scene in the play, Chôemon carries the much younger Ohan across the Katsura River to escape pursuit. In order to tease Kichi for his dependence on or attention to the older Okyô, the shop boys invert this image by associating Kichi with a Chôemon who is carried across the river by Okyô/Ohan: "Why he's the mirror image of the great Chôemon!" they would laugh. "At the River Katsura, Ohan will have to carry him! Can't you see the little runt perched on top of her sash for a ride across the river? What a farce" (Danly 292). Several inversions are involved here: the young Kichi is associated with the older Chôemon and the older Okyô with the younger Ohan; and Kichi is simultaneously related to both Chôemon and Ohan, Chôemon by name, and Ohan in the action of being carried across the river. The intertextual context between *Katsuragawa* and "Wakaremichi" works to both elevate Kichi by relating him to a well-known bunraku/kabuki character and devalue him by inverting the expected complimentary comparison between the two characters.

Kichi may have an additional connection to the play in that Chôemon's arch rival in the story is Ohan's apprentice Chôkichi who shares the *kichi*, literally "good luck," part of Kichi's name. Chôemon and Ohan's affair begins because Ohan is attempting to escape the advances of her apprentice while they are stopped at an inn at which Chôemon happens to be staying. Ohan is at the inn because she, Chôkichi, and her maid, Orin, are returning from a pilgrimage to Ise. When Chôkichi makes advances towards her, Ohan flees to Chôemon's

room and they end up pledging their love. Ichiyō's obvious familiarity with *Katsuragawa renri no shigarami* raises the question of whether some implied relationship between the characters Chōkichi and Kichi was intended. Such an implied relationship complicates the shop boys' inverted association of Kichi with Chōemon and deepens the possible importance of the intertextual context between the two works. Ichiyō goes to great lengths to cast Kichi in an apprentice role in "Wakaremichi," and he attempts to get in the way of Okyō's intended involvement with an older man just as the apprentice Chōkichi does with Ohan.

The double or re-fictionalized characteristics of Kichi are perhaps strongest in his comparison to Chōemon and his relationship to the play *Katsuragawa* because the shop boys' comments, coming without preface or footnote, seem to assume contemporary knowledge of the play. In fact, aside from a sparse record during its first 30 years, *Katsuragawa* was in nearly continual production both as a puppet play and a kabuki play from its first performance in 1776 until 1896, the year in which "Wakaremichi" was published. Puppet play performances in the years immediately prior to the publication of "Wakaremichi" include those in 1892, 94, 95 and 96 all at one of the two Inari Puppet Theaters in Osaka (Kokuritsu Geinō Chōsashitsu 103-115). Kabuki performances during the same years include a 1890 performance at the Naniwa and Horie Theaters in Kyoto, and a 1894 performance at the Naniwa (Kokuritsu Gekijō). Although Ichiyō may not have seen the play performed, *Katsuragawa*, as happened with most popular kabuki and bunraku plays, was most likely spread in pamphlet form, and, as the shop boys' casual reference indicates, was probably familiar to Ichiyō's intended readership. This indicates that "Wakaremichi's" methods of characterization were intended to be read best by a readership with knowledge of *Katsuragawa* and an ability to recognize what is essentially a classical and Edo fictional technique, the association of characters with previously established character types and with specific characters in both bunraku and kabuki drama.

Two things can be established from these observations: one, Ichiyō combines classical/Edo methods of characterization and modern psychological realism; two, while doing this Ichiyō inverts the self-fictionalized or re-fictionalized aspects of both Okyō and Kichi. With these important aspects of characterization established, it is possible to apply their implications to a reading of some aspects of the story that seem conducive to varying interpretation. Most important among these is how to read Kichi's condemnation of Okyō at the end of the story and his final demand, "Take your hands off me, Okyō" (Danly 295). Why end the story with such a strong last word from Kichi? The recognition of Okyō and Kichi's re-fictionalized aspects may add clarity to this question. As mentioned, Kichi is perhaps most strongly re-fictionalized in the shop boys' comparison of him to the character Chōemon from *Katsuragawa*. This, plus his relation to the folk tale hero Issun Bōshi, makes Kichi's re-fictionalization, and the fact that it is inverted, consistent and pervasive.

Okyō's re-fictionalization, on the other hand, is less extreme, her character being only thematically related to the beauty in the valley model. What this may point to is Okyō's comparatively greater ability to carve her own future out of the limited possibilities available to a woman in her situation in the Meiji period. Compared to her, Kichi seems smothered by his association with previous literary figures and unable to identify his own course in life. While he clearly wishes his situation was otherwise, he convinces himself that he is content: "Even if someone came along and insisted on helping me, I'd still rather stay where I am," he states. "Oiling umbrellas suits me fine. I was born to wear a plain kimono with workman's sleeves and a short band around my waist" (289). Only if Okyō completely renounces her decision to become a mistress will Kichi forgive her and remain her friend. He asks, "You mean you're not going to be someone's mistress?" (295). His unrealistic request and extreme insistence make more sense because the reader has been consistently given a characterization of Kichi in which he is consumed by literary associations which, contrary to the reader's likely initial reaction, fail to elevate him beyond his situation. On the other hand, Okyō's ability to make her own final choice is emphasized by her less consistent re-fictionalization. At the same time, by inverting Okyō's relation to the beauty in the valley model, Ichiyō paradoxically liberates Okyō. Instead of being passively discovered by a prince Genji character who, as the story goes, will likely later leave her to pine away again, Okyō is able to break out of her mold by making her own choice based on her own economic self-interest.

Ichiyō is part of a long line of writers who based their characters' behavior on classical models--centered in large part around an elevated appreciation and pursuit of romantic love within a courtly context--but at the same time applied these models to the world of everyday people. As previously mentioned, this application of the classical norms of romantic behavior contained in *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* to common people gained popularity with Saikaku's prose and the shinjū literature of Chikamatsu Monzaemon, and this same

dynamic continued in various manifestations throughout the Edo period. Ichiyō resides, in a sense, at the end of this process, perhaps having finally applied the classical models to the most common of common characters. In the comparative application of the classical/Edo re-fictionalizing technique to Okyō and Kichi, the inversions present at the tail end of this process simultaneously signify Ichiyō's debt to these models and her overturning of them.

NOTES

1. This paper has been formatted according to the MLA style.

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II. Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas

Music: The Other Text in Film

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ABSTRACT

Music has been used to support the narrative of film since the early days of the moving-picture industry. Scientific studies indicate various physiological and psychological effects of music. These known physiological and psychological impacts of music on humans allow music to be used in cinematography to achieve a variety of predetermined and specific effects, from supporting or contradicting the visual narrative, preparing the viewer for future action, and adding additional layers of meaning to the dialog to replacing the dialog altogether. In this study, through the analysis of three films and a television series episode the use and function of music in film was demonstrated.

*"There is a charm, a pow'r that sways the heart,
Bids every passion revel or be still,
Inspires with rage, or all your cares dissolves;
Can sooth distraction, and almost despair:
That pow'r is music"*
ARMSTRONG

Scientific studies indicate that music affects heart and respiratory rates, memory and autonomic nervous system functions including, among others, the production of hormones and endorphins that effect mood and the perception of pain. It is this ability of music to affect us in multiple ways at a very basic physiological and emotional level that makes it a useful and powerful instrument in film as it is in curative therapies. Indeed, music is used in film to produce specific predetermined emotions or to obtain specific effects. Music may serve as narrative, communicating the unspeakable. In film, music can also be used to support the visual narrative and the dialog or it can contradict the action and/or the dialog, giving the viewer an additional layer of communication.

Music has specific qualities that can elicit a uniform response; selected reactions to music are universal regardless of culture. Because of this universal reaction to specific musical elements, the desired effect can be obtained by choosing the musical element according to the reaction desired whether it is to help propel the narrative of the film or to give the narrative an additional dimension. Thus, it is possible to create depth and to simultaneously create layers of meaning in conjunction with the images and the dialog.

Humans prefer music with a rhythm similar to their own heart rate, according to a scientific study conducted by Makoto Iwanaga.¹ A faster tempo provokes anxiety; it increases the feeling of distress and creates an increase in respiratory and heart rates, conditions identical to the fight or flight response. Additionally, using ascending tones increases the effect that is produced. This technique of increasing the tempo to increase the tension, propel the action or as a prelude or warning of danger is often used in film.

In film clip from the movie *Santa Sangre*, immediately prior to Fenix's struggle with the anaconda snake, the tempo suddenly accelerates signaling imminent action and increasing tension. In addition to the increased tempo, the ascending tones further increase the tension and propelled the action. The pulse of the music quickens, presaging a threat. The music first anticipates the film narrative and subsequently, together with the images, communicates a feeling of anxiety and danger on multiple levels. The use of music to announce or prepare the viewer for the up-coming action is the parallel of foreshadowing in literature. Preparation of the viewer is important as the viewer would otherwise resent the abrupt manipulation.

Many times a director is trying to convey a particular emotion that cannot be communicated solely by the dialog. The viewing public recognizes the emotion through the music. During the silent film era certain music types were established for specific situations. In today's film industry part of this legacy is retained. *Functional music* is the music we traditionally associate with film. It is an original score composed for a film to increase effects and mood. In some cases the music functions not only to increase, but to actually create the emotion. Indeed, as in the silent film era there are certain established formulas. There is action music, music for comedy, music for dramatic tension, etc.

Peter Askim, a musician and composer from Honolulu, Hawaii, explains that some of these formulas or musical messages have been used to the point of becoming a trite phrase. Leonard Ratner in his book, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, explains how certain emotions are characterized in music. According to Ratner, joy is communicated with free, animated and fluid tones in a quick style. Fear is expressed with moans, trembling and broken tones, etc. Moreover, not only the character of the tones, but the interval between them indicate emotion. "Minor second: sad; minor third: sad, melancholy; major third: gay; perfect fifth: spirited; minor seventh: tender, sad, undecided; augmented fifth: frightening (only when it appears in the bass)". Notes in minor tones indicate sadness, melancholy and tenderness.

Additionally, says Askim, certain instruments are identified with specific emotions. For example, French horn or cello are considered to impart a feeling of sadness while music from brass instruments impart a feeling of happiness. A violin playing or vibrating a high note indicates restlessness, and uneasiness. These instruments are regularly used in this manner thus establishing them as representative of the emotions assigned to them. Like certain actors, these instruments have become type-cast; they become identified with particular characteristics. Using the above formulas the emotions of the viewer can be manipulated.

A prime example of the creation of emotion through music is found in *Barroco*. At one point the protagonist exits a bar where he has been listening to calm guitar music and watching a pretty woman sitting alone. Alone, in the dark of night we watch him as a voice sings a *liebeslied*, a German love song. A piano accompanies a disembodied voice that sings serenely and romantically. The song ends but the melody continues. Subtly it starts to change its rhythm until it becomes a tango. This in turn, morphs into a new song, becoming "La paloma" with a cha-cha rhythm. The music transports the spectator from a feeling of melancholy and longing, to romance, to happiness and finally to wanting to get up and dance.

In another montage of music in *Barroco* we hear the sound of a military drum playing what sounds like a death march, the cadence that is played before an execution. In this scene we are in a torture chamber. In the scene that follows, the cadence has changed to a more accelerated rhythm with exotic percussion instruments and we see an African slave rebelling against his master. The camera cuts away to another part of the set while the sound of morbid organ music insinuates what came of this confrontation: death.

Through sound, music offers the viewer a text, a narrative in the film. In some cases it is the predominant text, the main narrative. An excellent example is *Barroco*, a film without dialog, in which the sound narrative is composed solely of music. *Barroco* gives us a version of history starting with the encounter of the first Europeans with native people of the Americas and continuing to the present day. The conquest and subjugation of the American populations, the introduction of African culture, the colonial period and the mixing of cultures, *el mestizaje*, are told from a musical perspective and through music and images.

The first encounter of the two cultures is represented by juxtaposing and eventually combining the sound of two instruments. First, jingle bells, an instrument introduced by the Europeans and mentioned in Columbus' diary, are played followed by flutes, an ancient instrument of American peoples. The lack of understanding between the two cultures after the first encounter is represented by juxtaposing the chant of a woman in native attire and the chant of a European man. The chants clash. Although the characters chant earnestly at one another there is no harmony, no understanding. What results is a dissonance. The music in these examples and throughout the film is symbolic and as such requires a hermeneutic reading. In addition to this need of an interpretation, these sounds make reference to another text, thus creating an intertextuality of texts, here, an old text, Columbus' diary and the text of the film.

The idea of hybridization, *mestizaje*, and the new culture that is created by this process is represented with the juxtaposition of a bagpipe played by a European man standing in a lush, American landscape and a young Indian youth playing a violin, a European introduction. The simple melody played by the youth mixes with other European instruments played by traditionally attired native people, thus becoming a new genre of music. The resulting hybrid born of two musical traditions is richer than its component parts. The idea of hybridization, the process of introducing new elements from a different tradition to an existing tradition, thus creating something related but different and new is repeated in the narrative. The hybridization of African and American cultures is represented by using a song, changing the rhythm, thereby making it sound revitalized,

then changing the rhythm again so the percussion is pronounced. The old melody is still recognizable but it has a totally new character and effect.

A musical component found in *Barroco* is *real music*, the use of preexisting music that is used in the narrative of the film. Roger Hillman in his essay "Narrative, Sound, and Film" from the book *Fields of Vision* (L. Devereaux, R. Hillman, ed.) says: "Music used in film can convey a cultural code whose presence is more important to the film than any emotive qualities of the melody used. By definition this involves preexisting music and not original film scores, since the whole effect is based on resonances already attached to the work"³. Real music, both classical and folk, used in *Barroco*, add this supplementary layer of meaning to the narrative.

Because of its spatial nature, film also has the unique characteristic of being able to make various statements simultaneously. According to Roger Hillman: "The spatial composition of film allows several statements to be made simultaneously, something without parallel in written language. A long description in a novel can be condensed into a single film frame"⁴. The use of real music, with its emotional load, adds the emotions associated with it. Thus, as indicated before, music becomes an additional text superimposed upon the narrative of the film. Additionally, says Hillman, "...use of realistic music advances the narrative in telling us about the player and the listener....these possibilities can easily be trivialised, the presence of music appear incidental, the choice of music lack narrative logic. But it can exert a powerful narrative force"⁵.

The creators of *Santa Sangre* make the most of the ability of film to communicate various statements simultaneously as well as the effects of real music, music preinfused with meaning, to enrich the narrative. Throughout the film there are several examples of capitalizing on these qualities. During his childhood, when Fenix's father flirts and starts to seduce the tattooed woman we hear the melody of the Spanish song "Perfidia", meaning perfidy, a deliberate breach of faith, a calculated violation of trust. Later, when the boy loses his innocence and the bond between him and his mother is altered, we hear the melody of the song, "*Donde estás corazón?*", where are you dear heart? And when the tattooed lady flees, taking with her Fenix's friend, Alma, we hear a voice sing in Spanish *La Barca de Oro*, a traditional and very nostalgic farewell song which says, "I'm leaving. Never again will your eyes see me...I'm going to fill the seas with my weeping...goodbye, my love, goodbye, forever goodbye." In a later scene we see Alma as a young woman, a picture of Fenix as a boy is on the wall behind her as she faces the camera and we hear a voice sing "...that love that withered my life, where are you, my most beloved possession? That love. Where are you?" Toward the end of the film we see Fenix as a young man seated at the piano with his mother as they sing a duet: "In my soul I feel an immense desire to cry. I need you but swore never to tell you. With my tears I want to make you a pearl necklace. Let me cry, because now that I've lost you, as I try to forget, I remember you more."

As Hillman indicates, the music is saturated with a significance associated with it; it resonates with meaning. The use of real music here, however, presents us with an interesting circumstance. The film is in English, for an English-speaking audience. For the person who does not understand the lyrics of the songs in Spanish, even though the melody carries the sense of the emotion, part of the meaning is lost. Additionally, persons not familiar with the songs, melodies and lyrics full of meaning apropos to the narrative, miss out on an aspect that enriches the understanding and the experiencing of the film. "At the visual level the narrative is universal, but at the level of sound it is not, and when within the latter level two sounds compete and only one can be translated, then a crucial component of the narrative is missed"⁶.

Sometimes the music and the action don't seem to harmonize. In fact, they may contradict one another. In these situations the viewer tends to lend more credit to the musical message: That is, the musical text is considered more reliable than the visual narrative. What occurs here is a type of irony parallel to what in literature would be dramatic irony. In this case the music informs the viewer of something the protagonist is unaware of; the spectator knows more than those participating in the action. The following description from the television series, *The X-Files*, demonstrates this.

In the dark and gloomy catacombs under the cathedral, a skull moves and a skeleton hand "walks" around terrifyingly. However, the music, implying suspense, has inconspicuously changed and at the moment the bones inexplicably move around, the music is cheerful and playful thus eliminating the sense of horror. Although the images communicate one message, the music makes a distinctly different statement.

Another important function of music in film is that of unifying. A musical theme, a phrase or a sound repeated throughout the film becomes the unifying thread as in *Barroco* where both the sound of water and specific melodies are repeated throughout the film. In this instance the music or sound lends logic and flow to the narrative.

Up to this point we have dealt with sound and music and we've seen how these function in film. On the other hand, however, we must consider the absence of music and how this affects the narrative of the film. In its absence music serves once again to support the action of the plot of a film in a specific and characteristic manner. In *Aguirre Wrath of God*, the lack of sound increases the tension when the party of explorers sails down river in unknown territory fearing another attack by natives. Without auditory clues the viewer does not know what to expect, the uncertainty thusly increasing the suspense and tension. "Film silence is in fact the alternative narrative possibility for conveying what transcends words⁷.

Music is so ancient we cannot ascertain its beginnings. It has been an essential element in the evolution of humanity and its cultures. It affects us consciously and subconsciously at a basic and corporal level, physiologically and psychologically in ways we have ascertained and some which we have yet to discover. Music is used at times as a symbol, inviting a hermeneutic reading. Because of its many qualities music is a useful and powerful instrument for cinematography which seeks to represent, to communicate and to affect the public. The nature and effects of music and the instruments that produce it have been studied and characterized. Certain instruments elicit specific reactions because of the nature of their sounds and the rhythm of the sounds also affect us significantly. Scientific studies corroborate these observations and conclusions of musicians, composers and musicologist with quantitative and qualitative data. The film industry uses these findings to establish formulas and uses music to subtly and sometimes not so subtly communicate ideas, convey emotions, support the visual narrative and dialog and enrich, deepen and amplify meaning. Thus is music the other text in film.

NOTES

1. Iwanaga, M. (1995). Relationship between heart rate and preference for tempo of music. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 8, 435-441.
2. Ratner, Leonard. *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style*. Schirmer Books, New York, 1980, 4-5.
3. Hillman, R. Narrative, sound and film: Fassbinder's *The Marriage of Maria Braun*. *Fields of Vision*: University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1995, 187.
4. Ibid. pg. 194.
5. Ibid. pg. 185.
6. Ibid. pg. 192.
7. Ibid. pg. 186.

FILMS USED AND THEIR SUMMARIES

AGUIRRE WRATH OF GOD

A history of the explorer and conquistador Lope de Aguirre who leads a group of men away from Pizarro's 1560 South American expedition in search of seven cities of gold, and his ill-fated attempt to conquer parts of South America, enrich himself and establish a dynasty.

BARROCO

A Visual and musical history, based on Alejo Carpentier's novel *Concierto Barroco*. Using visual images and music the story is told of the encounter of Europeans and native people of the Americas, the conquest and colonization that followed, the decimation of the native populations by disease, the replacement of the labor force by the importation of African people forcibly taken from their lands to serve as slaves, and the hybridization that occurred from the mixing of these various cultures.

SANTA SANGRE

A young man is interned in an insane asylum. Through a series of flash backs we learn of his unusual childhood as the only son of circus performers, his relationship with his father and his mother, and the traumatic

events that led him to his present situation. Within the flashbacks, hallucinations as the story unfolds, make unclear what is reality and what is imagined. There is a seamless ness between recalled reality and hallucination and an ambiguity in the perspective of what we are seeing. Is what we are seeing is being seen as bystanders or from the perspective of the protagonist?

X-FILES

In this episode the authenticity of a controversial and supposed ancient sacred text is being questioned. The agents are being shadowed by a Hollywood producer as they try to ascertain the authenticity of the documents in question. To this end they find themselves searching the catacombs beneath a cathedral where the scrolls have been placed for safekeeping.

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III. Linguistics

A Corpus-Based Analysis of the Reciprocal Pronouns: *Each Other* and *One Another*

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I. Introduction

The English reciprocal pronouns (RP) *each other* and *one another* are similar in meaning, and English native speakers (NS) often seem to use them interchangeably. In contrast, English as a foreign language (EFL) learners learn that *each other* refers to two referents in the antecedent and *one another* refers to more than two referents. For example:

- (1) John and Mary love *each other*.
- (2) These three kids like *one another*.

That is, these two expressions are different in semantics. It is interesting that EFL learners from different Asian countries are taught the distinction consistently¹.

This paper aims to investigate whether there is any style difference in these two RP, i.e., formal (written) vs. informal (spoken) usage, and whether there is number difference in the antecedent, i.e. two vs. more than two referents. Other relevant factors, such as animacy, active vs. stative predicates and verb connection are also taken into consideration in the discussion. Three English corpora form the basis of the research—two written corpora, i.e., Brown and Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB), and one spoken corpus—London-Lund Corpus (LLC).

II. Definitions and Usage of *Each Other* and *One Another*

A. Dictionaries

EFL learners often look into English dictionaries for word meanings. Among the currently popular English dictionaries for ESL/EFL learners, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995b) and *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* (1995a) both denote *each other* and *one another* as synonyms. However, more examples are given in the entry of *each other* than in *one another*, which suggests that *each other* may be more commonly used than *one another*.

B. ESL Grammar Materials

In many ESL grammar books, these reciprocal pronouns are not introduced (Bland 1996; DeFilippo and Mackey 1994; Elbaum 1996; Fiengo and Lasnik 1973; Frodesen and Eyring 1997; Holschuh 1991; Knepler 1990; Raimes 1990; Sauber-Sellen 1997a; Sauber-Sellen 1997b; Schmidt 1995; Steer and Carlisi 1991; Werner and Nelson 1990a; Werner and Nelson 1990b). In others, *each other* is introduced accompanying reflexives without mentioning *one another* (e.g., Deakins, Parry, and Viscount 1994, p. 166; Frodesen and Eyring 1997, p. 298; Murphy 1993, p. 112), the RPs are introduced as synonyms (e.g., Murphy and Altman 1989, p. 152), or the difference in the number of participant is stated but is noted that people usually do not follow it (e.g., Fuchs and Bonner 1995, p. 331).

C. English Grammar Books

Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) state that in prescriptive grammar, *each other* and *one another* are distinguished by the number of participants involved, that is, *each other* should be used with two participants and *one another* with more than two (e.g., Cook and Suter 1980). Examples are:

- (3) Bob and George dislike *each other*.
- (4) The three sisters are devoted to *one another*.

However, the distinction is rejected in by Quirk et al. (1985) and they explain that the differentiation is based on register rather than number, i.e., *each other* is used in informal context and *one another* is used in more formal contexts.

Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) mention that in a data-based contextual analysis of RP in English, Amundson (1994) analyzes 55 authentic tokens: 46 are *each other* and 9 are *one another*. She finds out that the number of participants can not explain the data. However, *each other* occurs freely in speech and writing, and *one another* is mainly used in writing mode. She also finds that all subject participants of *one another* are animate, whereas 9 out of the 46 participants of *each other* are inanimate. In other words, there is difference of the RP in register and of animacy.

Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman note that *one another* is preferred in certain genres, for example, the Bible. They conclude that "*each other* is clearly the more frequent and flexible reciprocal pronoun; in fact it seems to be used by some English speakers and writers to the exclusion of *one another*." (p. 311).

III. Relevant Factors

A. Active vs. Stative Predicates

Fiengo and Lasnik (1973) note that there is a contrast between reciprocal sentences with active predicates, e.g., (5), and those with stative predicates, e.g., (6).

- (5) The men in the room are hitting *each other*.
- (6) The men in the room know *each other*.

In (5), the sentence has both *a strong reading* (i.e., every one of the men is hitting every other one) and *a weak reading* (i.e., people are hitting in pairs, e.g., A and B are hitting *each other*, and C and D are hitting *each other*). On the other hand, (6) only allows a strong meaning, i.e., every one of the men knows every other one. The subjects in (5) can be divided into sub-groups because of the verb; therefore, the strong interpretation that everyone is hitting the rest in the group, and the weak interpretation that each person is hitting the rest in a sub-group are both acceptable. On the contrary, as they propose, the linguistic entity 'state' is non-partitionable, no sub-groups are possible to be formed. Therefore, only the strong interpretation is acceptable for stative verbs.

As the predicate will affect the interpretation of the sentence, it will be interesting to examine the combination of the predicate with the RP. In particular, when there are more than two participants, whether the strong or the weak reading occurs more frequently?

B. Collocations with Verb

Collocation is the habitual company of words or recurring word combinations (Firth 1957; Pawley and Syder 1983). As the preceding one or two words of the RP or the following one or two words may not reflect why the RP is used in the sentence, I would like to see the correlation between the verbs and the RP. In a study on the connection between verbs and argument structures, Wolfe-Quintero (1998) examines English NS's production of the double object dative. She claims that there is congruence between the relative strength of an argument structure in lexical representation and the frequency of that argument structure in production. The results show that there are variable strengths of association between individual verbs and argument structures.

With the active and stative predicates distinction in mind, if there is connection between the verb and the argument structure, I would like to examine whether there is consistent connection between the verb and the RP. That is, do some verbs occur more frequently than others in preceding the RP?

IV. Research Questions

The research questions in the study are as follows.

1. Are there differences between the RPs in the register? That is, is *each other* used more often in informal (i.e., spoken) contexts than in formal (written) contexts?

2. Does the distinction of the referent numbers exist in the reciprocal pronouns? That is, do NS use *each other* to refer to two participants and *one another* to more than two?
3. Are there differences of animacy between the RPs?
4. Are there differences between the RPs in genre?
5. Is there connection between the active and/or stative predicates and the RPs?
6. What are the collocation of verbs with the RPs? That is, what verbs occur more frequently with the RPs?

V. Corpora, Tools and Procedures

I utilized two written corpora--Brown1 (American English; 1,008,674 words) and LOB (British English; 1,006,400 words), and one spoken corpus--LLC. First, I used UltraEdit32 to edit the corpora (i.e., to delete line numbers and tags), then I use MonoConc Pro to search for *each other* and *one another*. The frequencies are different when I search for the target words in the edited and non-edited data. The main difference results from the RPs crossing two lines in the data. When the first word of the RP is positioned at the end of a line, MonoConc can not find it because of the deletion of line numbers at the initial position in next line. However, I searched both versions because it is easier to reach the concordance of the target RP with the index of line number in the non-edited version; thus, I could check the relevant number and animacy of subjects, frequency in genre and types of verbs. After checking for number, animacy and verbs, I entered the results (i.e., category of genre, animacy, number of referents, predicates and verbs) into Excel so that I could easily sort out the data.

VI. Results and Discussion

Frequency and percentage are used to show the results. The 95% confidence level of the percentage is provided in most data as well.

A. Frequency of Occurrence and Frequency of Register

Within the one million-word corpus, the tokens of the RPs vary from 52 to 106 for *each other*, and 15 to 40 for *one another* (see Table 1). The results show that *each other* occurs more often than *one another* across all the corpora. The ratio between these RPs in the spoken corpus is 78% vs. 22%, (in more informal contexts) is not much different from the ones in written corpora, 73% vs. 27% in Brown and 72% vs. 28% in LOB (in more formal contexts). The results neither support Quirk et al's (1985) assertion that the selection of RPs depends on the register nor Amundson's (1994) claim that *each other* occurs freely in spoken and written data, and *one another* is mainly used in writing. The observation from the results is that *each other* is used more often than *one another* in both speech and writing, but there are no robust numbers to show that *one another* mainly occurs in the written mode.

Corpus	Each other	One another	Total
Brown 1 (1,008, 674 words) ²	106 (73% ± 7.2%)	40 (27% ± 7.2%)	146
LOB (1,006, 400 words)	91 (72% ± 7.8%)	36 (28% ± 7.8%)	127
LLC	52 (78% ± 9.9%)	15 (22% ± 9.9%)	67
95% confidence interval			

Table 1: Frequency of Occurrence of the Reciprocal Pronouns

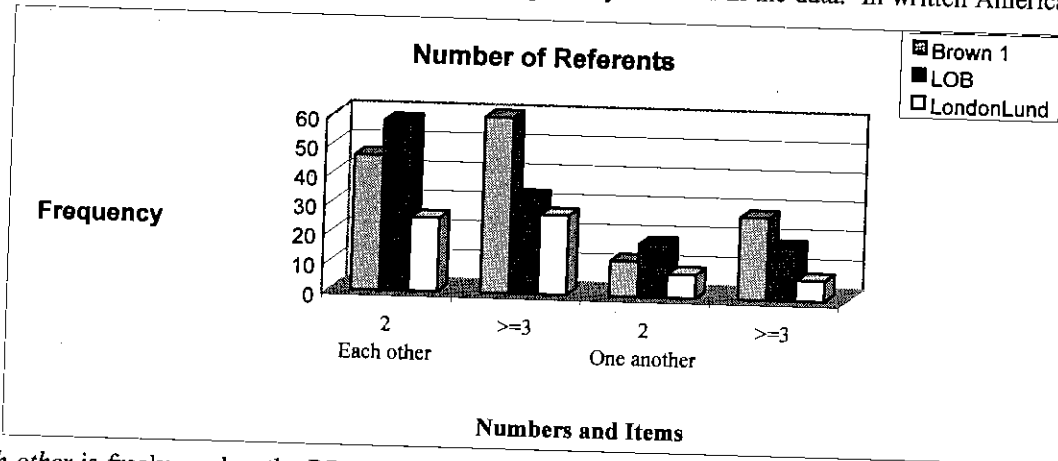
Within the occurrence of the RPs, the distribution of participants shows differences among the corpora (see Table 2). In LLC, the frequencies of participant numbers that *each other* and *one another* refer to are almost equal (i.e., 25 vs. 27 and 8 vs. 7). In Brown1, the frequencies of more than two referents, in both *each other* and *one another*, are consistently higher than two referents (60 (57%) vs. 46 (43%) and 28 (70%) vs. 12 (30%)). In LOB, *each other* is used more often to refer to two participants (58 (64%) vs. 33 (36%)); whereas *one another* does not show differences between 2 and 3-or-more participants (i.e., 18 vs. 18).

Referents	Each other			One another		
	2	≥ 3	Total	2	≥ 3	Total
Brown 1	46 (43% ± 9.4%)	60 (57% ± 9.4%)	106	12 (30% ± 14.2%)	28 (70% ± 14.2%)	40
LOB	58 (64% ± 9.9%)	33 (36% ± 9.9%)	91	18 (50% ± 16.3%)	18 (50% ± 16.3%)	36
LLC	25 (48% ± 13.6%)	27 (52% ± 13.6%)	52	8 (53% ± 25.3%)	7 (47% ± 25.3%)	15

Table 2: Number of Referents

Traditional prescriptive grammar requires that *each other* should be used to refer to two referents, and *one another* to three or more. If the rule is followed, the number of frequency for *each other* should be higher in the two category, and higher for *one another* in the three or more category. However, only *each other* (64%) in LOB and *one another* (70%) in Brown1 follow the prediction. In other words, people do not make the distinction when they speak, and American people use *one another* more often to refer to three or more participants and British people incline to use *each other* to refer to two referents.

In short, the number of participant rule is only partially reflected in the data. In written American English,



each other is freely used as the RP to refer to the antecedents, but *one another* is more preferred to indicating more than two referents. In written British English, *each other* is more preferred when there are only two referents. The restriction of using *one another* for more than two participants is not as strong as it is in the American English.

Animacy

Both RPs are used more often to refer to animate antecedents than to inanimate ones (see Table 3). The frequencies of animate subjects are consistently higher than those of inanimate subjects (69 (65%) vs. 37 (35%) and 27 (68%) vs. 13 (32%) in Brown1; 67 (74%) vs. 24 (26%) and 19 (51%) vs. 18 (49%) in LOB). That is, the RPs tend to refer to animate subjects more often than inanimate subjects. However, the number and percentage of animacy for *one another* in LOB are almost equal (51% vs. 49%) which means *one another* is used more freely in referring to inanimate subjects in British English. The percentages of animate participants, whether referring to 2 or more than 2 subjects, are almost consistently higher than those of inanimate referents except *one another* for 2 referents in LOB (9 (24%) vs. 10 (27%)) (see Table 4). The results contradict the results of Amundson (1994) that all subject participants of *one another* are animate.

Corpus	Each other			One another		
	Anim.	Ina.	Total	Anim.	Ina.	Total
Brown 1	69 (65% ± 9.1%)	37 (35% ± 9.1%)	106	27 (68% ± 14.5%)	13 (32% ± 14.5%)	40
LOB	67 (74% ± 9%)	24 (26% ± 9%)	91	19* (51% ± 16.1%)	18* (49% ± 16.1%)	37

*One antecedent has both animate and inanimate subject (i.e., this room and me)

Table 3: Frequency of Animate and Inanimate Referents

In the Brown corpus, when the animate participants are 2, *each other* is used more often than *one another* (33% vs. 23%), when the animate participants are more than 2, *one another* is preferred to *each other* (45% vs. 32%). In the LOB, the tendency of using *each other* to refer 2 animate antecedents (54% vs. 24%) and *one another* for more than 2 antecedents (27% vs. 20%) is clear. When the inanimate participants are 2, American English speakers use both RPs freely (11 (10%) vs. 9 (8%)), while the British use *one another* more (10 (27%) vs. 9 (10%)). If there are more than 2 inanimate participants, the American use both RPs freely, while the British tend to use more *one another* (8 (22%) vs. 15 (16%)).

Corpus	Each other				
	2		≥ 3		Total
In/Animacy	A	I	A	I	
Brown 1	35 (33%)	11(10%)	34 (32%)	26 (25%)	106
LOB	49 (54%)	9 (10%)	18(20%)	15 (16%)	91
Corpus	One another				
	2		≥ 3		Total
In/Animacy	A	I	A	I	
Brown 1	9 (23%)	3 (8%)	18(45%)	10 (25%)	40
LOB	9*(24%)	10*(27%)	10(27%)	8 (22%)	37

* One antecedent has both animate and inanimate subject: this room and me

Table 4: Animacy vs. Number of Referents

Frequency in Genre

From the distribution of the RPs in genre (see Table 5), it is obvious that there are differences among the genre, which follow Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman's observation (1999). Examining the frequency more than 10 only, the order that *each other* occurs most frequently in Brown 1 is: text type G, 26, (belles lettres, biography, memoirs etc.), type P, 13, (romance and love story), and type J, 11, (learned). The order in LOB is: type F, 13, (popular lore), type J, 12, (learned) and type P, 12, (romance and love story). *One another* only occurs more than 10 times in type J (learned) in Brown1, but the highest frequency in LOB occurs in type J as well.

Given the larger total tokens of *each other* than *one another*, the frequency of *each other* in each genre is generally higher than that of *one another* in both corpora. The only exception exists in type D (religion) in Brown1. Both of the RPs have the same number of tokens in type B, 3, (press: editorial) in both corpora, and the same number in type J, 11 (learned), and N, 5, (adventure and western fiction) in Brown 1. It should be noted that, in Brown 1, *one another* never occurs in type C (press: reviews), E (skills and hobbies), H (miscellaneous), L (mystery and detective fiction), M (science fiction), P (romance and love story) and R (humor); in LOB, it does not occur in type E, H, M and P which are overlapped with those in Brown 1.

Corpus Item	Brown1				LOB			
	Each Other		One Another		Each Other		One Another	
Category	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A	6	5.7	2	5.0	8	8.8	1	2.8
B	3	2.8	3	7.5	3	3.3	3	8.3
C	6	5.7	0	0	5	5.5	3	8.3
D	2	1.8	4	10.0	1	1.1	1	2.8
E	9	8.5	0	0	2	2.2	0	0
F	5	4.7	3	7.5	13	14.3	5	13.9
G	26	24.5	8	20.0	8	8.8	6	16.7
H	2	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
J	11	10.4	11	27.5	12	13.2	9	25
K	7	6.6	3	7.5	9	9.9	4	11.1
L	4	3.8	0	0	5	5.5	1	2.8
M	4	3.8	0	0	4	4.4	0	0
N	5	4.7	5	12.5	7	7.7	2	5.6
P	13	12.3	0	0	12	13.2	0	0
R	3	2.8	0	0	2	2.2	1	2.8
Total	106	100	40	100	91	100	36	100

B: editorial; C: press; review; D: religion; E: skills & hobbies; G: belles letters/biography, etc.; H: miscellaneous; J: learned; L: mystery fiction; M: science fiction; N: fiction; P: romance & love story; R: humor
Table 5: Frequency in Genre

The orders of the frequency for both RPs in the corpora are shown in Table 6. *Each other* occurs more frequently in text type J and P, and *one another* consistently shows up more often in J and G. That means *each other* is used more often in the academic writing (J) and romance (P), and *one another* is used more often in academic writing (J) and in letters/biography (G). The congruent frequency shows that there is distinction of the usage of RPs in different genre.

Corpus Order/RP	Brown1		LOB	
	Each Other	One Another	Each Other	One Another
1	G	J	F	J
2	P	G	J,P	G
3	J	N	K	F
4	E	D	A,G	K
5	K	B,F,K	N	B,C
6	A,C	A	C,L	N
7	F,N		M	A,D,L,R
8	L,M		B	
9	B,R		E,R	
10	D,H		D	

Text type: F-Popular lore, G-Belles letters, biography, memoirs, etc., J-learned, P-Romance & love story
Table 6: The Order of Frequency in the Genre

Active vs. Stative Predicate

In general, Brown 1 shows larger different frequency between active and stative predicates for *each other* (76 (72%) vs. 29 (28%)), but not for *one another* (17 (43%) vs. 23 (57%)) (see Table 7). LOB, on the other hand, shows very close number of tokens for both RPs, 47 (52%) vs. 44 (48%) and 18 (50%) vs. 18 (50%). In other words, in American English, more active predicates, rather than stative predicates, are used in the combination with *each other* to present the reciprocal relationship. There is no such strong tendency for *one another*, nor for the RPs in LOB. It may imply that there is a strong tie between active verbs and *each other* in American English, that is, American English speakers tend to use active verbs with *each other*.

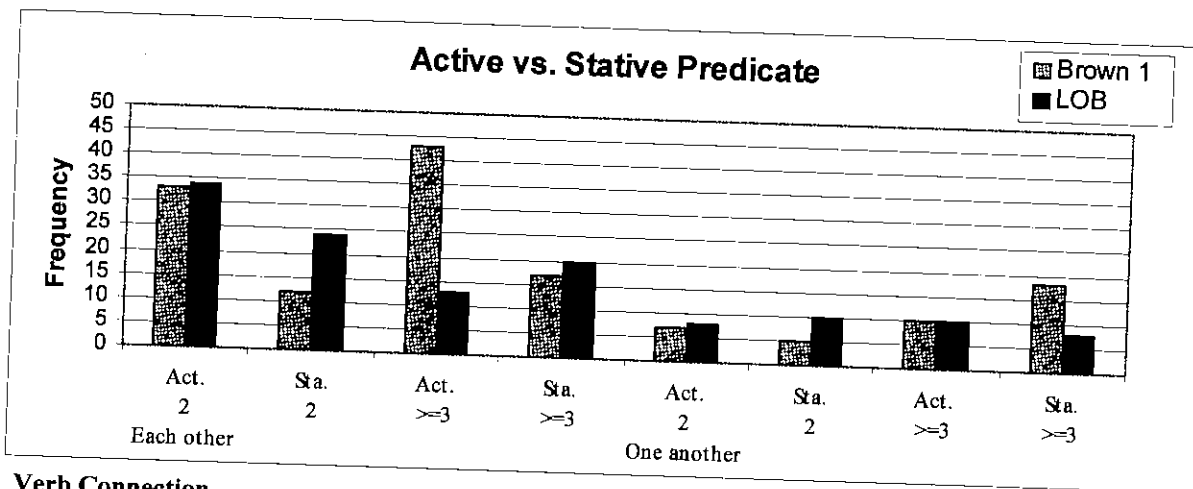
Corpus	Each other			One another		
	Act.	Sta.	Total	Act.	Sta.	Total
Brown 1	76* (72%)	29 (28%)	105	17 (43%)	23 (57%)	40
LOB	47 (52%)	44 (48%)	91	18 (50%)	18 (50%)	36

*one item does not have predicate (i.e., Their arms around each other,...)
 Table 7: Frequency of Active and Stative Predicates

When predicates are divided into two categories (i.e., 2 and more than 2), the distribution is as follows (see Table 8). Regarding the strong and weak reading of a sentence, particularly when there are more than 2 participants, American English speakers show strong tendency (43 (41%) vs. 27 (16%)) to have both strong and weak readings rather than the strong reading only when they used *each other*. That is, they use active predicates more often with the combination of *each other* to refer to the RP. Furthermore, they tend to use more stative predicates with *one another* when the subjects are more than 2.

Corpus	Each other					One another				
	2		≥ 3		Total	2		≥ 3		Total
Referents	Act.	Sta.	Act.	Sta.		Act.	Sta.	Act.	Sta.	
Brown 1	33 (31%)	12 (11%)	43 (41%)	17 (16%)	105	7 (18%)	5 (13%)	10 (25%)	18 (45%)	40
LOB	34 (37%)	24 (26%)	13 (14%)	20 (22%)	91	8 (22%)	10 (28%)	10 (28%)	8 (22%)	36

Table 8: Referents and Predicates



Verb Connection

With regard to the criterion for the recurring words to be accepted as a collocation, Kjellmer (1987) proposes that in a corpus containing one million words, e.g., Brown, a particular sequence of words should occur more than once in identical form. The requirement I set up for the verb collocation is to occur more than once in cognate tense form. The results are shown in Table 8.

The most frequently connected verb is *know* which occurs 10 times with *each other* in LOB. In LOB, only *see* occurs with both RPs. Across Brown1 and LOB, *know*, *look at* and *say to* have stronger ties with *each other* than other verbs, and *have* has stronger connection with *one another* than other verbs. Within Brown1, *give*, *have*, *influence* and *see* have closer connection with both RPs, and within LOB, *face*, *look at*, *love*, *learn from* and *understand* have the closer tie as well.

Brown I Each Other		Brown I One Another		LOB Each Other		LOB One Another	
Verb	No. of Token	Verb	No. of Token	Verb	No. of Token	Verb	No. of Token
Fight	4	Become	2	Know	10	Be at odds with	2
Know	4	Be different from	2	Say to	4	Have	2
Look at	4	Commute with	2	Face	3	<i>See</i>	2
Compete	3	Have	2	Look at	3	face	1
Separate from	3	Write to	2	Be related to	2	learn from	1
Speak to	3	influence	1	Chase	2	look at	1
Talk	3	see	1	Find	2	love	1
Be in relation to	2	give	1	Give	2	understand	1
Help	2			Learn from	2		
Say to	2			<i>See</i>	2		
Walk toward	2			Vie with	2		
give	1			love	1		
have	1			understand	1		
influence	1						
see	1						

Conclusion

From the results of this study, apparently, the distinction between *each other* and *one another* is eliminated. Even the argument that differentiates the reciprocal pronouns in register (formal vs. informal contexts), which follows native speakers' intuition, is not supported. Native speakers use them equally in spoken and written contexts. In addition, the distinction of the reciprocal pronouns in referring different numbers of referents is not followed consistently in American and British English. Furthermore, reciprocal pronouns are observed being used more often 1) to refer to animate antecedents, 2) in different genre (e.g., academic writing), and 3) to distinguish the strong and weak reading in American English.

English native speakers can distinguish the difference between the prescriptive grammar and common usage. However, EFL learners, who do not have enough input from authentic materials to make the distinction, can only rely on EFL grammar books. Without being able to access to natural data, EFL learners will produce the target language unnaturally, i.e., not following English native speakers' common usage. Given the findings in this study, it would be interesting to do a follow-up study comparing the usage of the reciprocal pronouns in the learners' corpus. In addition, for most EFL teachers who are not native speakers of English, corpus is a good tool for them to investigate how the language is actually used in context.

NOTES

1. By informal checking, students from China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan distinguish these two reciprocal pronouns. Though these students are categorized as English as second language learners in the U.S., English is a foreign language in their learning environments when they studied English, in particular the grammar rules, in their countries. Therefore, they are treated as EFL learners in this paper.
2. Numbers from Kennedy, 1998.

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Case Marker Drop in the Acquisition of Japanese: Spontaneous Child Speech and Caregiver Input

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1. Introduction

The present study investigates the asymmetry in case marker drop in the acquisition of Japanese. It has been claimed that in colloquial Japanese, case markers on the direct object NP can be freely dropped, but not those on the subject NP. This asymmetry is claimed to be attributed to the different structural position where the ECP (Empty Category Principle) licenses a gap (Fukuda 1993). If this is true, the same asymmetry in terms of case marker drop should be observed for two types of intransitive verbs, unergative and unaccusative, which have the same configurational relationship as subject and direct object of transitive verbs respectively. The findings from previous acquisition studies on this issue are mixed. Studies based on children's spontaneous production data have shown that Japanese children appear to treat these two intransitive verbs differently in terms of case marker drop (Miyata 1992 and Miyamoto, Wexler, Aikawa, and Miyagawa 1999), while experimental results do not find the asymmetry (Suzuki 1999). The present study attempts to add empirical evidence about this issue by examining the transcripts of a Japanese child taken from the CHILDES database. The following study questions are examined: (1) whether the Japanese child is sensitive to the syntactic constraints on case marker drop, (2) whether the sensitivity is also manifested with intransitive verbs, and (3) whether the caregiver's input reflects such syntactic constraints.

In what follows, I will briefly summarize the theoretical analysis of the case marker drop phenomenon in Japanese and the unergative-unaccusative verb distinction. I will also outline major findings on this issue from the acquisition literature. Then, I will report the results of a pilot study where I investigated case marker drop by a Japanese child. The results will be compared with those of previous studies, and some implications for further studies will be discussed.

2. Theoretical background

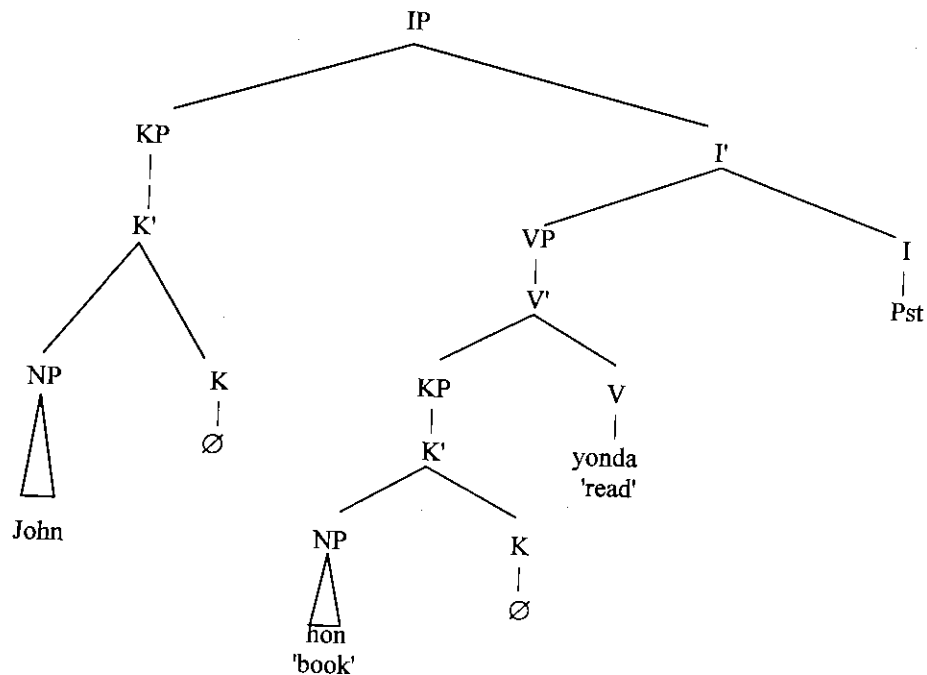
In colloquial Japanese, it has been observed that the nominative case and the accusative case behave differently in terms of their omissibility (Fukuda 1993). The accusative case marker *o* can be relatively freely dropped as in (1c), whereas the nominative case marker *ga* cannot as in (1b) (Fukuda 1993:169):

- (1) a. John-ga sono hon-o yonda.
 John-NOM the book-ACC read
 'John read the book.'
- b. *John# sono hon-o yonda.
- c. ??John-ga sono hon# yonda.

Fukuda (1993:170) proposed that case marker drop is licensed by the Empty Category Principle (ECP) and that this subject-object asymmetry is a specific example of the ECP effect. The ECP is defined as:

- (2) A nonpronominal empty category must be properly head-governed.
- (3) Proper government:
 X properly governs y iff x head-governs y (or x antecedent-governs y).
 X head-governs y iff x is a lexical head, x m-commands y and there are no intervening barriers.

As the following tree diagram illustrates (Kanno 1996:320), the empty accusative case position is properly governed by the verb within VP, whereas the empty nominative case position has no lexical governor within IP. Note that INFL is a functional head, and thus cannot head-govern the empty nominative case position.



It should be emphasized that the observed asymmetry in case marker drop is due to a structural factor rather than the surface morphological form of the case. This predicts that the nominative marked direct object in stative verbal constructions should allow its case marker to be dropped in spite of the formal similarity to that of the subject. The following sentences confirm this prediction (Suzuki 1999:12).

- (4) *Dare# nani-ga iru no?
 who# what-NOM need Q?
 'Who needs what?'
- (5) Dare-ga nani# iru no?
 who-NOM what# need Q
 'Who needs what?'

Perlmutter (1978) proposed that there are two types of intransitive verbs, unergative (e.g. *swim* and *run* in English) and unaccusative (e.g. *break* and *fall*), and that they have different underlying representations. In deep structure (DS), the sole argument of an unergative verb is in the subject position, bearing an Agent role. On the other hand, the sole argument of an unaccusative verb is in the direct object position, bearing a Theme role.

- (6) Deep Structure (DS) (from Hirakawa 1999:89)
- a. unergative verb
 [_S John [_{VP} swam]]
- b. unaccusative verb
 [_S e [_{VP} broke [_{NP} the watch]]]

Lacking a logical subject to which an external theta role is assigned, the unaccusative verb is unable to assign accusative Case to its argument in its base position (Burzio 1986, cited in Haegeman 1994:321). In the case of English, the argument moves to the surface subject position in order to receive nominative Case. For Japanese, however, it has been claimed that the DS object remains in situ and nominative Case is assigned in its base position as in the case of stative transitive predicates (Kageyama 1993). If we assume such a non-movement analysis for Japanese, the argument of an unaccusative verb is expected to behave like the direct object of a transitive verb in terms of case marker drop. This is what is actually found as illustrated by Suzuki (1999:13):

- (7) Unergative verb
 Dare-ga/*-# odotta no?
 who-NOM/-# danced Q
 'Who danced?'
- (8) Unaccusative verb
 Dare-ga/-# koronda no?
 who-NOM/-# fell over Q
 'Who fell over?'

3. Previous studies on case marker drop

It is of both theoretical and descriptive interest to examine whether Japanese children are sensitive to syntactic constraints that govern case marker drop. The distinction between the two intransitive verbs is not manifested morphologically in Japanese in that the argument of unergative verbs and the argument of unaccusative verbs are both marked with the nominative case marker *ga*. Yet they do differ in terms of the omissibility of the case marker; the case marker can be dropped for unaccusative verbs but not for unergative verbs.

To date, there have been few acquisition studies that have systematically investigated case marker drop. Otsu (1994) tested 3-year-olds and 4-year-olds in both production and comprehension tasks. In the production task, children were first shown a picture and asked to complete a sentence prompted by the investigator (Otsu 1994: 163):

- (9) Investigator: Kono e nituite ohanasi-sitekureru? Mazu, X-de hazimetene?
 this picture about talk for me first X-with begin
 'Can you tell me about this picture? First, can you begin with X?'

X in the above sentence was either the agent or the theme of the action shown in the picture. The results showed that children of both age groups did not drop the nominative case marker at all. As for the accusative marker, children dropped it overall 50% of the time in canonical SOV word order, but never dropped it in scrambled sentences. In the comprehension task, children were asked to answer three questions following the investigator's demonstration of an action (Otsu 1994: 166). Along with wh-question sentences with a case marker *ga* (10a) or *o* (10b), question sentences without a case marker (10c) were included in order to test whether or not children correctly interpret the wh-word without a case marker as the direct object.

- (10) Investigator: a. Dare-ga taosita-no? 'Who knocked down?'
 b. Dare-o taosita-no? 'e knocked down who?'
 c. Dare-# taosita-no?

The results showed that children did not make any error in response to all three questions, except for two responses from two 3-year-olds, who said that they did not know the answer for (10c). Otsu concluded that children seemed to know the syntactic constraints on case marker drop.

Miyamoto et al. (1999) examined Japanese children's spontaneous production data. In order to eliminate the possibility of topic marker drop, they excluded proper names, demonstratives, and NPs that had been previously mentioned in the discourse from the data set of a Japanese child. They found a clear subject-object asymmetry in case marker deletion. For wh-words (*nani* 'what' and *dare* 'who'), the subject child omitted the accusative case marker *o* 100% of the time, while he omitted the nominative case marker *ga* 28% of the time. For non-topicalized NPs, he omitted *o* 95% of the time and *ga* 61% of the time. They also found that among 19 nominative omissions, 15 occurrences were on the sole argument of unaccusative verbs, passive sentences, and adjectival phrases. They concluded that the child respected the constraints that govern case marker deletion. Suzuki (1999) conducted a series of experiments with children of different age groups. He tested stative transitive predicates and two types of intransitive verbs (unergative and unaccusative) as well as simple transitive clauses. The key sentence patterns were those containing a wh-argument. The wh-argument helped to determine whether the dropped case markers in children's production are actually case markers (*ga* or *o*)

rather than the topic marker *wa* (p.9-11). Wh-phrases are inherently non-anaphoric, thus incompatible with topic NPs that are either generic or anaphoric.

In elicited production tasks a subject child was first shown a picture in which either the agent or the patient of an event was hidden with a black cover. Then, s/he was instructed to ask a puppet who the hidden entity was. See the basic format of the experiment (1999:40-41):

- (11) Investigator: Nee, Yuka-chan, hora oshita yo.
 'Hey, Yoka, look, (X) pushed (Y)'
 Investigator: Kore mie-nai deshoo. Demo ne, Zyazzi-wa wakaru-n dat-te sa.
 'We can't see this. But the Judge knows.
 Dakara, Zyazzi-ni kiite-mite.
 So, ask the Judge (who).'
 Child: Dare-o oshita no?
 who-ACC pushed Q
 'Who did (X) push?' (for object question)
 Dare-ga oshita no?
 who-NOM pushed Q
 'Who pushed (X)?' (for subject question)

In the first experiment with 23 children (aged from 3;1 to 6;0), the two types of intransitive verbs were examined. The results showed no effect of unaccusativity. Case marker drop was observed only in 12.5% of all target utterances, and eleven children never dropped case markers. The second experiment (with 30 children aged from 3;1 to 6;2) tested transitive verbs and found significant subject-object asymmetry in case marker drop. Both younger and older children dropped the accusative case marker frequently, while they tended to retain the nominative case marker on the subject. The third experiment (with 27 children aged from 3;5 to 6;6) examined dyadic stative transitive predicates, i.e. transitive verbs in which both subject and object NPs bear the nominative case marker, as in *John-ga eigo-ga sukida* 'John likes English'. This experiment is particularly interesting since it tested whether children's case marker drop is based on nominative-accusative asymmetry or subject-object asymmetry. The results showed the children's sensitivity to subject-object asymmetry. Although the overall rate of case marker drop is lower in stative predicates than in non-stative predicates, case markers on direct objects were more likely to be dropped than those on subjects as shown below (p.111):

	Drop for S	Drop for D.O.
Stative verbs	8.6%	21.6%
Non-stative Vs	19.1%	50.0%

In summary, these previous findings showed mixed results in terms of case marker drop for intransitive verbs. Longitudinal production data found the unaccusativity effect (Miyata 1992 and Miyamoto et al. 1999), whereas experimental results found no asymmetry (Suzuki 1999). More empirical data is necessary. The role of input in children's observed tendency to respect subject-object asymmetry needs to be investigated as well. Hirakawa (1999) reported that adult native speakers of Japanese did not show the unaccusativity effect on an acceptability judgment task, although the same subjects dropped the accusative case marker more often than the nominative case marker in transitive clauses. If the caregiver's case marker drop is found to be the same as the subjects in Hirakawa's study, i.e., lacking the unaccusativity effect, this will suggest a number of implications, both from theoretical and developmental point of views. In the following section, I report the results of a pilot study where I investigated case marker drop with special focus on the unergative-unaccusative distinction.

3. Present study

3.1 Method

The analyses were performed on the longitudinal data of a Japanese child, Aki from the Miyata corpus (Miyata 1995) that is available on the CHILDES database (MacWhinney & Snow 1990). There are fifty-six transcribed files in the corpus, and each file records a session which lasted approximately one hour. The age of the child is from 1;5 to 3;0 and its corresponding MLU ranged from 1.00 to 2.28 morphemes. The primary interaction partner of the child is his mother.

In order to eliminate the possibility of topic marker deletion, I extracted only argument wh-phrases. They are *nani* 'what', *dare* 'who', *doko* 'where', *dotchi* 'which', and *dore* 'which'. Wh-words that appeared in utterances without any predicate, wh-words which function as an adjunct or a predicate of the sentence were excluded from the dataset.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Child's production

In total there were 80 instances of wh-phrases produced in transitive predicates. Except for one case of a subject wh-question, all of them were object wh-questions. 12 of them were object wh-questions with stative transitive predicates. There was no instance of object wh-phrases with overt accusative case marker *o* in non-stative predicates. A summary is presented below. The numbers indicate tokens and those in parenthesis indicate types.

<Transitive clauses>	
Subject wh-words	with <i>ga</i> ----- 0
	without <i>ga</i> ----- 1
Direct object wh-words	stative verbs
	with <i>ga</i> ----- 9 (2)
	without <i>ga</i> ----- 3 (3)
	non-stative verbs with <i>o</i>
	with <i>ga</i> ----- 0
	without <i>o</i> ----- 67 (17)

Since the child produced only one subject wh-question, and no object wh-question had overt accusative case marker, it is not possible to examine subject-object asymmetry in terms of case marker deletion in transitive clauses. It is also not clear whether or not the child actually assumes the accusative marker for non-case-marked object wh-phrases. Thus, case marker deletion in transitive clauses is not considered further here.

<Intransitive clauses>

Unergative verbs with <i>ga</i> ----- 2 (1)	<i>katsu</i> 'win'
without <i>ga</i> ----- 0	
Unaccusative verbs with <i>ga</i> ----- 5 (5)	<i>yabureru</i> 'break', <i>hairu</i> 'enter',
<i>utsuru</i> 'reflect', <i>iku</i> 'go', <i>kuru</i> 'come'	
without <i>ga</i> ----- 12 (5)	<i>aru</i> 'exist', <i>hairu</i> 'enter', <i>kuru</i> 'come',
<i>iru</i> 'exist'	
Adjectival predicates with <i>ga</i> ----- 15 (3)	<i>okashii</i> 'funny', <i>ii</i> 'good', <i>tsuyoi</i> 'strong'
without <i>ga</i> ----- 5 (2)	<i>itai</i> 'ache', <i>ii</i> 'good'

There were in total 39 tokens of wh-phrases produced in intransitive clauses. 17 tokens lacked the nominative case marker *ga*, and 22 tokens retained *ga*. The child produced only one type of unergative verb (*katsu* 'win') in the entire dataset. Half of the predicates with which the child produced wh-words were unaccusative verbs and the other half was adjectival phrases. Again, because of the low frequency, it was not possible to compare the rate of case marker deletion between unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs. From the total of 17 occurrences of wh-phrases with unaccusative verbs, 12 cases (70%) lacked the nominative marker *ga*, and 5 cases (30%) retained *ga*. When the drop rate is counted in verb types rather than tokens, it splits 50% for both types of predicates. In conclusion, as far as the given data is concerned, there is no strong indication that the nominative case marker *ga* is more likely to be dropped with unaccusative intransitive verbs.

3.2.2 Caregiver's input

The results were summarized below.

<Transitive clauses>

Subject wh-words	with <i>ga</i> ----- 12 (8)
	without <i>ga</i> ----- 1 (1)

Direct object wh-words	stative verbs	with <i>ga</i>	-----	31 (4)
		without <i>ga</i>	-----	4 (1)
	non-stative Vs	with <i>o</i>	-----	8 (6)
		without <i>o</i>	-----	125 (31)
<Intransitive clauses>				
Unergative verbs	with <i>ga</i>	-----	6 (3)	
	without <i>ga</i>	-----	1 (1)	
Unaccusative verbs	with <i>ga</i>	-----	29 (8)	
	without <i>ga</i>	-----	3 (3)	
Adjectival predicates	with <i>ga</i>	-----	44 (8)	
	without <i>ga</i>	-----	1 (1)	

One interesting observation is that Aki's mother tends not to drop the nominative case marker *ga* on the subject wh-phrases, regardless of whether they are intransitive or transitive clauses. Among the total of 97 tokens of wh-phrases in the subject position, 91 tokens (94%) retain the nominative marker *ga*, while only 6 tokens lacked *ga*. There also seems to be no unaccusative-nergative distinction in terms of case marker deletion. The nominative case marker appears 91% of the time (29 out of 32 tokens) for unaccusative verbs and 86% of the time (6 out of 7 tokens) for unergative verbs.

As for case marking on direct object wh-phrases, there is a clear contrast between stative and non-stative transitive predicates. While object wh-phrases in stative predicates are marked with the nominative case marker 89% of the time (31 out of 35 occurrences), object wh-phrases with non-stative predicates are marked with the accusative case marker only 4.5% of the time (8 out of 133 occurrences). This overall pattern does not differ when counted in verb types rather than tokens. 75% of stative predicates (in type) was produced with *ga*, and 84% of non-stative predicates (in type) lacked *o*.

3.3 Discussion

The present study attempts to provide empirical evidence for subject-object asymmetry in terms of case marker drop in the acquisition of Japanese. This asymmetry further predicts a different case marking pattern between unergative and unaccusative intransitive verbs due to the different structural positions of their sole arguments.

Examination of the Japanese child's production data (from age 1;5 to 3;0) revealed that there was no asymmetric case marking pattern in intransitive verbs. The rates of dropping *ga* and retaining *ga* in unaccusative verbs were almost equal. Because the child produced almost no unergative verbs, the comparison between unaccusative and unergative verbs was not made in this study. The same holds true for subject-object asymmetry in transitive clauses. The child produced almost no subject wh-phrases in transitive predicates, and all direct object wh-phrases lacked the accusative case marker. Again, the comparison between subject and direct object in terms of case marker is difficult in this case. It seems that focusing only on wh-phrases considerably limits the amount of data for analysis, thus the mere frequency of each verbal predicate was not sufficient for any kind of conclusion to be drawn.

Recall that previous studies on spontaneous production data have found the unaccusativity effect in Japanese children (Miyata 1992 and Miyamoto et al. 1999). The former study examined data that includes much older children than the present study. However, since the possibility of topic marker drop was not carefully controlled, the observed unaccusativity effect may be due to topic marker drop. The latter study, which in fact examined the same data as the present study (Aki data in Miyata corpus), controlled the topic marker deletion by examining the discourse context where each NP occurred. Miyamoto et al. found that the non-case-marked NPs are predominantly used with unaccusative verbs. However, one problem was that no attention was paid to the case-marked NPs, most of which appear to be with unaccusative verbs. That is, the child sometimes marked wh-phrases with *ga*, but sometimes dropped it in unaccusative contexts. The very few instances of unergative verbs also made the unergative-unaccusative comparison impossible.

Since the development of case marking appears to be a relatively slow process, we need to examine a larger database which includes later stages of language development where children use case markers more or less

productively with various types of predicates. We also need to conduct experiments where the type of test sentences (i.e. argument wh-phrases, embedded clauses, and scrambled sentences) can be carefully controlled. Adult performance needs to be examined in various tasks as well. By conducting an acceptability judgment task, Hirakawa (1999) found no unaccusativity effect among adult native speakers of Japanese. Since the task involves a highly conscious checking procedure, data from experiments that use some other tasks will be needed in order to make a more direct comparison between child and adult data.

One interesting finding of the present study is that the child's caregiver does not seem to be sensitive to the unaccusative-unergative distinction, however, subject-object asymmetry in transitive clauses was clearly observed. Although the amount of data analyzed in the present study is not sufficient to make a strong claim, the conclusions are consistent with Hirakawa's (1999) findings described above. One possible interpretation of such findings is that the proposed analysis that assumes the existence of an underlying level of syntactic representation may not be what native speakers attend to in actual production. Adult native speakers (as well as children in Suzuki's 1999 study) may perform linguistic analysis only on surface representations. That is, regardless of underlying structural differences, the subject is treated uniformly as opposed to the direct object. Such an interpretation (i.e., pure subject-object asymmetry) is, however, incompatible with another finding of the present study. Aki's mother seems to treat direct objects of stative predicates and direct objects of non-stative predicates differently. The nominative case marker is less likely to be dropped on the objects of stative predicates. Is this because the surface morphology may somewhat 'interact' with the structural position of the argument? The nominative case marker *ga* may be treated in a more or less similar way in terms of case marker drop. Since stative vs. non-stative asymmetry is not that strong in Suzuki's (1999) study, further investigation will be needed to answer this question.

One issue that may potentially affect case marker drop is the fact that Japanese is a pro-drop language (O'Grady 2001 personal communication). In the case of transitive clauses, the rate of case marking on one argument may differ depending on whether or not the other argument is dropped. For example, a case marker may be less likely to be dropped when it becomes the only argument in the sentence as a result of dropping the other argument. If the number of the arguments in a sentence can be a factor affecting the rate of case marker drop, this also leads to a question of whether case marker drop shows a uniform pattern across intransitive and transitive clauses. Until further information is available from future studies, we will not be able to draw a firm conclusion about this phenomenon. Another issue involved in case marker drop in relation to the unaccusativity hypothesis is the choice of test used for identifying unaccusative predicates. Different scholars propose different tests, and results may differ depending on which test is used (Kishimoto 1996, Tsujimura 1990). Ideally, we should only use unaccusative verbs which pass all the tests available to date in order to make a more precise distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs.

4. Conclusion

The present study investigated the case marker drop phenomenon in the acquisition of Japanese. Although the results of analyzing the spontaneous speech of a Japanese child are inconclusive, one major finding is that the child's caregiver did not show the unaccusativity effect. Surface morphology appears to a factor that determines case marker drop. However, due to inconsistent findings in the literature and the limited data analyzed in the present study, further studies are called for before a clear conclusion can be reached on this issue.

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A Lexicase Analysis of Hakka¹ PUN-construction

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1. Introduction

According to the practices of traditional lexicographers, the so-called polysemous lexemes are listed as having multiple senses. It is possible to assign a single sense to a lexeme, the other senses being taken care of by sense extension. The polysemous lexeme pun in Hakka, meaning 'give' in its basic sense, exhibits multiple extended semantic properties and grammatical functions. Luo (1996:319) states that there are three meanings in the interpretation of pun: 'give', 'divide', and 'something/someone undergoes an action', and its different semantic properties lead to utterly different syntactic structures. According to Lai (2000:213), pun can either function as a double-object verb, a goal-marking postposition, a clause-linking complementizer, a causative verb, or an agent-marking preposition. Among these various kinds of grammatical functions of pun, a goal-marking postposition, a clause-linking complementizer, a causative verb, or an agent-marking preposition are products of polygrammaticalization (cf. Lai 2000). In other words, pun 'give' undergoes the process of polygrammaticalization, then both sense extension and the change of grammatical functions occur. Notice that the uses as a goal marker and as an agent marker seem to be in opposites: in the former, pun denotes the following noun phrase as a recipient of a transaction, while in the latter, the one who performs an action. With regard to this problem, this paper is aimed at ascertaining the significant grammatical functions of pun by mainly accounting for its case relations and case forms on the sentential level.

A concise introduction of lexicase framework is given in section two. Various types of pun-constructions, ranging from a simple sentence structure to a complicated one are shown in section three. By setting apart Lai's analysis (2000), section three introduces an explicit view toward grammatical functions of pun in relation to prepositions and verbs, and it also raises a re-examination is mainly focused on the clarification of grammatical categories of pun in some constructions and the case relations of nouns associated with pun-constructions. Different theoretical implications on whether or not polygrammaticalization happens to the Hakka pun are given in section four. Section five gives a concluding remark.

2. Theoretical framework

In this paper I will apply the lexicase framework to re-examine the grammatical function of the Hakka pun. The theoretical framework, namely Lexicase Dependency Grammar developed by Stanley Starosta in the early 1970s, is a single stratum which avoids going through any abstract notions such as 'underlying structure' to capture the grammatical situation of the language. That is, there is only one level of representation.

In the lexicase grammar, nouns are assigned by three types of case, namely, case relations, case forms and the macrorole. The lexicase analysis of case relations is basically an outgrowth of Fillmorean case grammar (Starosta 1988a:121). Case relations include Patient (PAT), which a transitive or an intransitive verb has as a complement. Herein, patient centrality (Starosta 1982a) is one of the significant properties in lexicase grammar. The other three case relations are Locus (LOC), Means (MNS), and Correspondent (COR). A case form is a set of case markers that function equivalently in realizing case relations (Starosta 1988a:178). The noun which indicates the PAT of intransitive clauses and either the PAT, or the AGT of transitive clause bears the Nominative (Nom) case. The noun marked by the PAT of the transitive clauses in accusative languages such as Hakka² bears the Accusative (Acc) case. A case form that marks instruments is Instrumental (Ins), and a case form that marks possessors is Genitive (Gen). Locative (Lcv) is the case form that marks non-directional LOC. The only one macrorole, actor (actr), which is assigned to the AGT of transitive clauses or the PAT of intransitive clauses, is characterized in terms of a disjunction of case relations.

3. PUN-constructions

In Hakka, pun appears in different roles in different syntactic constructions. Most commonly, pun can either function as a double-object verb or as a preposition. In Luo's research (1988:299), he indicates the function of a double-object verb pun in so-called 'serial verb construction' and the passive marker in the passive construction. Lai's analysis (2000:213) shows that pun can either function as a double-object verb, a goal-marking postposition,

a clause-linking complementizer, a causative verb, or an agent-marking preposition. Clarifying the grammatical category of pun in different syntactic constructions is the main theme of this paper, so I will propose my analysis toward different pun-constructions from the view of Lexicase Dependency Grammar.

3.1 PUN as a double-object verb

There is no disagreement that pun can function as a double-object verb in Hakka. Notice that Hakka inherently shows an interesting word-order phenomenon in that the goal argument can either immediately follow the verb or immediately follow the theme NP argument, in which an entity undergoes the effect of transfer (giving). In other words, the goal argument can occur either in the second post-verbal NP position or in the first post-verbal NP position. In addition, in Lexicase Dependency Grammar, the case relation of the noun, which is closest to the verb, is the PAT. Therefore, in (1a) and (1b), the third person singular pronoun ki 'him/her' bears different case relations due to changes in position. This is also true of it-gi bid 'one pen'.

(1) Hakka

A. The case relation of the goal argument is the PAT.

ŋai ³	pun	ki	it-gi	bid.
1S	give	3S	one-CL ⁴	pen
N	V	N	Det	N
AGT	+trns	PAT		COR
Nom		Acc		Acc
actr				

'I gave him/her a pen.'

B. The case relation of the theme argument is the PAT.

ŋai	pun	it-gi	bid	ki.
1S	give	one-CL	pen	3S
N	V	Det	N	N
AGT	+trns	PAT		COR
Nom	Acc			Acc
actr				

'I gave him/her a pen.'

Like Hakka, the Cantonese word bei 'give' also allows that the goal argument can either immediately follow the verb or immediately follow the theme argument. Generally speaking, (1a) appears much more commonly than (1b) in colloquial Hakka situations. On the other hand, Cantonese prefer, see (2a), that the theme argument follows right after the verb rather than the goal argument immediately follows the verb.

(2) Cantonese (data provided by Aaron Tsang)

The case relation of the theme argument is the PAT.

ŋɔ	bei	yat-tsi	bət	kuai.
1S	give	one-CL	pen	3S
N	V	Det	N	N
AGT	+trns		PAT	COR
Nom			Acc	Acc
actr				

'I gave him/her a pen.'

The case relation of the goal argument is the PAT.

ŋɔ	bei	kuai	yat-tsi	bət.
1S	give	3S	one-CL	pen.
N	V	N	Det	N
AGT	+trns	PAT		COR

Nom	Acc	Acc
actr		

'I gave him/her a pen.'

(3): In Mandarin, on the contrary, it is ungrammatical if the theme argument immediately follows the verb, as in

(3) Mandarin

*wo	gei	yi-zhi	bi	ta.
IS	give	one-CL	pen	3S
N	V	Det	N	N
AGT	+trns		PAT	COR
Nom			Acc	Acc
actr				

'I gave him/her a pen.'

From the above analyses, I would like to propose the following statements involving pun as a double-object verb:

1. The case relation of the nominal argument that immediately follows the double-object verb must be the PAT, regardless of whether it is a theme argument or a goal argument.
2. It is ungrammatical if a theme argument immediately follows the goal argument in Mandarin⁵.
3. In the same double-object construction, the Hakka pun and the Cantonese bei signify different preferences in choosing their following NP arguments. Colloquially, it is more common if we place a goal argument after the verb in the Hakka PUN-construction. On the contrary, Cantonese speakers prefer the theme argument being placed in the first post-verbal position.

3.2 PUN as a preposition

In Luo's analysis (1988:299), he treats the second pun (pun₂) as a verb in a serial verb construction, as in (4). Lai (2000:219) has the same analysis. Differing from Luo's analysis, Lai gives a reanalysis toward pun₂. She (2000:219) claims that the function of a verb of giving undergoes grammaticalization, that is, pun₂ originally functions as a verb in a serial verb construction, then it becomes a goal-marking postposition. She (2000:218) also claims that pun₂ in (4) loses its verbal status because pun₂ cannot pass the tests of "verbhood" by negation and the attachment of aspect markers.

(4) Hakka

ŋai	pun ₁ ⁶	it-gi	bid	pun ₂	ki.
IS	give	one-CL	pen	to	3S
N	V	Det	N	P	N
AGT	+trns		PAT	+goal	LOC
Nom			Acc		Lcv
actr					

'I gave a pen to him/her.'

3.2.1 Verbs vs. prepositions

When negation is applied in double-object constructions, the negation verb mo 'not' is posited between an AGT and a nonfinite verb, which originally functions as the finite transitive verb.

(5) Hakka

ɲai	mo	pun	ki	it-gi	bid.
1S	Neg	give	3S	one-CL	pen
N	V	V	N	Det	N
AGT	-trns	-fint	PAT		COR
Nom		+trns	Acc		Acc
actr					

'I did not give him/her a pen.'

The examples below show that pun₁ allows a negation and an aspect marker but pun₂ behaves just like other preposition-like elements, that is pun₂ does not carry any verbal features such as negation and tense/aspect assignment.

(6) Hakka

pun₁ functions as a nonfinite transitive verb; pun₂ functions as a preposition.

ɲai	mo	pun ₁	it-gi	bid	(*mo)	pun ₂	ki.
1S	Neg	give	one-CL	pen	(*Neg)	to	3S

'I do not give a pen (*not) to him/her.'

pun₁ functions as a finite transitive verb; pun₂ functions as a preposition.

ɲai	pun ₁ -e	it-gi	bid	pun ₂ -(*e)	ki.
1S	gave	one-CL	pen	to-(*e)	3S

'I gave a pen to him/her.'

The negation verb mo 'not' cannot take an aspect marker. Since mo 'not' inherently signals that some action is not performed yet, the nonfinite verb pun 'give' should also not take an aspect marker.

(7) Hakka

ɲai	mo-(*e)	pun-(*e)	ki	it-gi	bid.
1S	Neg-(*Perf)	give-(*Perf)	3S	one-CL	pen

'I do not give him/her a pen.'

In the declarative sentence, pun 'give' can take the aspect marker -e to signal that the action of giving has been performed already.

(8) Hakka

ɲai	pun-e	ki	it-gi	bid.
1S	gave	3S	one-CL	pen
N	V	N	Det	N
AGT	+trns	PAT		COR
Nom		Acc		Acc
actr				

'I gave him/her a pen.'

As Lai claims, if an element cannot pass through the tests of "verbhood" by negation and aspect markers, that element must not be a verb. I keep a conservative attitude toward her analysis, and I will explicate my position toward the grammatical category of pun as follows:

1. In (5), pun 'give' becomes a nonfinite transitive verb after negation applies. (I treat the negation mo 'not' as a verb; in addition, mo 'not' is the main verb of the sentence. The nonfinite transitive verb becomes its dependent, and we find that the double-object transitive clause is within (embedded) an intransitive clause.)
2. Notice that, in (7), the nonfinite transitive verb pun 'give' cannot take the perfective aspect suffix -e. This overthrows Lai's claim that if a grammatical category cannot take any aspect marker, that category must not be a verb. In this case, although pun 'give' cannot take the perfective aspect -e, it still functions as a verb. But we still can assure if a grammatical category can take an aspect marker, that category must be a verb.
3. Furthermore, if a grammatical category cannot take any aspect marker, it is dangerous to assume that the grammatical category must be a preposition-like element, specifically speaking, a postposition, as in Lai's statement. For example, the negation verb mo 'not' in (7) cannot take an aspect marker, but it is not a preposition-like element. The reason that mo 'not' cannot take an aspect marker is that positing an aspect marker will distort the time-event relationship. This is because negation denotes that an action does not even begin yet.

3.2.2 Postposition vs. preposition

Another crucial problem focused on why Lai (2000) treats pun₂ in (4) as a postposition rather than a preposition. In determining whether pun₂ is a postposition or a preposition, we should account for the position of the nominal complement whether it is before or after the head of a prepositional phrase. It is obvious that the complement of pun₂ immediately follows pun₂. Since its complement follows pun₂, pun₂ must be a preposition, as in (4). In Lai's analysis, she does not provide any specific reason for why she calls it a postposition. Here, I treat pun₂ as a preposition, rather than a verb (within a serial verb construction) (Luo 1998) or a postposition (Lai 2000).

3.2.3 Complementizers vs. prepositions

In Lai's analysis, she (2000:219) also mentions that pun₂ in (9a) can be grammaticalized into a complementizer when a predicate, which signals an action complement right after the goal argument marked by pun₂ is placed at the end of the sentence. Pun₂ in (9a) can therefore be reanalyzed as a clause-linking connector—from a goal position to a purpose subordinator, with the clause introduced by pun₂ downgraded into a subordinate one. Her reason is as follows:

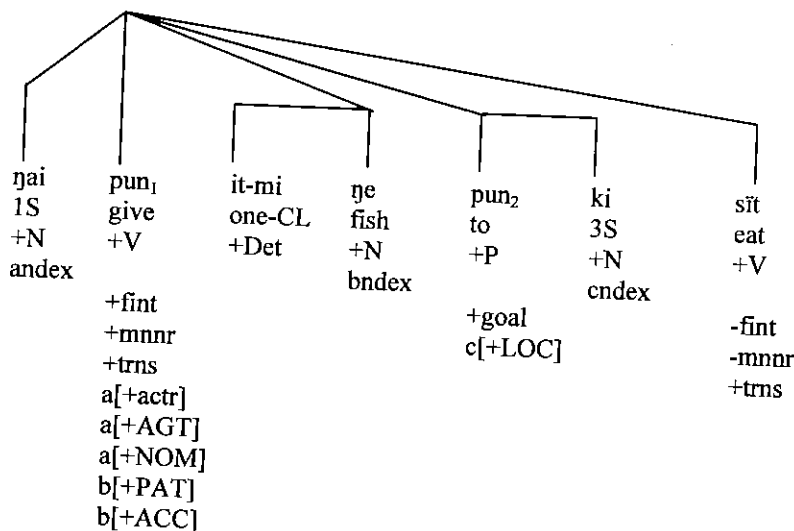
'Hence multiple-verb constructions are transformed into signal-verb clauses, and new syntactic categories (complementizers) must be introduced in order to code the connections formerly indicated by indicated by ... verb serializations.' (Lai 2000:219)

In the lexibase framework, pun₂ ki 'to him/her' is treated as a prepositional phrase (or an adjunct correspondent) just like the previous analysis that pun₂ is treated as a preposition and ki 'him/her' is treated as its complement. Sit 'eat' forms another clause, which has a missing nominative argument, and it is a nonfinite verb. Once the new predicate is added, its syntactic position is introduced by the Patient-to-Patient (P2P) complement control rules (Wilawan 1993). The Patient-to-Patient rule interprets itmi □e 'a fish' as a PAT of the nonfinite transitive verb sit 'eat'.

(9) Hakka

ŋai pun₁ it-mi ŋe pun₂ ki sit.
1S give one-CL fish to 3S eat

'I gave him/her a fish to eat.'



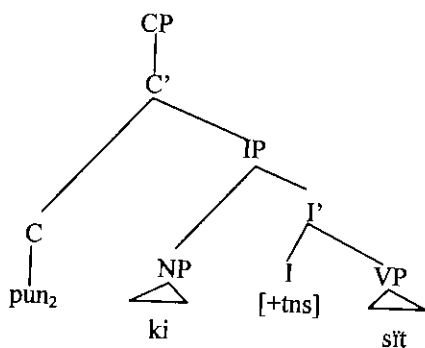
As Lai (2000:219) claims, pun₂ is treated as a complementizer in order to introduce the clause ki sīt 's/he eats'. Here the verb sīt 'eat' basically must be able to take an aspect marker since it is treated as a finite verb in a clause in Lai's analysis. However, it is ungrammatical if the verb sīt 'eat' takes the aspect marker -e. The only position for placing the aspect marker is pun₁.

ηai pun₁ it-mi ηe pun₂ ki sīt-(*e).
 1S give one-CL fish to 3S eat-(*Perf)

'I gave him/her a fish to eat.'

This confirms that sīt 'eat' is a nonfinite verb, and that it cannot take any aspect marker. That is, if the statement that the clause ki sīt 's/he eats' is introduced by the complementizer pun₂ is true, sīt 'eat' must be able to take an aspect marker. In addition, in Lai's analysis, she does not mention the transitivity of the verb sīt 'eat', and she also does not mention whether the object of the verb is itmi ηe 'a fish'.

In the Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), the Case Filter tells us that every overt NP requires Case. According to Lai (2000), a tree structure of treating pun₂ as a complementizer is formulated as follows:



If we treat pun₂ as a complementizer, the Infl (or I) must assign Case to the subject NP ki 's/he'. This is because the complementizer cannot assign Case. This suggests that the Infl must be [+tense] so that the NP ki 's/he' can get the nominative case. Therefore, according to the Case Filter and the Case assignment rule, the subject NP ki 's/he' receives the Nominative Case assigned by the [+tense] Infl. Since the Infl is [+tense], the finite verb sīt 'eat' must be able to be inflected by tense-aspect suffixation. However, it is ungrammatical if we suffix an aspect marker -e to the verb sīt 'eat', as in (9b). This implies that the Infl must be [-tense]. So how does

the NP ki 's/he' get case assignment? In my lexicase analysis, pun₂ is treated as a preposition, then pun₂ can assign a locative case to its complement ki 's/he'.

3.3 Pun in passive voice

Pun also appears in the passive construction and it still functions as a preposition, that is, a preposition preceding the former agent noun in the active sentence. Notice that verbs in the passive construction lose their transitivity. In addition, the PAT which originally bears an accusative case now bears the nominative case in the passive construction.

(10) Hakka

Active voice

ηai	da	ki.
S	hit	3S
N	V	N
AGT	+trns	PAT
Nom		Acc
Actr		

'I hit him/her.'

Passive voice

ki	pun	ηai	da.
3S	PUN	IS	hit
N	P	N	V
PAT		MNS	-trns
Nom			
actr			

/he was hit /beaten by me.'

Another treatment adopted by Lai (2000:221) toward pun is a semantic-based analysis. In (10b), Lai initially treats pun as a causative verb, then the causative sense leads to the emergence of an agent-marking preposition. Pun implies someone or something causes someone/something to undergo some action in the passive construction, so it inherits a causative sense. In addition, the controller of the action is ηai 'I'. Lai indicates that pun undergoes grammaticalization from a causative verb to an agent-marking preposition. Therefore, the structural as well as the semantic path of pun can be represented as follows (Lai 2000:222):

'Verb-of-giving > Verb-of-causative > Agent marker'

Notice that the end point of the polygrammaticalization process of pun is the preposition. This is the same result as my lexicase analysis. A question will be raised for the existence of pun polygrammaticalization in the following section. In this section, I want to clarify that pun cannot be called an agent-marking preposition, though the semantic property of ηai 'I' in (10b) is the agent. Consider the following sentence:

(11) Hakka

ki	pun	sakteu	gando .
3S	PUN	stone	stumbled/tripped
N	P	N	V
PAT		MNS	-trns
Nom			
actr			

'S/he was tripped by a stone.'

In (11), sakteu 'stone' is not the agent who performs the action gando 'stumbled/tripped'. Therefore, pun does not always function as the agent-marking preposition. In other words, the thematic role of the nominal argument following pun is not always an agent.

4. Does PUN undergo polygrammaticalization?

As I mentioned in the previous section, Lai (2000) claims that pun undergoes polygrammaticalization so that its syntactic category and semantic property change. Notice that the origin of the various types of polygrammaticalized products is the function of verbs if we trace back her reanalysis of pun. The path from verbs to prepositions is unquestionable because we can find much diachronic linguistic evidence to support that such a grammaticalization process does occur. However, we cannot find any evidence to prove that the other newborn grammatical functions are grammaticalized from the function of verbs. As we know, the word form of the verb pun is the same as the word form of the other grammatical functions of pun proposed by Lai (2000), but we cannot judge that the emergence of the other grammatical functions of pun is the result of the grammaticalization of the verbal pun. Synchronically, both Lai and I cannot provide enough specific evidence to prove that the verbal pun indeed undergoes polygrammaticalization. We need diachronic evidence to see whether or not the verbal pun undergoes polygrammaticalization. This is not to say that the polygrammaticalization of pun is nonsense, but Lai's polygrammaticalization processes simply need further diachronic investigations.

According to Lai's polygrammaticalization path, we find that the beginning point of the polygrammaticalization is the function of the double-object verb and the end point of the polygrammaticalization is the function of the preposition. This result matches mine in the lexicase analysis, that is, there are just three grammatical functions of pun at the synchronic linguistic stage: transitive verbs (with a single direct object), double-object verbs, and prepositions.

5. Conclusion

In this study, I have shown that each grammatical function proposed by Lai (2000) cannot pass the synchronic examination in the lexicase framework (or in the transformational framework). Polygrammaticalization does occur in Lai's study, but, in fact, the language itself does not reflect any trace that it has undergone polygrammaticalization.

NOTES

1. According to Luo (1998), there are around three million Hakka people in Taiwan, which occupy one-fifteenth of the total population in Taiwan. Hakka is mainly spoken in Taiwan and in some areas of mainland China as well. There might be some dialectal differences among various dialects of Hakka. The data presented in this paper is based on the dialect spoken in Miaoli, Taiwan.
2. Hakka is a nominative-accusative language, but there is no overt case form attached to nominals.
3. Hakka is a tonal language. There are six tones in this language. Two or more semantic differences within a word are marked by different tones. In this study, the Hakka tonal system is unmarked since this would not cause any obstacle or problem in analyzing the data.
4. The notation CL represents classifiers. In this study, classifiers co-occur with numerals as a unit and this single unit functions as a determiner.
5. An important issue regarding these various word-order phenomena among south-east Asian languages needs to be investigated. From the view of historical syntax, this issue might be able to be clarified through a comparative analysis.
6. Pun₁ here is not a double-object verb. It is treated as a transitive verb with a single direct object, and pun₂ with its complement forms a dative (oblique) construction.
7. According to the Case Assignment rule in the Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), an NP argument receives the Objective Case assigned by a preposition.

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Reconciling Universalism and Relativism with Cognitive Grammar

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ABSTRACT

A disagreement between the universalist and relativist on whether two different languages express identical or different thoughts has been perennial. The universalist believes that regardless of the differences in grammar and culture across languages, all languages express the same set of thoughts. Whereas, the relativist argues that, as evidenced in linguistic differences, different languages can never express identical thoughts. By using Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG) a theory proposed by Hsieh (1998, 1999, 2000), we can reconcile the conflicting views of the universalist and the relativist. We can express cross-linguistic differences as well as universal tendencies among languages by using the Semantic Structure representations in CCG, representations that describe either convergent or divergent images underlying surface syntactic forms across languages. CCG is a multi-level grammar, having five levels of representation: Image Structure Representation (ISr), Semantic Structure Representation (SSr), Thematic Structure Representation (TSr), Functional Structure Representation (FSr), and Constituent Structure Representation (CSr). We will focus our attention on SSr, representing coarse-grained images, and ISr, representing fine-grained images. The descriptive power of SSr can be illustrated by a pair of contrasting examples. Consider sentences (1) in English and (2) in Mandarin:

- (1) John kicked the ball to Bill.
(2) Zhangsan1 ba3 qiu2 ti1 gei3 Lisi4
Zhangsan control ball kick give Lisi
'Zhangsan kicked the ball to Lisi.'

These two sentences express essentially the same underlying sequence of images. They agree in that the traveling and rolling of the ball is not explicitly expressed. This agreement possibly reflects a universal tendency to omit the traveling of a kicked ball or other moved objects. The two sentences disagree by selecting different composing images for explicit description by using verbs or verb-like words: *kicked*, *to* in (1), and *ba3*, *ti1*, *gei3* in (2).

I. Introduction

A disagreement between the universalist and relativist on whether two different languages express identical or different thoughts has been perennial¹. The universalist believes that regardless of the differences in grammar and culture across languages, all languages express the same set of thoughts. Whereas, the relativist argues that just as confirmed by linguistic differences, different languages can never express identical thoughts. To reconcile the conflicting views of the universalist and the relativist, we adopt as our theoretic framework the Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG), a theory proposed by Hsieh (1998, 1999, 2000). We express cross-linguistic differences as well as universal tendencies among languages by using the Semantic Structure representations in CCG, representations that describe either convergent or divergent images underlying surface syntactic forms across languages. As stated in the abstract, CCG is a multi-level grammar, having five levels of representation: Image Structure Representations (ISr), Semantic Structure Representations (SSr), Thematic Structure Representations (TSr), Functional Structure Representations (FSr), and Constituent Structure Representations (CSr). These five levels of representation operate by mapping a 'deeper', 'higher' or more meaning-related level to a 'shallower', 'lower', or more form-related level: ISr ('r' stands for representation) → SSr → TSr → FSr → CSr. In the course of this consecutive mapping, from the highest level of ISr to the lowest level of CSr, transparency begins to decrease and opacity begins to increase. In this way, the Image Structure of a sentence is effectively coded as its Constituent Structure, from which its surface structure arises.

As mentioned in the abstract, we will here focus our attention on ISr, which represent fine-grained images, and on SSr, which represent coarse-grained images.

II. Semantic Structure representations (SSrr)

A sentence is represented as an Action (AC) in the SSr. An AC can be either simple or complex. A complex AC is composed of two less complex ACs, each of which in turn is ultimately composed of two simple ACs. Each simple AC is composed of an Initiator (I) as its 'subject' and a Complex Act (A') as its 'predicate,' which is composed of an Act (A) as its 'verb' and a Receiver (R) as its 'object.' Thus, we have the formula for a 'semantic' sentence: $AC = \langle I, A' = \langle A, R \rangle \rangle$. A diagram of the AC construction is shown in Figure 1 below:

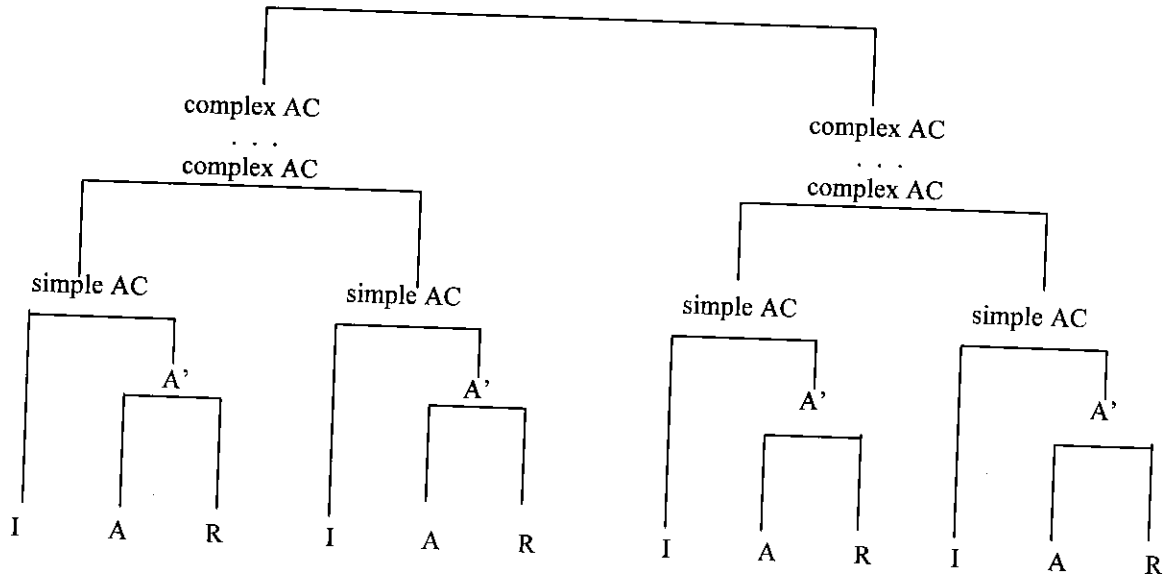
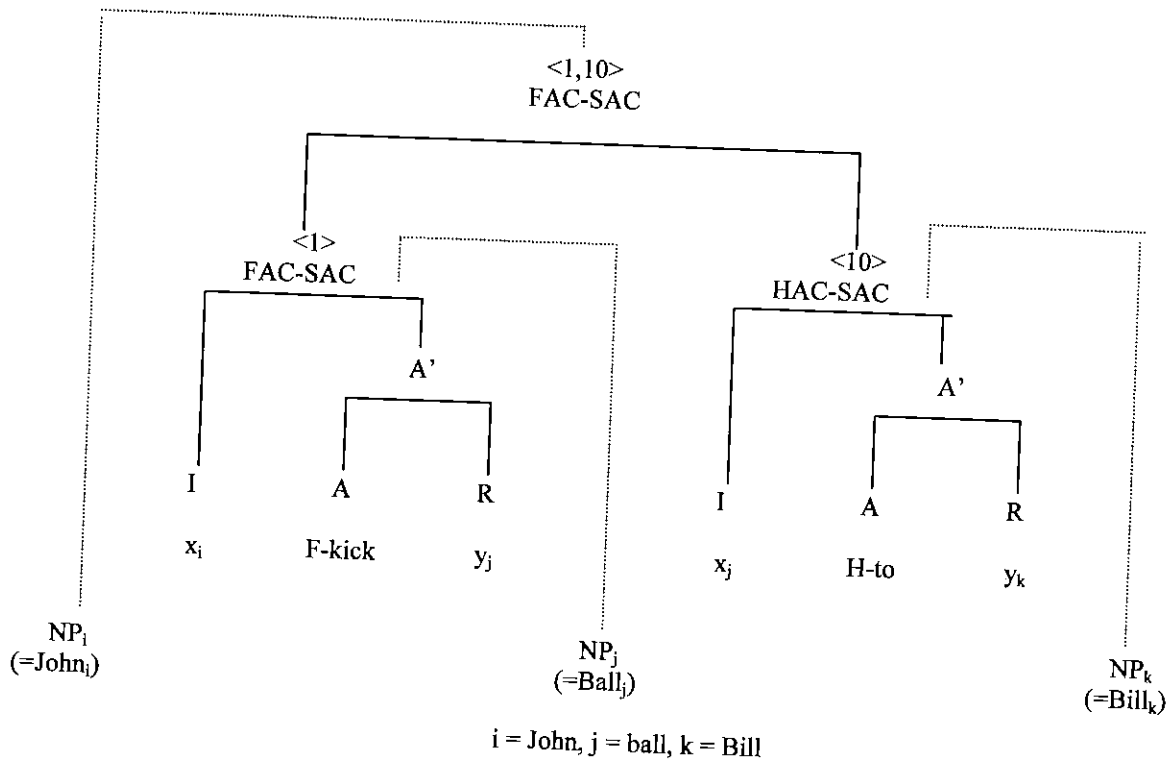


Figure 1: Complex AC.

The basic building blocks for an SSr are called Action Frames (ACFs). Each ACF is a 'generic' simple AC (s-AC). When an ACF receives a specific verb in its Act position, it becomes a particularized ACF, or PACF. There are 28 ACFs, and these ACFs form three different categories depending on the Abstract Verb (AV). An AV that eventually yields a verb or adjective in the CSr is called a Full Verb (FV); an AV that yields a preposition, conjunction, adverb, auxiliary, aspect, tense, or negation is a Half Verb (HV); an AV that yields a demonstrative, determiner, or grammatical particle is a Grammatical Verb (GV). Each of the three types of AV can substitute for the A (Act) in an ACF, and turn it into a PACF. The I and R can be either empty or filled. When filled, I is represented by the variable \underline{x} or constant \underline{h} , and R by the variable \underline{y} or constant \underline{k} . Further, \underline{x} and \underline{y} are indexed by letters i, j, k, etc. An instantiation or replacement process will turn an indexed variables x_i or y_j into NP_i or NP_j in the CSr. The constants \underline{h} and \underline{k} are used to mark an AC embedded in another AC. A Solitary AC, or SAC, contains no constant; a Receptive AC, or RAC, contains one constant; and a Warm AC, or WAC, contains two constants. To illustrate how this work in a real sentence, let us look at sentence (1) in English in Figure 2 below:



(1) John kicked the ball to Bill.

Note: Each SSr tree is an AC composed of two less complex ACs, here ACF <1> and ACF <10>. The instantiation of x_i , y_j , and y_k by NP_i , NP_j , and NP_k , respectively, takes place on the level of CSr.

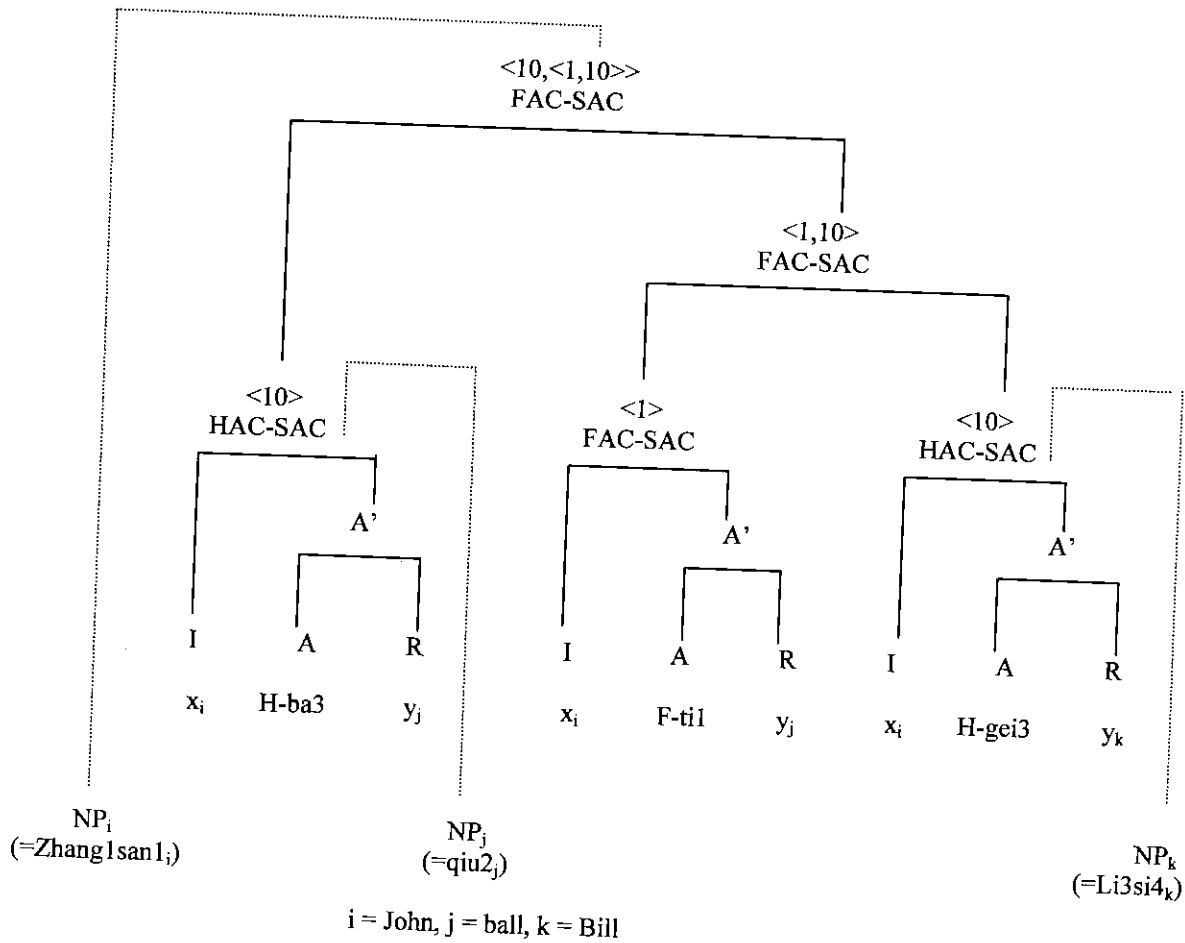
Figure 2: The SSr for sentence (1).

III. SSrr and Cross-linguistic Interpretations

When comparing a pair of sentences, similar in meaning, from two different languages, we sometimes get the feeling that it does not translate exactly. This is because on the SSr level, one language may choose to express an image more comprehensively, while the other less so. Consider sentences (1) in English and (2) in Mandarin:

- (1) John kicked the ball to Bill.
- (2) Zhang1san1 ba3 qiu2 ti1 gei3 Li3si4
 Zhangsan control ball kick give Lisi
 'Zhangsan kicked the ball to Lisi.'

Even though sentences (1) and (2) roughly mean the same thing, we found that sentence (2) contains an extra AC, whose A is ba3 'control.' Let us take a look at Figure 3, which shows the SSr diagram of sentence (2).



(2) Zhang1san1 ba3 qiu2 ti1 gei3 Li3si4
 Zhangsan control ball kick give Lisi
 'Zhangsan kicked the ball to Lisi.'

Figure 3: SSr for (2).

Notice that there are only two PACFs in Figure 2 for sentence (1) but there are three PACFs in Figure 3 for sentence (2). There is a (tentatively) universal sequence of images at the IS level, and it contains the images of (a) 'control' ball, (b)'kick,' (c) ball 'roll,' (d) ball 'travel,' (e) 'to,' and (f) 'give,' as shown in Table 1. These two sentences express alternative shapes of a putatively identical underlying sequence of images. The English sentence in (1) selects elements (b) and (e) to form its desired configuration of meaning elements, whereas the Mandarin in (2) selects (a), (b), and (f). They agree in that the rolling and traveling of the ball is not explicitly expressed. This agreement possibly reflects a universal tendency to omit the rolling and traveling of a kicked ball or any other moved objects. The two sentences disagree by selecting different composing images for explicit description by using verbs or verb-like words: kicked, to in (1), and ba3, ti1, gei3 in (2).

	(i)control	(ii) kick	(iii) roll	(iv) travel	(v) to	(vi)give	Universal PACFs
English		kick			to		2 PACFs
Mandarin	ba3	ti1				gei3	3 PACFs

Table 1: Universal and relative images.

After comparing sentences (1) and (2) as analyzed in Table 1, we found that the underlying images conceptualized by human speakers are all there at the ISrr. The cross-linguistic difference depends on what a language chooses to express and emphasize. With our analysis, we can explain why a bilingual speaker can translate a sentence from one language into another without much difficulty, since he already knows the universal images represented at the ISrr.

IV. Conclusion

When ISrr and SSrr are put to work, we can see the often-overlooked details laid out nicely in front of us. By invoking these two complementary levels of representation in CCG, the universalist and the relativist would be able to find a justification for their different beliefs and also a common ground to reconcile them. ISrr reveal that there is indeed a universal image that different languages share, and SSrr shows us the subtle difference across languages.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Professor Hsin-I Hsieh, who taught me CCG and gave me much valuable advice, encouragement, and support in the research and writing of this paper.

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Politeness Strategies in Chinese Requests

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1. Introduction

One important aspect of communicative competence is to know how to speak politely or appropriately in a given context. Politeness is thus often the central issue of the study of speech acts. The notion of politeness is tightly bound to cultural presuppositions, values, and beliefs. What counts as politeness varies from culture to culture (cf. Wierzbicka, 1991). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), some speech acts are inherently threatening to face and thus require mitigation of the force of the utterance. Requests are considered to be one of the so-called face-threatening acts (hereafter FTAs). In making requests, a speaker therefore utilizes politeness strategies to minimize the cost to the addressee. They argue that such language use is a universal phenomenon of human interaction.

The general goal of this paper is to examine politeness strategies in Chinese requests utilizing the framework of Brown and Levinson (1987). In order to give an adequate account of Chinese politeness strategies, I take into account Chinese perspectives of politeness and thus expand the universal framework.

In the first part of this paper, I briefly summarize the notion of face and its relation to politeness in Chinese. Following that I present issues of indirectness and politeness. Then, I discuss three contextual variables that are closely related to politeness strategies. Later I address the research questions of this study, where the methodology and the analysis adopted are introduced. I conclude by discussing request strategies and social implications of Chinese politeness with relation to the notion of face.

2.1 Background

According to Brown and Levinson, every person has two faces, a positive face and a negative face. Positive face is a want to be liked or approved by others. Negative face is a desire to be left alone and not intruded upon. Chinese scholars argue that the content of negative face cannot be equated with the notion of Chinese face (Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994; Yeung 1997). Mao (1994), inheriting Hu's (1944) dual conceptualization of *lian* and *mian-zi*, defines Chinese face as a public image that is oriented to the social group and differentiates it from the Anglo-Saxon American individual-oriented face. The underlying assumption of interactional focus is that Chinese centers upon group identity whereas Western upon the individual (Mao, 1994). For Chinese, interdependency is more significant (Pan, 2000) whereas for Americans, autonomy is more important. Negative face, which values an individual's need to be free of imposition, seems to be secondary in Chinese interaction, especially in the context where face-giving is involved. For instance, Mao (1994) explains that face-giving is a reciprocal and mutually beneficial act in Chinese community. Mao demonstrates how Chinese face works in terms of giving and receiving face-work. This face-work infers that there is less emphasis on securing autonomy even when an FTA is involved. This reciprocal face-work is considered to play an important role in Chinese communicative acts (Mao, 1994; Shih & Yeh, 1993; Yeung 1997). To be polite is "to attend to each other's face, *lian*, that is to work toward the achievement of an ideal social identity, which leads each member to express his or her willingness to be part of one unity, i.e., the community and *mianzi* that is to show one's moral sense of role and place (Mao, 1994; 463)". Pan's (2000) study of Chinese requests finds that the desired face strategies are those that emphasize group bonding and enhance the face wants of being liked and being the same. There is a very limited number of studies on Chinese requests. Previous literature shows that direct requests, which are very often considered impolite in western society, are socially acceptable in Chinese society (Lee-Wong, 1994; Pan, 2000; Yeung, 1997; Zhan, 1992). Lee-Wong's (1994) survey shows direct requests as the main strategy type in Chinese requests. Similarly, Zhan (1992) demonstrates that redressive actions (i.e., linguistic mitigation) to hearer's negative face are irrelevant in the context in where it involves light imposition, when there is no social distance between speaker and hearer, or where speaker has power or authority over hearer.

It is commonly agreed upon that different degrees of politeness are manifested in linguistic expressions (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; House and Kasper, 1981; Kasper, 1990). Conventionally, it is often believed that politeness is directly related to the degree of indirectness. An important finding is that similar syntactic forms in different languages do not necessarily convey the same degree of politeness (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Zhang, 1995a). One nice example is a study that shows different perceptions of the notion of politeness and indirectness by Israeli Hebrew speakers and American English speakers (Blum-Kulka, 1987).

Much research seems to support Brown and Levinson's (1987) postulate in which a speaker must assess the seriousness of FTAs depending on three independent and culturally-sensitive variables: the social distance¹ (D), the relative power² (P), and the ranking of imposition³ (R). Hong (1996, 1997) finds D and P more important in the choice of request strategies. Another study argues that imposition is less important in Chinese than in English (Yeung, 1997).

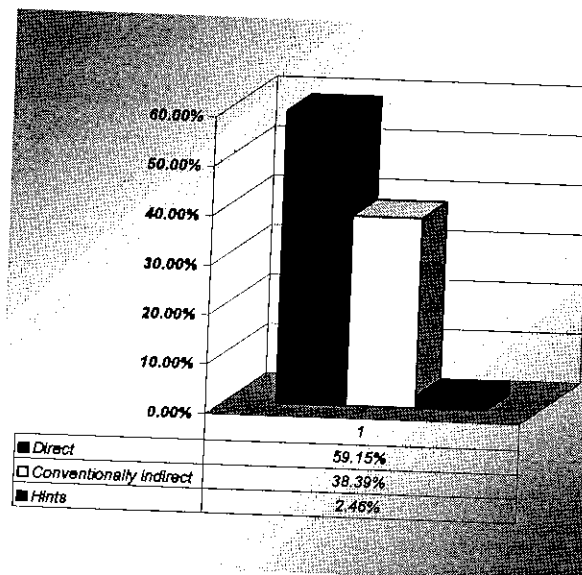
Along with the theoretical background, my research addresses the following questions: 1. How Chinese notion of face is projected in the act of requests? 2. Are Chinese politeness strategies direct? 3. In what contexts do Chinese speakers use direct requests? 4. What contextual variables (social distance, relative status, and imposition) are the most influential in the choice of request strategies?

4. Method

Through a discourse completion test (DCT) (Blum-Kulka, 1982), the data was collected in Beijing (Beijing normal university), Shanghai, and Japan. Subjects were asked to imagine themselves in the role of the speaker and to report the appropriate request expressions. The informants were all adults who either reside in Mainland China or were visiting Japan at the time of data collection. Based on the questionnaires used in CCSARP⁴ (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) and by Wei Hong (1996, 1997), eight situations were set up⁵.

5. Analysis

A request consists of a single main strategy (i.e., head act) followed with or without supportive moves (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The unit of analysis mainly examines the level of directness manifested in the head act. The nine levels of directness (see appendix 3) that are produced by CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) are narrowed down to eight levels and are adopted for Mandarin. The levels of directness are normally grouped into three major levels: the direct level, the conventionally indirect level, and hint (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). By following CCSARP's coding manual, my study also analyzes internal modifications that are embedded in the head acts and supportive moves that appears external to the head acts.



The findings displayed in Figure 1 show preferences for utilizing direct strategies followed by conventionally indirect strategies. Direct strategies are usually perceived as impolite by American English speakers and Israeli Hebrew speakers (Blum-Kulka, 1987). In Chinese speaking communities, the high frequency of use indicates that direct speech is not considered impolite. The following are the different politeness strategies classified into three power relationships.

5.1 High-low relationships (Situation 3 and Situation 6)

To a stranger:

- (1) S3: *Zheli bu neng ting che, qing* ba che kai zou.*
Parking is not allowed here, please move your car.

To an acquaintance:

- (2) S6: *Lao-Li, zhei ge difang bu neng ting che, ting dao nar ba**.*
Lao-Li, Parking is not allowed in this place, so park your car over there.
- (3) S6: *Lao-Li a, bang ge mang, ba che fang dao nar qu, hao bu hao***?*
Lao-Li, move your car to there, is it okay?

The direct form is by far the most frequently used strategy in the high-low power relation (93%). This is especially true in situation 3 when the requests are aimed at a stranger. However, if the H is an acquaintance, there are more linguistic devices to mitigate illocutionary force in the sentence. Table 1 below documents the usage frequency of the most common politeness strategies found in situations 3 and 6.

Table 1 Usage frequency of internal modifiers and supportive moves.

	Politeness Marker *Example (1)	Downtoner Particle "Ba" **Example (2)	Appealer/Tag questions **Example (3)	Upgrader
S3 SD+	69%	2%	1.5%	15.5%
S6 SD-	19%	35.5%	3.5%	11.5%

As can be seen from Table 1, Chinese use different politeness strategies in accordance with the degree of familiarity. When there is distant social distance between S and H (S3), a politeness marker *qing* 'please' is frequently used. When the addressee is an acquaintance (S6), Chinese like to use particles to mitigate the coercion. The most favorable strategy is the downtoner, of which the representative example is the use of the particle *ba*. The particle *ba* has a function of softening the tone of speech and it can turn a command (imperative) into a suggestion. In sum, fewer types of internal and external modifications denote a low degree of politeness under the context where S has authority over and they do not know each other.

5.2 Equal relationships (Situation 1, Situation 2, and Situation 8)

The following sentences are the most frequently used⁶.

To a close co-worker:

- (4) S1: *Xiao-Li, jie gei wo sanshi kukai qian.* (Men)
Xiao-Li, lend me 30 yuan.

- (5) S1: *Xiao-Li, wo xiang qu mai yao gei haizi chi, neng bu neng jie gei wo sanshi kuai qian?*
(Women)

Xiao-Li, I want to buy some medicine for my child, can you lend me 30 yuan?

To a stranger:

- (6) S2: *Dui bu qi, neng bu neng jiewo yi xia bi?*

Excuse me, can you lend me a pen for a while?

To a new co-worker:

- (7) S8: *Xiao Wang, keyi jie ni de zixingche yong yi xia ma?*

Xiao Wang, can I use your bicycle for a while?

- (8) S8: *Xiao Wang tongzhi, wo ye shi danwei gongzuo de. Xianzai wo xiang qu youju i xin, xiang jie yong yixia ni de zixingche, hao ma?*

Comerade Xiao Wang, I also work in the same workplace. I want to go to the post office to mail the letter now, so I want to borrow your bicycle, is that okay?

Looking into the details of requests, it seems that the existence of social distance (or 'in-group', 'out-group' distinction in Pan's approach) has a strong impact on the levels of directness of Chinese requests. For instance, in the case where the speaker borrows a pen from a stranger ('out-group') even though the size of the imposition is small, the illocutionary intent still appears less direct as in (6). On the other hand, when the addressee is on close terms with S ('in-group'), positive politeness is favored as in (4) and (8). There is a gender difference of request strategies in such employment of direct requests. With regards to the gender difference in speech acts, previous empirical studies (Brown and Levinson, 1987, Hong, 1997) show that women demonstrate greater politeness than men do. As example sentences (4) and (5) indicate, in solidarity relationship and requests for loan, men use more direct forms than women do.

5.3 Low-high relationships (situation 4, situation 5 and situation 7)

The following sentences are the most commonly used:

To an unfamiliar professor:

- (9) S4: *Jiaoshou, mafan nin, choukong kan kan wo de lunwen.*

Professor, sorry to bother you (honorific form), please find time to take a look at my dissertation.

- (10) S4: *Laoshi, qing bang wo kan kan lunwen, hao ma?*

Teacher, please help me to read my dissertation, is that alright?

To a teacher:

- (11) S7: *Laoshi, neng jie wo yiben kan yi xia ma?*

Teacher, can you lend me a book to read for a while?

- (12) S7: *Laoshi, nin dai de shu wo xiang jie kankan.*

Teacher, the book you (honorific form) brought, I want to borrow it and take a look at it.

To a close boss:

- (13) S5: *Laoban, women yinggai gu xie linshi gong.*

Boss, we should hire some part-time employees.

- (14) S5: *Laoban, reshou bu gou, gu ji ge linshi guyuan, zenmeyang?*

Boss, we are getting shorthanded, how about hiring some part-time employees?

In these cases, conventionally indirect and direct requests occur almost equally. For instance, in situation 4 where a student asks an unfamiliar professor to read his/her dissertation, direct requests are employed as in (9), (10). Similarly, in situation 5, direct requests are preferred strategies. Eighty-four percent of the use of politeness marker is significant in situation 4. To achieve adequate polite speech, this insertion of politeness lexical items is necessary. Along with politeness markers, it is also indispensable to deploy proper pronoun and address terms in order to signal hierarchical differences. This recognition of hierarchical order between interlocutors cannot be ignored (Pan, 2000). This display of deference allows S to show the appropriate manner of moral sense. Therefore, this normative aspect of politeness has to be taken into account in Chinese politeness strategies as in (11) and (14) (Gu, 1990). In a similar manner, there are many direct requests utilized in situation 5. The preferred strategies are positive ones. Instead of using the second person singular pronoun *ni/nin* 'you/honorific form of you' to ask for permission, many informants use inclusive or exclusive (women 'we (inclusive)'/*zanmen* 'we (exclusive)') first person plural pronoun. In this way, S implicitly establishes solidarity with H as in (13) and signals the boss's cooperation with S. Attending H's positive faces can, indeed, enhance solidarity between interlocutors in the group or the system.

6. Discussion

In three different power relations, direct requests are commonly found in Chinese requests. It should be noted that there is very limited use of hints in this data. This indicates that direct requests are not necessarily perceived to be impolite. There are universal features of linguistics politeness (the common mitigating devices are the use of the particle *ba*, tag questions, verb reduplication and verb plus *yixia* 'for a while, once') in Chinese data.

In Mainland China, it seems that the existence of institutional authority can make S request or order directly. When S holds a higher rank, requests are made explicitly. Acquaintanceship, however, obscures differences in rank. The results of my study support the conclusion that close social distance or familiarity tends to reduce the status difference interlocutors. Among equal status relationships, the existence of familiarity plays a vital role in the choice of politeness strategies. Here, Pan's (2000) distinction of 'in-group' and 'out-group' serves as a better explanation for Chinese politeness strategies. Among Chinese speakers, it matters whether the addressee is 'in-group' or 'out-group'. Such group distinction is important in choosing appropriate politeness strategies. Colleagues are considered to be 'in-group' (Pan, 2000). In close social relationships, S especially likes to use direct speech to establish solidarity. Even if the colleague is a newcomer, S can use positive politeness to diminish the distance between interlocutors. The use of politeness markers helps to mark status differences. To recognize hierarchical order is essential in Chinese politeness. "Solidarity is based on the power structure established in the society (Pan 2000: 148)". Preference for positive politeness implies that Chinese culture puts less respect on an individual's desire to be free from imposition, which is so seemingly important in Western culture. Chinese face respects harmony with the whole society or group rather than respecting an individual's right. The positive face want of harmonizing with others is more pertinent to the group-oriented culture where mutual dependence is emphasized (Pan, 2000). Group solidarity is achieved by the use of direct requests and it is thus quite acceptable to impose under some situations. Imposing can be a sign of good relationships. It shows one's dependence on others, which is acceptable and respected to some extent. Finally, the acts of the request themselves are often considered to be a good sign of relationships in China (Zhang, 1995a). To request can be one way to acknowledge the addressee's ability.

7. Conclusion

What counts as politeness is culturally or socially bound as there are different cultural or social values embedded in our interaction. Showing dependence is a way to express politeness. As 'in-group' and 'out-group' distinction indicates, social distance or group boundary tends to play an essential role in determining request strategies (Pan, 2000). Chinese value group ('in-group') harmony and so positive politeness is favored to stress group connection. It can be used to diminish distance between members or to enhance solidarity. When there is a hierarchical difference, it is important to acknowledge the status differences between S and H. What is common in Chinese request strategies is the assumption of cooperation. Helping

each other within the group seems to be taken for granted, and therefore requests are not so much FTAs as in western culture. To repeat Mao's (1994) explanation, Chinese politeness signals one's willingness to be part of society and one's moral sense of place and status. In short, direct strategies, the use of proper address terms, pronouns, and politeness markers are used to achieve such a goal.

Appendix 1:

- a. **Politeness marker:** A word or a phrase, which occurs beginning of the sentence and bids for cooperative behavior (Zhang, 1995a). E.g., *Qing* (please), *Lao jia* (please), *Manfan* (to bother, please)
- b. **Downtoner:** Modifiers which make the utterance sound less assertive and the request less coercive. The particle *ba* is the most common one (Zhang, 1995a).
- c. **Appealer:** Tag questions which refer to possibility and permission. E.g., *Keyi ma*, *Hao ma*, *Xing ma*, *Ke bu keyi* (Zhang, 1995a: 53)
- d. **Upgraders:**
(19) S3: *Wei, zheli bu zhun ting che. Zoukai, zoukai.*
Hey, parking is not allowed here. Drive away, drive away.
- e. **Imposition minimizer:**
(20) S8: *Xiao-Wang, wo yao qu youju, jie yixia nin de che hao ma, yihuir jiu huilai.*
Little-Wang, I need to go to the post office, can I borrow your bicycle, I will come back soon.
- f. **Preparatory:**
(21) S1: *Ni shenshang dai qian le ma?* (before asking for lending money)
Do you have money with you?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire (Translated in English)

- S1: At the workplace, XiaoZhao wants to buy some Chinese medicine for her/his child on the way home but does not have enough money with her/him. *XiaoZhao* wants to borrow 30 yuan (approximately \$10 value in summer of 1997) from a colleague (*XiaoLi*) whom she/he worked with for a long time. If you were XiaoZhao, how would you request?
- S2: At the post office, you want to borrow a pen from the person standing behind because you find some more blanks you need to fill in on the mailing form.
- S3: At the restricted area on the big street: A policeman wants a person to remove the car that is parked illegally. If you were a policeman, how would you request?
- S4: At the Professor's office: A student wants to have professor proofread her/his paper. This is the second time meeting the professor.
- S5: At the office: A manager wants to ask the boss to hire temporary employees because this company has been a shortage of hands over the past two years. They have worked together for a long time.
- S6: At the restricted area: A policeman wants the acquaintance *Lao Li* to remove the car, which is parked illegally.
- S7: In the classroom: A student wants to borrow a book from the teacher.

S8: A person wants to borrow a bicycle from a new colleague because he/she needs to post a piece of registered mail right away.

Appendix 3

CCSARP's (1989) 9 levels of directness	8 levels of directness in Mandarin Chinese
<p>Direct</p> <p>1. Mood Derivable (Imperatives) The grammatical mood of the verb in the utterance marks its illocutionary force as a request.</p> <p>2. Explicit Performative The illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named by the speaker.</p> <p>3. Hedged performative Utterances embedding the naming of the illocutionary force.</p> <p>4. Locution derivable The illocutionary point is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution.</p> <p>5. Want Statement The utterance expresses the speaker's intentions, desire or feeling vis-a-vis the fact that the hearer do X.</p>	<p>Direct</p> <p>1. Mood Derivable (Imperatives) <i>Ba che ting dao nar qu.</i> Park your car over there.</p> <p>2. Explicit Performative <i>Nin gei wo kan yixia zhe pian wenzhang.</i> Please take a look at my dissertation for me.</p> <p>3. Locution Derivable (Obligation Statement) <i>Women dei gu yixie linshi guyuan.</i> We should hire a few more part-time employees.</p> <p>4. Want Statement <i>Wo xiang jie kan yixia zhe ben shu.</i> I would like to borrow this book.</p> <p>5. Imperative/Want statement plus tag questions <i>Jie gei wo sanshi kuai qian, xing ma?</i> Lend me 30 yuan, is that all right?</p>
<p>Conventionally Indirect</p> <p>6. Suggestory Formula The illocutionary intent is phrased as a suggestion by means of a framing routine formula. E.g., How about cleaning up? (Blum-Kulka, 1987)</p> <p>7. Query Preparatory Utterance contains reference preparatory conditions as conventionalized in any specific language. E.g., Could you clean up the mess in kitchen? (Blum-Kulka, 1987)</p>	<p>Conventionally Indirect</p> <p>6. Suggestory Formula <i>Zai gu yixie linshi guyuan zenmeyang?</i> How about hiring a few more part-time employees?</p> <p>7. Query Preparatory <i>Neng bu neng jie wo sanshi kuai qian?</i> Can you (could you) lend me 30 yuan?</p>
<p>Indirect</p> <p>8. Strong Hint "The requestive intent is not immediately derivable from the utterance, but the utterance refers to preconditions of the feasibility of the request (Zhang, 1995: 46)".</p> <p>9. Mild Hint</p>	<p>Indirect</p> <p>8. Hint <i>Rujin dou mang bu guolai, zenme ban.</i> It has been so hectic, what should we do? (Intent: requests for hiring more help.)</p>

NOTES

1. the degree of familiarity or solidarity between speaker (hereafter S) and hearer (hereafter H).
2. S's power relation relative to H. In China, seniority and status determine power.
3. S's assumption of the difficulty of task done by H. It includes expenditure of goods, service, time by the hearer, S's right to carry out the acts, and the likelihood of such acts being carried out by H. (Brown and Levinson, 1987)
4. The most comprehensive cross-cultural investigation of requests compared similarities and differences in the speech act behavior of native speakers and non-native speakers in eight languages.
5. Table: the existence of social distance (SD) and relative status (RS)

	Situations	Social Distance	Relative Status
S1	Money	-	S=H
S 2	Pen	+	S=H
S 3	Policeman	+	S>H
S 4	Paper	+	S<H
S 5	Employment	-	S<H
S 6	Policeman	-	S>H
S 7	Book	-	S>H
S 8	Bicycle	+	S=H

6. Table: Usage frequency of internal modifiers and supportive moves

	Politeness Marker	Appealer/ Tag questions	Imposition Minimizer	Preparatory
S1 SD-	12%	11.5%	1.5%	23.5%
S8 SD+	19%	23.5%	27%	13.5%
S2 SD+	61.5%	34.5%	0%	11%

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IV. Second Language Studies

A Grassroots EFL Teacher Development Group: A Case Study of the Korean English Teachers' Group

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Educational innovations fail more often than they succeed, and one of the many reasons for this is lack of teachers' support in implementing new curricula, pedagogy or procedures. When national education systems attempt educational change, it is natural for them to try to ameliorate the new situation by providing support, particularly in the form of top-down in-service training. It is less common, indeed extremely rare, for teachers to provide this by themselves at their own initiative (Bascia, 1999). In South Korea, secondary school English teachers have required professional development to meet the enormous demands of education reforms in support of effective English teaching in recent years. To this end, the Korean English Teachers' Group (KETG) was founded by Korean English teachers voluntarily to meet the needs of the teachers who wanted to explore issues and challenges in their classrooms. The KETG is an example of teacher collaboration at the national level, drawing secondary school English teachers together to share a common purpose—to improve the quality of teaching Korean learners of English as a foreign language (EFL).

In this study, I describe and analyze this twelve-year-old teacher development group with a case study, and draw implications for the larger context of teacher development groups. First, I briefly review theoretical concepts for teacher development and the roles of a teacher development group as a professional development strategy. Secondly, I explain how the research target group was studied and the data were analyzed. I then present and discuss my findings. Finally, I conclude the paper with several implications for the general use of teacher development groups.

Theoretical Background

Even though the idea of 'teacher development' has different meanings in different contexts, and operates from a variety of implicit and explicit beliefs and value bases (Guskey & Huberman, 1994; Head & Taylor, 1997; Underhill, 1992), the proposition is widely held that teachers should grow throughout their lifetime, personally and professionally. Guskey and Huberman (1994) identify a broad definition of professional development as "a personal journey to find appreciation and meaning in one's work" (p. 4), as influenced by social-psychological and institutional factors. Writing with EFL contexts in mind, Finocchiaro (1988) similarly defines teacher development as teachers' growing throughout their lifetime. More specifically, she states that it has several multifaceted major directions from the point of view of EFL teachers: (1) increasing *awareness* of their own strengths and perhaps weaknesses (which can be overcome); (2) having more positive *attitudes* toward themselves, their students, their colleagues and supervisors, their communities, the needs of their country and of other countries; (3) deepening *knowledge* of the social and personality factors of their students that can influence learning, of the content of their discipline as well as of the culture and literature of English-speaking countries; (4) enhancing *skills* needed to present, practice, and appreciate the language system, literature, and culture of the target language with enthusiasm and clarity while instilling social, moral, ethical, and cultural values in their learners. (p. 2) (See Freeman, 1989, for further discussions of these four constituents of language teaching.)

Teacher development groups represent one type of professional development strategies that can generate change in teaching practice. Head and Taylor (1997) define the teacher development group as "any form of co-operative and ongoing arrangement between two or more teachers to work together on their own personal and professional development" (p. 91).

The reasons given for organizing teacher development groups generally fall into two categories: *professional growth* and *collegial support*. First, teachers can enhance their professional growth in collaboration with their colleagues, both formally and informally, within a school or outside of it (See Creese, Norwich, & Daniels, 2000). Teachers need one another in order to stay informed and to remain on the cutting edge of knowledge and practice (Watson & Stevenson, 1989). Groups can provide use of diverse expertise, broader perspective, and greater visibility. They can also involve the teaching of a specific skill, which for Armour's (1985) teacher network was writing, for instance. Second, a group of people with similar ideas and objectives

can provide the caring and supporting environment where teachers can build up self-esteem and feel positive about the possibilities for personal and professional development. For many groups that have formed in order to give collegial support to their members, an important issue is teacher burnout (Oliphant, 1995). Teacher groups can function as a practical and therapeutic tool to minimize teacher burnout (See Kirk & Walter, 1981). The feeling of being isolated from other teachers can be overcome by participating in teacher groups and sharing their concerns and problems they encountered in their classrooms.

Purpose of the Study

Although an interest in teacher development groups has been increasing considerably in recent years, little is known about how such development groups are formed, what they focus on, and how they are sustained. Moreover, while a limited amount of empirical research on teacher development groups has been conducted, this topic has primarily been examined in Northern American school contexts (e.g., Birchak et al., 1998; Boggs, 1996; Clair, 1998; Meyer, 1996). Relatively little attention has been paid, either theoretically or empirically, to teacher development groups in other social, cultural contexts.

Moreover, the teacher development group in this study is novel in that it is a unique example of a nationwide "bottom-up professional development" (Bascia, 1999, p. 7) organization, designed to give support and assistance to secondary school EFL teachers. As opposed to other professional organizations of Korean English teachers that were originally initiated and maintained by the top-down forces, the teacher development group being studied is an exemplary case of a grassroots professional movement of EFL teachers.

The present study examines systematically the practices of the Korean EFL secondary teachers' group so as to contribute to theoretical understandings of the concept of a teacher development group. The research questions for the study included: What influences does the KETG have on Korean EFL teachers? What constraints does the KETG face in the process of developing and sustaining itself? What implications for a nationwide teacher group can be drawn from the examination and analysis of this teacher group? Thus, not only is this paper a descriptive account of the Korean teachers' group, but it also hopes to draw some implications for more general use of a teacher development group.

Method

Based on the ideas of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the investigative mode of choice was a case study. The case study design allowed for the gathering of in-depth descriptions of working groups of teachers, their relationships to one another, and their beliefs about a teacher development group. By providing 'thick description' so necessary for judgements of *transferability* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), hopefully, these insights can, in turn, lead to a deeper understanding of community-building efforts at other sites (cf. Westheimer, 1998).

The research site

The Korean English Teachers' Group (KETG) is a nationwide teacher professional organization for secondary school EFL teachers in South Korea. It was founded by eight secondary English teachers in Seoul in the summer of 1988. It originally started as a 'professional book discussion group' (cf. Birchak et al., 1998, p. 20). The early agenda for the group was a common interest in reading and discussing professional books or sets of articles mainly focused on educational philosophy and sociology. With the legalization of the teacher labor union, *Chonkyojo*, in July 1999, the KETG has emerged as a national grassroots professional organization of Korean secondary school English teachers. Its membership is estimated at approximately 1,900 as of March 2001. There are eight local study groups within the KETG. Each study group is organized on a topic-by-topic basis (e.g., grammar teaching, activities for high school students, teaching reading, teaching listening). Another three new study groups are now emerging (Internet team, Group for reading materials development, and Group for new/novice teachers).¹

Data collection

Systematic *triangulation* of the data was conducted to help insure the dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the interpretations. Triangulation was accomplished through the use of various data collection methods as follows: (1) observations of the group at the meetings and workshops they held; (2) in-depth interviews with teacher participants about their disposition and belief about teacher development and the KETG; and (3) gathering of documents and publishing materials related to the KETG.

The first observation of a KETG steering committee weekly meeting was undertaken in mid-May 2000. My observations also extended to teacher development sessions and informal get-togethers among teachers throughout thirteen weeks from May to August 2000. Observation took different forms at different stages of the inquiry. Early on, the observation was unstructured; a stage of immersion in order to permit me to bring to consciousness, to expand my tacit knowledge, and to develop some sense of what was salient. Later, the observations became more focused as insights and information grew. I took written field notes, but decided not to tape-record the weekly meetings because the teachers would feel intruded upon by the audio taping equipment.

In addition to my observations, I interviewed seven teacher participants (three males and four females) in the committee and the sub-groups about their dispositions and beliefs about the KETG in order to explore their norms and behaviors that had contributed to the formation and maintenance of professional relationships in their group. Also, I interviewed five English teachers who participated in the KETG summer workshops and three teachers who did not attend the workshops, but subscribed to the KETG publications. I audio-taped all the interviews with the oral consent of the interviewees. Audiotaped interviews were transcribed in full. These interviews and my observations of the group's activities served as the primary data sources for the present study.²

Data collection oriented to a more macro-perspective mainly involved gathering of their documents (e.g., planning strategies, brochures, newsletters, survey questionnaires, and meeting agendas) related to: the organization and activities of the KETG; efforts to promote collegiality and a sense of community among the members; and plans for revamping the process by which decisions are made.

Data analysis

Data analysis took place throughout the data collection procedure through a recursive process: cycling between refining strategies for data collection and thinking about the data I had already collected. Data analysis began immediately after my first observation of a KETG weekly committee meeting. The first stage of data analysis involved careful coding of all interview data and my field notes. The coding categories developed initially before and during the study, and then were refined for the purpose of the present study. Comprehensive analysis involved an *iterative* process of reducing, displaying, explaining, and verifying the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). With the strategy of analytic induction (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994), I repeatedly read through the transcripts of the interview data, my field notes, and the KETG related documents during and after the data collection. I then created a visual representation that highlighted patterns or relationships among the codes. This draft of a conceptual map (Miles & Huberman, 1994) enabled me to identify and note recurrent, salient themes with regard to prospects and problems of the KETG.

Findings

Influences

The success of the KETG that the teachers I interviewed repeatedly mentioned is that it is self-directed, defines its own agendas, provides opportunities for teachers to get together and to exchange ideas and experiences, and most importantly, makes voices for teachers to feel empowered. Its influences can be summarized into three main themes: *professional growth*, *collegiality*, and *empowerment*.

Professional growth: sharing classroom practices and strategies

Much effort of the KETG goes into fostering the growth and development of teachers in all areas of professional concern. The KETG offers a wide array of services to promote teacher effectiveness. The major impact that the KETG has on Korean English teachers is probably through workshops and publications. The KETG holds local workshops and national forums on topics such as useful classroom techniques, classroom management, and other English language teaching issues. The focus of workshops is on sharing experiences and ideas derived from practice. For example, during the 2000 summer workshop on 'Conducting Effective Group Work in the English Classroom,' a total number of about 500 secondary English teachers from all over the country, from rural areas to big cities, gathered to participate in the workshop. My field notes on the first day of the workshop indicate the impressive participation of the teachers:

No matter how old they are, how long they have been teaching, and from what district they are, they are all avid teachers who want to develop them professionally to become better teachers. Obviously, all of them are extremely concerned about teaching practice in the Korean EFL classroom so that they were willing to participate in the workshops, giving up their precious vacation at the best time of the year for a family trip or something. Some of married female teachers even brought their children here to the site. I really admire them! (FN, July 31st)³

For some, it was the beginning of real discussion for the first time of important pedagogical concerns in their classroom. For others, it was one aspect of an on-going process in their exploring the challenges and problems beyond their school. Instead of prescribing specific instructional practices, workshop leaders provided a set of questions for the teachers to address in planning their own teaching practice. They encouraged teacher participants to group themselves based on their school district and the level of students (junior high or high) they taught, so as to promote discussion about their own specific classroom settings. When asked about the effect of KETG work on his teaching practice, one of the concerned teachers, Jin-gu Park, in his late thirties, from a remote area of Kang-won do, eagerly responded to the question:

One of the great benefits from this group is definitely the sharing of both teaching resources and knowledge. I'm gaining lots of fruitful examples of successful teaching techniques and learning activities, which really work in my class. For teachers who work in rural areas, like me, where resources are limited, their activities are extremely invaluable. (I, August 1)

This was the most common response from the teachers that I met at the workshops. Along with workshops, the KETG publishes a variety of practical materials including newsletters, supplementary material handbooks, CD-ROMs, and so on, in order to help teachers expand the repertoire of classroom teaching ideas. These offerings have got a steady stream of subscribers with membership. In-house documents from the KETG indicate that over 3,000 secondary school English teachers across the nation are taking advantage of their publications.

In addition to workshops and publications, their web page is an important way of disseminating a growing number of information⁴. The web page has become a considerable resource of disseminating the growing information on the practice of teaching. With discussion of current educational issues, it contains a variety of pedagogical information for teachers as well as students and parents. Certainly, the KETG assists teachers' professional growth by providing new knowledge and development in the subject matter, reports of successful practice, critical review of the educational policy and interpretations of research through workshops and publication.

Collegiality: igniting the collective power of teachers

The notion of collegiality in education implies that a rejection of direct prescriptive controls (Lawn & Ozga, 1986) in favor of a process that is much more dependant on engineering broad forms of consensus (Smyth, 1994). Teachers value collegial approaches to their work and frequently use them as forms of covert resistance against the prescriptions of national and local educational authorities (See e.g., Nias, Southwork, & Yeomans, 1989.).

In that sense, it can be said that the KETG creates a culture of collegiality among Korean English teachers.⁵ The KETG seems to serve as a catalyst to ignite the collective power of Korean teachers when they are challenged by top-down approaches in the implementation of a new educational policy. Again, the summer workshops are a good example that illustrates this role of the KETG. In order to express their objection against the one-sided national educational policy of conducting English classes through English only, some teacher participants in the workshops suggested signing a petition form to protest against the policy.

This is a very good chance to show our collective power to the government. They [the educational authorities] think we are a puppet or something that does whatever they 'order' us to do. We don't merely deliver the curriculum. They seem to ignore the fact that it is what teachers think, what they believe, and what they do, at the level of the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that our kids get. Look at the policy that all classes must be taught in English only! They don't consider the current situation in secondary classrooms. How can we change our practice overnight? How can we become bilingual teachers who have no problem speaking English in such a short time period without attending any appropriate teacher language improvement programs? We should show them how we feel about the policy in a more powerful, collective way than now. (I, Jin-gu Park, August 8)

Through its workshops, the KETG plays a considerable role as a vehicle for engaging teachers in self-awareness of collaboration that can be the key to effective collective power. In the interviews of the teacher participants, there was ample evidence of what Josselson (1996, cited in Lima, 1998) calls "pleasure of connection", the pleasure of "feeling not alone even if we are not in current or potential need" (p. 59). When asked whether she had had such a chance before, Ji-hyun Lee, in her forties, a veteran of 17 years, said:

No. [laugh] I'm surprised at the atmosphere here. Every teacher looks so enthusiastic for learning and ... they are so concerned about the problems in the classroom. This is my first time that I've ever had to talk with other teachers about my pedagogical concerns. I feel I'm not alone. I'm so glad to come here not only because I can refresh my teaching skills but also feel kind of "a sense of camaraderie" (I, August 1).

By offering a space for teachers to feel the sense of camaraderie, the KETG provides an environment of unity and rapport for teachers who have been isolated in their own classroom. A shared language appears to promote collegiality and gives rise to a sharing of ideas:

The learning at these sessions may not be as important as the stimulation to think, the opportunities to be away from the usual routines and pressure of home and school, and the chance to gain perspectives with new people. I think the action orientation and the sense of purpose are creating a special spirit of collegiality. It seems that living together for several days at the summer workshops contributed to a commonality as soldiers from the trenches. Many teachers seemed to realize how valuable was the opportunity to get together and discuss what they have in their mind. (FN, August 8)

Empowerment: Making teachers' voices heard

The resource of decision making is obviously one of a few factors that cause KETG activities not to be recognized with traditional teacher in-service programs. The KETG is not regimented in a top-down bureaucratic manner. It is teachers who make decisions about how to plan, organize, and carry out the plans in the KETG. One of the firm beliefs that KETG teachers have in common is that most of the decisions that lie at the heart of teaching should shift to teachers who have been marginalized. "Teachers don't ordinarily have power because they don't have access to those who wield it," said Chang-jun Kim, one participant to one of the KETG subgroups. "We believe, well... at least, I believe that what we're doing is making a difference" (I, May 31). The KETG teachers undertake their activities voluntarily, so there is a sense of ownership and commitment. Jung-han Chang in the steering committee commented on the group's pivotal role in empowering teachers:

I think the KETG plays a considerable role in getting practitioners involved in the decision-making process for educational policy, curricular, and procedures than the past. One of its primary purposes is to make a voice for classroom teachers who have continually been silenced, bewildered, and left in the dark about

educational decisions. The KETG tries to raise awareness of those teachers so that we can make our voice heard beyond school. (I, August 2)

Based on this perspective, the KETG seems to contribute to empowering teachers as active agents in the teacher development process.

Constraints

Despite its achievements that have been made by all the extraordinary efforts from the KETG teachers, two factors appear to be inhibiting the KETG from moving to a more productive level of work: a lack of time for more involvement of teachers and the passive roles of most members. It seems that these conditions weaken efforts to solve existing problems in practice, and create barriers to genuine educational reforms in the long run.

Lack of time

Previous research on teacher development has often identified time as an important contextual variable in professional development (e.g., Holly & Holly, 1983; Maeroff, 1988). For instance, in her action research of eight teacher study groups created for school improvement in an American suburban elementary school, Boggs (1996) found that the lack of meeting time was a common constraint identified by the teachers in the study groups. Similarly, the teachers in my study consistently referred to the problem of not having adequate time to perform their roles as active participants. This lack of time creates stress and conflict for some teachers as they struggle to fulfill their dual responsibilities of being a classroom teacher and teacher researcher. Mr. Chang said:

I found it (the KETG work as a committee member) exhausting. I do like the work I'm doing here, but feel I am, in a way, neglecting my own classroom. I should admit it is very difficult to do a good job both working in the KETG and teaching my own class, you know. (I, June 20)

Kyung-ja Choi, a participant in the summer workshop echoed other teachers' frustration with the time constraints:

The worst thing is that there just isn't enough time. I have 24 class hours to teach per week, and a homeroom teacher of 43 junior high school boys. On top of that, I take several different administrative responsibilities. I'm already stressed out with what I've got to do now! (I, August 1)

Passive teachers' participation

Due to the time constraints and other possible reasons, a majority of teachers with KETG membership are not active agents in the professional activities of the KETG. Among approximately 1,900 members, a limited number of teachers are actively involved in teacher development activities. According to a staff member, approximately 40 teachers are actively involved in the KETG subgroups as of February 2001 (ER, March 2, 2001). Teachers who attend a workshop are relatively passive recipients of the outcomes produced by the lead members in the KETG. Teachers then return to their classrooms and implement what they have 'learned' with varying degrees of successes.

Another great challenge concerning teachers' passive roles lies in encouraging substantive group interaction and sustaining the group over time to foster significant change in teaching practice. One teacher in the steering committee expressed frustration about forming a new teacher study group, saying:

It is very difficult to create a new group and sustain it. We make every effort to encouraging the teachers to form a study group on their own when we offer workshops by emphasizing the value and importance of teacher collaborative work. But every teacher is so busy with their own matters that they don't want to spend extra time exploring issues and topics that should deserve being studied by themselves. How can we deal with this problem? (I, June 29).

A lack of regular feedback on the effects of the KETG's efforts is also attributed to teachers' passive participation. Although systematic feedback to teachers' activities within the group is a crucial factor in the process of teacher development (Guskey, 1994), there seems to be insufficient interaction even among the subgroups because of the time constraints and a lack of the structure for intragroup feedback.

Discussions and Implications

The aforementioned descriptions of the influences and problems that the KETG has had in implementing teacher development in the Korean EFL context provide several long-term implications for the improvement efforts at a nationwide teacher development group in the field. Each suggestion can merit discussions about what prepositions a teacher development group has for the improvement of its productivity.

Recognize development as a self-directed move

Most important of all, the findings of this study support the idea that it is crucial to involve teachers actively in their own professional development, in contrast to training or retraining, which suggests a top-down approach. For the success of teacher development groups, teachers must see themselves as more than mere recipients of services, more than clients upon whom the administration bestows largesse. They should be less compliant and tractable receivers of information and more involved shareholders and partakers in the process of teacher development. Otherwise, teachers are passive users rather than active creators (Common, 1983).

The KETG fosters change as an active creator of teacher development. It gives teachers control over the selection of professional activities and topics on their own. In fact, as many teachers in this study repeatedly mentioned, the KETG functions as an alternative agent for providing continuing teacher development with a *sense of ownership*. In the Korean EFL context, where there is no coherent infrastructure for teacher development, and so it is not the responsibility of any identifiable groups or agency, this teacher-initiated and directed group seems to play a significant role in involving teachers in the process of professional development. I found that the teacher participants' expectations to the KETG were considerably high and that they seemed to consider the KETG as the *only* resource for their professional development. This can lead teachers to engage themselves to self-directed professional activities that foster empowerment of teachers.

Provide a process for on-going professional growth

Another important lesson learned from the KETG is that we cannot enhance teacher professional growth without providing an opportunity for *continued* support and follow-ups. Unlike discrete, limited prepackaged teacher training programs led by the government, the KETG workshops offer more chances for participants to share their knowledge and ideas, and to reflect on what they have learned from one another in the workshops. Since teachers usually bring a wealth of their own ideas and experiences to workshops, the most effective sessions may make use of the interactive, applied, and integrated approaches that teachers would be expected to use with their students. These professional development activities include ample opportunities for participants to experiment with the new concepts and techniques.

It makes clear that to be successful, teacher development must be seen as a *process*, not an event (Bailey, Curtis, & Nunan, 1998; Lieberman, 1995). A teacher development event—a workshop, for example—is not the final step in a long chain of events. Any change that holds great promise for changing individual teachers' attitudes is likely to be gradual and slow (Huberman & Miles, 1984). It is imperative, therefore, that developing teachers be seen as a continuous and on-going endeavor.

Establish teacher study groups and maintain them

A good way to maximize continuing professional development is related with its effort to helping a new teacher study group get initiated and sustained. The KETG lends expertise to newly forming teacher development groups by providing resources that it has created and collected. By facilitating those local-based groups, the KETG also has teachers engage in action research in which they identify teaching/learning issues of importance, try out new methods and techniques, and reflect on their effect on students' learning at their own

site. In order to strengthen site-based ownership for professional growth, action research should be encouraged at the grass roots, not from the top of the educational structure (Crookes, 1989; 1993).

Build community and relationships

In order to sustain those teacher study groups, and make them productive for the long term, a teacher development group should make every attempt to facilitate the atmosphere in which teachers are willing to collaborate with one another. 'A sense of belong (to a team)' (Day et al., 1987) can affect teachers' underlying assumptions about their involvement in development initiatives (Nicholls, 1997). As seen in many empirical studies on teacher collaboration in relatively small school-based teacher groups (see e.g., Birchak et al., 1998; Boggs, 1996), it is clear that the healthy community encourages individual involvement in the pursuit of shared purpose. In order to keep teacher-driven professional development going, the teacher network should develop supportive norms providing the extra encouragement that teachers need to return to their schools with renewed energy, vision, and commitment.

The findings of the study of the KETG reveal that personal ties among members in a subgroup are crucial factors to keep them together and move on despite all the constraints and challenges. Most teacher participants were both close friends and mutual informal work collaborators. They share their concerns about personal as well as professional issues, and some of them have been long-time close friends since their college years. In fact, those personal ties were important springboards for the establishment of the KETG.

The nature of the activities and the growth of relationships within the group are crucial elements in cementing the commitment of the participants. Activities should be compelling enough to keep people coming back, no matter how meaningful or well-intentioned the purpose of the group is. They are not confined to professional activities to improve knowledge and skills. Explicitly community-building experiences, (e.g., social gatherings, organized parties, celebrations, and occasions), whose expressed goals are to have members be more social, could result in an ethos of individual concern and sympathy for colleagues. Those kinds of activities, along with subtle, circumstantial, and covert community-building experiences, can build the supporting atmosphere where teachers feel secure enough to be honest with themselves and with others. This facilitative atmosphere thus can help them to take the risks and make the efforts required in trying to extend and deepen their awareness of professional development (Underhill, 1992).

Seek out support from the government

Perhaps one of the most important issues addressed in the study of the KETG is that the involvement of the administration (e.g., Ministry of Education, school district administration) can be the primary component for the growth of a nationwide teacher development group. In this study, there is some evidence that structured collaboration between the KETG and the educational government forms significant planks of policies to improve long-term professional development needs, and the KETG can be valued as part of the 'mainstream' in-service structure. Specifically, it can facilitate the atmosphere where teachers are more willing to participate in KETG activities. For instance, according to the workshop organizers, more teachers participated in the workshops of year 2000 than the last few years because the Ministry of Education decided to give in-service credits to the participants. The district credit given to teachers can be recognized as acknowledgement by educational administrators for teachers' commitment to professional growth.

This renders a very different perspective on teacher development groups from the findings of previous studies on North American local school-based teacher groups (e.g. Birchak et al., 1998.) that typically indicates that it would be better to steer clear of the administrative involvement for better communication within the group. However, in the context where the hierarchical structure of the educational system inevitably exists, and where a central educational policy is a crucial factor for change, like South Korea, the success of a nationwide teacher development group lies in working in true partnership with administration.⁶ The administration's role is paramount in supporting and enhancing the experience, as well as in continually encouraging the teachers to pursue their further developmental goals.

Conclusion

Education reforms have little chance of success unless they involve teachers in exploring the implications of the change of their own educational setting, and finding out how to make any necessary alterations to the routines of their practice. If we believe that complex educational challenges cannot be solved by “a mere transmission of information, then we must explore new approaches to teacher development and make their difficulties public” (Clair, 1998, p. 489). As we better understand how and under what circumstances such an approach actually improves teacher practice, we will be able to create more effective models for doing so.

The study of the KETG contributes to our conceptualization of teacher development and a teacher development group by providing significant insights on how a nationwide teacher development takes shape, develops, and delineates the issues that crop up in organizing and maintaining them⁷. The findings of this study potentially allow for transfer to a wide range of cultural and social contexts.

KETG members still have a great deal to learn about the conditions in which internal and external interventions can take root and thrive. Nevertheless, the KETG appears to be an example of new paradigm of professional development, depending as it does on teacher behaving as managers of their own learning in the national context. Tensions and limitations may exist, but more importantly, the KETG teachers are developing a language of hope, commitment, and connection. As one teacher summarized, “I definitely see a teacher development group idea fulfilling the vision and the goals of English teaching in Korea. Although we still have a long way to go, I don’t think it will ever stop.”

NOTES

1. Each study group is self-governing, but retains strong ties to the KETG. The KETG-affiliated groups are focused on their own interest, and the groups’ coordinators work in collaboration with the KETG to prepare for workshops and publications.
2. To preserve the teacher participants’ anonymity, their identities were kept confidential by assigning pseudonyms.
3. Data notations are as follows: I, interview; FN, field note; ER, e-mail response. All date examples are translated from Korean.
4. Their web page (in Korean) is under an educational portal web called ‘*Jeulkeowoon Hakkyo* (Joyful School) at <http://www.njoyschool.net>.
5. English teachers in Korea are often regarded as individualistic, detached, and reluctant to get together, as compared to other subject-matter Korean teachers. This perception about English teachers seems to come from within the group as well as the outside forces. Five of my interviewees viewed this characteristic as one possible constraint in creating and maintaining teacher development groups among Korean EFL teachers.
6. However, the depth of the chasm that separates teachers from administrators was often mentioned in the interviews. The teachers still felt that their efforts to have an impact on English language teaching were being stifled by an unsupportive administration. They also mentioned that support from the government should not be only financial support for teachers but psychological support, trust, and appreciation. A receptive climate that supports and appreciates teachers’ effort would not be made without the positive change of administration’s views of teachers and teachers’ professional development.
7. For more findings and discussions, see the extended version of this paper, Cho (2001).

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The Effects of Training with Time-Compressed Speech on Listening Recall

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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the effect of training with time-compressed speech on normal speed speech recall. Two groups of intermediate ESL learners were asked to write down a series of 25 English sentences presented on audiotape. In the control condition, all of the sentences were presented at normal speed. In the experimental condition, sentences 6 - 15 were compressed to 70% of their original length. The two groups' performances on the final 10 sentences, presented at normal speed, were compared. Although this study failed to find a facilitative effect for training with compressed speech, several useful recommendations for further research in this area are discussed.

During the course of our daily activities, we are exposed to a great deal of variety in the speech that we hear in terms of the acoustical characteristics of that speech (realization of particular phonemes, rate of delivery, individual differences due to the speaker's physical characteristics, etc.). Despite this variation, listeners are incredibly efficient in understanding messages spoken in their native language, a phenomenon referred to as the "lack of invariance" problem in speech perception research (Yeni-Komshian, 1998). This phenomenon suggests that the perceptual system is able to handle a wide range of speech characteristics and adapt to changing conditions very quickly.

Just as the perceptual system is able to make virtually instantaneous adjustments over a wide range of situations, it also seems to be able to handle longer-term adjustments. A familiar example of this is the sensation of getting used to the accent of a particular speaker after repeated or prolonged exposure, even though the speech seemed initially incomprehensible. This type of adjustment can even carry over to other speakers with similar accents -- a situation common to people who have spent time abroad and have adjusted to their native language being spoken by native speakers of a different language.

All of this raises an interesting question: Is it possible to exploit this perceptual adaptation process through training to the benefit of ESL students? Students of English often complain that they have trouble comprehending the fast rate of speech of native speakers. Analogous to a baseball player who takes practice swings with a weighted bat in order to improve his or her performance at the plate, is it possible for ESL students to improve their ability to comprehend spoken English by training with speech that is faster than normal? This study attempted to answer that question by exposing learners of English as a second language to speech that had been artificially speeded through a method known as time-compression.

Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to answer the particular research question of whether training with time-compressed speech has a facilitative effect on comprehending subsequent normal speed speech and, perhaps more importantly, (2) to act as a pilot study to determine appropriate compression rates, research methodology, and stimulus characteristics for a more detailed investigation into training with time-compressed speech. The first section of this paper briefly reviews some of the literature on time-compressed speech. The second part presents the details and results of the present study. The final part of the paper discusses some of the implications of this study on future research in this area.

Time-compressed speech

Time-compressed speech is speech that is mechanically altered to a faster rate than it was originally produced without a change in its pitch (Orr, 1974). Although it is possible to simply play back a sound recording at a faster speed, this results in an unpleasant increase in the pitch as well (the "Mickey Mouse" effect). Early attempts at creating time-compressed speech involved manually deleting sections of audiotape through splicing. Later, several electronic methods became available which allowed tapes to be created by alternately retaining and discarding portions of the acoustical signal (Scmitt, Moore, & Lass, 1986, p. 184). Even more recently, the use of computers has allowed researchers to alter digitally recorded sound files. Regardless of the method used, the basic premise behind speech compression is that the built-in redundancy in

the acoustic signal allows for portions of that signal to be degraded or eliminated without affecting the comprehension of the message (Seo, 1974).

Though there has been a great deal of research on time-compressed speech¹, most of it has focused on applications to education (for example Orr, Friedman, & Williams, 1974) or to the visually impaired (for example Foulke, 1974). Because of their nature, studies in these areas tend to be concerned with whether or not listening to time-compressed speech has any *disadvantage* in terms of comprehension compared to the same material presented at normal speed. The idea, of course, is that if the same material can be presented in a shorter period of time with little or no drop in comprehension, the use of time-compressed materials could be more efficient than normal speed materials. As a result, there seems to be very little research into the area of using time-compressed speech to facilitate the comprehension of normal speed speech. One exception to this is a study by Goldhaber (1974) that noted that in addition to subjects training with time-compressed speech becoming more adept at comprehending time-compressed speech, there did seem to be a facilitative effect on normal speed speech as measured by post-test gains after a three day training period. This was done with native speakers testing in their own language, however. There also seems to be evidence that comprehension of time-compressed speech in the subjects' native language is fairly stable until relatively high levels of compression are reached, but that "comprehensive listening" (i.e., recalling the facts in a taped lecture) is more sensitive to level of compression than short-term listening (King & Behnke, 1989).

In the past few years, several papers have appeared that use the comprehension of time-compressed speech as a method to examine human speech perception. The basic methodology in these studies is the same -- participants are exposed to time-compressed speech in a language and are tested on their comprehension of a time-compressed target language (either the same or different from the initial language). These studies have supported the claim that comprehension of time-compressed speech improves with exposure to time-compressed speech (Mehler et al., 1993) and have indicated that improvement tends to peak after exposure to about ten sentences (Dupoux & Green, 1997). The adjustment to time-compressed speech also seems to have several characteristics that indicate that it is a language based phenomenon. A series of experiments (Pallier, Sebastian-Galles, Dupoux, Christophe, & Mehler, 1998) has shown that: bilingual speakers of Catalan and Spanish show improvement in either language when exposed to compressed sentences in the other (Experiment 1); monolingual speakers of Spanish show improvement in comprehending compressed sentences in Spanish after exposure to compressed Catalan, a language which they do not understand (Experiment 2); there is no transfer of adaptation between languages for French-English bilinguals (Experiment 3); and there is some transfer of adaptation from Dutch for monolingual speakers of English but none for French (Experiment 4). This cross-linguistic adaptation has been replicated in a recent study using five languages (Sebastain-Galles, Dupoux, Costa, & Mehler, 2000) which tentatively concludes that "adaptation to compressed speech depends on the linguistic properties of the adapting signal" (p. 840), such as whether a language is stress-timed, mora-timed, or syllable-timed.

As most of this research has looked at how well different listeners are able to adapt to time-compressed speech, is there any evidence that this type of speech should have a facilitative effect on normal speed speech? The answer seems to be yes. Several researchers give anecdotal evidence that participants exposed to normal speed speech after training on time-compressed speech results in the normal speed speech seeming abnormally slow (Dupoux & Green, 1997, p. 917; Mehler et al., 1993, p. 277). It has also been shown that the improvement in perception of compressed speech after training does not noticeably diminish even if the higher rate of compression is interspersed with sentences at lower rates of compression (Dupoux & Green, 1997). This would seem to indicate that "some kind of perceptual learning must be occurring" (Dupoux & Green, 1997, p. 924). All of this bodes well for a potential effect for training.

There are not many studies using time-compressed speech in the second language learning literature. One exception is a 1989 study by Conrad. In this study (Conrad, 1989), time-compressed speech was used as a method of handicapping the listening process of native and nonnative English speakers to observe any differences in speech processing that arose. The study argued that advanced speakers use their knowledge of syntax to predict what types of information in an incoming sentence are relatively unimportant for understanding the gist of the message (i.e., adjectives modifying nouns). Although the paper did not deal directly with the effect of training with time-compressed speech, the methodology provided some hints as to

what kinds of stimulus sentences and tasks might be appropriate for second language learners. The study reported next is loosely based on Conrad's methodology.

METHOD

Participants

The participants in this study ($N = 16$) were from an intact listening class at the Hawai'i English Language Program (HELP) at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Given the exploratory nature of the study and the test preparation focus of the class, this group of students was deemed appropriate. Participants represented the following countries: Japan (10), Korea (3), Taiwan (1), East Timor (1), and Thailand (1). All of the students signed a consent form prior to participating.

Materials

There were 25 stimulus sentences used in this study. All of the sentences were simple active sentences 9 words long with between 10 and 15 total syllables. The average number of syllables for both the treatment and target sentences was 12.3. Eight of the sentences were adapted from Conrad (1989) and 16 were created following the same syntactic structure, namely, $NP_1 + V + NP_2 + NP_3$. The first NP consisted of an article and a noun, NP_2 consisted of an article, modifying adjective and a noun, and NP_3 was a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition, article, and noun. Though vocabulary and frequency were not strictly controlled, almost all of the nouns were chosen from words exhibiting high frequency (Kucera-Francis word frequency of 100), imagery (5 or higher out of 7), concreteness (5 or higher out of 7), and meaningfulness (5 or higher out of 10)². Two sample stimulus sentences, (1) and (2), are shown below.

- (1) The teacher wrote the first word on the board.
- (2) The doctor examined the young woman in the bed.

All of the sentences were read by the researcher, speaking at a normal rate of speed, in a soundproof room directly into a digital audio file at a sampling rate of 22 kHz. Each sentence was recorded as a separate sound file. Next, ten of the sentences were compressed using the PSOLA algorithm in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2000) by "lengthening" the original sentences by a factor of 0.7. This method of compression shortens the original utterance without altering the pitch. The resulting compressed files, now compressed to 70% of their original length, were saved under new filenames.

In order to create the stimulus tape, the sentences (sound files) were arranged in order with a 15 second interval between each sentence using SuperLab Pro experimental software (Cedrus Corporation, 1999). A chime was also added before each sentence to ensure that the participants were prepared to listen to the next stimulus. Once the entire sequence had been assembled in the computer, it was recorded to an analog tape using a Tandberg TCR 522 Classroom cassette recorder. The compressed version of the tape was created in exactly the same way, substituting the compressed sound files for the normal speed sound files. By creating both sequences on computer before outputting to tape, it was possible to keep both tapes equivalent except for the treatment sentences. Thus, the final tapes consisted of exactly the same sentences in exactly the same order, differing only in the amount of compression for the middle ten sentences (Table 1).

Table 1. Control and treatment versions of stimulus tape

Normal Speed (control) version	Compressed (treatment) version
Practice Sentences 1 and 2 (normal speed)	Practice Sentences 1 and 2 (normal speed)
Control Sentences 1 - 5 (normal speed)	Control Sentences 1 - 5 (normal speed)
Stimulus Sentences 6 - 15 (normal speed)	Treatment Sentences 6 - 15 (compressed)
Target Sentences 16 - 25 (normal speed)	Target Sentences 16 - 25 (normal speed)

Procedure

The study was conducted during a regularly scheduled class period using two adjacent rooms, one for each group. Participants were randomly divided into two groups ($n = 8$) by drawing cards. The instructions for both

groups were to listen to 25 sentences in English and write down as much as possible. Participants were also told that spelling was not being checked and any reasonable spelling would be accepted. The treatment group was additionally told that some of the sentences would seem rather fast. The tapes in both rooms were played on Tandberg TCR 522 Classroom tape recorders. Once both groups finished, the participants were brought together for a short debriefing and comment session. The total procedure took about 15 minutes.

RESULTS

Following the procedure in Conrad (1989), comprehension was narrowly defined as the recall of individual words (p. 7). Participants were given one point for each word correctly recalled and the average percentage of words recalled was calculated for each of the 25 sentences. Misspelled words were considered correct as long as there was no ambiguity of intent. Table 2 shows the average recall for the control and experimental groups.

Table 2. Mean percentage of words recalled by each group for all sentences.

Group	Control (Sentence 1~5)	Treatment (Sentences 6~15)	Target (Sentences 16~25)
Control	69	64	65
Experimental	66	43	62

Because the control group seemed to do better on the first five sentences, a *t*-test was run on the mean percentages for each of the groups to check for initial differences between them. With the alpha level set at .05, the differences were non-significant ($t = .505, df = 14, p = .621$). As the control group mean was higher than the experimental group mean for the target sentences, we can conclude that the treatment did not have a facilitative effect on listening recall.

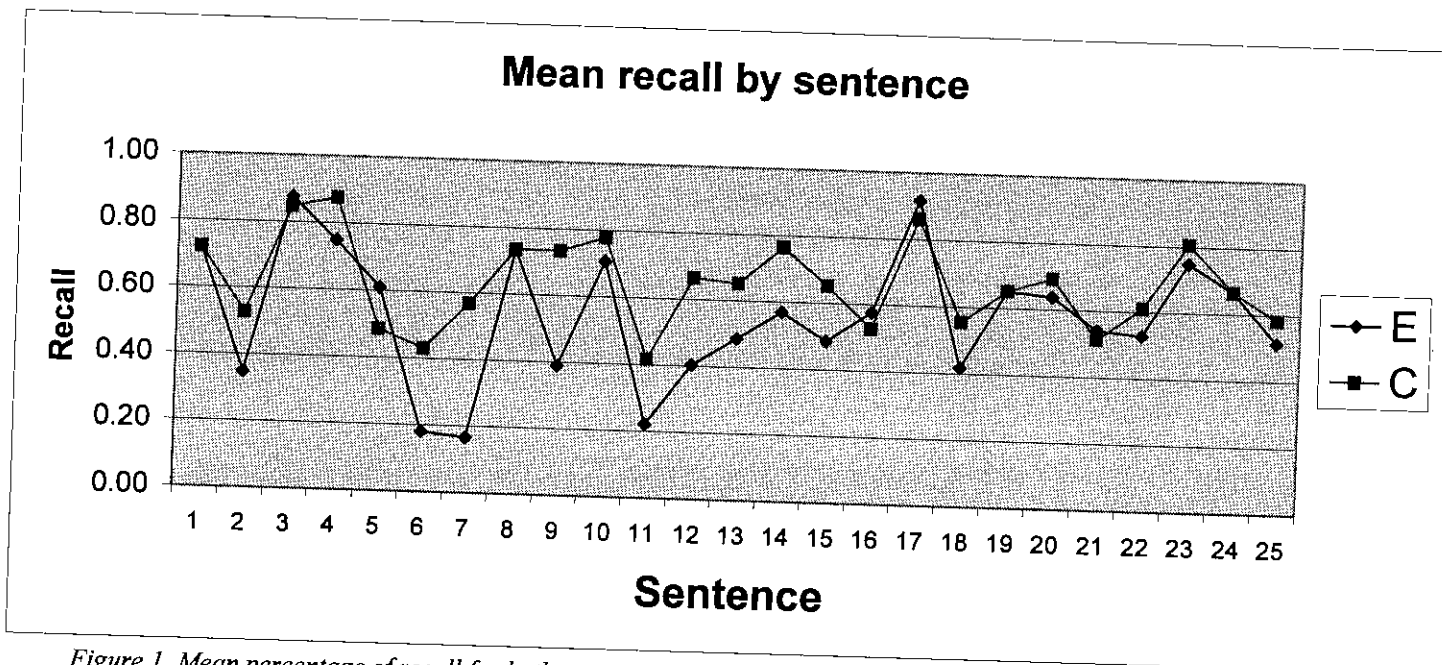


Figure 1. Mean percentage of recall for both groups on all sentences.

Figure 1 shows the mean percentage of recall for each group on each sentence. A clear drop can be seen for the Experimental group (E) between sentence 5 and 6, the point at which the treatment sentences began. This indicates that there was a distinct difference between the normal speed and compressed sentences. By the third sentence in the treatment section, however, both groups show the same mean recall. This indicates that participants in the Experimental group were able to adjust to the time-compressed speech. Overall, the Experimental group's recall pattern mirrors that of the Control group (C), albeit at a lower percentage of recall.

Because the stimulus sentences were all created following the same syntactic pattern, it is also possible to look at recall of individual sentence items. Figure 2 shows the mean recall of specific items for each group on the treatment sentences (6 - 15).

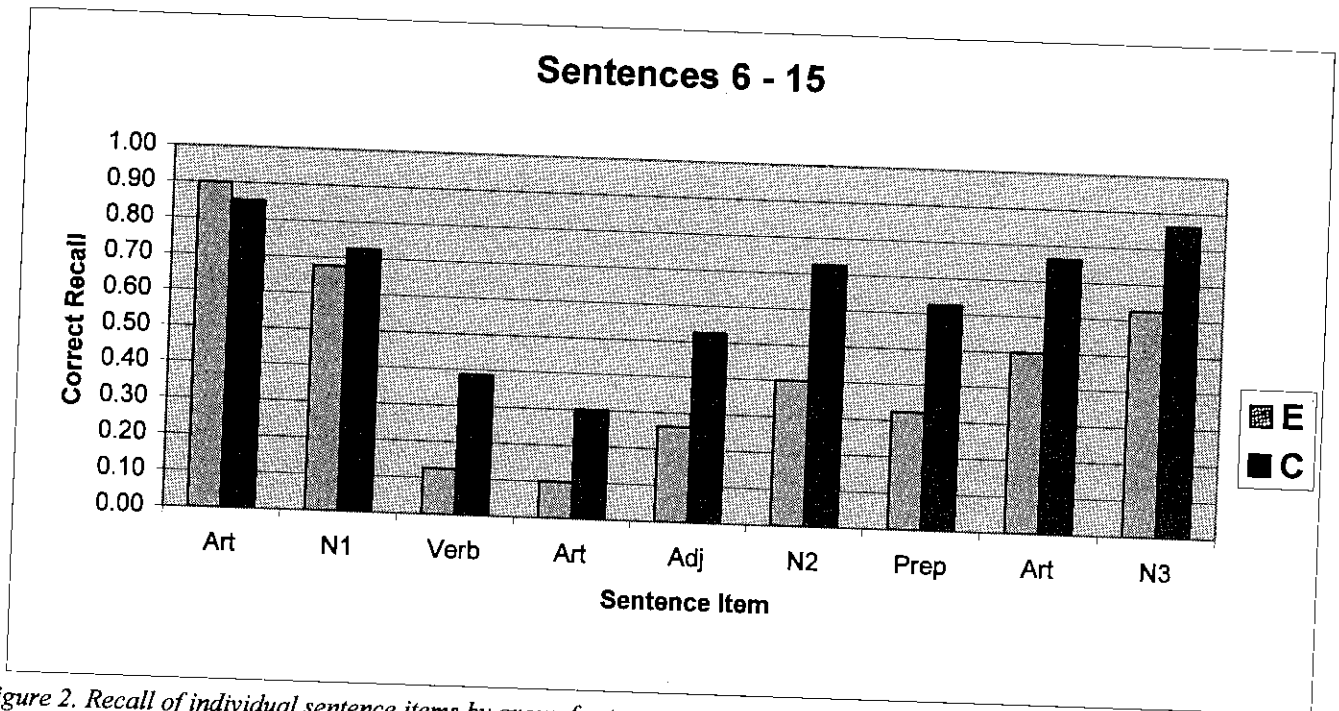


Figure 2. Recall of individual sentence items by group for treatment sentences.

This set of ten sentences shows primacy and recency effects for both groups. These effects seemed to be much more severe for the Experimental group listening to the time-compressed sentences where the initial word was reported much more frequently than the sentence average. Because the stimulus sentences were all of the same syntactic pattern, however, this result might reflect nothing more than a method effect.

Conrad (1989) found that native speakers and high level L2 learners tended to recall the noun more than the modifying adjective in noun phrases when listening to compressed speech, arguing that knowledge of syntax allowed listeners to "selectively omit the items that predictively have a modifying role and concentrate on those elements needed for a basic comprehension of the message" (p. 8). This phenomenon was observed here for the Experimental group on the time-compressed sentences. A Wilcoxon Signs Ranked Test showed that participants reported nouns (N2) significantly more frequently than modifying adjectives (Adj) at $p < .05$. The difference for the control group was not significant. However, because of the limited number of adjectives and nouns reported overall for the Experimental group, caution must be used in interpreting these results.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study set out to see if training with time-compressed speech could help improve ESL learners' performance on the comprehension of normal speed speech. The results of this experiment failed to find a facilitative effect for such training. There are several factors that might have affected this outcome. Although the experimental group did poorer overall on the treatment and target sentences, only the first few compressed sentences showed a great drop in recall. In fact, both groups recalled the third sentence in the compressed condition (Sentence 8) more or less equally. Rather than suggest that this is evidence of a very rapid adjustment to time-compressed speech, it is more likely that there was very little adjustment at all. In other words, the compression rate chosen for this study was not sufficient enough to push the parameters of the perceptual system. The compression rate of 70% was originally chosen because it was thought that a rate that was too high might cause participants in the experimental group to disengage from the listening task. Unfortunately, the 70% compression rate might have resulted in sentences that were not much different from the upper rate of natural

speech (i.e., the speech of people who talk "fast"). If this were the case, this might help explain why there was no facilitative effect for the treatment.

A second reason that the experiment may not have been successful is because of the operationalization of successful comprehension. Because comprehension was narrowly defined as correct recall, there is no way of being sure that the participants did not comprehend the meaning of the sentences. In fact, in response to the stimulus sentence *The writer took his favorite pencil out of his bag*, a participant in the treatment group produced *The ... is pencil as he like*. It is possible to interpret the phrase *as he like* as a synonym for the understood, but not recalled, *favorite*. Of course this is just speculation. A less speculative result of the insistence on accurate recall can be seen in the low percentage of verbs (V) correctly recalled for the compressed sentences in the experimental group. In many cases, the verb was correct, but the tense was incorrect.

Though this study failed to find a facilitative effect for training with time-compressed speech, it does not mean that such an effect does not exist. This study was successful in determining that digital alteration was an acceptable means of achieving time-compression as none of the participants reported any problems with the stimulus sentences other than speed. The information provided by this study has also yielded the following suggestions for improving a future study along the same lines:

1. Use a higher compression rate such as 50 or 60% to ensure that the perceptual system is being pushed.
2. Lengthen the treatment to ensure sufficient exposure to the compressed speech.
3. Measure comprehension by a global measure rather than written recall to avoid confounding the comprehension of speech with the recall of speech. A task requiring the selection of one out of several visual stimuli might be appropriate.
4. Use a larger sample of learners. With a sufficiently large participant pool, it would be possible to perform a second experiment on the effect of training on compressed speech in a different language with training on compressed English.
5. Have a variety of stimulus sentence types (i.e., structural patterns) to avoid any practice effect on the sentence type. Ideally, a visually oriented task would naturally include more varied language.

It is hoped that additional studies in this area following the suggestions outlined above will prove more fruitful in the quest for showing a facilitative effect for time-compressed speech training.

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive overview and review of the literature, see Duker (1974)
2. List generated online at <<http://www.math.yorku.ca/SCS/Online/paivio/>>

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Is Small Talk Really Small? : A Comparison of Target and Naturalistic Discourse

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Introduction

The present paper aims to analyze target discourse, a necessary stage in developing appropriate material for ESL learners when taking a task-based language teaching (TBLT) approach. Several excerpts of small talk at a party are taken from a commercially available video, role-play (semi-authentic) discourse, and naturally occurring discourse for analysis. An open-ended interview with a native speaker (NS) of English was also conducted in order to obtain information from a NS's perspective, in particular, regarding the NS's implicit norms about small talk. We will first discuss perceived learners' needs that motivated the present study, then point some similarities and differences found among three different kinds of data, and suggest some important points for future material development.

Doughty (2000) suggested several stages for developing TBLT as follows:

1. TB needs analysis to identify target tasks
↓
2. Classify into target task types
↓
3. Derive pedagogic tasks
↓
4. Sequence to form a task-based syllabus
↓
5. Implement with appropriate methodology and pedagogy
↓
6. Assess with task-based, criterion referenced, performance task

Our focus is placed on the very first stage, the identification of target tasks. In order to define target tasks, it is necessary to examine learners' needs, analyze target discourse, and to develop materials for actually employing tasks. The authors recognize the importance of the following stages, however, the examination of task/assessment design is beyond the scope of the present study.

The topic of this research was fundamentally motivated by the authors' recognition of our weakness in real English usage. Though both of the authors of the present paper are regarded as *highly proficient ESL learners*, still we are aware of the fact that they are not be able to maintain smooth verbal interaction with NSs during small talk. We are somehow aware this is not because of language problems, but is due to uncertainty of topic selection as well as conversational routine in terms of initiation/closing of interaction and turn taking. Long (in press) suggests various methods for collecting information about linguistic needs, such as interviews with learners/teachers/domain-experts, questionnaires for those parties, and participant/non-participants observations. Although the authors did not formally conduct any interviews or use questionnaires, we informally exchanged our own successful/unsuccessful experiences of small talks at parties, and perceived that our needs are to develop our ability to have small talk run smoothly. In particular, implicit rules about topic choice, turn-taking, and initiation/closing of conversation are the targets of our analysis. Information obtained from unstructured interview with a NS will also provide information, particularly, NS's *presupposed norms*, in terms of those conversational routines.

The Data

As mentioned above, data collection involved three types of small talk at parties. The first transcription (see Appendix A) was taken from a video, *Living and Working in America*, that is commercially available and is targeted at Japanese second language learners who need to live and do business in the U.S.A. In the setting, a

Japanese business man, Yuki, exchanges small talk with an American business man, Roger, at a cocktail party. The second data set (see Appendix B) was obtained from a role-play between two NSs of English (a male student and a female student), who engaged in a small-talk activity. This can be regarded as quasi-authentic discourse, since one participant in this activity did not know the real purpose of the recording, nor was the topic controlled at all. The other participant cooperated with this research, and she set the occasion for the activity. All the verbal exchanges were recorded on a cassette tape. The third transcription (see Appendix C) was taken from a naturalistic environment, at a real party, in which two NSs of English (a male graduate student and a male educational specialist) who first met at that party talked to each other. One of the participants who had cooperated in this data collection, carried an invisible microphone connected to a mini-disk and recorded all of the interaction, therefore, the other participant was not aware that his interlocutor was recording their interaction. All the recorded data were transcribed for analysis. The authors tried to add one more different example of small talk, one between a NS and a NNS, however, data collection resulted in failure because of a technical problem. We instead conducted an unstructured interview with the NS who voluntarily participated in the recording session at a real party, while her memory of the observed interaction was still fresh in her mind.

Characteristics of each transcript: similarities and differences

In analyzing the video transcript only, our first impression was that there was something unnatural in this small talk. However, comparing three transcripts led us to find some similarities among each. One similarity was that one of the interlocutors tended to provide a topic to talk about. In the small talk on the video, the NS often introduced questions (e.g. "How long ya been here?", "Do you like it here?", "Where ya living?"), and the NNS responded to them. In the role-play data, Mary provided some questions to Jason in the beginning of the conversation, and after that she presented her ideas on the topic that she contributed to make it easy for him to join the conversation. A similar beginning was found in the authentic small talk: Matt initiated some questions, and Dave answered them. However, since Dave questioned Matt back, Dave became a "facilitator" and asked some questions for Matt to discuss.

Although one of the interlocutors seemed to become a facilitator in each case of small talk, there was a distinct difference between the video transcript, and the role-play and authentic discourse transcript. In small talk on the video, they took more definite turns speaking; the amount of utterances by each person was almost equal. However, in semi-authentic and authentic discourse one person dominated the conversation with regard to the amount of the utterances. It reveals that "well-done" small talk does not necessarily require equal participation. As is found in other discourse, one person tends to speak more.

Another significant finding was a similarity of how to open and close a conversation. In all three small talks, the interlocutor opened the interaction by asking "what kind of person the other is": where he/she comes from, what he/she does, and how long he/she has been in a place. It is natural to ask those questions since they are "safe" questions, which do not offend anybody, and the questions are for getting to know each other.

Regarding how to close the conversation, all interlocutors in each small talk interaction offered a reason to excuse themselves from the conversation. In the interactions on the video and role-play, one of the participants told the other that he/she was going to get a drink ("Well, excuse me, I think I'll get a drink." and "OK, well, do you want anything to drink? I think I will get another drink.") The person in an authentic small talk offered a cigarette to the other ("Cigarette?") and left the conversation (he went out on the balcony to smoke since this conversation was held inside of an apartment).

Although there were similarities in making an excuse to allow themselves leave the conversation, there were several points that were different from the video small talk, and the role-play and authentic small talk. First, the NS in the video small talk did not offer a drink to the other although the people in other two small talk sessions did. According to some English native speakers, leaving the conversation by getting a drink only for one's self rarely happens in natural talk, and it is pragmatically inappropriate. The video small talk was made for Japanese second language learners who need to do business in the United States, but it may cause a diplomatic problem, which may become a grave mistake. Thus, pragmatic issues should be considered in implementing material.

The other difference in closing a conversation was that there was no cue for closing a conversation in the

video small talk. In other two talks one of the interlocutors paused, which came to imply that conversation was reaching an end. After several second of silence, one of the participants made an excuse to free him/herself from the conversation. However, it was a little bit abrupt that Yuki, in the video, told Roger that he would go and get another drink for himself. It is important to end the conversation with agreement of both participants, therefore, the pause illustrated in the role-play and authentic small talk played an important role for cueing the end of the interaction.

The other similarity among the three instances of small talk was that reduced speech was employed in a conversation. Although there were differences in the variety of reduced speech, it was common among all of them. However, fillers and overlapping were absent in the video small talk. As in a natural interaction, fillers and overlaps occur often and play an important role in keeping the floor. The lack of fillers and overlaps may be related to the fact that the video small talk was scripted interaction, and there was, therefore, no need to consider taking and keeping the floor. This lack of overlaps is also related to a relatively definite turn-taking. Brown (1993) points out that the appropriate amount and place of filler works as one important aspect of fluency in second language learning. This aspect should be taken more seriously, and not including fillers in the material would be a serious problem, even though it is difficult to make materials which include overlapping talk.

Several other differences between the video small talk, and the role-play and authentic discourse were also found. One of the distinct differences was backchannelling. Backchannelling let the other interlocutor speak more. Therefore, backchannelling serves to induce more information being provided, which is one of the ways to make a conversation smooth. Lack of backchannelling in the video small talk caused our initial impression that the video small talk was somewhat unnatural. Although our goal is not making material which is more realistic, but that familiarizes ESL students with small talk, it is important to make material including backchannelling; this is because becoming familiar with some functions which help facilitate smooth interactions is crucial for the advanced ESL students. In fact, Riggerbach (1991) reports that lower proficient learners tend to make more frequent backchannelling to an inappropriate extent and in inappropriate places.

The other difference that we found was that each of the participants in the video did not expand a topic which was presented by the other. In the other two small talk samples, one topic was introduced by one of the interlocutors, and after a while, another topic related to the previous one was brought out. In the video small talk, there were many topics that were talked about, however, they were less coherent than the other two samples. In the role-play and the authentic small talk, topics that were talked about sometimes went beyond self-introduction, and some other topics were developed from the previous one. As illustrated, the topics addressed in small talk are more flexible and diverse than what we, non-native speakers, thought, as long as they are related to what was previously talked about.

There were many things in common between the role-play and authentic small talk as well as some things among all three samples. But only one difference was found between the quasi-authentic small talk did not end politely by saying "nice meeting you." Whether small talk is concluded with "nice to meet you" may be determined according to formality of a party. The small talk of the video was held at a cocktail party, and the party was regarded as a relatively formal one. However, the participants who engaged in a small talk in the authentic discourse at a casual party did not close the conversation in a polite way and just left for the outside in order to smoke.

In the role-play data, "nice to see you" was employed to close the small talk. It is uncertain how formal the occasion was defined as in the instruction of this activity, however, the situation of the role-play seemed to be more casual than small talk in the video and to occur in a similar situation to the one of the authentic discourse. Therefore, it can be assumed that "nice to meet you" is not an obligatory phrase to end small talk, but rather optional.

The Interview Data

As stated, due to a technical problem, the data of a small talk between native and non-native speakers could not be obtained; therefore, the interview with a native English speaker, who volunteered to participate in recording small talk at a real party, was used. The party that the interviewee attended was, according to her, a

casual one, and there were several people who were highly proficient non-native speakers of English. Those nonnative speakers were Korean, who were M.A. and Ph.D students at the University of Hawaii. The interviewee and non-native speakers had never had talk socially before.

What the interviewee mentioned first was the difficulty in having small talk with non-native speakers. She always had to initiate questions to break the silence: non-native speakers did not ask any questions except frequently asked questions at the opening of small talk, such as "where are you from?" and "what do you do?" Therefore, she needed to introduce some questions to make the conversation continue. However, even though she initiated questions and tried to have the non-native speakers talk, the interaction did not go successfully. According to her, small talk with non-native speakers was like a "question-answer session" since they did not contribute anything to the interaction except answering questions. They never expanded or elaborated on a topic that the interviewee presented, and the conversation did not develop further. Therefore, she had to introduce another topic by asking another question. Her observations and the obtained data on small talk reveal the importance of expansion and elaboration of a topic presented by a participant of small talk. One of the ways to expand the ongoing interaction may be realized by the use of backchannelling, which was frequently employed in semi-authentic and authentic discourse data.

Only once did it seem for the interviewee that she had small talk with one of the non-native speakers successfully: it was when she asked a question about his/her opinion about a good Korean restaurant in Hawaii. Expansion and elaboration of a topic usually requires knowledge of something that is talked about. If a conversation is held between people who are from the same or similar background, it is much easier for each of them to relate him/herself to a topic and expand it since they are likely to share common ground. However, if participants of the interaction have different background, they may see difficulty in having small talk: lack of similar experience in their life makes them have a hard time relating their knowledge to a topic at hand. Therefore, when a non-native English speaker was asked about a Korean restaurant, the interaction went well because of the ease with which he/she could relate to the topic. This episode reveals that cultural background/knowledge has an impact on the success of small talk.

At the same time, her remarks of "question-answering session" reminds us of another difficulty NNSs might have; an issue of pragmatic competence, particularly, pragmatic fluency. House (1996) sheds light on one pragmatic fluency, which she defines as "a dialogue phenomenon that combines both pragmatic appropriateness of utterances and smooth continuity in ongoing talk (p.228)". In her study, 32 advanced German learners of English were divided into explicit and implicit instruction groups where both instruction types were implemented in a 14-week communicative language course. The explicit group received metapragmatic information about the use and functions of target discourse routines, while the implicit groups had more extensive conversational practice and target-like appropriate input instead. Students' performance on initial and final interviews, specifically, learner-learner and learner-NS interaction in class, as well as role-play were recorded and transcribed for analysis. The author employed a qualitative analysis, and the results indicated that both groups improved over the 14-week instruction period, although the explicit group demonstrated higher achievement on their performance in initiation interaction. They utilized additional discourse strategies, which were highly interpersonal. Both groups remained disfluent in terms of uptake and responses to an ongoing interaction. The author explains that it is cognitively highly demanding for the learners to manipulate discourse knowledge in an ongoing interaction even after they acquired highly analyzed knowledge. Referring to Bialystok's (1993) two-dimensional model of fluency, the author points out that the students' "control of processing" still remains underdeveloped even after the instruction. NNSs who engaged in a small talk at that party might have some difficulty in responding appropriately in a smoothly running interaction, since it requires double processing. One is concerned with comprehending what has been said, and the other is with what the speaker is going to say for the ongoing communication.

Conclusion

The present paper focuses on the first very important stage, target discourse analysis, for developing appropriate TBLT. Our insufficient pragmatic fluency as well as cultural knowledge seem to be the reason why it is difficult for us to maintain small talk very smoothly, and that perceived difficulty motivated the study. In order to detect characteristic feature of small talk, we examined three different kinds of small talk data. It was found that there were several similarities among those three different samples, such as topic choice and

leave taking. On the other hand, authentic discourse had the following features that are distinctively different from video data: it contained many back channels, overlaps, fillers, pauses, and reduced pronunciations. Those phonological as well as communicative features of naturally occurring data need to be included in future materials because the ability to use those linguistic features appropriately is a very important component of fluency (Brown, 1999; Riggernbach, 1991). Data revealed that even highly proficient learners had difficulty keeping the interaction **flowing**, and the interview with a NS also supported the findings. The interviewee stated that she had never imagined that small talk was such a difficult interaction if we want to maintain the flow. The most impressive episode from her interview was her remark that verbal interaction between a NS and NNSs tended to be like a question-answer exchange that seems to be far from natural interaction between NSs. We speculate this is partially because NNS's lack of pragmatic fluency and partially because of their lack of cultural knowledge. In terms of pragmatic fluency, responding to the previous utterance relevantly as well as appropriately requires dual processing: one is concerned with the comprehension aspect and the other with the production aspect. This seems to be a difficult area for language teaching as suggested by House (1996). Even highly proficient learners who rarely have linguistic problem at the morpho-syntactic level might still have insufficient pragmatic fluency. As for cultural knowledge problem, several language classrooms can help learners develop their communicative strategy through delivering what the acceptable topics for small talk are.

When developing ideal material for teaching small talk, more data from different perspective should be collected. Examination of small talk between NSs who are familiar with each other, and who are not familiar with each other should be included. In addition, small talk between a NS and NNS with different proficiency levels will reveal an interesting as well as informative aspect of small talk for future material development. And if the purpose of language learning is not restricted for communicating with NSs, interaction between NNSs would provide rich information, too.

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Appendix A: Transcription of video small talk

Transcription rules

|: overlapping

italic: back-channels, fillers

?: rising intonation

() : length of pause

bold: reduced pronunciation

= immediately following utterances

1. Yuki: So what do you do Roger?
2. Roger: I work for Srafford Containers
3. Y: I see
4. R: *Uh* how long ya been here?
5. Y: About two months.
6. R: Do you like it here?
7. Y: I like it very much
8. R: Well good where ya living?

9. Y: I have an apartment in Vancouver.
 10. R: Any family?
 11. Y: Yes, I'm married I have a wife and two children but they're not here they're
 12. in |Japan
 13. R: |China
 14. Y: No Japan
 15. R: That's right Japan *uhm* you must miss them
 16. Y: Yes how about you? Do you have a family?
 17. R: *Well* I'm divorced but I have two kids they live with their mother
 18. Y: How old are they?
 19. R: Twelve and nine and yours?
 20. Y: My daughter is five and my son is three
 21. R: *Oh*

(time passes)

22. Y: So are you from Portland?
 23. R: Yeas lived here all my life
 24. Y: It's a nice city
 25. R: Oh you like it huh?
 26. Y: Yes um I like the people
 27. R: Yeah they're nice
 28. Y: *Uh huh* nice people say do you like sports?
 29. R: Yeah I ski a lot how about you?
 30. Y: Yeah I like to ski too
 31. R: No kidding they have snow in Japan?
 32. Y: Oh yeah there are lot of ski areas there
 33. R: Well I'll be dammed
 34. Y: Where do you usually go around here?
 35. R: Oh I usually go up to Mount Hood

(time passes)

36. R: Anyway the snow was beautiful and we had a great time
 37. Y: Sounds wonderful well excuse me I think I'll get a drink
 38. R: Sure
 39. Y: It was nice meeting you
 40. R: Same here Yuki and hope to see you again

Appendix B: Transcription of role-play data (all the names are pseudonym)

1. Mary: oh hi you're Jason right?
 2. Jason: right you're *oh* nice to meet you Mary
 3. M: Mary yeah you too
 4. M: *so* I've seen you around how long have you been here in Honolulu?
 5. J: *ah well* I only have been here for about an month or so
 6. M: *oh OK* what do you think do you like working in here?
 7. J: *ah* it's really neat how diverse the people are and there's a lot of opportunities for
 8. international business interaction my |interest
 9. M: *yeah* that's true *yeah* |*yeah*
 10. M: that's true that's good for like you know bring together the Pacific Japanese and
 11. Mainland and |people from all over Asia
 12. J: |*yeah* exactly
 13. M: *so um yeah* good since you've been here for it's been pretty nice *huh?*
 14. J: *oh yeah* the weather has been beautiful eighty degrees everyday sunny
 15. M: *yeah*
 16. M: you're so |lucky *um yeah like um* last time I was you know here it was rainy

17. J: | (sign) yeah
 18. everyday | *you know* I could never ever you know take a moment to I go to a beach
 19. J: | *oh*
 20. M: *so um* are you just so busy working you don't have any free time or are you doing yeah
 21. anything?
 22. J: oh I try to make time on the weekends to relax sometimes go to the beach or um go hiking
 23. or go to the movies
 24. M: that's good there's so many things to do in Honolulu just *um* like festivals and
 25. J: yeah
 26. M: things like this weekend there's a rock festival actually
 27. J: oh yeah?
 28. M: yeah (2 sec) *OK well* do you want anything to drink? I think I will get another drink
 29. J: oh I'm fine thanks
 30. M: *OK well* nice to see you
 31. J: you too

Appendix C: Transcript of authentic small talk (all the names are pseudonym)

1. Matt: Born and raised here?
2. Dave: No I *urm* from Michigan
3. M: *Oh yeah*
4. D: Just I've been here for a year
5. M: *Wow* what brought you out here?
6. D: Well, I was originally uh stationed here when I was in the Marines
7. M: *Uh huh*
8. D: And then I just loved it (1.0) so (2.0) ready for grad school I decided to I had to go
 9. back
10. M: All right grad school what what are you studying?
11. D: Same thing as Mary I'm in the same program
12. M: *Oh oh okay*
13. D: A year behind her
14. M: All right
15. D: How did you did you meet Mary?
16. M: Through Mike
17. D: Through Mike
18. M: Mike *yeah*, I met Mile through Hal
19. D: [laugh]
20. M: Mary through Mike and then that was that [laugh]
21. D: Have you been working in the same place?
22. M: No actually when I first moved here I was running sports bars I was general
 23. manager of a couple of sports bars Shappers in Waikiki and Snappers in Kona but
 24. snappers is no longer here it's now a British pub uh but owned by the same same
 25. people I ju I used to be a social worker in LA and I *jus'* wanted to get away from it
 26. so I took like a year out of social work and ended up running the sports bars and loved
 27. it
28. D: *Uh huh*
29. M: Had a blast and then because of the economy here it's up and down and go back to
 30. something stable I didn't **wanna** go back to social work so I went into recreation
 31. which is what I do now with kids so I run basically academic sports behavior
 32. modification programs for kids eight to fifteen years old
33. D: *Uh*
34. M: Palama settlement it's good
35. D: Yeah
36. M: Stressful as hell but not because of the kids it's the administration [laughe] *you*
 37. | *know*

38. D: | *Yeah*
39. M: It always is you know (1.0) so that's what I do now yeah love it absolutely love it
40. D: So do you have to have a counseling background or anything?
41. M: Yeah well basically my grou my background is child chils psychology and *uh*
42. recreation child development as well and so *uh* like I was a social worker in LA
43. because I did some social work before I got into it I did social work while I was here
44. at first *jus'* oh God I never *wanna* do social work again never ever again because and
45. interesting thing is I could proba could make more as social worker than what I do
46. now
47. D: *Yeah*
48. M: But it's like five and take (1.0) stress=
49. D: = right
50. M: Would kill me
51. D: | *Right*
52. M: | *its'* like no more
53. D: *Yeah*
54. M: so it's that's why I decided to get out of it just stick with what I can XXX
55. (inaudible)
56. D: Sound like sounds great I'd I'd like it
57. M: | *Right*
58. D: | I'm totally into sports
59. M: *Oh yeah well* basically what I do is *uh* I develop *uh* recreation programs and that
60. help kids can deal with certain issues in their life I do everything from teen to high
61. event from *jus'* like basic football basketball volleyball to sailing diving *uh* rock-
62. climbing all of that
63. D: *Uh* =
64. M: = And also there is a therapeutic side to it the paper work is a bitch
65. D: *Yeah* =
66. M: = Because *you know* you've always got quarter lies on the kids and do reports on
67. then and all of that garbage
68. D: *Uh*
69. M: | But
70. D: | What what kind of kids get into the program?
71. M: *Uh* mostly kids are house and project low income to high risk so kinds from like
72. D: This is like an alternative school is this
73. M: No it's not what it's not an alternative school we have an alternative school there
74. but what it is I keep them from there I *get'em* before they get to the point where they
75. need to be in alternative school that's where I come in so I come in so I *get'em* eight
76. years old eight to fifteen my ideal is I try to *get'em* at eight years old and bring them
77. up XXX (inaudible) it's a long term program so the kids in the program they come in
78. at eight and they usually leave around fifteen by the time they're fifteen they're into
79. other schools and they feel okay they deal with issues *uh* deal with the *you know* the
80. issues of the pressures growing up and a high risk area and also my job is to keep them
81. from having to go to an alternative school basically
82. D: My roommate had a summer job working for something like XXX (inaudible)
83. Kaneohe I forgot the name of it *uh* (4.0) it's like last stop before the kids are going to
84. like jail or
85. M: *Yeah* wasn't Waimiki was it?
86. D: *Yeah* that was the name of the ship
87. M: *Oh* gaw the waimiki
88. D: *Yeah* he used to | go out and
89. M: | *Oh yeah* that hoo hoo I have to refer to Waimiki I try to
90. keep them from that [laugh]
91. D: *Yeah* he has
92. M: That's a hell of a program I was offered a job there but it was *jus'* like no way I
93. love sailing and I sail a lot I race out of um Haleakala I sail the South Pacific but I do

94. not want to work at Waimiki that will take all the fun out of things that's dealing with
95. kids and their issues | madness
96. D: | *Yeah* he used to come back and just he was all stressed out
97. M: *Oh yeah* there is no way it's an excellent excellent program and I refer some kids
98. to it but I could not do it I could not do it I love sailing too much it would kill me *you*
99. *know* [laugh]
100. D: *Uh*
101. M: so but *uh yeah* (2.0)
102. D: *Well* (3.0)
103. M: Cigarette?
104. D: No that's okay thanks

Hiroshima dialect that remains in Hawaii: *Hawai ni nokoru Hiroshima-ben*¹

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1. Introduction

Between 1885 and 1924, over 100,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii, mainly to work in the booming sugar industry. The largest number of the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii during this period came from the Hiroshima prefecture. In 1924, the established last year of this immigration from Japan, Hiroshima immigrants in Hawaii numbered 30,534, comprising 24.3% of the total Japanese population in Hawaii (Kimura 1991; Odo and Shinoto 1985). As a result, the Hiroshima dialect took a major role in developing a common language among the Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Hawaii before World War II. This common language, based on the Hiroshima dialect, is often regarded as Hawaiian Japanese (DeFrancis and Lincoln 1973; Higa 1985).

2. Background of the study

In this paper, we seek to demonstrate the retention of vocabulary that was introduced by the Hiroshima immigrants in Hawaiian Japanese, using Labov's apparent-time approach (1972). In this approach, "the speech of older informants is compared with that of younger informants, and... differences between the speech of older and younger subjects are interpreted as representing linguistic changes" (Trudgill 1988, p. 33).

As speakers of the Hiroshima dialect, we recognize the resemblance in the vocabulary of the local, senior Japanese and our own dialect spoken in Hiroshima. In her previous study, Sanders (2000) tried to capture these similarities in certain phonological processes that are typical of Hiroshima dialect (HD) by comparing the data collected in Hawaii and Hiroshima. However, the result of this particular study showed a loss of such phonological processes among the descendants of the immigrants. Thus, in this study, we particularly focused on the attrition of the Hiroshima dialect among the speakers in Hawaii at word level.

3. Methodology and data

Our study started with recognizing the resemblances between Hawaiian Japanese spoken by the descendants of the immigrants in Hawaii and the present day Hiroshima dialect. Then, we found out that there are some HD expressions used in Hawaii Creole English (HCE).

First, we made a list of words used in Hawaii that seem to have originated from HD, and then conducted a survey among local Japanese people in different age groups (20's, 30's, 40's, 50's, 60's, 70's and 80's) to examine the differences in their word usage and recognition. These groups are composed of people in 2nd, 3rd, and 4th generations (*nisei*, *sansei*, and *yonsei*, respectively). After collecting data, we processed them statistically to evaluate the differences.

The data were collected from Hawaii-born Japanese whose ancestors arrived in Hawaii before 1924. To avoid additional variables, all the informants were limited to a group of people who were born and raised in Hawaii and are at least 25% Japanese. The data collection took place in Honolulu in April 2001 with 38 participants.

We hypothesized that rates of HD retention are higher among the senior generations than younger generations, from our impression on the general use of HD terms in Hawaii.

4. Results

Quantitative findings:

Clearly, the results of the study show generation differences in the knowledge of the HD words. The older the age group is, the more HD words the speakers recognize. This was also true for the generational

differences among the speakers; the *nisei* speakers knew more HD words than *sansei*, and *yonsei*. In this paper, we will focus on a shift in retention sorted by generation, rather than age groups to avoid confusion between the two groups.

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the lexical retention scores for the three groups. In order to examine the quantitative difference in the lexical retention among the three generations, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed. The main effect for the generation was statistically significant ($F(2, 35) = 21.328, p < .001$). A Bonferroni multiple-range test was also computed in order to identify significant differences among the three groups, and the results indicated that the *nisei* group obtained a significantly higher lexical retention than the other two groups. Although the *sansei* group outscored the *yonsei* group, the difference was not statistically significant. In other words, a significant decline of retention of HD term recognition can be observed between the *nisei* and *sansei* groups.

Table 1. *Descriptive statistics*

Generation	Mean	SD	n
<i>nisei</i>	14.49	2.32	13
<i>sansei</i>	8.50	4.12	18
<i>yonsei</i>	5.86	1.46	7

The quantitative findings suggest that there is a linguistic change between the *nisei/sansei* and the *sansei/yonsei* when succeeding the HD terms. During the transitions of languages (Hawaiian Japanese and/or HCE) between the different generations, the HD terms survived more when passed down from Hawaiian Japanese to HCE than from HCE to HCE. Naturally, speakers of Hawaiian Japanese would recognize more HD than speakers of HCE, thus more HD terms survived between the *nisei/sansei* transition than the *sansei/yonsei* transition.

Qualitative findings:

Besides the quantitative results, some interesting lexical changes were identified in some of the HD words through the analyses of informants' production data. Some nouns ([N]) and verbs ([V]) in the HD word list behave as adjectives ([A]) in HCE, in addition, there is a case of [N] behaving like [V] in certain context. Here are the examples:

From [N] to [A]:

Bobura / Bobora

(HD) a pumpkin [N]

(1) *Ban no okazu ni bobora o taita.* (I cooked a pumpkin for dinner.)

(HCE) a pumpkin or a Japanese person from Japan (derogatory term) [N], or acting like a Japanese person from Japan [A]

(2) My grandmother cooked *bobora* for dinner. [N]

(2)' His girlfriend is a *bobora*. [N]

(2)" Keiko is so *bobora*. [A]

Hoitoo

(HD) a beggar [N]

(3) *Hoitoo-san ga kichatta.*" (Mr. Beggar came.)

(HCE) greedy [A]

(4) Don't be so *hoitoo*!

Monku-tare

(HD) a complainer [N]

(5) *Yuuji wa honma ni monku tare ja.* (Yuuji is a real complainer.)

(HCE) a grumbler [N] or whiny [A]

(6) Mr. Matsumoto is such a *monku-tare*. [N]

(6)' Mr. Matsumoto is so *monku-tare*. [A]

From [V] to [A]:

Habuteru / Habut

(HD) to make a long face, pout [N] (There is only 'habuteru' in HD: no 'habut'.)

(7) *Sonmani habuten demo iijan.* (You do not need to be so upset.)

(HCE) be upset, pout [A]

(8) Why are you so *habuteru / habut*?

Notice that the changes from [N] to [A] and from [V] to [A] are very limited; [N] and [V] behave like [A] only in predicate positions. Therefore, some may argue that these are not real lexical changes but a variation in a use of a verb, such as a stative verb².

From [N] to [V]:

A noun '*monku*' means 'a complaint' in Japanese, and it is often used as '*monku-tare*' or 'a complainer / grumbler' in HD. In HCE, the word '*monku*' is often repeated twice or three times in a context and they look like a verb in such expressions.

Monku-tare / Monku / Monku-Monku(-Monku)

(HD) a complainer [N] / a complaint [N] / N/A

(9) *Yuuji wa honma ni monku tare ja.* (Yuuji is a real complainer.) [N]

(9)' *Yuuji wa honma ni monku ga oii.* (Yuuji has many complaints.) [N]

(HCE) a grumbler [N] or whiny [A] / a grumbler (shortened form) [N] / to complain [V]

(6) Mr. Matsumoto is such a *monku-tare*. [N]

(6)' Mr. Matsumoto is so *monku-tare*. [A]

(6)'' Mr. Matsumoto is so *monku*. [A]

(10) All Mr. Matsumoto does is *monku-monku-monku*. [V]

The repetition of the word *monku* may result in a similar pattern of word use in English as seen in expressions such as 'nag-nag-nag,' 'blah-blah-blah,' 'yada-yada-yada,' and so on.

As Machida (2001: 140-146) claims that meanings are the most easily adapted and changed when two languages come in contact, these types of lexical changes are not rare. For example, when English words are borrowed in Japanese, we often say things like *famirii-na kuruma* 'a family-type car' ([N] to [A]), *sugoi shokku* 'very disappointed' ([V] to [A]), *koohii-suru* 'drink coffee' ([N] to [V]).

5. Discussion

In the time of Japanese plantation workers, 1885 to 1924, immigrants of Hiroshima origin dominated the Japanese population in Hawaii, and thus seem to have influenced the common Japanese language used in Hawaii (Hawaiian Japanese) until a ban of the Japanese language went into effect in 1941. Japanese in Hawaii fought in the war, and these *nisei* shifted their language from Japanese to English to show their loyalty towards the United States as American citizens.

After the war, however, according to our *nisei* informants, Japanese residents in Hawaii tried not to speak Japanese, especially in public, to avoid discrimination against them by other ethnic groups. They were psychologically constrained from using Japanese language at that time. Consequently, many of the adult *nisei* complained that there was a "lack of opportunities for advancement" in plantation work (Nomura 1987: 104), after the war, and increased their education and English skills in order to get better jobs (Sanders 2000: 65). Hence there was another reason for the *nisei* generation speakers to shift their language from Japanese (Hawaiian Japanese) to English.

A main variety of English spoken by people in Hawaii is so called Hawaiian Pidgin or Hawaii Creole English (HCE). Within the shift of the languages, some Japanese words, including some from the HD examined in this study, were transferred from Hawaiian Japanese to HCE. From the linguistic transition between the *nisei* to *sansei* speakers, some of the HD terms survived. This accounts for the differences of the retention rates in the HD words between the generations, although over all results show the use of HD words among the Hawaii speakers are generally declining. Thus, we predict from the data that the use of the HD words will keep declining as the generation progresses in Hawaii, even in the form of HCE. At the same time, there may be some words that may survive longer than the others with or without the lexical changes (such as *mempachi* [N], *habuteru* [V] → [A], or *monku-monku-monku* [N] → [V]).

The post-war economic recovery of Japan started to bring dramatically increased investment and tourism into Hawaii from the 1970's (Okamura 1992). With this booming of business, the Japanese language became important again in Hawaii. However, this time, it was the standard dialect which received increased recognition. Most of the international enterprises from Japan were centered in Tokyo, and have mainly use Standard Japanese for business since the war. Consequently, the Japanese language used in post-war Hawaii has been Standard Japanese, not a country tongue such as Hawaiian Japanese which was based on Hiroshima dialect.

6. Conclusion

The statistical results showed a bigger drop of the HD word recognition between the *nisei/sansei* transition than the *sansei/yonsei* groups. These differences between the shifts of the HD retention seem to be caused by sociopsychological factors and by changes of social dynamics that took place before and after World War II.

The speakers of Hawaiian Japanese, who are now in advanced age, have shifted their main language from Hawaiian Japanese to HCE with World War II. In other words, the direct descendants of Hawaiian Japanese speakers (heavily influenced by HD) no longer use the HD terms in its original language after the war, but in a language of their choice, HCE.

Some lexical items used in Hawaiian Japanese were adapted into HCE in the time of the transition, but the uses of such vocabulary are decreasing in today's Hawaii with a decrease of the original Hawaiian Japanese speakers.

In conclusion, we predict that the Hiroshima dialect used in Hawaii as a remnant of the plantation period will soon disappear, as the number of Hawaiian Japanese speakers declines.

APPENDIX

Word List:

References used in the word list for this study:

For Hawaiian references, the example, English translation, Standard Japanese, source, and page number are given. (Availability of the Standard Japanese glosses and page number depend on the original source.)

For Hiroshima references, the example, Standard Japanese, English translation, source, and page number are given. (For words with †, the English translation was given by Mie, not by the original source.)

Food Group:

Mempachi

(Hawaii) *mempachi* = squirrelfish, red reef fish with big round eyes (A:15)

(mem PAH chee) = *bambucha* eyes, like da fish get (C)

“The same round face and round *mempachi* eyes.” (E: 127)

(Hiroshima) *mempachi* = from *mebachi* (?) a kind of ocean fish that belong to mackerel family† (Q: 1941)

“*Mempachi wa tabenikui ne.*” (*Menpachi* is difficult to eat.) (T)

Bobora/Bobura

- (Hawaii) *boobura* = pumpkin, fool (A: 4)
 Japan-*bobura* = Japan-born, Japan-man, *Nihon no hito* (B: 5)
 (BO boob dah) = Japanese person born and raised in Japan who has the nerve to come to Hawaii (C)
 “Japanese *bobura* = Japanese from Japan” (G: 31)
- (Hiroshima) *boobura* = *kabocha* / pumpkin⁺ (H: 147)
 “*Ookii boobora ja noo.*” (It’s a big pumpkin⁺.) (S)

Hasu

- (Hawaii) *hasu-tabu* = lotus pond / *hasu-ike* (A: 9)
- (Hiroshima) *hasu* = *renkon* / lotus root⁺ (H: 204)
 “*Hasu no tempura ga tabetai noo.*” (I want to eat tempura lotus roots.) (T)

Makina

- (Hawaii) *maki-na* = won bok, leaf cabbage / *hakusai* (A: 15)
- (Hiroshima) *makina* = *hakusai* / Chinese cabbage, won bok⁺ (S)
 “*Ojii-chan wa hatake de makina o tsukuru.*” (Grandpa makes won bok in his garden⁺.) (S)

Tamana

- (Hawaii) *tamana* = cabbage, head cabbage (A: 23)
- (Hiroshima) *tamana* = *kyabetsu* / cabbage⁺ (S)
 “*tamana no tsukemono*” (pickled cabbage⁺.) (S)

Description Group:**Komai**

- (Hawaii) *komai* = small / *chiisai* “*komai toki kara* (from youth time⁺)” (A: 14)
komai koro = in one’s childhood, *komai imoto* = a younger sister (I: 58)
- (Hiroshima) *kejoo ga chiisai* = small in size⁺, *nenrei ga hikui* = young in age⁺ (H: 184)
 “*Kono kutsaa komai noo.*” (These shoes are too small.) (T)

Chitto / Chitto

- (Hawaii) *chitto* = little / *sukoshi* (A: 5)
chiito chigau = a little different (I: 58)
- (Hiroshima) *mochiito* = *wazuka*, *sukoshi* / slightly, a little⁺ (H:185)
 “*Chiito choodai.*” (Can I have a little bit?) (T)

Inage-na

- (Hawaii) “*inagen a kotoba o tsukau...* (that person uses strange words...⁺)” (I: 56)
- (Hiroshima) *inage-na* = *hen-na* / strange, odd (T)
 “*Inagen a atama ja ne.*” (That is a strange hair-do.) (T)

Waya

- (Hawaii) *waya* = very messy / *gucha gucha* (R)
 “My house is *waya* today.” (My house is very messy today⁺.) (R)
- (Hiroshima) *waya* = *chirakatteiru*, *totonotte-inai* / very messy, out of order (T)
 “*Uchi wa kyoo wa waya jaken.*” (My house is very messy today.) (T)

Physical Group:**Erai**

- (Hawaii) *erai* = tired / *tsukareta* (A: 7)
- (Hiroshima) *erai* = *hidoku tsurai* / exhausting⁺ (J: 81)
erai = *kurushii* / tiring⁺ (K: 55)
 “*Kyoo no shigoto wa erai noo.*” (Today’s work is exhausting.) (T)

Nigaru

- (Hawaii) *nigaru* = ache / *itamu* "hara ga nigaru" (A: 7)
 (Hiroshima) *nigaru* = *itami* / pain in stomach or teeth (T)
 "Hara ga nigaru." (My stomach is aching.) (L: 31)

Action Group:**Bocha / Bocha-bocha**

- (Hawaii) *bocha suru* = take a bath / *ofuro ni hairu* (A: 4)
 (Hiroshima) *bocha bocha* = *furo* / bath⁺ (children's language) (M: 45)
 "Haa bocha shinchai yo." (Go take a bath already.) (T)

Habuteru / Habut

- (Hawaii) *habuteru* = be upset, pout = *fukureru*, *kigen o waruku suru* (A: 8)
 (ha BOOTS) to be real upset. To have a tantrum. Also *habuteru* (C)
 "habut is short for *habuteru*, which means pout the way girls and children do." (F: 8)
 (Hiroshima) *habuteru* = *fukurettura o suru*, *mukureru* / to make a long face⁺ (L: 39)
 "Sonnani habuten demo iijan." (You do not need to be so upset.) (T)

People Group:**Obaban / Baban**

- (Hawaii) *obaban* = (grandmother) (F)
 (Hiroshima) *baban* = *obaasan* / grandmother or old lady⁺ (K: 58)
baban = *sobo* / grandmother⁺ (M: 142)
obaaban = *sobo* / grandmother⁺ (N: 201)
 "Obaaban no uchi e ikoo." (Let's go to Grandma's house⁺.) (S)

Hoitoo / Hoitooboo

- (Hawaii) *hoitoo* = beggar, mean person / *kojiki*, *tyashinbo* (A: 10)
 "hoitoo means beggar in Japanese and" (F: 2)
 (Hiroshima) *hoitoo* = *kojiki* / beggar⁺ (H: 160)
 "Hoitoo-san ga kichatta." (Mr. Beggar came.) (T)

Monku-tare

- (Hawaii) *monku-tare* = grumbler / *fuhee-ka* (A: 16)
 (Hiroshima) *monku-tare* = complainer / *fuhei fuman no ooi hito* (T)
 "Yuuji wa honma ni monku tare ja." (Yuuji is a real complainer.) (T)

Other:**Deko / Deko-san**

- (Hawaii) "...ano deko-no kawaii no ga attekara..." (I: 56)
 (Hiroshima) *deko* = *ningyoo* / doll⁺ (P: 39)
 "Deko-san de asoboo." (Let's play with dolls.) (T)

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- (R) From data collected for this study by local Japanese informants in Hawaii (April, 2001).
- (S) From data collected in Hiroshima by 85-years-old woman (April, 2001).
- (T) Examples given by Mie (a native Hiroshima dialect speaker).

NOTES

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2. Professor Stanley Starosta (the Department of Linguistics) suggested this to Mie in May 2001.

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Intonation Characteristics of a Cross-Gender Particle in Japanese: in case of *wa*

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1. Objective of the Study

Introduction

In several areas of linguistics (sociolinguistics (Kitagawa 1977), pragmatics (Peter and Boggs 1986), and language socialization (Ochs 1996, Ohta 1994, 1999) in various languages), studies mention the significance of intonation in the utterance. In the Japanese language, intonation can bear several features at the end of phrases and sentences, e.g., the difference between male and female speech, or certainty and uncertainty (Nagahara 2001). Especially, in the case of sentence/utterance-final particles, these features of intonation are easy to discern. However, in comparison with the rising intonation in the interrogative and falling intonation in the affirmative frequently mentioned in many JFL textbooks, other characteristics of intonation are paid less attention and there are relatively few studies on intonation contour in Japanese. In addition, the few studies that have been done lack quantitative data. Therefore, this study will quantitatively explore the characteristics of intonation in terms of the difference between male and female speech with regard to the sentence-final particle *wa*.

Previous Studies

Although *wa* is supposed to be a female-specific particle (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, McClain 1991, etc.), it is used by males as well (cross-gender) under certain conditions. They are grammatically quite identical and the only factor which differentiates male and female speech lies in intonation. The function of *wa* and its intonation characteristics are set forth in *Nihongo Kyooiku Jiten* (1983) as follows:

Wa (*waa*): sentence-final particle

1. female-specific. It expresses light exclamation, impression, and assertion, giving a soft image of females.
ex. *suteki da wa* (it is lovely), *samishii wa* (I feel lonely), *ikitai wa* (I want to go)
2. it expresses strong surprise and impression.
ex. *kuru wa, kuru wa* ((it) is coming incessantly)
3. it softens the assertiveness of utterances.
ex. *ore ga mite yaru wa* (I will give you a check)

In Tokyo-go (so-called 'standard Japanese'), intonation differentiates 1. from the other two; 1. has rising intonation whereas 2. and 3. have falling intonation (Nihongo Kyooiku Jiten 1983: 413, my translation).

From the sociolinguistic perspective, Kitagawa (1977) describes the 'masculine *wa*' used by males as having a falling intonation whereas the 'feminine *wa*' used by females bears rising intonation. She further indicates that the 'feminine *wa* gives options to the addressee, by softening the assertiveness of the utterance, just like English tag questions' (Kitagawa 1977). In sum, the falling intonation in the masculine *wa* indicates the assertiveness of the speaker; whereas the rising intonation often seen in the feminine *wa* signifies the uncertainty of the speaker, as seen in interrogatives, and it softens the assertiveness of the proposition.

Research Questions

As mentioned above, there are few quantitative studies in Japanese, which examine intonation characteristics by means of a mathematical measurement. Given that, the research questions in this study are:

- What are the differences between male and female speech as described by quantitative measurements of the intonation in the sentence-final particle *wa*?

- Are there other kinds of characteristics concerning the difference between male and female intonation of *wa*?

2. Methodology

The procedure and subjects

There were eleven subjects (5 males and 6 females) in their 20s and 30s in this study. Since there were two female native speakers of the Kansai dialect, data both in standard Japanese and in the Kansai dialect versions were obtained from them for the comparison between the two. The reasons for using scripts are as follows:

1. scripts reduce the variables (e.g., phonological environments) produced by the different contexts in free conversations.
2. *wa* does not appear so frequently in free conversations unless the subjects are native speakers of the Kansai dialect.
3. a quiet environment is required for the recording in order to obtain clear contours of intonation.

In addition to the data collection using the script, I tried to obtain the data from naturalistic utterances as well, such as from TV talk shows, movies, and family videos, but it was unsuccessful due to noise (e.g., laughter of the audience, aspiration of the speaker), background music, and weakness of the voices. Around 20 scenes were recorded and processed with Pitch Works (a computer program designed to measure pitch, intensity, etc.), but only a few examples could reveal clear contours of the intonation.

The intonation of utterances was measured with Pitch Works after tape-recording the scripts (see data below) which were read in standard Japanese by the subjects.

3. Results

The intonation contours and duration of *wa* obtained from each subject and the mean of duration are shown below. ‘↑’ and ‘↓’ signify rising and falling intonation respectively.

Standard Japanese

1. *ara, moo denchi ga nai wa* (Oh, the battery is gone.)

	sub.	contour	duration		sub.	contour	duration
males	#1	↓	120	females	#3	↓	118
	#2	↓	120		#7	↓	170
	#4	↓	135		#8	↑	190
	#5	↓	177		#9	↑	190
	#6	↓	138		#11	↑	220
						#13	↑
		5↓	138 (mean)			4↑(195) and 2↓(144)	

2. *moo dekeru no? ore/watashi mo iku wa* (Are you going now? I will go, too.)

males	#1	↓	128	females	#3	↓	125
	#2	↓	190		#7	↓	130
	#4	↓	180		#8	↑	345
	#5	↓	190		#9	↓	145
	#6	↓	125		#11	↓	175
						#13	↑
		5↓	162.6			2↑(227.5) and 4↓(143.8)	

3. *yappri ore/watashi,kanjoj/kare nokoto suki da wa* (On second though, I love her/him)

males	#1	↓	75	females	#3	↓	60
	#2	↓	110		#7	↓	155
	#4	↓	105		#8	↑	250
	#5	↓	150		#9	↑	200
	#6	↓	180		#11	↓	205
					#13	↑	155
			5↓	124	3↑(201.7) and 3↓(140)		

4. *sakki nikai itta no. ittemite bikkuri shita wa* (I went upstairs just while ago. I was surprised when I went.)

males	#1	↓	35	females	#3	↓	100
	#2	↓	95		#7	↓	120
	#4	↓	100		#8	↑	280
	#5	↓	175		#9	↑	260
	#6	↓	175		#11	↓	250
					#13	↑	170
			5↓	116	3↑(236.7) and 3↓(156.7)		

5. *kocchi no hoo ga yasui wa* (This one is cheaper.)

males	#1	↓	55	females	#3	↓	115
	#2	↓	60		#7	↓	150
	#4	↓	110		#8	↑	260
	#5	↓	135		#9	↑	150
	#6 ¹				#11	↑	180
					#13	↑	125
			5↓	90	4↑(178.8) and 2↓(132.5)		

total number of occurrences:

<u>males</u>	↑	0/24 (0%)	<u>females</u>	↑	16/30 (53.3%)
	↓	24/24 (100%)		↓	14/30 (46.7%)

total mean of duration (ms²):

<u>males</u>	↑	0.0	<u>females</u>	↑	207.9
	↓	126.1		↓	143.4

Comparison with the Kansai Dialect

* # 9 and #10 (or # 11 and #12) are the same subject.

1. *ara, moo denchi ga nai wa* (Oh, the battery is gone.)

S.JPN	sub. contour	duration	Kansai	sub. contour	duration	
	#9	↑	190	#10	↓	150
	#11	↑	220	#12	↓	240
			2↑	205 (mean)	2↓	195

2. *moo dekakeru no? ore/watashi mo iku wa* (Are you going now? I will go, too.)

S.JPN	#9	↑	145	Kansai	#10	↓	180
	#11	↑	175		#12	↓	135
	2↑		160		2↓		157.5

3. *yappri ore/watashi, kanjo/kare nokoto suki da wa* (After the second though, I love her/him)

S.JPN	#9	↑	200	Kansai	#10	↓	150
	#11	↓	205		#12	↓	150
	1↑ (200) and 1↓ (205)				2↓		150

4. *sakki nikai itta no. ittemite bikkuri shita wa* (I went upstairs just while ago. I was so surprised there.)

S.JPN	#9	↑	260	Kansai	#10	↓	235
	#11	↓	250		#12	↓	185
	1↑ (260) and 1↓ (250)				2↓		210

5. *kocchi no hoo ga yasui wa* (This one is cheaper.)

S.JPN	#9	↑	150	Kansai	#10	↓	120
	#11	↑	180		#12	↓	145
	2↑		165		2↓		132.5

total occurrences:

<u>standard JPNS</u>	↑	8/10 (80%)	<u>Kansai dialect</u>	↑	0/10 (0%)
	↓	2/10 (20%)		↓	10/10 (100%)

total mean of duration:

<u>standard JPNS</u>	↑	191.3	<u>Kansai dialect</u>	↑	0.0
	↓	227.5		↓	169.0

4. Analysis and Discussion

Standard Japanese

In terms of the contours, there is no rising intonation observed in the male data. The only exception was obtained from a scene of a family video. However, in this scene, the subject was teasing his child in a feminine manner of speaking and hence can be regarded as an exception. Consequently, all *wa* obtained from the male data has falling intonation. On the other hand, both rising (53.3%) and falling (46.7%) intonations were observed in the female data spoken in standard Japanese.

In most cases, the rate of occurrence of falling intonation is 2 to 3 cases out of 6 (33.3% or 50%); however, in script 2., *wa* bears falling intonation in 4 out of 6 cases (66.7%). This result might be ascribed to the difference of the content of the proposition. Script 2 tends to reflect the speaker's volition. In contrast, the other 4 scripts tend to bear exclamatory rather than speakers' volition. However, there is no measurement to support this speculation. It is, therefore, a subject for further research to examine the relationship between intonation and feeling/emotion that the subject expresses in the utterance. Typical examples of male and female *wa* are shown in fig.1 ('sc5-1') and fig.2 ('sc13-1') in the appendix.

As for the duration, the results reveal that the male *wa* is shorter than the female *wa*. The mean of duration of the male data is 126.1 ms whereas that of the female data is 207.9 ms in rising, and 143.4 ms in falling intonation. This might be ascribed not only to male and female differences, but also to the nature of rising and falling intonation itself. The upper part of the pitch is more vulnerable to change than the lower part;

consequently, rising intonation tends to become longer than falling intonation (Nagahara 2001). However, even in the comparison of falling intonation alone, the male *wa* is shorter than the female *wa* (males 126.1 ms and females 143.4 ms). For this reason, it seems reasonable to conclude that *wa* used by males is shorter than that used by females.

Comparison with the Kansai dialect

Kitagawa (1997) mentions the phenomenon that *wa* is used by males with falling intonation in the Kansai dialect. However, *wa* is observed very frequently in the Kansai area among females as well. Since the difference in intonation between the Kansai dialect and standard Japanese is more salient in the female *wa* than in the male *wa*, the data in the Kansai dialect was also obtained from two female native speakers.

The data reveal that there is no rising intonation in the female Kansai dialect, and the mean of duration is also shorter than in standard Japanese, just like male *wa* in standard Japanese. The mean of duration in the Kansai dialect is 169 ms whereas that in standard Japanese is 191.3 ms in rising and 227.5 ms in falling intonation. The contrast between standard Japanese and the Kansai dialect is shown in 'sc 9-6' and 'sc 10-6' in the appendix.

Due to the small number of native speakers and the lack of the data from male native speakers, it might be an overgeneralization, but it appears that *wa* in the Kansai dialect is genderless. The female data shows only falling intonation and shorter duration than that of standard Japanese, just as in the male data in standard Japanese. However, more subjects are necessary for the conclusive data and discussion.

5. Conclusion and Implication for Further Research

This study reaches the following conclusion, which is consistent with what the previous studies indicate:

- *wa* used by males almost always bears falling intonation.
- *wa* used by females bears both rising (53.3%) and falling (46.7%) intonation.
- the mean duration of male *wa* (126.1) is shorter than that of female *wa* (207.9 in rising ms and 143.4 in falling intonation).
- female *wa* which expresses the speaker's volition seems to bear falling intonation more frequently than *wa* expressing an exclamatory function. However, more precise manner of investigation is necessary to make this finding convincing.
- In the Kansai dialect, *wa* seems to bear falling intonation alone regardless of the gender difference.

Methodological Implications

There are some methodological concerns that should be improved in future research. First, this study employs fixed scripts for the reasons mentioned earlier. Although I asked the subjects to read them as if they were reading for an audition, some of them just read them in a flat and monotonous manner. More detailed directions and description should have been given to the subjects before reading. In addition, as mentioned above, the script also has some ambiguity: the intonation may vary even in the same script, depending on contextual differences, such as whether the subject is addressing someone or is speaking in soliloquy and with what kind of emotion/affect the subject of. For example, the intonation in script 1. *ara, moo denchi ga nai wa* (Oh, the battery is gone.) and 5. *kocchi no hoo ga yasui wa* (This one is cheaper) might be different, depending on whether the mood of the utterance is exclamatory or assertive; in other words, assumption about the absence or presence of the addressee might influence the intonation. As mentioned earlier, since it is difficult to obtain clear contours of intonation from naturalistic data, the research tends to rely on data collection using a script. The instructions and script play an important role in controlling the data; hence, their production needs serious consideration. Second, parallel to this issue, the Pitch Works software is so sensitive to sound that it requires recording in a quiet environment. In studies which deal with naturalistic data, this technical problem should be addressed for further research.

Further Research Subjects

As subjects for further research, it may be meaningful to investigate intonation characteristics in other particles. For example, *no* has several different functions (e.g., volition, order, question), hence, investigation of the correlation between the different functions and intonation contours may reveal other characteristics of intonation. This is relevant to the correlation between intonation and functions of *wa* that this study cannot examine.

Since this study involves a small number of subjects and examples, further quantitative research should be conducted with more data in order to obtain more precise and detailed features of the intonation patterns of *wa*. Furthermore, a sociolinguistic perspective is also useful as qualitative support for the research. Most female subjects in this study mentioned that they seldom use *wa*, especially *wa* with rising intonation, in their ordinary conversation although they can produce it. To be sure, Endo and Ozaki (1998) report that *wa* is becoming obsolete among young females. This is, however, beyond the scope of this study and needs to be addressed in sociolinguistic research. However, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are necessary for better understanding of the role that intonation plays in micro and macro level phenomena in the language.

NOTES

1. This could not be processed with Pitch Works due to failure of the recording.
2. 'ms' signifies 'millisecond.'

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APPENDIX

fig.1 male *wa*

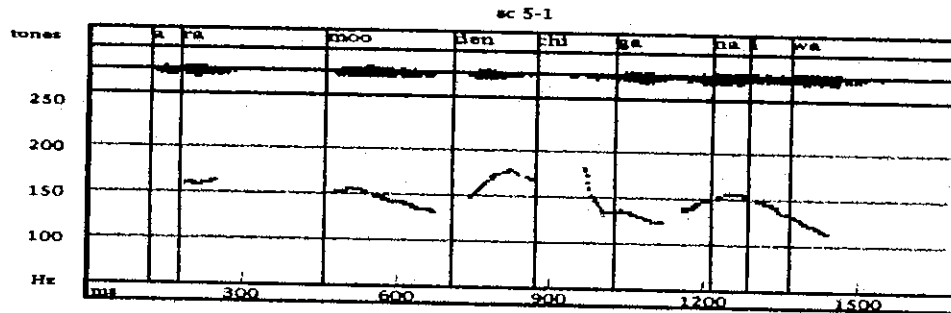


fig.2 female *wa*

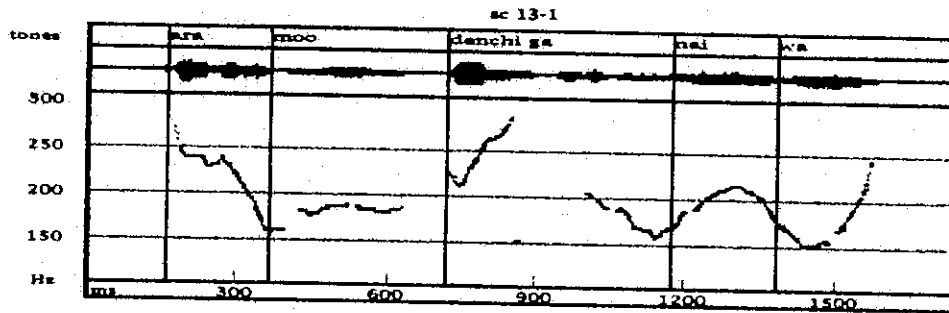


fig.3 STD JPN *wa* (female)

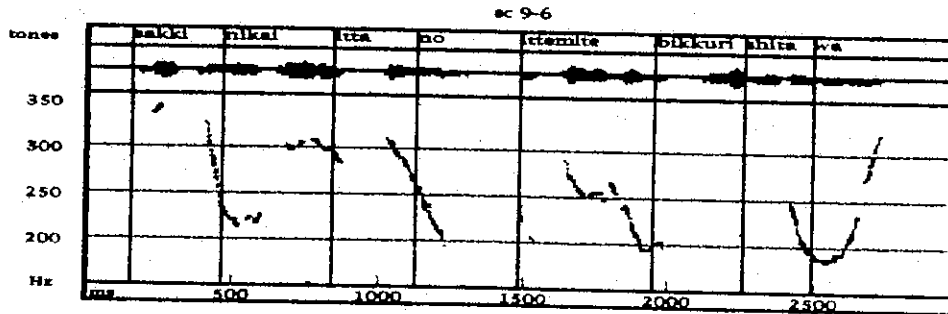
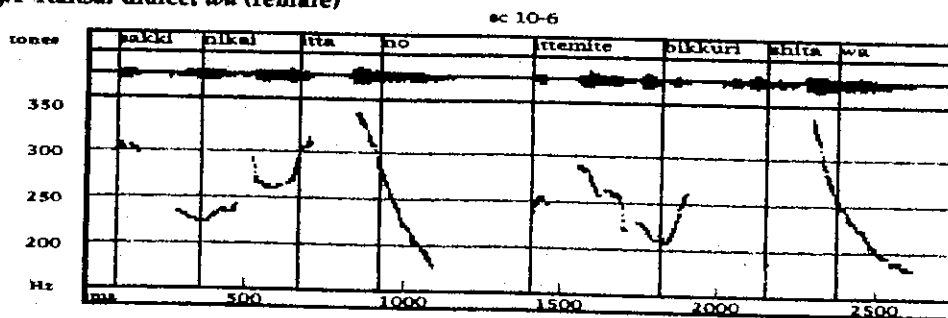


fig.4 Kansai dialect *wa* (female)



The Influence of Chinese on Chinese L2 Writers of English

Tyler Hawkins, Department of Second Language Studies

Introduction

As a teacher of English as second language (ESL), I want to be more knowledgeable about the cultural and linguistic factors that affect my students. The influence of Chinese on the writing of Chinese ESL students is an area that has received attention in the second language acquisition (SLA) literature. It is widely accepted that many ESL writers have difficulty with English academic writing (Mohan and Lo, 1985). Kaplan and others have suggested that this is often due to the influence (negative transfer) of their respective native languages and cultures in their writing. For example, ESL writers' essays frequently differ from native English speakers' (NES) essays at "the rhetorical [discourse] level; i.e., at the level of organization of the whole text" (Kaplan, 1987, pp. 9-10). These differences may occur with respect to cohesion (see Norment, 1994), coherence, organizational structure and topic development (see McKay, 1989). Various explanations for these differences have been put forth, such as: the influence of classical Chinese writing styles, the methods of writing instruction in China, the proficiency level of students and differences in Asian culture and thought patterns. These factors are not universally agreed upon and there is some debate among researchers on what factors contribute to discourse-level differences of Chinese ESL writers.

This paper will attempt to outline some of the influences that affect Chinese writers of academic English. Following this, suggestions will be made for teachers of Chinese ESL writing students. These suggestions are intended to help ESL teachers construct curricula in a manner that will enable Chinese writers to write more effectively in English.

Background

As noted above, ESL writers commonly use language patterns and stylistic conventions that are transferred from their first language (L1) (Connor, 1996). This phenomenon was first described in Robert Kaplan's (1966) seminal "doodles" article, *Cultural thought patterns in inter-cultural education*. This work pioneered the field of contrastive rhetoric (CR), which is a subfield of SLA research "that identifies problems in composition encountered by second language writers and, by referring to rhetorical strategies of the first language, attempts to explain them" (Connor, 1996, p. 5). CR research is particularly relevant to the ESL classroom, as it attempts to explain problems faced by second language (L2) writers.

Because they may contain L1 rhetorical features, the essays of L2 writers may appear strange to American readers (Connor, 1996). The prevailing view at the time of Kaplan (1966) was that L2 writers required "explicit instruction and modeling in the rhetorical patterns of [academic] English" (Ferris and Hedgcock, 1998, p. 12). An example of this is in the U.S. is the traditional five-paragraph expository essay. The first paragraph is the introduction and contains the thesis or topic. The subsequent three paragraphs are used to develop the topic and each contains a main point. The conclusion is used to summarize one's argument and restate the topic (Connor, 1996). The L1s of many ESL students have somewhat different rhetorical formats.

Traditional Chinese Text Structures

Kaplan (1966) suggested that essays written in Oriental languages, (this includes Chinese, Korean and Thai) are not direct and do not make a point until the end (as cited in Connor, 1996). He suggests that ESL students should learn to write in the Anglo-American style, which is characterized by a "straight line of development" (Connor, 1996, p. 15) (see Table 1).

Table 1

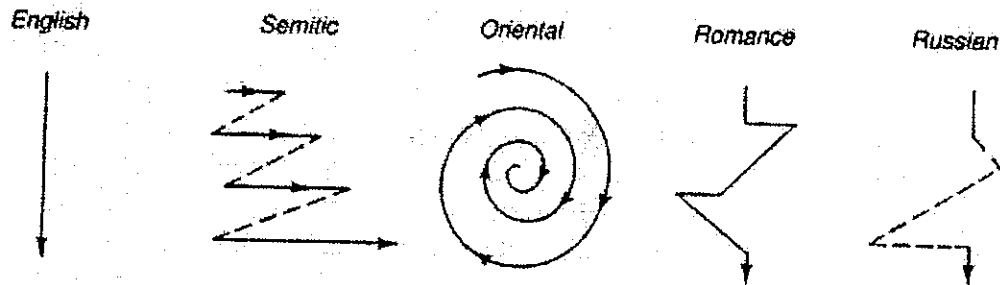


Figure 1 Diagram on cross-cultural differences in paragraph organization in Kaplan's (1966) study on cultural thought patterns in intercultural education.

(Connor, 1996, p. 16)

Kaplan (1972, as cited in Connor, 1996) attributes this indirectness to the influence of the *ba gu wen* (eight-legged essay) style, which was a "regulated... style of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties" used in Chinese civil service exams that was used in China until the beginning of the twentieth century (Kirkpatrick, 1997, p. 232). This prescriptive approach to writing was very complex and had eight parts that were used to develop a topic. The eight parts of the essay were *poti* (opening-up), *chengti* (amplification), *qijiang* (preliminary exposition), *qigu* (first argument), *xiaogu* (second argument), *zhonggu* (third argument), *hougu* (final argument) and *dajie* (conclusion) (Kirkpatrick, 1997; Connor, 1996, p. 37). According to Cai (1993), *chengti* was the most important part. It usually consisted of two to three sentences and was where the writer introduced the topic and expressed the thesis of the essay (as cited in Connor, 1996).

Kirkpatrick (1997) refutes Kaplan's (1966) claim that the *ba gu wen* expository writing style is an influence on the essays of Chinese ESL writers on the basis that it is very difficult to master and the fact that it was never widely accepted in China outside the ruling classes. According to Mohan and Lo (1985), it was not "a typical example of exposition" (p. 519). Following the Chinese Literary Revolution in 1919 there was a movement in China for "a new vernacular literature", which led to the adoption of Western models (Kirkpatrick, 1997, p. 237). The *wen yan* style (of which *ba gu wen* is one form) was replaced with *bai hua*, which is based on spoken Chinese. These factors make it unlikely that *ba gu wen* is an influence in Chinese writers' essays, either Chinese or English.

Kaplan (1966) has also been criticized as being too general for classifying all Asian writers as "Oriental", too prescriptive because it supposes a "rigid and ethnocentric view of correct English rhetorical patterns" and too simplistic because it attempts to "induce L1 rhetorical patterns from L2 compositions" (Ferris and Hedgcock, 1998, p. 12). Even Kaplan (1966) conceded that there is variation in rhetorical structures "within a given culture" (Taylor and Chen, 1991, p. 321).

Another Chinese essay style is the conventional four-part Chinese essay *qi cheng zhuan he*, which consists of *qi* (introduction), *cheng* (follow up), *zhuan* (transition) and *he* (conclusion) (Zhang, 1998). This style is said to predate the *ba gu wen* style and was formalized in the Sung Dynasty (960-1278) (Di, as cited in Kirkpatrick, 1997). Cai (1993) maintains that *qi cheng zhuan he* is still a widely used composition style in Chinese writing (as cited in Connor, 1996). This style resembles the five-paragraph English essay style mentioned above. However, Tsao (1982) states that *zhuan* is the most important element of this formula and that this may account for why some English speakers perceive Chinese to be unnecessarily indirect (as cited in Kowal, 1998).

Kirkpatrick (1997) found that writing textbooks for Chinese university students have been influenced by Western rhetoric and do not promote traditional Chinese text styles. He surmises that the writing of present day Chinese students is likely to have been influenced by Western ideas of what constitutes good writing. He adds the caveat that he has focused on education in Mainland China and his findings cannot necessarily be extrapolated to other Chinese societies.

Chinese composition books do not mention *ba gu wen*, possibly out of a desire to avoid the association with the imperial textual style. Even *qi cheng zhuan he* is not mentioned. However, there is a modern four-part equivalent to this model, which is referred to as *kaiduan fazhan gaochao jieju*. The four parts are *kaiduan* (beginning), *fazhan* (development), *gaochao* (climax) and *jieju* (conclusion) (Wu, 1988, as cited in Kirkpatrick, 1997). Wu believes that these terms are merely a repackaging of the traditional *qi cheng zhuan he* style.

Chinese Indirectness

Hinds (1990, as cited in Connor, 1996) describes Chinese as having a “delayed purpose of introduction” which can make the writing appear to be incoherent to a NES reader (p. 20). Scollon (1991) claims that “the concept of self makes it difficult for Chinese writers to be direct, to express a point of view in a thesis statement at the beginning of a piece of writing” (as cited in Connor, 1996, p. 38). Matalene (1985) echoes this view and found that essays by Chinese ESL students in China often had delayed arguments (as cited in Connor, 1996). Furthermore, she found that to a Western reader it may seem that “Chinese rhetoric lacks argumentative coherence because of its reliance on appeals to history, tradition, and authority and its frequent references to historical and religious texts as well as proverbs” (p. 39). She noted that these elements can be very distracting to Western readers.

On the other hand, Mohan and Lo state that current composition instruction in China emphasizes “direct, concise development” and texts on composition stress that expository essays should have the same features as in English: a thesis, paragraphs with main points and, overall essays should have coherence and cohesion (1985, p. 520). They further state that reliance on classic forms such as *ba gu wen* is not responsible for indirectness in Chinese ESL essays. They dispute Kaplan’s notion of “negative transfer of organizational patterns from Chinese to English” (p. 521). They claim that indirectness in Chinese students’ essays is due to “students’ lack of familiarity with conventions of expository writing in their native language or with the assigned topic” (McKay, 1989, p. 254). They also found that both classical and modern Chinese can display the linearity that Kaplan purports to be missing from Oriental writing. Their findings indicate that there are few differences in the discourse structures of Chinese and English. They claim that L1 transfer is more likely to help a student than interfere with their L2 writing. They also found that “there appear to be striking similarities [between Chinese and English rhetorical structures], which suggest that the organization of academic writing is more universal than was previously thought” (1985, p. 529).

The Influence of Chinese Culture

The field of contrastive rhetoric is informed by the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity, which hypothesizes that “different languages affect perception and thought in different ways” (Connor, 1996, p. 10). With respect to the influence of Chinese cultural values and beliefs on the ESL writing process, Shen (1989), a Chinese student in the U.S., explains:

In writing classes in the United States I found that I had to reprogram my mind, to redefine some of the basic concepts and values that I had about myself, about society, and about the universe, values that had been imprinted and reinforces in my mind by my cultural background, and that had been part of me all my life. (as cited in McKay, 1993, p. 460)

Shen further states that the learning process he faced in becoming writer of academic English would have been easier had he been able to earlier compare the two separate writing identities required to write in Chinese and English.

Li (1992) is a compilation of case studies of American and Chinese teachers of writing (as cited in Connor, 1996). Li found several notable differences in the rhetorical attitudes of Chinese and American teachers. For example, he found that American teachers valued description versus opinion and preferred that students write in a clear, direct manner. On the other hand, Chinese writing teachers favored moral messages in students’ writing and the expression of emotion.

Similarly, Connor (1996) presents the example of a Chinese ESL writer, who notes that:
 There are many good sources I could get from the Chinese culture when I write: such as literary quotations, famous old stories, and ancient words of wisdom. These rich sources definitely influence my paper quality in Chinese. Unfortunately examples like this are very hard to translate into English. (Connor, 1996, p.1)

Cohesion

Norment (1994) analyzed native Chinese students' Chinese and ESL essays for frequency and types of cohesive devices. He found that students with a high proficiency level wrote longer essays and used more cohesive devices in their essays, both in Chinese and English. There were also differences in the number of cohesive devices used by Chinese writing Chinese and ESL essays. These differences were attributed to the fact that cohesion occurs less in Chinese language syntax than in English (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, as cited in Norment, 1994). In examining Chinese and Anglo-American scientific texts, Taylor and Chen's (1991) findings suggest that Chinese writers have a "propensity for avoiding elaboration, using deletion patterns, writing at less length and citing fewer references" (p. 330).

Writing Instruction

According to Ferris and Hedgcock (1998), ESL writers may not be familiar with the expectations of U.S. readers. As a result, they:

May not have the same topical/schematic knowledge as NES due to home country educational experience...[and]...may have little or no experience with rhetorical conventions of U.S. academic writing; may have been trained in rhetorical conventions of L1 educational tradition, which may be quite different from those promoted in the U.S." (p. 16)

Mohan and Lo (1985) suggest that writers' "competence in the organization of written discourse develops late and that appropriate instruction has an impact on this competence" (p. 522). In their comparison of English writing instruction in Hong Kong and British Columbia, they found that in Hong Kong the emphasis tended to be at the sentence level, while in Canada it was at the discourse level. Hong Kong writing instruction emphasized grammatical accuracy at the sentence level and organization was not emphasized.

Deckert (1993) conducted a study to examine Hong Kong students' attitudes toward plagiarism. Based on responses to his questionnaire, Deckert found that the students in his study lack knowledge of the Western concept of plagiarism and had little ability to recognize it. Regarding the inappropriateness of plagiarism, the students were mainly concerned with the detrimental effect it had on learning. They did not show great concern for the rights of the original writer or the effect that plagiarism has on one's classmates, teachers and school.

Another way to increase students' awareness of the conventions of U.S. academic writing is to openly discuss the differences in rhetorical patterns between English and their respective L1s. In the case of English and Chinese, it can be pointed out that English has been classified as a writer-responsible language and Chinese is described as a language in transition from reader-responsible to writer-responsible (Hinds, 1987). By writer-responsible, Hinds means that the primary responsibility for making the meaning of a text clear lies with the writer. Writers are expected to make "clear and well-organized statements" (p. 143). Any communication breakdowns are assumed to be the responsibility of the writer. The converse is true of a reader-responsible language. Hinds claims that Classical Chinese more closely resembles a reader-responsible language (such as Japanese) and Modern Chinese is more like English in that it is writer-responsible.

Suggestions for Writing Instructors

With respect to writing assignments, students are typically given writing tasks that center on "texts of various kinds (literary, historical, psychological, legal, managerial) or data (computer, laboratory-testing, statistical, chemical)" (Scheiber, 1987, p. 15, as cited in Spack, 1988). Students can be given process-centered assignments, which focus on text-based or data-based tasks to help them learn the particular writing style of their field.

McKay (1989) suggests that "topic development is largely a factor of cultural experience, as well as social and educational policy" (p. 260). Therefore, topic selection should be approached with consideration to students' background knowledge. Students should be made aware of which aspects of their writing differ from accepted American writing conventions. For example, it is common in Chinese essays for students to include a moral lesson. Chinese students should be informed that this is not common in American essays.

ESL writers are commonly unaware of the relationship between the purpose and audience of assignments. For academic writing tasks, the topic and voice are frequently chosen by the reader, who is often the instructor. Successful NES writers are aware of this relationship, but ESL writers frequently do not have the cultural knowledge necessary to make this connection. ESL writers should be informed that English-speaking readers expect "facts, statistics, and illustrations in arguments; they move from generalization to specific examples and expect explicit links between main topics and subtopics; and they value originality" (Connor, 1996, p. 167).

One way to influence how L2 writing students develop is to explicitly discuss their expectations for the assignment as part of the pre-writing process. Students may not even be aware of the Western process approach to writing and may need to be educated about various "pre-writing strategies: brainstorming, generating ideas, discovering meaning" (Reid, 1989, p. 221).

Reid (1989) claims that poor academic writing at the university level is generally not a function of poor grammar, but is instead a problem of ESL students' lack of understanding of what is expected. She posits that writing instructors will overlook grammatical errors if students are able to meet the expectations of an assignment in terms of content and form. Students are penalized if they are not familiar with the "culturally accepted conventions of academic prose" (p. 222).

As part of making students aware of the expectations they will face in their academic writing careers, instructors should explain to students that:

- 1) the U.S. academic audience expects specific strategies and formats, and
- 2) the teachers do not intend to change the ways their students from other cultures think (Reid, 1989, p. 222)

Teachers should explain to students that adapting to the American style of writing will not compromise their cultural identities. Students have to face the reality that U.S. academic audiences have certain expectations vis-à-vis the content and form of writing. Armed with this knowledge, students must make a decision whether to conform to these norms (Reid, 1989). It is important for students to know that the "ability to master Western academic discourse serves a gatekeeping function because those who do not demonstrate their ability to use such discourse can be denied entry to an academic institution or higher level course" (McKay, 1993, p. 75).

Conclusion

As has been discussed there are various L1 influences on the ESL essays of Chinese writers. It is advisable for teachers of Chinese ESL writers to have some background knowledge about the possible sources of difficulty for Chinese writers. There is still disagreement in the academic community on the impact of such factors as classical Chinese rhetorical structures, Chinese culture and thought patterns and Chinese methods of composition instruction. Further research in the contrastive rhetoric of Chinese and English is warranted.

It seems probable that a student's ESL writing proficiency is a function of their overall language fluency and exposure to American methods of composition instruction. It is important for writing instructors to use the classroom as a forum for discussing differences in rhetorical structures between English and Chinese. In this way, students' awareness of the expectations and norms of American academic expository writing will be raised.

The goal of ESL writing instruction should be to help students write effectively and communicate their ideas to their audience. Students should be reassured that learning the rhetorical patterns of American academic writing is not intended to suppress their Chinese culture and supplant their Chinese values and beliefs with

Western ones. In fact, learning the writing conventions of English may make students more aware of the conventions of Chinese.

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Early Childhood Bilingual Education: Right from the Start

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Although it is generally agreed that there are many advantages to being bilingual, parents and educators are often concerned about the effects of bilingualism on young children's cognitive and language development. These concerns are usually caused by the contradictory findings reported by studies on bilingualism/bilingual education and the lack of understanding of children's language development (Dopke, 1992; Oller, 1997). The goals of this paper are to clarify some of the concerns about early childhood bilingualism and provide suggestions for people who are interested in raising children bilingually.

The term "early childhood bilingual education" in this paper is referred to as "instruction of parents and programs that use and promote two languages to educate children from birth to approximately five years old." This short period of preschool years, though is very vital for the cognitive and language development of a child. For immigrant children who need both their native and dominant language to function in the home and the outside world, it would be beneficial to help them to become bilingual¹ early on. However, the degree of bilingualism that one can achieve may vary significantly depending on factors such as the sociolinguistic environment that the child lives in and parental involvement in the child's learning process. Before investigating what kind of approach or intervention is appropriate to bring up a bilingual child, it is important to first clarify some of the concerns regarding the impact of early childhood bilingualism.

Impacts of Bilingualism on Cognitive Development

One of the concerns about early bilingualism is its impact on children's cognitive development. During the early 20th century, the findings of the effect of bilingualism were mostly negative with studies showing bilingual children have lower IQ scores when compared to monolingual children (Pinter & Keller, 1922). However, as Dopke (1992) & Oller (1997) suggested, most of the arguments against bilingualism were based on poorly designed studies primarily done in the U.S. where lower socioeconomic immigrant children were compared to middle class monolinguals. In many cases, bilingual children's intelligence were determined by IQ tests. Therefore, Hakuta (1990) argued, "IQ tests administered in English simply were not good measures of intelligence for people who were not comfortable in English" (p.49). Another methodological problem as mentioned by Lee (1996) lies in the "failure to adequately assess and consider differences in degree of bilingualism (p. 502). Indeed, the performance of balanced bilinguals on cognitive tasks could be quite difference from that of immigrant children who have just begun to learn a second language in school. Studies have suggested that children who have not fully developed their cognitive abilities in their native language, while being confronted with school instruction through another language and without any L1 support, may experience a period during which they are not able to function or communicate in both their L1 and L2 as well as their monolingual peers (Oller, 1997). Since these children have very limited language proficiency in both their L1 and L2, Oller, (1997) argued that it may be inappropriate to consider them as bilinguals.

With improved research designs, positive impacts of bilingualism on cognitive development were found. For example, Peal and Lambert's (1962) study reported that French-English balanced bilingual fourth graders in Canada obtained significantly higher scores than comparable monolingual children (with similar socioeconomic backgrounds) on most of the measures of verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests, especially on tasks that require mental manipulation and concept formation. Peal and Lambert thus concluded that bilingual children tend to have the ability to think more flexibly and abstractly due to the exposure to an enriched environment. Other studies have found that bilingual children appeared to realize at an early age that the relationship between a word's sound and its meaning is arbitrary. In Ianco-Worrall's (1972) study, 4 to 9 year old South African children were asked to perform a semantic-phonetic preference test. In the test, bilingual children appeared to be two to three years ahead of the monolinguals in terms of semantic development. Other studies suggested that bilinguals tend to understand language at a deeper level and are more sensitive to certain formal aspects of language than monolingual children, for example, in detecting grammatical errors (Amberg, 1987).

All in all, studies with better control of research designs and methods generally found that there are no negative effects of bilingualism on the cognitive development of young children who learn both L1 and L2 in a supportive environment. In addition, balanced bilinguals tend to have greater cognitive advantages than their monolingual peers.

Impacts of Bilingualism on Language Development

Another common concern raised by educators and parents alike is whether bilingualism would impair children's language development. To be more specific, they wonder if learning two languages at the same time may cause language delay, confusion, and thus eventually affect their children's academic performance in school. From a literature review by Arnberg (1987), a number of studies have suggested that young bilingual children may lag behind in vocabulary knowledge and certain syntactic structures, but not in complexity or logic when compared to monolingual peers. Pearson, Fernandez & Oller (1993) observed that bilingual infants and toddlers (during their early development) may learn a word in one language but not in another. As a result, bilingual children may know some concepts only in either L1 or L2 (as singlets) and other concepts in both languages (as doublets). Consequently, they show inferior performance when compared to monolingual peers. However, when the total number of words from both the bilingual's languages were added together, Pearson, Fernandez & Oller found that there was no significant difference between bilingual and monolingual children in terms of the number of words known. In addition, studies have suggested that bilingual children will eventually catch up over time (Arnberg, 1987).

Susanne Dopke, author of *One Parent One Language: An Interactional Approach*, reported that many parents get frustrated and give up speaking the minority language when they discover even the slightest sign of what they perceive as a developmental irregularity. For instance, parents may feel that their children are not learning as fast as other monolingual children or that their children are making mistakes and mixing two languages when they speak. Yet, parents should keep in mind that there are individual differences in terms of "the onset of speaking and rate of language development" among bilinguals with different cultural backgrounds as well as monolinguals (Dopke 1992, p.6). Besides, some of the errors produced by bilinguals may actually be developmental errors that most monolingual children would also produce.

In terms of language mixing, studies have shown that it takes time for bilingual children to learn to separate the languages they acquire. Many young children mix the two languages because they are not aware of the presence of two separate language systems (Arnberg, 1987). Amodeo & Arnberg (1983) observed that adults tend to judge a child's speech with their standard "rather than in light of its significance from the point of view of the child" (p. 4). In many cases, it is "interference" rather than "confusion" that causes children to mix the two languages when they speak. This interference may occur when bilingual children try to imitate an utterance used by their interlocutor or when a word was known in only one language (Amodeo & Arnberg, 1983).

Based on research findings, it is generally agreed that as bilingual children grow older, they will be able to separate the languages when faced with monolingual speakers of either language. Consequently, bilingual children are expected to go through some period of mixing the two languages and borrowing vocabulary to express different ideas. A separation of the two languages will happen gradually. (Arnberg, 1987; Padilla & Liebman, 1975).

Studies have also reported that children are capable of learning two languages at the same time without the detriment to either their native language or L2 when they learn the two languages in a supportive and rich linguistic environment. For example, Rodriguez et al. (1995) reported that Spanish speaking children, who enrolled in bilingual preschools where both L1 and L2 were taught, not only gained English proficiency at a faster rate, but also maintained a similar level of Spanish proficiency when compared to their counterparts who stayed home during the day. Successful stories of young children acquiring two languages reported by the Intercultura Montessori School in Oak Park, Illinois also demonstrated that young children were capable of learning two languages when they were immersed in a language rich environment with comprehensible input and that they were allowed to use the language they felt comfortable to communicate with other students. Although most of the students in the Intercultura Montessori School were native speakers of English; they also had students from non-English speaking families and successful stories were also found (Rosanova, 1998).

Advantages of Early Childhood Bilingualism/Bilingual Education

Recent research as well as countless testimonies of families around the world have suggested that young children, given the right conditions and support, can be competent in both languages and acquire the ability to function effectively in two cultures if they learn two languages simultaneously early in life (Dopke, 1992; Oller, 1997; Rosanova, 1998; Cunningham-Anderson & Andersson, 1999). As Arnberg (1987) suggested, the advantages of young children learning two languages simultaneously include: a) infants can take advantage of their ability to produce wide variety of speech sounds, rather than wait until some of these sounds have disappeared from the baby's vocal repertoire and thus must be relearned; b) younger children are not aware of their exposure to two languages, so they may not resist learning both languages; c) younger children are more likely to take risks and seem not to become upset by making mistakes; d) younger children are more likely to acquire an unaccented pronunciation than the older children. Furthermore, language learning is a long and time-consuming process, another advantage of learning a second language early in life is that it simply "allows more time for learning" (Amodeo & Arnberg, 1983, p. 6). For immigrant children who were born in a foreign country, having the opportunity to learn their native and the dominant language early on will help them communicate and function both in the family as well as the outside world. In addition, it can also help them to be more school ready once they begin to receive formal instructions in kindergarten (Milne & Clarke, 1993).

Challenges for Raising Bilingual Children

One of the biggest challenges for immigrant parents in raising their children bilingually is to find ways to maintain their native language (Wong Fillmore, 1991). It is obvious that young children are vulnerable to both internal and external assimilative forces to learn English in the U.S (Fillmore, 1991 & Kondo, 1997). Internally, children are aware that if they want to participate in the world outside the home, they must know English. Externally, children may encounter powerful forces for assimilation as soon as they enter the English classrooms (Fillmore, 1991). In some cases, these strong forces for assimilation also exist in native language schools where their L1 is not used extensively in the classrooms (Kondo, 1997). Thus, the general assumption that children would maintain their native language simply because it was spoken in the home or even in school should be treated with caution. In many cases, it is the quality not the quantity of conversation and interaction that counts (Dopke, 1992). Also, it is the quality of the education programs rather than the name of the program which makes a difference.

Other challenges with respect to native language maintenance were reported by some Chinese families in Leung & Ng's (2000) study. These challenges include: a) a lack of learning resources in the native language (e.g. books, audio and video tapes); b) a lack of time to interact with the child when both parents were either at work or in school during the day; c) a lack of exposure and interaction with other Chinese children outside the home. Thus, some children were not motivated to learn their home language; d) children's short attention span makes it difficult for parents to have the patience and commitment to teach literacy skills.

Some Practical Suggestions

Una Cunningham-Anderson and Staffan Andersson (1999), in their book called *Growing Up with Two Languages* provided some practical suggestions for raising a bilingual child based on previous literature as well as personal experiences from more than 100 families in the Internet community around the world (See Appendix A for a complete list of suggestions and useful websites for parents). Besides visiting the home country, allowing opportunity for the children to experience the home culture and practice using the language in the real world, a good way to help children receive more linguistic exposure of their native language is through a mother tongue playground. Other advices from Harding & Riley's (1988, p. 70-81) handbook for bilingual family parents also include the following:

1. Parents should be consistent in their linguistic behaviors with their children. There are many ways of being consistent, for example, practice one parent, one language approach; speak the native language at home and the dominant language outside the home. Being consistent will be easier for children to know when they are expected to speak either L1 or L2.

2. Always give encouragement to children in their process of learning both L1 and L2. Try to make bilingualism seem like a natural part of family life and do not punish them for making mistakes. If parents can do so, they are more likely to be successful in keeping and using two languages with their children and the children will be more likely to enjoy being bilinguals as they grow up.
3. Do not compare bilingual children's language performance (especially in their weaker language) with monolingual children, or ask them to show off, which may embarrass them and makes them all too aware that they are different.

In addition to the above suggestions, parents should constantly evaluate the quantity and quality of language exposure that their children receive in both languages to ensure neither one of the languages is being neglected.

Choosing the Right Education Program

When parents are not able to care for their children during the day, they may have to bring their children to day-care centers or preschools. However, the task of choosing any particular model of bilingual program² has been a difficult endeavor because there are always variations in each model in practice. Instead of focusing on what type of bilingual program works well with bilingual children, researchers have taken an alternate approach to identify effective bilingual schools and describe their significant features and characteristics. Based on extensive reviews and studies from a number of researchers (Collier, 1992; Freeman & Freeman, 1992; Lindholm, 1990; Milne & Clarke, 1993), critical features of successful programs are summarized as follows:

1. **Goals of the program.** The goal of the bilingual education program should focus on promoting bilingualism rather than using the bilingual program as a mean of assimilation. In other words, good bilingual programs should teach and value children's minority language and culture. Children should not have to learn English at the expense of their native language. (Brisk, 1998; Milne & Clarke, 1993).
2. **Positive school environment.** Successful bilingual programs usually have support from the school administration. This support is manifested through having comparable expenditure of resources as other educational programs in the school, promoting positive attitudes and acceptance toward bilingualism among the community and staff, and providing on-going training and development for the staff (Lindholm, 1990; Milne & Clarke, 1993).
3. **Classroom instructions.** Classroom instruction in bilingual education programs should be learner-centered, interactive, and culture sensitive (Flood et al., 1996; Cummins, 1995). In the early stage of second language acquisition, input should be made more comprehensible through simplified speech, highly contextualized languages, non-verbal cues, demonstration and functional repetition (Rosanova, 1998).
4. **Partnership with parents and communities.** Successful bilingual education programs encourage strong parental and community involvement and collaboration with the school. Studies have found that suggestions and knowledge provided by parents and members of the ethnic communities can provide valuable input in the process of program development and evaluation (Fernandez, 1999; Milne, 1992; Milne & Clarke, 1993).

If a high quality bilingual program is not available around the neighborhood, parents can still compare the language policy, teaching practice, and the general attitude of the school toward bilingualism among different day care centers or preschools. Although many of these facilities may provide English only instruction, some do value the culture of other language backgrounds. For instance, the preschool that my 2 ½-year-old daughter attends occasionally introduces different cultural events to the children through video tapes or arts. Since some of the teachers in the school are from China, Chinese songs were played sometime during free play in the classroom.

Conclusion

Despite the controversial findings regarding early childhood bilingualism and bilingual education in general, there seems to be more advantages than disadvantages for young children to acquire two languages simultaneously at a very young age. Nevertheless, the degree of bilingualism that a child can achieve will depend on the quantity and quality of exposure in both languages as well as the sociolinguistic environment in which the child lives. Since young bilingual children are more likely to be proficient in the majority language than in the minority language due to the strong assimilation force they encounter in their surroundings, extra effort will be needed to help young children to maintain their native language. However, parents should be aware that it is just as important to nurture the majority language. They should support their children's development in both languages as if each language were the only language in the family (Cunningham-Anderson & Anderson, 1999).

All in all, raising and educating young children bilingually is definitely not an easy task because patience and strong commitments are required to nurture both the native as well as the second language of a child. However, as children grow up with the ability to function effectively in two cultures and enjoy the advantages that bilingualism brings, parents will realize that teaching young children bilingually early on is an effort worth taking.

NOTES

1. According to Cunningham-Anderson & Anderson (1999), there are many definitions and degrees of bilingualism. In general, the ideal equal/balanced bilinguals are people who obtain equal language proficiency which is indistinguishable from a native speaker in both languages. In reality, only few people are truly balanced bilinguals in both languages. In most cases, one language is usually dominant and this dominance may change overtime. Due to the complexity of the definition of term, "bilingual" in this paper is simply referred to people who can use two languages to function in the target language communities.
2. Several researchers (August & Garcia, 1988; Brisk, 1998; Crawford, 1989) have identified a number of bilingual education models based on their goals, the target population, languages in which literacy is developed, and the distribution of languages in subject matter instruction. Interest readers may refer to the references for further information regarding different types of bilingual programs.

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Appendix A

Practical advice for parents whose child has two languages

- Be consistent in your choice of language to a young child. If you want to use different languages with your child in different situations, stick to the system you devise.
- Travel as often as possible to a country where the minority language is spoken. Ideally you should go to the place where the parent responsible for that language is from, especially if there are relatives there for the child to get to know. It is important for these children to realize that their immigrant parent also has a background.
- Meet other children and adults who speak the minority language. Ideally these should be monolingual speakers, since otherwise they might mix the languages or switch to the majority language. Structured activities with other children through the medium of the minority language can be very valuable. For children up to 3 or 4, a parents and toddlers' group can be a lot of fun for both children and adults.
- Try to get hold of and use as many age-appropriate language materials as possible in the minority language: story books and workbook, tapes, videos, computer games, whatever you and your children feel comfortable with. In a mixed family, both parents should read, talk and play with the children, each in their own language. A child with two-languages needs to work and play more with language than a monolingual child who has two parents giving input in a single language. It is just as important to nurture the majority language, which will presumably be the child's dominant language and the language of schooling eventually. Do not leave the majority language to look after itself. Try and support your child's development in both languages just as you would if each was the only language in the family.

- Try to ensure that your child learns to read, and preferably also to write, in the minority language. Our experience is that this can be done before or after the child starts school in the majority language, depending on the child's readiness and interest.
- For the sake of the child's weaker language, consider an extended stay in a country where it is spoken as the majority language.
- Consider letting teenagers visit the minority language country on their own, to visit cousins or friends or on a summer exchange visit, or to spend a term or a year in school.
- If the family regularly returns to the same place in a country where the minority language is spoken, e.g. to visit grandparents, cousins or friends, it may be possible to arrange for even quite young children to attend school for a few days or longer. The potential advantages of this are manifold: the children get to know monolingual speakers of their own age, they learn to use their weaker language in different situations, they learn about the culture of the country and they are able to compare their own school with something else, giving them a new perspective on their lives at home. (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999, p73-74)

Internet Resources (p.145-149)***Useful Web sites for parents***

- * Bilingual families page: <http://www.nethelp.no/cindy/biling-fam.html>
- * International Couples Homepage: <http://www.geocities.com/Heartlang/4448/couples.html>
- * ParentsPlace.com: <http://www.parentsplace.com/>

The Effect of Extensive Reading on L2 Vocabulary Development

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Introduction

It was almost a decade ago that Stoller and Grabe (1993) complained that "vocabulary is much more central to understanding processes than L2 theorists and practitioners have generally recognized" (p. 25). However, after a period of relative neglect, the importance of vocabulary development in second and foreign language acquisition has come to the forefront in the last several years (Huckin & Coady, 1999; Wesche & Paribakht, 1999). This emphasis only highlights what language learners have long known intuitively: vocabulary matters. After all, as Stephen Krashen (1989) points out, students "carry dictionaries with them, not grammar books" (p. 440).

There has been some controversy, however, over the best methods to employ to increase students' lexical prowess. Some suggest comprehensible input is the best, most efficient, and painless way to cause such growth (Krashen, 1989). They posit that language is "subconsciously acquired--while you are acquiring, you don't know you are acquiring" (p. 440); and that "competence can develop without instruction" (p. 443). If this is true, then students would best be advised to immerse themselves in reading for pleasure and interest and to focus on understanding the content of their reading rather than on memorizing vocabulary lists. Krashen's (1989) survey of Sustained Silent Reading programs reviews several studies and concludes that "free reading is at least as effective as traditional instruction" (p. 448).

Others, while generally supporting the idea of input in context leading to acquisition of vocabulary, sound a more cautious note. For example, Paribakht and Wesche (1999) demonstrated "incidental acquisition of new lexical knowledge through the reading of thematically related texts" (p. 195), and point out that reading is well documented as a cause of vocabulary acquisition. They caution, however, that the "process is slow, often misguided, and seemingly haphazard, with differential outcomes for different learners, word types, and contexts" (p. 197). Likewise, while admitting the importance of input in context, Schmitt and Carter (2000) stress the importance of repetition if acquisition is to occur: "Although the probability of learning new words from any single meeting in context is low (somewhere between 5% and 14%, depending on various factors), the cumulative effect of multiple exposures from sustained reading is considerable" (p. 4).

Some express more serious concerns. Huckin and Coady (1999) state that "extensive reading for meaning does not lead automatically to the acquisition of vocabulary. Much depends on the context surrounding each word, the nature of the learner's attention, the task demands, and other factors" (p. 183). They caution that "if vocabulary learning requires a precise and effortful coordination of form and meaning, it may not optimally occur with an activity like extensive reading that allows the reader to bypass such precision and effort" (p. 183). Indeed, Parry's (1991) study showed that a student who used a "meticulous approach" to vocabulary learning (by looking up each word in a dictionary) had better long-term acquisition of new vocabulary words than another student who read copiously and quickly, but with minimal efforts to gain anything other than a "general representation of the text" (p. 643).

This leads us directly to a consideration of which strategies might best facilitate vocabulary growth in an extensive reading program. The use of inferencing to discover the meaning of words in context is perhaps one of the best known strategies. In reviewing several years of studies, Wesche and Paribakht (1999) conclude that "much--if not most--lexical development in both L1 and L2 appears to occur as learners attempt to comprehend new words they hear or read in context" (p. 176). Yet Fraser (1999) insists that "there is a lack of consensus regarding the benefit for L2 learners of the use of lexical inference while reading.... Inferring is not always an easy or efficient strategy for L2 learners to use either because of text complexity...or because of reader limitations" (p. 226). Her own study found three basic "lexical processing strategies": "ignore, consult, infer" (p. 225). Of these three, inferencing combined with consulting a dictionary led to a "higher retention rate than if they inferred or consulted alone" (p. 238). Gu and Johnson's study (1996) found that self-initiation and selective attention were the strategies best able to produce vocabulary learning. Kojic-Sabo and Lightbown (1999), while claiming that the "effectiveness of various vocabulary learning strategies is still a mystery," (p.

176) nonetheless use cluster analysis techniques to suggest that "learner independence" and "time" are the two most essential learning conditions (p. 189).

Research Questions

This study asks two questions: first, can extensive reading for vocabulary growth can be viable not only in a foreign language environment, but also for an independent learner? I predict that it can. Perhaps one of the most appealing qualities of vocabulary development through extensive reading is that it is something that can be used by anybody in any circumstance. It can work in academic as well as non-academic settings, it can be other- or self-initiated, it can be conducted in a rich second language environment or in a foreign language environment in which it may be the only form of language input the reader gets. In other words, it is a flexible, adaptable strategy, and as such may have special appeal to the independent foreign language learner.

The second question this paper addresses is whether different types of text processing will lead to different results in vocabulary acquisition. To help me answer this second research question more accurately, I chose two texts which, by their nature, demanded different processing methods. It is my prediction that the text which is processed through the use of a concurrent bilingual translation will lead to less vocabulary acquisition than the text which is processed using inferencing.

Procedures

This study tested one independent learner (the author) to see if a one-month period of extensive reading in Spanish caused an expansion of vocabulary knowledge. "Extensive reading" is defined here as something "long enough to discourage intensive study or translation" (Day & Bamford, 1998, p. 85). Although this naturally varied from day to day (ranging from zero minutes of reading to one hour and 30 minutes), I averaged approximately 38 minutes per day for 27 days for a total reading time of 17 hours and 10 minutes. A pre-test consisting of 50 words drawn at random from two Spanish language texts (details follow) was administered to establish a baseline of existing vocabulary knowledge. After the one month reading period, a delayed post-test was administered using another 50 words drawn at random from the same two texts to see what gains, if any, had occurred. Unlike some studies, this method had the advantage of not using an externally prepared vocabulary list, as such a list runs the risk of not including the words encountered in the actual text. Instead, all the words on the tests actually occurred in the texts, thereby avoiding the problem of invalid testing results due to test and text incompatibility.

The pre- and post-tests asked the learner to provide both definitions of the words and to use the words in a sentence to further clarify her interpretation of the word's meaning. For example:

1. Word: bruja
- Define the word: _____
- Use the word in a sentence:

A native Spanish speaker, a professor at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, graded the responses using the following three-point scale:

- 0 points: The word is defined and used completely incorrectly
- 1 point: The word is defined and used partially correctly
- 2 points: The word is defined and used completely correctly

Material selection is very important in an extensive reading program. Day & Bamford (1998) point out that the materials best suited to develop a learner's sight vocabulary, or words that are automatically recognized, are those at the "*i minus 1*" level. The reason for this is that the "goal of the automaticity training is developing a large sight vocabulary rather than the learning of new linguistic elements" (p. 16). General vocabulary knowledge can also increase with materials at the *i minus 1* level. The reading, then must be "easy, varied, and interesting" (p. 18) for the best results to occur. Day & Bamford define "easy" (or *i minus 1*) as material that has no more than "four or five unknown words per page" (p. 93).

Although I attempted to follow their suggesting about focusing on easy texts, I believe I actually obtained texts which were could more accurately be described at my *i + 1 level*. I base this belief on the fact that I was encountering many more than four or five unknown words per page. I encountered anywhere from three to

twenty unknown words per page, and probably averaged about ten. At the beginning of my reading, especially, this caused me some frustration, as evidenced by this excerpt from my Spanish diary dated November 10, 2000:

I read Anne for the entire time today. I am discouraged by how slowly I am reading. I have to re-read and re-read and spend much time guessing and checking in the dictionary. Maybe I should trust my instincts more and not worry about exactness so much, but I have had a couple of times where I misunderstood a single word and therefore could make no sense of an entire paragraph until I looked the offending word up. I think this text may be a little bit too hard for me (according to Day's i - 1 formula), but I'm still enjoying it. . . . But I am still concerned with my slow rate of reading. Have I bitten off more than I can chew?

I chose two Spanish texts which were both classified as young adult level by Amazon.com. The first of these was *Anne la de Alamos Ventosos*, or *Anne of Windy Poplars*, by L. M. Montgomery (translated into Spanish by Diana Trujillo). The second text was *Cuentos del Mundo Malevolo*, or *Stories from a Dark & Evil World*, by Teresa Pijoan (translated into Spanish by Sharon Franco). These texts were chosen not only for their level, but also for their interest and appeal.

There are many unresolved issues regarding vocabulary development, and a small-scale study such as this cannot hope to resolve them all. As Huckin and Coady (1999) suggest, "the actual mechanism of incidental acquisition, the type and size of vocabulary needed for accurate guessing, the degree of exposure to a word needed for successful acquisition, the efficacy of different word-guessing strategies, the value of teaching explicit guessing strategies"--all these remain unclearly defined (p. 181). One thing seems clear, however. If the words that momentarily flit across the learner's consciousness are not to be forgotten, then, as Paribahkt & Wesche (1999) suggest, some "deeper level of mental effort appears to be necessary" (p. 215). They say that the key point is that the "kinds of tasks instructors set for learners--or that learners set for themselves--will largely determine what they attend to" (p. 216). Accordingly, the tasks I set for myself in this study were as follow below.

I attempted to use two different processing strategies in approaching these two texts. For *Anne of Windy Poplars* I used inferencing from context for my primary strategy, backed up with dictionary use when necessary for clarity. This type of strategy challenged my cognitive abilities and kept me very actively involved with the text. *Stories from a Dark & Evil World* had a completely different format, and thus seemed to demand a different approach. It was labeled as a bilingual storybook, and the book's back cover claimed that it was "excellent for language education uses." This book had stories that were written in English on one page, with the Spanish translation being on the opposite page. So I had Spanish text on the left page and the matching English text on the right. With a dictionary of sorts thus provided for me, I decided that rather than attempting to work things out from context, I would instead use the English translation on the adjacent page at the first sign of difficulty or misunderstanding. Although I theorized I would be able to read much more quickly in this text and experience less frustration (which was true), I wondered if the lower cognitive demands would mean less engagement with the text and hence less vocabulary acquisition. This last strategy seems to me to be the equivalent to something that Widdowson (1978) calls "prompting glossaries." He says that the "disadvantage of a prompting glossary of this kind is that it tends to relieve the learner of the essential task of interpreting the discourse for himself. It provides him with the value of expressions which might prove difficult and thereby reduces the effectiveness of the passage as a means of developing a reading strategy. The learner does not have to work out the relationship between the known signification of linguistic elements and the value they have in a particular instance of use; he does not have to wrestle with the problem of code and context correlation which lies at the heart of the interpreting ability" (pp. 87-88).

As both the author of and participant in this study, I played a double role. I have studied Spanish for over 20 years starting in high school where I received excellent grades but made little actual progress in language ability due to a poorly designed, poorly taught program. I continued studying in college under the audio-lingual method, and while I became quite proficient at reading and writing grammatically correct sentences, I was completely unable to understand any authentic, spoken Spanish, and only able to produce a few practiced phrases. Since that time I have sought out occasional opportunities to practice Spanish—sometimes intensely, sometimes not. Two years ago I sat in on two college-level Spanish classes and was able to understand almost everything. I have occasionally read magazine and newspaper articles in Spanish, have worked sporadically

with grammar books, dictionaries, audiocassette tapes, computer programs, and a private tutor. Although I have not taken an official Spanish class for years, a native Spanish speaker tutor ranked me at an advanced intermediate level.

Results

Table 1 shows the results from my pre-test.

TABLE 1: Pre-test Results

<i>Stories from a Dark and Evil World</i>	<i>Anne of Windy Poplars</i>
<u>25 words tested:</u> 0 points = 13 1 point = 1 <u>2 points = 11</u>	<u>25 words tested:</u> 0 points = 12 1 point = 2 <u>2 points = 11</u>
TOTAL = 23 points or 46%	TOTAL = 24 points or 48%

Table 2 shows the results from my post-test on both books.

TABLE 2: Post-test Results

<i>Stories from a Dark and Evil World</i>	<i>Anne of Windy Poplars</i>
<u>25 words tested:</u> 0 points = 3 1 point = 4 <u>2 points = 18</u>	<u>25 words tested:</u> 0 points = 6 1 point = 4 <u>2 points = 15</u>
TOTAL 40 points or 80%	TOTAL 34 points or 68%

Discussion

It is evident from the difference between the pre- and post-test scores that vocabulary acquisition did take place. The percentage score for *Stories* increased from 46% to 80%, with a 34% increase in vocabulary recognition; while the percentage score for *Anne* increased from 48% to 68%, with a 20% increase in vocabulary recognition. What makes these results even more impressive is that the post-test was a delayed test, not given until six days after the reading had ended. Also, since the reading had been ongoing for the course of a month, it is likely that some of the words on the test had been encountered several days or perhaps weeks before being tested. The similarity of the pre-tests' percentages (46% and 48%) suggests that the pre-tests for both books were fairly equivalent in their difficulty level. Likewise, it is notable that the post-test percentage score for *Stories*, the bilingual book, was 12% higher than the post-test score for *Anne*: 80% to 68%, respectively. This suggests that my hypothesis about the less cognitively demanding processing leading to lower acquisition rates may have been incorrect.

There are, however, several other factors that need to be considered. First, I must report my subjective response to the post-test. When I first saw the post-test words, the thought came instantly to mind: "These words are easier than the pre-test words." Although the native-Spanish speaker had been instructed to choose words at random to maximize the likelihood of the pre- and post-tests being equivalent, without more extensive experimentation I cannot say for certain that the pre-tests and post-tests were equivalent in difficulty.

Obviously, if the tests were not equivalent, then any supposed vocabulary gains would be suspect. To further attempt to clarify this, I decided to retake the pre-tests again and only define the words I had received zeroes or ones on the first time, in order to see if I had the same level of improvement when retaking the pre-tests as I had when I took the post-tests. After I took the pre-tests the first time, I didn't look up any of the words I had received zeroes or ones on because I wanted to encounter them naturally in the text first. I didn't attempt to redefine the words I had received twos on the first time, however, since in glancing at the list I could still remember the correct definitions I had given for those words. When I retook the pre-test for *Stories*, my

new raw score was 33 points, or 66% percent. When I retook the pre-test for *Anne*, my new raw score was 31 points, or 62%. These findings are summarized in Table 3, below.

Table 3: Pre- and Post- and Re-Test Mean Scores

<i>Stories from a Dark and Evil World</i>	<i>Anne of Windy Poplars</i>
Pre-test percentage score: 46%	Pre-test percentage score: 48%
Post-test percentage score: 80%	Post-test percentage score: 68%
Pre-test retaken after	Pre-test retaken after
post-test percentage score: 66%	post-test percentage score: 62%

What is immediately apparent is that the impressive-looking gains made on the *Stories* post-test dropped noticeably--from 80% to 66%--when I retook the pre-test. The *Anne* post-test scores didn't fluctuate nearly so much, with only a 4% difference between post- and retaken pre-test scores. If one compares the percentage increase between the pre-tests and retaken pretests, a 20% gain for *Stories* and a 14% gain for *Anne*, one notices that the bilingual translation text still produced a greater vocabulary gain than the text processed using inference and a dictionary. My suspicion is that the pre- and post-tests for *Stories* were not equivalent, and I believe that the comparison between the final percentage scores for the retaken pre-tests may be a more accurate measure of vocabulary gains made. The fact that the two pre-test percentage scores for both books were so similar (46% and 48%) further lends credibility to this idea, as they seemed to be more equivalent measures of my vocabulary knowledge.

I am, quite frankly, surprised that I made slightly better gains with the *Stories* text than with the *Anne* text. My Spanish diary shows how much more active a role I took in processing the *Anne* text than I did the *Stories* text. For example, this excerpt from November 13, 2000, shows how little effort I was making in processing *Stories*:

I'm still reading much faster in Stories, of course, because of the bilingual translation. But I'm wondering if the words are entering my consciousness at all, or if they're just flying in one eyeball and out the other.

Likewise, this entry from November 20, 2000, shows much the same thing:

In Stories I still feel like I'm cheating. I'm reading so much faster. I notice that I often (although I try not to--it's almost impossible not to) will look over to check out the meaning of an English word, and then because I can read so much faster in English, I can't resist the urge to quickly skim the whole paragraph in English, and then go over and read the equivalent Spanish paragraph next. So I'm effectively reading it in English first, then in Spanish. I feel like I'm not working as hard that way, and I can tell I'm not struggling as much to work things out or rearrange things syntactically in my mind.

Compare that to this November 20 excerpt about how I was processing *Anne*:

I read much longer in Anne today than in Stories. In Anne I'm getting better at guessing from context. It's weird how some words are being activated from ancient knowledge stores. I'm not exact on these words, but I am sort of close. For example, there was the word "herramientas," or tools. When I saw it I was thinking it meant iron or metal, or something like that--I knew it was associated with iron. Of course tools are made of metal, so I somehow remembered that much of it, but not all of it. It's like a portion of the word's meaning has stuck in my mind, and I'm still able to make associations, but they're often hazy. I had to look it up in the dictionary to figure it out completely. In Anne I have much more the feeling of a workout when I'm done--like I've really challenged my brain cells and accomplished something.

Or this November 29 excerpt about *Anne*:

When I was reading on page 91, I came to the word "cerezos" which I didn't know. No sooner had my hand reached for the dictionary, however, when the word "cherry tree" popped into my head. I realized I was right! And then I remembered having read that word several pages back in Anne and remembered having looked it up the first time, since I had no idea what it meant then. I think I was helped by context, as

she was describing a walk outside in the spring, and mentioned the "cerezos blancos" alongside the road. I knew that "blanco" meant white, and so that connection of white and cherry blossoms may have helped.

As I continued to read for the month, experiences like the ones cited above in diary excerpts led me to believe that I was learning more words from the *Anne* text. The fact that neither the post-tests nor the retaken pre-tests supported this is surprising. One possibility is that since I was spending so much more effort comprehending the *Anne* text, I didn't have as much attention to devote to the new words on each page. In other words, as I was trying to understand things both syntactically and lexically, and spending lots of time inferring and re-thinking interpretations, I may have had a bit of an information overload. Thus the unfamiliar words on each page may have been less salient for me.

Another strong possibility for the lower vocabulary acquisition in *Anne* is that I ignored some of the non-essential words in the text simply to speed up my reading time. An excerpt from November 11 makes the following point:

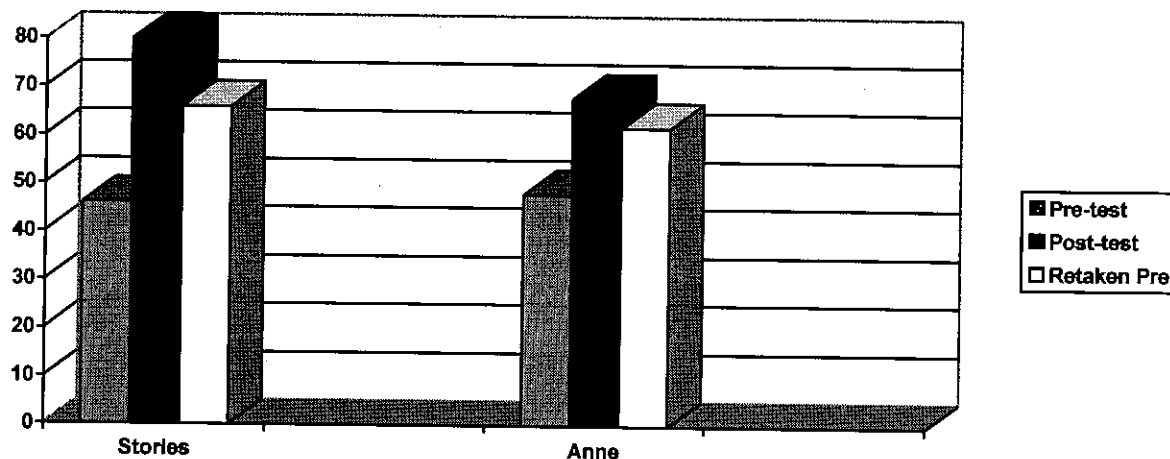
I read in both books today, but more in Anne since it's harder for me without the bilingual glosses. I noticed a slight improvement in my reading speed today. I also noticed that I can skip over a lot of descriptive words (like describing the house, the woods, the path near the woods) and still understand what's going on. So I skipped a few of those non-essential words and just kept reading and made better progress. This may not help me on my vocabulary test, but it is helping me read more and keep engaged in the book better.

On the contrary, in *Stories*, because of the convenience of the bilingual gloss, I didn't skip any words, even if I only glanced at the translation for a second. A diary excerpt from November 24 shows how I learned one new word this way:

In Stories I finished the vampire short story. I think the words are harder in Stories. There were a couple of words--one for fire--"fogata"--pg. 103-- that I had never heard of before. Probably the more poetic versions of words.

The important point here is that in *Anne* I was sometimes skipping over such "poetic" or more difficult words as non-essential to understanding the gist of the text, while in *Stories* I wasn't skipping any words--even the difficult or decriptive ones--because it was so convenient to quickly check the meaning of them.

I believe that my first hypothesis about extensive reading leading to vocabulary acquisition in a foreign language independent learning environment was amply supported. All four scores from the post-tests and retaken pre-tests showed acquisition had occurred. Bar Graph 1 shows the results from all the tests.



Bar Graph 1
Vocabulary Acquisition Percentages Compared
Conclusion

In closing, as the author of and participant in this study, I have received the benefit of having complete access to the subject's thoughts and feelings. And as the Spanish diary attests, the experiment was very worthwhile as it gave me a chance to develop my Spanish skills in an environment where I would otherwise not have had the opportunity to do so. As time progressed my frustration with reading two slightly over-difficult texts decreased, and the diary made repeated mention of how much I was enjoying the opportunity to read. This diary entry from November 18 sums up that feeling:

I can see that this is increasing my vocabulary. I don't care what the post-test shows; I know I'm making progress and will continue to read when the experiment's over.

Perhaps that increase in motivation is the most important outcome of this study. For as a foreign language learner with limited opportunity to use my language, I have often been frustrated at the mismatch between what I've wanted to do with my foreign language and what I've been able to do. Lacking the opportunity to live in and immerse myself in the foreign language environment, my motivation has wavered over the years, and I've had to find new ways to keep myself from giving up. The fact that I can, in any circumstance and setting, engage with a foreign text and not only enjoy reading it but also gain some new vocabulary words from it, has been extremely encouraging to me. I will continue to use this method as a way to keep myself in tune with the language to at least some degree, so if the opportunity should ever arise to immerse myself in the spoken language some day, I will be at least partially prepared.

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Language Crossing: Varieties in Contact

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Neither the United States nor Great Britain is culturally homogenous. Multiple cultures have long existed side by side. As immigration continues, the two countries will only become more heterogeneous in terms of language and culture. Even within English, the unspoken official language of these two nations, great variation exists. However, the speakers of these different varieties do not live in isolation. Through the interaction of different ethnic groups, especially in adolescence, new language varieties develop and boundaries between groups blur. This paper will focus on the unique varieties of English spoken by the Black¹ populations of these two countries and how these “non-standard” varieties are appropriated and or imitated by white and other non-black speakers. This paper will also examine research from the U.S. and Great Britain in an attempt to explore the effect of language crossing on ethnic boundaries as well as the negotiation involved in speaking a culturally marked language. Finally, the paper will assess the constructs of crossing and racism.

There are several clear linguistic differences between Creole and African American Vernacular English (hereafter AAVE). While it is estimated that most African Americans in the U.S., especially those in linguistically isolated neighborhoods, have the ability to speak some form of AAVE fluently, (Dandy 1995), the relative Creole² fluency of British-born blacks has been difficult to assess. The classification of Creole has been problematic. First of all, although a majority of the black community in Great Britain is from the West Indies, the varieties of English spoken on the individual islands are distinct. While the notion of a West-Indian Creole is attractive for its simplicity, it would not be an accurate description. On the other hand, it appears that the influence of Jamaican Creole extends beyond its population of native or heritage language speakers.

In 1993 Mark Sebba published perhaps the most ambitious study of Creole in his book *London Jamaican*. His observations of this variety (hereafter LJ) paralleled those of Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995, 1999). He found that Caribbean Creoles in Britain had not “leveled and simplified”, yet the practice amongst British-born blacks of “talking black” or “chatting Patois” tended to most resemble Jamaican Creole linguistically and phonologically. The term “Patois” is also used as alternate name for Jamaican Creole English by native speakers of that variety. Therefore the assertion of many Creole speakers that they “chat Patois” strengthens the theory of a widespread Jamaican influence on the language. A strong Jamaican influence occurred even amongst speakers with different island heritages (43). This could be due to several factors. First, the population of blacks of Jamaican heritage in Great Britain far exceeds that of any other West-Indian nation. Secondly, due to the music and the popularity of the Rastafarian religion in the 1970’s and 1980’s, Jamaican Creole in has achieved a high state of prestige.

The biggest linguistic difference between African-American Vernacular English and Creole is the non-uniformity of British Black English. For decades scholars such as Labov, Wolfram, Smitherman and Rickford have provided thorough linguistic and cultural definitions of AAVE. As illustrated above, scholars of Creole are still in the process of defining the variety. However, there are still important similarities in the use of language to invoke ethnic group maintenance and solidarity marking. Many AAVE speakers place high variety on verbal competence and consider it essential for ethnic group identification (Folb 1980). Because of the wide variation in Creole, the power and solidarity invoked by the variety tends to be more symbolic. This means that among Creole speakers the speakers’ linguistic competence is not as strictly judged as it is in AAVE. Sebba (1993) describes his subjects, demonstrating the similarities between them and the subjects in Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995a).

“Most of the young black people in my study use LE [London English] most of the time, even when speaking to other members of the family who were born in the Caribbean. For them, the uses of Creole are quite restricted. It is always used in conjunction with British English (usually LE) in a code-switching style, and has a limited set of functions. Nearly all these individuals are fully competent native speakers of British English, so they do not actually require Creole for strictly communicative purposes; for them, Creole fulfills a number of other roles, mostly related to its symbolic significance as a marker of black identity. (Sebba, 1993:18)

While AAVE can be used in all circumstances to create an infinite number of ideas, many young Creole speakers can maintain their Creole use for no more than a few conversational turns (Hewitt 1986:113). Compared to African-American English, these young people's Creole use seems less linguistically developed. On the other hand, perhaps this is due to the hazy definitions of what constitutes British Black English. In the passage above, as well as in Hewitt's (1986) and Rampton's (1995a, 1995b, 1999) observations, it is unclear what standard the young people's English is being compared to. It might be assumed that it is Jamaican Creole. However, based on the mixed black ethnicities of British Creole speakers, that seems unfair if not unjustified. In any case, quantity of Creole use notwithstanding, it is clear that AAVE and Creole share the common characteristics of "symbolic significance as a marker of black identity". This shared bond of ethnic importance allows the two language varieties to be compared in a more sociolinguistic fashion. It signifies that the breaching of the ethnic boundaries of language by a non-black could have dangerous consequences for the intruder. Thus, Blacks in Britain and in the U.S. may employ multiple boundary maintenance techniques.

In the U.S., the issue of language boundaries is particularly salient. Although the dominant Standard English speaking society expects African Americans (as well as immigrants and other non-standard dialect speakers) to conform to its imposed linguistic norms, few African Americans completely succumb to this external pressure. The widely held myth that the standard variety of English is "superior" to other varieties has led some people to prescribe that Standard English should replace AAVE, a highly unsuccessful proposition. The reasons for not abandoning AAVE, even after a speaker has mastered Standard English, are multifold. AAVE remains a dominant fictive kinship marker (Folb 1980) and retains a covert prestige. In African American communities, "social standing and cultural membership are constructed according to how a speaker interacts when among members of a dominant culture and within all social strata of the African-American community" (Morgan 1998, 252). Successful interaction within the African American community is contingent upon AAVE use (Morgan 1998). Few African Americans are willing to give up their ethnic identities and thus choose to see Standard English acquisition as an addition to their language repertoire rather than a replacement. These tensions combined with the knowledge that some Standard English speakers attempt to devalue AAVE as a viable language help make language boundaries a delicate issue for many African Americans.

The sensitive territory of language, ethnicity and identity relations may be disturbed when the use of African-American Vernacular English and Creole is not limited to Blacks. People of all ages and races are exposed to AAVE and Creole. Consciously speaking AAVE or Creole as a second dialect is relatively common among non-blacks, as can be inferred from the research of scholars such as Cutler (1999), Bucholtz (1999), Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995, 1999). In some white adolescent peer groups, it has become fashionable to use AAVE or Creole and to borrow other features of African American culture. Most of these young people are superficially aware of the covert prestige of speaking AAVE and the cultural imagery it can invoke in the eyes of the dominant culture. Many children and adolescents in urban areas attend multi-ethnic schools and make black friends. These young people often negotiate the right to use Creole or AAVE within their friendship groups. Other young people in more racially segregated areas are forced to rely on the media and internet for information about AAVE (Cutler 1999: 443-444). This can lead to non-negotiated appropriation, which may be contested by blacks. Often these white adolescents have a "romanticized" or overly simplified impression of black culture, which perpetuates racist stereotypes (Bucholtz 1999, Cutler 1999).

The popularity of AAVE and Creole as second dialects indicates that the dominant view of Standard English as the language of power and the most desirable language in contemporary North American and British society underestimates the significance of these varieties. Cutler (1999) shows the role of AAVE in white adolescent upper class peer groups and while Bucholtz (1999) explores AAVE's role in the creation of masculine identities. Rampton (1995) found that Creole crossing was prevalent amongst Asians and whites. Hewitt (1986) concluded that in Great Britain "the observable 'socio-linguistic patterns' . . . are therefore a linguistic embodiment of socio-cultural evaluations, running counter to the dominant assessments of the relative prestige of black and white cultures" (149). Based on evidence from the United States, young whites using AAVE as a second dialect also "runs counter" to the dominant society's assertions about the prestige of Standard English.

Perhaps the best time to observe white AAVE or Creole use is during adolescence. Rampton (1995a) claims that adolescence is a "liminal period" where situations regularly occur that "exist outside the dominant social structure" (20). According to Rampton, liminality is what allows the boundaries of ethnicity to be pushed or even

temporarily transgressed. In support, Sebba (1993) notes, "Creole use is more visible, more public in the years fourteen to seventeen"(39). The association of AAVE and Creole with popular culture makes it attractive to adolescents, the primary consumers of music and entertainment. Compounding these observations, Hewitt (1986) notes that once young people leave school, their friendship group composition tends to mirror their ethnic group membership (Chapters One and Two). Interestingly, Hewitt (1986) found that by the time most of the white adolescents in his study had reached their late teens—even the ones who had previously showed the strongest Creole use and connections to black friendship groups—they had stopped speaking Creole. In fact very few cases of adult Creole use are cited in the literature. Therefore it follows that the most appropriate time to study Creole is during the greatest period of use.

Rampton (1995b) defines non-standard second dialect use as "language crossing". Language crossing "involves code alteration by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they are using" (485). Put more succinctly it is, "switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you" (Rampton 1995a: 280). Language crossing is different than code-switching as it requires negotiating the boundaries of a language that has its own ethnic significance. "Language crossing", at its safest, occurs between members of the same ethnic group (e.g. two whites speaking Creole). A more difficult crossing occurs when an out-group speaker speaks the variety of a different ethnic group with members of that group with whom he or she is friends (e.g. a white speaking Creole with black friends). The most difficult crossing occurs when a speaker communicates in the variety of a different ethnic group in the presence of unknown members of that group (e.g. a white speaking Creole to blacks he or she does not know). Because of the increased possibility for misunderstanding, the last situation does not occur very frequently. It should also be noted that there are various degrees of usage (ranging from the lower risk use of one or more Creole vocabulary items to the higher risk sustained usage including Creole phonology) as well as topics that complicate the concept of boundaries within language crossing. These situational and linguistic factors can minimize or maximize the risks involved for the crosser.

One social implication for whites using AAVE in the U.S. or Creole in Great Britain is a possible hostile or defensive reaction by native dialect speakers. While crossing "never actually claimed the speaker was black" (Rampton 1999b: 501), Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995) found that many blacks took offence to whites using their dialect. The use of Creole was often seen as the "expropriation of a valued resource" (Rampton 1995: 499) or what Hewitt (1986) terms, "the devaluing of culturally significant markers by outsiders" (151). Precisely because of the marginalized status of non-standard varieties of English in Great Britain (Cameron 1995) the community may feel protective of their language. However, certain ethnic groups may be able to cross with more freedom. For example, Rampton (1995) found that, "references to unacceptable joking [Creole] uses occasionally alluded to whites but not Asians" (40). It appears that (at least in Rampton's research area) Asians had more freedom to use Creoles than whites. This could be due to Asians' marginalized ethnic status in Great Britain and the absence of a violent colonial history between Asians and West Indians.

Native Creole speakers interpreted many incidences of white Creole use as a form of derision (Hewitt 1986: 151). This may have been influenced by the socio-historical past between whites and blacks or the volatile racial climate around the time of Hewitt's study (Hewitt 1986:Chapter 1, Gilroy 1988). Many Creole users took "legitimate offense . . . at the reductive imagery which crossing frequently entailed" (Rampton 1995b: 499). This could stem from the most frequent and simplest (as well as commodified) use of Creole, "the employment of direct quotations from the most public surface of black culture as it is presented in the popular entertainment industry" (Hewitt 1986: 135). These stereotypical presentations of the language are indeed "reductive" as they fail to recognize the depth and complexity of African American culture. Evidence from Preston's 1992 study on caricatures supports these claims. Preston asked intra-ethnic groups of whites to "talk black" and he observed stereotypical "reductive imagery" such as talk centered on "violence", "crime", "poverty" and "welfare" and the characteristics of "stupidity" and "laziness" (341). Bucholtz (1999) also supports the claim of stereotypical roles assigned to African Americans, adding "the operative language ideology links AAVE both to blackness and to masculinity" (455). Black masculinity is exaggerated to relate to violence and thus to crime. Unfortunately this is not a phenomena limited to North America. Rampton (1995) found that Creole was "tough" and "cool" and used for "arguments", "abuse", "assertiveness" and "opposition to authority" (37). By out-group members, Creole use was often considered a game, trivializing its intended function of group solidarity. These images can also be considered reductive, barely skimming the surface of the identities of Creole speakers.

One possible explanation for the more disparaging stereotypes is that “[African Americans] are, for so many whites, invisible people. Faced with no intimate, individuating knowledge, whites make use of stereotypical folk roles as the best information they have about blacks” (Preston 1992). Preston’s analysis especially relates to non-blacks without exposure to black culture. However, only a select few people with exposure to black culture manage to permanently transcend racial stereotypes.

To successfully intermingle with a black peer group, certain limits must be followed to avoid offence. Language crossing is a dangerous practice because it involves “a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries and it raises issues of legitimacy which, in one way or another, participants need to negotiate in the course of the encounter” (Rampton 1995:485). When speaking a non-standard second dialect to an in group member, the speaker runs the risk of being perceived as claiming ethnic group membership (Hewitt 1986:152). As Hewitt (1986: Chapter 1 and 2) observes, ethnic group differences always remain as an obstacle, no matter how close the social relationship. If a speaker tries to push the language boundaries too far it “would imply that Creole really was the everyday language, a suggestion that would contravene the language-ethnic group relationships regarded as part of the social order” (Rampton 1995: 218). Thus, no matter what the proficiency level of the speaker, the ethnic group boundaries will always be in place. This is especially true for Creole since “claims to Creole language can be indicated at one level merely by a few token lexical items and even by phonological means alone,” (Hewitt 1986: 110). Therefore a very mild use of Creole could attract attention and a very proficient use might be perceived as threatening and making claims the speaker may not intend to make.

Because of the sensitive nature of language crossing, Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995a) found many of their informants were not only sympathetic to the boundaries of the non-standard dialect speaking speech groups they studied, but had an intuitive sense of the unspoken rules of Creole use. In fact, a majority of white Creole speakers were described as “minimal crossers” who tended to use Creole with each other but avoid it in the presence of blacks (Rampton 1995a: 207). Rampton (1995b) observed that “crossing generally only occurred in moments, activities and relationships in which the constraints of ordinary social order were relaxed and normal social relations could not be taken for granted” (500). This could include repetition, inter-ethnic group joking or games (Rampton 1995a, Hewitt 1986). Another acceptable domain was anti-authority Creole use. Hewitt (1986) described an “oppositional pupil culture” in which students used it to impose hierarchical authority (154). Even during the special circumstances in which limited Creole use was “allowed” many young people took special precautions to avoid offending black speakers. Hewitt (1986) noticed that, “the most sensitive markers of ethnic group- especially the phonological- are avoided” (163). Also, one important constraint of Creole use was not to use it in the presence of blacks the speakers did not already know or blacks who did not like the speaker (Rampton 1995a: 36). Failure to do so could cause a rebuking or non-response for the speaker or, most importantly, cause the black friends of the speaker to lose face. Blacks that were seen as over-encouraging whites to use Creole were often considered to have committed a transgression against the black ethnic group (Hewitt 1986: 206).

This type of intuition and avoidance seems to run contrary to AAVE use in the United States, as seen in Bucholtz (1999). Brand One uses AAVE vocabulary and phonology to establish solidarity with his African-American friend in order to ward off another African-American boy who has been harassing Brand One (377). However, this could be an example of another observation by Hewitt (1986), “although there is often hostility from black youngsters to the deliberate use of Creole by whites, some young whites do manage to negotiate for themselves the right to use it with their immediate circle of black friends” (153). Brand One does appear to have successfully integrated into his African American peer group, as evidenced by the positive response to his use of AAVE including the non verbal “pound” his African-American friend gives to him that saves Brand One from the threat of an African-American aggressor (458). However, not all AAVE speakers are successful in negotiating their right to speak a non-standard dialect with the in group.

Some whites seemed incapable of understanding black objections to white use of their language and as a consequence were unsuccessful in entering the peer group. Cutler (1999) noted that Mike (her subject) “had heavily bought into elements of African American culture, but he didn’t show that he understood or respected any declaration of limits or conditions to his participation” (436). While Mike had African-American friends in his early adolescence, by the time he was fifteen he actually showed signs of resenting his African-American peers (434). Mike and his friends complained about the closeness and solidarity of African-Americans without taking into consideration the socio-historical history of race relations in the United States. Cutler notes, “[Mike] and his friends seemed at times to demand the erasure of differences in race and class history and position” (436). He

never got the message that his conscious use of AAVE was often rejected because it could be interpreted as “a further white appropriation of one of the sources of power” (Hewitt 1986:163). Mike and his native Standard English speaking white friends played with the language, which in their social group was a commodity as opposed to a functional necessity. Because of this failure to recognize limits and accept his status as an out group member, Mike achieved no insider status in any African American peer group. Mike’s experience is congruent with many of Hewitt’s participants (Chapter One), many of whom had also had black friends when they were younger. One boy expressed a similar outrage at the “unaccountable changes in black boys” (38) as the black boys began to identify more with their ethnic heritage. However, unlike Mike, many of Hewitt’s subjects subsequently rejected all forms of black culture and some actually embraced extreme “racialist” ideals. In contrast, even after his disassociation with his black friendship group, Mike still continued to use AAVE with his all white peer group. This act demonstrates that language crossing has a secondary meaning and is not limited to establishing relationships or solidarity with African Americans.

Underlying language crossing is the broader social construct of race. A popular anti-racist theory is the ‘contact hypothesis’ that “broadly posits that an increase of contact between racial groups reduces ‘prejudice’” (Hewitt 1986:2). The contact hypothesis has had dubious results and perhaps one of its greatest failures is its sole focus on whites’ race-related opinions, treating blacks as the control group (Hewitt 1986:2). As can be seen from the literature discussed above, race relations remain a volatile topic for both whites and blacks. Although Rampton (1995a) claims that when young people language cross they “constitute a form of anti-racism” this may be a superficial view. While social boundaries might be suspended in the moment of crossing, more longitudinal studies need to be done to see if the suspension yields any lasting change. Hewitt (1986) found that some of the most racist boys interviewed were members of black friendship groups in their early adolescence. Some newly racist whites who had learned Creole in their youth used it as a weapon of racism, (thus justifying young blacks’ fears that white Creole use was primarily used for derision) (Chapter One). Hence, it appears prior membership in multi-ethnic groups seemed to do little to combat racist ideology. Therefore, one must proceed with caution when interpreting the social implications of language crossing.

In the analysis of two distinct ethnically diverse areas, Hewitt explores the issue of true opposition to racism. He found that the youth in Area B, a majority black area, avoided many of the racist affiliations of the boys in Area A. The continuing friendly relations between blacks and whites were a necessity “written into the power structure at street level” (80). The relations may have been long lasting because “the kinship networks of the black community and the scope of black adolescent association had come to replace and supplement old white local patterns” (79). The image of whites being integrated into the kinship network is a powerful one and numerous young people attested to the concept of favors and indebtedness which occur within a kinship network (including a repeated, powerful, community legend that involved whites fighting beside blacks against skinheads who had invaded Area B to beat up blacks). Indeed, it appears that the most powerful anti-racism erupted from within the community. Hewitt (1986) notes, “this opposition to racism was derived neither from white leftist political sources but directly from the black community” (83). Sadly, mere inter-racial contact appears insufficient. Instead it appears that the most effective way to combat racism is bottom up, in a grass roots fashion.

On a final note, Hewitt (1986) and Rampton (1995) both warn that even when whites and blacks are able to negotiate conflict free relationships, it does not mean that racist ideologies have been combated. Rampton (1995) observes that “in some areas Asians are not only excluded from the multi-racial dynamic, but are the object of shared black and white hostility” (13). In this situation, racist ideas are merely diverted to another target so functional black and white relations prove to be merely a localized form of anti-racism. Hewitt (1986) observes a similar phenomenon, stating “the negotiation between black and white adolescents is apparently no panacea for adolescent race relations” (215). It appears that the only hope for combating racism is time and contact that suspends the traditional patterns of racial ideologies. Perhaps the communication between whites and blacks is a hopeful start.

NOTES

1. The choice of the term "black" is not a political one, but will be used to facilitate the reference of people of African descent in both the U.S. and Great Britain.
2. For the purposes of this paper, the term Creole will be used to describe the English unique to the Black population in Great Britain. Other terms used are British Black English, Patois and the more narrowly defined London Jamaican.

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V. English

Strange Bedfellows: Local Audience and Race in William Faulkner and Louise Erdrich

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In April of this year, Louise Erdrich gave an interview to *BookPage*, an online literary magazine. The article opens with this: "When Louise Erdrich finished writing *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse*, she went back and read through the works of William Faulkner. 'I do that every so often,' Erdrich says during a call to her home in Minnesota." Faulkner's influence on her work is a reoccurring theme in Erdrich criticism. A recent internet search revealed several English Departments offering graduate courses in which the two authors are compared on the basis of their regionalism, similar themes, and experimental forms of narration.

In a 1993 interview, Allan Chavkin asked Louise Erdrich whether her reading of Faulkner had influenced her own work. She acknowledged that she reads *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Hamlet* over and over. In her essay, "Where I Ought To Be" about a writer's sense of place, she also discussed at length the importance of "The Bear" to Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County [Wong 43-50]. In the Chavkin interview, Erdrich went on to say of Faulkner's influence:

Is the comparison useful? I guess it depends on what sort of use you might make of it. I don't think it is a comparison that deepens the experience of the writing; however, it probably points toward an interesting academic question—that is, how white Southerners and Native American writers might partake of a similar (contained, defeated, proud, undefeated) sense of history, and of place. Strange bedfellows." (Chavkin and Chavkin 220)

As I thought about this quotation and read and re-read a number of Faulkner novels, I began to look not so much at his white Southerners as his mixed-blood characters. I began to examine the ways in which his mixed-blood characters, like Erdrich's, seem to be the battlegrounds of the novels. Issues of race were fought out over the bodies and psyches of these mixed-blood characters. But the more I read biography and the criticism and explored the ways in which these characters developed for Erdrich and for Faulkner, the more the issue of audience began to intervene.

This paper will focus closely on the ways in which Erdrich and Faulkner use mixed-blood characters as the battlegrounds, not just for the racial wars that are fought in their novels, but for more personal battles they were fighting under the public gaze. Each author had an uncomfortable relationship with his/her audience and that discomfort had profound effects on the fiction and characters.

To begin, we will look at the characters that come to mind in Faulkner's work, beginning with Joe Christmas of *Light In August*, published in 1932. Christmas doesn't know what he is or which he is, to what degree, if any, that he is black, and for most of the duration of *Light in August* is at war with himself, hating himself, daring others to hate him, and wandering back and forth across racial lines, trying to find his place. Christmas, though not clearly of mixed-blood, lives a tortured life and dies a horrendous death, lynched and castrated, because of the suggestion that he might have a black ancestor. I would like to register the point that Christmas is included here because he himself is convinced of his dual race, and therefore partakes of the anguish of a mixedblood protagonist. (As will become clear, he is also valuable for this discussion because his racial complexity evolved in significant ways during Faulkner's writing of *Light in August*.)

It is important to note that Faulkner, who had become known for plumbing the very depths of his characters' consciousnesses, remained conspicuously outside of Christmas's mind. A reader begins to discover sentences like "He noticed that, but he said nothing, perhaps thought nothing. Then he was home again. Perhaps he expected to be punished..." (140). Faulkner then does not fully reveal what Christmas is thinking. In another case, "If he noticed, thought, at all, he must have said *My God how long. How long ago that was*" (211). And again: "Perhaps he thought of that other window which he had used to use and of the rope upon which he had had to rely; perhaps not" (230). Finally in this very Faulkneresque sentence—"Or perhaps it was

not shame, though very likely he could no more have said what it was than he could have said that it was not shame"—we see Faulkner literally guessing at what is in the mind of his point-of-view character (239). In this last one, he seems to be quite far outside Christmas's consciousness, surmising about his motivations and feelings.

Absalom, Absalom! was the next published novel, in 1936. In it, Charles Bon is discussed, manipulated, fantasized about, loved, hated, and fought over—quite literally by the members of the Sutpen family and vicariously by the Compsons; General Compson, Jason Lycurgus Compson, and young Quentin—and finally murdered by his half-brother. Those who battle over Bon believe that incest, as a wrong or a sin or an unnatural act, pales in comparison to miscegenation. In terms of Bon's mind, again, Faulkner offers severely limited access. Everything we know about Bon is filtered through the variously unreliable accounts of Miss Rosa, Mr. Compson, General Compson, as well as the piecings together and reenactments of Quentin and Shreve.

Lucas Beauchamp of *Go Down, Moses* and *Intruder In The Dust* provides a third example among Faulkner's characters. He is the most self-actualized of all these mixed-blood men, proud and defiant, especially in his old age. But his dignity was paid for in his youth, with a battle for the sanctity of his own marriage in "The Fire and the Hearth." For the first time then, in *Go Down, Moses*, we have unobstructed access to the mind of one of the battleground characters of mixed-blood, a character whose quest for identity leads him to transcend deeply ingrained racial stereotypes.

This in itself was not terribly interesting, until I began to read the work of Daniel Singal, biographer and critic, who in 1997 published *William Faulkner: The Making of a Modernist*, and to connect his work to that of other critics. Singal believes that Faulkner began his writing career as a Victorian, betraying his worship of his Confederate ancestors in early works, most conspicuously in *Sartoris*. Then, according to Singal, by beginning *The Sound and the Fury* with Benjy's account, Faulkner found a way of entering his own subconscious mind and entering into a battle with his own Victorian sensibilities. As I read Singal's description of this process, I likened Faulkner's writing about Benjy in the truncated thoughts of an "idiot" to the psychological practice of non-dominant handwriting. According to some schools of thought, writing with the non-dominant hand helps one to tap into one's subconscious. Perhaps in writing from the point-of-view of Benjy, this same thing occurred for Faulkner, as Singal suggests. Any reader of *The Sound and the Fury* would agree that "the Victorian Faulkner" comes out the loser at the end of that novel. The "Modernist Faulkner" prevails.

A definition of terms may be necessary. Singal describes the Victorian sensibilities as being associated with disparate elements or binaries: hero and villain, right and wrong, dark and light, Caucasian and Negro, good and evil. The Modernist blends or "compenetrates" these elements, integrating them into conflicted protagonists, "foreswearing conventional and stereotyped models of personal identity in favor of any identity that is continuously being fashioned out of the ongoing lessons of one's own experience." This necessitated "precisely the sort of intense self-knowledge that the Victorians sought to avoid." Said another way,

Art... can bridge the rational and the emotional, the objective and subjective—breaking apart conventional beliefs and rejoining the resulting fragments in a manner that creates relationships not suspected before. In short, where the Victorians saw art as didactic in purpose—as a vehicle for communicating and illustrating preordained moral truths—to Modernists it has become the principal vehicle for exploring and fashioning meaning in a world where meaning must constantly be re-created. This, indeed, would prove one of the new culture's foremost attractions to Faulkner as he struggled to make sense of his region's troubled plight in the midst of a twentieth-century world undergoing rapid transformation. (Singal 10-12)

Singal looks at each of the above-mentioned novels in turn. In *Light In August*, he suggests that "Joe has the option of passing as white and thus enjoying a single identity that would make his life far more comfortable. However, since that choice requires giving up the black part of his self, it would be tantamount to a surrender of his authenticity. That is why Joe in the end insists on an identity based on his doubleness, settling for nothing less... than a wholeness that serves alike the dual sides of himself." Singal adds significantly that "the language here, one cannot help but note, applies equally well to Faulkner." Singal is referring to the ongoing battle

between the Victorian Faulkner and the Modernist, the Nobel Prize winner and the Southern Moderate (Singal 170).

Later on, Singal writes:

“in the earliest drafts of the novel Christmas was a relatively minor figure who for the most part remained offstage and who, when he finally did emerge as a major character, was at first a man whose ‘black blood’ directly determined his behavior. Also telling is the way the manuscript was at first dotted with gratuitous remarks that can only be described as racist. A black nursemaid unable to read a sign, for example, was said to be exhibiting ‘that dull stupid and vacuous idiocy of her idle and illiterate race.’ Beyond dispute, that was the Victorian Faulkner speaking. But then, as the manuscript was revised, key changes set in: prejudiced passages gradually disappeared, Christmas’s racial identity went from definitely black to probably white, and a text that had begun as a cautionary tale about the dangers of racial mixing turned into one of the most powerful indictments ever written of the white South’s racial sins. (Singal 184-5)

This evaluation makes clear Faulkner’s ongoing struggle in his character depictions to move from the Victorian and heavily racist influences of his youth toward a Modernist examination of the society of the South. His depiction of Christmas as white, but tormented by doubts in regard to his racial make-up, leads to a searching and complex examination of Southern values and social mores.

Similarly, the story “Evangeline” appears among Faulkner’s *Uncollected Stories*, and is clearly an embryonic version of the novel *Absalom, Absalom!* In the story, Charles Bon’s racial makeup was uncomplicated: he was white. He did participate in some sort of illegitimate marriage to a mixed-blood woman in New Orleans, but naturally, Bon’s race did not enter into Henry’s objection to Bon’s marriage to his sister. So once again, the issue of race (especially miscegenation) only developed in the novel later on. Again, we see Faulkner blending and complicating the racial make-up of a character in a way that startles readers into examining Southern values and mores (*Uncollected Stories* 583-609).

Sergei Chakovsky, in his essay entitled “Mark Twain’s Influence on William Faulkner” asks the question, “Can we really envisage Joe Christmas or Charles Bon as black?” He doesn’t think so. Both can pass as white, both choose their fates by forcing the issue of their mixed heritage. Therefore, we turn, with Chakovsky, to Lucas Beauchamp. Neither Christmas, who in Faulkner’s imagination started out black or mostly black, nor Bon, who started out white and moved to mixed blood, is satisfying in the way that Lucas Beauchamp is satisfying as a whole, accessible, central character.

So with the publication of *Go Down, Moses* in 1940, Faulkner produced Lucas. Lucas didn’t start out as a mixed-blood character. According to Chakovsky, as Faulkner selected among his McCaslin and Beauchamp stories to assemble what would become the novel, *Go Down, Moses*, he made the all-black Lucas, as well as Tomey’s Turl, into characters of mixed blood, descended from the white patriarch, Carrothers McCaslin. Herein lies the essential conflict of the novel, the patriarch’s sexual relations with his slaves and then his relations with his own mixed-blood daughter, whose son was Lucas’s father.

“What makes Lucas Beauchamp a true representative of the South,” Chakovsky says, “of a ‘house divided,’ a land ‘cursed’ with racial conflict, is... his being both black and white.” He elaborates, in a line of thinking that underscores Singal’s Modernism theory:

“What is important, however, is the author’s treatment of his [Lucas’s] ‘mixed blood’ not just as a disjuncting, psychologically crippling element (which is traditional) but also as a unifying force, which yields the ultimate identity to both the character and the land he personifies. Whatever latent fears of miscegenation Faulkner may have entertained, it is only this ‘mongrel,’ metaracial, or, in other words, human identity that seems ‘taintless’ and ‘incorruptible’ for him. And it is coming to grips with his identity that makes Lucas Beauchamp one of those rare men (if not THE man in the Faulkner canon) ‘that even the circumstances couldn’t stop.’” (Chakovsky 250-251)

Singal agrees, saying that Lucas is a man whose "mixed blood" does not follow the expected course and debilitate him, but rather aids him in the task, always problematic in Faulkner, of coping with "the psychic burden handed down from the past" (Singal 267).

These critics are referring to the Lucas Beauchamp in *Go Down, Moses*. Sadly, as I examined how these key "battleground" characters evolved in Faulkner's imagination, I observed how his own sensibilities about race seem to have shifted in a positive direction early in his life and perhaps shifted back again later on. I found that the Lucas Beauchamp in the beginning of *Intruder in the Dust* is not the same man at the end. It almost feels as though a reader of this 1948 novel is watching Faulkner begin to lose his lifelong battle against racism. Lucas's very life and the prospect of his being lynched for a crime he didn't commit is the center of the novel. And yet, one is reminded of Mark Twain's most famous novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in the way the bottom of the story falls out from under it, the high stakes disappear, and Lucas in the end, arrives to grudgingly pay the white boy who risked all to save him. In a seemingly miserly way, Lucas counts out pennies to pay the boy, in a scene which for this reader, suggested a mockery of Lucas, an ironic suggestion of how little he values his own life. In the final pages of what some might call comic relief, the character of Lucas Beauchamp is made ridiculous (*Intruder* 234-41).

In Theresa Towner's book, *Faulkner on the Color Line: The Later Novels*, Towner explores Faulkner's conflicts over race, both in his fiction and in his life. In the final chapter, "Race and the Nobel Prize Winner," she makes note of a number of disturbing examples in which Faulkner behaved in ways or expressed views which do not seem compatible with the ethics and morals of a Nobel Prize-winning author, thereby contributing to the discourse on his inner and outer conflicts. Many critics and biographers agree that for Faulkner to live in and love the South and yet raise difficult issues of racial equity in his fiction must have been excruciating for him at times.

Some critics, Singal among them, believe that *Go Down, Moses* fails to cohere and is a failed novel. Chakovsky, though, believes that in this novel, through the characters of Isaac McCaslin and Lucas Beauchamp, the novel comes up against the question Faulkner could never fully answer himself—"what is to be done about race in the South?"—and this question is what nearly, but not quite, destroys the novel. That wrongs existed was clear in his fictional works, but what course of action could be taken in response to those wrongs was perhaps something of which a born-and-bred Southerner could not conceive.

Here it is helpful to acknowledge the growing presence of Gavin Stevens in some of Faulkner's later works. Stevens gives many readers trouble. Some suggest that he speaks for Faulkner, some that Faulkner intended for his Southern audience members to assume that Stevens speaks for him. Stevens may have been, for Faulkner, a kind of intricate safety valve. When Stevens gives his endless speeches interpreting the events in obviously racist ways, some readers conclude that he is simply a creation of Faulkner to mock Southerners like Stevens, and others assumed that Stevens was intended all along to be Faulkner's mouthpiece (Polk 135).

In the shaping of his characters, particularly those like Christmas, Bon, and Beauchamp, Faulkner seems to have resisted the expectations of those Southern neighbors and friends who read his books and to allow himself to explore the characters themselves. Towner quotes Faulkner as saying: "The character develops with the book and the book with the writing of it... There's always a moment in experience—a thought—an incident—that's there. Then all I do is work up to that moment. I figure what must have happened before to lead people to that particular moment, and then I work away from it, finding out how people act after that moment... with me there is always a point in the book where the characters themselves rise up and finish the job" (Towner 140).

Perhaps the original premise of this paper is changed a bit by this quotation from the author. Perhaps it was not so much Faulkner who changed his characters—particularly their racial make-up—in order to tell his stories. Perhaps, as he describes it, it was the characters themselves who rose up and changed him. In any case, he deserves a great deal of praise for his ability—however limited—to move into Modernism, even temporarily, and to examine with his tremendous artistic gift the issue of race in the post-Civil-War South.

In his 1992 essay, "Erdrich and Dorris's Mixedbloods and Multiple Narratives," Choctaw-Cherokee critic Louis Owens applauded Erdrich's depictions of mixedblood characters. In his introduction, Owens describes the acclaim Erdrich won with her first novel, *Love Medicine*.

A best-seller, *Love Medicine* not only outsold any previous novel by an Indian author, but it also gathered an impressive array of critical awards including the National Book Critics Circle Award for Fiction in 1984, the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters award for Best First Novel, the Virginia McCormack Scully Prize for Best Book of 1984 dealing with Indians or Chicanos, the American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation, and the *L.A. Times* award for best novel of the year. (Owens 192)

To Owens and clearly to all of the organizations who selected *Love Medicine* for these many honors, Erdrich had achieved something laudable in her depiction of her Chippewa (or Ojibwe or Anishinabeg) characters. "Central to Native American storytelling," writes Owens, "as Momaday has shown so splendidly, is the construction of a reality that begins always with the land. In Erdrich's fiction, those characters who have lost a close relationship with the earth—and specifically with that particular geography that informs a tribal identity—are the ones who are lost. They are the Ishmaels of the Indian world, waiting like June Kashpaw to be brought home" (193).

Again, as in the case of Faulkner, many of Erdrich's central characters are of mixed-blood and do serve as the battlegrounds of the novel. In the psyches of these characters, who struggle for a sustained sense of their own identity, the essential issues of the novels are explored and either brought to resolution or not. The cultural annihilation of the Chippewa people is depicted in character-microcosms with names like June (Morrissey) Kashpaw, Gordon Kashpaw, Marie (Lazarre) Kashpaw, Lulu (Nanapush) Lamaratine, Lyman Lamartine, and Lipsha Morrissey. These characters survive and prevail with varying success.

Owens, who is not given to undue praise, credits Erdrich with particular skill and grace in her depictions of these characters. "Perhaps it is in part Erdrich's positive emphasis upon survival that has endeared her to the reading public. Though the frailty of lives and relationships and the sense of loss for Indian people rides always close to the surface of her stories, Erdrich's emphasis in all three novels [including *The Beet Queen* and *Tracks*] is upon those who survive in a difficult world" (193-4).

Indeed, Owens comes to almost completely positive conclusions when it comes to Erdrich's depictions of Native people:

The seemingly doomed Indian or tortured mixedblood caught between worlds surfaces in Erdrich's fiction, but such characters tend to disappear behind those other, foregrounded characters who hang on in spite of it all, who confront with humor the pain and confusion of identity and, like a storyteller, weave a fabric of meaning and significance out of the remnants. (194)

And yet there were detractors. Teachers and students at the Turtle Mountain Reservation (the Chippewa or Ojibwa community of Erdrich's own family) claimed that the novel confirmed stereotypical views of Indians as drunk, violent, and sexually deviant. Robert Towers of the *New York Review of Books* generalized that the men of *Love Medicine* "get drunk as often as possible" and the women "are likely to take up with any man who comes along" (Chavkin 91). After the publication of her second novel, *The Beet Queen*, Erdrich was in for more panning. Leslie Marmon Silko, acclaimed Native American author of *Ceremony*, harshly attacked Erdrich's fiction as lacking in political commitment. When questioned about the attack, Erdrich joked that Silko must have been using drugs and then blandly suggested that Silko had not read the novel carefully, mistaking the white characters for Indians or mixed-bloods and finding them "shockingly assimilated" (Chavkin and Chavkin, 237).

Then Erdrich did something that was almost unheard of in today's publishing world. In 1993, she published additional sections, newly written chapters and episodes of *Love Medicine*, her award-winning novel. When asked why she would tamper with success, she gave a typically simple and practical answer. She said that in the context of her expanding story of the lives of the *Love Medicine* characters and families, she needed to add material to this novel. The additions would not fit well into subsequent books, but needed to be added to *Love Medicine* in order to fill in the gaps of her plots and characterizations of certain key characters (Chavkin 89).

Allen Chavkin proposes a different reason for the additions, a reason that would suggest that the criticism of her novel for its lack of political commitment had indeed affected her very deeply. In his essay "Vision and Revision in Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine*," he states that "a careful exploration of the changes reveals the premise behind the 1993 version – the need for a *Love Medicine* that is more effective than the 1984 book in conveying its political ideology" (90). Although Erdrich has been praised by some, like Owens, for writing a novel that attempted to universalize Indian lives and make them accessible to non-Indian readers, she may have decided that in doing so, she had lost the Indian reader.

Chavkin is successful in explaining the way in which Erdrich altered the portrayal of several of the novel's key characters. By changing a few words in "Wild Geese" she removed the possibility that Nector was the violent rapist of Marie. By adding "The Island" Erdrich makes it more difficult to see Lulu as a shamelessly promiscuous woman. In the new chapter, we see the source of Lulu's wildness, her separation from her mother (Fleur) at an early age. In adding a section to "The Beads," Erdrich refutes the accusation that her character Marie is ashamed of her Indian heritage. The new episode shows Marie connecting with a new mother figure (Margaret Kashpaw), and consequently with her roots. "Resurrection" deals with the characters of Gordon and June, who were previously perceived as a drunk and a prostitute. In this chapter, we see them on their honeymoon, and though their doom is foreshadowed here, it appears to result not from their identities as Indians, but from their lack of strong identification with their culture. The new chapters entitled "The Tomahawk Factory" and "Lyman's Luck" demonstrate Erdrich's commitment to a political ideology regarding Indians. Lyman is transformed in these two chapters from a bureaucrat who uses reservation politics for personal gain, to someone who sees his gambling business as a place that provides "steady employment" for Indians and infuses revenue into the Indian community. He sees money "trickling and then rolling and flooding into the tribal bank accounts." (Erdrich, *Love Medicine: New and Expanded Version* 327-8)

Although Erdrich may have wanted to add segments for the purpose of fleshing out her characterizations and plotlines, it is difficult to ignore another result of these changes. Just as she rescues the characters of *Love Medicine* from stereotypes that confine them, she rescues herself from her critics and their allegations against her. In the new and expanded version of the novel, Erdrich herself appears to be someone less inclined toward stereotyping and more strongly committed to a political position concerning the plight of Indians and the ravages of white culture on their lives.

Before concluding, it may be helpful to look at one of the many ways in which Louise Erdrich's fiction has likely been influenced by the work of William Faulkner: experimental forms of narration.

Faulkner's novels and stories are a virtual sampler of experiments in narrative technique. Most notably, we have *The Sound and the Fury* which examines the same family stories from three first-person perspectives and then adds a fourth objective section. *As I Lay Dying* is a rotation of conflicting first-person narratives of the Bundren family. *Absolom, Absolom!*, though framed in third-person storytelling, also contains layers upon layers of first-person narration, within which no reliable or true version can be discovered. And *Go Down, Moses* is a collection of stories told in the third person, moving back and forth across generations and also containing sections of first-person accounts. All of these novels place a very high demand on the reader as a negotiator of various points of view.

In *Love Medicine*, Erdrich seems to combine the techniques Faulkner used in *As I Lay Dying* and in *Go Down, Moses*. The original (1984) version contained fourteen chapters narrated alternately by a third-person omniscient narrator and seven first-person narrators. On Erdrich's narrative style, critic Kathleen Sands is quoted here at length:

The spare, elliptical nature of Erdrich's novel can be loosely related to this narrative process in which the order of the telling is up to the narrator, and the audience members are intimately involved in the fleshing out of the narrative and the supplying of the connections between related stories. The gossip tradition within Indian communities is even more elliptical, relying on each member's knowledge of every individual in the group and the doings of each family (there are no strangers). Moreover such anecdotal narration is notoriously biased and fragmented, no individual privy to the whole story. The same incidents are told and retold, accumulating tidbits of information. There is, after all, no

identifiable right version, right tone, right interpretation. The very nature of gossip is instability, each teller limited by his or her own experience and circumstances. It is only from all the episodes, told by many individuals in random order that the whole may be known—probably not to some community member, but ironically, to some outsider patient enough to listen and frame the episodes into a coherent whole. In forming that integrated whole, the collector has many choices, but a single intention, to present a complete story in a stable form....

So it is with *Love Medicine*. There is no single version of this story, no single tone, no consistent narrative style, no predictable pattern of development, because there is no single narrator who knows all the events and secrets. ... This is a novel of voices, the voices of two families whose members interpret and misinterpret, and approve and disapprove (mostly the latter) of one another's activities....

There is a sort of double-think demanded by Erdrich. The novel must be carried in the reader's mind, constantly reshuffled and reinterpreted as new events are revealed and the narrative biases of each character are exposed.... This tension at times creates an almost intolerable strain on the reader because the gaps in the text demand response and attempted resolution without connected narrative....

It is, of course, the very method of the novel, individuals telling individual stories, that not only creates the multiple effect of the novel but requires a mediator, the reader, to bring the episodes together. (Sands 8-10)

This same mediator, in both the work of Faulkner and of Erdrich, is required to negotiate the issues of race in their novels. This task is more complex than it might otherwise be, because of the narrative forms used. In other authors' work, it is easy enough for a reader to determine authorial intent. In Faulkner's and Erdrich's work, the task is much less simple.

These forms of narration that employ the reader as mediator may be understood to serve another purpose. In view of the authors' concerns with audiences, both local and national, is it possible that sorting these difficult issues of race could have intentionally been left to each reader, absolving to some extent these authors of the task of translation? In both cases, the difficulty of the reading and complexity of the narration necessarily selects for a persistent and intelligent reader.

No conclusions can be drawn here. But it is interesting to note that two authors who experienced discomfort with audience, local audience in particular, would choose forms of narration which place a reader in the unique position of sorting the reality of the fictional world for themselves, judging between stories and tellers which are unreliable and subjective, and arriving at conclusions that proved elusive for the authors themselves.

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