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CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
---------	-----

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS	v
--------------------	---

I. LITERATURE

LĀHUI AND FAMILY IN THE NATION-BUILDING PROJECTS OF <i>WRITTEN IN THE SKY</i> AND <i>LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE</i> <i>Kelsey Amos, Department of English</i>	3
---	---

OKAMOTO KANOKO AND EXEMPLARY MOTHERHOOD: CONTEMPORARY READINGS OF <i>BOSHI JOJŌ</i> <i>Francesca Balquin Pizarro, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	8
---	---

WHAT A LITERARY COLLAGE TELLS US: HEMINGWAY'S <i>IN OUR TIME</i> AND "THE SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO" <i>Madoka Nagado, Department of English</i>	15
--	----

DESIRE IN THE LOVE STORIES OF <i>SANYAN</i> <i>Di Sun, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	19
--	----

THE VOICE OF RESISTANCE: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TRANSCULTURATION IN THE POEMS OF CARLO FRATICELLI, JAMAICA OSORIO, AND ITTAI WONG <i>Ryan Swanson, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas</i>	26
--	----

II. LANGUAGE

THE AFFECTIVE EFFECTS OF COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS AFTER EXTENSIVE READING <i>Hyunjung An, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	36
---	----

PROPOSAL FOR THE TRANSCRIPTION OF CETACEAN COMMUNICATION <i>Brenda Clark, Department of Linguistics</i>	45
--	----

DIFFERENCES IN CO-CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE BETWEEN A FATHER AND A MOTHER <i>Vera Hanaoka, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	59
---	----

JAPANESE-SPEAKING CHILDREN'S <i>WA/GA</i> DISTINCTION FOR SUBJECT ELLIPSIS RESOLUTION IN COMPLEX SENTENCES <i>Keiko Hata, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	68
---	----

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRONUNCIATION INSTRUCTION ON ESL LEARNERS <i>Akiko Kahue-Burrows, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	77
---	----

MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PRESCHOOL GIRL'S USE OF WOMEN'S LANGUAGE <i>Nobuo Kubota, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	83
EVALUATING THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE CHIMBU-WAHGI SUBGROUPING <i>Samantha Rarrick, Department of Linguistics</i>	94
ACQUISITION OF <i>NI</i> IN L1 JAPANESE CHILDREN <i>Mihoko Sawada, Department of Linguistics</i>	107
TEACHERS' USE OF THE NON-LEXICAL TOKEN <i>HEE</i> : PEDAGOGICAL FUNCTIONS AND EXTENDED CONVERSATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES <i>Megumi Tsuchida, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	116
HISTORICAL CHANGE IN THE FRENCH SIGN LANGUAGE FAMILY <i>Brittany Wilson, Department of Linguistics</i>	129
WORKING MEMORY CAPACITY AND THE ACQUISITION OF PHRASAL VERB <i>Fred Zenker, Hyunjung An & Hyunjung Jung, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	138
III. CULTURE AND SOCIETY	
'A'OHE PAU KA 'IKE I KA HĀLAU HO'OKAHI: ALL KNOWLEDGE IS NOT LEARNED IN JUST ONE SCHOOL: THE GATHERING OF HULA THAT ACCOMMODATES BOTH CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND TOURISM <i>Rolando Espanto, Center for the Pacific Island Studies Program</i>	151
NEEDS ANALYSIS FOR HOME CARE WORKER TRAINING <i>Kendi Ho, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	155
MAGIC, BUSINESS, AND COMEDY: THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CHINESE IN 18TH-CENTURY FRENCH THEATER <i>Eve Millett, Department of French</i>	166
LANGUAGE ACCESS AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETING IN HAWAII <i>Andrew Rouse, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	175
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS	179
ABOUT THE EDITORS	181

PREFACE

Priscila Leal, PhD student in Second Language Studies

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The eighteenth annual graduate student conference of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa was held on Saturday, April 26th, 2014. As in past years, this conference offered the students in the six departments across the college, East Asian Languages and Literatures (EALL), English (ENG), Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures (IPLL), Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas (LLEA), Linguistics (LING), and Second Language Studies (SLS), to come together and build a stronger community across the college by sharing their work with each other. The conference provides an opportunity for students to become socialized into academic practices, such as presenting at a conference and producing a paper for publication in these proceedings. It also allows students to take on various roles in the academic community as all conference chairs, proceedings editors, coordinators and volunteers for the conference are themselves graduate students.

The theme for this year’s conference was “Your Voice, My Voice: Literature, Language, Culture and Society” and Dr. Lucía Aranda, the new director for the Center for Interpretation and Translation Studies housed in the College of LLL, was the conference advisor. Translation and interpretation guided the theme for the conference, with Dr. Marvin Puakea Nogelmeier of the Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language providing the plenary on history of Hawaiian language translation and interpretation.

The conference was chaired by Grace Cassagnol, Marsalee Breakfield, Madoka Nagado, and Jing Zhou from the departments of Second Language Studies, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, English, and East Asian Languages and Literatures, respectively. They were supported with help from Dr. Lucía Aranda, the faculty advisor, and Jim Yoshioka, the Events Coordinator of the College of LLL. Further support for the conference was provided by the College of LLL, the National Foreign Language Resource Center, and the Center for Interpretation and Translation Studies. Student volunteers from all departments helped make the conference a success by giving their time to help organize, plan and run the conference, including moderating presentations, providing refreshments, managing registration, and providing technical support for the presenters.

We would like to give a big mahalo to all of the student volunteers and everyone who participated in the both the conference and the compiling and editing of the proceedings. We would like to thank Dean Robert Bley-Vroman, Jim Yoshioka, Iris Chang, and everyone else who helped advise throughout the process of the conference and proceedings publication. Of the 29 student presentations at the conference, 20 presenters submitted their papers for publication in the proceedings. We are grateful for this fantastic response and for the help of our assistant editors – Marsalee Breakfield, Madoka Nagado, and Incoronata Inserra – who worked over the summer to provide feedback and help prepare the papers for publication.

We hope you enjoy the papers in these proceedings, which represent a diverse and rich scholarly community. We are glad that our work can help unite the College of LLL and that through the conference and proceedings a stronger, trans-departmental academic community is built.

Honolulu, 2014

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

ECHOES OF CAPTAIN COOK – VOICES ACROSS THE SANDS (OF TIME AND SPACE)

Dr. Puakea Nogelmeier, Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language

ABSTRACT

Captain Cook may not have been the first in Hawai‘i to require translation, but he was the first to be well documented. Nearly two and a half centuries later we are still connected to those early voices that crossed the sands between ship and island shore. The processes have changed, as have the islands’ societies, so the roles of translators have to keep moving along with the times and tides. Translation is caught in, and helps to generate, the ebb and flow of it all.

Dr. Puakea Nogelmeier is a Professor of Hawaiian language at U.H. Mānoa, where he has taught for over 30 years. His degrees in Hawaiian language, Pacific Islands Studies and Anthropology were all completed at UH, while beyond the university he trained in Hawaiian language, traditional dance, chant and literature. Puakea is co-founder and director of Awaiaulu, a nonprofit translation training entity that generates resources and resource people to actively engage with the various Hawaiian-language archival repositories here and abroad. His work is dedicated to rearticulating Hawai‘i’s historical knowledge into fields of study today through training, research, translations, new presentations and reprintings of archival and modern materials for publication and dissemination.

I. Literature

LĀHUI AND FAMILY IN THE NATION-BUILDING PROJECTS OF *WRITTEN IN THE SKY* AND *LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE*

Kelsey Amos, Department of English

ABSTRACT

Although Indigenous nationhood pre-dates the modern nation-state, Kānaka Maoli and other Indigenous peoples have embraced both statist and non-statist forms of resistance to colonial power. Unfortunately, non-statist enactments of indigenous sovereignty and nationhood are often illegible to today's audiences. Meanwhile, stories about the expropriative nation-building projects of settler societies remain critically underexamined. Ironically then, both these projects must be interpreted and uncovered from amid popular texts. I examine Matthew Kaopio's novel *Written in the Sky* for its insights into non-statist indigenous nation-building, and briefly contrast this project with that of Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Written in the Sky tells the story of 'Īkauikalani Kealahale, a houseless 14-year-old who's been living in Ala Moana Beach Park since the death of his only remaining guardian, his grandmother. The plot deals mostly with 'Īkau's day-to-day survival but is also an adolescent coming-of-age story about 'Īkau's efforts at uncovering the mystery of his own identity. I argue that in addition to illustrating these themes, the novel is also a story of nation-building. Because 'Īkau's efforts at survival are inflected with Hawaiian cultural values, he necessarily takes steps to improve the life of the community as his own life is improved. These efforts coalesce into a spontaneous forming of lāhui at the end of the novel.

As a counterpoint, *Little House on the Prairie* can also be read with a focus on a nation-building project—in this case the expropriative project of the U.S. settler nation—with all its racist ideological notions about native peoples. Whereas survival for 'Īkau necessarily means the survival of others, the Ingallses predicate survival on self-reliance and the building of barriers between their nuclear family and outside threats. Although Laura works to ensure the survival of her immediate family, and the concept of neighborliness is sometimes deployed to validate the urge to help others, the majority of the novel is focused on the building of the “little house,” which represents the fortification of the family against land, animals, and Native Americans.

Both novels betray a sense—shared by both settlers of the American west and Hawaiian sovereignty activists who seek to enact a future beyond occupation and the settler state—that nationhood somehow relies on the actions of ordinary people who work to make lives from the land, even and especially under survival circumstances. But there are salient differences in how characters conceive of land, family, and relationships. These interrelated categories are the starting points for understanding the differences between the national projects of building lāhui versus producing the U.S. nation-state through settlement.

2.0. THE NATION-PEOPLE AND LĀHUI

To begin we must understand the differences between Western conceptions of the nation and the way that Indigenous peoples conceptualize themselves as a people. Paraphrasing Immanuel Kant and Jurgen Habermas, Scott Lyons explains that in the U.S. conception, “[s]overeignty rested primarily with the ‘public,’ itself constituted by the communicating mass of wholly ‘private’ individuals acting out of self-interest. The dialectic of private and public constituted the business of the nation-state” (1134). In contrast, Lyons argues that Indigenous peoples think of themselves via the spiritual idea of a “people” with a common origin and a common purpose: “the survival and flourishing of the people itself” (1134). Despite the common interchangeable usage of “nation” and “people,” Lyons elaborates that peoples act differently from nations in the Western sense. Peoples make collective decisions to ensure “the survival and flourishing of the people” whereas nation-states make decisions via a process of state mediation among private individuals who promote private interest (1134). Lyons thus revises the terminology to make a useful distinction between “nation-state” and “nation-people”:

...the making of political decisions by Indian people hasn't been the work of a nation-state so much as that of a *nation-people*. The sovereignty of individuals and the privileging of procedure are less important in the logic of a nation-people, which takes as its supreme charge the sovereignty of the group through a privileging of its traditions and culture and continuity. (1134)

In other words, what sets the Native American conception of nationhood apart is the concern for collective sovereignty enacted via tradition, culture, and continuity for the purpose of collective well-being. In this formulation, there is no state, let alone state recognition. Taking this idea even further, Lyons points to the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois League—"a consciously constructed confederation of *different* peoples based upon the principle of peaceful coexistence"—as "a *multicultural* nation-people" (1135). What Lyons is outlining is a completely different model of multicultural interaction that has been (and could be again) enacted by Indigenous peoples.

These ideas resonate with Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's concept of *lāhui*, which she seems to have developed in response to the ideas of Hawaiian scholars who strategically emphasize the nation-state over indigeneity in making claims for Hawaiian sovereignty. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua is interested in showing how a "non-elitist, non-hierarchical practice of *lāhui*-hood" aligns with anarchy-indigenist principles; in doing so, she necessarily criticizes the work of Keanu Sai and others who have fronted a statist framework that demands international recognition of the occupied Kingdom of Hawai'i rather than federal recognition as Indigenous peoples of the U.S. She writes:

While his [Sai's] position opens up valuable legal avenues for Hawaiians, its insistence on and faith in the international legal system ... deals with a single axis of oppression—the suppression and occupation of a state... Thus, the ways power and oppression function through multiple axes of oppression is overlooked, and as a result, the multiple terrains of struggle on which national liberation movements should be waged are minimized ... by asserting that Hawaiian nationality and indigeneity are mutually exclusive, as defined by law, the complex layers of identity articulated by 'Ōiwi Hawai'i are glossed and discounted. Kānaka Maoli are not an indigenous people of the United States. We are indigenous to Hawai'i. The Hawaiian Kingdom government itself recognized the distinct status and genealogy of the Native people. Complete disavowal of indigenous identity can also foreclose alliances and affinities Kānaka Maoli have already made with other indigenous peoples throughout the world who share common visions, ethics and challenges.

In Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's view, the choice between a national identity and an indigenous identity creates a false dichotomy, as neither fully encapsulates Kānaka Maoli experience and identity. In promoting an anarchy-indigenist approach to governance, she is also working to remind Kānaka Maoli that a change in political status will not necessarily lead to decolonization of the mind or more equitable social and political structures.

With these values in mind, Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's definition of *lāhui* draws on Hawaiian activist Keli'i "Skippy" Ioane's distinction between "the *lāhui* that gathered to make decisions about the occupation of Kaho'olawe in the late 1970s and Ka *Lāhui* Hawai'i, which instituted a formal governance structure and articulated a master plan for achieving sovereignty in the late 1980s." The first, informal, non-statist *lāhui* "was constituted through direct action for aloha 'āina and collective decision-making." This focus on collective decision-making in defining *lāhui* runs parallel to Lyons' definition of nation-people. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua's conception of *lāhui* also captures something of Lyons' insistence that collective decisions are made for the good of the people. Her etymological analysis of the word "*lāhui*" leads her to describe "a singular, organic body with branches that nourish the whole." The focus on nourishment is an acknowledgement of the fundamental purpose of *lāhui*.

3.0. BUILDING LĀHUI THROUGH RELATIONSHIPS

With this understanding of *lāhui* in mind, let's look at how 'Īkau builds *lāhui* through his enactment of Hawaiian cultural values regarding land, family, and relationships with others.

The novel begins with 'Īkau dreaming of his deceased grandmother, who calls to him by his full first name, 'Īkauikalani. Within the narration of the dream, 'Īkau thinks, "She calls my name. It's been some time since I've heard it" (1). Later, while describing 'Īkau's circumstances, Kaopio narrates, "The boy often felt invisible himself: he would try to melt into his surroundings like a chameleon and observe the tourists who swarmed the park" (7). This feeling of invisibility is related to his not having heard his name out loud for some time. Since his grandmother's death 'Īkau has been cut off from relationships with other people, rendering him a nobody. This is particularly important from an Indigenous standpoint because as Indigenous scholar Shawn Wilson writes, "Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of" (80). Without relationships, 'Īkau doesn't exist, in this ontological sense, but on a more pragmatic level, with only a few cents to his name, he also cannot survive long without help.

Precariously positioned in this way, 'Īkau knows that he must take the first step to form a relationship with someone. He offers aid to a man in a wheelchair, and the man asks him his name. 'Īkau is ashamed of his name because people rarely pronounce it correctly, but the request reminds him of the importance of relationships. "The boy thought about the dream in which his grandmother said his name and how good it had felt," writes Kaopio. He

tells the man his name, helps him buy a package of chips, and receives the man's leftover change in return for his assistance. He now has enough money to buy breakfast (8). In this exchange, 'Īkau reestablishes a relationship with someone in the world and is thus sustained, figuratively and literally.

The whole novel runs on this idea of relationships. 'Īkau learns from observing ants that he needs to form relationships with more people. He reflects:

I am an ant trying to find my way. I hear the home song guiding me, but it's too faint. After a while, another ant appears. Singing, she bumps my head and shares the song. ... Bumping heads reminds me of Grandma's side of the family. They always kissed when greeting one another. And with each kiss, the song grows stronger. That's how I find my way home. (11)

'Īkau "bumps heads" throughout the novel and gives and receives help from an array of people who slowly become woven together as they connect with 'Īkau. 'Īkau's expanding network of relationships gives him access throughout the novel to more and more food that he shares with the other homeless inhabitants of the park, thereby building even more relationships and making "a family out of the many friendless people living in the park" (112).

But familial relationships with other human beings are not the only relationships valued by Kānaka Maoli. Wilson writes, "[i]dentity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land" (80). Implied in this assertion is the idea that family includes not just the nuclear or the extended living family, but deceased family members of the past, and as-yet-unborn family members of the future. Partially because these two latter categories of family are part of the land, the relationship that Indigenous peoples have with land is conceived of as a familial relationship.

In the novel the land provides food for 'Īkau, and 'Īkau makes efforts to take care of the land in return. In one chapter 'Īkau wanders into a residential neighborhood and discovers a wild area near a stream where he is able to gather food plants (99-100, 104). In return, 'Īkau takes up the habit of gathering trash left along the road. This relationship implicitly challenges the notion that 'Īkau is homeless and has no family. The land, even in its modern, urban form, is 'Īkau's family: it feeds him. 'Īkau's family is cosmic and inclusive, extending to the birds in the park, 'Īkau's 'aumakua¹, the pueo, and several deceased characters who visit him in dreams.

By the end of the novel 'Īkau has developed a broad sense of the life he shares with all living creatures. 'Umi Perkins cites this quality as one of the components of Indigenous theory, and points out that:

A view of the whole thus arises from dynamic equilibrium or pono. ...the "ideal" [Indigenous] personality is that of a "generalist," one who possesses the survival skills and a broad view of the whole. It is implicit in the notion of maintaining balance that one must possess such a broad view. (72)

'Īkau has by the end of the novel developed into the "ideal Indigenous personality" by becoming someone who maintains balance in his community. Via his relationships, he has also come to see himself as part of a collective—perhaps a people, or a multicultural people—and makes decisions with that idea in mind.

By the end of the novel, 'Īkau's network of relationships coalesces into a spontaneous lāhui in response to the threat of a gang member who has previously murdered 'Īkau's friend and mentor. The gang member attacks 'Īkau, but he is able to escape harm by calling on his park community for help. Members of the community show up, each contributing their unique abilities in the effort to restrain the gang member from harming 'Īkau—someone holds the gang member down with a bat, someone calls the police, and one normally silent man suddenly becomes a moral leader: "'Are you sure he is guilty?' the grizzled man asked, as if he were a judge in a criminal trial" (140-141).

From here 'Īkau faces the decision of whether to testify to the police about the murder of his friend and risk being taken by child protective services. At first, 'Īkau considers only his own fear of being sucked into the social services system, counterbalanced by the guilty conscience he would have if he failed to testify. Then Kaopio writes:

'Īkau scanned the faces of the people surrounding him: Eloise, Mom and Pops, the red-faced drunk, the Polynesian woman with her children, the grizzled man, and the many other transients he had grown to love. He also thought about his friends who visited the park during the day: the kind bird lady; Manang Lina, the aluminum can lady; Mr. Lam, the man who did his morning exercises on the sand. Even the man with the metal detector. But most of all, he thought about Gladness. What would happen to her if he wasn't around? (141-142)

Having thought about the well-being of his lāhui, 'Īkau is now certain that he doesn't want to testify. The lāhui seems to agree, as on the spot they collaborate to hide him from the police (142). Unfortunately, this results in the police clearing everyone out of the park for the night. The law of the state cannot condone the spontaneous lāhui that has asserted a brief but transformative sovereignty and that was possible because of 'Īkau's network of relationships. Despite this effort to squelch the lāhui, in a few days, Kaopio writes, "...life at the park went on as before" (146).

4.0. BUILDING THE LITTLE HOUSE

Turning now to *Little House on the Prairie*, I'd like to note how these two stories are surprisingly comparable: both feature child protagonists who are able to survive off the land as the result of the care and guidance of family, though 'Īkau's family is cosmic and expansive, while Laura's is nuclear. Both narratives revolve around daily tasks to ensure survival. And both 'Īkau and the Ingalls face the possibility of eviction. For 'Īkau and his community the possibility of being kicked out of the park is a present worry. In *Little House on the Prairie*, the Ingalls family is squatting in "Indian Country," but are hoping that the U.S. government will eventually sanction their presence (47). Ironically it is the Osage in *Little House on the Prairie* for whom forced migration is real and tangible, but Wilder chooses to focus instead on the anxiety the Ingalls family experiences as settlers.

Thinking again of land, family, and relationships, we can see that Laura's nuclear family does not include the land. The family fears the land and its animal and human inhabitants, finding it necessary to construct a barrier between themselves and the land. Thus, in this episodic novel, chapters 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 12 all focus on describing the building of the little house, its parts, and its accompanying structures. Pa is motivated to build by the need to protect his family from the dangers of the land, including wolves in chapter 5, Osage in chapters 11 and 23, wind and rain in chapter 17, a panther in chapter 20, and a prairie fire in chapter 22.

In fact, this dialectic between the land's threats and the family's responses is the central drama of the novel, and much of the charm of the story comes as readers relate to feeling "snug" and protected from the land's threats. The chapter dealing with the wolves ends with a scene that is exemplary of this preoccupation. A pack of wolves has surrounded the little house in the middle of the night:

She [Laura] lay and listened to the breathing of the wolves on the other side of the log wall. She heard the scratch of their claws on the ground, and the snuffling of a nose at a crack. She heard the big gray leader howl again, and all the others answering him.

But Pa was walking quietly from one window hole to the other, and Jack did not stop pacing up and down before the quilt that hung in the doorway. The wolves might howl, but they could not get in while Pa and Jack were there. So at last Laura fell asleep. (98)

In this scene the Ingalls family has mobilized all of its defensive forces. Although the nuclear family does extend a little to make room for domesticated animals like Jack the guard-dog, it cannot accept the wild wolves and must enforce a strict barrier between itself and them.

5.0. CHALLENGES

At the end of *Little House on the Prairie* the nation-building project of the settler family is abandoned (at least temporarily), whereas 'Īkau's nation-building project comes to fruition. It is certainly perplexing that Pa decides on behalf of his family to abandon their homestead fortification at just the moment when the Osage have actually been forced to leave the prairie. Philip Heldrich argues that Pa's attitude toward the Osage changes over the course of the novel to one of greater and greater respect, such that he arrives by the end of the novel at a recognition of his settler intrusion and a rejection of the U.S. settler project (100-107). Such an interpretation does not fully redeem the novel or its characters, but it does demonstrate how the U.S. settler colonial nation-building project is constantly undermined by the survivance of Indigenous peoples. At the same time, *Written in the Sky* demonstrates how Indigenous sovereignty is constantly emerging in spontaneous and transformative forms. In writing his novel, Kaopio is both inviting readers to enter 'Īkau's lāhui and challenging readers to let their relationships to this story change the world.

NOTES

1. 'Aumākua are family or personal gods or deified ancestors who might assume the shape of sharks, owls, hawks, and other creatures, according to Pukui and Elbert.

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OKAMOTO KANOKO AND EXEMPLARY MOTHERHOOD: CONTEMPORARY READINGS OF *BOSHI JOJŌ*

Francesca Balquín Pizarro, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

Okamoto Kanoko's 1937 novel, *Boshi jojō* (*A Mother's Love*), met with critical success at the time of its publication for its depiction of pure and intrinsic maternal love. Such an interpretation largely ignored the extreme and transgressive nature of the protagonist's intense longing for her absent son and her romance with the young man who reminds her of her son. I suggest that the state-endorsed, pro-motherhood ideology of late-1930 Japan may have shaped the reception of *Boshi jojō* by contemporary critics, who praised the novel as a "unique" yet exemplary portrayal of motherhood and maternal love.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In the opening chapter of her 1985 work *Sensational Designs*¹, Jane Tompkins examines the factors that established Hawthorne's literary reputation as a classic American writer in order to challenge the notion that both meaning and value are essential to literary works. She states that "when classic texts are not seen as ineffable products of genius but as the bearers of a set of national, social, and economic, institutional, and professional interests, then their domination of the critical scene seems less the result of their indisputable excellence than the product of historical contingencies" (xii). Okamoto Kanoko and her 1937 novel, *Boshi jojō* (*A Mother's Love*), are examples of how the reception of a writer's work is influenced by the dominant ideologies of a given time and place. In attempting to locate the meaning and value contemporary readers ascribed to the novel, what we find is an interpretation of motherhood and maternal love as defined by the historical context of late-1930s Japan. Such contemporary interpretations of the novel are in stark contrast with the meaning and value we would assign to the text today.

Boshi jojō was published in the March 1937 issue of the high-brow literary journal *Bungakkai* (*Literary World*) to critical acclaim. Established literary critics such as Kobayashi Hideo and Itō Sei wrote commentaries reviewing the novel in widely-circulated newspapers within a year of its publication. Itō praised it as Kanoko's "representative work" (*daihyō teki na sakuhin*) (Itō, 73). Hayashi Fusao, who co-founded *Bungakkai* with Kobayashi, also had unreserved praise for Okamoto, placing her in the same category as Meiji period (1868-1912) luminaries Mori Ōgai and Natsume Sōseki and regarding *Boshi jojō* as Okamoto's masterpiece (34).

These members of the literary establishment or *bundan* made up what Stanley Fish calls an interpretive community of elite readers who saw Okamoto's works as "rapturously endorsing maternal love" and "being complicit with nationalist-imperialist politics" (Suzuki, 117). In "Interpreting the *Variorum*" Fish defines the interpretive community as being "made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions" (182). As Tompkins demonstrated, the project of "writing" these texts doesn't occur within a historical vacuum but is heavily influenced by the social and political realities of the period.

This paper examines the factors that led to the contemporary interpretation of motherhood as depicted in *Boshi jojō*, first by describing the state-endorsed, pro-motherhood ideology in the late 1930s and its ties to the nationalist agenda, and secondly, by looking at two commentaries written on the novel. As I discuss elements of Kobayashi and Itō's commentaries, I suggest that the contemporary political climate played a role in shaping an interpretation of *Boshi jojō* as a portrayal of pure and intrinsic maternal love. Such a reading of the work ignores, either unconsciously or deliberately, the extreme and transgressive nature of motherhood and motherly love also portrayed in the book, aspects that play an important part in recent feminist and non-essentialist interpretations of the novel, as the one discussed in the chapter of Michiko Suzuki's *Becoming Modern Women*.

2.0. WOMEN AS MOTHER IN NATIONALIST DISCOURSE

The beginning of the Shōwa period (1926-1989) saw the relationship between women and the state being increasingly defined in terms of motherhood, which began in the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) ideology of the late Meiji period. New words began to appear along with this growing emphasis on the maternal role of women within the family and state. The general term for motherhood, *bosei*, had entered the Japanese lexicon in the

beginning of the twentieth century, but Michiko Suzuki remarks that “until *bosei* became standardized, words such as *boshin* (maternal heart/feeling) and *botai* (maternal state/body) were used” (108). The politicized nature of the discussion on motherhood, with contributions coming from feminist, socialist, and nationalist circles also produced words like *boken* (mother’s rights) *bosei undō* (motherhood movement) and even *boseika* (maternalization).

Feminism in early Shōwa had generally moved away from endorsing selfhood and independence and focused instead on endorsing motherhood as a form of self-completion and on lobbying for the rights of mothers and motherhood protection (*bosei hogo*). Founder of the feminist journal *Seitō* (*Bluestockings*) Hiratsuka Raichō took an active role in the motherhood movement, as did Takamure Itsue who was “influential in shaping feminist thought during the 1930s and profoundly contributed to the promotion of a mythologized notion of maternal love” (Suzuki 110). Her work, *Ren’ai Sōsei* (*Creation of Love*, 1926), depicted an empowered form of motherhood and maternal love that was instinctive, pure, and eternal (Suzuki 112).

The so-called motherhood protection debates (*bosei hogo ronsō*) were at the center of the political scene since the Taishō period (1912-1926). Motherhood protection focused on creating provisions for mothers in the workforce such as maternity and nursing leave. Some provisions also extended protection to all women, who were recognized as potential mothers (Mackie 91). Such concerns suggested an expanded view of motherhood as essential to female identity. *Boshi jojō* was published during the culmination of these debates when the Mother-Child Protection Act (*Boshi hogo hō*), which provided monetary aid to poor mothers and caregivers, was passed on March 1937. The law was “considered a triumph for Ichikawa Fusawa’s feminist movement, which had given up lobbying for suffrage in 1934 and chosen instead to advocate for motherhood protection” (Suzuki 122).

While feminists worked to elevate motherhood as a representation of a mythic and essential female force, their focused efforts on this particular aspect of female identity also reflected complicity with an increasingly conservative and militaristic state. Women in their capacity as mothers or future mothers took an active role in public life, especially in supporting their collective “sons,” the soldiers of the nation fighting in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1941) and the subsequent Second World War (1941-1945). According to Suzuki, from the onset of the Second World War, motherhood had become an essential part of the female experience. Organizations such as The Greater Japan National Defense Women’s Association (*Dai nihon kokubo fujinkai*) was one of the largest women’s groups at the time; their mission of helping families of the war dead demonstrated a conception of maternal love that was directed toward society and the nation—all women were able to participate in expressing this maternal love whether or not they were actually biological mothers. As Suzuki points out, “particularly from the late 1930s to the end of the war, images and discussions of maternal love proliferated within all levels of culture, profoundly shaping both female and national identities” (114).

Boshi jojō was thus published at a time when a pure, instinctive, and self-sacrificing representation of maternal love was at the forefront of national consciousness. The reception and dissemination of the novel by members of the Japan Romantic School (*Nippon roman ha*) further helped frame the work within the nationalist project. In his 1938 essay on Okamoto Kanoko, “Nihon bungaku no fukkatsu” (“The Revival of Japanese Literature”), Hayashi Fusao not only compares the author to Mori Ogai and Natsume Soseki, but also describes her arrival as a novelist as “a coincidence one could even call a necessity” and a premonition of the restoration of the so-called “spirit of Meiji” (*Meiji no seishin*) (33). If, as Tompkins points out, the mechanisms by which a work is introduced to the public determines its value in the eyes of the world (32), then the strong endorsement of Okamoto and her works by these nationalist intellectuals must surely have played a role in shaping the contemporary reception and canonization of her work.

I will now first introduce and analyze the text of *Boshi jojō*, and second, look at its reception by contemporary critics. The difference between my interpretation and those of the critics serves to highlight how the text defies a single interpretation as well as how the historical context in which the work was initially read accounts for the nature of its contemporary reception.

3.0. INTERPRETING *BOSHI JOJŌ*

The mother of the novel’s title, known only as She, or Kanojo, is a famous poet living with her husband in Tokyo. After years of living abroad in Europe, they had returned to Japan, leaving behind their son, Ichirō, a student of art in Paris. In a state of longing for the absent Ichirō, Kanojo’s thoughts are occupied with memories of the time

spent with her son in Paris. Such remembrances punctuate every moment of her life, even as she travels through Tokyo by bus or sits with her husband at a Ginza café. To the mother and son, Paris was a “paradise” far away from the hunger and destitution that had plagued their earlier life, the result of her husband’s (Issaku) drinking and abandonment.

Glimpses into these memories also clearly evoked the associations of Paris as a city of romance and love. To Kanojo, “Paris was a marvelous city, making light songs out of grief and sadness, and cleansing the wounds of the heart. And the clear, deep blue European sky of early summer spread out like a love potion’s spell” (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 57). Back in Tokyo, the sight of chestnut trees blooming is enough to spark a memory of Paris and a shared moment with her son:

Once during the chestnut flower season she had shut her eyes tight, then opened them suddenly and stared hard at the flowers within the leaves. And without saying a word, she had pointed them out to her son. Her son had also closed his eyes, opened them quickly and gazed in at the flowers. And between them there arose such a closeness that their bodies had shuddered (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 57-58).

The scenes depicted in Kanojo’s remembrances of Ichirō are less evocative of their actual mother and son relationship and more closely resembles that of lovers on walks in parks and rendezvous in cafes, while her present state of longing for the absent son more strongly suggests a longing for one’s absent lover.

In the most extreme expression of her longing, Kanojo chances upon a young man who she thinks resembles Ichirō. She impulsively chases him through the Ginza streets, unable to deny the urge to follow after him. Superimposed over this frenzied chase scene is a memory of another one from years before, when she had struggled to catch up with her teenage son’s deliberately quick pace in the same Ginza streets. She had boiled with anger at his impertinence at the time but still hurried along after her son, “in this irritation, there had been a strange happiness as well” (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 67).

The young man, Kikuo, turns out to be an ardent admirer of Kanojo’s poetry and, following their initial encounter in Ginza, starts writing her letters begging her to meet him. Kanojo is equally drawn to the young man, their mutual sympathies developing into an attraction. In her frequent visits to his home, she defends his interests against his mother’s attempts at having him return to school and marry. In a pivotal scene, as Kanojo walks with Kikuo, she brushes off a tuft of nettle from his school uniform. The portrayal of what could otherwise be construed as a simple motherly act is charged with unmistakable sensuality:

His high school uniform fit so tightly that the buttons were about to burst. His pectoral muscles were so developed that the line of buttons had formed a vertical valley. Through the blue serge fabric she seemed to feel the vain grasp of his soul, which had urgently wanted to ask something, then had been at a loss at how to ask. A searing passion had risen within her like an all-embracing fog. She had wanted to envelop this boy with something gentle and yielding and waft him off into the clouds.

...Without saying a word, she...his hand...That was all there was to it, but... (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 90).

Seized with guilt, she flees from him, confesses the entire episode to her husband and writes a letter to Kikuo breaking off their relationship. Years later, at an art exhibition, a young man mysteriously purchases Ichirō’s painting. The young man is no other than Kikuo, who writes a letter to Kanojo explaining that he has since entered university but remains unmarried. Wondering if she should once again see Kikuo, the story ends with Kanojo writing the following poem of longing for him:

When clouds cross your path, won’t you ask the clouds about me?
And if you go where the snows fall, ask the snow as well.
Since you have gone, darkness has filled my heart,
Black is the night snow others call white. (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 97)

It seems clear from the novel’s plot that the maternal love of the novel’s title transgresses any normally accepted boundary of a mother’s love for her son. Kanojo’s longing for the absent son is so intense that it becomes the center of her emotional life in Tokyo. She herself claims that what she feels for him “is not just some primitive maternal feeling” (Okamoto, *A Mother’s Love* 79) but a greedy, selfish love that is also the inspiration for her poetry. The incestuous nature of her love is further emphasized by the desire she feels for Kikuo, who acts as a substitute for the absent Ichirō.

Kanojo's complete self-identification as a mother is clear and the text foregrounds this essentialist representation of female identity by borrowing from the pro-motherhood ideology of the time. At the beginning of the story, Kanojo's decision to let her son live on his own in Paris is met with praise from a society lady who extolls her sacrifice as that of an extraordinary "wise mother" (*kenbo*). At the same time, Kanojo rejects this identification, feeling irritation for being lumped into a category with other ordinary "wise mothers." Her disapproval of Kikuo's mother further emphasizes this rejection of the typical "wise mother," which Kikuo's mother represents. She lives only to have Kikuo succeed and devotes her entire self to this goal. Kanojo's maternal love is of course not typical of the state-endorsed conception of "wise mothers." More than her identity as a wife or acclaimed writer, motherhood is her primary identity, but far from being characterized by the self-sacrifice and moral purity extolled in the national image of motherhood, it is self-fulfilling in its capacity to inspire her art and also inextricably linked to her sexual and romantic longing, as demonstrated by her attraction to Kikuo.

Since the very plot of the text seem to suggest an interpretation that subverts contemporary conceptions of motherhood and maternal love, it is quite surprising that the text thrived in a climate of close scrutiny by an increasingly conservative and nationalistic state. Suzuki proposes that the book escaped censure during a time of "pro-motherhood sentiment" because although Kanojo's feelings hint at socially unacceptable behavior, these feelings are never enacted in the text:

That is to say, despite the ambivalence of the ending, "she" remains a chaste wife and mother, faithful to her family; the affair with Kikuo remains only a possibility. By taking this strategy, the story cultivates both aspects of maternal love: on the one hand, it is a radical and transgressive exploration of mother's love that defies social convention; on the other hand, it reinforces the purity and nobility associated with maternal love (122).

Suzuki adds that Okamoto's presentation of the text as autobiography becomes a mediating factor in contemporary readers' acceptance of the text (122). It becomes one author's unconventional interpretation of her own maternal feelings rather than a broad, sweeping portrayal of motherhood. The thinly veiled changes to the names of the work—Kanojo for Kanoko, Issaku for Ippei, and Ichirō for Tarō—reinforce the idea that this is an autobiographical novel.

The political climate in which the book would be read was very likely to have influenced Kanoko's writing, but the final product still clearly problematizes the conventional interpretation of motherhood. Two commentaries (*jihyō*) by established literary critics of the period, one by Kobayashi Hideo and the other by Itō Sei, reveal that such problematic depictions of maternal love were ignored completely. Their commentaries highlighted the purity and instinctive maternal feeling in Kanojo's relationship with her son and point to this portrayal of motherhood as the underlying theme of the story.

Kobayashi's commentary on *Boshi jojō* appeared in the March 5, 1937 issue of the *Yomiuri Shinbun* (*Yomiuri Newspaper*), the same month that the novel appeared in *Bungakkai*. The impact of this commentary on contemporary readership of *Boshi jojō* was probably not insignificant. For most readers of the national newspaper, this brief article was the first and only connection they must have had to Okamoto's text; thus the article wholly defines their understanding of both the novel and its author. For others who may have also been readers of the elite literary journal or may have read the novel in its later book form, their reading of the work was likely to have been influenced by the commentary of this well-respected and established critic.

Kobayashi begins his commentary by calling the work "a good novel" (*ii shōsetsu dearu*) and its protagonist the expression of a "unique" kind of mother's love for her child (*yuniku na boshi jojō no hyōgen*). He explains that "[R]ather than excelling as a work that takes on the theme of motherly love, it is one that captivates readers' hearts according to its writer's singular interpretation of motherly love [*boseiai*]" (71). He also draws further attention to this unconventional portrayal of the protagonist who, "rather than behaving like the wife of a saintly artist husband is doted upon as a daughter and likewise, rather than as a mother to her clever artist son is treated more as a younger sister" (Ibid.). According to Kobayashi, it is to the credit of Okamoto's self-assurance (*jishin*) that readers accept this unconventional premise and don't find it particularly strange.

Kobayashi continues by pointing out that he found the novel neither clever nor particularly splendid in terms of expression or technique. To him, the text is mired in trouble and the character of Kikuo seems hardly believable. Once again, it is the writer's individuality and self-confidence that captivates readers:

The writer reflects on her protagonist: “Her extreme naivety that manifests into something like bashfulness, wasn’t it a kind of ignorance [*hakuchisei*]?² In parts of her physical body and spirit there were extremely ignorant parts. Those parts captivated certain people willfully and of its own accord from her mutually sympathetic world, forgetting acknowledged distinctions of age and class.” However, this so-called ignorance rather than calling it such is actually purity of heart. Rather than calling it childlike, it is purity raised by refinement and will. Out of this, the writer forms a rather abstract moral conception, to which she lends the support of instinctive maternal love [*boseiai to iu honno teki na mono*]. The writer’s self-confidence based on this conception is clear and the various scenes of motherly love are by no means simple. In this novel, when the son appears, it is clear, those parts emit brilliance and the writer’s confidence is at its best. When the son disappears, the scenes become poor, not strong proof of the writer’s confidence and it disintegrates into various subject matters (71-72).

Kobayashi’s reading of the text shows itself as a product of contemporary discourses on essential motherhood. The compound *boseiai* used by Kobayashi to refer to maternal love had been in vogue only over the previous decade and suggested for contemporary readers “an emotion existing *a priori* in all women” (Suzuki 108). To Kobayashi the portrayal of pure, instinctive maternal love is the main thrust of the work; accordingly, any parts of the text where her son isn’t featured seem poor.

Kikuo’s presence and the role that he plays in foregrounding Kanojo’s sexually charged longing for her son is further diminished by Kobayashi’s remark that the character lacks believability. Such criticism may also suggest that Kobayashi found Okamoto lacking in the general skill of portraying Kikuo believably. Kobayashi’s 1937 essay “On Women Writers” (“Joryū sakka”) illustrates his general view that “women writers do not seem to take as much trouble in their portrayal of male characters. Or perhaps it is that they do not feel the need to go to such pains to portray them” (51).

The *Yomiuri* commentary ends with no mention of the incestuous feelings or transgressive maternal love suggested throughout the novel. It instead focuses on the writer’s uniqueness and self-confidence, which seem inextricably linked to the purity of maternal feeling with which Okamoto writes.

Itō Sei’s commentary appeared in the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* (*Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*) on April 18, 1938, a little over a year following *Boshi jojō*’s initial publication. Itō begins by praising Okamoto as a writer with “singular literary style” (*tokui no sakufū*) (73). After summarizing the basic premise of the novel, he quotes directly from two passages of the text that he considers crucial to supporting the depiction of Kanojo (and Okamoto herself) as embodying the ideal mother and wife. The first excerpt quotes from the part immediately following Kanojo’s flight from Kikuo. The passage ends with Kanojo’s reflections and the explanation behind her flight:

There was no explaining it, but there was more than morality or obligation or a yearning love for Kikuo. Her most profound maternal instincts had not wished to defile her son. She realized then, so late, that it had been that fastidious, sensitive, most instinctive of female impulses, the attachment of a mother to her child, which simple words like “betraying my son” did not really express. The relationship with Kikuo had developed because of her son’s existence...and this had enraged her maternal instinct. The rage of her motherly instinct, which would not permit even the slightest stain, had insisted she flee in anger from Kikuo (Okamoto 91).

Itō remarks that the intensity of feeling being described in the passage points to an extraordinary moral correctness (*dōtoku na tadashisa*) and fastidiousness (*keppekisa*) that brings to the fore “that thing called ‘mother’ which exerts the greatest strength on the woman’s heart” (74).

His second excerpt quotes a passage earlier in the novel in which Kanojo strolls through Paris with her son and remembers the circumstances that had made their presence in Paris so significant. Itō points out how the protagonist, while describing the suffering and starvation to which she and her infant son were subjected, doesn’t give one word of reproach to her wayward husband, instead directing blame to an indifferent and cruel world “where not a single soul would reach out a hand to help a shy, sickly immature mother who had no way to earn her own living, and a starving little boy” (Okamoto 58). The author, Itō writes, expresses a consideration toward her husband that is not at all typical: “Usually when a wife and child sink into this kind of lamentation, the husband is blamed. However, the scene is not written this way” (Itō 76), giving further evidence of the protagonist and the author’s uniqueness (*tashika ni kono sakusha wa kawatta hito dearu*). In not wanting to speak ill of her husband, she is like an angel, or at least possessing a beautiful inner disposition that might be called ignorance (*hakuchisei*) (Ibid.).

Itō proposes that this absolute ignorance explains why when she is carrying on with a younger man she runs away from him in fear of staining the image of her son and why she tells her husband about it. Until her husband tells her, she has no awareness of the danger of possibly betraying her husband. Even when she is in trouble because of her absent husband, she suffers sadness, not because her husband has turned away from home, but because of the people of the world.

Itō's commentary clearly distinguishes between Okamoto's selfish desires and the morally pure and instinctive motherhood that keeps her in check and scolds her for her actions. In his interpretations of Kanojo's flight from Kikuo, this "instinctive motherhood" has agency more powerful than her desires and is one that exercises moral authority over her actions, preventing her from polluting the purity of her maternal love. Such an interpretation doesn't take into account the story's ending in which Kanojo plays with the possibility of renewing her relationship with Kikuo. Leaving such a possibility open would suggest a defiance of the maternal instinct that has previously kept her in check. The interpretation also fails to take note of the significance of the final poem, which seems to imply that the overwhelming sense of longing Kanojo now feels is no longer directed toward her son, but to Kikuo; he now becomes the self-fulfillment of her creative endeavors.

Like Kobayashi, Itō seems to equate Kanojo's supposed ignorance—her extreme innocence (*hakuchisei*)—as a kind of moral purity that somehow directs her actions. Both critics offer this unusual characteristic as explanation for Kanojo's behavior: the reason why she doesn't understand distinctions of age or class, she flees from Kikuo, she divulges her affair to her husband and doesn't blame him for her past troubles. Rather than criticizing these characteristics, both Kobayashi and Itō locate this unique expression of innocence as the source of her instinctive moral purity.

It is also interesting that no mention is made of Kikuo's mother, Kyoko, in either commentary. This is significant because, as the only other portrayal of motherhood in the novel, Kyoko serves as a foil to Kanojo's unique interpretation of maternal love. Suzuki suggests that Kyoko's name, which contains the character for "mirror," highlights her role as this foil (121). In her complete devotion to serving her husband in the past and her son in the present, she seems an obvious representation of the "good wife, wise mother" whose sense of self-completion seems to rest solely on her son's success in society. She typifies, for Kanojo, the type of the run-of-the-mill "wise mother" with whom she does not want to be classified. It is possible that the mention of Kyoko and her brand of motherhood would have problematized the maternal love critics found so admirable in Kanojo.

While Itō does take note of the longing Kanojo exhibits toward her son, and even recognizes that she finds a substitute for this maternal longing in Kikuo, he doesn't seem to regard her feelings as being in any way extreme or transgressive. Instead, she is held up as an idealized expression of essential maternal feeling that is both morally pure and innocent. I would argue that although the love she feels is certainly presented in the text as instinctive and central to her identity, it is hardly separate from her feelings of sexual and romantic longing.

The meaning both contemporary interpretations derived from the text largely determined the value they seem to have placed on the writer and her work. Okamoto's portrayal of a morally upright conception of motherhood garners praise from both Kobayashi and Itō, regardless of their divergent opinions on her literary technique and general skill as a writer. I suggest that such wholly different interpretations of the text from my own are the result of the different socio-political contexts that informed our readings.

The impact of feminist scholarship and a non-essentialist conception of gender have played a role in shaping the meaning and value that present-day readers like Michiko Suzuki ascribe to the novel and its author. Removed from socially accepted beliefs on motherhood, the transgressive elements of the text's portrayal of maternal love—its extremity and suggestions of incestuous desire—are foregrounded as the focus of the entire work. It is valued for its subversion of stereotypical motherhood that is seen as both self-sacrificing and asexual. Okamoto is then being admired, not for producing a model of exemplary motherhood, but for presenting a rejection of that very assumption.

4.0. CONCLUSION

Okamoto Kanoko died two years after the publication of *Boshi jojō* and before the beginning of the Second World War. But Okamoto's massive creative output in the years leading up to her death ensured a continued

dissemination and reception of her work years after. The stories that were published posthumously were read and reviewed in a wartime context and by the same members of the literary establishment, of which two in particular have been discussed in this paper.

In the postwar era, her work continued to garner attention, particularly after Setouchi Harumi published two popular autobiographical novels about Okamoto, *Kanoko ryōran* (*Kanoko in bloom*, 1962-1964) and its sequel *Kanoko ryōran sonogo* (*After Kanoko in bloom*, 1978), which sparked renewed interest in her life and work. Both her husband Ippei and her son Tarō, a famous avant-garde artist, were also responsible for keeping her name and her works in the public eye; they both wrote essays and memoirs and talked to the press about her works and motherhood. Just as in the contemporary literary commentaries of her work, the details of her life—her affluent childhood, her dramatic relationships and her family’s celebrity as well-known artists—continue to play a part in informing the interpretive framework for her work.

As with all literary texts, new meaning continues to be ascribed to *Boshi jojō* and, along with that, new values for canonizing its writer since its initial publication and reception. As this paper attempted to demonstrate, these interpretations have proven quite disparate to the point of suggesting that the work exists as wholly different texts, determined by the historical contexts that define each interpretive framework.

NOTES

1. “Masterpiece Theater: The Politics of Hawthorne’s Literary Reputation.” An earlier version of the chapter was published in the journal *American Quarterly* (Winter 1984).
2. The word used in the original, *hakuchisei*, is problematic in translation. Literally meaning “idiocy” or “a profound mental retardation,” the term doesn’t have a particularly negative or derogatory connotation. The word *hakuchi* is the term used for translating the title of Dostoevski’s *The Idiot*, implying something of the lovable, saintly person who is ignorant of the ways of the world. This interpretation of the term as it is used in the novel and commentaries is reflected in the way that the protagonist’s ignorance (*hakuchisei*) is provided as the reason for her inability to abide by socially established norms such as “acknowledged distinctions of age and class.”

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WHAT A LITERARY COLLAGE TELLS US: HEMINGWAY'S *IN OUR TIME* AND "THE SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO"

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ABSTRACT

The unique structure of Ernest Hemingway's short story collection *In Our Time* has been widely discussed in the context of Hemingway's painterly techniques. Although it took a different form as a short story, the disordered pattern of chronological time and fragmented episodes is reiterated in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," in which the narrator distinguishes stories that can be dictated from the ones that cannot. By drawing on the Cubism art concepts, this paper considers the significance of such "dictatability" in relation to Hemingway's concept of storytelling.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In *A Theory of Literary Production* (1966; translated in 1978), Pierre Macherey reveals the illusion of unified texts: every book that was and will be written is always "incomplete" because it can never say everything; all that can be done is to leave "the possibility of saying something else" (Macherey 82). Thus, Macherey goes on, the first thing we, as readers, should do is to recognise such incompleteness—which he refers to as "the area of shadow"—in literary production, as this incompleteness will function as "the initial moment of criticism" (*ibid.*).

Ernest Hemingway, probably intuitively, was aware of the area of shadow; *any* book ever written by anybody can never be completed, or, on a personal level at least, *he* can never put everything he intended and wished on paper. What if then the author, accepting such dilemma, turns to employ the dynamic binary code, textual "said" and "unsaid," in a form of deliberate omission? In an interview with George Plimpton, Hemingway explains his famous iceberg theory:

I always try to write on the principle of the iceberg. There is seven eighths of it under water for every part that shows. Anything you know you can eliminate and it only strengthens your iceberg. It is the part that doesn't show. (Nahal 199–200)¹

His art of indirection, suggestion, and implication can be found from his earliest through his final work. In this essay, drawing on the art of Cubism and its influence on the structure of contemporary literary texts, I will first examine an "unsaid" aspect of Hemingway's earliest short story collection *In Our Time* (1925); secondly, I will consider the meaning of the things that *cannot be* told by the autobiographical narrator of "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" (1936) to analyse Hemingway's concept of storytelling.

2.0 "THIS IS WHAT WE TRY TO DO IN WRITING": CUBISM AND *IN OUR TIME*

While acclaimed as one of the best collections of coming-of-age story in Modernist American literature, *In Our Time* also appears to be the most typical and discernible example of how Hemingway cuts out our everyday life into separate pictures; in compiling the book, Hemingway carefully chose sixteen vignettes and arranged them between fourteen short stories. However, this unconventional design and incoherent plot as a whole puzzled readers and critics alike. Ever since Paul Rosenfeld described *In Our Time* as a Cubist work in 1925,² the book's experimental arrangement—or, more precisely, Hemingway's adoption of Cubist elements into his writing—has been the critics' primal interest.³

Indeed, Hemingway's attachment to Cubist painters, particularly Paul Cezanne and Juan Gris,⁴ is adequately documented; for instance, Lillian Ross, a staff writer at *The New Yorker* since 1945 and also a friend of Hemingway, recalls her visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art accompanied by Hemingway and his son; Hemingway studied Cezanne's "Rocks, Forest of Fontainebleau" (1868) for a couple of minutes, and then said, "This is what we try to do in writing, this and this, and the woods, and the rocks we have to climb over. Cezanne is my favorite painter, after the early painters. Wonder, wonder painter" (Ross 60). He later mentioned, while he was working on *In Our Time*, that he was "trying to do the count like Cezanne" (SL 122). And upon completion of the book, he wrote an often-quoted letter to Edmund Wilson:

Finished the book of 14 stories with a chapter on *In Our Time* between each story—that is the way they were meant to go—to give the picture of the whole between examining it in detail. Like looking with your eyes at something, way a passing coast line, and then looking at it with 15X

binoculars. Or rather, maybe, looking at it and then going in and living in it—and then coming out and looking at it again. (*SL* 128)

The act of “looking at it” and “looking at it again” is most explicitly presented in “The Battler,” among other stories in the collection. The protagonist Nick Adams is in his youth at this stage, has left his family home and has just begun to be on his own.

The story begins abruptly, as if Nick has just awoken from a dream: “Nick stood up. He was all right. He looked up the track at the lights of the caboose going out of sight around the curve” (*IOT* 65). All that readers know is limited at this point, as the detailed background of the story is eventually given by degrees. Like panning a camera, Hemingway gives a graphic account of what Nick sees step by step; after falling off from the freight train on which he has hitched a ride, Nick walks along the railroad towards the nearest town. After a while, “Nick saw a fire ... It was off to one side of the track, below the railway embankment. He had only seen the light from it” (67).

Then, Nick encounters two men who for some reason become recluse camping there. He has a meal with them and spends some time around a fire until things turn out of order. As he is told to leave before the situation becomes a disaster, Nick obediently walks out:

Nick walked away from the fire across the clearing to the railway tracks. Out of the range of the fire he listened ... Nick climbed the embankment and started up the track ... Looking back from the mounting grade before the track curved into the hills he could see the firelight in the clearing. (79)

Examining Nick’s role, Stephan Clifford argues that “Nick is confronted by a violent, disturbing world that he must come to terms with ... [H]e is mostly an observer rather than a participant, and he must try to make sense out of what he sees and hears” (Clifford 12). As a seemingly passive observer, though, Nick embodies Hemingway’s manipulative narration and particularly what Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, in referring to the difference between “telling” and “showing,” defines as a “disappearing narrator” (Rimmon-Kenan, 108). With Nick’s exit, the story comes to a close as abruptly as its outset, and leaves readers to look back at what happened in the story all over again. Communication, events, and portrayals of each character are placed in the text in the same way as woods and rocks are in Cézanne’s painting—all mute, unclosed, and open to interpretation.

3.0 “YOU COULD DICTATE THAT”: UNDICTIONABLE STORIES IN “THE SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO”

While the length of time passed in “The Battler” is a few hours at the most, the plot of “looking at it” and “looking at it again” is repeated on a much larger scale in “The Snows of Kilimanjaro,” whose protagonist resembles more Hemingway himself. From Frederick Henry in *A Farewell to Arms* (1929) to Robert Jordan in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) and down, the autobiographical aspects of Hemingway’s narrators have been much examined.⁵ To take a few examples in relation to the texts I refer to, Philip Young points out that “Nick has ‘much in common’ with his creator and was, for Hemingway, ‘a special kind of mask’” (Young 62), while Joseph M. Flore declares that “[a]lthough Nick is not Hemingway, he reflects more of Hemingway than any other Hemingway hero” (Flore 189).

While the debate over who is Hemingway’s most autobiographical hero goes beyond the scope of this paper, it is worthwhile to cite Carlos Baker, a critic and Hemingway’s biographer: “‘The Snows of Kilimanjaro’ can be seen as Hemingway’s most autobiographical work, Harry, the narrator of the story apparently reflects Hemingway himself, including his dilemma as a writer” (Baker 112). Indeed, the story can be read as a story of and about an unwritten story.

Wounded and stranded in Africa where he and his wife came for hunting, Harry is helplessly waiting for death creeping towards him. In a series of flashbacks, shown in Italics in the same way as the vignettes in *In Our Time*, he deliriously “looks back” on the events in the past with deep remorse and frustration:

Now he would never write the things that he had saved to write until he knew enough to write them well. Well, he would not have to fail at trying to write them either. Maybe you could never write them, and that was why you put them off and delayed the starting. Well he would never know, now. (SK 41)

However, not all those “unwritten” stories are the same; he recognises that there a clear line exists between the things which can be dictated and the things that cannot. For instance, the following is what can be dictated:

There was a log house, chinked white with mortar on a hill above the lake. There was a bell on a pole by the door to call the people in to meals. Behind the house were fields and behind the fields was the timber ... (SK 50)

On the other hand, he continues:

You could dictate that, but you could not dictate the Place Contrescarpe where the flower sellers dyed their flowers in the street and the dye ran over the paving where the autobus started and the old men and the women, always drunk on wine and bad marc... (SK 51)

Both scenes are the fragments of random moments of his past in which nothing dramatic or even memorable happens, and as a whole, none of such snapshots are developed or structured to fit in the rest of his narrative.

What is, then, in question here is how he regards certain stories as detectable and not others. Without any explanation or clue provided by the narrator or the context, where can the dividing line be drawn between them? An answer to this question might be elicited from the role that Cubism plays in *In Our Time*, as Matthew Stewart observes:

From Cezanne, Hemingway learned, in part, that nature need not be painted as a mere record of what the eye sees but that a well-selected detail could stand for the whole ... Verbal photographs were not needed, certainly gilding was not, but selection was and, even more than selection, construction. (Stewart 33)

As Mary Plum in her 1983 review praises *In Our Time* as "compact and vigorous sketches ... clear and accurate souvenirs of unforgettable moments" (Plum 17), Hemingway's distinctive "Camera-eye" (Trodd 7) with a journalistic nature has focused on and captured miscellaneous aspects of daily life from the beginning of his career. Yet he is not only a photographer but an editor who "selects" the pieces to "construct" the whole picture. Indeed, the letter Hemingway wrote when he was asked by his publisher to remove some vignettes from *In Our Time* eloquently shows how he carefully structures everything to the perfection:

Jesus I feel all shot to hell about it. Of course they cant do it because the stuff is so tight and hard and every thing hangs on every thing else and it would all just be shot up shit creek. (qtd. in Stewart 31–2)

If the meaning of each vignette in *In Our Time* becomes only visible in a larger framework, so are the fragments interspersed throughout "The Snows in Kilimanjaro." While lying dying of gangrene, Harry goes through a familiar process as a writer: selection and construction of snapshots accumulated during his life, so that he can arrange them on one canvas as a final product. Despite the urge to write his stories before it is too late, Harry finds the time is not yet—and likely never will be—right for him to dictate those stories he has in his mind. As in Macherey's argument on "the area of shadow," the things that are not written in texts, Harry's stories that cannot be dictated are a necessary accompaniment to the stories that can be dictated. In a sense, they are the stories that *should not* be dictated.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Hemingway's style has changed modern American fiction to a considerable extent, particularly in later writers' way of composing dialogue and using a multiple-narrative perspective in combination with minimalist style and flexible flashbacks. Yet, what has also been changed is the way we read.

Linda Wagner-Martin, the editor of one of the most comprehensive Hemingway scholarship collections, suggests that the reason for his stories' endurance is its openness to reinterpretation (Wagner-Martin 4). As Nick Adam's story invites us to visit the boy's textual life in a nonlinear order and in different contexts, Harry takes us to his own revisitation of his past. Yet, there is always something missing, sunk into oblivion since the book is always incomplete, and so is our memory and the way we access it. Constantly aware of such elusive nature of writing throughout his nearly forty years of writing, Hemingway used "incompleteness" to present an inexhaustible collage with an integration of visual and verbal art.

NOTES

1. Hemingway declares that "If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about, he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feelings of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them" (qtd. in Johnston 2–3).
2. Paul Rosenfeld. "Tough Earth." (*New Republic* (November 25, 1925), 22–23).

3. For detailed discussion of parallels between the aesthetics and Hemingway, see Lisa Narbeschuber, "Hemingway's *In Our Time*: Cubism, Conservation, and the Suspension of Identification." (*The Hemingway Review* 25.2 (2006), 9–28); James Nagel, "Literary Impressionism and *In Our Time*." (*The Hemingway Review* 6.2 (1987), 17–26). For his attachment to Cezanne in particular, see T. L. Gaillard Jr., "Hemingway's Debt to Cezanne: New Perspectives." (*Twentieth-Century Literature* 45.1 (1999), 65–78); Eric Nakjavani, "The Aesthetic of the Visible and the Invisible: Hemingway and Cezanne." (*The Hemingway Review* 5.2 (1986), 2–11).
4. For more details on Hemingway and Gris, see James Plath, "'Le Torero' and 'The Undeclared': Hemingway's Foray into Analytical Cubism." (*Studies in Short Fiction* 30.1 (1993), 35–43).
5. Granville Hicks in *The Great Tradition* argues that "Hemingway has, as a matter of fact, two heroes: the autobiographical ... and the hero that Hemingway is not but thinks he would like to be (274). For an extensive discussion on biographical aspects of Hemingway's fiction, see Baker Carlos's biography *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist*. (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1952) and Malcolm Cowley's autobiographical literary history, *Exile's Return: A Narrative of Ideas*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1934).

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DESIRE IN THE LOVE STORIES OF *SANYAN*

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how sexual desire induces love in love stories of Ming vernacular fictions, especially in Feng Menglong's *Sanyan*, and explores the social circumstances, the philosophical context in Ming and Feng's literary ideas that generate desire-driven love stories in *Sanyan*.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The origin of love has been discussed for centuries in both East and West and is still debatable in both literary field and biological fields. Tang Xianzu, a noted Chinese playwright, once discussed this question in his play, *Mudan Ting* (牡丹亭):

What gives birth to love (qing) is unknown, but love runs so deep. The living can die for love, and the dead can also come back to life because of love. That which living cannot die for and for which the dead cannot be resurrected is not supreme love. (1093)

Stories Old and New, *Stories to Awaken the World*, *Stories to Caution the World*, also known as *The Three Words (Sanyan)*, depicting social and ethical life of Ming urban world, is arguably the best collection of vernacular novellas in Chinese literature.

Through a close reading of the romances in *Sanyan*, we can see that in most romances of *Sanyan* sexual desire plays a very important part in protagonists' love and sometimes is the main cause of love whether the heroine is a courtesan or from a good family. There are several chaste romances in which the love of the protagonist is either unrequited or is a typical scholar-beauty love that is more like a literati friendship than the love between a man and a woman.

In most chaste romances protagonists often have many opportunities to communicate with each other before falling in love due to cross-dressing, literary acting, or some special occasion that allows the male and the female protagonists to stay together for a long time. On the other hand, in the stories where physical desire plays an important part, except for courtesan romances, heroines are basically confined to the domestic areas by Confucian norms and do not have many opportunities to go out licitly or have contact with strange men. Thus love at the first sight, which is most likely driven by desire, is the most common case in these stories.

The growth of the anti-orthodox force in Ming scholars leads to the tendency to rehabilitate and to sentimentalize desire by creating a rhetorical tactic to use the word *qing*, a broader as well as a more ambiguous concept, as the alternative of *yu* so as to confront the Neo-Confucian idea of eliminating desire (滅人欲). Feng Menglong is one of those scholars who adopt this strategy. In addition, Feng's literary ideas contribute to the rehabilitation of desire as well. He believes that meaning and substance are more important than literary virtuosity, therefore he is compelled to record the desire as an authentic element in love.

2.0. SEX AND DESIRE IN ROMANCES OF *SANYAN*

2.1. Romances with Love Scenes in *Sanyan*

The classic romances are devoid of description of sex. Love scenes are often omitted even though the hero and heroine actually have had sex. Even in a scholar-courtesan story like *Li Wa Zhuan* in which how the hero and heroine communicate before their first night is explicitly depicted, the love scene is completely omitted with a phrase "the next day" (旦日) implying that they have spent a night together. The story of Sima Xiangru and Zhuo Wenjun, which is arguably the first scholar-beauty romance in Chinese literature, tells a story of elopement without any depiction of sex. Yuan Zhen's (元稹) "Yingying Zhuan" (鶯鶯傳), a famous love story in Tang, however, displays the fact that Zhang Sheng has slept with Cui Yingying but describes it in an extremely euphemistic and refined way. Yuan only describes Yingying's shy expression and her scent left on Zhang Sheng's arms next day to indicate that they have slept together.

Unlike most literary romances before the Yuan dynasty, many romances during the Ming dynasty do not shun the topic of sex. Descriptions of love scene are commonly seen in most Ming romances including stories from *Sanyan*. Sometimes love scenes are even depicted in a detailed and explicit way though still couched in euphemisms. However, romances in *Sanyan* are not pornographic or erotic stories because sex, except for in a few specific stories that were created to warn of the dangers of lust, is never the main theme; it simply constitutes a part of the story line.

Nonetheless, as I plan to demonstrate in this essay, in most romances of *Sanyan* sexual desire plays a very important part in protagonists' love and sometimes is the main cause of their love. It is pretty safe to assume that almost all courtesan romances originate from the male protagonist's sexual desire because there is no other reason for him to visit a brothel. The love of hero and heroine in scholar-courtesan romance often begins with an actual sexual relationship.

"Yutangchun Reunites with Her Husband in Her Distress" depicts a scholar and courtesan couple whose loyalty to their love is subjected to cruel reality. The hero Wang Shunqing, a rich young scholar, goes to a brothel and meets a beautiful singing girl Yutangchun. The first night they meet, they sleep together:

The young master kept on drinking until the second watch of the night. Yutangchun attended devotedly to his needs. She helped him take off his clothes and get into bed, where they indulged in sexual pleasures the whole night through, and there we shall leave them. (*Stories to Caution the World* 382)

Before their separation, the description of their relationship virtually concentrates on sensual love. Mr. Wang moves to the brothel, spends a great deal of money on Yutangchun, and even builds a tier building for her where "every day was spent like a festival day (朝朝寒食, 夜夜元宵)" (*Stories to Caution the World* 382). As the narrator comments, "Wine does not intoxicate; Men themselves fall ready prey. Beauty does not infatuate; Men themselves fall willing captive (酒不醉人人自醉, 色不迷人自迷)" (*Stories to Caution the World* 383). Mr. Wang is not willing to go back home because he is enchanted by wine and beauty, and finally exhausts his money. Clearly, at this stage of their love, the hero is totally obsessed with sexual desire that even triumphs his senses.

Another famous scholar-courtesan story, "Du Shiniang Sinks Her Jewel Box in Anger," also begins with a similar scene. A rich young scholar, Li Jia, goes to Beijing to study for the national examination. But he is attracted by a beautiful courtesan Du Shiniang and spends all his time and money in the brothel. The narrator describes their first meeting as follows:

Now, young Mr. Li was a romantically inclined young man who had never before encountered a real beauty. Acquaintance with Du Shiniang threw him into such ecstasy that he lavished on her all the love (花柳情懷) he had in him. (*Stories to Caution the World* 549)

In this sense, Du Shiniang is just where Li Jia projects his sexual desire (花柳情懷). Built on sensual love, his life with Shiniang is no different to that of Wang Shunqing and Yutangchun. "They gave themselves up to pleasure from morning till night, spending as much time together" (*Stories to Caution the World* 549).

In "Zhao Chun'er Restores Prosperity to the Cao Farmstead," a story of a courtesan who turns into an exemplary wife and gradually reforms her wastrel husband, though the hero's addiction to sensual life has not been explicitly portrayed, the beginning of the love of two protagonists is the same as the two stories above, "She struck Cao Kecheng's fancy the moment he laid eyes upon her. He stayed with her for a whole month, spending lavishly. They grew to be as inseparable as lacquer and glue" (*Stories to Caution the World* 536).

Among all courtesan romances in *Sanyan*, there is one, "The Oil-Peddler Wins the Queen of Flowers", in which the protagonists' love does not simply begin with a sexual relationship. It is true that the male protagonist is first attracted by the female protagonist's beauty, but when he finally gets the chance to sleep with her, he chooses to take care of her drunken state instead of having sex with her. The sentimental love

triumphs his sexual desire. In the heroine's case, her love for the hero, Qin Zhong, initially has little to do with sexual desire. She is first touched by his tenderness and kindness rather than his handsome appearance:

And yet, every time things didn't turn out right, every time her patrons went too far or fought with one another over her or passed her over for some other girl, and every time she got ill or woke up in the middle of the night after a wine-induced sleep to find no one there to take care of her, she would recall Young Master Qin's kindness and regret that there was no way for her to see him again. (*Stories to Awaken the World* 66)

Sexual desire in this story is not as the cause but the effect of their love, which makes the story stand out from all courtesan romances in *Sanyan*. Their love is not merely generated from physical desire; therefore, it is more convincing and closer to sentimental love in comparison with other courtesan stories.

Courtesan romance often displays sexual desire in the hero and the heroine's love in a very direct way due to its special background. However, the love from girls of good family in *Sanyan* is closely related to desire as well.

The story "Jiang Xingge Reencounters His Pearl Shirt" is a perfect example to illustrate how the love between a married couple from good families is generated from sexual desire. In their new married life, the couple's indulgence in sex is highlighted:

The handsome Jiang Xingge and his newly wedded beautiful wife were like a pair of exquisite jade statues from the hands of a master sculptor, and ten times more loving (*nanhua nnvai* 男歡女愛) than the average married couple. After the third day, Xingge changed back into clothes of lighter colors and, declining all dealings with the outside world on the pretext of being still in mourning, stayed upstairs with his wife, enjoying every moment of the days and nights (*zhaomu qule* 朝暮取樂) that went by. Indeed, they were never apart, whether in motion or at rest; even in their dreams they kept each other company. (*Stories Old and New* 12)

“男歡女愛” and “朝暮取樂” in the passage above are euphemistically translated as “ten times more loving than the average married couple” and “enjoying every moment of the days and nights”, but in Chinese they literally indicate the couple's sexual life. Their indulgence in sex without a doubt becomes the theme of their marriage after they get married, which is proven by Jiang Xingge's illness later on: “He had already deleted his energy (淘虛了身子) at home. The tribulations of the journey plus the now-excessive wining and dining brought on an attack of malaria, which lasted throughout the summer and turned to dysentery with the onset of autumn” (*Stories Old and New* 14).

“淘虛了身子” (deleting one's energy) in Chinese specifically refers to the effect of excessive sex. Not only the wife's love for her husband is caused by desire, her love for her lover also begins with pure desire. Although Sanqiao and her lover, Chen Shang, have met each other once before they sleep together, their first meeting can hardly be called “falling in love at the first sight.” Sanqiao shows her affection only because she mistakes him for her husband. And there is no sign showing that Sanqiao misses Chen Shang after they meet each other. Since there is no evidence of sentimental love, what connects her to her lover is no doubt pure desire. She does not even know who she is having sex with when they first sleep together. She is deceived by an old woman who receives Chen Shang's money to set her up. Just when she thinks she is sleeping with the old woman, the old lady secretly asks Chen Shang to come in to replace her: “Suddenly, the man mounted her and started to do the real thing. Partly because she was tipsy with wine and partly because her amorous desires had been roused by the old woman, she let him have his way without bothering to find out who he was” (*Stories Old and New* 31).

In Chen Shang's case on the other hand, sexual desire comes more straightforwardly and dominates his action. When he first meets Sanqiao, what is in his mind is the desire to sleep with this beautiful girl: “My wife at home is not unattractive, but she's not nearly half as pretty as that woman. How I wish I could have some

way to approach her! If I could just spend one night with her, I would not have lived in vain, even if it cost me all of my business capital” (*Stories Old and New* 17).

Another story that represents the sex-driven relationship is “The Leather Boot as the Evidence against the God Erlang’s Impostor”. The heroine’s desire for sex is clearly described at the beginning of the story:

However, since the emperor gave Lady Ann undivided attention, Lady Han never had a chance to be with the emperor (韓夫人不沾雨露之恩) [...] When insects chirped by her whitewalls, her grief kept her awake under her quilt embroidered with lovebirds (虫吟粉壁, 怨不寐于鸳衾). She grew weary of doing her morning toilette and languished from the torment of her spring desires (既厌晓妆, 渐融春思). (*Stories to Awaken the World* 252-253)

Despite of the euphemism in this translation, “雨露” (rain and dew) “鸳衾” (quilt embroidered with lovebirds) “春思” (spring desires) in the passage above indicate the desire for sex rather than sentimental love in Chinese. Due to such desire, she is the one who makes the first move when the fake God Erlang comes to meet her. Technically speaking, it even cannot be called a love story because what we can find in the relationship of Lady Han and the fake god is mere lust rather than love.

In other romances with description of love scene, sexual desire plays a huge part in protagonists’ relationship as well. The heroine in the story “Wu Qing Meets Ai’ai by Golden Bright Pond” is a beautiful girl whose desire is roused (春心動了) when she meets the handsome hero Wu Qing. Even though she dies after drinking with the male protagonist, she still comes back to invite the hero to bed as a ghost.

“Wang Jiaoluan’s One Hundred Years of Sorrow” is a story of disloyalty in love but begins in the same way as other romances. The hero Zhou Tingzhang falls in love with a beautiful girl Wang Jiaoluan and courts her by exchanging poems. At first, Jiaoluan conforms to the Confucian morals and refuses to get sexually involved with Tingzhang. However, “Despite her unflinching determination to keep her chastity, Jiaoluan’s amorous desires had been aroused (松筠之志虽存, 风月之情已动)” (*Stories to Caution the World* 591). She finally yields to her desire and sleeps with the hero.

In the story of “Zhang Shunmei Finds a Fair Lady during the Lantern Festival,” the hero and the heroine meet at the night of the Lantern Festival and soon flirt with each other. When the man finds the woman again, they are so eager to have sex that they don’t even have time to ask each other’s names: “Both craving love, they were as eager as hungry tigers pouncing upon lambs or as flies swooping down upon drops of blood. In their hurry to have that business done, they had no time to spare for asking names and exchanging amenities” (*Stories to Caution the World* 423).

In these romances involved with the element of sex, beautiful appearance (色) is a decisive factor in protagonists’ love. The description of protagonists’ good looks appears in every love story. With no exception, every female protagonist is a beautiful woman while every male protagonist is a handsome man. And that’s the reason why the hero and the heroine always fall in love at the first sight. If there are no good looks to arouse desire, protagonists will not be attracted to each other at all. If the protagonists didn’t possess attractive physical appearance, most of these stories would never happen.

2.2. Chaste Romances in *Sanyan*

Though most romances involve premarital sex and transparent sexual desire, there are still some chaste romances in *Sanyan*. “Chaste romance” is a term which was created by Keith McMahon to distinguish the chaste scholar-beauty romances from contemporaneous erotic romances in which scholars and beauties are unchaste and scholars marry three or more beauties (100). In the context of *Sanyan*, although, chaste love stories are not strictly confined to scholar-beauty romance, I still find it applicable to refer to those stories.

The tale of “Three Times Su Xiaomei Tests Her Groom” is a typical chaste scholar-beauty romance. Su Xiaomei, born from a literati family, is famous for her literary talent. The hero, Qin Shaoyou is a talented young scholar whose talent is only inferior to Su’s two extremely famous brothers. So far this is a perfect

setting for scholar-beauty romance; however, due to some literary jokes between Sister Su and her big brother, people think she is not a good-looking woman. Qin admires Su Xiaomei's talent but fears that she might be ugly. So he decides to dress as Daoist monk to meet her to see if she is ugly. But it turns out that Su Xiaomei is actually a beautiful girl. Soon they decide to get married. Before the groom enters their bridal chamber, the bride tests him with three literary riddles. With the help of his brother-in-law, Qin eventually solves the riddle.

This is a love story without a desire element. Their love originates from the admiration of talent. The hero does not fall for the heroine's beauty (she is ugly in the rumor) but for her talent. This story substantiates the features of chaste scholar-beauty romance that Keith McMahon proposes:

One of the most prominent features of these works is their portrayal of smart, capable and chaste young women who are equal to or better than their male counterparts in terms of literary talent, moral fiber, and wit [...] to a great extent the woman achieves her superiority only by becoming like a man, that is, by cross-dressing and literally acting and writing like him. The relationship of the beauty and scholar thus takes on the characteristics of the friendship between two literati men. (99)

Su Xiaomei is exactly the kind of beauty who is superior to her male counterpart in terms of literary talent. The narrator of the story has stressed for several times that if she were a man, she would be even more successful than her two famous brothers. Her communication with Qin Shaoyou is completely based on literary game, which makes her relationship with Qin more like literati friendship than the love between man and woman.

The protagonists of another chaste romance "Scholar Tang Gains a Wife after One Smile" are also a scholar and a beauty, but it cannot be categorized as scholar-beauty romance because the heroine of scholar-beauty romance must be a beautiful girl from upper-class family possessing literary talent. And the female protagonist, Qiu Xiang has neither of these two characteristics. The beginning of the story is similar to other romances in which a young scholar falls in love with a beauty at first sight and plans to win her. But what distinguishes this from romances with the element of sex is that the heroine does not know the existence of the hero until they get married. Thus it is impossible for her to be sexually attracted by him. Consequently, it becomes a chaste romance.

"Emperor Taizu Escorts Jingniang on a One-Thousand-Li Journey" is a chaste romance of a hero and a beauty. A beautiful girl, Zhao Jingniang is kidnapped by brigands. The male protagonist, Zhao Kuangyin comes to save her and escorts her to her home which is a thousand Li away. During the long journey, Jingniang falls in love with Zhao Kuangyin, but Kuangyin does not respond to her love at all. After they arrive Jingniang's home, her family believes that their daughter is sexually involved with Kuangyin already, so they refuse to listen to her and ask Kuangyin to marry Jingniang. Kuangyin feels his kindness is insulted and leaves angrily. In the end, Jingniang kills herself to prove her chastity. This is a story of unrequited love. Zhao Kuangyin never has the same romantic feeling to Jingniang. He treats her like a sister, thus, there is no room for sex in this relationship.

3.0. SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES GENERATING DESIRE-DRIVEN LOVE

In traditional China, women are mostly confined to domestic areas due to Confucian norms. Most men they have contact with in their lifetime are family members, especially for women of good family. And their marriage is governed by their parents, which leaves them little freedom to choose who to marry. This can partly explain why there are so many courtesan romances in Chinese literature. Girls of good family can rarely come into contact with strange young men, let alone fall in love with them. As a result, the brothel becomes the best place for romance to take place.

Like scholar-beauty romances, many classic scholar-courtesan romances focus on the courtesan's literary talent, which makes the relationship between scholar and courtesan similar to the companionship of literati men. Nonetheless, no matter what an important the role literary talent plays in their relationship, the brothel is a place for men to fulfill their sexual desire. Thus it is inevitable that courtesan romance is involved with sexual desire.

Although every female protagonist in courtesan romances of *Sanyan* is depicted as beautiful and talented, such as Du Shiniang, Wang Meiniang, and Yu Tangchun, no male protagonist falls for them because of their talent. Male protagonists are all attracted by their beauty rather than their talent. And the descriptions of their communication are all limited to their sexual life rather than literary life.

As for girls of good family, they do not have many opportunities to make contact with young men outside their families. For example, in “Jiang Xingge Meets the Pearl Shirt a Second Time,” Chen Shang has to ask Wang Po to provide the opportunity for him to approach Sanqiao, otherwise there would be no way for him to get access to her. Since there is often no time or place for them to nurture a relationship based on pure sentimental love, almost all protagonists in these stories fall in love at first sight. If they didn’t, they would probably never have a chance to meet each other again. Some of them meet in the Lantern Festival; some of them meet in the Tomb-sweeping Day. These are two of those few opportunities for women to go out licitly and have contact with strange men. Such short time definitely does not allow them to get to know each other’s souls, therefore what attracts them can only be physical appearance. Consequently, their affection for each other is largely dominated by sensual desire.

Heroines in chaste romances often have more opportunities to have contact with young men outside their families. In some particular occasions, they can even licitly maintain a long-term relationship with heroes. In the story of “Emperor Taizu Escorts Jingniang on a One-Thousand-Li Journey,” Jingniang has to go on a long journey with Kuangyin, which provides her with a good opportunity to get to know him and develop a sentimental love for him. In *Hao Qiu Zhuan*, a representative of Qing chaste scholar-beauty romance, the heroine has similar experience; that is, she is also saved and escorted to home by the hero. Many heroines of chaste scholar-beauty romances gain the opportunity to have more contact with men outside of their family by cross-dressing, acting like a man, or writing like a man. In the famous *Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai*, Zhu Yingtai dresses like a man and studies with Liang Shanbo in the same college. They first grow a typical literati friendship and then turn it into a romantic relationship. In these stories, women have more licit contact with men; thus, protagonists are given enough room get to know each other’s spirit. Physical desire is no longer the dominant factor in their relationship. Consequently, it is easier for them to remain chaste.

4.0. CIRCUMSTANCES GENERATING DESIRE-DRIVEN LOVE STORIES IN *SANYAN*

Yu 欲 is the most commonly used term as the Chinese equivalent of the English word “desire”. In *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 *Yu* is glossed as “the covetous *Yu*” (欲貪欲也) (Xu 411). The radical “欠” stands for one’s mouth watering because of envy, and the radical “谷” for the state of being empty and ready to receive (Xu 411). The definition of *qing* 情 in *Shuowen jiezi* is “that which in a human being’s *yin* ether has wants” (人之陰氣有欲者) (Xu 502). *Yu* is used to interpret *qing*, which shows these two are closely related.

Yu constantly carries negative connotations especially in the context of Neo-Confucianism. Many Neo-Confucian thinkers consider that human desire 人欲 is incompatible with the Heavenly Principle 天理 thus should be eliminated. As the power of Confucian orthodoxy reaches its peak, the anti-orthodox force grows stronger as well. Many scholars who do not qualify on the national exam are left without access to that traditional means of gaining bureaucratic posts and elite status. It is not unusual for them to seek solace in desire. In order to revalorize *yu*, they create a rhetorical tactic to use the word *qing*, a broader as well as a more ambiguous concept, as the alternative of *yu*. The strategy is to sentimentalize desires and emphasize what they conceived to be the *qing* element in *yu*: “This prosaic approach appears to have sensualized (*yuhua* 欲化) as secularized *qing*...An interesting corollary during this period was the blurring of the distinctions between *qing* and *yu*: as physical desire was being sentimentalized, romantic sentiments were becoming sensualized” (Huang 34).

Feng Menglong is one of the scholars who adopt this approach. *Qing* in the romances of *Sanyan* is usually presented by *yu* while *yu* often leads to the generation of *qing*. In addition, Feng’s ideas on literature also contribute to the rehabilitation of *yu*. He believes that meaning and substance are more important than literary virtuosity: “What Feng deplored was the convention, artifice, virtuosity, and inauthenticity of feeling that result from a scramble for social prestige. If literature was disestablished, it might exhibit true literary value” (Hanan 76).

As a result, Feng highly values folk songs because they retain their authenticity. In the preface of “Shan’ge”, a collection of folk songs and later imitations compiled by him, he says, “Although there is false literature, there are no false folk songs (而但有假詩文，無假山歌)” (“Shan’ge”: 1). Even though there are some erotic folk songs from the *Poetry Classic*, “Confucius still records them because he believes the authenticity of *qing* in them should not be ignored. (雖然，桑間濮上，國風刺之，尼父錄焉，以是為情真而不可廢也)” (“Shan’ge”: 1)

Like Confucius decides to keep those erotic poems in the *Poetry Classic* due to their authenticity, Feng chooses to record desire as an authentic element in love. The presence of the description of sex and the emphasis on sexual desire undoubtedly embodies his insistence on authenticity in literature.

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THE VOICE OF RESISTANCE: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TRANSCULTURATION IN THE POEMS OF CARLO FRATICELLI, JAMAICA OSORIO, AND ITTAI WONG

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ABSTRACT

The process of transculturation, as defined by Fernando Ortiz (1940), has played a vital role in the evolution of Hawai'i as a positive example of a transcultural society. Considering Hawai'i as a contact zone, or a social space (1990), transculturation plays out among many different cultures struggling to come to terms with the push and pull of identity construction. In such a cultural clash, the struggle to maintain one's original cultural identity is a powerful narrative. This paper will analyze the voices of resistance from within a contact zone through both settler and native perspectives from Hawai'i.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

On January 18, 1778, aboard the vessels *Resolution* and *Discovery*, Captain Cook and his crew became among the first Europeans to arrive in the Hawaiian Islands. Similar to Columbus and the Americas, Hawai'i, in an instant, became a contact zone (Pratt 1991). Over the next two hundred and thirty-six years, the process of *transculturation* in this contact zone transformed Hawai'i into what it is today, an area containing multitudes of ethnicities and cultural practices. Throughout the years, the idea of this process, as being a seemingly desired transition, or myth of one big '*ohana* (family), has progressively been accepted as fact. However, the reality in Hawai'i is that a number of its populace have struggled in opposition to the mainstream idea of its transculturation. This conflictive nature of cultural contact creates a zone where assimilation ultimately strives to take hold, and through time cultural assimilation leads to a new culture in itself. Fernando Ortiz (1947) introduces the term transculturation for this *experience* (Cuba offering a cultural clash much like Hawai'i in some aspects but different in others), and he exposes it as a process different from acculturation. According to Ortiz:

[t]ransculturation better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word acculturation really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture...In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation. In the end...the result of every union of cultures is similar to that of the reproductive process between individuals: the offspring always has something of both parents but is always different from each of them. (102-3)

Thus, it is out of an anxiety about loss or uprooting of a culture that both settler and native communities of Hawai'i have shown concern about and eventually would challenge this progression. This contrasts with the views of many Chicano theorists, for whom the process of transculturation has been perceived as beneficial, and as a movement that results in a *third space*, which Maria Pons (2003) defines as a "...site for identitarian construction of conflicting and multiple subjectivities" (86).

Both settler and native poets such as Carlo Fraticelli, Jamaica Osorio, and Ittai Wong use the art of literature as a form of resistance, and give voice to challenge the notion that the entire population of Hawai'i happily accepted or desired transculturation, or the myth of one big '*ohana*. These voices of resistance observe the foreignness of this new culture, and foresee its potential in the elimination of their original culture by the replacement of another. Therefore, they seek to thwart the process, revealing its deceptive nature through calls to action and themes of remembrance. Consequently, in their poems they employ symbolic forms of their identity—nostalgic songs, reassurance, and the selective, yet skillful use of their native language.

Hawai'i has been and continues to be a contact zone for many cultures and ethnicities. The islands epitomize how Mary Louise Pratt defines the contact zone, as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" and history has shown it to be a place of "...highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt 1991: 34). Therefore, the Hawaiian Islands' contemporary history and culture is the product of transculturation. However, a deep analysis of Fraticelli, Osorio, and Wong's work seems to indicate that they

are opposed to this Hawaiian-based transculturation. Pratt (1991) argues that transculturation is merely a phenomenon of the contact zone; however, writers such as Fraticelli, Osorio, and Wong seem to oppose the concept of transculturation in that they view their language, culture, and very identity in danger of extinction, and would most likely accept the term as a “process[es] whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture” (1991: 36). At the same time, perhaps to the extent that they have the freedom to do so, it is because of this very danger that their voices of resistance must be heard and their words read—*albeit by a select few*. Therefore, out of fear and righteous anger, a literature developed in Hawai‘i as an art form of resistance. A literature that validates Pratt’s proposed traits of the literary arts of a contact zone on behalf of themes such as, “...autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression,” (1991: 37) is prevalent.

The poetry of Carlo Fraticelli epitomizes these traits. He is of Puerto Rican descent and immigrated to Hawai‘i out of a desire for a better life. It should be noted that both Puerto Rico and Hawai‘i became territories of the United States in 1898, and like many Puerto Rican immigrant workers such as Carlo Fraticelli, the history of Hawai‘i must have resonated to some degree with aspects of U.S colonialism and its implementation in Puerto Rico. Similarly, Fernando Ortiz describes the Cuban situation:

The aboriginal human basis of society was destroyed in Cuba [although the Hawaiian population had decreased noticeably, it was never destroyed, as was the case of Cuba’s aboriginals], and it was necessary to bring in a complete new population, both masters and servants. This is one of the strange social features of Cuba, that since the sixteenth century all its classes, races, and cultures, coming in by will or by force, have all been exogenous and have all been torn from their places of origin, suffering the shock of this first uprooting and a harsh transplanting. (1947: 2-3)

Fraticelli immigrated to Hawai‘i during the second Puerto Rican wave of immigration. He arrived in 1901 and worked in the sugar plantations on the island of Kaua‘i. Austin Dias (2001: 99) points out that Fraticelli’s writings consist of forty-five *décimas*, eight *aguinaldos*, and three essays. However, not one was written in English; therefore, an issue arises out of this use of his linguistic choice, which implies that his works were for an audience that was a minority. He recited his verses to fellow Puerto Ricans using poetry as an attempt to unite and empower them and often recited his verses orally at parties and other social gatherings. More than anything, the use of Spanish in all his works could be perceived as discouraging assimilation, and thus transculturation. Furthermore, reciting his verses reassured that his words would be heard and understood as *their* collective story, that of the Puerto Rican immigration experience. José Luis González (1980) writes about the Puerto Rican diaspora:

Esa emigración...representa uno de los hitos capitales de la experiencia nacional puertorriqueña. No hay aspecto de la vida del pueblo puertorriqueño en este siglo-social, económico, político, cultural y psicológico que no esté marcado por las vicisitudes de ese éxodo en masa. (107-111)

This collective story is felt throughout Fraticelli’s poems because he too shares the sense of displacement as González. Austin Dias elaborates this effect on Fraticelli, “El señor Fraticelli estaba destinado a compartir el mismo fin triste de sus compatriotas exiliados” (1999-2000: 28). He expresses a deep nostalgia for his homeland and an abhorrence of Hawaii’s harsh working conditions, which were possibly a direct result of the *Na Haku A Me Na Kauwa* (The Masters and Servants Act of 1850 greatly decreased the rights of workers). Dias adds, “Like many other leaders that emerge from the upper classes, it is not surprising that Fraticelli was outraged by the inhuman treatment of his fellow countrymen since he was not accustomed to being treated abusively.” (2001: 98)

Fraticelli presents his Puerto Rican identity through the *décima*, a form of poetry that originated out of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* (Renaissance era). Nevertheless, to Fraticelli and many of his fellow *jibaros*, the *décima* was quite popular and many times sung out loud. This tradition endured on the island of Kaua‘i most likely due to the segregation of ethnicities in the plantation camps that Fraticelli would encounter; on the plantations is where he developed friendships with other Puerto Rican immigrants such as poets Nicolas Vegas, and Pérez Peña. Dias explains, “The tradition lasted longer on the island of Kaua‘i because Fraticelli, Vegas, and Pérez Peña were friends and neighbors for some twenty years” (2001: 99).

Fratlicelli accepts his role as the voice of the Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i, receiving the title *Don Carlo* or *el maestro*. He desperately challenges his fellow *jibaros* (peasants from the mountainous southwestern area of Puerto Rico) (Dias 200: 96) to stand firm in their identity and to resist American and Hawaiian influence. In his poem "*Somos Borincanos*" (We are Puerto Ricans), Fraticelli writes:

No hemos cambiado	We have not changed our
nuestras diversiones,	Pastimes, nor our songs;
ni nuestras canciones;	We have not forgotten that
no hemos olvidado	Beloved land of our old
aquel suelo amado	Father whom we protect
de nuestro anciano	In our hearts.
padre que guardamos	For this Reason,
en el corazón.	we are Puerto Ricans.
Por esta razón,	
somos borincanos	

(Souza and Dias 1997: 62)

The poems of Fraticelli are a call to action and resistance but differ from the native voice of resistance found in the poetry of Osorio and Wong in their aim at native education and remembrance of the Hawaiian monarchy. Fraticelli seems to have a strong desire and hope in the electoral process, which was granted to Puerto Ricans who were residing outside of Puerto Rico in the continental United States. In his poem, "*La hora suprema*" (The Supreme Hour), he demonstrates this objective:

La campaña electoral	The electoral campaign presents
puerta abierta nos presenta	Us an open door to settle the
para arreglarle la cuenta	Score with those who have treated us so badly.
al que nos trató tan mal.	In a disastrous
En un estado fatal,	State, without grief or compassion, we live in
sin pena ni compasión,	indignation, like Ill-fated people.
vivimos la indignación	To relieve our Suffering:
como seres muy fatales.	Puerto Ricans, let's Unite.
Para aliviar nuestros males:	
Borincanos a la unión.	

(Souza and Dias 1997: 37)

The topic of nostalgia is prevalent through many of his works; however, the sentimental and idealized images of his homeland are often in conflict with his view of Hawai'i. In the book *Latinos: A Biography of the People*, Earl Shorris elaborates on this recurring theme:

There was no comfort for them but the past. Nostalgia became the dominant factor in the Puerto Rican character. The island achieved mythical status..."; "...for immigration is a form of exile, the civilized society's sentence of death."; "Puerto Ricans suffer most because they have endured conquest without respite since the end of the fifteenth century." (As cited in Dias 2001:103)

In Fraticelli's quest to halt assimilation and transculturation, Hawai'i must then become a prison far away from his Caribbean island. As if sentenced to death, never to return to his *patria* (Fatherland), he writes "Himno a Puerto Rico" (Hymn to Puerto Rico). The verses compare Hawai'i and Puerto Rico in a way that an inmate might compare his jail cell to the outside world. And like an inmate looking out from his cell window, perhaps Fraticelli sat before the vast Pacific and wrote:

Tengo el corazón	My heart is mortally Wounded,
herido de muerte,	wishing to see You, my beloved
deseando verte	corner (of the world). In this
amado rincón.	Prison I will spend my Life,
En esta prisión	always immersed in
pasaré mi vida,	Sad wailing. I say farewell
siempre sumergida	To you, my beloved fatherland.

en triste gemido.
De ti me despido,
mi patria querida

(Souza and Dias 1997: 67)

The voice of resistance and struggle against transculturation is not exclusive to the immigrant situation of the settler, as it also belongs to native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian people have lost much of their identity, customs, and land over the years through the process of transculturation. Overtime the influence of the English language that would ultimately lead to various attempts to prohibit the Hawaiian language would help shape this identity displacement. Lucía Aranda expounds on this occurrence: “[e]xplaining that the linguistic and cultural differences that translation realizes in the process of rewriting oftentimes displace identities and project into them new singularities. As translation facilitates the creation of new territories of identity, the existing ones must evolve as host languages and cultures, which can lead to imbalances of power” (2010: 15).

An example of such an issue arose during a personal interview with *Kumu* Kainoa Wong of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (6 Dec. 2013). *Kumu* Wong explains how it is said that on July 31, 1843 King Kamehameha III spoke the words that later became Hawai‘i’s state motto, *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono* (The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness) after the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom’s sovereignty by British Admiral, Richard Darton Thomas. However, *Kumu* Wong states that the translation above is controversial and a deeper investigation must be undertaken¹. The issue rests in the translation of the Hawaiian word *ea*, which he translates as sovereignty, and therefore argues that its true meaning could be, “The sovereignty of the land is preserved in Justice.” If that be the case, the phrase carries a problematic connotation by revealing the motto’s contradictory stance and thus complicating the very notion of a state motto. A similar confusion in translation and identity displacement can be found in the fiasco of the Waitangi Treaty of New Zealand with the Maori understanding of sovereignty, and word choice of *kāwanatanga* (governance), which was later changed to *mana*² (Fenton and Moon, 2002). This revised translation of the motto reminds Hawai‘i residents of the remaining sovereignty of Hawai‘i, which was removed via a U.S. joint resolution that permitted the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i on the 12th of August, 1898 (Kekua & Alapa‘i 2012, p 149). It is through this loss of their nation, a momentary ban of their language, and numerous other consequences of transculturation, that Hawaiian voices of resistance grew.

Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, the daughter of Hawaiian activist, scholar and musician Jonathan Osorio, has written many poems criticizing transculturation in Hawai‘i. Osorio, a native Hawaiian who is fluent in *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*, discusses her creative process as a product of pain, “...in my heart, I have known these words for far longer; this protest, this *‘eha* [pain]. This pain is something we Hawaiians carry in our *koko* [blood]” (*‘Ōiwi*, 300). Osorio’s work alludes to her desire to encourage her readers to become educated. She does this by provoking a nostalgic image, and by this act of remembrance, or “*I ka wā mamua, ka wā ma hope*” (the future is in the past) (Kekua & Alapa‘i, 4), encounters her motif as a cry for resistance in acts of protest. She states:

As long as we keep singing, fighting, marching, chanting, Lili‘uokalani will live with every word she carried in her mana. I write to keep my queen alive, I write to keep my father alive. I write because I have been told so many times that I cannot, that my writing will not change the past...but in honouring our past we are looking forward, we are changing the world, one poem at a time...I stand...[with] a fight in my heart that will not and cannot die.

(Osorio 2009, 300)

In the native Hawaiian journal *‘Ōiwi* (2009), the history since the annexation of Hawai‘i is reminisced upon in Osorio’s poem entitled “*Kaulana nā Pua a o Hawai‘i*,” which is named after the song written by Wright Prendergast. The poem is primarily a critique of transculturation, yet presents themes of remembrance, solitude, hope, and resistance. Osorio commences the poem by reminding the reader of the overthrow of the monarchy and of the kingdom, which was forcibly annexed, “The word annexation rings throughout a newly slaughtered country” (301). Osorio then recalls the songs of tearful protest of that day. Throughout the poem questions such as, “Today I wonder is anyone still listening[?]” (301) are presented in a way that provokes the audience to wonder alongside the author—Osorio’s collective “We.” Furthermore, through a descriptive ‘war’ between two cultures Osorio makes the reader well aware to which side she belongs. With little remorse, she

clarifies her position and she speaks of statehood, “Hawai‘i officially becomes the 50th state of this god-forsaken country” (Osorio 2009: 301).

As the poem arrives to the present, Osorio begins to better examine the effects of such a tremendous change by painting a picture of the deplorable state of today’s Hawai‘i, “We watched as Hawaiians forgot to fight, one by one ice pipes began to ignite, Waikīkī’s face transformed from brown to white” (300). In an introduction to her poem “Kaulana Nā Pua a O Hawai‘i” in the journal *‘Ōiwi* (2009) Osorio explains that she is determined to fight, overwhelmed by the inequality that has been created as a byproduct of statehood. Explaining her battles, she pens powerful images:

...the force-fed colonialist dictionaries did all they could to choke me. Covered my grandmother’s tongue with tattooed Christian scriptures, they silenced me. Slapped me when I tried to speak like my family, told me I had no history before the European missionaries...Diluting sacred blood with TB. Leaving the measles and their bibles to transcend through generations causing over 600,000 casualties...so we converted but we kept dying, and we’ve been praying but we haven’t been surviving (Osorio 2009: 300).

Although Osorio has described personal effects of transculturation, a voice of remembrance quickly urges the reader to action:

But *mana* cannot be created or destroyed by man
So that must mean we still stand a chance
But we need to honor what’s been left
After Christ said we couldn’t dance, couldn’t chant
We need to use what’s been left to fight back
(Osorio 2009: 300)

In opposition to the transculturation of Hawai‘i, Osorio must return to her ancestors. She shares her *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogy) as validation of her cause:

But I’ll show you my pride
Tattoo my *mo‘okū‘auhau* to my tongue to
Never forget where my voice came from
Who my loyalty is tied to
And what nation my heart sings to
I’ll sing to you
I’ll chant continuously to show you that I
am Hawaiian
I have the scars and tattoos to show my alliance.
(Osorio 2009: 300)

Osorio, while alone “Screaming this song,” yet aware of the situation—“no one is listening...holding the hands of ancestors trying to find voices...no one is listening”—promises that she will wait for people to join her, “when you feel like joining me, I will be here, waiting, but not idly, I will be singing” (301). In her conclusion, Osorio demands of the audience to take a stance on the problematic socio-political context in Hawai‘i. The use of her native tongue divides her audience in the hope that they remain muddled in their alignment with the margin of the population. She declares her position once again, but in a way that is clear-cut, “*Ma hope mākou o Lili‘ulani*, [We are behind Lili‘u-lani]” (301).

Perhaps the best example of a voice of resistance towards transculturation can be found in a poem titled “Kaona” (Hidden Meaning) by Osorio and Ittai Wong, which was presented as slam poetry on HBO’s special *Brave New Voices* in 2008 to a live audience in Washington, D.C. The poem conveys a beautiful story of resistance during the years of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s imprisonment following the overthrow of the monarchy. Osorio and Wong circle back and forth between Hawaiian and English to express the importance of language as identity. Out of the necessity of secrecy in the new provisional government, *kaona* was utilized to converse between Queen Lili‘uokalani and her citizens. According to the Online Hawaiian Dictionary *Nā Puke Wehewehe ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*, *kaona* means hidden meaning, and within the Hawaiian language it is a pragmatic

tool that requires a deep understanding of the culture, offering a "...concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place; words with double meanings that might bring good or bad fortune."

To Osorio and Wong, identity as a group can only be maintained by the persistence of its language, because the ability to identify oneself as Hawaiian rests in the knowledge of the Hawaiian language. Therefore, in *Kaona* the plight is made much more vital and resonates as they verse in dual narrative, containing both English and Hawaiian verses read out loud simultaneously⁴:

and with every word lost	E ho mai ka 'ike mai
we lose a piece of ourselves	luna mai e
with every story forgot,	O na mea huna no'eau
we lose a piece of our history	O na mele
	E ho mai

(Hāpai nā Leo, 229)

The lyrics in Hawaiian are borrowed from the chant *E ho mai* by Edith Kanaka'ole⁴, the use of her chant references the nostalgia of past Hawai'i. The chant is typically repeated three times, and Kanaka'ole translates it as "Grant us the knowledge from above, [t]he knowledge hidden in the chants, [g]rant us these things" ("E Ho Mai Pule Ai." 2014). The use of this chant indicates that there exists a hidden knowledge in words that are spoken, in *nā mele* (the chants). Through their verses Osorio and Wong are remembering and retelling, through *Kaona* (Hawai'i's first form of poetry), that much can be learned by the knowledge and teaching of the Hawaiian language and culture, and by doing so their Hawaiian identity will never be forgotten.

Because of the use of Hawaiian throughout the poem, the audience is expected to know the culture and language, and therefore, an audience lacking this knowledge becomes segregated because of their lack of Hawai'i culture or a forgotten Hawaiian understanding. However, the poem *Kaona* illustrates the practice of its very name. An encrypted meaning is entwined beneath the literal meaning; further isolating Osorio and Wong from an unwanted public:

Ua ola ka olelo mai ka paiku ana o na pua
 Our language survived through the passing of flowers...
 ...You had to understand the history and culture
 to decrypt this language. Had to dig deeper than dictionaries
 beneath oesophagus
 and vocal cords
 to grasp the root of the words our people would chant
 just to understand their messages...
 ...through flowers Ua ola ka olelo mai ka paiku ana o na pua
 E hiki na pua e ola mai ka paiku ana o ka olelo
 so our children can survive, through the passage of language.
 (Hāpai nā Leo, 227, 229)

The poem is littered with the words *nā pua*, which literally translate as the flowers; however it can also represent children. Through this game of *kaona*, Osorio and Wong interchange the two meanings so that the verses become united with the same purpose at hand, a message of hope that can only be found within our language and culture if it is "passed" on to the generation, *ia nā pua* (the children).

In conclusion, for more than two hundred and thirty-six years transculturation and its processes have overthrown a kingdom, attempted linguistic and cultural genocide, as well as transformed Hawai'i into the 50th state of the United States of America. However, with the use of literature, both settler and native communities have offered voices of resistance. The Puerto Rican immigrant Carlo Fraticelli wrote to fellow Puerto Ricans using poetry as an attempt to unite and empower them, calling them in remembrance and to action in the electoral process. His poems express a deep nostalgia for his home country, and he desperately challenges his fellow *jibaros* to stand firm in their identity and not forget Puerto Rico or their Boricua culture, thus resisting American and Hawaiian influences. Two native poets of Hawai'i, Jamaica Osorio and Ittai Wong, have written and expressed their voices of resistance through slam poetry, offering a call of remembrance in order to push for Hawaiian education. While Fraticelli wrote only in Spanish and thus recited his works to a minority, Osorio and Wong circle back and forth through English and Hawaiian and through the use of *kaona* another step of

resistance is experienced. To these writers, the art of perseverance is in their literature, and their identity is found within their native languages and culture. Together, through ink and pain, they form voices of resistance in Hawai'i as a consequence of their struggle against transculturation.

NOTES

1. *Kumu* Wong explains that, "The sovereignty of the land is still intact, continual, or remains due to what is *pono* (just)", because the "'*Ua*' in this case states that a state of being has been achieved [of the *ea*; or sovereignty]." *Kumu* Wong argues that it actually translates to "The sovereignty of the land is preserved in Justice." Therefore the saying as a State motto of the United States of America is in itself a contradiction.
2. Mana- Maori & Hawaiian Word for 'power[spiritualness]' -M. 'Umi Perkins
3. "*Kaona*" By Jamaica Osorio and Ittai Wong viewed online, <http://jamaicaosorio.wordpress.com/poetry-publications/kaona/>
4. Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation states of her, "Edith Kanaka'ole was a Hawaiian practitioner, kumu hula (master hula teacher), chanter, composer, *Nā Hōkū Hanohano* award winning recording artist, and instructor of Hawaiian Studies at the Hawai'i Community College and the University of Hawai'i-Hilo."

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II. Language

THE AFFECTIVE EFFECTS OF COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS AFTER EXTENSIVE READING

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ABSTRACT

Extensive Reading (ER) has gained pedagogical attention since ER has been proven to enhance overall foreign language proficiency and have a positive influence on motivation toward second language (L2) reading. Yet, little research has investigated the affective effects of comprehension questions after ER. This is a case study to examine the affective influence of using comprehension questions. Questionnaire, observation, and interview will be used to measure 2 Korean English as Foreign Language (EFL) learners' reading motivation and anxiety. This study can be meaningful for practitioners to recognize the affective influence of implementing comprehension questions after ER and utilize them appropriately.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Extensive Reading (ER) has been proven as an effective way to improve overall proficiencies of foreign language skills. One of the benefits of ER is that learners can have a choice over the materials they want to read for pleasure (Day & Bamford, 1998). Bamford and Day (2004) pointed out that "In contrast to academic reading and intensive reading, and the detailed understanding they require, extensive reading encourages reading for pleasure and information" (p. 3), while evaluation of ER has been discouraged by most researchers who claim that assessment can hinder students' pleasure in reading and have a negative influence on motivation and attitudes toward reading. Krashen (2004) suggested that there should be no book reports, no questions at the end of the chapter, since students should read because they want to. Although Day and Bamford (1998) also noted that "Reading is its own reward. There are few or no follow-up exercises after reading" (p. 8), most practitioners think that post reading activities are necessary in order to check whether students have read the books. However, while most ER experts argue the negative aspects of ER evaluation, little research has verified how ER evaluation influences students' attitude toward ER. In this research, the effects of ER assessment on changes of students' anxiety and motivation levels toward ER will be examined to fill the gap between experts' assertions and actual classroom practice.

1.1. Definition and Effects of ER on L2 Proficiency

ER is quantitative reading in the second language (L2) for a long period of time for personal pleasure without the addition of productive tasks or follow-up language work (Hafiz & Tudor, 1989). Many researchers have reached consensus on the positive impacts of ER on students' language acquisition in various areas such as reading (Bell, 2001; Day & Bamford, 1998; Elley & Mangubhai, 1983), vocabulary (Day & Bamford, 1998; Lao & Krashen, 2000; Poulshock, 2010), grammar (Elley & Mangubhai, 1983), writing (Day & Bamford, 1998; Elley & Mangubhai, 1983; Hafiz & Tudor, 1989), and affective domain, attitude and motivation (Day & Bamford, 1998; Grabe, 2009; Leung, 2002).

2.0. ER AND L2 ANXIETY

Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) made a distinction between general foreign language anxiety and foreign reading anxiety. Foreign language anxiety is defined as "a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feeling, and behaviors related to classroom learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process" (p. 128). Whereas foreign language anxiety has been found to be independent of target language, different levels of reading anxiety were found to vary by target language and be related to a specific writing system. With regard to foreign language reading anxiety, unfamiliar scripts or writing systems, and unfamiliar cultural material were found to be the main reasons to elicit students' reading anxiety (Saito, Garza, & Horwitz, 1999).

Another study on the effect of language anxiety on reading comprehension reported similar results. Seller (2000) indicated that more highly anxious students tended to recall less passage contents than did those participants who claimed to experience minimal anxiety. This was because highly anxious students had a tendency to go off-task more than less anxious counterparts. Yamashita (2013) investigated the effect of ER on L2 reading attitude using 5 attitudinal variables: comfort, anxiety, intellectual value, practical value, and

linguistic value. The result shows that ER increased students' feelings of comfort and reduced anxiety toward reading.

Overall, there have been some studies indicating that reading performance is affected by reading anxiety. As unfamiliar writing systems and unfamiliar cultural materials are the main aspects to cause foreign language reading anxiety (Saito et al, 1999), ER seems to have advantages to reduce students' reading anxiety because it employs familiar writing systems. "Extensive reading texts should be essentially i minus 1, containing only a very small number of unknown words and difficult syntactic structures" (Day & Bamford, 1998, p. 18). With regard to cultural material, ER seems to require appropriate teachers' guidance so that students feel more comfortable with a different culture. The point is summarized by Hill: "ER is not primarily for pleasure but for developing automaticity in linguistic competence and to provide information about the history and culture of a particular English-speaking country. Language teachers need to embrace a wider role" (2001, p. 111).

2.1. ER and Motivation

Day and Bamford (1998) have attempted to explain motivation for reading in an L2 through their expectancy value model. According to their value model, L2 reading motivation has 4 major variables: (a) materials, (b) reading ability in the L2, (c) attitudes toward reading in the L2, and (d) sociocultural environment. This model puts emphasis on positive L2 reading attitudes and appropriate materials more than reading ability or sociocultural environment.

Mori (2004) investigated the relationship between students' motivation/attitudes toward reading in English and a specific reading task and students' willingness to read outside of class. In her research, 2 motivational constructs, study habits and task-specific motivation, were significant predictors of the amount of reading. Study habits and reading amount had a negative relationship, because "the less the students perceive they are hard and active learners, the less they read" (p. 75). The negative intrinsic value of stories and reading amount also had a negative correlation, and Mori claims that "the less students think stories are boring or childish for instance, the more they read" (p. 75). Takase (2007) investigated factors that motivate Japanese high school students to read extensively. She found that students' intrinsic motivation for first language (L1) reading and L2 reading are the most influential factors that predict 219 Japanese female high school students' ER performances. In addition, students' freedom to choose reading materials also motivated students to read extensively.

Two qualitative studies (Leung, 2002; Nishino, 2007) have explored motivational change during the participants' engagement in the task of ER and put an emphasis on the reading materials that are interesting and appropriate for learners' levels. Leung by using a diary study investigated the impact of ER on adult's self-study of Japanese over a 20-week period. The results of this study show that ER can enhance vocabulary acquisition, reading comprehension, and positive attitude toward reading. The participant in this study showed motivation to read more when reading something interesting within her level of proficiency, but her confidence and motivation to read decreased if she tried to read something she could not understand. Leung's findings are supported by Day and Bamford's expectancy value model, which points out that "the key element in the success of extensive reading is having access to a large quantity of reading materials geared to an individual's level of proficiency and interest" (p. 78).

Nishino (2007) conducted a longitudinal case study for two and a half years on the reading strategies and motivation of 2 Japanese middle school students who began reading extensively in English. The 2 participants showed change in their motivation toward ER. They were intrinsically motivated and felt achievement when they finished reading graded books and moved up to the next stages of graded readers. However, their motivation decreased because of difficulty in finding more challenging or attractive reading materials, and of their perception that ER is not helpful to pass their entrance examination.

3.0. THE INFLUENCE OF ASSESSMENT ON ANXIETY IN L2 LEARNING

Most test-anxiety studies indicated that there is a negative correlation between test anxiety and L2 learning. Zeidner (1988) defined test anxiety as "the set of phenomenological, physiological, and behavioral responses that accompany concern about possible negative consequences or failure on an exam or similar

evaluative situation” (p. 17). Most researchers have found an inverse relationship between test anxiety and performance. Coes (1987) studied the connection between test anxiety and performance on a college examination. She found that high test-anxious students were more debilitated than low test-anxious students in an evaluative situation such as college entrance exam. Hembree (1988) examined the association between evaluation anxiety (termed “test anxiety”) and measures of cognitive performance, and declared that there is a reliable and robust relationship between them. This finding shows that evaluation causes anxiety and deters students’ cognitive development.

On the other hand, anxiety is not always disorganizing; it may be facilitating under certain conditions. Ortega (2009) defines facilitating anxiety as some degree of anxiety that helps learners perform better by investing more efforts. Rorschach study (Sarason et al, 1958) illustrated that high test-anxious students develop their defensive reaction (cautiousness) to the anxiety. This defensive mechanism can be overlearned by such situations as a test, and as a result it can become automatic and stable, which causes a facilitating effect on performance. Ruebush (1960) hypothesized that highly cautious students do better than low cautious students on the criterion task, and found that the test anxious child did well in the structured solving tasks where cautiousness is a positive asset. However, he also emphasized that superior performance of the high anxious students in certain situations does not always mean that they perform better in all problem-solving areas. Their stable defensive reactions are expected to function as liability, which tends to react with caution in all evaluation situations rather than becoming an asset.

3.1. ER Evaluation

Brierley quotes Sakai’s 3 rules of ER, that is, “no testing,” “no teaching,” and “no dictionaries” (2008, p. 1048). Most ER experts consider ER evaluation as undesirable because it can reduce students’ pleasure in reading. However, in the actual classroom practice, students are not motivated to read unless teachers monitor their reading or what they learned from reading. Brierley (2008) also reminds us not to “forget that in the real world, students do things because teachers ask them to, and, until the ideal autonomous reader has been created” (p. 1048). In the same way, Hill (2001) argues that it is difficult for low- or beginner-level students to promote automaticity in reading in a foreign language since they can hardly find pleasure in reading books due to their limited vocabulary knowledge. Moreover, rudimentary reading materials using limited syntax and lexis result in banality and obscurity to the readers, which also decrease the pleasure of reading by heavily depending on the pictures in the book. It seems inevitable that teachers keep encouraging students to read until they find pleasure in reading and become autonomous readers.

Some post reading activities are encouraged for teachers to monitor students’ reading. Monitoring reading activities include, for instance, individual interviews, one-sentence check, written book check, and class discussion. In addition, some evaluating reading activities such as one-minute reading, cloze test, one-sentence summary test, and speed answering were suggested as useful methods (Bamford & Day, 2004). However, these activities seem to be hardly implemented by teachers due to time constraints, subjectivity of evaluation, and lack of sufficient preparations. Moreover, some activities such as class discussion, oral reading reports, or written reading reports require productive skills, which are not always easy for EFL students to follow. Instead, the most commonly used post reading activity in the actual classes is comprehension questions because it is more time efficient and objective in evaluation.

It has been controversial to use comprehension questions for ER post reading activity, however. Widdowson argues that “Comprehension questions ... commonly require the learner to rummage round in the text for information in a totally indiscriminate way with regard to what purpose might be served in doing so” (1979, as cited in Prowse, 2002, p. 142). Reed and Goldberg (2008) argue that making use of short quizzes can be more effective in assessing students’ reading rather than written or oral reports that can be possibly plagiarized. They found that giving a 2-minute test with 5 questions at the end of each book led students to read more. Brierley (2009) suggests that well-designed and reliable short quizzes can provide accountability in reading without demotivating readers.

Yet, creating comprehension questions of all the books that every student reads has been a concern for most teachers in the classroom. Therefore, some online programs that support ER emerged: MoodleReader and Extensive Reading System (ERS). MoodleReader is an Internet site which provides quizzes on over 3,000 graded readers and books for young readers, so that teachers can simply assess their students’ work. All quizzes

are randomly given to students with a time limit, allowing test takers to open books or take it at home, but reading materials are not provided. ERS is an online system to implement ER by providing a range of activities and practices that can motivate students and help instructors in assessment. Unlike MoodleReader, ERS also provides more materials than quizzes such as data on the books for further reading (Brierley et al, 2008).

Alavi et al (2012) used the MoodleReader to promote ER in an Iranian EFL context to examine the effect of vocabulary acquisition. The result indicated that the ER group using MoodleReader showed significant vocabulary acquisition and production compared to the control group, who followed the traditional ER curriculum, in which students read a small number of pre-assigned materials during the semester. Although online reading comprehension questions from a larger question pool are provided randomly, it does not mean that they can prevent students from copying answers from other students (Brierley, 2009).

Despite the heated debate over the idea of implementing comprehension questions after ER and some weaknesses of comprehension questions themselves, little research has been conducted to verify how comprehension questions will affect the readers' motivation and anxiety toward ER. Stoeckel et al (2012) studied the influence of questions after reading a book on reading attitudes. The students in the treatment class took weekly questions while those in the control group did not. They found that 90 students in the treatment group enrolled in a required EFL reading and writing course in the Japanese university for 10 weeks did not differ from those students in a control group. The result shows that anxiety, comfort, linguistic value, and practical value were not affected by the ER questions and that intellectual value was positively influenced. Since comprehension questions are regarded as one of the most common post reading activities and used widely, more research needs to be conducted to examine the effect of using ER questions. This study, therefore, would like to fill the gap that needs to be addressed and propose an influential use of questions after ER by asking the 2 following research questions.

- (1) How does ER evaluation influence the participant's anxiety toward extensive reading?
- (2) How does ER evaluation influence the participants' motivation toward extensive reading?

4.0. METHODS

This is a case study. During the summer vacation, 2 participants and I will meet regularly in Sinclair Library; 3 sessions per week for 8 weeks. One session will last 40 minutes and participants will choose what they want to read. While participants are reading books, I will take field notes. For 4 weeks, participants will be asked to answer comprehension questions provided in the Mreader after reading. For another 4 weeks, they will just read the books without taking any comprehension questions. In order to eliminate order as a variable, one student will take the comprehension questions for the first 4 weeks and the other for the last 4 weeks.

4.1. Participants

Two Korean students who learn English as a foreign language will participate in this case study. They were recruited through a Korean Internet community site. They are junior high school students who moved to the U.S. and their English is at the low intermediate level. Even though they are motivated to improve their English proficiency, they have anxiety in speaking English. On the other hand, they feel comfortable reading in English. However, when learning English, they mostly depend on intensive reading and they have never tried to read English books extensively.

4.2. Data Collection

4.2.1. Questionnaires

Two questionnaires will be utilized. The first one (Appendix 1) is the Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Scale (modified from Saito et al, 1999) to measure anxiety toward foreign language reading. This anxiety questionnaire is selected because it was designed for Japanese students, which is a similar EFL context to Korean students. The second one (Appendix 2) is a Motivational Questionnaire (from Ro, 2013, p. 231-232), which will be used to estimate participants' motivation in L2 reading.

A pretest-posttest design will be used. These 2 questionnaires will be taken 3 times: the first pretest will be taken before a reading session, the first posttest will be taken after 4 weeks, and the second posttest after 8 weeks to compare changes or preferences in attitude or motivation about ER.

4.2.2. Interviews

Interviews will be conducted in 2 ways: occasional interviews during and after reading sessions and one interview after finishing each questionnaire. First, participants will be asked a few questions during or after reading sessions in order to compare changes in anxiety and motivation toward ER. Second, participants will be interviewed after finishing their questionnaires to cover unnoticed changes through questionnaires. Interviews will be conducted using Korean and translated into English later.

4.2.3. Observations

While participants read books, I will take field notes of participants' reading behavior and statements (e.g. how they enjoyed reading, what part they had difficulty in understanding) regarding ER. While observing them, I will occasionally ask participants some questions to detect if there is any change in their anxiety and motivation. In order not to miss subtle changes, participants will make a list of books they are going to read next and I will read every book they plan to read prior to their reading sessions. In addition, I will keep records of the books that participants finish reading and the change of preference of genres they choose when needed.

4.2.4. Comprehension questions

Comprehension questions will be administered after finishing each book for 4 weeks. The questions are 5-multiple choice questions covering the main points of the whole book, and the total number of questions per one book are from 5 to 7. The comprehension questions in the Mreader will be utilized, which will take approximately 3 to 5 minutes. One student will take the comprehension questions for the first 4 weeks and the other for the last 4 weeks.

4.3. Data Analysis

4.3.1. Questionnaires

Five-point Likert scale ranging from a number 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) will be utilized in both questionnaires. When it comes to coding, 5 points are awarded for the 1s for anxiety and 5s for motivation. For example, if a participant checked 1 for an item in the anxiety questionnaire and 5 for an item on the motivation questionnaire, the student will be given 5 points for each response. The shifts in both anxiety and motivation will be provided with graphs.

4.3.2. Interviews

All interviews will be audiotaped, transcribed, and analyzed. Content analysis, which is defined by Patton as "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meaning" (2002, p. 453), will be used. Patterns will be formed when participants mention the same factor at least twice during the questionnaire and interview. Once patterns emerge, they will be analyzed by categorizing and comparison.

4.3.3. Observations

Field notes of participants' reading behavior and statements will be analyzed along with questionnaires and interview. Observations data will be utilized to analyze and categorize the patterns that the participants show.

5.0 CONCLUSION

Though traditional comprehension questions after ER are often being utilized in the classroom, few studies have examined the affective effects of implementing ER questions. Therefore, this study has pedagogical importance to discern the effects of ER questions on students' anxiety and motivation when implementing ER. However, since this study is a small size case study with a short period time, it can be hardly generalized. A few studies have proven that ER questions do not affect learners' anxiety and attitude toward ER negatively. Therefore, more longitudinal research should be conducted on affective effects of ER evaluation to determine how ER questions affect learners' attitude toward reading. Yet, comprehension questions should not be designed only to test understanding, but also to help students read text fluently and understand the content of the book better (Hill, 2001).

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Appendix 1: Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Scale (Ro, 2013, p. 231–232)

- (1) I get upset when I'm not sure whether I understand what I am reading in English.
- (2) When reading English, I often understand the words but still can't quite understand what the author is saying.
- (3) When I'm reading English, I get so confused I can't remember what I'm reading.
- (4) I feel intimidated whenever I see a whole page of English in front of me.
- (5) I am nervous when I am reading a passage in English and I am not familiar with the topic.
- (6) I get upset whenever I encounter unknown grammar when reading English.
- (7) When reading English, I get nervous and confused when I don't understand every word.
- (8) It bothers me when I encounter words I can't pronounce while reading English.
- (9) By the time you get past the funny letters and symbols in English, it's hard to remember what you are reading about.
- (10) I am worried about all the new symbols you have to learn in order to read English.
- (11) I do not feel confident when I am reading in English.
- (12) Even though you have gotten used to it, reading English is difficult.
- (13) I feel very uncomfortable when I have to read English aloud.
- (14) I am not satisfied with the level of reading ability that I have achieved so far in English.
- (15) You have to know so much about English history and culture in order to read English texts.

Appendix 2: Motivational Questionnaire (Takase, 2007, p. 15–16)

- (1) Of all English studies, I like reading best.
- (2) Reading English is my hobby.
- (3) I enjoy reading English books.
- (4) I am reading English books to get better grades.
- (5) I am reading English books to succeed on the entrance examination.
- (6) I am reading English books because I will need to read English in college or a university.
- (7) I am reading English books because it is required.
- (8) My parents suggest that I read English books.
- (9) I am reading English books to become able to read long passages on the entrance exam easily.
- (10) Reading English books helps me to understand and appreciate English literature.
- (11) I am learning English reading because I want to read newspapers and magazines in English.
- (12) I am learning English reading because I want to get a better job in the future.
- (13) I am learning English reading because I want to read information in English on the Internet.
- (14) I am learning English reading because I want to exchange e-mail in English.
- (15) I am reading English books to become more knowledgeable.
- (16) I am reading English books to compete with my classmates.
- (17) I am reading English to become more intelligent.
- (18) Reading English books will broaden my view.
- (19) I want to know more about English-speaking countries.
- (20) I am reading English books to become a faster reader.
- (21) I want to be a better reader.
- (22) I don't like to be disturbed while reading English books.
- (23) I don't like to read English books that have difficult words.
- (24) I want to look up new words in the dictionary while I am reading.
- (25) I like intensive reading better than extensive reading.
- (26) The speaking skill is more important than the reading skill.
- (27) I like listening to English better than reading it.

PROPOSAL FOR THE TRANSCRIPTION OF CETACEAN COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

For at least 75 years, some biologists have thought that dolphins and whales use complex language-like natural communication systems. This paper reflects a linguist's perspective on how to explore that possibility: transcription. Systematically writing down what is observed in language allows researchers to organize data according to any feature and to discover patterns. This is especially important for decoding communication which cannot be translated by its users. The method described here uses hierarchical "typing" and segmentation in combination with linearly-ordered features, including music-based categorization of frequencies. The system is highly customizable and uses only symbols found on a standard keyboard.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

At least since John Lilly's research in the 1950s, the idea of the highly intelligent dolphin has been planted in the public's imagination and in the fields of biology, psychology, and neurology. Gradually, more and more evidence supports this idea and its implications of complex social behaviors and communication. Tests using artificial languages and symbols (Herman, 2008; Herman & Uyeyawa, 2009, Herman et. al., 1993; Reiss & McCowan, 1993) have shown that dolphins can comprehend elements of syntax and can respond creatively to novel or impossible requests. Some of the more recent and long-term studies have shifted the focus to natural communication in the wild and in captivity (Dudzinski, 1996; Dudzinski et. al., 1995; Herzing, 1996; Zimmerman, 2012). Studies with young dolphins (Harley, 2008; Reiss & McCowan, 1993) demonstrate that signature whistle repertoires are acquired based on parental input, and gradually gain complexity. It is high time that linguists contributed to this investigation, as the system increasingly resembles language.

From a linguistic standpoint, documenting a language for the first time requires diligent records of speech samples, along with carefully-aligned transcriptions, glosses, and translations that will be essential for analysis. According to the literature, most natural communication studies for cetaceans focus entirely on data collection and as much translation as possible, while ignoring the intermediate steps that deal with structure.

This proposal outlines a method for transcribing the vocalizations, and to some degree, the movements, of dolphins, whales, and porpoises. The examples of contours and features mentioned here come from only a few species of dolphins. However, the system aims to be transferrable to any cetacean. It is designed to be maximally useful and minimally restrictive. The amount of detail and exact categorizations of some features are left up to the researcher to customize according to the needs of the project, the vocal capacity of the species or group, and the quality of the data. Only symbols on a standard keyboard are used to ensure transferability, consistency, and compatibility with computerized systems of sorting, searching, and analysis.

After a discussion of existing transcriptions that serve as inspiration in Section 2, Section 3 is an overview of the important features to consider for cetaceans, followed by a description of the transcription system itself in Section 4, and some concluding remarks in Section 5. The Appendix offers a summary of the conventions used in this proposal.

2.0. INSPIRATION FROM OTHER TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEMS

2.1. Human Language

Universal transcription systems like the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and the principles behind it, give a huge advantage to linguists studying spoken languages. Not only does consistency between researchers allow for maximum transferability and effective sharing of discoveries and ideas, but the very fact that language sounds can be encoded visually and organized into a long-lasting dataset is pivotal. The patterns of what does or does not appear, overall and in certain contexts, develop into phonological, morphological, and syntactic analyses. The use of a transcription system with actual language data can also serve as a test of the

feature set that has been established as significant. If the system is not tuned to the exact features that matter in the language, it will be confusing and ineffective to write it that way. Even IPA itself is open for revision in the event that a new speech sound is discovered or a new feature is found to be contrastive in any language.

The importance of transcription has more recently been recognized in the subfield of sign linguistics as well, for the creation of dictionaries and as an exercise in analysis. As a visual form of communication, sign languages use an entirely different set of contrastive units, many of which are concurrent as opposed to linear. A change in the direction of movement (i.e., starting and ending location), for example, is often the only indication of subject and object on a transitive verb (Woodward, J., personal communication, October 2013; Quintela et al., 1999). Facial expressions that co-occur with manual signs often serve as adverbs, negation, or question markers (Woodward; Veinberg, 1993). In the same way that some languages are phonologically compatible with syllabic writing while others are very incompatible due to the vast number of possible syllables, the task of creating a symbol for each combination of handshape, orientation, location, and non-manual expression would be monstrous and impractical. So instead, transcription involves a set of possibilities for each aspect, which are written in sequence and understood to be simultaneous.

Stokoe and Modified Stokoe transcription, and some modern dictionaries, take a hierarchical approach to categorizing and organizing each sign (Woodward, J., personal communication, October 2013). Handshape is seen as the most salient feature, so this is the first layer of organization, followed by orientation, location, and so forth. According to Woodward, this has been much more intuitive for signers than the previous location-initial system, which indicates that there is some reality in the theory.

2.2. Other Animals

In their 2006 article, Placer and Slobodchikoff describe a way to identify acoustic units in a set of vocalizations, a helpful first step on the way to transcription. The method they use is a computerized “self-organizing map” designed to recognize patterns. The features the program uses and the categories it makes are chosen by humans in advance so that it can be “trained.” Thus, it is a way to speed up the processing of data, not neutralize human interpretation. The program was successfully trained to find the units and relative orders associated with the alarm calls for different predators, indicating that the method is ideally suited for experimental data where some of the semantic content is known (or assumed). Naturalistic data with more variation and less concrete semantics may be more of a challenge.

The program is also capable of generating symbols (a letter and number code) for each of the units it finds. However, this does not make it a transcriber. It creates an association, not between features and symbols, but between holistic units and symbols; at best it could serve as a logographic system, which would not aid in further acoustic analysis. The lack of internal structure also means that this type of segmentation leaves out the all-important contour typology (see section 3.1), which is presumably at a higher organizational level. A system like Placer and Slobodchikoff’s could be useful for analysis, especially in that it spells out the allowable positions for certain units, but it misses the mark for transcription.

Ornithology, on the other hand, already utilizes a transcription system to record the auditory behavior of its subjects. Because birds have a different auditory apparatus and different hearing capabilities than mammals, much of the harmonic complexity and speed of their vocalizations is lost on human ears (Radford, 1984), and some find it helpful to “translate” these sounds into a recognizable system. This has led to the use of musical notation to record their songs (Phillips, 2006).

This is an option for cetacean communication as well. However, there are aspects of dolphin sounds that make the system less appropriate. Musical notation is designed to record a sequence of steady pitches that last for a certain amount of time, which the spectrographic evidence (Phillips, 2006) indicates is perfect for birds. It works well for frequent, categorical changes in pitch, audibly relative distinctions in length (one note is half as long as another), and pronounced harmonics. A dolphin whistle, on the other hand, consists of a smooth modulation from one pitch to the next, no categorical length distinctions (as of current research), and rarely recognized harmonics. Another aspect to consider is range. The staff on which music is written naturally allows space for approximately two octaves (see section 4.3.2), including the expansion of a few notes above and below the standard lines. The recorded range for cetacean sound production is quite large (1 to 80 kHz according to Au & Hastings), and likely to lead to a messy or confusing end product. This is especially important for ensuring accurate cross-group and cross-species comparisons, as the range of frequencies used has

been discovered as a marker of membership for some groups (Au & Hastings, 2008; Filatova et. al., 2012; Papale et. al., 2013).

One more contrast between ornithology and the cetology is the purpose of the transcription system. The main goal of musical transcription for bird song, according to Phillips, is for imitation and recognition. Music has been composed based on it, and bird enthusiasts have learned to recognize calls by studying them on paper. The current proposal for cetology is aimed at analysis. It must record the right kinds of details, and it must be easily organizable and searchable. It must attempt to segment a stream of sound into smaller units, be they linear or featural. Certain musical categorizations and conventions will be important in the parameters described below, but these transcriptions will not resemble a sheet of music.

3.0. OVERVIEW OF IMPORTANT FEATURES AND CATEGORIZATIONS OF VOCALIZATIONS

The literature so far on dolphins points to several different types of sounds that occur in different contexts. However, the number of categories and their features are defined in many different ways for different species and for different studies (Au & Hastings, 2008). What each classification has in common is the use of similar nonlinear characteristics like length, contour, and frequency range to discriminate between each type. Some studies use human judgment, some use computers, and some use both.

Gannier et. al. (2010) use “duration, frequency range, number of contour inflections (slope sign change), beginning, ending, maximal and minimal frequencies, minimal, maximal, initial and final frequency slopes...and number of harmonics” in a computer-based classification system used to compare five species. Typical frequency range, number of inflections, and average slope were found to be diagnostic in identifying the species. Au and Hastings (2008) discuss similar parameters in their computer analyses.

Richards et. al. (1984) conducted a study of bottlenose dolphins’ ability to imitate artificial whistles, finding that contour was not the only feature their subjects paid attention to. When a computer glitch caused one of the whistles to fade out part of the way through, the dolphin copied this in her imitation. She was also able to produce two individual frequencies rather than a smooth contour, something rarely discussed if ever seen in natural sounds.

3.1. Contour

As the longest type of vocalization with the most complex contours, and the most frequently defined as “social,” the whistle will be the focus of this proposal. These may take many different forms, divided by many researchers into as many as 32 subtypes (Au & Hastings, 2008) by their overall contour. Some studies (Sayigh et. al., 1990; King et. al., 2013) have identified unique contours for individual dolphins (Sayigh et. al.; King et. al.), famously called “signature whistles.” Others have found similar characteristics in the whistles of individuals from a coherent group (López, 2011; Filatova et. al., 2012; Papale et. al., 2013), in contrast to other groups in different regions.

Categorization tests (Harley, 2008; Janik, 1999) and acquisition studies (Reiss & McCowan, 1993; Sayigh et. al., 1990) generally lean toward contour as the most important feature in dolphin, human, and computer perception. However, this could be due to the reliance on signature whistles for these studies and the training of computers using human categories. In a side-by-side comparison, for example, Janik found that humans were better than computers at classifying whistle contours to identify individual dolphins. This is perhaps more evidence for categorical perception and approximation on the part of the dolphins. It may also mean that the computers are picking up on more subtle signals, which do not matter to humans, but may or may not matter to dolphins.

Beyond the overarching shape of the longer whistles, Datta and Sturtivant (2002) had decent results using a computer to divide them into rising and falling sections, and used the comparison of those sections to “train” the computer to sort new whistles into classes relating to distinct social groups. This is similar to the type of segmentation used in this transcription system (see section 4.3).

3.2. Frequency and Other Features

Pitch is another common and salient feature analyzed in cetacean studies. The overall range of hearing, according to Au and Hastings (2008), is 15 Hz to 140 kHz. A specific and unique range is generally established

for each species, and individual variations are often reported, especially in captive specimens. Janik (1999) comments that imitation studies have given mixed results on whether dolphins pay more attention to absolute frequency or overall contour, pointing to the fact that both are likely significant.

Though the feature of length is not explicitly mentioned, it is an implicit criterion for judging a contour match, and lines up well in any spectrographic comparisons within a contour class. The lengths of smaller pieces, such as arcs, are also indicative of slope. Studies such as Gannier et. al. (2010), López (2011), and Janik (1999) use slope, and changes in slope, explicitly in their classifications.

Repetitions, “loops,” or “cycling,” of a whistle or song are often mentioned in the literature (Dudzinski, 1996; Au & Hastings, 2008). Whales especially are known for singing a repeated tune for hours (Garland et. al., 2013; Edds-Walton, 1997; Mellinger & Clark, 2003), and transcribers should be able to record this easily, both for the purposes of abbreviation and to easily compare the numbers and types of repeated sections.

The contrast between a broken or continuous contour was the least-reliably copied feature in Janik’s study, but it was not completely ignored either. As it is not a commonly-investigated feature, there is no good evidence for or against the significance of silence. As they are relatively one-dimensional, it is not unreasonable to include a convention for marking interruptions in this system. The volume or intensity of a sound, or piece of a sound, also has the potential to change meanings. With the appropriate recording conditions, this can be tracked as well.

Harmonics, on the other hand, add an additional layer to a transcription, so they will be left out for now. Most classifications do not mention harmonics, and those that do (Esfahanian et. al., 2014; Gannier et. al., 2010) consider them insignificant, as they do not seem to vary from the pattern of the main contour. This may be something to update in the future.

Some studies also use an established set of codes to record stereotyped movements (Dudzinski, 1996). Again, the development of the code system itself is an exercise in categorization that can be used both to find correspondences between elements and their context, and to adjust the defining features of each gesture. As it is not yet clear how much the auditory and visual systems of communication relate or refer to each other, this system will include a rudimentary method for incorporating these codes along with records of sound.

4.0. THE TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

4.1. Structure

The transcription system proposed here uses a combination of overarching and linear units to record audible and visual aspects of cetacean behavior. Each unit encodes one feature of the sound, separated from the others by hyphenation. The first set of parameters, which are more categorical and apply to entire “utterances,” is written outside of the brackets that are used to divide a sound into linear parts in the following details of the transcription (see section 4.3).

4.2. Overarching (External) Features

The first section of a transcription will indicate a sound’s classification information. For simpler types like “screams,” “squawks,” and “chirps” (see Dudzinski, 1996), this will mean a single letter code (S, Q, or C, respectively). For whistles, this will consist of the letter code (W) and a number indicating a subtype or contour class. Again, the number of type and subtype codes will depend on the study.

Another feature at the same level, meaning it applies to the entire “utterance,” is intensity. This may change over the course of the whistle, but a base level may be important to establish. This will be an optional position in the transcriptions, as quality and background noise can often interfere with consistency, but it serves as another potentially distinctive feature for studies with captive or ideal conditions. Intensity will be encoded by a number system, which will be customized for each study until technology allows for more consistency. At this point, the suggestion is a “V” code for “volume,” followed by a number that corresponds to a preset scale for those datasets where it is applicable.

4.3. Basic Details (Internal Features)

Below the level of type and subtype are the more linear details. As it is not yet entirely clear what a dolphin may perceive as a unit, the visually salient arc will serve as a preliminary base. The number, length, and slope of arcs in a whistle are used for sub-typing, so it is reasonable to assume that these are significant in at least the current human conception of these sounds. In terms of analysis, this means that each arc may be treated as a syntactic unit.

For sounds with a single upsweep or downsweep, length plus starting and ending pitch will suffice. For steady pitches, the note should be written twice to indicate the beginning and the end. These, and other two-pitch arcs, will be referred to as “slopes.” For whistles with complex modulations, the details are divided into multiple arcs. Each is contained in brackets and consists of a length measurement followed by three pitches: starting, peak (or valley), and ending. The ending pitch of one arc is the starting pitch of the next, so every bracket must contain at least two pitches, even if the contour ends in an upsweep or downsweep instead of a full arc. This also means that a single whistle will contain either all convex or all concave arcs. The exception to this is if there is a clear change in slope, in which case the end of the initial contour is marked, and the new arc will begin at that point (see fig. 2).

The inclusion of length as well as pitch ensures that slope can actually be calculated and analyzed. In stereotyped contours, there do not appear to be variations in the curve of one side of an arc versus another. However, if it seems advantageous, this system can be easily modified to record all sound types with 2-point slopes as the basic unit instead of 3-point arcs.

4.3.1. Length

Each bracket begins with a length measurement of the arc (or slope) recorded in that bracket. It is recorded in milliseconds, and appears without a letter code such as the ones used for type and intensity. For example, [392.41- begins the transcription of whistle 1 below (see fig. 1), indicating that the first arc is 392.41 ms long. Overall length for a whistle, click, chirp, etc. is part of what helps define each type, so it is not necessary to include this as an overarching feature outside of the bracketed details. Clusters in actual data may indicate the need to divide the continuum of “length” into categorical segments (i.e. 1–50 ms, 50–100 ms, etc.), as is proposed for pitch in the following section.

4.3.2. Pitch

Pitches are categorized using musical conventions. Studies have shown (Au & Hastings, 2008) that the perception of different pitches in dolphins, our distant mammalian relatives, is remarkably similar to that of humans in that it is the percentage of change from one frequency to another that matters. A flat change of 5 Hz, for example, may be perceptible in a low range of frequencies, but not in a higher range. Richards et. al. (1984) even mention a human-like tendency to change the octave of a whistle in an imitation if the original is not in the preferred range, another indication that dolphin hearing perception may resemble our own. Thus, the system we use to divide the frequencies in our hearing range of 20 Hz to 20 kHz (Smith, 1998) into recognizable pitches may be appropriate for cetaceans as well. It can be easily adapted to accommodate the 15 Hz to 140 kHz hearing range for dolphins and whales (Au & Hastings), even in keeping with the standard setting of A4 at 440 Hz (Suits, 1998).

Musical notation divides the human hearing and sound production range into many distinct notes on a scale, each of which corresponds to a target frequency. It is an exponential system divided into “octaves,” such that every one-octave increase corresponds to a doubling of frequency. For example, the note A4, typically set at 440 Hz, has double the frequency of the corresponding note one octave down (A3 at 220 Hz) and half the frequency of the corresponding note one octave above (A5 at 880 Hz). Each exponential increase (octave) is divided into twelve steps (notes). This type of scale means that the difference in frequency between each note is larger in higher octaves and that, consequently, only a few octaves need to be added at each end of the standard human scale to accommodate the cetacean range of vocalizations. Approximately 13 octaves, numbered n1 (negative 1) through 13¹, will cover the range for both whales and dolphins (see Appendix A for all values). “n” is used for negative octaves to avoid confusion with hyphens, which separate components of the transcription.

Each octave is labeled with the same sequence of letters: A, Bb, B, C, C#, D, Eb, E, F, F#, G, Ab. “b” and “#” correspond to “flat” (lower than) and “sharp” (higher than), respectively. The use of these labels for certain notes, or positions in an octave, is purely a matter of musical convention². When discussing multiple

octaves, numbers follow these labels, with higher numbers corresponding to higher pitches. C3, for example, would be two octaves (24 steps) above C1.

Values for each note are calculated using the formula, $440 \times (2^{1/12})^X$ (Suits). “X” corresponds to the number of steps required to get from the base frequency (440 Hz) to the new note. For example, to calculate the frequency of A5 from the base of A4 at 440 Hz, the value of “X” would be 12 (exactly one octave). Setting “X” at 13 would give the next highest note (Bb5), 14 would give B5, and so on³. Knowing this relationship between notes enables the assignment of a musical value to any frequency (see Appendix A). For pitches that fall between notes, the transcriber will choose the closest category and may mark the pitch as a “flat” or “sharp” version of one of the standard categories by adding an apostrophe (') when the pitch is higher than the target and a comma (,) when the pitch is lower. For example, a peak of 17 kHz, between C10 at 16.7 kHz and C#10 at 17.7 kHz, could be recorded as C10 since this is the closest value, or the transcriber may include the detail that it is a “sharp” C10 (C10'). If the pitch were closer to C#10 (say 17.5 kHz) the transcriber may record it as a “flat” C#10 (C#10,). This type of detail might help fine-tune the categorical perception of a group of cetaceans.

As mentioned earlier, another aspect of pitch in cetacean sounds is accompanying harmonies. This is certainly an area for further investigation, and if it is proven significant, one option is a parallel line of transcription, perhaps in a system like that used in ELAN. If it could be made searchable, a more literal musical transcription using notes on a staff could be the solution. However, “bracket-external” information like types, intensities, and tempos (or lengths) should still be prominent. It is also important to remember that the most complex sounds, whistles and songs, do not on the surface consist of discrete notes, but a smooth slur from one pitch to the next, making this type of notation potentially misleading. Recording lengths in a consistent “tempo” format forcing relative length distinctions would be another obstacle to this type of presentation.

4.3.3. Examples of basic arc transcriptions

Before moving on to the optional, case-by-case details in the following sections, observe the process of transcribing the basic aspects of the following two whistles.

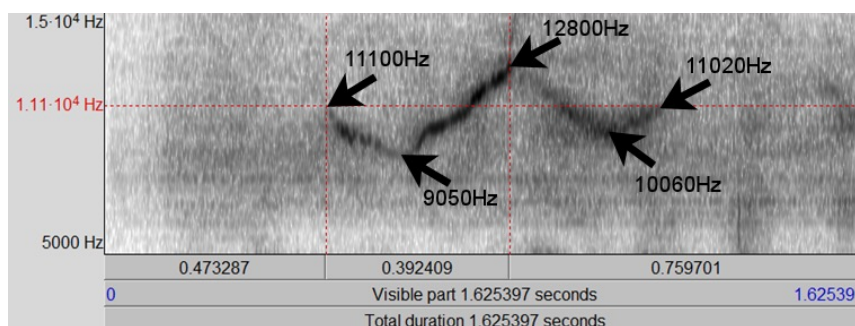


Figure 1: Whistle 1. W5-[392.41-F9C#9'G9']-[332.44-G9'Eb9F9,]. (Sound clip extracted from a video recording by the Wild Dolphin Foundation. Spectrogram created and measured in Praat.)

The first thing to determine here is the contour type. It is long and complex enough to be a whistle (W), and according to Dudzinski's (1996) classification, this is a type 5 contour. Since we do not have reliable intensity information, the next step is to determine the length of the first arc. This is already measured in figure 1 (0.392409s). The rest of the arc consists of the three left-most arrows (the starting pitch, the first valley, and the first peak), at 11100 Hz, 9050 Hz, and 12800 Hz. Looking at the chart of target frequencies, this consists of an F9 (target at 11155.3 Hz), a high C#9 (between C#9 at 8869.84 Hz and D9 at 9397.27 Hz), and a high G9 (between G9 at 12543.85 Hz and Ab9 at 13289.75 Hz).

The same procedure is followed for the second arc, beginning the length measurement and the first pitch at the end point of the first arc. The length of the second portion is 0.33244s, with pitches at 12800 Hz (high G9), 10060 Hz (Eb9), and 11020 Hz (low F9). As there are no breaks or repetitions (see section 4.4), the final transcription is W5-[392.41-F9C#9'G9']-[332.44-G9'Eb9F9,].

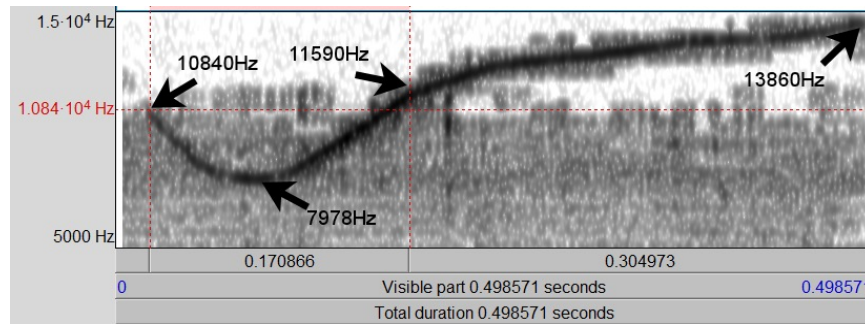


Figure 2: Whistle 2. [170.87-E9'B8F#9,][226.28-F#9,A9,]. (Sound clip extracted from a video recording by the Wild Dolphin Foundation. Spectrogram created and measured in Praat.)

Aside from the principles illustrated in whistle 1 above, this whistle shows a change in slope part of the way through the upswing. This is an alternate reason for ending an arc, and the shape of this contour means that the final arc consists of only two pitches. The first arc is 0.170866s long and consists of the first three pitches as measured in figure 2. Note that the third pitch, 11590 Hz (F#9,), that ends the arc is measured at the point where the slope changes to a more horizontal angle. Again, this is the same point where the second arc begins. Since this second portion does not have a real “peak” or “valley,” the next pitch to be recorded is simply the end of the whistle at 13860 Hz (A9,). Ignoring type, as this whistle is irregular, this gives a final transcription of [170.87-E9'B8F#9,]-[226.28-F#9,A9,].

Since the software to create these spectrograms and take these measurements is already well-established, the process of turning them into transcriptions can probably be automated fairly easily.

4.3.4. Vocalizations with wider frequency bands

With the help of the vocalization typology system, the conventions described above can be adapted to accommodate other types of sounds. For example, Dudzinski's “squawk” type consists of a wide and steady frequency band. Since modulation (“arcs”) are not seen in these sounds, brackets can be used to describe the upper and lower limits of the band. The transcription Q-[500-Eb9Eb10] records a half-second squawk spanning the 10–20 kHz range. For a “scream” type vocalization with a slightly modulated wide band, slashes can be used to identify a frequency range. S-[250-/Eb9Eb10//B8C#10/]-[250-/B8C#10//B8F9/] is a half-second scream that first gradually lowers in pitch (10–20 kHz to 8–18 kHz), and then gradually narrows in frequency range (8–18 kHz to 8–11 kHz). The additional details described below can also be used with these types of sounds.

4.4. Optional Details (Internal Features)

4.4.1. Repetitions

As some studies (Garland et. al., 2013; Edds-Walton, 1997; Mellinger & Clark, 2003) have reported repetitions in whale songs, it is important to have a way to recognize this in a transcription. One option is to simply rewrite the arc or section every time it recurs. While this is a fine solution for reduplication in human languages, where the word or partial word is usually only repeated once, a more economical solution may be appropriate for cetaceans. Particularly in whale song, a segment may be repeated multiple times, and some researchers (Au & Hastings, Garland et. al.) suspect that the number of repetitions is significant. Therefore, this system proposes that the code “X” be used, followed by the number of times the section is produced in succession.

If it were guaranteed that repetitions would always line up with arc divisions, this could simply be another bracket-internal detail. However, sequences of more than one arc may also be repeated, so it is necessary to mark the boundaries of a cycle. This is done with curly brackets ({}). In some cases, this will require adjustments in arc placement as well. Since repetition is a fairly good indication that a stream of sound is some kind of segment (be it a “word,” “sentence,” or “paragraph” in meaning), the boundaries of a repeated segment should always line up with the boundaries of the first and final arcs in that segment, and it may contain as many (complete) arcs as necessary.

In theory, the process of arc realignment can be avoided altogether by recognizing repetition before transcription is attempted, but it is important to see the reasoning behind the rearrangement. As a demonstration, examine the following set of arcs (ignoring length, since it would need to be re-measured for the new arcs):

[A5Ab3G4]-[G4B2F#5]-[F#5Ab3G4]-[G4B2F#5]-[F#5Ab3B6]-[B6C5B6]

You may notice, especially with the assistance of a spectrogram, that the sequence Ab3-G4-B2-F#5 is repeated, but the arcs do not line up with the pattern. In order to record the repetition, first mark the edges with curly brackets (Note that a complete cycle must logically begin and end with the same pitch):

[A5{Ab3G4}-[G4B2-F#5]-[F#5Ab3G4]-[G4B2F#5]-[F#5Ab3}B6]-[B6C5B6]

Recall here that because the starting pitch of one arc is the same as the ending pitch of the next, it is impossible to have a bracket containing a single note. Insert transitions at each end of the repeated portion:

[A5Ab3]{Ab3G4}-[G4B2-F#5]-[F#5Ab3G4]-[G4B2F#5]-[F#5Ab3}{Ab3B6]-[B6C5B6]

Re-segment the transcription into 3-part arcs, working in both directions from the beginning of the cycle (Only the edges of the transcription or transitions between two cycled sections should contain slopes):

[A5Ab3]{[Ab3G4B2]-[B2F#5Ab3]-[Ab3G4B2]-[B2F#5Ab3]}[Ab3B6C5]-[C5B6]

Now it is obvious that the pattern consists of 2 arcs, [Ab3G4B2] followed by [B2F#5Ab3]. So, the transcription can be written as:

[A5Ab3]-{[Ab3G4B2]-[B2F#5Ab3]-X2}-[Ab3B6C5]-[C5B6]

Because of the way oscillation works (recall that only peaks and valleys are marked), more complicated reanalysis of arcs will only be necessary if there are breaks in the sound or dramatic changes in slope that allow a jump from one pitch to the next. Repeated patterns will always consist of an even number of notes, which coincides nicely with the 2 *new* notes that may appear in each arc after the first. It is impossible with this marking system to repeat a three-note pattern like Ab3-G4-B2 (valley, peak, valley). Both Ab3 and G4 are higher than B2, so in continuing the pattern, B2-Ab3-G4, we end up with “valley-peak-peak,” and the middle note would correspond to some intermediate point on the curve.

In some cases, it may be preferable to write out a repeated sequence instead of using the aforementioned abbreviation. Marking variations in length or intensity, breaks, and gestures (see section 4.4.2-4) may overrule the ability to emphasize repetition. Yet, the feature still needs more investigation. How much and what type of contours can be cycled, as well as what small changes may take place from one repetition to another, may be vital in determining where significant divisions can be made.

4.4.2. Breaks

Any gaps in the sound stream should be recorded. As with intensity, the practical use of this feature largely depends on recording conditions. Yet, if the data allows it, the analysis of where breaks happen could give us discourse-like information. Do dolphins stutter? Do they cut themselves off and start over? Do they interrupt each other? Do silences cue others to “answer”? Are silences random or significant? In any case, the ampersand (&) will serve as the marker for such an interruption. It can be placed within an arc or between them in place of a hyphen. If the break is of considerable length, this can be recorded, in milliseconds, after the ampersand, and parentheses can be used to separate it from the surrounding pitches: [476.23-A9&C#10F8] or [476.23-A9(&30.26)C#10F8]. Note that the length at the beginning includes the break in both cases. The decision to count a break as part of a vocalization, as opposed to the end of it, is ultimately up to the researcher. However, if the contour surrounding the break is smooth, it seems reasonable to include it in that contour.

4.4.3. Changes in intensity

If the volume of a whistle changes, and this can be attributed to the animal's production and not interference or movement, this can be recorded as well. For sounds that gradually fade or build, this can appear as a range in the external information, as in: W3-V2-6- [...]; W3-V6-2- [...]. Multiple modulations are more problematic. However, a particular segment can be marked as a certain intensity by using curly brackets: W3-V2-[476.23-A9{C#10F8}-[F8Bb9-V4}D8][...]. Here, brackets can be applied across arc boundaries, and are kept inside arcs when at the border, as they are an internal detail rather than an external structural property like repetition: W3-V2-[476.23-A9C#10F8]-[{F8Bb9D8-Vp}][...]. In keeping with the musical theme, “Vp” (piano) and “VF” (forte) may be used in place of numbers to indicate a “quieter” or “louder” section.

4.4.4. Gestures

For accompanying visual behaviors, or gestures, a coding system like the one used by Herzing (1996) is ideal. These can be inserted in the same way as intensities. Lowercase letters are preferable, as they are visually distinct from the other codes. If the dolphin producing the following hypothetical sound rubbed another dolphin with its pectoral fin at the beginning of the second arc, for example, it would be recorded as:

W3-V2-[476.23-A9C#10F8]-[{F8Bb9-pecrub} D8]

Again, these are an internal detail, marked inside of arcs.

5.0. CONCLUSION

Cetacean communication, as different from human language as it may be, has many aspects to explore. If the cross-species and species-internal variations can be reliably recorded, broken down, and organized, this may shed some light on the structure and even the significance of certain sounds and gestures. The transcription system described above has the goal of providing a new linguistic perspective to this end. The conventions are proposed to provide a flexible structure for including as much detail as is appropriate and possible for a given study. The next step will be to put this proposal to the test using real data, and to design programs to automate the translation of spectrographic data into transcriptions.

NOTES

1. Music generally uses octaves 0–8.
2. Each sharp and flat note has 2 names, one flat version and one sharp version. For example, Bb is the same as A#. The choice of one name over another in music is related to the “key” of the tune being written, but I have chosen the most common version for consistency.
3. Any base frequency can be substituted in place of 440 Hz, as long as the number of steps between the base and the desired frequency is carefully counted. To move down the scale, “X” values are negative.

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Appendix A: Extended Musical Scale

Table 1. Pitches (Hz) and Associated Codes (Adapted from Suits, 1998)

Note	Frequency	Note	Frequency	Note	Frequency	Note	Frequency	Note	Frequency
An1	13.75	F2	87.31	C#5	554.37	A7	3520	F10	22350.61
Bbn1	14.57	F#2	92.5	D5	587.33	Bb7	3729.31	F#10	23679.64
Bn1	15.43	G2	98	Eb5	622.25	B7	3951.07	G10	25087.71
C0	16.35	Ab2	103.83	E5	659.25	C8	4186.01	Ab10	26579.5
C#0	17.32	A2	110	F5	698.46	C#8	4434.92	A10	28160
D0	18.35	Bb2	116.54	F#5	739.99	D8	4698.63	Bb10	29834.48
Eb0	19.45	B2	123.47	G5	783.99	Eb8	4978.03	B10	31608.53
E0	20.6	C3	130.81	Ab5	830.61	E8	5274.04	C11	33488.07
F0	21.83	C#3	138.59	A5	880	F8	5587.65	C#11	35479.38
F#0	23.12	D3	146.83	Bb5	932.33	F#8	5919.91	D11	37589.09
G0	24.5	Eb3	155.56	B5	987.77	G8	6271.93	Eb11	39824.25
Ab0	25.96	E3	164.81	C6	1046.5	Ab8	6644.88	E11	42192.33
A0	27.5	F3	174.61	C#6	1108.73	A8	7040	F11	44701.21
Bb0	29.14	F#3	185	D6	1174.66	Bb8	7458.62	F#11	47359.29
B0	30.87	G3	196	Eb6	1244.51	B8	7902.13	G11	50175.42
C1	32.7	Ab3	207.65	E6	1318.51	C9	8372.02	Ab11	53159
C#1	34.65	A3	220	F6	1396.91	C#9	8869.84	A11	56320
D1	36.71	Bb3	233.08	F#6	1479.98	D9	9397.27	Bb11	59668.96
Eb1	38.89	B3	246.94	G6	1567.98	Eb9	9956.06	B11	63217.06
E1	41.2	C4	261.63	Ab6	1661.22	E9	10548.08	C12	66976.14
F1	43.65	C#4	277.18	A6	1760	F9	11155.3	C#12	70958.75
F#1	46.25	D4	293.66	Bb6	1864.66	F#9	11839.82	D12	75178.18
G1	49	Eb4	311.13	B6	1975.53	G9	12543.85	Eb12	79648.51
Ab1	51.91	E4	329.63	C7	2093	Ab9	13289.75	E12	84384.65
A1	55	F4	349.23	C#7	2217.46	A9	14080	F12	89402.43
Bb1	58.27	F#4	369.99	D7	2217.46	Bb9	14917.24	F#12	94718.57
B1	61.74	G4	392	Eb7	2489.02	B9	15804.27	G12	100350.83
C2	65.41	Ab4	415.3	E7	2637.02	C10	16744.04	Ab12	106318
C#2	69.3	A4	440	F7	2793.83	C#10	17739.69	A12	112640
D2	73.42	Bb4	466.16	F#7	2959.96	D10	18794.55	Bb12	119337.92
Eb2	77.78	B4	493.88	G7	3135.96	Eb10	19912.13	B12	126434.13
E2	82.41	C5	523.25	Ab7	3322.44	E10	21096.16	C13	133952.29

Note: "n" indicates a "negative" octave (below the "0" octave used in musical notation).

Appendix B: Other Codes and Symbols Used

Symbol	Meaning	Symbol	Meaning
S	scream type	[beginning of arc or slope
Q	squawk type]	end of arc or slope
C	chirp type	/	beginning or end of frequency range
W	whistle type	{	beginning of cycle, intensity, or gesture
V	volume or intensity	}	end of cycle, intensity, or gesture
Vp	relatively quiet (piano)	(beginning of measured break
Vf	relatively loud (forte))	end of measured break
‘	higher than target frequency (sharp)	-	separation of elements
,	lower than target frequency (flat)	Numbers	subtypes, intensities (defined by the researcher), or lengths (ms)
X	repetition or cycle	Lowercase Letters	gesture codes (defined by the researcher)
&	break in sound stream	Uppercase Letters	type of vocalization (defined by the researcher)

Appendix C: Overall Structure of Transcriptions (Bolded features are required)

Basic:

TypeSubtype-Intensity-[**LengthofArc-StartingPitch**flat/sharp**Peak/Valley**flat/sharp-Valley/Peakflat/sharp]-[...]
 Ex. W5-V3-[334.7-G6F8,Bb7]-[453.97-Bb7A8,D6']

Repetition:

TypeSubtype-Intensity-{{**LengthofArc-StartingPitch-Peak/Valley-Valley/Peak**}-**Repetition**}-[...]
 Ex. W5-V3-[334.7-G6F8,Bb7]-{{[453.97-Bb7A8,D6']-X2}}

Break:

TypeSubtype-Intensity-[**LengthofArc-StartingPitch**(BreakLengthofBreak)**Peak/Valley**-Valley/Peak]-[...]
 Ex. W5-V3-[334.7-G6F8,(&32.8)Bb7]-[453.97-Bb7A8,D6']

Change in Intensity or Gesture:

TypeSubtype-Intensity-{{**LengthofArc-StartingPitch-Peak/Valley-Change/Gesture**}-Valley/Peak}-[...]
 Ex. W5-V3-[334.7-G6{F8,Bb7}-[453.97-Bb7A8,-Vp}D6']
 Ex. W5-V3-[334.7-G6{F8,Bb7}-[453.97-Bb7A8,-pecrub}D6']

DIFFERENCES IN CO-CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE BETWEEN A FATHER AND A MOTHER

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ABSTRACT

This case study compares the ways that two parents use conversation to socialize their child in Japanese-language norms and to promote language acquisition. The father's mother tongue is Japanese and the mother is an advanced Japanese learner whose mother tongue is English. The data shows that the father relies mainly on repetition of the child's utterances and evaluative comments to support the conversation. The mother co-constructs by using clarification questions and expanding on the child's speech with much less silence than the father. These findings show the existence of support work done by both parents in markedly different ways.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

People use language for many purposes: to describe the world around them, to express their emotions, to engage other people directly, to look at the language itself, poetically, to deepen relationships with others, and to talk about language itself (Jakobson, 1960). One's language and language use is a manifestation of one's self. However, people and their utilization of language do not exist in a vacuum, but rather as members who both participate in and create their discourse communities. People learn how to behave appropriately in terms of language through socialization by other members of such communities. Nowhere is this more evident than in the socialization by parents of children in acquisition of their mother tongue. Some acts of socialization are salient and deliberate, whereas others occur below the level of consciousness on the part of the socializers, the socializee, or both (Burdelski, 2006). This paper looks at how a father and a mother socialize their daughter to Japanese mother tongue norms by using conversation. The primary findings are that both parents socialize the child to co-construct, a key component of Japanese discourse, but by employing different methods with the father relying on repetition and evaluative comments and the mother using clarification requests and expansion.

2.0. SOCIALIZATION IN CONVERSATION: AN ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study employs an ethnomethodological approach (Garfinkel, 1967), which looks at daily conversation to determine patterns in the socialization process. Similar methodology has been used in Japanese language research (see Ehara, Yoshii, & Yamazaki, 1993; Reynolds, 1990) to determine gender-specific speech characteristics and their relationship with sociological concepts such as power. Ehara, Yoshii, and Yamazaki's (1993) study of conversations between male and female university students concludes that Japanese males lack the ability and desire to do support work in conversation. However, I found that the father in my study was very supportive of the co-construction in conversation, even as he employed different methods than the mother.

In order to converse, speakers need to take many factors into account: setting, relationship with their interlocutor, goal, and so on. With this in mind, conversation may seem like an insurmountable task, yet remarkably, people are able to do it daily and rather seamlessly, not without struggle at times of course. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) have found that conversation revolves around certain turn-taking phenomena that are consistent. These phenomena give an explanation of how people are able to engage in this dance of conversation. This case study looks at conversation and support work to unearth patterns in discourse between the child and each parent to see what devices each parent uses to socialize the child into the Japanese language community as an L1 speaker. This is a small-scale study that does not attempt to make sweeping claims about the nature of parental roles in developing language norms; however, it is one data point in such investigation and hopes to provide some insight into the discussion of how people become adept at conversation in the context of first language acquisition.

3.0. THE NATURE OF CO-CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE

Japanese is considered highly co-constructed (see Jones & Ono, 2005 for an example) with interlocutors working closely together to create an utterance and to convey information. Of course, co-construction is not a concept unique to Japanese (see Ono & Yoshida, 1996); however, pluralistic societal norms emphasizing group work and cooperation greatly contribute to this phenomenon (Maynard, 1989). One

illustrative example of Japanese's reliance on co-construction is the prevalence of reactive tokens, particularly back-channeling. There is empirical support to show that Japanese speakers employ more backchannels than speakers of other languages (Clancy, Suzuki, Thompson & Tao, 1996 compared to English and Mandarin; Maynard, 1986 compared to English). This prevalence of backchannels and other types of co-construction is evidence of Maynard's (1989) claim that the act of supporting and empathizing with the speaker outweighs the content of the conversation.

The co-constructed nature of Japanese is not disputed; however, co-construction does not necessarily occur in the ways one might expect. Ono and Yoshida's (1996) study, which contrasts Japanese and English co-construction, found that Japanese co-construction rarely comes at the syntax level, but rather mainly through backchannels and repetition.

4.0. SOCIALIZATION IN JAPANESE MOTHER TONGUE NORMS BY PARENTS

As I mentioned above, Japan is considered to be a group-oriented society in which proper socialization as a member of the group is highly valued. The desire to build belonging in the group leads to interaction that values how a message is received by others (Maynard, 1989). Language socialization occurs first at home within the family and then in school. Burdelski (2006) found that socialization into Japanese mother tongue norms occurs through prompting, assessment, and reported speech with special care taken so that children learn the distinction between appropriate speech used in their in-group versus an out-group. "As children learn to use the communicative practices generated in interaction and that constitute culture they become competent members of their household and family" (Burdelski, 2006, p. 399).

Once children attend school, socialization is usually the primary goal of instruction, especially in early schooling, (Burdelski, 2010; Cook, 1999) more so than academic development. Children are taught what it is to be Japanese and to use Japanese language appropriately. Teachers socialize children to politeness routines (Burdelski, 2010) and to listen to peers attentively in order to gain valuable information and become the good listeners valued in Japanese society (Cook, 1999).

5.0. DIFFERENCES IN SPEECH BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES

Japanese is often considered to be a highly gendered language. However, to some extent this perception is misguided, since Japanese actually have a continuum of language that is acceptable for each gender with overlap between them (Reynolds, 1990). The language that each person chooses to use is based on the situation, the image of him/herself that he/she wants to portray at that moment, and the cultivated self-image that he/she wants to maintain. Stereotypical ideas of gender differences in language do not reflect actual use as shown by empirical data (Ide, Hori, Kawasaki, Ikuta & Haga, 1986; Itakura, 2001). The role of the speaker and the relationship with the addressee seem to play more of a role in the level of politeness used and the type of politeness (positive or negative) rather than gender (Ide et al., 1986).

Despite recent changes in the Japanese workforce and laws, traditional gender norms are still prevalent with maleness and femaleness being considered desirable. These values are reflected in and created by language use. In this study, I will examine how the roles of mother and father may affect language use in socialization. Previous research (Fujii, 1998) has shown that Japanese fathers who are better at communicating with their children and using *baby talk* are more participatory in child-rearing.

6.0. METHODOLOGY

This study analyzed naturally-occurring conversation in Japanese between a daughter and mother without any other participants and conversation between the same daughter and her father without any other participants. The data were audio recorded, transcribed and analyzed. Conversations between parents were compared. The father's mother tongue is Japanese and he is a native of Osaka. He stays at home and has been the primary caregiver of the daughter since she was seven-months-old. The mother's mother tongue is English; she has studied Japanese since high school and has lived in Japan for almost ten years. She speaks to her husband and children primarily in Japanese, has passed level one of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) and received a superior rating on the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)

- Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). The daughter who is two and a half years old, was born in Japan, and moved to the United States approximately one month before the start of the study.

7.0. RESULTS

By analyzing the transcripts, I found that both parents employed co-construction to facilitate the daughter's socialization into Japanese mother tongue norms. However the methods used by each parent differed with the father relying mainly on repetition and evaluative comments and the mother relying on clarification and elaboration.

7.1. Quantitative Analysis

An analysis of the transcripts showed that the participants employed the following methods of co-construction: back-channeling, repetition, evaluative comments (e.g., sounds good), expansions, and clarification requests.

Table 1. Father-daughter conversation

Speaker	back-channels		repetitions		evaluations		expansions		clarification requests	
	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)
Father	19	13.16	19	13.16	11	22.73	2	125	1	250
Daughter	8	31.25	0	0	0	0	1	250	0	0

The father used predominantly backchannels, repetitions, and evaluative comments in his co-constructions. The daughter led the conversation, using almost exclusively backchannels to co-construct with one expansion.

Table 2. Mother-daughter conversation

Speaker	back-channels		repetitions		evaluations		expansions		clarification requests	
	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)
Mother	6	58.33	0	0	0	0	8	43.75	11	31.82
Daughter	5	70	1	350	0	0	3	116.67	3	116.67

The mother used mainly clarification requests, expansions, and backchannels to co-construct. The daughter used backchannels, expansions, clarification requests, and one backchannel. Considering the fact that the daughter used more expansions and clarification requests in the conversation with the mother than with the father, and based on their use as revealed in the transcript, it seems that the daughter started to model the conversation behavior of the mother.

Table 3. Comparison of co-constructions done by the father and by the mother

Speaker	back-channels		repetitions		evaluations		expansions		clarification requests	
	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)	#	frequency (sec)
Mother	19	13.16	19	13.16	11	22.78	2	125	1	250
Father	6	58.33	0	0	0	0	8	43.75	11	31.82

By comparing the data relative to the two parents it can be seen that the father relied on backchannels and repetitions to co-construct with the help of evaluative comments and the mother relied on expansions and clarification requests with some back-channeling.

7.2. Qualitative Analysis

The following excerpts from the data show the father's use of repetition and evaluative comments. M marks the father and F marks the daughter.

- (1) 9 M: chizu wa umi ni hairanai no
Cheese TP sea not go into PRED
'Cheese isn't going to go in the sea?'
- 10 F: hairu=
going in
'he's going in'
- 11 M: =hairu iine •
going in great
'he's going in, great'
- 12 F: chi| wa mattoku
che TP will wait
'Che(ese) will wait'
- 13 M: matteru minna iine oyoideru yan
waiting everyone great swimming CP
'Everyone's waiting, great, they're swimming, aren't they?'
- 14 F: chiizu matsu
cheese will wait
'Cheese will wait'
- 15 M: chiizu wa jyunban matten no
cheese TP order is waiting PRED
'Cheese is waiting his turn?'
- 16 F: un
yeah
'yeah'
- 17 M: kashikoi ne
smart isn't he
'How smart!'
- 18 F: uun
yeah
'yeah'
- 19 M: chan to koutai sun ka
properly switch do Q
'He's going to take turns just like he's supposed to?'
- 20 F: ima anpanman to dokinchan haiteru kara=
now anpanman and dokinchan are in there because
'Because now Anpanman and Dokinchan are in there'
- 21 M: heeeee umi ni haiten da
oooooh sea in there CP
'Oooohh, they're in there'

The father uses repetition in lines 11, 13 and 15 which occurs after every utterance of the daughter. He uses evaluative comments in lines 11, 13, and two instances in line 17 where he first says *kashikoi ne* (he's so smart) and then in line 19 *chan to koutai sun ka* (he's going to take turns just like he's supposed to). This excerpt also shows the back-channeling used by the daughter in lines 16 and 18.

- (2) 45 F: baikinman mo matterun ya tte umi=
baikinman also is waiting CP QM sea
'Baikinman is also waiting he said, at the sea'
- 46 M: =umi de matteru no ka
sea at is waiting PRED Q
'He's waiting at the ocean, huh?'
- 47 F: wiii[iiiii]
whhheeee
'whhheeee'
- 48 M: [wiiii] tte asonden no

- whhee QM is playing PRED
 'He's saying whhee and playing?'
- 49 F: a, [shokupanman] orirun ya tte=
 ah, shokupanman will get off CP QM
 'Oh, Shokupanman says he's getting off'
- 50 M: [tanoshisou]
 looks fun
 'Looks fun'
- 51 M: =shokupanman oriru
 shokupanman will get off
 'Shokupanman's getting off'
- 52 F: un
 yeah
 'yeah'

Again, the father uses repetition in every line after the daughter's speech (lines 46, 48, 51). In line 50 he makes the evaluative comment: *tanoshisou* (looks fun) and in line 52 the daughter back-channels *un* (yeah).

An excerpt from the mother-daughter conversation shows the mother's use of expansion and clarification requests. F1 marks the mother and F2 marks the daughter.

- (3) 1 F1: kareepanman wa nani shiten no?
 kareepanman TP what is doing PRED
 'What's Kareepanman doing?'
- 2 F2: sono ouchi kaeritai na=
 that house wants to return
 'He wants to go home to that house'
- 3 F1: =a, kore kareepanman no uchi nan?
 ah, this kareepanman POS house PRED
 'Oh, this is Kareepanman's house'
- 4 F2: un=
 un
 'yeah'
- 5 F1: =heee
 oooh
 'Oooh'
- 6 F2: demo koko baikinjou ya ikarahen nen
 but here baikinjou CP can't go PRED
 'But here's Baikinjou so, he can't go there'
- 7 F1: a, kono tonari ga baikinjou nan? =
 ah this next to SBJ baikinjou PRED
 'Oh, so next to this is Baikinjou?'
- 8 F2: =un
 yeah
 'yeah'
- 9 F1: eeee, anpan| a chigau jya uhh, kareepanman no tonari| kareepanman no uchi no tonari wa
 uh hh baikinjou?
 oooh, anpan uh no um uhm kareepanman next to kareepanman POSS house next to TP
 uh hh baikinjou?
 'Oooh, Anpan, no I mean, uh next to Kareepanman, next to Kareepanman's house is uh
 Baikinjou?'
- 10 F2: de sono baikinjou no tonari, anpanman no ouchi
 and that baikinjou next to anpanman POSS house
 'And next to that Baikinjou is Anpanman's house'
- 11 F1: aa? aano hantai • gawa
 aah uhm opposite side

- ‘Aah, um on the opposite side’
- 12 F2: un
yeah
‘yeah’
- 13 F1: a jya kore ga anpanman no uchi de kore ga baikinjou de kore wa kareepanman
no uchi?
oh so this SUBJ anpanman POSS house and this SUBJ baikinjou and this TP kareepanman
POSS uchi
‘Oh so, this is Anpanman’s house and this is Baikinjou and this is Kareepanman’s house?’
- 14 F2: un kore minna anpanman iku nen
yeah this everyone anpanman will go PRED
‘Yeah, here everyone will go to Anpanman’s house’
- 15 F1: are yarou, anou pankoujou
that, right uhm pankoujou
‘There right, uhm Pankoujou’
- 16 F2: un, pankoujou uuuun koko pankoujou
yeah pankoujou uhm here pankoujou
‘Yeah Pankoujou, uhm, here is Pankoujou’

The mother is expanding on the daughter’s answer and asking for clarification in lines 3, 7, 9, 11, and 13. In lines 9 and 11, she is summarizing what the daughter said and explaining the arrangement of the houses. In order to expand the daughter’s answers, she is using clarification requests to understand the exact intent of her utterances.

The next two excerpts illustrate how the daughter starts to mimic the mother’s co-construction.

- (4) 28 F2: de washaaaa okorashaa ochiiiiin eiiiiii koko koko dadandan?
and washaaaa okorashaa siiiiiit down yay here here dadandan
‘And washaaa okorashaa siiiiiit down yay here here is this Dadandan?’
- 29 F1: sou sou sou kore dadandan no uchi
yeah yeah yeah this dadandan POSS house
‘Yeah, yeah, yeah, this is Dadandan’s house’
- 30 F2: baikinman no uchi wa?
baikinman POSS house TP?
‘Where’s Baikinman’s house?’
- 31 F1: eh kore yarou baikinjou
huh this right baikinjou
‘Huh, this, right: Baikinjou’
- 32 F2: sono| sono chichai baikinman wa?
that that little baikinman TP
‘That, that, what about the little Baikinman?’
- 33 F1: soko ni haite nai are=
there in is in not what
‘He’s not in there, what?’
- 34 F2: =haiteru no kore desu
is in there PRED this CP
‘He’s in there, this is him’

In lines 28, 30 and 32 the daughter is making clarification requests about the location of the houses, similar to the mother in Example 3. Even in the context of a single conversation, some socialization in co-construction seems to be occurring.

- (5) 60 F2: chigau chigau py[on]
no no boing
‘No, no, boing’
- 61 F1: [e nani] ga chigau

- huh what SUBJ different
'Huh, what's different?'
- 62 F2: anpanman ga chigau
anpanman SUBJ different
'Anpanman is different'
- 63 F1: anpanman ga chigau no
anpanman SUBJ different PRED
'Anpanman is different?'
- 64 F2: anpanman no kao wa chigau kono okao [ga]
anpanman POSS face TP different this face SUBJ
'Anpanman's face is different, this face is'
- 65 F2: [a sore] dokinchan yarou
oh that dokinchan CP
'Oh that's Dokinchan, right?'
- 66 F2: doki doki saseru yo dokinchan man
doki doki make CAUSPASS dokinchan man
'She'll make your heart beat fast. Dokinchan man'
- 67 F1: dokinchan man? e dokinchan yarou
dokinchan man? huh dokinchan CP
'Dokinchan man? Huh, you mean Dokinchan, right'

In the above excerpt the daughter is employing the expansion strategy that the mother used earlier in the conversation. This can be seen in lines 62 and 64. As was also shown in the quantitative data, Example 4 and Example 5 show the daughter beginning to imitate the co-construction employed by the mother.

8.0. DISCUSSION

The data shows clear differences in co-construction with the father utilizing repetition, evaluative comments, and back-channeling, and the mother utilizing expansion and clarification requests. The reason for these differences is unclear, but there are three possible causes: gender distinctions, role distinctions, and distinctions caused by mother tongue socialization.

If the differences in co-construction are based on gender, they seem to be in the amount of speech and in the mechanisms that are used rather than in the vocabulary, intonation, or conjugation—characteristics which are usually associated with gender differences in Japanese (Reynolds, 1990). The mother uses more words and description, whereas the father doesn't elaborate and focuses on empathizing. It is not clear whether this difference is due to gender or other factors. However, it is notable that the daughter seemed to imitate the speech style of the mother more than the father, perhaps due to the fact that they are both female. More data similar to the current study needs to be gathered to determine if these differences are universal among mothers and fathers and can therefore be attributed to gender differences.

Another possibility is that the role of the parent (primary-caregiver versus breadwinner) affects the language used. The language used in a work environment as opposed to at home may affect the language used when interacting with the child. In order to determine if this is the case, studies should be conducted to compare mothers and fathers in different roles. If the parent's role is found to be more influential than gender roles, this finding would be consistent with Ide et al.'s (1986) study.

The last and most likely possibility is that the method of co-construction employed was impacted by the culture in which the parent was socialized. Although the mother has native-like Japanese ability, she was not socialized in Japan to Japanese language norms as a child herself. There are significant differences between language socialization in Western and non-western countries (Ochs, 1983), so it makes sense that these differences may influence the mother's speech even though it is in Japanese, rather than her mother tongue-English. More research needs to be done comparing the Japanese language socialization of children whose mothers' mother tongue is Japanese and those whose mothers are non-native speakers of Japanese to determine the role of mother tongue in socialization. Research on language socialization used by bilingual parents in a

language in which they themselves were not socialized as children would also make the cause for the difference clearer.

9.0. LIMITATIONS

This research is a case study of a few conversations of one family. As such, it is only one data point to explore the issues of language socialization and co-construction in Japanese. As mentioned above, the culture in which the mother was socialized as a child may have an impact on the results; that is, she socializes her child differently from a mother who was socialized in Japanese language norms as a child.

10.0. CONCLUSION

The two parents in this study implicitly socialized their child differently to learn co-construction in Japanese: the father used repetition, evaluative comments, and back-channeling. The mother used expansion and clarification requests. The daughter employed back-channeling the most, but also seemed to imitate the mother's methods of expansion and clarification requests.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

XXX unintelligible

X= latched

=Y latching

[] overlap

? rising intonation

| false start

• short pause

< > backchanneling

<< >> crying

hhhh laughing

JAPANESE-SPEAKING CHILDREN'S *WA/GA* DISTINCTION FOR SUBJECT ELLIPSIS RESOLUTION IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates L1-Japanese-speaking children's *WA/GA* distinctions for subject-ellipsis resolution in complex sentences. Previous studies (Nakaiwa et al., 1995; Nariyama, 2002; Uchida, 1995) reported adult Japanese-speakers' strong tendency of interpreting *WA* marking as a coreference with the elided subject while *GA* as a different subject. This study examined children speaking L1-Japanese in a picture-selection task. Four children (mean age 6;11) listened to 15 complex sentences and then chose one of given contrastive pictures. Results indicated that children distinguished the particles similarly to adults, while performing differently when *WA* appeared in the middle of a sentence, presumably due to "garden-path" effects.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper shows whether children whose native language (L1) is Japanese use the *WA/GA* distinction to resolve elided subjects in complex sentences in the same manner as L1 Japanese-speaking adults do. *WA* and *GA* are particles which are attached to noun phrases (NPs). Although '*NP-WA*' and '*NP-GA*' can be placed in the subject or object position in a sentence, the focus in this discussion is on those in the subject position. Functional distinctions of each particle are ambiguous when given out of context. Japanese linguists have compared these particles and provided various types of usages and functions, such as contrastive/exhaustive, old information/old information, topic/subject etc. (Hinds, Maynard, & Iwasaki, 1987; Kuno, 1973; Noda, 1996 among others). However, these definitions seem to be determined or interpreted subjectively, varying from person to person and from context to context.

As being a null subject language, Japanese has been observed to allow elided subjects at roughly 70% in conversation and 50% in written narrative texts (Hinds, 1983; Mizutani, 1985; Nariyama, 2000). How Japanese speakers determine the referential identity of elided subjects has been explained as depending on contextual cues, structures (ex. active vs. passive), verbs (ex. transitive vs. intransitive), honorific expressions, etc. However, such grammatical devices as the switch-referencing systems or verbal inflections, which are commonly found in pro-drop languages for ellipsis resolution, have not been explicated in the literature (Nariyama, 2000, 2002). Nevertheless, it appears that resolution for elided subjects in complex sentences are rather systematized and that adult Japanese speakers depend on the systems consciously or unconsciously. That is, functional differences between the topic marker *WA* and the nominative marker *GA*, when attached to one of the two subjects in complex sentences, are keys to identifying elided subjects in the other clauses of these complex sentences (Matsumura, 1942; Mikami, 1970; Nakaiwa et al., 1995; Nariyama, 2002, 2003; Noda, 1986, 2006; Uchida et al., 1995; Yamada, 1936). It has been attested that within a complex sentence *WA* indicates the identity of an elided subject as a coreference with the *WA*-marked subject and that *GA* more likely indicates the identity of an ellipsis as a different subject from the *GA*-marked subject (Nakaiwa et al., 1995; Nariyama, 2002; Uchida et al., 1995). The following minimum pair of sentence illustrates these phenomena:

- (1) Taro-wa okotta kara, Ø uchi ni kaetta.
Taro-TOP was-angry because Ø home to return-PAST
'Because Taro_i was mad, Ø_i went home.'
- (2) Ø okotta kara, Taro-wa uchi ni kaetta.
Ø was-angry because Taro-TOP home to return-PAST
'Because Ø_i was mad, Taro_i went home.'
- (3) Ø okotta kara, Taro-ga uchi ni kaetta.
Ø was-angry because Taro-NOM home to return-PAST
'Because Ø_{i/j} was mad, Taro_i went home.'
- (4) Taro-ga okotta kara, Ø uchi ni kaetta.
Taro-NOM was-angry because Ø home to return-PAST

‘Because Taro_i was mad, Ø_{ij} went home.’

Although this *WA/GA* distinction in complex sentences seems to be a very common phenomenon in adult Japanese, how L1 Japanese-speaking children interpret each particle has yet to be investigated. With that said, the aim of this study is to test whether L1 Japanese-speaking children use the aforementioned system to distinguish between *WA* and *GA* to resolve elided subjects in complex sentences, particularly those with two clauses: adverbial and matrix, as shown in (1)–(4) above, in the same manner as adult L1 speakers do.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies on *WA/GA* distinction in complex sentences show that adult L1 speakers of Japanese make distinctions between these particles to identify elided subjects. These studies reported that an elided subject is coreferential with a *WA*-marked subject in a complex sentence, and that *GA* tends to invite interpretation of switch-reference.

2.1. Examination of Translation Texts

Nakaiwa et al. (1995) examined translation from Japanese to English by L1 Japanese speakers. Out of 3781 complex sentences, which have zero pronouns making intrasentential and extrasentential anaphoric references, there were 515 zero pronouns in the locations of subject, direct object, indirect object, and others. 124 of them were in the subject location and their antecedent in the same sentence. Nakaiwa et al. found that 109 of them (88%) were translated as having subjects coreferential with *WA*-marked subjects, while only 8 of them (6%) were coreferential with *GA*-marked subjects. Table 1 below shows the distribution of elided subjects which have their antecedents within the same sentence.

Table 1. Distribution of Elided Subjects With Their Intrasentential Coreferences (n=124).

Types of subject marking	Frequency of occurrence
<i>WA</i>	109 (88%)
<i>GA</i>	8 (6.4%)
Others	7 (5.6%)
Total	124

This finding indicates that 88% of coreferences were signaled by *WA*-marked antecedents and thus *WA* can be the indicator binding two subjects in a sentence as the same entity at significant frequency, while *GA* rarely triggers a coreferencing reading.

2.2. Sentence-Completion Task

Uchida et al. (1995) conducted a sentence completion test, targeting 67 adult native speakers of Japanese, to see how *WA*-, or *GA*-marked subjects in a subordinate clause¹ influence the reader's choice of subject in the following clause. Participants were asked to create main clauses which may follow given subordinate clauses. These subordinate clauses were presented in two different conditions: a minimal pair with the only difference being the subject markings of *WA* and *GA*, as shown in (5) and (6) below:

- (5) Urawashi-no Ako-san-*WA* toshin-no Nihonbashi-ni tuukin-site-ita koro,
 Urawa-city-GEN Ako-Ms-TOP city-center-GEN Nihonbashi-LOC commuting-PAST when
 ‘When Ms. Ako was commuting to Nihonbashi in the city center, ...’
- (6) Urawashi-no Ako-san-*GA* toshin-no Nihonbashi-ni tuukin-site-ita koro,
 Urawa-city-GEN Ako-Ms-NOM city-center-GEN Nihonbashi-LOC commuting-PAST when
 ‘When Ms. Ako was commuting to Nihonbashi in the city center, ...’

The responses show that the native speakers interpreted all *WA*-subject as an antecedent of the subject in the main clause (100%); on the other hand, 56% of *GA* was interpreted as marking different subjects. Although the percentage in the *GA* case appears to be too low for the particle to be claimed as the marker of a different subject from an ellipsis, this rather low percentage can be explained by experimental sentences, as in (3) and (4) above, being presented out of context. In this situation, the very first subject in the sentence, which is in a

subordinate clause, can be marked by GA and simultaneously function as the antecedent of its following elided subject in the main clause when a new participant/theme is introduced.

2.3. Switch-Reference Systems in Japanese

Nariyama (2002) examined written narrative texts and argued that the interaction of WA and GA in complex sentences has an analogous property of switch-reference systems which determine the referential identity of elided subject. That is, WA signals Same Subject; GA signals Different Subject. She analyzed the WA/GA distinction in complex sentences as being similar to the function of switch-reference systems² observed in Mojave language, which is illustrated below:

- (7) a. *nya-isvar-k, iima-k*
 when:sing:SS, dance:PAST
 ‘When X sang, X danced.’
- b. *nya-isvar-m, iima-k*
 when:sing:DS, dance:PAST
 ‘When X sang, Y danced.’ (Munro, 1980; Nariyama, 2002)

Comparing the WA/GA distinction to the Mojave switch-reference systems, Nariyama (2002) proposed that WA, just like the marker *-k* in (7a), signals Same-Subject (SS) which denotes that the subject of the marked, or subordinate, clause is the same subject as the subject in the main clause; on the other hand, GA, just like the marker *-m* (7b), signals Different-Subject (DS). The following minimal pair of sentences in (8) are to illustrate the interaction of the topic marker WA and the nominative case marker GA in complex sentences, displaying a similar feature to switch-reference systems observed in Mojave:

- (8) a. *Hanako-WA haitte kuru nari, to-o shimeta.*
 Hanako-TOP enter come as-soon-as door-ACC shut-PAST
 ‘As soon as Hanako_i came in, (she_i) shut the door.’
- b. *Hanako-GA haitte kuru nari, to-o shimeta.*
 Hanako-NOM enter come as-soon-as door-ACC shut-PAST
 ‘As soon as Hanako_i came in, (someone else_j) shut the door.’ (Nariyama, 2002)

To sum, as these studies show, there is a strong tendency that L1 Japanese-speaking adults use given particles to judge the identity of elided subjects in complex sentences. However, it seems that existing studies on the WA/GA distinction for elided subject resolution in complex sentences have examined written texts and been conducted with L1 Japanese-speaking adults only. In other words, no previous studies apparently address how L1 Japanese-speaking children resolve identifying elided subject in complex sentences.

3.0. PRESENT STUDY

3.1. Method

I investigated the issue above by collecting data from children speaking L1 Japanese in a picture-matching task. The focuses of analysis were on whether children make distinctions between WA and GA in complex sentences, and if they do, how similarly or differently these distinctions are made in comparison to adults, in order to answer the research questions as follows.

1. Do children make distinction between WA and GA to resolve elided subject in complex sentences?
2. If they do, how similarly or differently do children interpret functions of WA/GA in complex sentences?

3.2. Participants

To investigate children’s reactions to WA and GA in complex sentences, 4 monolingual Japanese children (Mean age 6;11, range 6;8–7;3) and 14 adult native speaker controls (Mean age 29, range 26–42) participated in a picture-matching experiment.

3.3. Materials

The experimental materials used in the picture-matching task were 5 sets of 15 sentences (5 test items and 10 fillers in each set). A total of 25 test items were prepared; 10 were composed of a *toki* 'when' clause and matrix clause, and 10 were composed of a *kara* 'because' clause and matrix clause. Among Japanese conjunctures, *toki* and *kara* were chosen due to their semantic features which can denote the simultaneousness of two different events expressed in subordinate and matrix clauses separately, unlike *maeni* 'before' or *atode* 'after.' Furthermore, conjunctions which represent same subject only, such as *nagara* 'while (V1)ing / at the same time S + V2,' as in *Hanako-wa terebi-o mi-nagara, juusu-o nonda* 'Hanako, while watching TV, drank juice' and *te* 'X + V1 and then V2,' as in *Hanako-wa terebi-o mi-te benkyoo-shita* 'Hanako watched TV and then studied,' were disregarded in this study.

These conjunctions were chosen with inspiration from Noda's (2006) observations. According to Noda (2006), *toki* and *kara* are categorized as 'strongly dependent clauses'³ which refers to the clause which has strong dependence on its matrix clause, and therefore, the former cannot have a different topic in it. In other words, this 'strongly dependent clause' usually invites a *ga*-marked subject, the nominative noun phrase (NP).

With such a dependent feature of the *toki*- and *kara*-subordinate clause as described above, the first NP is expected to be marked with the nominative *GA* to indicate its belonging to the subordinate clause: [X-GA _____], _____. On the other hand, if the first NP is marked with the topic-marker, *WA*, it indicates, in principle, its function as a topic and thus independence from the subordinate clause: X-WA, [_____], _____. Thus, from these general features of the *WA/GA* distinction in a complex sentence, it can be assumed that Japanese native-speakers have no difficulty to solve the elided subject that is different from the *GA*-marked NP. In other words, when there are no *GA*-marked NPs both in the subordinate clause and matrix clause, it indicates that the subjects are identical and assumed to be the speaker or someone/something which has been recognized within given context.

Table 2 below shows the 5 conditions (See appendix 1 for sample scripts, including context sentence and test item). These sentences were audio-recorded and set to be played by clicking a speaker icon on a Power Point slide. On slides, corresponding pictures to the sentences, each of which depicts two different scenarios with one of the characters as a narrator (See Appendix 2 for sample pictures).

Table 2. Five Structures Where Adjectival Clauses are Placed in the Left Slot With a Noun Phrase (Marked Either by 'WA' or 'GA') in Front or Middle, Followed by Matrix Clause in the Right Slot.

	Conditions	Sample Stimuli
1	Ø _____ Ø _____.	Ø okotta kara Ø kaetta-nda. Ø got-angry because Ø went-home 'Because Ø got angry, Ø went home.'
2	Ø _____ X-WA _____.	Ø okotta kara katatsumuri-WA kaetta-nda. Ø got-angry because snail-TOP went-home 'Because Ø got angry, Snail went home.'
3	Ø _____ X-GA _____.	Ø okotta kara katatsumuri-GA kaetta-nda. Ø got-angry because snail-NOM went-home 'Because Ø got angry, Snail went home.'
4	X-WA _____ Ø _____.	Katatsumuri-WA okotta kara Ø kaetta-nda. snail-TOP got-angry because Ø went-home 'Because Snail got angry, Ø went home.'
5	X-GA _____ Ø _____.	Katatsumuri-GA okotta kara Ø kaetta-nda. snail-NOM got-angry because Ø went-home 'Because Snail got angry, Ø went home.'

3.4. Procedures

(1) With a click, two contrastive pictures appeared on the screen. Participants were asked to describe each of the pictures. The purpose of this step was to provide the participants with an opportunity to examine the pictures and to make sure they know what differentiates them as to who did what. (2) On the second click, the narrator, one of the characters in given pictures, appeared so that participants know who is the speaker of a forthcoming statement. (3) By clicking the audio speaker icon, which was placed in the center of the screen,

participants heard the context and the narrator's statement. (4) After listening to the narration, participants were directed to choose one of two pictures to indicate their interpretation of what the narrator has just said.

3.5. Results

Results indicate that children identified elided subjects in complex sentences in similar manners as adults did, in 4 out of 5 conditions. In the condition where a WA-marked subject appears in the middle of a sentence, children performed very differently from adults, shown in Tables 3 and 4 below:

Table 3. Adults' Interpretation of Identifying Elided Subject (n=14).

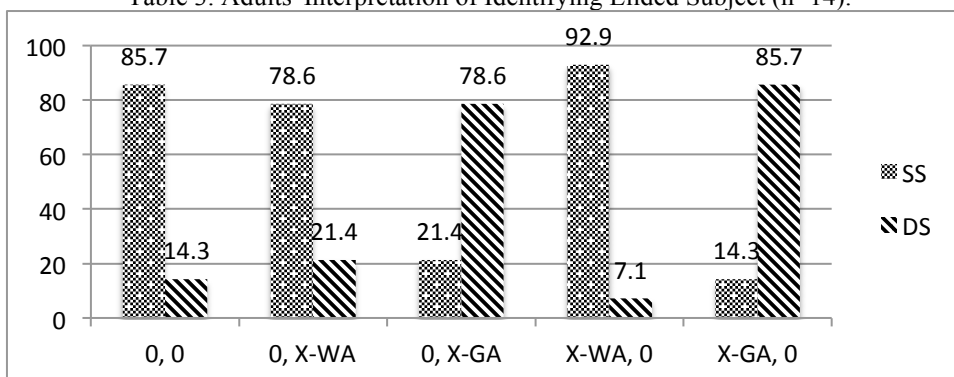
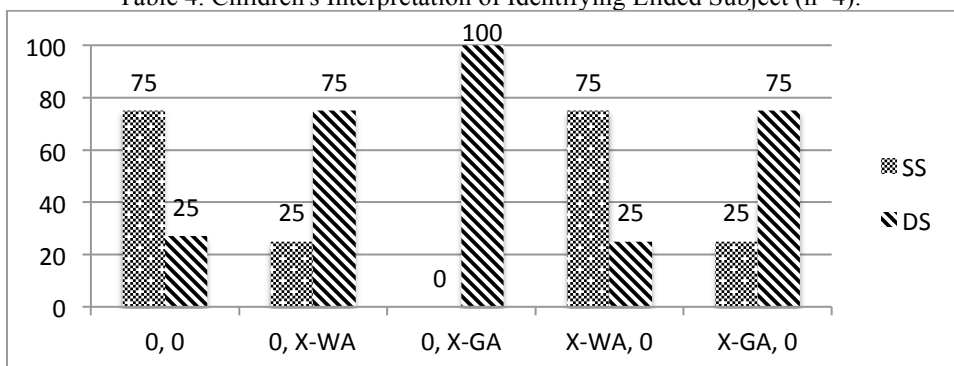


Table 4. Children's Interpretation of Identifying Elided Subject (n=4).



These findings may suggest that children by the age of 6 are sensitive to the WA/GA distinction in complex sentences, although the data collected is too small for generalization of such a linguistic phenomenon. Nonetheless, it can be an interesting observation that 3 out of 4 children interpreted GA as the indicator of Different Subject (DS), wherever it is located, which is adult-like. Actually this ratio is very similar to that of the adult data, suggesting nominative marker GA as a DS marker is not always the case. When WA came in the front of the sentence, most of the children interpreted the WA-marked subject to be coreferential with an elided subject in the main sentence, or Same Subject (SS). This again turns out to be similar to the adult interpretation. In the case with null subjects in both clauses, they were more likely interpreted as coreferencing with each other (SS) identified as the narrator in given contexts (ex. 'Frog' talking about the incident when he had an argument with 'Snail').

What may be most interesting in the data is the Condition 2 where WA appears in the middle of a sentence. While adults showed their tendency of a Same Subject reading in this condition, 75% of children took a DS reading although they seem to have understanding that WA and GA are different markers functioning differently.

4.0. DISCUSSION

The results have revealed differences between the way children and adults interpret sentences in Condition 2: Ø _____ X-WA _____. Specifically, the findings indicate that whereas adult native speakers of Japanese are rather influenced by the particles given in a sentence, rather than their locations, as attested from the previous studies, children may read given sentences linearly as they hear. In other words, children at the age of 6 distinguish the particle, WA or GA, marking the NP in the very first position to use it as a tool to determine the identity of elided subjects following given conjunctions, *toki* or *kara*, as SS or DS (Conditions 4 and 5). These children also know that null subjects in the beginning of a sentence can be a coreference with the narrator (Conditions 1, 2, and 3), that the narrator keeps its identity with the other elided subject when no WA/GA-marked NP appears after a conjunctive (Condition 1), and that GA in the matrix subject position, following a clause with an elided subject, indicates someone else other than the narrator (Condition 3). Perhaps, in child Japanese, the particles, whether WA or GA, are indicators of DS when they appear in the middle of a sentence, having no functional differences from each other.

This interpretive difference of WA/GA placed in the middle of a sentence observed in child Japanese and adult Japanese may be attributed to differences in their linguistic processing skills which children at this age may not have yet developed. Among all the given conditions, Condition 2 represents relatively complicated structures where the WA-marked NP, although appearing to belong to the second clause, is actually binds the whole sentence to corefer with the elided subject in the first clause. For children who process sentences linearly as they hear, Condition 2 is challenging in that its structure requires reanalysis to trace back to the elided subject in the first clause to revise interpretation of the identity of the ellipsis from as the narrator to instead being someone else that is marked with WA. This is a complex processing and perhaps it is too complicated for 6-year old children to perform such reanalysis.

On the other hand, when we look to the children's adult-like performance observed in this study, it may be argued that they demonstrated their knowledge of abstract properties of Japanese grammar. Children by the age of 6 know that WA binds the whole sentence following it to indicate SS, as seen in Condition 4, and that GA-marked NP is an element of the local clause, whether in subordinate or matrix, to indicate DS, as seen in Conditions 3 and 5. Such functional differences are not taught in school, at least not in these children's grades, and the distinctions between WA and GA in complex sentences are ambiguous, as shown by the adult data's lack of unanimity. This may remind us of "Plato's problem" (Chomsky, 1986) under the "poverty of the stimulus" (Chomsky, 1980) situation in that children are able to acquire such ambiguity in their L1 despite the fact that relevant experience available to them is limited. However, it is still uncertain whether their adult-like performance is a product of the interaction between biologically predetermined "Universal Grammar" and the linguistic experience the children have taken in, due to the small amount of data obtained in addition to the age of the children who may be too old to conclude whether certain linguistic processes are innate or acquired.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This study shows that children by the age of 6 understand the functions of WA and GA in complex sentences when the given structures are straightforward, whereby they make the WA/GA distinction for elided subject resolution mostly in the same manner as adults do. However, more data of both child and adult Japanese should be collected to generalize this particular linguistic phenomenon. Also it is necessary to refine stimuli sentences and their corresponding pictures to collect more precise data. Data from a younger population may provide further insight into innateness of child language regarding WA/GA distinctions.

NOTES

1. In Japanese, it is canonical that adverbial clauses are followed by the matrix clauses (Kuno, 1978).
2. The general view of switch-reference is that it is a syntactic mechanism which indicates whether the subject of a dependent clause is the same as or different from the subject of the main clause in complex sentences or clause chaining (Stirling, 1993; Wilkins, 1988).
3. Noda (2006) categorizes typical subordinate clauses into four groups: (a) Subordinate Phrases [Ex. concomitant circumstances: *-nagara* 'while doing X'; Successive: *-te* 'do X and do Y'], (b) Strong Subordinate Clause [Ex. Hypothetical: *-to/-tara* 'if'; Time: *-toki* 'when,' *-maeni* 'before,' *-atode* 'after,' *-made* 'until'; Reason: *-kara (focus)* 'because,' *-noni (focus)* 'although'], (c) Weak Subordinate

Clause [Ex. Reason: *-kara* 'because,' *-noni* 'although,' Parallel: *-ga* 'although'], and (d) Quotation Clause: *-to/-tte* 'that.'

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APPENDIX 1

<Condition 1>

Frog and Snail had a fight the other day. Frog is talking about that day.

Ø okotta kara, Ø kaetta-nda.

Ø was-angry because Ø went home

'Because Ø was angry, Ø went home.'

<Condition 2>

Frog and Snail had a fight the other day. Frog is talking about that day.

Ø okotta kara, Katatsumuri-wa kaetta-nda.

Ø was-angry because Snail-TOP went home

'Because Ø was angry, Snail went home.'

<Condition 3>

Frog and Snail had a fight the other day. Frog is talking about that day.

Ø okotta kara, Katatsumuri-ga kaetta-nda.

Ø was-angry because Snail-NOM went home

'Because Ø was angry, Snail went home.'

<Condition 4>

Frog and Snail had a fight the other day. Frog is talking about that day.

Katatsumuri-wa okotta kara, Ø kaetta-nda.

Snail-TOP was-angry because Ø went home

'Because Snail was angry, Ø went home.'

<Condition 5>

Frog and Snail had a fight the other day. Frog is talking about that day.

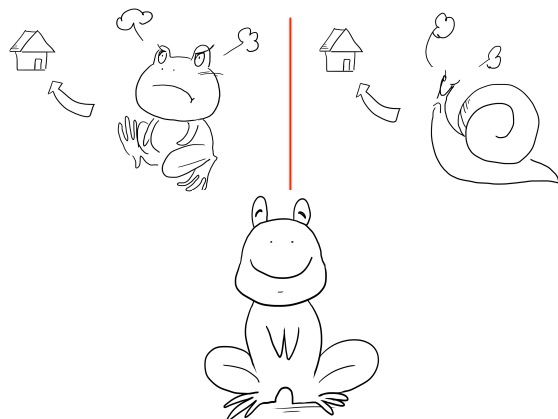
Katatsumuri-ga okotta kara, Ø kaetta-nda.

Snail-NOM was-angry because Ø went home

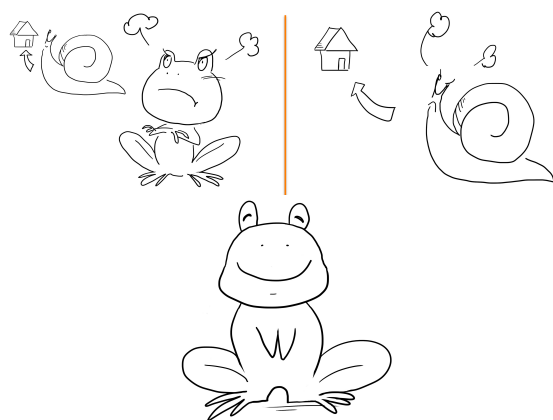
'Because Snail was angry, Ø went home.'

APPENDIX 2

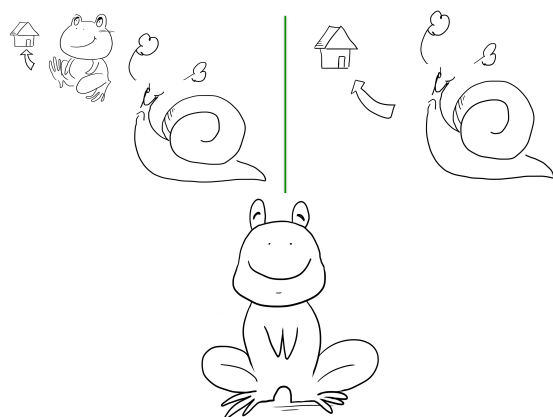
For Condition 1:



For Conditions 2 and 3:



For Conditions 4 and 5:



THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRONUNCIATION INSTRUCTION ON ESL LEARNERS

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the effects of pronunciation instruction on adult Japanese learners of English. The study aims to determine whether adult English learners' pronunciation of certain segments would improve after receiving short-term explicit instruction. The goal was not to attain native-like accent, but to address mispronunciation that hindered intelligibility and comprehensibility. The study comprised of a pretest, eight one-hour lessons on English segments, and a posttest. The problems were addressed using various activities designed by the instructor. Overall results show that pronunciation instruction has positive effects, and that adult L2 learners can improve their pronunciation.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Most second language (L2) or foreign language (FL) learners aim to attain a native-like accent. However, only a few are able to achieve this goal. It is a well-known notion that adult L2 learners have a foreign accent when producing the target language. While there are no clear explanations of this, it is commonly related to age-based constraints on language learning. The critical period hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967) claims that a language can only be acquired during a critical period, which begins in early childhood and ends at puberty. After this period, it is no longer possible for individuals to successfully acquire a language, with a few exceptional cases. Scovel (1988) expanded on the critical period hypothesis, arguing that in second language acquisition, the critical period is only relevant in terms of pronunciation. Based on these concepts of the critical period, it is very difficult for adults to achieve native-like proficiency and pronunciation in their L2. If a native-like accent is unattainable for adult L2 learners, what is the role of pronunciation? Derwing and Munro (2009) have argued that accentedness can affect comprehensibility and intelligibility. Consequently, instead of aiming for a native-like accent, learners should aim for speech that can be understood by others.

Previous studies show that there are challenges with pronunciation instruction. According to Krashen (1982), pronunciation is an acquired skill rather than a learned skill. Therefore, it is meaningless to teach pronunciation in a classroom setting. Similarly, Pica (1994) pointed out that teachers place a lot of emphasis on pronunciation accuracy, utilizing this as a measure of students' progress and proficiency in the target language. However, accuracy or native-like accent, is an unrealistic goal, and also places a heavy burden upon students (Levis, 2005). With increased emphasis on communicative language teaching (CLT), pronunciation instruction has been overlooked in language classrooms (Ahmadi & Gilakjani 2011; Derwing & Munro, 2009). According to CLT, learners' pronunciation would improve if given adequate exposure and practice. This has led to misunderstandings that pronunciation instruction is completely ineffective (Derwing & Munro, 2009). However, studies have found that teaching pronunciation is beneficial. More specifically, Pennington (1996) found that pronunciation can be taught to adults. Some researchers have even suggested that adult L2 learners need explicit instruction in order to succeed in attaining native-like pronunciation (Bongaerts et al., 1997).

2.0. THE STUDY

This study was originally a final project for Second Language Studies 460 (SLS 460), a course on English phonology. We were assigned to tutor English pronunciation to group of English as a second language (ESL) students based on what we had gained from the class. The project was designed by the students with the guidance of our instructor.

This study was designed to explicitly instruct and raise learners' awareness on English pronunciation. The goal was not to attain native-like speech, but pronunciation that promoted intelligibility. The following two questions were examined in this study.

1. Does L2 pronunciation instruction have positive effects on learners' L2 pronunciation?
2. Can adult L2 learners improve their L2 pronunciation?

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The participants were four Japanese learners of English studying in an ESL program at a local university. All participants volunteered to receive these lessons in order to improve their pronunciation. Among the four participants, three had taken English courses for about 8 years at Japanese institutions, while one had attended an English school for about 3 years. Although all participants had experience learning English in a classroom, none of them claimed to have received any pronunciation instruction. In terms of their daily use of English, it varied between 20% and 80%.

There were a total of seven participants attending the lessons throughout the course of the project, but the data of three participants were excluded from the analysis because they missed multiple lessons. Of the remaining participants, all of them were female in their early twenties. The background information, as well as information regarding their experience with English, were self-reported by the participants.

3.2. Procedure

The study consisted of a pretest for needs analysis, eight 1 hour lessons on pronunciation, and a posttest for data analysis. The details of the procedure are described in the following sections.

3.2.1. Pretest and needs analysis

Prior to the lessons, a pretest was conducted to determine the needs of the participants. The pretest consisted of a read aloud word list and a passage which was recorded for later use by the instructor. The word list was comprised of words representing every English phoneme, while the passage looked at both segmental and suprasegmental features of English phonology. Participants were allowed to utter the words and phrases as many times until they felt comfortable. They were also encouraged to ask questions regarding the pronunciation of any words.

The recordings of the pretest were analyzed by two experienced raters. First, raters listened to the recordings holistically to determine a common focus area among the participants. After deciding to focus on segments, raters listened to the recordings numerous times to determine which segments were the most problematic. The raters discovered that all participants had difficulty pronouncing liquids, interdental fricatives, and vowels.

3.2.2. Lessons

Based on the needs analysis, a total of eight 1-hour lessons were designed for the students. While traditional pronunciation instruction places a lot of emphasis on drilling and minimal pair activities, I refrained from relying solely on these methods. As such, various tools, techniques, and activities were incorporated into the lessons in order to maximize the students' experience with the language, as well as to accommodate to different learning styles. However, it is important to note that drilling and minimal pair activities were favored by the students. They found it helpful to practice listening and repeating the target pronunciation uttered by the instructor.

Minimal pairs have been criticized as context usually matters more than phonetic information in real-time interactions (Buck, 2001). However, they are useful for noticing and practicing different segments. There are also cases of ambiguity, when an utterance can be interpreted in more than one way due to a difference in a single phoneme. For example, the sentence "The teacher already collected/corrected the homework" can mean two different things in the same context. As such, minimal pairs were one of the main techniques used throughout the lessons. Instead of simply listening to and repeating minimal pairs, various activities were designed to increase practice and interaction.

The tools, techniques, and activities described below were considered by the instructor and students to be most useful and effective. The methods used emphasized the use of both receptive and productive skills.

1. *Animated articulatory diagram* – This online tool from the University of Iowa features an animated articulatory diagram, a step-by-step description, and a video/audio for each sound. Students were introduced to each segment that was covered in class through this tool. It provided both visual and audio support for the students.
2. *Information gap activity* – Students worked in pairs to discover missing information. Each student received a sheet of paper with words that were missing from their partner's paper. The pairs asked each other questions to find the missing information. The activity ended when all information was exchanged.
3. *Creating stories* – Students worked in pairs and were asked to create a story from a list of minimal pairs. The minimal pairs were ones that students had practiced in a previous lesson. After writing their story, they were asked to take turns reading it aloud. While one pair read their story, the others were instructed to keep track of the target words. After every pair had their turn, they compared answers by writing it on the board.
4. *Say it out loud* – Students were assigned a word that had a minimal pair then took turns introducing their word out loud. While one student uttered the word, the others wrote down what they heard. After everyone had their turn, each student revealed the word that they were assigned.
5. *Puzzle* – Students received puzzle pieces in triangle or square shapes to create a bigger triangle or square. One word, consisting of a target phoneme, was written down on every side of the puzzle piece. Students worked together to match the pieces according to the same sounds that the words possessed.
6. *Tongue twisters* – Tongue twisters were used as a fun warm-up activity to encourage interaction among the students. They were provided with various tongue twisters which they practiced saying out loud. Then students picked their favorite ones and competed against each other. After gaining some experience with English tongue twisters, students challenged themselves to create their own.

3.2.3. Posttest and data analysis

A pretest-posttest design was used to measure the change resulting from instruction. The posttest was administered immediately after the eighth lesson. For the posttest, participants read aloud the same word list and passage as the pretest.

This time, one experienced rater and one inexperienced rater listened to the recordings to analyze change in pronunciation between pre and post interventions. The recordings for the passage were used as it reflected realistic interpretation of the results than the word list. To analyze the data, the amount of errors made for the target segments (liquids, interdental fricatives, and vowels) were counted and recorded.

4.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Among the target phonemes, the auditory analysis revealed improvements in participants for /l/, /ɹ/, and /ð/. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show the changes of the three phonemes between pre and posttests for each participant.

All three figures display fewer errors in the posttest compared to the pretest. A *t* test was conducted to compare the error rates between pre and posttests for each phoneme. The change in error rates for /l/ was statistically significant ($p < .001$), while that of /ɹ/ and /ð/ were marginally significant ($p = .07, .06$ respectively).

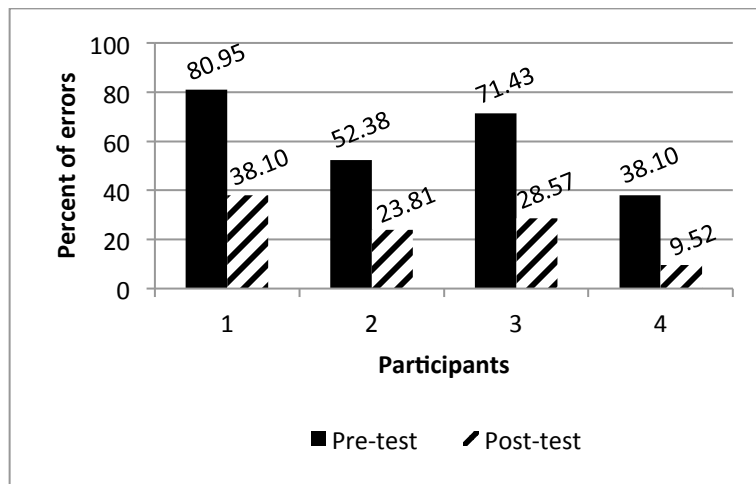


Figure 1: Percent of errors for /l/

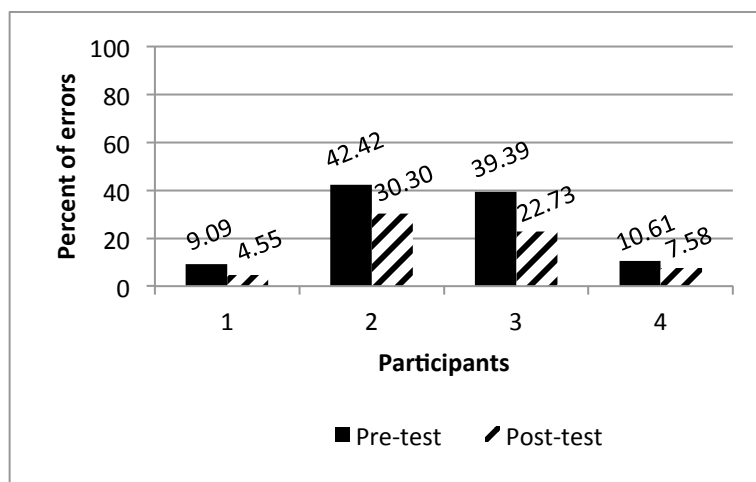


Figure 2: Percent of errors for /ɹ/

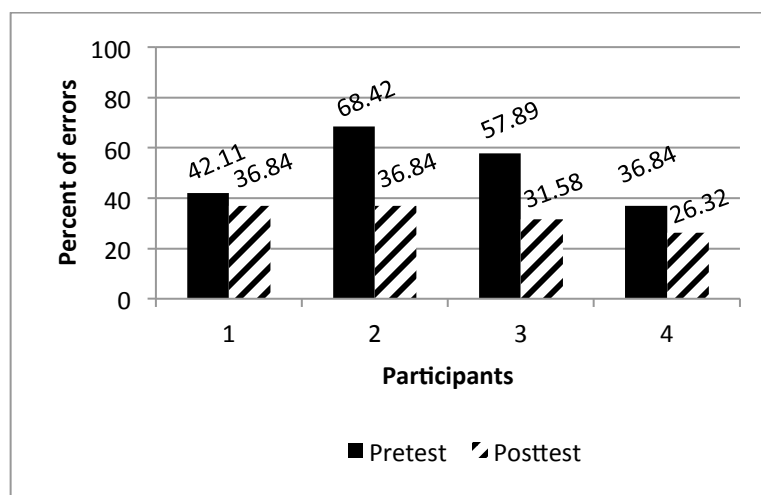


Figure 3: Percent of errors for /ð/

The overall data shows that there was improvement across all participants for the phonemes /l/, /ɹ/, and /ð/. The findings suggest that teaching L2 pronunciation explicitly has positive effects on learners' production of L2 phonemes. In addition, adults can improve their L2 pronunciation despite having passed the critical period. However, participants continued to mispronounce other phonemes that were covered in the lessons (not reported here). This may be due to the fact that not enough time was allotted to working with these sounds, in particular vowels. Participants claimed that the English vowel system is very complex as orthography is not consistent with the pronunciation. This may have influenced participants' mispronunciation of vowels while reading the passage aloud.

In addition, there were mixed results in that some participants showed substantial improvement, while others showed very little. Although the participants all received the same amount of instruction, this may be due to individual learner differences. Some major contributors were learners' motivation and personality. During the lessons, some participants showed more motivation than others. For example, participant 1 desired to have successful communication with native English speakers, as well as non-native English speakers from different first language backgrounds. She also reported to have the highest daily use of English with 80%. As for personality, some participants were more outgoing than others. This greatly influenced participation during the lessons as some were more likely to speak and practice more.

After the posttest, I met with the participants again to follow up on their thoughts about the study, as well as to address any additional questions they had related to English pronunciation. Participants claimed the lessons were very helpful as they gained more confidence to speak with native speakers. However, they felt that more instruction was needed in order to see satisfactory results.

5.0. CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study examined the effectiveness of pronunciation instruction on Japanese learners of English. Participants of this study took part in an 8 week tutoring project which consisted of a pretest, eight lessons, and a posttest. The findings provide support for positive effects as a result of explicit instruction in L2 pronunciation, as well as improvement in adult L2 pronunciation. Furthermore, it indicates that explicit pronunciation instruction may help L2 adult learners to attain native-like pronunciation.

Before concluding, it is important to note the limitations of this study. A major limitation is the analysis of the data. While data analysis by raters show that there was improvement from pretest to posttest, it is difficult to evaluate the validity and inter-rater reliability. Thus, future research would benefit from a more systematic way to analyze the data. It would also be beneficial to recruit larger sample of inexperienced raters and use a blind rating task.

Another important limitation is the time allowed to administer this study. Time was limited as this was a class project, and also because participants were scheduled to return to Japan shortly after the 8 week period. If given more time, the lessons would have included suprasegmental features of speech such as stress and intonation. It would have been interesting to see the changes in participants after instruction of both segmentals and suprasegmentals. In relation to this, it would have been meaningful to examine the long-term effects of pronunciation instruction. Since this was a short-term project, the posttest had to be conducted immediately after the lessons. Therefore, participants were highly aware of what was expected of them as they read the word list and passage. It is important to see whether learned skills would eventually transfer over to acquired skills after a certain period of time.

Furthermore, this study failed to examine students' perception of English pronunciation. While the lessons aimed to develop both the students' receptive and productive skills, they were only tested on speaking. Participants also expressed concerns about difficulties communicating with native English speakers due to their inability to perceive native-like pronunciation. While native speakers are able to figure out non-native speech in context, it may take more time for non-native speakers to decipher native speech. As such, future pre and posttest design should include a listening test in addition to the speaking test.

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MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PRESCHOOL GIRL'S USE OF WOMEN'S LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

Children's use of gendered language is considered to be "a product of parental gendered talk" (Lanvers, 2001, p. 488). In Japanese, it has been observed that preschool children can already use gendered language appropriately (e.g., Nakamura, 1997a, 2001). However, there are no adequate studies on how Japanese children acquire such a language. In this study, I analyzed gendered language; specifically female sentence final forms appeared in speech of children and mothers as well as in media (TV anime and picture-books). The results of the quantitative analysis suggest that media are more likely to be a possible influence on children's use of women's language.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

"Language socialization," termed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), has a great impact on discussing children's first language acquisition. Children spend a great amount of time with their parents at the early stage of childhood. Parental interaction or interaction with caregivers is a crucial factor for children to be socialized "through the use of language," and socialized "to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p. 163). Parents provide "the roles and images of fathers and mothers" (Burdelski, 2006, p. 303) or "a model of men or women" through everyday interaction in family (Freedle & Lewis, 1977; Gleason, 1987; Lewis & Cherry, 1977, as cited in Sheldon, 1993, p. 84). It is reported that children can differentiate between mother's speech and father's speech (Anderson, 1986). That is, children have already acquired register variation and can modify their speech appropriately (Anderson & Jonson, 1976). Similar findings in relation to Japanese children have been reported and Nakamura (1997a, 2001) demonstrates that preschool children can already discriminate between women's language and men's language.

In studies on women's language in Japanese, there are much researches on how women's language becomes connected to women figure (e.g., Reynolds, 1985; Okamoto & Shibamoto, 2008) and how women's language is practiced or used by females (e.g., Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Nakamura, 1997a, 2001; Matsugu, 2008). However, acquisition of women's language has been hardly discussed. Given the notion of language socialization, we readily understand that children learn women's language from their mother but there are no adequate studies on how they acquire such language. To explore children's gendered language acquisition, this study analyzed what may become a motivation for use of women's language by children in a specific context and examined a possible influence out of many factors on children's gendered language acquisition. The results from qualitative analysis of girls' use of women's language indicate that children have an ability to recognize a relationship between women's language and specific female roles in society. In addition, a quantitative analysis of mother-child speech and female characters' speech in media (picture books and TV anime) shows that children are not socialized women's language by their mother but by media.

2.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Leaper et al. (1998) conduct a research on how parents interact with their child and find that parental talk is influenced by child's gender difference; mothers spend time talking more to daughters than to sons, a speech style of mothers of daughters is more supportive, and mothers use less directive and linguistically limited speech style to daughters than to sons, while fathers use more challenging speech style to sons (as cited in Lanvers, 2004). As mentioned above, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b) note that parental interaction is one way that children are socialized "through the use of language" and socialized "to use language" (p. 163). In relation to gender language acquisition, Lanvers notes that "child gendered talk is a product of parental gendered talk, to a small extent at least, children actively participate in creating parental gendered talk" (2004, p. 488). That is to say, it implies that there is already more or less a difference between boys and girls in their speech styles at the early stage of childhood.

In the study on the acquisition of register variation, Anderson (1986) examines children's knowledge of socio-linguistic and socio-interactional rules in a family play setting. She finds that the children lexically and

phonologically differentiate between speech as father and speech as mother in a role play; a pretending father always speaks in a low tone while a pretending mother in a high tone. Furthermore, she shows that a pretending mother's speech is closely tied to its content: the way they take care of a child. That is, this study shows not only children have already learned socio-linguistic and socio-interactional rules but also shows that they learn these rules by parental interaction.

With regard to gender in language among Japanese children, Nakamura (1997a, 2001) observes preschool children across wide-ranging activities during interactions with a variety of people such as peers, parents, and siblings. She finds that both the boys and girls know how to appropriately use gender-based linguistic forms such as the first person pronouns (e.g., *boku*, *watashi*) and sentence final forms (e.g., *wa*, *ze*). Her study reveals that during rough and tumble play, the selection of both boys' and girls' speech styles, including the sentence final forms, tend to be rough or masculine. On the other hand, in a gender-neutral play context such as store play, the said rough or masculine speech styles are not used. However, the girls make significant use of gender-exclusive sentence final forms for women mostly during a role play in which they assume females:

(1) Examples of sentence final forms for women

a. *Watashi ga yaru wa.* 'I'll do it.'
(Context: a nurse working at a hospital)

b. *Nani ni shiyoo kashira.* 'I wonder what I should have.'
(Context: a female customer in a restaurant)

(Nakamura, 1997a)

Given these empirical results, she argues that children are sensitive to contextual factors such as play activity, hearer's characteristics such as gender, and so forth. Furthermore, Nakamura (2001) interviews the mothers of the target children (boys and girls) to investigate children's gender socialization in language. In the interviews she finds that that peers can be a powerful influence on their children's language use. When their children enroll in preschool and start interacting with peers, specifically, boys, their language becomes more rough. Sheldon (1993) notes that "same sex peer play increases the opportunity to learn about, try out, reproduce, and solidify gender-appropriate style of language use" (p. 85). That is, while the children learn more variety of gender-appropriate forms by socializing with the same sex peers, they are likely to be exposed to gender-inappropriate forms at the same time outside home, especially in preschool. However, if we consider the thought of a parental influence, we will come to the conclusion that their peers' use of gendered language originates to that of their parents. Appearance of women's language in girls' speech above (Nakamura, 1997a) reveals that preschool girls already understand a relationship between gender and language. However, even so, it is quite unlikely for them to keep using women's language while assuming females the whole time. Furthermore, because examples of women's language (Nakamura, 1997a) in a play context do not necessarily represent mother's role, it is highly likely that other factors rather than a parental influence may strongly involve in their use of women's language. To closely see how a relationship between women's language and its social position is understood by children it is necessary to examine what could be a main factor for their gendered language acquisition in childhood.

3.0. JAPANESE GENDERED LANGUAGE

Although in my analysis I will observe only women's language, I will briefly discuss the categorization of Japanese gendered language. It has been discussed that there are a great number of gender-based linguistic forms in Japanese. Japanese sentence final forms particularly have attributes of gender (e.g., Reynolds, 1991; Maynard, 1997). The followings are a few examples of Japanese gendered forms.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) | Feminine: <i>Iku wayo.</i> | '(I) am going I tell you.' | |
| (2) | Masculine: <i>Iku ze.</i> | '(I) am going I tell you.' | |
| (3) | Neutral: <i>Iku.</i> | '(I)'m going.' | (Okamoto & Sato, 1992) |

As shown above, Japanese sentence final forms are categorized into 3 groups: feminine, masculine, and neutral. The English translations do not provide any information regarding by which gendered person these sentences are produced, unless they are orally produced.

Furthermore, both the feminine forms and the masculine forms are respectively subcategorized into 2 small groups: strongly or moderately (Okamoto & Sato, 1992). The groups marked with 'strongly' are exclusively used only by speakers according to their gender while the groups marked with 'moderately' are mostly but not exclusively used based on their gender. Thus, in the latter case the speakers can a little more easily step in the other side and use so-called 'inappropriate gender forms' regardless of their gender. What should be noted here is that these gendered forms are stereotypically associated with both genders. For example, *wayo* represents delicate intensity of female voice, while *ze* represents coarse intensity of male voice (Ochs, 1992). Having understood this concept, I will maintain to use the term, "feminine forms" or "women's language" in my analysis. Although the feminine forms are categorized into 2 subgroups, I will focus more on the strongly feminine forms, which appeared in the sentence final position based on the categorization by Okamoto and Sato (1992) and Matsugu (2008). In addition to their categorization, I counted some other forms that are not treated by the 3 aforecited scholars based on the judgment by Terada (2000) and Kinsui (2007)¹. The term "women's language" is not only represented to those in the sentence final position, but the analysis of this study excludes other elements.

4.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on what we have discussed so far, the study examines the following research question (RQ):

- (1) What may become a motivation for use of women's language by children in a specific context?
- (2) Are Japanese preschool girls exposed to women's language during interaction with their mother?
- (3) If mothers do not use women's language to their children, from where do the children pick it up?

5.0. METHODOLOGY

Because this study uses three different types of data for each RQ, methodologies are separately accounted for in this section.

5.1. Methodology for RQ 1

5.1.1. Data and Analysis

For the purpose of exploring gendered language used by preschool girls, I collected naturally occurring conversation data from the popular TV show in Japan called *Hajimete no Otsukai* ('My First Errand'). This 2 to 3-hour TV program is produced by Nihon TV Corporation and has been irregularly broadcasted every year since 1991. The contents of the program are composed of several stories; preschool children go on an errand alone or in pairs for the first time in their life, and each story is edited within about 20 minutes. Although the purpose of the program is having children go on an errand without adults, the staffs of the TV program, including the cameramen who are disguised as the town people, follow the children throughout the errand. To record the children's natural conversations during the errand, a small microphone is hidden in a small bag, which they carry. I videotaped 8 episodes of the program and selected 3 installments in which 3 pairs of girls appear respectively. I transcribed conversations of each pair during their errand². I qualitatively analyzed how women's language produced by the preschool girls is used in a specific context. A brief description of the 3 pairs is below:

Table 1: The 3 Pairs of Girls

Pair	Relationship	Name	Age	Additional information
A	Sisters	Maya	4:3	They live in Aichi Prefecture. An older sister is dependable and caring to her younger sister. She seems to be happy when being treated as a "mother."
		Momoka	2:7	
B	Friends	Rin	4:6	They live in the same condominium in Ishikawa Prefecture. They are in the second year of the same preschool, but there is a 9-month age difference between them.
		Kokoru	3:9	
C	Sisters	Aira	4:7	They live in Chiba Prefecture. An older sister has been aware of her position as an older sister since becoming a 4-year-old. They often fight each other.
		Rion	3:4	

5.2. Methodology for RQ 2

5.2.1. Data and analysis

For exploring a possibility of a mother's influence on children's use of women's language, I collected conversation data from the AKI corpus of Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDS). The database provides a number of naturally occurring conversation data between mother and child. Conversation data provided by CHILDES is all transcribed along with audio files for some conversation. I randomly selected 4 pairs of mother-child: Mother-A and a 2-year-old boy, Mother-B and a 2-year-old boy, Mother-C and a 3-year-old girl, and Mother-D and a 5-year-old girl. The province's location of where they live and mothers' age are not provided. Conversation data is quantitatively analyzed. First, I extracted only mothers' dialogues in transcribed conversation data between mother and child. Then, women's language appeared in the sentence final positions are counted. In each mother-child interaction there is a person who audiotapes the conversations. Parents sometimes have some talks with this person but I did not include any dialogues occurred between them.

5.3. Methodology for RQ 3

5.3.1. Data and analysis

Picture books and TV anime were selected among a variety of media; 8 picture books (*Little Match Girl*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, an autobiography of Helen Keller, *Red Hood Girl*, *Thumbelina*, *Red Shoes*, *Cinderella*, *Ninjin no Akae-chan*) and 3 TV anime (*Sazae-san*, *PreCure*, *Chibi Maruko-chan*).

As for the picture book, all but *Ninjin no Akae-chan* are translated books, which are well-known in the world, while *Ninjin no Akae-chan* is a Japanese origin book. The story of this Japanese picture book is that a little girl, Akae, is asked by her mother to deliver a get-well gift to her grandmother, and she encounters different people on the way to grandmother's home.

The 3 selected TV anime are well-known among small children. Especially, *Sazae-san* and *Chibi Maruko-chan* have been ranked as "national anime." The former has been broadcasted for more than 40 years and the latter has been for more than 20 years. A normal daily life of family is depicted in both anime and various characters appear in each chapter. On the other hand, *PurCure* is a super heroine anime in which several heroines fight enemies in each chapter. All the 3 TV anime are a half-hour program (including TV commercials), but *Sazae-san* is composed of 3 chapters and *Chibi Maruko-chan* is composed of 2 chapters within approximately 30 minutes.

Similar to mother-child conversations, spoken lines of each female character in the picture books were extracted and strongly feminine forms, which appeared in the sentence final position, were counted. As for TV anime, one chapter was selected from each TV anime and spoken lines of each main female character were transcribed. The length of each TV anime chapter is 7 minutes in *Sazae-san*, 20 minutes in *PreCure*, and 10 minutes in *Chibi Maruko-chan*.

6.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the results from observation of each data, I found the possibility of media influence on girls' use of women's language. In this section, I will show the results of analysis and discuss its implications in order.

6.1. Preschool Girls' Use of Women's Language

Although the sample size is small, 3 different types of strongly feminine forms were observed in a pair of A and B: *wayo*, *noyo*, and nouns marked with *yo*. These forms were not used throughout an errand. In other words, they normally speak without these forms but change their speech styles to feminine in a specific context. The following excerpt is from a pair A, Maya (4 years and 3 months old) and Momoka (2 years and 7 months old). Their grandmother owns a hair salon but since she is away on business this day, their mother, who is also a stylist, is in charge of the salon.

The excerpt starts immediately after the mother got a phone call from the grandmother and was asked to bring a hair stick to where the grandmother works.

Excerpt 1:

(1) Mot: *Jaa, okaa-san ikerenai kara, Maya-chan ga okaa-san dakara ne.*

'Well, because I can't go, Maya will be mother.'

- (2) Mot: *Maya okaa-san. Chotto itte mite.*
'Mother Maya. Can you say it?'
- (3) Mot: *Maya okaa-san.*
'Mother Maya.'
- (4) Mot: *Maya okaa-san no iu koto kiite yo. kikeru.*
'You have to listen to mother Maya. Can you?'
- (5) Momoka: (Nodding)
- (6) Mot: *Soreto jitensha ki o tsukereru.*
'And, can you watch out for bicycles?'
- (7) (Narration)
- (8) Mo: (Raises her right hand)
- (9) Maya: *Migi no te o...*
'Right hand ...'
- (10) Maya: *Sore dake ja arimasen, Momo. migi, hidari, migi tto³ miru noyo.* (↗)
'Not only that, Momo. Look right, left, and right, alright?'
- (11) Maya: *Koo yatte mite kara koo yatte te o ageta mama wataru-n dayo, ii ne.* (↗)
'Look like this and keep your hand over the head and cross the street, alright?'
- (12) (Scene changed)
- (13) Momoka: *Baaba matteru kara hashiroo yo.*
'Let's run because grandma is waiting.'
- (14) Maya: *Hashiccha dame, korobu wayo.* (↗)
'Don't run or fall down, alright?'

The mother pretends to be busy with her job and she asks her daughters, Maya and Momoka, a favor to deliver the hair stick to their grandmother. In the first scene, the mother explains to Momoka that her older sister, Maya, will temporarily become a mother and makes sure that Momoka can follow her directions. After which, when Maya explains how to cross the streets, she uses *noyo* in line 10: "*migi, hidari, migi tto miru noyo.*" In the second scene, when they just left home, Momoka suggests running. Here, Maya uses another women's language (*onnakotoba*), *wayo*, in line 14 when she gives a warning to her younger sister: "*hashiccha dame, korobu wayo.*" Any other women's language categorized into strongly feminine forms is not seen anywhere else in this pair. Her use of *noyo* and *wayo* appears not only when she is playing a role of a mother but also when she is showing her knowledge to her younger sister. This indicates that she interprets that strongly feminine forms are associated with adult women or mothers and caretaking considering that showing knowledge is a part of mothers' role.

The next excerpt is from a pair B, Rin (4 years and 6 months old) and Kokoru (3 years and 9 months old). They are attending the same preschool but there are nine month differences in their ages. On the way to their errand, they quarrel on a street for a few times.

Excerpt 2:

- (1) Rin: *Shiroi sen kara hanare tara dame yo.* (↗)
'Walk inside the white line, alright?'

- (2) Kokoru: *Ii no. Koko wa moo onee-chan ni natta-kara ii noyo.* (㇏)
 ‘It’s OK. It’s OK because I’ve already become a big girl.’

In their conversation, strongly feminine forms were observed only in the scene in which they are walking along a roadside. Rin are following Kokoru but when Kokoru are about to walk toward the center of the street, Rin uses a noun with *yo* in line 1, “*Shiroi sen kara hanare tara dame yo.*” However, Kokoru does not seem to be happy about being pointed out and when she talks back to Rin, she uses *noyo* in line 2: “*Ii no. Koko wa moo onee-chan ni natta-kara ii noyo.*” Although age difference between them is only 9 months, it can physically and mentally makes a difference when it comes to an interaction between children. In this scene, Rin demonstrates her knowledge as Maya shows hers in the first excerpt to correct Rin’s inappropriate behavior. This suggests that Maya takes a responsibility for Kokoru because she is aware of her matureness compared with Kokoru. Her use of *yo* is motivated by her understanding of a relationship between women’s language with “caretaking” associated with women’s social role. Immediately after Rin’s warning, Kokoru reacts against Rin, using *noyo*. This can be interpreted that she feels uncomfortable by being treated as a small child and corrected her behavior. Unlike Rin’s case, she is not giving guidance to someone. A possible motivation for her to use *noyo* here is her claim, which is seen in the subordinate clause, “*onee-chan*” (‘adult/mature girl’). In other words, in her understanding that “*onee-chan*” can step off a sidewalk but small children cannot. Her use of *noyo* implies that she wants to claim her matureness and justify her inappropriate behavior. Thus, in her understanding, women’s language is associated with a behavior of claiming as a mature woman.

6.2. Mothers’ Use of Women’s Language

The following table shows a frequency of women’s language produced by mothers when they interact with their child.

Table 2: Frequency of Super Feminine Forms in Mother’s Speech

Mother	Child	Total number of Mother’s Sentence	Strongly Feminine Forms	Examples
A	2 Y.O. boy	196	1	<i>Denwa hazurete ru no yo, Ryoo-kun.</i>
B	2 Y.O. boy	1,096	0	N/A
C	3 Y.O. girl	517	1*	<i>Okusuri biimu yo.*</i>
D	5 Y.O. girl	499	1*	<i>Ouchi ga yurete ru wa.*</i>
Total		2,308	3	

In total, 2,308 sentences are produced in 4 mothers. Interestingly, women’s language was seen only 3 times among the 3 mothers while interacting with their child. The first example is seen in an interaction between Mother A and her son. She produces the strongly feminine form, *noyo*, when they play with toys: “*Denwa ga hazurete ru noyo, Ryoo-kun*” (‘The phone has been come off, Ryoo-kun’). The second and third examples of the strongly feminine form are *yo* and *wa*, which are produced by Mother C and Mother D when they are reading a book for their daughter: “*Okusuri biimu yo*” (‘It’s a medicine beam’), “*Ouchi ga yurete ru wa*” (‘Home is shaking’). However, these are not their actual words but spoken lines by a female character in a picture book. So, technically only 1 strongly feminine form is observed in mother-child interaction of the 4 pairs.

The results suggest that children are not exposed to women’s language very often while interacting with their mother. However, there still remains a possibility that they are exposed to women’s language indirectly by listening to parents talking each other. In the study on the use of feminine speech among young Japanese females (Okamoto & Sato, 1992), it is reported that women’s language, specifically sentence final forms, has become much less frequent in the speech of women, especially among younger generations. This indicates that mothers do not use women’s language on a daily basis and children’s use of women’s language cannot be influenced by their mother as much as expected. Then, how or where do the children pick it up? There must be something around them that influences their use of gendered language. The next section shows the analysis of picture books and TV anime.

6.3. Female Characters' Use of Women's Language

First, in the table below I will summarize types of observed strongly feminine forms with an example of each appeared in picture books and TV anime.

Table 3: Patterns of Strongly Feminine Forms and its Example

Patterns	Examples	Translation
Copula + <i>Wa</i>	<i>Juuniji da wa.</i>	'(It)'s 12 o'clock.'
Verb + <i>Wa</i>	<i>Oyatsu no jikan ni chikoku suru wa.</i>	'(I)'ll be late for snack time.'
Adjective + <i>Wa</i>	<i>Yokunai wa.</i>	'(It)'s not good.'
<i>Wayo</i>	<i>Dame. Iku wayo.</i>	'No. We got to go.'
<i>Wane</i>	<i>Kigatsukanai wane.</i>	'(We)'ll not notice (it).'
<i>Wa yone</i>	<i>Iranai wa yone.</i>	'(You) don't need it, do you?'
<i>Kashira</i>	<i>Dokomade ochiru no kashira.</i>	'(I) wonder how far I'm going to fall.'
<i>NA-adjective + No</i>	<i>Nante sutekina no!</i>	'How beautiful it is!'
Verb + <i>Noyo</i>	<i>Doko e itteta noyo.</i>	'Where did you go?'
Verb + <i>None</i>	<i>Kiete shimau none.</i>	'(It) seems (it) will disappear.'
Noun + <i>Ne</i>	<i>Hidoi joo-oo-sama ne.</i>	'(It)'s a terrible queen.'
Noun + <i>Yo</i>	<i>Watashi wa hitoribocchi yo.</i>	'I'm lonely.'
<i>Koto</i>	<i>Hontoo ni ookiku natta koto.</i>	'(You) have really been grown up.'
<i>Choodai</i>	<i>Onegai, kaeshite choodai.</i>	'Please, give it back to me.'

As a result, based on the categorization of gender forms (Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Matsugu, 2008; Terada, 2000; Kinsui, 2007), 14 types of strongly feminine forms are observed in the picture books and TV anime I chose.

6.3.1. Picture books

The table 4 shows a frequency of women's language produced by main female characters in the picture books.

Table 4: A Frequency of Strongly Feminine Forms by Main Female Characters in Picture Book

Book title	Main Character	Total Sentence	Strongly Feminine Forms
<i>Little Match Girl</i>	Match Girl	19	12
<i>Alice's A. in W.</i>	Alice	24	14
<i>Helen Keller</i>	Helen Keller	5	1
<i>Red Hood Girl</i>	Red Hood Girl	11	4
<i>Thumbelina</i>	Thumbelina	10	2
<i>Cinderella</i>	Cinderella	18	6
<i>Red Shoes</i>	Karlen	12	6
<i>Ninjin no Akae-chan</i>	Akae (Carrot)	12	7
Total		111	52 (46.8 %)

As shown in the table, 52 sentences out of 111 are marked with the strongly feminine forms. Although there are more or less individual differences, all main female characters produce women's language at least once. The table 5 shows a frequency of women's language produced by supporting characters.

Table 5: A Frequency of Strongly Feminine Forms by Supporting Female Characters in Picture Book

Book title	Supporting Character	Total Sentence	Strongly Feminine Forms
<i>Little Match Girl</i>	Elderly woman	1	0
<i>Alice's A. in W.</i>	Young woman	1	0
<i>Helen Keller</i>	Mother	2	2
<i>Red Hood Girl</i>	Mother	3	1
<i>Thumbelina</i>	Mother	4	1
<i>Cinderella</i>	Step mother	7	1
	Step sisters	5	3

<i>Red Shoes</i>	Elderly woman	4	1
<i>Ninjin no Akae-chan</i>	Mother	2	2
	Grandmother	7	5
Total		36	16 (44.4%)

Because of the nature of the supporting characters, the number of their spoken lines is much less than that of the main characters'. 16 sentences out of 36 are marked with women's language, but unlike the main characters, not all the supporting characters produce it.

6.3.2. TV anime

The following table shows a frequency of women's language produced by main female characters in 3 different anime.

Table 6: A Frequency of Strongly Feminine Forms by Main Female Characters in TV Anime

Anime Title (Chapter Length)	Character (Role)	Total Sentence	Feminine Sentence Final Form
<i>Sazae san</i> (7min)	Sazae (House wife, older sister, mother)	31	12
	Wakame (Elem. school student, younger sister, aunt)	12	4
	Ukie (High- school student)	4	3
<i>PreCure</i> (20min)	Mana (Jr. high- school student)	77	3
	Rikka (Jr. high- school student)	19	6
	Alice (Jr. high- school student)	8	1
	Marmo (Enemy)	10	2
<i>Chibi Maruko chan</i> (10min)	Momoko (Elem.- school student)	56	0
	Sumire (House wife, Momoko and Sakie's mother)	49	15
	Sakiko (Elem.- school student, Momoko's older sister)	10	0
Total		276	46 (16.6%)

46 sentences out of 276 are marked with women's language and 8 characters out of 10 produced it. Although all of them are main characters, the number of appearance differs based on stories or whether they are a leading character or not. Since Sazae, Mana, Momoko, and Sumire are a key figure of the stories, the frequency of their spoken lines is significant.

There are many studies on how women's language in Japanese observed in media becomes connected to woman figure (e.g., Terada, 2001; Kinsui, 2007; Nakamura, 2013). That is, even though women's language is much less used among young Japanese females, it is maintained in media such as movies, novels, comics, and so forth. As the results above show, many different types of strongly feminine forms are used by female characters in picture books and TV anime. It has been reported that Japanese children watch TV for 1.70 hours every day and read 8.28 picture books in a month (Fujita, 2003). Given these facts, I would argue that children's women language acquisition is highly likely influenced by media.

7.0. FURTHER DISCUSSION

7.1. Individual Difference in Female Characters

As seen in the results, some female characters never use women's language while some characters do frequently. What makes this difference? For example, Momoko in *Chibi Maruko-chan* never uses women's

language but her mother, Sumire, frequently uses it. A clear difference between these 2 female characters is their role. A relationship between them is a daughter-mother and they are a leading character in the observed chapter. That is, their speech style could be based on their situated identities (Zimmerman, 1998). For example, Sumire plays a role of a mother when being with Momoko, but when she meets her friend from high school, her identity is not a mother but a "female friend." If her use of women's language is associated with a figure of a mother, she might use a different speech style. In the case of Momoko, she maintains her identity as a daughter or the youngest child by not using women's language. "Role language" termed by Kinsui (2007), accounts for this individual difference in use of women's language. For example, both Mana and Rikka in *PreCure* are junior high school student and also superheroine. However, there is a gap in a frequency of use of women's language between them; Mana uses less women's language than Rikka. A factor which makes this difference is their characteristic; while Mana is an active character, Rikka is more staid and quiet. It is likely that in this anime, modesty or refinedness is defined as one of the attributes of women's language. And, women's language is positioned as a role language spoken by female characters with staid and quiet attributes.

7.2. Child's Use of Women's Language

As mentioned earlier, children can use gendered language appropriately to certain extent, particularly, as noted by Nakamura (1997a), they use women's language when they identify themselves as female. However, Nakamura fails to show in what specific contexts they use it. My data shows that preschool girls tend to use women's language when they show their knowledge to younger person or correct younger person's inappropriate behavior, which are associated with motherly or womanly behavior in their understanding. That is, contrary to Nakamura's argument, it may be said that preschool girls' use of women's language is not motivated only by gender. Similarly, not all female characters in media use women's language and not all sentences produced by female characters are marked with women's language.

The use or non-use of women's language among female characters is explained respectively by a difference of attributes of individual character and a variety of speech style that each character selects, depending on its identity or role in given contexts. If we assume that children understand what female roles are like by simultaneously picking up women's language from media, it would appear that they have an ability to learn a relationship between women's language and womanly roles in given situations. What we can further assume from this assumption is that appearance of women's language in media is patterned to some extent. In other words, women's language tends to be seen, for example, when a female character is taking care of children, teaching something to them, correcting their inappropriate behaviors, and so on.

8.0. CONCLUSION

This study examined a possible influence out of many factors on our gendered language acquisition in childhood. First, I qualitatively analyzed women's language used by preschool girls; their use of women's language is motivated by a specific contextual factor associated with specific motherly or womanly roles. Second, I observed naturally occurring conversations between mother and child to investigate a possibility of parental influence on child gendered talk. The result of the quantitative analysis of mothers' use of women's language showed that mothers hardly use women's language to their children. Following this finding, I observed spoken lines produced by female characters in picture books and TV anime to analyze them in the same manner as real mother-child conversation. The result showed that many of the female characters in this kind of media use women's language. Although Lanvers (2004) note that "child gendered talk is a product of parental gendered talk, to a small extent at least, children actively participate in creating parental gendered talk" (p. 488), in matters of the strong feminine forms in women's language, it may be said that they are not influenced by parental interaction but rather by media.

Needless to say, sentence final forms are only one of the linguistic forms that constitute women's language. However, the results of my study suggest that mother-child conversation is not the only important factor in the acquisition of women's language. Rather, the influence of child exposure to various media, specifically picture book and TV anime, should also be considered. I would imply children's ability to learn a relationship between women's language and womanly roles from media and appearance of women's language in patterned contexts. To strengthen my implications, qualitative analysis of women's language appeared in female characters' speech in media is necessary as my future study.

NOTES

1. Sentence final forms, *koto* and *choodai*, are categorized as female sentence final forms based on their analysis. However, since they do not subcategorize women's language like Okamoto and Sato (1992), I consider them as strongly feminine forms in my analysis.
2. Because of the nature of TV media, an errand of each pair is drastically edited and shortened.
3. It is supposed to be "tte" unless "tto" is dialect.

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EVALUATING THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE CHIMBU-WAHGI SUBGROUPING

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ABSTRACT

There are hundreds of languages in the Trans-New Guinea phylum, and several attempts have been made to classify them into subgroupings and families, but none has relied on reconstruction or appropriately applying the comparative method. This paper presents and evaluates the previous evidence used to support the proposed relationships between the Chimbu-Wahgi languages, applies the comparative method, and provides an initial attempt at reconstruction. This evidence suggests that these languages may not all be related, and that more research needs to be done with all of the languages of this proposed subgrouping.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The large number of languages and extreme level of language diversity of New Guinea has made establishing genetic relationships for this region a difficult task. Past researchers have proposed several possible groups and subgroups, including the Trans-New Guinea family. A proposed subgroup of this family is Chimbu-Wahgi, which includes a cluster of languages spoken in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, highlighted on the map below. However, there has been very little work which has reliably or extensively used the comparative method to support these theories. While lexicostatistics has been the primary evidence for this proposed grouping, little has been done to establish strong sound correspondences in these languages. This type of evidence is necessary to support the proposed Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping which is the focus of this paper.

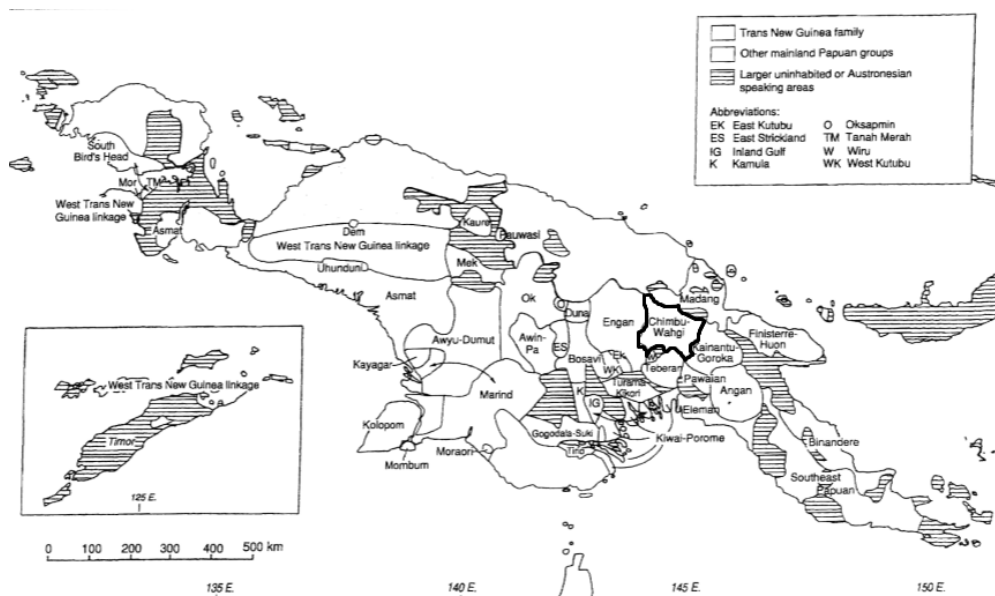


Figure 1: New Guinea Language Map (Pawley 2006)

The proposed Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping includes four major subdivisions. These are Chimbu, Hagen, Jimi, and Wahgi (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013). Within each of these, there are several languages that are closely related. Unfortunately, there is relatively little information widely available about these languages. Many have little or no published documentation. A tree representing the proposed structure of the Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping is provided in Figure 2 below. In this figure, the languages for which word lists were available (and are examined in this paper) are shaded.

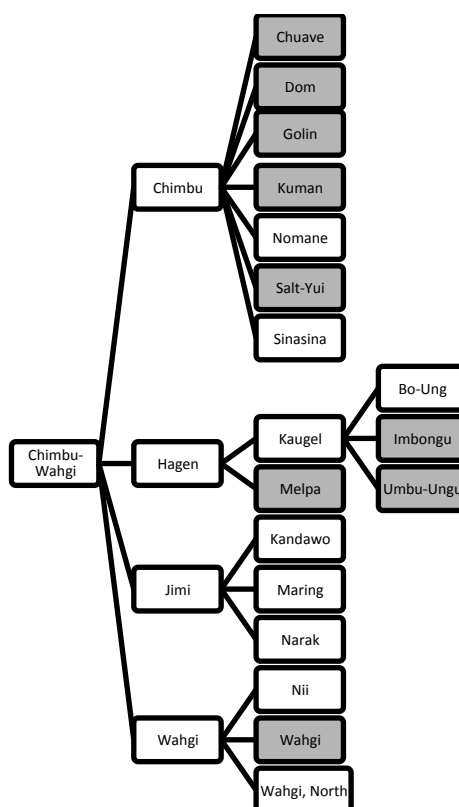


Figure 2: Proposed Chimbu-Wahgi Subgrouping

This paper uses word list data retrieved from The Rosetta Project from nine languages proposed as part of the Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping. The languages represent three of the four proposed subdivisions: Chimbu, Hagen, and Wahgi. For some of the languages, very little data is available, which is discussed below in 4.1.3. In line with previous research on this subgrouping, lexicostatistical data was assembled and is presented in section 2 below. Similar to Ross (2005), pronoun evidence for this data is also evaluated and presented in section 3 below. Section 4 applies the comparative method to this data, looking at systematic sound changes in the languages and posits a possible proto-language for two major subdivisions, followed by Chimbu-Wahgi. Finally, section 5 presents preliminary conclusions, arguing that Chimbu-Wahgi is a very probable subgrouping and that lexicostatistics and pronoun reconstruction don't appropriately represent these genetic relationships.

2.0. LEXICOSTATISTICS

This section summarizes the previous research which has primarily used lexicostatistics as evidence to support the proposed Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping. It then presents lexicostatistics collected specifically from these data, summarizing cognate groupings within these languages. Finally, the strength of this sort of evidence is addressed.

2.1. Previous Research

Bunn and Scott (1962), Diebler and Trefry (1963), and Wurm (1961, 1965) each attempted to classify the languages of New Guinea. As mentioned earlier, there are a very large number of languages in the region. Because of this, each of these researchers looked primarily at lexicostatistical data as a way to propose possible genetic relationships. While this method can be used to group large amounts of data more quickly, it can only set up preliminary groupings which can then either be proven or disproven by the comparative method.

Apart from the lack of strong evidence from things like sound correspondences, lexicostatistical data are also problematic because of the lack of standards for interpretation. Each researcher used different word lists and cutoff points for classifications, and while some threw out items that were clearly shared borrowings, others did not (McElhanon, 1971). While this type of analysis can be used to propose families and subgroupings, it

serves only as weak evidence to support them. This is demonstrated by the application of this method to the languages analyzed in this paper which is discussed in the next section

2.2. Lexicostatistics and these data

In order to evaluate how well lexicostatistical data represents sound change and relatedness within Chimbu-Wahgi, this sort of analysis was performed with the data used throughout this paper. First, cognates were assembled. The full chart displaying the patterning of similar forms found amongst these data are provided in a full chart provided in Appendix 2. In Figure 3 below, however, a summary of this chart and numbers of corresponding forms are provided.

In Figure 3 each color represents a grouping of cognate forms. Typically, Melpa, Umbu-Ungu, Imbongu, and Wahgi shared similar forms, represented in dark red. Kuman, Salt-Yui, Golin, Dom, and Chuave also tended to share similar forms, represented in bright orange. There were some words for which more than two sets of cognates occurred. In these cases, a lighter pink or orange is used to represent which set of forms to which the additional set is closest. There were also many forms which did not appear to have any cognates in the data. These forms are indicated with dark grey, while forms for which no data is available are left white. The percentage of vocabulary which falls into each category is summarized in Figure 4 below. Finally, there is a single meaning, “back”, in Wahgi which has two forms. Interestingly, each form patterned with a different cognate grouping, leading to seventy-four possible forms in this language, as opposed to the seventy-three possible in the other languages.

Totals Numbers:	Melpa	Umbu-Ungu	Imbongu	Wahgi	Kuman	Salt-Yui	Golin	Dom	Chuave
	60	56	54	46	24	7	3	15	11
	2	2	4	3	1	0	0	1	0
	1	1	0	6	32	23	13	39	39
	0	0	1	4	4	2	1	2	2
	7	10	8	12	12	5	2	13	20
/Not Available/	3	4	6	6	0	38	54	3	1
Forms:	70	69	67	68	73	35	19	70	72
(Possible)	73	73	73	74	73	73	73	73	73

Figure 3: A Summary of Cognate Groupings Across Chimbu-Wahgi

Total %:	Melpa	Umbu-Ungu	Imbongu	Wahgi	Kuman	Salt-Yui	Golin	Dom	Chuave
	85.7	81.2	80.6	67.6	32.9	20.0	15.	21.4	15.3
	2.9	2.9	6.0	4.4	1.4	0	0	1.4	0
	1.4	1.4	0	8.8	43.8	65.7	68.4	55.7	54.2
	0	0	1.5	5.9	5.5	5.7	5.3	2.9	2.8
	10.0	14.5	11.9	17.6	16.4	14.3	10.5	18.6	27.8
Forms:	70	69	67	68	73	35	19	70	72

Figure 4: Lexicostatistics for Chimbu-Wahgi

Looking at the patterning of cognates across this subgrouping, it is clear that there are rarely more than two sets of distinct cognate patterns for each definition. There are also relatively few forms with no cognates, and of the seventy-five definitions analyzed, only two were thrown out for having no cognates. However, only thirteen occurred as cognates across the majority of these languages. It is also important to note that all of the languages patterned strongly with either the red or orange pattern. With the exception of Kuman, the majority of lexical items fit one pattern or the other. Finally, all of the languages patterned in a manner consistent with the

previously proposed subdivisions, where the languages of the Hagen and Wahgi subdivisions patterned together and the languages of the Chimbu subdivision patterned together.

Based on the percentages of shared vocabulary items, it appears that Melpa, Umbu-Ungu, and Imbongu are very closely related. This is consistent with the proposed subdivisions. Wahgi is also related, but less closely. This is also consistent with the proposed subdivisions. Kuman does not pattern especially strongly with the Chimbu or the other subdivisions, which is a divergence from the original proposal. While Golin, Dom, and Chuave do share the majority of their forms, they have few items in common with the Melpa subdivisions. This poses a problem for Chimbu-Wahgi, especially when looking at Melpa and Chuave, which share less than 20% of the vocabulary. The amounts of shared vocabulary represented here suggest that while Chimbu languages are related and the Melpa and Wahgi languages are related, Chimbu-Wahgi may not be a legitimate subgroup.

3.0. PRONOUNS

The use of pronoun reconstruction as a diagnostic for genetic relationship began with Ross (2005). This is discussed in more detail in 3.1 below. This method was applied to the data analyzed in this paper, and is presented in 3.2 below. The pronouns addressed here are insufficient for establishing a genetic relationship amongst the Chimbu-Wahgi subgroup.

3.1. Ross (2005)

Ross (2005) used pronouns as another weak form of evidence to support the subgroupings of the Trans-New Guinea family, including the Chimbu-Wahgi subgroup. Ross first reconstructed the proto-forms of pronouns in many of the languages of New Guinea. This was intended to be a starting point for the application of the comparative method to establish or disprove these groupings. This method serves as weak evidence to support the theories evaluated here.

3.2. Pronouns and these data

There is only one pronoun, “I”, included in the seventy-five definitions analyzed. This was the only pronoun form found in the word list data for at least half of the languages. While this definition was available for both Melpa and Chimbu languages, it still only occurs in five of the nine languages, which is problematic. These forms are provided in Figure 5 below.

Language	‘I’
Melpa	na
Kuman	na
Salt-Yui	na
Dom	na
Chuave	no

Figure 5: Pronoun Cognates

These five cognates have extremely similar shapes, but are also very short. This is problematic since it increases the likelihood that their occurrence is merely chance. Also, four of these are from the Chimbu subdivision, and only one is from another subdivision. In short, pronouns are neither sufficient nor strong evidence for or against the Chimbu-Wahgi subgrouping, despite the fact that they suggest these languages are closely related.

4.0. TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH

Despite the relatively little amount of data widely available for these languages, it is still important to apply the comparative method to this proposed subgrouping in order to establish it. A major part of this which is not included in either lexicostatistical or pronoun data is regular sound correspondences. In this section, the comparative method is applied to the nine word lists and proto-languages are proposed for the Chimbu subdivision, the Melpa-Wahgi subdivisions, and Chimbu-Wahgi.

4.1. Reconstruction for Proto-Chimbu

Within the Chimbu subdivision, data from five languages were considered. Sound correspondences were established and proto-sounds are proposed for each correspondence. These are provided in Figure 6 below, along with the phoneme charts for the proposed proto-Chimbu in Figure 7 and 8. The required sound changes for each language's current form are provided in 4.1.2. below, and potential problems are addressed in 4.1.3.

4.1.1 Proto-sounds

There are thirty-three sound correspondences within the Chimbu subdivision found in these data. These and their reconstructed proto-sounds are provided in Figure 6 below. The reconstruction resulted in thirteen consonants in the proto-language, which are summarized in Figure 7 below. Finally, the reconstruction also resulted in four vowels and one diphthong, which are summarized in Figure 8 below. The plausibility of this reconstruction is addressed in 4.1.3.

Kuman	Salt-Yui	Golin	Dom	Chuave	Proto-Sound
a#			a#	a#	*a
a#	a#		a#	o#	*a
ay		ay	ea		*ay
#a	#a			#a	*a
a	a	ay	a	a	*a
#e	#e	#e	#e	#e	*e
e	e		e	i	*e
e#	i#		e#	e#	*e
u	u	u			*u
a#	u#	u#		o#	*u
#p				#p	*p
#b	#b		#b	#b	*b
b	l	b	v	p	*b
t				l	*l
#t	#t	#t	#t	#t	*t
#d			#d	#d	*d
d				y	*y
d	g		g	g	*g
#g	#g	#g	#k	#g	*g
g	l		l		*l
#k	#h		#h	#k ^h /h	*k ^h
#k		#k	#k	#k	*k
k			k	k	*k
m#		n#			*m
	m			m	*m
#m		#m	#m	#m	*m
#n	#n	#n	#n	#n	*n
n	n	n	n	r	*n
#ts	#s	#s	#č	#s	*ts
gl#	l#		l#	g	*gl

r	r				*r
#w	#w		#w		*w
#y			#y	#y	*y

Figure 6: Chimbu Subdivision Sound Correspondences

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless Plosive	p	t		k k ^h
Voiced Plosive	b	d		g
Affricate		ts		
Nasal	m	n		
Approximant			y	w
Lateral		l		

Figure 7: Proto-Chimbu Consonants

i u ay
e
a

Figure 8: Proto-Chimbu Vowels

4.1.2 Changes

There are a variety of changes in each of the languages which have developed since proto-Chimbu. These are regular, and are listed by language below. These regular sound correspondences are very important for establish Chimbu-Wahgi as a subfamily, as these types of regular sound correspondences are a critical part of the comparative method.

- Kuman:
 - *g > d/ V _ V
 - *l > g
 - *k^h > k
- Salt-Yui:
 - *e > i/ _ #
 - *b > l/ V _ V
 - *k^h > h
- Golin:
 - *a > ay / C _ C
 - *m > n/ _ #
- Dom:
 - *ay > ea
 - *b > v/ V _ V
 - *g > k/ # _
 - *k^h > h
 - *ts > č
- Chuave:
 - *a > o/ C₀ i _
 - *e > i/ C _ C
 - *u > o/ C₀ o _
 - *b > p/ V _ V
 - *n > r/ V _ V
 - *ts > s

4.1.3. Problems

While the consonant inventory is quite symmetric, and the vowel inventory is nearly so, many of the changes seen in 4.1.2 are regular and clearly motivated, such as vowel harmony or voicing assimilation. However, some of these do not have clearly motivated changes. This may be either a problem of the reconstruction or of the proposed grouping itself.

The proposed change in Salt-Yui in which *b changed to l between vowels is one such change that is not clearly phonetically motivated. Another sound change which does not appear to be motivated, but is less bizarre is the change in Golin from *m to n word-finally. Neither of these are common changes across languages and need to be investigated further in a wider variety of contexts. Despite this, the proposed reconstruction is logical and systematic.

4.2. Reconstruction for Proto-Melpa-Waghi

Within the Melpa subdivision, three languages were analyzed. Because Waghi was the only language within the Waghi subdivision and shared more cognates with Melpa than Chimbu, it was also analyzed with this group. The sound correspondences and reconstructed proto-sounds for Melpa-Waghi are provided in Figure 9 below. The phoneme charts for the proposed Proto-Melpa-Waghi are provided in Figures 10 and 11 below. The sound changes found within these languages are provided in 4.2.2., while the potential problems for this reconstruction are discussed in 4.2.3.

4.2.1. Proto-sounds

There are forty-two sound correspondences within the combined Melpa and Waghi subdivisions found in these data. These and their reconstructed proto-sounds are provided in Figure 9 below. The reconstruction resulted in fifteen consonants in the proto-language, which are summarized in Figure 10 below. Finally, the reconstruction also resulted in five vowels and two diphthongs, which are summarized in Figure 11 below. The plausibility of this reconstruction is addressed in 4.2.3.

Melpa	Umbu-Ungu	Imbongu	Waghi	Proto-Sounds
a	a	a		*a
a#	a#	e#	a#	*a
e	e	i	e	*e
i	i	i	i	*i
i	i	#e	i	*i
o	o	e	o	*o
o	o	o		*o
#o:	o	o:		*o
u	u	u	u	*u
u	u	o	o	*o
u	u	o	u	*u
ou	au	au		*au
ai	e	e	a	*ai
p#	b#	p#		*p
p#	b	b	p#	*p
p#	p#	b		*p
#p	#p	#p	#p	*p
b	b	b	b	*b
d	t	t	d	*t
	g	r	g	*g

	#g	#g		*g
č	č	t	j	*č
č#	č#	č#	č#	*č
j	j	j		*j
j	j	d		*d
#k	#g		#k	*g
k	k#			*k
#k	#k	#k	#k	*k
#k	#gl	#gl	#k	*gl
	h	h		*h
m#	m#		m#	*m
#m	#m	#m	#m	*m
n	r	r		*r
#n	#n	#n	#n	*n
n	n	n		*n
n		l		*l
r	r	r		*r
r	t	t	r	*t
ŋ	ŋ	č	ŋ	*ŋ
	l#	l#		*l
ʎ	l			*ʎ
#w		#w		*w

Figure 9: Melpa-Waghi Sound Correspondences

	Labial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d		k g	
Affricate			č j		
Fricative					h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Approximant		r		w	
Lateral		l		ʎ	

Figure 10: Proto-Melpa-Waghi Consonants

i	u	ai
e	o	au
a		

Figure 11: Proto-Melpa-Waghi Vowels

4.2.2 Changes

Like, Chimbu, there are a variety of changes in each of the languages which have taken place since the proto-language. These are typically quite regular, and are listed by language below. If these two subgroupings are indeed related, then the proposed sound changes will be both regular and phonetically motivated, which these data suggest.

- Melpa:
 - *o > o:/ #_
 - *au > ou
 - *t > d/ V_V
 - *d > j/ V_V
 - *g > k
 - *l > n
 - *o > u
- Umbu-Ungu:
 - *ai > e
 - *p > b/ _#
 - *p > b/ V_V
 - *d > j/ V_V
 - *ɬ > l
- Imbongu:
 - *a > e/ _#
 - *e > i
 - *i > e
 - *o > e/ _C₀ [-front]
 - *o > o:/ #_
 - *ai > e
 - *[-cont] > [+vd]/ V_V
 - *g > r/ V_V
 - *č > t/ V_V
 - *ŋ > č
 - *o > u
- Waghi
 - *ai > a
 - *[-cont] > [+vd]/ V_V
 - *g > k/ #_

4.2.3. Problems

Similar to the languages of the Chimbu subdivision, the languages of the Melpa and Waghi subgroupings have undergone several changes which are clearly phonetically-motivated or common, including the voicing assimilation or stop fortition seen in Imbongu. There are, however, a few changes for which there does not appear to be any strong phonetic-motivation and which warrant further investigation. The most striking of these is the unconditioned change in Imbongu from *ŋ to č. There is very little data in which this change occurs, and it is very unusual. This is potentially problematic for the reconstruction and the proposed subgrouping.

There are also several changes which are clearly conditioned, but for which the conditioning environment is unclear. This is seen in the vowel change from *o to u in Melpa and Imbongu. This change does not appear to be predictable or have phonetic motivation and therefore warrants further investigation. If these sorts of changes do not, in fact, have a predictable environment, this is problematic for the subgrouping, as sound changes suffer no exceptions and should therefore be predictable.

4.3. Reconstruction for Proto-Chimbu-Waghi

In order to reconstruct Chimbu-Waghi, only cognates which occurred in most of the languages were analyzed. Of the seventy-five definitions initially gathered for each of these languages, thirteen fit this criterion. The sound correspondences which occur in this subset of the data are provided in Figure 12 along with proposed proto-sounds. Based on this, the Proto-Chimbu-Waghi phonemes are provided in Figures 13 and 14. The sound changes for each language are organized in 4.3.2., while potential problems are discussed in 4.3.3

4.3.1. Proto-sounds

There are twenty sound correspondences assembled in these data from within the entire Chimbu-Wahgi subfamily. These and their reconstructed proto-sounds are provided in Figure 12 below. The reconstruction resulted in six consonants in the proto-language, which are summarized in Figure 13 below. Finally, the reconstruction also resulted in five vowels, which are summarized in Figure 14 below, and the plausibility of this reconstruction is addressed in 4.3.3.

Melpa	Umbu-Ungu	Imbongu	Waghi	Kuman	Salt-Yui	Golin	Dom	Chuave	Proto-Sound
#a	#a	#a	#a	#a	#a	#a	#a	#a	*a
a	a	a	a	a			a	a	*a
a#				a#	a#		a#	o#	*a
e	e		a	a		a	e		*e
i	i	i	i	i			i	i	*i
#o	#o	#o	#o	o			o	o	*o
o	o	o	o	i	i		i	u	*o
u#	u#	u#	u#		u		o	o	*u
#m	#m	#m	#m	#m		#m	#m		*m
m#	m#		m#	m#		n#	m#		*m
m	m	m	m	m			m	m	*m
b	b	b	b	b			v	b	*b
b	b	b	p	b	l	b	v	p	*p
d	d	d#	r#	g#			l	g	*g
#k	#k	#k	#k	g					*k
#k	#g	#k		#g	#g	#g		#g	*g
#g			#k	#k	#h		#h	#k	*k
#n	#n	#n	#n	#n	#n		#n	#n	*n
n	n	n	n	n					*n
	g	l	r	g	r#		l#	w	*r

Figure 12: Chimbu-Wahgi Sound Correspondences

	Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Plosive	p b	d	k g
Affricate			
Fricative			
Nasal	m	n	
Approximant		r	

Figure 13: Proto-Chimbu-Wahgi Consonants

i	u
e	o
a	

Figure 14: Proto-Chimbu-Wahgi Vowels

4.3.2. Changes

Along with sound correspondences, innovations (changes) and retentions give the most insight into genetic relationships. Whether languages are indeed related and where the lines between subdivisions should be drawn are both based on this information. The sounds changes which occur throughout the proposed Chimbu-Waghi subgrouping are provided below, organized by language.

- Melpa:
 - *p > b/ V_V
 - *g > k/ #_
 - *g > d/ _C
 - *k > g/ #_
- Umbu-Ungu:
 - *p > b/ V_V
 - *r > g
 - *g > d/ _C
- Imbongu:
 - *p > b/ V_V
 - *r > l
 - *g > d/ _C
- Waghi:
 - *e > a
 - *g > r/ _#
- Kuman:
 - *e > a
 - *k > g/ V_V
 - *r > g
- Salt-Yui:
 - *b > l/ V_V
 - *k > h
 - *g > h
- Golin:
 - *e > a
- Dom:
 - *u > o/ _C₀ o
 - *b > v
 - *g > l
 - *k > h
 - *g > h
 - *r > l
- Chuave:
 - *a > o/ _#
 - *u > o/ _C₀ o
 - *r > w

4.3.3. Problems

Unlike the reconstruction for Melpa and Waghi, these sound correspondences are quite regular and predictable. The phoneme inventory is also rather symmetric, and with more data, *t is likely to appear. There are still, however, a few sound correspondences for which the motivation is unclear. The most striking of these is the unconditioned change in Dom from *g to l. This does not appear to have any phonetic motivation. It is important to note, though, that most of the changes in this language work to change stops to continuants. The resulting proto-sounds and resulting phoneme inventories and historical changes of this reconstruction pattern quite regularly, and appear to be overwhelmingly phonetically-motivated. This provides some of the strongest evidence for the Chimbu-Waghi subgrouping.

5.0. CONCLUSIONS

The past research which has suggested the Chimbu-Waghi subgrouping of the Trans-New Guinea family has provided insufficient evidence to support this claim. The earliest research on this subject used lexicostatistics as a way of grouping languages, while later research (Ross, 2005) looked only at pronouns. Neither of these methods provides sufficient evidence for this proposal, which is why this paper utilizes the comparative method to evaluate this grouping.

Seventy-five definitions were assembled from nine languages within the Chimbu-Waghi subgrouping. These languages represent three of the four subdivisions of the subgroupings. Lexicostatistic assembled from these data suggest that while the Melpa and Waghi subdivisions are fairly closely related, the languages of the Chimbu subdivision are less closely related and potentially unrelated to the rest of the other subdivisions. In line with Ross (2005), pronouns were also analyzed. Very little information was available, but there were five forms found for 'I' which were very similar in form. Alone, this suggests that these languages are very closely related, but is very weak evidence. Each of these methods provides weak, but conflicting evidence for this subgrouping. This is especially important and another justification for relying primarily on the comparative method.

Finally, the comparative method was applied to this data. Because only thirteen cognates were found in the majority of the languages, Proto-Chimbu was reconstructed first, followed by Proto-Melpa-Waghi. Then the entire subdivision was reconstructed, and Proto-Chimbu-Waghi is proposed. Proto-Chimbu demonstrates fairly symmetric consonant and vowel inventories, along with sound changes that are quite regular and phonetically-motivated. This evidence strongly supports the claim that these languages are related. Proto-Melpa-Waghi has less symmetric inventories and less clearly motivated changes. Some of the environments for the conditioned changes are also unclear. This is problematic for the grouping of these languages, but is insufficient to dispel the claim entirely. The Proto-Chimbu-Waghi reconstruction is especially important. Despite being based on only a few forms, the sound inventories are very symmetric, and the sound changes are both regular and phonetically-motivated. Most importantly, based on the Proto-Chimbu-Waghi reconstruction there are clear shared innovations in both the Chimbu subdivision and the Melpa and Waghi subdivisions. This is strong evidence that the languages within each of these subdivisions are related.

Based on the evidence presented throughout this paper, it is clear that the previous methods for grouping were insufficient. While lexicostatistics suggests that only the Melpa and Waghi subdivisions are closely related, pronoun data suggests that all of the languages of the proposed Chimbu-Waghi subgroup are closely related. The comparative method, however, provides strong evidence that the languages of the Chimbu subdivision and the Melpa and Waghi subdivisions are each related. It also suggests that the proposed Chimbu-Waghi subgroup is correct. In order to prove or dispel this, Proto-Trans-New Guinea needs to be reconstructed. Any clear shared innovations between the languages of the Chimbu-Waghi subgroup will be strong and necessary evidence for these genetic relationships. Proving the genetic relationship between the languages of the Chimbu-Waghi subdivision of the Trans-New-Guinea family is a very large undertaking, but the evidence presented in this paper both suggest that the grouping may be valid and that using lexicostatistics or only pronouns is insufficient in this case.

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ACQUISITION OF *NI* IN L1 JAPANESE CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents experimental evidence that Japanese children acquire particle *ni* in relation to location and goal earlier than indirect object/benefactive and copular *ni*. Data from the AKI corpus of Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) is investigated to examine utterances of *ni* in chronological order to see if a pattern can be found in the types of utterances made by the subject. The data suggested that although all uses of *ni* may have already been acquired at 2;3, the later acquisition of ditransitive verbs make the indirect object/benefactive *ni* appear as if its acquisition occurs much later.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The Japanese particle *ni*, most commonly considered as the dative case, possesses numerous other characteristics beyond marking indirect objects in transitive sentences. There are debates on the ways to categorize the particle itself, due to its various functions. Furthermore, there has been little study done regarding the acquisition of this particle, and there is controversy over the order in which different types of *ni* are acquired. This paper, through adult and child data, examines the possibility that all types of *ni* are acquired at one point in acquisition, although experimental data suggest that Japanese children appear to acquire particle *ni* related to location/goal earlier than those related to indirect objects/benefactives and copulars.

The organization of this paper is as follows: first, the basic characteristics and the categorization of the particle will be explained. Next, we will examine previous studies regarding the acquisition of this particle and the views presented by Clancy (1986), Radford (1990), Matsuoka (2001), and Fujimoto (2008), which claim that locative *ni* is acquired earlier than dative *ni* (referred to on this paper as the “locative-first hypothesis”), as opposed to the views put forward by Morii (1993) and Sadakane and Koizumi (1995), which state that dative *ni* is acquired before postpositional *ni* (referred to as the “dative-first hypothesis”). We will then investigate how adults may categorize *ni* through experimental data, followed by an inspection in utterances of *ni* in child speech to see if a pattern in acquisition can be found using data from the AKI corpus of CHILDES (Miyata, 1995). Finally, adult and child data will be compared to propose the analysis that the majority of *ni* in fact belong to the same category, and that this category of *ni* is acquired at the same point in time.

2.0. CHARACTERISTICS OF *NI*

2.1. Basic Characteristics

The prototypical function of the dative case is to mark the indirect object, as seen in (1).

(1) *Dative marking an indirect object*

Mika-ga	ani-ni	purezento-o	age-ta.
Mika-Nom	older brother-ni	gift-Acc	give-Pst
‘Mika gave her older brother a gift.’			

However, *ni* is known to have “diverse uses other than its typical function” (O’Grady, 2013,110), as seen in the following examples:

(2) *Dative marking a source*

Dokushozuki-no	yujin-ga	shiriai-ni	hon-o	kari-ta.
Bookworm-Gen	friend-Nom	acquaintance-ni	book-Acc	borrow-Pst
‘My friend, who likes to read, borrowed a book from an acquaintance.’				

(3) *Dative marking a destination*

Taro-ga	paati-ni	it-ta.
Taro-Nom	party-ni	go-Pst
‘Taro went to a party.’		

(4) *Dative marking a benefactive*

Mika-ga yujin-ni ohirugohan-o tukut-ta.
 Mika-Nom friend-ni lunch-Acc make-Pst
 ‘Mika cooked (her) friend lunch.’

A particularly significant difference can be seen from (4), where *ni* seems to mark an adjunct. Thus, many claim that there are other functions of *ni*, namely postpositions, as I will discuss in the next section.

2.2. Categorization

There are different criteria to describe different types of *ni*, such as semantics (Fujimoto, 2008) or syntactical structure (Miyagawa, 1989; Sadakane and Koizumi, 1995). Here, we will investigate the syntactic analysis proposed by Miyagawa, which focuses on how *ni* is attached to the preceding noun phrase (NP) to categorize *ni* into 2 groups: case and postposition.

Generally, case markers, which have no semantic content, attach directly to the preceding NP without projecting maximum projections. On the other hand, postpositions, which include semantic content, must take the preceding NP as an argument and project to a prepositional phrase (PP). According to this analysis, the dative *ni* should take a “cliticized structure” (Miyagawa, 1989, p. 32–33), where *ni* is attached directly to the NP without forming a maximum projection, whereas the postpositional *ni* should form a PP by attaching to the NP, as shown in Figure 1.

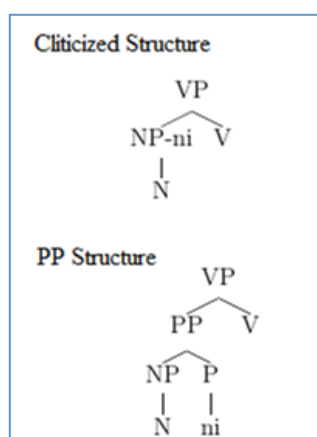


Figure 1: Cliticized and PP Structures (Miyagawa, 1989, pp. 32–33).

One way to account for this difference is through the floating quantifier test. Observe the following examples:

(5) *Prenominal quantifier structure using postposition de*

Tomodati-gani-dai-no basu-de ki-ta.
 Friend-Nom two-Cl-Gen bus-with come-Pst
 ‘(My) friends came with two buses.’

(6) *Floating quantifier structure using postposition de*

*Tomodati-ga basu-de ni-dai ki-ta.
 Friend-Nom bus-with two-Cl come-Pst
 ‘(My) friends came with two buses.’

(7) *Prenominal quantifier structure using nominative case*

Futa-ri no tomodati-ga ki-ta.
 Two-Cl-Gen friend-Nom come-Pst
 ‘Two of (my) friends came.’

(8) *Floating quantifier structure using nominative case*

Tomodati-ga futa-ri ki-ta.
 Friend-Nom two-Cl come-Pst
 'Two of (my) friends came.'

As demonstrated in (6), PPs do not allow the quantifiers within the phrase to float out. On the contrary, case is said to allow the floating of quantifiers, as (8) indicates. This predicts that dative *ni* allows floating quantifiers, but that postposition *ni* does not. Hence, the floating quantifier test can provide a basis of distinction on the categorization of *ni*.

(9) *Prenominal quantifier ni construction*

Mika-ga futa-ri-no ani-ni purezento-o age-ta.
 Mika-Nom two-Cl-Gen older brother-ni gift-Acc give-Pst
 'Mika gave her two older brothers gifts.'

(10) *Floating quantifier ni construction*

Mika-ga ani-ni futa-ri purezento-o age-ta.
 Mika-Nom older brother-ni two-Cl gift-Acc give-Pst
 'Mika gave her two older brothers gifts.'

Unfortunately, the grammaticality of (10) is controversial among linguists and native speakers, so the distinction between postposition and dative *ni* remains unclear. This problem will be addressed in section 4.

In addition to Miyagawa (1989), Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) use floating quantifiers and clefting to group *ni* into four categories: dative case marker, postposition, *ni* of *ni*-insertion, and a form of the copula, as we will see in the next section. It is important to note that these are only 2 of the many ways of categorizing, based on different criteria.

3.0. STUDIES ON ACQUISITION

Although some studies have been done regarding the acquisition of *ni*, a clear consensus in the order of acquisition has not been reached. The results proposed by Clancy (1985), Matsuoka (2001), and Fujimoto (2008) that locative *ni* is acquired before dative *ni*, which is supported by Radford's prediction on English acquisition (1990), oppose the view of Morii (1993) and Sadakane and Koizumi (1995), who suggest that dative *ni* is acquired earlier. In this section, we will examine each of these studies in chronological order.

3.1. Locative-first Hypothesis

Clancy (1985) conducts a comprehensive study of Japanese grammatical development on children, and observes that locative *ni* is acquired prior to that of dative *ni*. Drawing from various sources, including parental observations, experimental approaches, and speech samples from children aged 0;0 to roughly 7;0, she provides the periods in which specific grammatical particles and functions are developed. In her study, locative *ni* begins appearing at the second stage of development at 2 years old, when two-word utterances become very frequent. This is the same stage in which nominative case marker *ga* and postposition *de* begin appearing. The dative use of *ni*, which marks "the giver in sentences with verbs of receiving," does not begin until the first half of the third year, when "more complex locatives such as N *no tokoro ni* 'in N's place' appear, along with case markers for goals and sources." This is also when the accusative case marker *o*, as well as "concatenated verb constructions," such as those including *kuru* 'come' and *oku* 'put,' and "benefactive constructions with verbs of giving" (Clancy, 1985, p.382) are acquired.

This data regarding *ni* is supported by Radford's study in 1990, which claims that children undergo a lexical stage before a functional stage in the early stages of grammar acquisition. He explains that children enter the "lexical-thematic stage" before the "functional-nonthematic stage" because the linguistic properties of words that belong to the functional categories are more difficult to learn than those that belong to the lexical categories. He also goes on to say that lexical category systems have less variation across languages universally in comparison to the functional category systems, which have greater parametric variation, thus requiring less experience to acquire lexical categories before the functional categories.

Assuming the existence of Universal Grammar, it is reasonable to expect Japanese children to also undergo the lexical stage before the functional stage, thus acquiring locative *ni* before dative *ni*. This is indeed the case according to Clancy's results. However, her results also indicate that nominative case marker *ga* appears at 2 years of age, at the same time as the postposition *de*, while the accusative case marker *o* does not until 3 years of age, although both case markers are functional categories. This may suggest that lexical and functional categories do not provide the ultimate solution to the order of acquisition.

3.2. Dative-first Hypothesis

The next set of studies suggest that the locative-first hypothesis proposed by Clancy (1985) and Radford (1990) is reversed, and that in fact, dative *ni* is acquired in an earlier stage than postposition *ni*. Morii (1993) investigates the appearances of dative, postposition, and copular *ni* through experiments and concludes that datives are acquired before postpositions. She conducts a pilot study and an experiment, which shows children pictures and asks questions about them that predict various uses of *ni* in the children's replies, as follows:

- (11) *Question*
 A-chan-wa ringo-o doo shi-ta-no?
 A-chan-Top apple-Acc how do-Pst-particle?
 'What did A do with the apple?'

Expected reply
 (A-chan-wa) ringo-o B-chan-ni age-ta-no.
 A-chan-Top apple-Acc B-chan-ni give-Pst-particle.
 'A gave the apple to B.'
- (12) *Question*
 Ringo-wa doo shi-ta-no?
 Apple-Top how do-Pst-particle?
 'What happened to the apple?'

Expected reply
 (Ringo-wa) aka-chan-no ue-ni ochi-ta-no.
 Apple-Top baby-Gen on-ni fall-Pst-particle.
 'The apple fell on the baby.'

The subjects of each respective study were a girl aged 4;7 and 48 Japanese children aged between 1;11 to 6;1. She found that replies with case marker *ni* was observed between 2;0-2;11, although postposition *ni* did not appear until 3;0. However, Morii herself admits that many children did not respond to particular sentences, including those with postpositional *ni*, due to the ambiguity and confusion caused by the pictures. Therefore, a replication of this experiment appears to be necessary.

Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) group the various types of *ni* based on structural differences proposed by Miyagawa (1989) through quantifier floating and clefting into 4 different categories: dative case marker, postposition, *ni* of *ni*-insertion, and a form of the copula. (To see the types of *ni* grouped into these 4 categories, refer to Endnote 1.) They claim that the latter 2 categories can be learned by to what it attaches: an NP that is governed by an inflection incapable of assigning nominative Case (Takezawa, 1987), and a predicate, respectively. The "crucial defining factor" that determines the differences between dative *ni* and postposition *ni*, on the other hand, lies in its "affectedness." Because dative *ni* is apparently "relatively more affected" by the NP that it attaches to than postposition *ni*, speakers that encounter this particle can make the distinction between the 2 categories. They also state that there are "ambiguous cases" where the distinction between these 2 categories cannot be made, because the degree of affectedness falls in between the dative *ni* and postposition *ni* in their "affectedness hierarchy." They mention that children learning Japanese acquire case markers earlier than postpositions, as confirmed by Morii (1993), and thus their "case marker" and "ambiguous" categories should be acquired earlier than their "postposition" category. As stated earlier, since Morii's experiment requires reexamination, this hypothesis by Sadakane and Koizumi could change based on the result of the reexamination.

3.3. Recent Studies

In contrast to what has been asserted by Morii and Sadakane and Koizumi, recent studies by Matsuoka (2001) and Fujimoto (2008) provide us with data that children indeed do acquire locative *ni* before dative *ni*, as suggested by Clancy (1985).

Matsuoka, who investigates 3 Japanese children on the acquisition process of *ni*, finds that the order of acquisition based on the categorization made by Sadakane and Koizumi could not be empirically supported. She does, however, discover that children acquire *ni*, which indicates “the physical location of an item or the final physical location as a result of the action” (2001, p.135) before datives, although what she considers as locatives does not fall into the same grouping as what was considered to be postposition for Sadakane and Koizumi. The types of *ni* acquired earlier by children are as follows, with what Sadakane and Koizumi categorized each type as inside the parenthesis:

- O1. Change of position with an intransitive verb (Dative)
- N1. Dative of direction with an intransitive verb (Ambiguous)
- L. Indirect subject-possessor (Postposition)
- O2. Change of position with a transitive verb (Postposition)

Fujimoto (2008) also conducts a corpus-based study on the acquisition of *ni* and other particles. Although her categorization of *ni* does not follow that of Sadakane and Koizumi, her results from analyzing “ambiguous particles -*no*, -*ni*, and -*kara* suggest that all the children choose the syntactically and conceptually simple usages of those particles first” (p.14), such as “physical location/goal,” before the more abstract uses, such as “dative case” and “conceptual goal” (p.182). In sum, both recent studies seem to support the locative-first hypothesis proposed by Clancy.

4.0. ADULT EXPERIMENTAL DATA

As mentioned in section 2, the previous attempts of the floating quantifier test have failed to provide a consensus among the linguists and native Japanese speakers. Differences in intuitive grammaticality judgments cause this type of disagreement. Thus, reliable data through experimental syntax seem necessary, as proposed by O’Grady (2013) and Phillips (2008), among other professional linguists. Therefore, experimental data were collected from native Japanese speakers to examine if a better consensus could be obtained, and to see if a clear distinction between dative *ni* and postposition *ni* can be made before examining child data.

4.1. Method

A grammaticality judgment task was conducted through an online survey with 115 native Japanese speakers. Subjects were aged from 18 to 59 years old with no previous extensive experience in foreign languages until high school education. The speakers were grouped randomly into 3 different lists of items, all of which consisted of 7 pairs of quantifier sentences and 28 filler sentences. They were asked to rate the grammaticality of the sentences on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 as “*extremely unnatural*,” and 7 as “*perfectly natural*.” The 7 pairs of quantifier sentences, each with an adjacent quantifier and a floating quantifier pattern, contained 7 different categories of *ni*, respectively, selected from the different types within what Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) categorized as dative case and postposition. The types are as follows:

- A. Goal indirect object (Dative)
- B. Benefactive (Postposition)
- D. Pseudo-reciprocal use of dative confrontation (Ambiguous)
- G. “From/by” agent (Postposition)
- L1. Indirect subject-possessor (Postposition)
- N1. Dative of direction with an intransitive verb (Ambiguous)
- N2. Dative of direction with a transitive verb (Ambiguous)

If the subjects rated the sentences with floating quantifiers with a score lower than 4, they were considered less acceptable grammatically, meaning they denote the properties closer to that of a postposition. If

the sentences were rated higher than 4 on the other hand, the sentences were considered as more grammatical, denoting characteristics closer to that of dative case.

4.1. Results

The subject generally tended to judge the floating quantifier sentence patterns as ungrammatical, as shown in Figure 2 below. All except 2 out of 21 adjacent quantifier sentence patterns received a mean rating above 5, except 2 sentences, which received a mean rating of 4.88 and 4.1 from the Dative of direction with intransitive verbs type and the Indirect subject possessor type, respectively. Sixteen out of the 21 floating quantifier sentence patterns had a mean rating lower than 3. Those with ratings higher than 3 were from the following: Dative of direction with transitive verbs (mean rating: 3.53), 2 sentences from Indirect subject-possessor (mean ratings: 4.93 and 4.15), and 2 sentences from Pseudo-reciprocal use of dative confrontation (mean ratings: 4.62 and 3.15). However, the responses for these 5 sentences tended to have judgments varying greatly from 1 to 7, compared to those with lower scores, where the majority gave the rating score lower than 3.

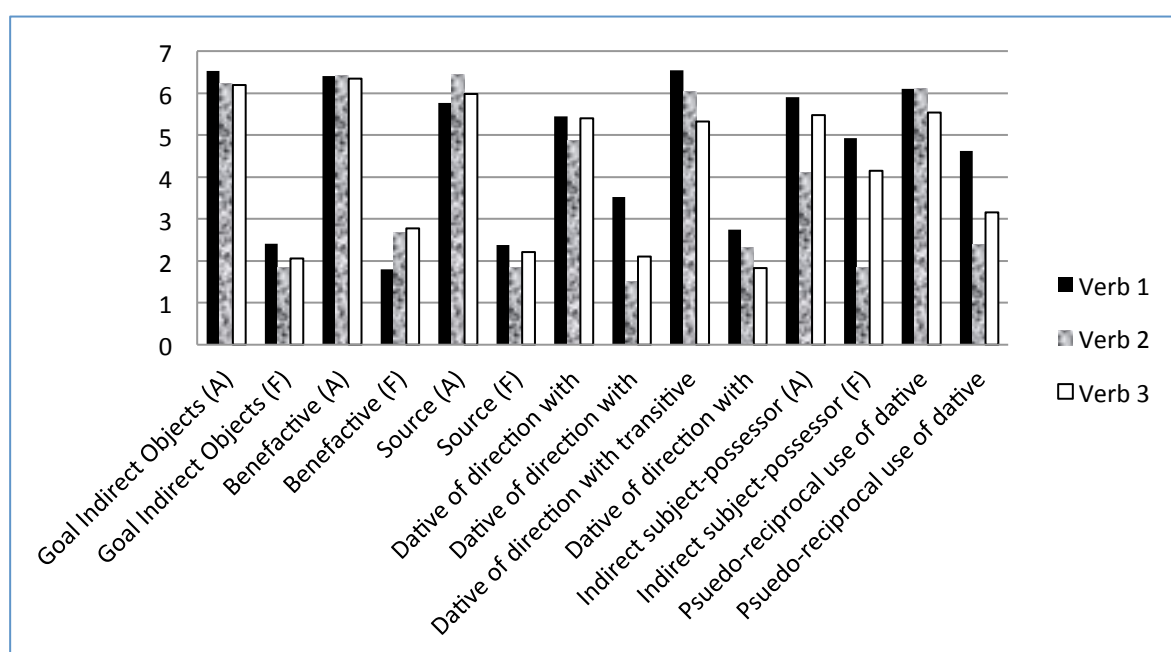


Figure 2: Mean Average on Different Types of *Ni*

4.2. Discussion

It appears that most of *ni* in floating quantifier patterns are judged as ungrammatical, which suggests that this type of *ni* has properties closer to that of postpositions than dative case, contrary to what many linguists believe. The question we must now address is why the 3 types of *ni* had higher ratings. Two factors could account for this result: the semantics of the experimental sentences, or a processing problem.

Perhaps the sentences that received higher ratings had better semantic content than that of the lower ratings. For example, why it is worth mentioning that Mika gives gifts to “2 brothers” is puzzling and difficult to imagine for the subjects without providing background information that, for instance, Mika has 5 brothers and sisters, while some sentences may have had better reason to include the numeral quantifiers. Although the sentences were checked with 2 native Japanese speakers to see if the sentences could be understood, a survey with better example sentences may be necessary.

Another factor that could contribute to the difference in rating is the problem of processing. A common characteristic that can be drawn from the 3 groups that received a higher rating is in the number of arguments.

The verbs take a single argument other than the subject in that of the higher rated sentences, as opposed to those which received a lower rating, which all had 2 arguments excluding the subject. In the prenominal structure, which received higher ratings, the quantifier is attached to the NP that follows, meaning that is the preferred order. Thus, in the lower rated sentences, it could be analyzed that it is difficult to process that the quantifier attaches to the preceding NP, since another argument, which is the direct object, follows the classifier, and reanalysis must take place when the quantifier does not match the nominal category of the direct object. If this is the case, it is worth considering that the distinction between dative *ni* and postposition *ni* does not exist, and that it is in fact all the same category: a postposition.

5.0. CHILD DATA

Bearing in mind the results we have seen in the adult data, let us now examine the child data to see which hypothesis it supports from the previous studies.

5.1. Method

The data was taken from the AKI corpus (Miyata, 1995) in the CHILDES database. The age of the child when the utterances were collected ranges from 1;5.7 to 3;0.0, and the Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) program was used to extract a total of 312 utterances of the particle *ni*. (Out of the 399 total utterances of *ni* that were extracted, 88 utterances were eliminated, due to its correspondence to the numeral *two*, which is also pronounced *ni*.) These utterances were then be grouped into 3 different categories using CLAN: copular, indirect object/benefactive, and other. The copular *ni* was categorized by the adjective, adverb, or verb preceding *ni*. The indirect object/benefactive *ni* was followed by a transitive verb, and was hand-coded based on the type of verbs and number of arguments. For the time being, the distinction between indirect object and benefactive is disregarded. Other utterances were hand-coded based on what grammatical and semantic categories preceded the particle.

5.2. Results

The subject made its first utterance of *ni* related to location/goal at 2;4, and dominated the majority (120 out of 312) of correct *ni* utterances throughout the transcription. The copular use of *ni* also began at 2;3, and occurred 24 times. There were a total of 44 utterances of *ni* that marked indirect objects and benefactives, the first of which did not appear until 2;6, and continued to fluctuate in number of correct uses until the end of the transcription data at 3;0. Hence, the indirect object/benefactive *ni* was the only type of *ni* that was acquired at a later period. This was also parallel to the appearance of ditransitive verbs, which were accompanied by *ni* 100% of the time. The summary of the result is shown in Figure 3 below.

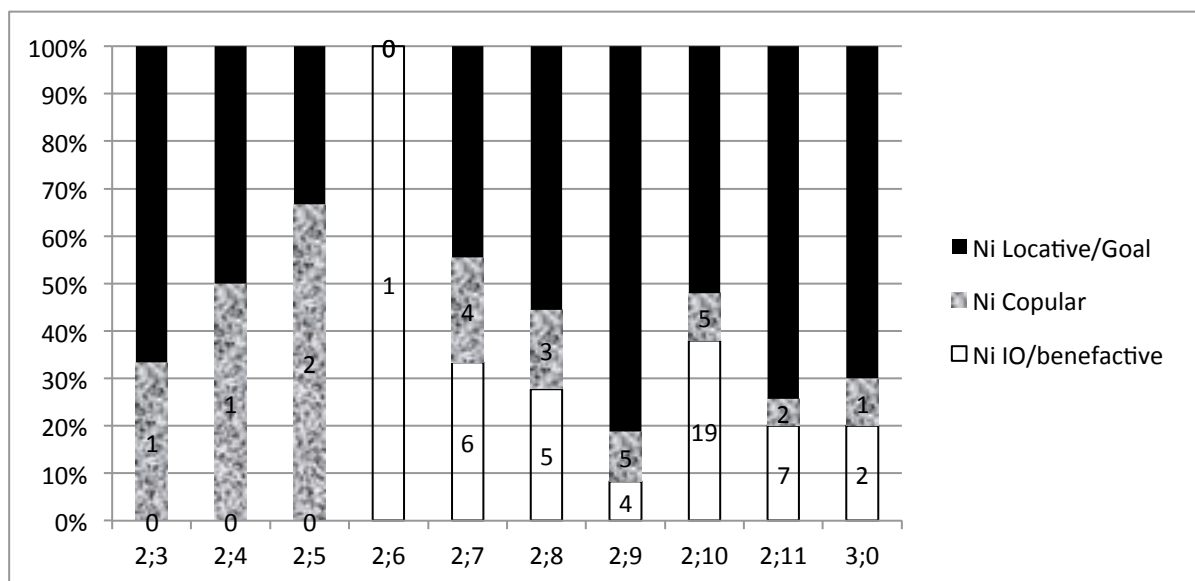


Figure 3: Types of *Ni* Used Throughout the Utterances

6.0. DISCUSSION

Let us compare the data from the child with that of the adult. The acquisitional data does indeed show that indirect object/benefactive *ni* does not appear until several months after locative/goal relative *ni*, which confirms the locative-first hypothesis. However, putting this data in line with the adult data, and observing that ditransitive verbs appear at the same time as that of indirect object/benefactive *ni*, an alternative possibility arises. Perhaps all uses of *ni* have already been acquired at 2;3, but because the ditransitive verbs are not acquired until 2;6, the indirect object/benefactive *ni* cannot be used. Thus, the later acquisition of ditransitive verbs make the indirect object/benefactive *ni* appear as if its acquisition occurs much later. If this is true, the analysis from the adult data that all types of *ni* belong to the same category of postposition would also support the child data, for there is no particular pattern in the order of acquisition based on the categories, but simply the difference in the number of arguments, as stated in the previous section.

7.0. CONCLUSION

We have examined through this paper the possibility that all types of *ni* are acquired at the same point of grammatical development. First, we have observed the characteristics and the categorizations of *ni* based on theories provided by Miyagawa (1989) and Sadakane and Koizumi (1995). Next, the locative-first hypothesis (Clancy, 1985; Radford, 1990; Matsuoka, 2001; Fujimoto, 2008) and the dative-first hypothesis (Morii, 1993; Sadakane and Koizumi, 1995) have been reviewed. We then investigated the categorization *ni* through adult experimental data, which suggested that all types of *ni* could perhaps be categorized as postposition, with the exception of ditransitive patterns, which may be processed in a different manner. This was followed by an inspection in child speech, which also showed that all types of *ni* except the ditransitive patterns were acquired at the same point of development. Finally, we have reached the conclusion that the majority of *ni* in fact belong to the same category, postposition, and that this category of *ni* could be acquired at the same point in time, but the delay in acquisition of the ditransitive verbs makes the acquisition of indirect/benefactive *ni* seem as if it is acquired later than the locative/goal *ni*.

Because this study has mainly focused on the contrast between the locative/goal uses and indirect/benefactive *ni*, other uses of *ni* including the form of the copular, causatives, passivization, and other constructions have not been examined. For future research, the examinations of these categories deem necessary.

NOTES

1. Four categories of *ni* grouped by Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) are as follows:

Case markers

A. Goal indirect object

O1. Change of position with an intransitive verb

Postpositions

B. Benefactive

C1. Dative of confrontation with an adjectival predicate

C2. Dative of confrontation with an adjectival nominal predicate

C3. Dative of confrontation with a verbal predicate

E. Objective stimulus

F. (Dependent, etc.) “on”

G. “From/by” agent

H1. The underlying agent in a direct passive conversion

H2. The underlying agent in an indirect passive conversion with an intransitive verb

H3. The underlying agent in an indirect passive conversion with a transitive verb

I. The instigator of a passivized causative

K. Pseudo-agent “by/at”

L1. Indirect subject-possessor
 M. Specific time
 O2. Change of position with a transitive verb
 R. Purpose
 T. Manner
 U. Reference

Ambiguity between a case marker and a postposition
 D. Pseudo-reciprocal use of dative confrontation
 N1. Dative of direction with an intransitive verb
 N2. Dative of direction with a transitive verb

Ni of *ni*-insertion

J1. The underlying agent of a causativized conversion with an intransitive verb
 J2. The underlying agent of a causativized conversion with a transitive verb
 L2. Indirect subject-quasi-possessor

Copula *ni*

P1. Change of state with an intransitive verb
 P2. Change of state with a transitive verb
 Q. Evaluative
 S. Appearing to be
 V. Correlational mutative

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TEACHERS' USE OF THE NON-LEXICAL TOKEN *HEE*: PEDAGOGICAL FUNCTIONS AND EXTENDED CONVERSATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates teachers' use of the token *hee* in the JFL classroom. The study sheds light on how non-pedagogical discursive activities and participant "footing" (Goffman, 1979) emerge, and how *hee* serves as a resource for the joint construction of the activity. I use conversation analysis and examine naturally occurring classroom data. I argue that *hee* creates opportunities for extended interaction, which the teacher and learners collaboratively construct through conversation. This study contributes to a greater understanding of the use of *hee* and of the organization of JFL classroom discourse.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The non-lexical token *hee* is widespread in Japanese conversation. The present study investigates the token produced by teachers in a pedagogical context. The study sheds light on how non-pedagogical discursive activities and participant "footing" (Goffman, 1979) emerge in a classroom setting and how *hee* serves as a resource for the joint construction of this type of activity. Drawing on conversation analysis, I examine naturally occurring classroom data collected from six college-level Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) classrooms. An audio-recorder and field notes were used for data collection. While emphasizing the discourse functions of *hee* that are shared between mundane data and current classroom data, I also show distinctions between these two contexts with respect to the structures of responses, including *hee* and the level of the newsworthiness in exchanges. I argue that, as it emerges from pedagogical activities in which learning objectives are associated with self-expression and development of oral skills, *hee* creates opportunities for extended interaction, which the teacher and learners collaboratively construct through conversation. This study contributes to a greater understanding of the use of *hee* and, more generally, of the organization of JFL classroom discourse.

The non-lexical token *hee* is translated as "oh," "wow," or "really?" in English. Researchers tend to categorize it as a backchannel, or the Japanese equivalent *aizuchi*, since the token has functions such as "continuer" (Schegloff, 1982), "acknowledgement" (Jefferson, 1984), understanding (Horiguchi, 1988), and display of "interest" (Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, & Tao, 1996, p. 359). However, *hee* is not as neutral as other *aizuchi* but is more contentful. It functions as a display of news-receipt and indexes stance. For example, *hee* appears in "news delivery sequences" (Maynard, 1997) in which it serves as a "news-receipt token" (Iwasaki, 1997). The sequence consists of four basic turns: (a) a news announcement; (b) an announcement response; (c) further elaboration of the news; and (d) an assessment (Maynard, 1997; retrieved from Tanaka, 2013). Tanaka (2013) briefly mentions that *hee* appears in the fourth stage of the sequence, i.e., assessment. Mori (2006) and Tanaka (2013) explain that it shows the producer's assessment and/or stance, such as "appreciation, surprise, or disbelief of the news" (Mori, 2006, p. 1181).

The duration and pitch of *hee* vary. Some tokens are abbreviated (about 0.2 seconds) and others are long. A prolonged one can last almost two seconds (Mori, 2006). Those followed by a newsmark or confirmation of understanding are shorter than the free-standing *hee* or those prefacing a topical shift (Mori, *ibid.*). Also, pitch contours range from flat to rising. *Hee* prefacing additional turn components tend to be produced in a flat tone (*ibid.*, p. 1188). Interestingly, it appears that "the more surprising or significant a piece of news is, the more likely it seems for the recipients to extend and raise the pitch of *hee*" (*ibid.*, p.1191).

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Previous Studies about *Hee*

Many studies treat the token *hee* as a backchannel, or *aizuchi*, but few have closely examined it, especially from an emic perspective. Mori (2006) and Tanaka (2013) have thus far made the major contributions in the field. They use conversation analysis (CA) and demonstrate what kinds of interactional contributions *hee* can make. Mori (2006) argues for the multi-functionality of the token. Following Iwasaki (1997), she claims that a simple classification of a verbal resource does not provide the whole picture of divergent actions and nuances, since the same linguistic form can accomplish different actions and that same

action can be accomplished by different means. From this perspective, she explicates “how turn shape, prosody, and the sequential context associated with each occurrence of the token” help the participants equivocate, or disambiguate, the ways in which the token should be treated (p. 1176). In Mori’s study, nine naturally-occurring Japanese conversations between family members or friends were audio or video-recorded for a total of two and a half hours. Sixty-two occurrences of *hee* were found, among which fifty-three occurred after a possible completion and nine before, and among which fifty-two were free-standing and ten were followed by an additional component. Mori (ibid.) argues that the token displays its producer’s assessment of or stance towards the news delivered, such as appreciation, surprise, or disbelief. Also, *hee* serves as a continuer and a repair initiator. In addition, she observes that as a secondary response, or a non-initial response, to new information, the token may mark the closing of the informing sequence—c.f., “sequence-closing item” (Hayashi, 2001)—before participants shift the topic and open up a new sequence.

Tanaka (2013) further examines the sequential unfolding of informing sequences where *hee* occurs. She identifies Mori’s (2006) explanation as limited to the general sense (i.e., the newsworthiness of and one’s surprise towards informing) and aims to find out what kind of assessment or stance the token is used to display. Specifically, Tanaka (2013) focuses on the cognitive processes evidenced by participants within the turns of the news delivery sequence that follow the speaker’s news announcement. The data consists of naturally occurring telephone and face-to-face conversations among native speakers of Japanese. The token was found to occur regularly in the final stage of the news delivery sequence, where participants routinely produce assessments of the news or convey a variety of stances such as “alignment,” “affective stance,” or “epistemic stance” (p. 53). Tanaka (ibid.) claims that “the token may be deployed by recipients to register the achievement of ‘epistemic coherence’—namely, that the newly acquired information is seen to be coherent in relation to information available from other sources of cognition” (p. 51), such as one’s “prior knowledge or presuppositions relevant to the announcement, orientations toward the matter discussed, or mundane benchmarks more familiar to the recipient” (p. 64). The claim is supported by the fact that “participants regularly make a transition to a related or different topic by treating the production of *hee* as a sign” that the epistemic gap between the participants has been resolved (p. 64). Tanaka concludes by discussing that the display of achievement of epistemic coherence and its ratification are “collaborative and interactional achievements” (p. 64).

2.2. Pedagogical Application in the JFL Classrooms

In a foreign language classroom, students learn the target language and its use. It is expected that they are exposed to the language in ways that reflect mundane use. However, the use is not always reflected (Mori, 2005). *Hee* is used frequently in mundane talk, but classroom discourse may limit the occurrence of news delivery sequences that includes *hee*. Classroom discourse is an institutional discourse that is distinct from ordinary discourse (Markee & Kasper, 2004). It is associated with specified goals (e.g., foreign language learning), whereas ordinary discourse is not (Seedhouse, 1996). In the classroom, teachers most often ask questions, learners answer, and teachers evaluate the quality of the answers. This question-answer-evaluation sequence basically constitutes talk in the classroom (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1985). Display questions, or known questions, are most common and test the knowledge of learners (Mehan, 1985; Markee, 2000). Needless to say, *hee* is not compatible with the sequence display question, expected answer, and evaluation as it marks “newsworthiness” (Mori, 2006). Accordingly, a pedagogical context seems to restrict informing by learners that may induce *hee* in teachers’ third turns. Based on these, I raise the following questions: (a) Do informing sequences including *hee* happen in the classroom? (b) Is the discourse organization of these sequences similar to that in mundane conversation? (c) Does *hee* function in the classroom as it does in mundane conversation? In what cases is it so? Are there cases where it is not so? Based on these research questions, the present study explores interactions between teachers and their students in which *hee* appears. In this paper, I propose participants’ joint construction of mundane types of activity. I illustrate how participants change their “footing” (Goffman, 1979) and create a non-pedagogical interactional space within the JFL classroom—changes in footing will mainly be discussed in the discussion section. I also explain how the teachers provide opportunities, which allow learners to participate in interaction in an autonomous and independent manner, without relinquishing their control, e.g., turn-allocation, (van Lier, 2007).

2.3. Previous Studies of Foreign Language Learning and Teaching in Classroom Discourse

In this section, I review relevant studies of classroom discourse. While interlocutors have equal access to turns in ordinary conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), it is not so in the classroom (Richards,

2006, p. 9). As an expert of the subject matter and a manager of the class, a teacher dominates turns and allocates them. These contribute to the basic classroom discourse of turn-structure Initiation-Response-Feedback/Follow-up (IRF) or the more specified pattern of Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (c.f., Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). However, patterns in classroom discourse may not be as static as the typical IRE, especially in a language learning context. In the language classroom—in which the language is both the subject matter and the language of communication—“interaction should not be purely instructional nor can it be entirely natural” (Kramsch, 1985, p. 181).

For example, Kasper (1985) and Richards (2006) suggest that there is more than one type of activity in the teacher-fronted classroom and that an activity may show characteristics of ordinary discourse. Kasper (1985) studies repair activities in the foreign language classrooms. This descriptive study shows that there are “language-centered activities” and “content-centered activities” and that they have different preferences for repair patterns in the classroom *vis-à-vis* in non-educational, native-native, and learner-native speaker discourse. Richards (2006) investigates identity construction in ongoing talk between teacher and students in the classroom. This study challenges the view that the concept of classroom conversation is inherently contradictory and claims that “conversation” involving teacher and students in the classroom is possible (ibid). These two studies indicate that “classroom talk is not unified, but constitutes a myriad of speech exchange systems with distinct architectural details even when it might otherwise be described as teacher-fronted pedagogy that leads to rigid and homogenized forms of interaction” (Cheng, 2013, p. 871).

Notably, studies of foreign language learning and teaching tend to focus largely on learners and less on teachers’ roles and actions. According to Richards (2006), “teacher roles have for the most part been characterized as relatively static” in the previous studies (p. 3). However, recent studies, such as by Lee (2007) and Park (2013), reveal opportunities for a teacher’s contingent actions in the third turn of the IRF routine. According to Lee (2007), activities in the classroom are not restricted to the formal categories IRE/IRF in the classroom. Teachers’ third turns, especially, are not predictable but have multiple possibilities. Lee claims that the third turns are local and immediate contingencies rather than just “evaluation” or “feedback.” Park (2013) investigates third-turn teacher repeats in L2 classroom settings. The study finds that in “meaning-and-fluency contexts,” repeats are used to promote the progress of the sequence by encouraging the recipient student to elaborate the prior response. Repeats facilitate the participants to construct the activity collaboratively. In contrast, in “form-and-accuracy contexts,” repeats confirm the correctness of student responses while sustaining the orientation to the sequential organization of classroom discourse. Park (2013) argues that the role of repeats differ depending on the pedagogical focus of the interaction. Repeats are “influenced by the type of questions that display a distinctive epistemic status between teacher and students” (p. 19). Besides, Park (2013) suggests that the class activities that reflect ordinary conversational practices provide learners with naturalistic exposure. For foreign language learners, access to ordinary language use is scarce outside the classroom. Since there is something that may not be learned within the strictly arranged IRE routine, Park (2013) encourages to incorporate more mundane types of language use in the classroom. In this paper, I will show one way in which participants’ orientation to information status about topical talk can contribute to classroom talk that can “preserve the freedom of teachers and learners to create a social reality adapted to their needs and goals” (Kramsch, 1985, p. 182). Specifically, I will examine informing sequences where *hee* is used, as a means of exploring the interplay of newsworthiness and topic continuity and jointly constructed activities that emerge in classroom discourse.

3.0. DATA

The data was collected from six JFL classrooms at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Each class (50 minutes) was observed four times throughout the semester. One class was a second-semester communication-focused class, and the remaining five were four-skill classes: two sections of second-semester classes, two sections of third-year classes, and one fourth-year class. I used an audio-recorder and took field notes to collect data.

Table 1. Distribution of Teachers, Classes, and Frequency of the Token *Hee*.

Class Standing	102	102	112	302	302	402
Teacher	A	B	C	C	D	E
Teacher's Gender	M	M	F	F	F	F
Number of Students	15	19	15	15	16	13
Number of Token Used	0 (2)*	2	28 (4)*	14 (3)*	0	0

Note: The numbers in () * show the occurrence of *hee* during pair work, which is excluded for analysis. The numbers with no parentheses are during whole-class activities.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the teachers, the classes, and the frequency of the token *hee*. Each class consists of one native Japanese-speaking teacher and approximately 15 learners. Two males taught the second-semester four-skill classes. Three females taught the rest. One of the females taught two different courses in the study: the spoken class and one of the third-year classes. Students were 18 years old and above, males and females, and the majority were in their early twenties. Pseudonyms are used for the participants. The audio-recorded data was transcribed, and the whole-classroom activities that include *hee* produced by the teachers were analyzed—namely, the numbers with no parentheses in Table 1. The pair work data was excluded for analysis because it was not audible enough to transcribe the conversation.

A total of 44 occurrences were observed in the whole-class activities throughout the twenty-four class hours in the current data. Compared to Mori's (2006) data, the token *hee* occurs infrequently in the JFL classrooms. All the cases emerged after a possible completion of informing. In Mori (2006), *hee* occurring in this placement was prominently frequent (p. 1178). The mundane and classroom data are consistent regarding the placement. However, the results of the response structures are opposite between these two discourse types. Mori (2006) found that 52 out of 62 cases were free-standing *hee* with no additional component attached (p. 1178). In the classrooms, in contrast, the great majority were produced with one or more turn component(s) (Table 2). It most frequently is both preceded and followed (Table 3)—which is unique in the current data as Mori's (2006) data does not include *hee* that is preceded by a turn component. As for the types of the components, Mori (2006) refers to topic shift, newsmark, and comprehension check. There were three additional types in the classroom: acknowledgement, comment, and reformulation.

Table 2. Structures of Responses Including *Hee*.

Structure	Number
<i>Hee</i> with a turn component	40
Free-standing <i>hee</i>	4

Table 3. Substructures of *Hee* with a Turn Component.

Substructure	Number
<i>Hee</i> both preceded and followed by turn components	28
<i>Hee</i> followed by a turn component	10
<i>Hee</i> preceded by a turn component	2

With respect to the occurrence of *hee* across the JFL classrooms, Table 1 shows that more than a half of the data was found in the lower-level classes. Nearly all tokens were produced by Teacher C, who taught the two courses. Although the JFL courses in the study—except for the communication-focused one—aimed at fostering learners' four skills, the lower-level courses spared more time for spoken activities in the classroom whereas the upper-level courses had more reading-associated activities. I will return to discuss this issue in the discussion section.

4.0. ANALYSIS

In this section, I illustrate how teachers and their students develop and close informing activities in the pedagogical context, informed by Mori's (2006) and Tanaka's (2013) findings about the use of *hee*, by research on the organization of classroom discourse, and by research conducted within CA framework. In the following activities, the token *hee* is not expected, yet was used as a resource for extended conversational opportunities in

which the teacher and learners collaboratively construct conversation as a pedagogical activity. Specifically, the token facilitates them to maintain and expand or close topical talk in a manner consistent with a mundane conversational practice.

Excerpt (1) is retrieved from Teacher C's classroom. Based on the existing analysis in the literature (i.e., Mori, 2006; Tanaka, 2013), *hee* is not expected to occur at the points that it appears in this activity. The way that the talk develops does not correspond to the news delivery sequence. Rather, the activity consists of the basic question-answer-feedback/follow-up turns, yet is not a typical IRE. That is, the informing does not start with a student's news announcement but with the teacher's question, which sets up a context for conversation and elicits an answer, i.e., "steering work" (Lee, 2007). The contents of the answers are within the teacher's expectations. Hence, newsworthiness is not anticipated, nor is it expected to structure the organization of the exchange, where *hee* appears. Nevertheless, the teacher treats the student as an informant, who has greater "epistemic (K+) rights" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 34), and produces *hee* in her responses. She shows her interest in the student's topic and invites the student to elaborate with additional topical talk. In this sense, there is a clear pedagogical orientation.

In this activity, it appears that the teacher organizes her participation to take the role of a mundane conversation partner and thereby creates an extended interactional space in which she and the student engage in the talk in a more autonomous manner, as participants in ordinary discourse do. A possible reason for these actions is that given the pedagogical orientation of the class (i.e., oral fluency), the teacher intends to build a conversational activity with the student and aims at fostering the student's self-expression and providing an opportunity for the student to develop her oral skills. In this sense, "doing-conversation" is a pedagogical activity, even though it does not necessarily follow the prototypical organization of classroom discourse, i.e., IRE. In the following, I provide the warrants for this analysis: (a) the absence of evaluation in the teacher's third-turns suggests that the teacher maintains and expands the topical talk; (b) using student life as a resource of the talk lightens the teacher's topical and classroom control and broadens the possibility of autonomous talk; (c) the teacher's spontaneous follow-up questions provide the student with assistance to elaborate the talk; and (d) an insertion sequence suggests the participants' multiple roles—namely, institutional roles and conversation partners' roles—i.e., changes in "footing" (Goffman, 1979).

Excerpt (1) shows an interaction between Teacher C and her student, Yoshioka (Y), in her third-year four-skill class. The teacher asks Y if she has watched an interesting TV drama or film lately. Y introduces a TV series called "Supernatural," and the teacher asks questions about it. In this activity, Y has the primary epistemic rights and informs the teacher about the series.

(1) Supernatural

- 10 T: a- >ano-< †saikin:†(.)nanika omoshiroi: ano:: dorama toka
oh F recently something interesting F TV drama like
- 11 eega toka mimashita?
movie like watched
Oh, well, did you watch any interesting, uhm, TV dramas, movies, or something like that, recently?
- 12 (.)
- 13 Y: a::: hai. (1.8)omoshiroi ja(naku tte,)
F yes interesting CP-NEG L
Uhm, yes. It's (not) interesting, but
- 14 (0.5)
- 15 →T: a- soo desu ka hee nani mita n desu ka?
oh, so CP Q hee what watched N CP Q
Oh, I see. Hee. What did you watch?
- 16 (0.4)
- 17 Y: ano::: (.) dorama wa (.)supernatural?
F TV drama T supernatural
Well, the TV drama is supernatural.
- 18 (0.5)
- 19 T: suimasen?=
Excuse me

Excuse me?

20 Y: =su:- supernatural?
21 (0.3)
22 T: [[superna]tural.(.) [[tte yuu dorama.
supernatural QT say drama
A TV drama called “Supernatural.”
23 Y: [[>supernatural?<] (0.2) [[tte yuu:
supernatural QT say
Called “Supernatural.”
24 Y: hai.
yes
Yes.
25 →T: hee::h sore nani, ima ano::terebi de yatteru n desu ka?
hee that what now F TV on doing N CP Q
Hee. What’s that? Is it currently on the air?
26 (0.4)
27 Y: hai.
yes
Yes.
28 (0.3)
29 →T : †hee::‡nan channeru de?
hee what channel on
Hee. What channel?

The teacher initiates the activity by asking Y a question (lines 10-11). Y briefly responds by stating *hai* “yes,” (line 13) as this literally is a yes/no question. In educational discourse, replies are “often one word moodless utterances” and lack in elaboration (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, p. 36). In the following 1.8-second pause, Y expects a follow-up turn. However, there is no uptake from the teacher—possibly, the teacher provided nonverbal cues to prompt further input from Y. Y initiates the next turn but displays difficulty with the production of a negative adjectival form in elaborating her answer (lines 13-14). Observing that she is in trouble, the teacher reshapes the trajectory of the activity in line 15. She produces the change-of-state token *a* and the receipt token *soo desu ka* to react to the fact that Y recently watched something but ignores the dispreferred negative response to her yes/no question. The following *hee* shows that the teacher receives the information that Y watched a TV drama or a film and validates it from the perspective of a less knowing participant. In addition, it shows the teacher’s stance such that she is interested in the talk that has just started. There is little of newsworthy value in it, and the stance does not seem to include her surprise or the worthiness of telling. The token is abbreviated and followed by a follow-up question (line 15). The teacher needs more input from Y to follow and therefore asks what she watched. Although this is the third turn of the Q-A-F sequence, none of the components is evaluative (line 15). Unlike the common pedagogical practice IRE, *hee* facilitates the teacher and Y to develop the topical talk.

The pause (line 16) and the prolonged filler (line 17) indicate word search—i.e., for the title of the TV drama or the expression for introducing it to the teacher, who is unfamiliar with it. The rising intonation shows Y's uncertainty about whether the teacher is familiar with the show and seeks comprehension from the teacher (line 17). This is a nomination for teacher's verification that she knows the referent. In the following pause, the teacher displays difficulty with up-taking the student's turn (line 18). In line 17, Y uses the simplest pattern *x wa y desu* 'x is y' to introduce the TV drama. While the use of this pattern is common among beginning learners, it is not appropriate to use the particle *wa* in order to introduce a new topic because there is no mutual understanding or shared knowledge about what Y watched. The teacher asks for repair in an unusual way for a teacher (line 19). Y identifies the teacher's trouble as a hearing difficulty, thus repeating the title (line 20). In a pedagogical context, teacher's repair initiation can be oriented either toward the meaning or the form. Given the teacher's vocabulary choice, *sumimasen*, and Y's latched repetition, they appear to deal with the problem of hearing or received meaning rather than inaccuracy. The following pause shows that the problem has not been solved yet (line 21) and indicates that it is not just a hearing problem. The teacher reformulates Y's answer (line 22) using the pattern *tte iu* 'called ...,' which is more appropriate than *x wa y desu*. This reformulation suggests a pedagogical orientation to accuracy rather than a hearing problem in the joint construction of this activity. The

falling intonation suggests that the teacher makes this reformulation for clarification as a linguistically more knowledgeable person rather than as a fellow-conversationalist who seeks confirmation about what Y meant by “supernatural.” In lines 22-23, the teacher and Y simultaneously start saying “supernatural.” Being aware of the source of “trouble,” Y pauses and then starts the next part *tte yuu* together with the teacher. She monitors the appropriate answer and rehearses it. By producing *tte iu* together and with care, they show their alignment to each other. In this insertion sequence, or “side sequence” (Jefferson, 1972), the teacher takes the role of an institutional teacher and corrects Y’s erroneous answer, and Y correspondingly replies as a student of Japanese. After the reformulation, the participants reestablished their “footing” as fellow-conversationalists in lines 24-25 (Goffman, 1979).

When they come back to the “main sequence” (Jefferson, 1972), Y confirms that the understanding of “supernatural” as the title of the TV drama is correct (line 24). In line 25, the teacher says *hee* showing that she has received a new piece of information that is “newsworthy,” i.e., marker of “news-receipt” (Iwasaki, 1997). She then follows up immediately with a request for elaboration on the news item provided by Y in line 23. A second, more contentful question follows, which effectively nominates a potential response to the teacher’s first question, i.e., *sore nani*. While the first question, a *wh*-question, provides little scaffolding for a student response, the second question is reformulated as a yes/no question, which not only greatly reduces the discourse burden on the student *vis-à-vis* producing a response (i.e., *hai/ie*), but also provides scaffolding for the student’s response by proffering both a direction for the answer, as well as lexical content for constructing a more elaborated response. This is an indication of the teacher’s pedagogical orientation to the exchange, despite her use of *hee*. By stating *hee* in line 25, the teacher validates that Y has the greater epistemic rights for the topic at hand, and creates a turn space for her to continue the informing. Y confirms it (*hai* “yes”) in line 27 but does not elaborate on it even though the teacher anticipates elaboration as indicated by the 0.3-second pause in line 28. Since Y is a learner, spontaneous elaboration cannot always be expected. She needs assistance from the teacher to expand the talk. The following *hee* and the additional question assist Y and promote the topical development (line 29)—asking follow-up questions invites learner participation (Wong & Waring, 2010). This is a second signal of the pedagogical orientation of the activity that is jointly constructed by the teacher and Y. *Hee* shows the teacher’s acknowledgement of another new piece of information (i.e., the TV drama is currently on the air), engagement in the talk, and elicitation of elaboration from Y. In other words, although Y’s answer is minimal and reminds unelaborated, the teacher gives value to even this level of minimal participation in the conversation and shows her stance as an interested recipient by producing *hee* despite the absence of newsworthy items provided by Y. The teacher further asks a follow-up question and expands the talk (line 29).

Based on this analysis, I argue that the teacher and Y were “doing conversation.” In the activity, the shifts of participant roles and epistemic authority make “conversation” in the FL classroom possible (Richards, 2006). Specifically, the teacher took the role of conversation partner and actively asked for details as a means of jointly constructing the development of the topical talk with Y. The topic “Supernatural” gave Y a chance to hold the epistemic authority and diminished the teacher’s topic control. As a less knowing participant, the teacher participated in ways that enabled Y to maintain the role of more knowing participant and invited her to continue topical development over multiple turns in their interaction. This role afforded her the opportunity to produce turns at talk that in collaboration with the teacher jointly constructed the conversational activity. These types of turns with such conversational footing (i.e., knowing participant *vis-à-vis* the teacher’s status as unknowing participant) are not commonly available to learners in the JFL classroom. The use of *hee* enabled the learner to take the footing and participate in topical development. In the sense, the use of *hee* has a pedagogical value in facilitating the collaborative construction of less pedagogical engagement in the JFL classroom.

Excerpt (2) is the ending part of a conversational activity. I will explain how the participants follow the mundane practices of the closing section (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and how the token *hee*, as a resource of ordinary speech, helps them to accomplish the collaborative work. The discourse structure and the way *hee* is used show that the teacher projects a closing while leaving a possible interactional space. In this activity, the teacher does not give evaluation about the learner’s language use. It means that the common pedagogical activity is missing here. Instead of cutting off the ongoing sequence and unilaterally ending the activity, the teacher provides a response that invites the learner to continue her topic development. By so doing, the teacher allows the learner to choose to continue or close the activity—which is consistent with a closing activity in a mundane setting. For the choice of closing, the teacher may pursue the pedagogical goal, i.e., starting a new

activity with another student and checking his/her use of the target forms. As shown below, the teacher creates a distinctive interactional space from the IRE routine.

Excerpt (2) shows interaction between Teacher C and a learner, Nishida (N), in the communication-focused class. In the context of a whole-class activity, the teacher asks the learners yes/no questions (e.g., *moo ohirugohan o tabemashita ka* “Have you eaten lunch, yet?”) in order to check whether they understand how to use the target forms *moo* [verb] *mashita* “I have already [verb]” and *mada* [verb]–*te* (i)*masen*–*te* (i)*nai ndesu* “I haven’t [verb], yet.” Excerpt (2) begins after the teacher checks Nishida’s ability to use the negative form correctly. She changes the topical focus and asks if N has eaten breakfast, yet (line 84).

(2) Cereal and milk

- 84 T: o:soi desu[ne::hee:(.)]eh- moo asagohan tabemashi:ta:
late CP IP hee oh already breakfast eaten
It's late, isn't it? Hee. Oh, have you eaten breakfast, yet?
- 85 N: [nhohohohhe] ((laughter))
- 86 S?: [hhhh]
- 87 N: hai.a:(0.4)moo tabemashita.=
yes F already eaten
Yes. Uhm, I have already eaten.
- 88 T: =ah- soo desu ka.asagohan nani tabeta n desu ka.
oh so CP Q breakfast what ate N CP Q
Oh, is that so? What did you eat for breakfast?
- 89 (1.5)
- 90 N: cereal and milk?
- 91 →T: shiriaru to mi[ruku.wa: sinpuru da na:: soo desu ka: hee::?.h=
cereal and milk wow simple CP IP so CP Q hee
Cereal and milk. Wow. A simple breakfast. I see. Hee.
- 92 N: [hh= () (..) (h) ahahhh
- 93 S3: =[nhhh
- 94 S?: =[(hhh)
- 95 T: =e S3kun wa, >moo ohirugohan tabemashita ka.<
oh S3-title T already lunch eaten Q
Oh, S3, have you eaten lunch, yet?

The token *eh* in line 84 provides the recipient with an alert to the type of action, such as a disjunctive shift and a disaligning response to be produced (Hayashi, 2009, p. 2126). It smoothens “the speaker transition and extend[s]/expand[s]/shift[s] the current topical sequence” (Shimotani, 2007, p.131). In the current activity, topical development is regulated by the teacher since the goal is to monitor the learner’s use of the target patterns by “doing a conversation;” therefore the teacher asks questions that elicit the patterns. N’s responses reveal that N also shares this pedagogical orientation to the patterns. The filler *a:* and the pause show that N prepares to produce an appropriate answer (line 87). In the third turn, the teacher states the acknowledgement token and asks a follow-up question for details (line 88). The 1.5-second pause shows N’s difficulty to say what she had for breakfast in Japanese (line 89). Her attempt in English with rising intonation (cereal and milk?) also suggests such a difficulty (line 90). These actions indicate that as a novice learner, N asks the expert for assistance. The teacher produces a model *shiriaru to miruku* (line 91). N’s short laughter shows her uptake of the teacher model (line 92). The laughter also invites other students’ laughter (lines 93-94). Simultaneously, the teacher continues her third turn by producing the non-lexical token *wa:* “wow” and the comment *simpuru da na:* “a simple breakfast” (line 91). The turn with its assessment plus organization projects a closing of the current sequence. Goodwin (1986) maintains that “assessments are one of the prototypical ways of bringing an extended turn to completion” (p. 215). N responds with relatively long laughter and actively participates in the interaction—i.e., showing comprehension and engagement to promote successful interaction (Ohta, 2008)—but she does not take the floor (line 92). The teacher further continues her third turn without a pause and produces the acknowledgement token *soo desu ka:* “is that so?” and *hee* (line 91). All these tokens in line 91 (i.e., assessment, comment, and acknowledgement) plus N’s aligning laughter tokens orient to collaborative construction of discourse pragmatic completion, where a topic shift or closure may occur. The teacher’s *hee* emerges after N’s laughter ceases, thereby not only projecting a closing of the current sequence but also

providing an interactional space, wherein N may still mention “mentionables” about her breakfast (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 300). The teacher waits for a possible turn by N while stating *hee*. It shows that the teacher is still interested in listening and encourages N to continue telling if she has more to say. However, the absence of specific questions by the teacher indicates that her role in co-constructing topic development is less involved at this point. Therefore, if the learner does not continue to produce turns that involve topic development, then orientation to closure of the topic and the activity is expected. Therefore, the way *hee* is used with comments rather than questions, and the absence of continuing topic development by the learner yield the closure of the activity. The audible inhalation signals the end of the teacher’s third turn and of the activity with N (line 91), and a new activity starts with another learner (line 95). Since the teacher nominates S3, N no longer has the rights or obligations to take a next turn (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 704). Hence, the interaction between Teacher C and N has ended.

In sum, the way of closing the activity corresponds to the interactional imperatives of the closing section in the non-institutional discourse. However, the resources used by the teacher, especially *hee*, take on particular features for the closing activity in the setting. Needless to say, the teacher’s third turn misses an “explicit positive assessment” or a cut-off such as *ii desu ne* “good” or *yoku dekimashita* “well done”—which is common in a pedagogical context and shuts down opportunities for learner participation (Wong & Waring, 2010, p. 278). The current activity suggests that within a JFL classroom context, the teacher creates a distinctive interactional space from typical pedagogical practices by reframing who has the epistemic authority (i.e., the learner had it during the informing activity) and by drawing resources from the non-pedagogical conversational practices. In this section, I have shown how the participants constructed the informing activities collaboratively, following conversational practices in a mundane setting. Also, I have shown how *hee* emerged in the activities and how it contributed to the joint work, i.e., continuation, maintenance, and closure. Noticeably, Teacher C utilized the token *hee* as a pedagogical strategy to make “conversation” in the FL classroom possible (Richards, 2006).

5.0. DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

In this section, I first answer the research questions and then discuss changes in “footing” (Goffman, 1979). I argue that the organization of the talk during the activities is distinct from the typical IRE pattern and that “footing” plays a crucial role in constructing such an organization. Concretely, changes in footing contribute to participants’ actions and sequential organization and end up constituting the pedagogical exchange as a different type of activity. Finally, I suggest what makes *hee* occur more often in Teacher C’s classes.

5.2. Answers to the Research Questions

To begin with, I will answer the research questions. Earlier, I raised the following three questions:

1. Do informing sequences including *hee* happen in the classroom?
2. Is the discourse organization of these sequences similar to that in mundane conversation?
3. Does *hee* function in the classroom as it does in mundane conversation? In what cases is it so? Are there cases where it is not so?

Sequences with *hee* occurred in Teacher A’s, B’s, and C’s classes. Informing sequences including *hee* can happen in the JFL classroom but are not very common. As for the second question, this paper shows two patterns. The first involved the Q-A-F sequence, and *hee* appeared in the third turn. The newsworthiness was not salient, but Teacher C produced it in order to develop the topical talk together with her students. The second pattern is that *hee* emerges in the closing section of the ongoing activities. Along with other turn components (e.g., assessment), *hee* projected a closing. Consistent with a mundane practice, the absence of “mentionables” led the activity to the closure (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 300). Finally, *hee* in the classroom had pedagogical functions. It displayed the teachers’ assessment of or stance towards the informing (e.g., interest) and the learner’s participation (e.g., appreciation). Distinctively, the current data showed that Teacher C tended to use *hee* to elicit the next turn from the learners. It suggests that *hee* registers pedagogical functions in the JFL classroom.

5.3. Changes in Footing in Teacher-Student Interaction

Next, in order to discuss “changes in footing” (Goffman, 1979), I review the domains of information and epistemic rights in informing activities. In the activities, the topics chosen by the teacher pertain to something that is familiar to the learner or has to do with the student’s life. It means that it is the learner that holds the greater epistemic rights about the topic, and the teacher may not be an expert—this distribution of epistemic rights is less common in pedagogical contexts (Mehan, 1985). By demonstrating that the nominated learner has the primary epistemic rights, the teacher motivates the learner to direct and sustain the ongoing informing activity. From this perspective, participants’ stance *vis-à-vis* each other may shift as classroom activities alter from non-informing to informing, and *vice versa*. With the shift to an informing activity, the teacher’s stance as a novice of the topic strengthens. At the same time, she can shift her stance from a turn-allocator to a temporary listener. Alternatively, her stance as an institutional teacher gets diminished relative to her stance as a fellow-conversationalist. The stance, the shifts, and the reflexivity may be interpreted as Goffman’s (1979) notion of “footing.” He explains that “[a] change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (Goffman, 1979, p. 5). It is “a change in our frame for events” (*ibid.*). In the informing activities, the teacher changes her footing and participates in the activity with the re-aligned footing. As the teacher changes her footing, the learners’ footing can also alter reflexively. Changes in footing allow the teacher to act as a fellow-conversationalist, listener, recipient, and/or novice learner in the informing activity. The teacher yields the floor to the learner and constructs a participation framework wherein the learner takes the initiative in co-constructing the informing.

These changes in footing are evident in differences in participant actions such as the teacher’s third turn and the learner’s reactions to it. One example showed that informing activities lack the ubiquitous teacher’s evaluation in the third turn. In the IRE routine, teachers provide evaluative feedback about learners’ performances as they monitor the learners’ use of the target language and judge the accuracy and appropriateness. In the informing activity, in contrast, the teacher’s third turn may not include evaluation of the quality because the footing has shifted. Concordantly, learners do not show trouble about receiving no evaluation from the teacher—which also suggests changes in footing. Due to the absence of evaluation, the sequence is not identical with the typical IRE. The teacher and learner jointly construct a distinct activity. Another example of how these activities differ from the IRE sequences is that the teacher maintains the talk instead of cutting it off in the third turn. As explained in Excerpt (2), the teacher provided comments on or assessment of the information delivered but not evaluation. She shows her stance of being intrigued by and engaged in the conversation. In using *hee*, she invites a continuation of the informing. By assessing the information and occasionally asking questions in an engaged manner, the teacher builds steps for the learners to follow, which help them continue talking about the given topics. They create a conversational space in the talk as it unfolds. This is the opposite of the typical IRE in which teachers tend to cut off such a space and shut down learner participation. Therefore, talk in the informing activities is unlike conventional pedagogical talk but more like non-institutional talk. Changes in footing are manifest and the termination of the activity is jointly negotiated rather than unilaterally managed by the teacher. Thus, changes in footing cause the different actions in the teachers’ third turns and the following learners’ turns. Eventually, these actions contribute to constituting different types of activities. *Hee* is a linguistic resource from mundane talk, and the token and other elements complementarily construct the informing activities.

5.4. Relationship between Pedagogical Objectives and the Occurrence of *Hee*

In this subsection, I discuss what makes *hee* occur more frequently in Teacher C’s classes than in others, considering footing and pedagogical objectives. What is important is that what footing teachers have during the interaction with learners. A stance of K- is necessary for one to produce *hee*. However, as is the nature of institutional discourse, teachers primarily act as institutional teachers in the classroom. It seems essential for them to change their footing and act as a less knower, a recipient, and a fellow-conversationalist in order to produce *hee*. Teacher C routinely adapts conversational activities in which learners have the greater epistemic rights—changes in footing occur. In the current data, such shifts were not evident in the other teachers’ classes, especially in the upper-level classes. However, a careful review might find some instances.

Pedagogical objectives seem to affect the occurrence of changes in footing. When the topic is familiar to the learners, teacher and learners tend to change their footing. Classes that focus on communication or

conversation—especially when learning objectives are associated with self-expression and development of oral skills—appear to have more opportunities to have such topics. In such classes, teachers use the reality of student life as a resource for conversational practices. The domain of information is broad enough for teachers to find things that they do not know. Based on the observation, the lower-level courses and the communication-focused course provided such occasions more often than the upper-level courses. The upper-level courses had more reading-associated activities dealing with more abstract issues. Note that I do not intend to criticize any of the activities mentioned above or individual teachers. Instead, I emphasize that different course focuses—due to the pedagogical goals and learners’ proficiency level—are likely to contribute to different kinds of activities and that these factors seem to have affected the occurrence of the token *hee* across teachers and classes.

6.0. CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary

This study investigated teachers’ use of the non-lexical token *hee* in the JFL classroom. Based on the existing analysis of *hee* and classroom discourse, and informed by CA, I examined informing activities between teachers and their students in which the token emerged. The study illustrated how the non-pedagogical organization and participant “footing” (Goffman, 1979) emerged. Also, it showed that as one of the resources *hee* contributed to the joint achievement of the conversational activities. I argued that *hee* creates extended interactional opportunities that the teacher and learners collaboratively construct, which enables mundane conversation in the JFL classroom, especially when the learning objectives are associated with self-expression and development of oral skills.

6.2. Contributions

The present study contributes to the study of the functions of *hee* and classroom discourse. As for the functions, this study has shown that the use of *hee* in classroom is different from mundane talk such as the frequency of the free-standing *hee* (see Table 2) and the range of the *hee*-prefacing turn components. In the classroom, *hee* was frequently produced with additional turn components in order to elicit student answers effectively. As for contribution to classroom discourse, this study has provided an instance to maintain Cheng’s (2013) claim—that is, “classroom talk is not unified, but constitutes a myriad of speech exchange systems with distinct architectural details” (p. 871). The present study has shown that the discourse organization and the use of linguistic resources in the classroom are sometimes consistent with ordinary discourse and sometimes more pedagogical in nature.

6.3. Limitations and Future Directions

The present study has three limitations. The first is the reliability as the most cases of the token were obtained from Teacher C. There were inconsistent results with Mori’s (2006) data (i.e., newsworthiness, frequency of free-standing *hee*). It is not clear whether it is Teacher C’s idiosyncratic use. Therefore, more input from other teachers is needed. Second, the study examined only teacher-fronted whole-class activities. In pair work, where students primarily interact with their peers, a teacher possibly uses *hee* in a different manner as his/her role will be distinct. Finally, this study showed informing activities that included the token *hee* but not without *hee*. It is possible for a teacher to participate in an informing activity without saying *hee* as different resources can contribute to accomplishing same action (Iwasaki, 1997; Mori, 2006). It is suggested that a future study present how a teacher treats new information without saying *hee*. Comparison and contrast of the activities will reveal changes in footing and other interactional patterns more clearly.

Lastly, this study suggests practitioners use *hee* in the classroom for an extended learning opportunity. As shown, a teacher can bring mundane conversational practices into the classroom while maintaining her topical control and turn-allocation. Learners can get exposed to a different kind of conversational sequence, which frequently emerges outside the classroom but is limited in the classroom. The use of *hee* will enable a teacher to invite students to a distinct interactional space, where learners can learn other words and conversational practices that are available in everyday conversation.

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HISTORICAL CHANGE IN THE FRENCH SIGN LANGUAGE FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

Though the comparative study of sign languages has been neglected, in comparison with the study done on spoken languages, several sign language families have been identified. This paper will examine the relationship between three languages believed to be members of the French Sign Language Family: French Sign Language, American Sign Language, and Thai Sign Language.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As sign languages have only been seriously studied by modern linguistics for the past fifty years (Stokoe, 1980), it comes as no surprise that little historical sign language research has been done, especially when compared to the body of historical research work that exists for spoken languages. One reason for this is there is very little documentation of sign languages going back beyond the last several hundred years (Padden, 2011), and what documentation exists is insufficient to reconstruct older signs using techniques such as the comparative method (Padden, 2011; Woodward, 2011).

Despite these setbacks, linguists have identified a number of sign language families; one example is the Japanese Sign Language Family, which includes Japanese Sign Language, Taiwanese Sign Language, and Korean Sign Language (Fischer & Gong, 2010). Another example is the BANZSL Family, which includes British Sign Language, Australian Sign Language, and New Zealand Sign language (Schrempi et al., 2010). The sign language family that is perhaps the most well understood is the French Sign Language Family, to which the relatively well studied American Sign Language belongs (Woodward, 1980; Padden, 2011).

This paper will examine three sign languages believed to be members of the French Sign Language Family: French Sign Language, American Sign Language, and Thai Sign Language. This proposed relationship will be examined by comparing shared vocabulary, and observing whether forms undergo predictable change.

2.0. (A BRIEF) HISTORY OF THE FRENCH SIGN LANGUAGE FAMILY

It may be surprising that languages as geographically and culturally distant as French Sign Language and Thai Sign Language might share a genetic relationship; this connection can be explained by the connected history of French, American, and Thai Deaf education.

2.1. French Sign Language

French Sign Language (LSF, *Langue de signes française*) is the modern descendant of Old French Sign Language, which was “discovered” by Charles-Michel de l’Épée, who witnessed Deaf Parisians using sign language and included a rough description of the language in his 1776 publication *Véritable manière d’instruire les sourds et muets*. De l’Épée also included signs of his own invention, many of which he used to translate French pronouns, prepositions, and other function words, for better representation of the French spoken language (Fischer, 1999). De l’Épée used this language to educate Deaf students at the *Institution Nationale de Sourds-Muets à Paris*, the world’s first free school for the Deaf.

As is still the case today, using signs instead of speech in education was not without controversy (Fischer, 1993); however, the program used sign language to great success, even after de l’Épée’s death in 1789, after which the institute was run by Roch-Ambroise Sicard, de l’Épée. It was under Sicard that one of the institute’s most famous students, Laurent Clerc, was educated.

2.2. American Sign Language

LSF was brought to North America in 1817 by Laurent Clerc and Thomas Galladet, who established a school for the Deaf in Connecticut. However, the history of American Sign Language (ASL) begins earlier, as there was already at least one sign language present. The known sign language is Martha’s Vineyard Sign Language (MVS�), which was used by both Deaf and hearing inhabitants of the island of Martha’s Vineyard until the language’s decline in the late nineteenth century (Groce, 1985).

Sign languages are typically not widely adopted by hearing populations, except in unusual cases in which a relatively isolated population experiences a higher than average rate of genetic deafness in the community. These languages are considered village sign languages (Meir et al., 2010). The worldwide average rate of deafness is approximately 1 in 1000 births; in Martha's Vineyard the rate was 1 in 155 (Groce, 1985). The decline of the language can be attributed to several factors, two of which were direct consequences of residential schools for the Deaf: this increased the number of exogamous marriage patterns in Deaf Islanders, and encouraged them to use ASL as their primary language (Groce, 1985).

Since we have no documentation of the actual signs of Martha's Vineyard, it is difficult to determine which signs in modern ASL might have come from MVSL. However, since signers from Martha's Vineyard were well represented among the first students of the School for the Deaf, it is very probable that MVSL had an impact on the shift from LSF to ASL.

Even without Groce's research on MVSL, there is further evidence that there were sign languages in North America that predated the arrival of LSF. In the less than two hundred years since LSF was introduced, the vocabulary has shifted tremendously—lexicostatistical studies indicate that they share only 60% of their vocabulary (Woodward, 1980). In contrast, the sign languages of the BANZSL Family, which have been separate for a comparable amount of time, are so mutually intelligible that Schrembi et al. argue that they are dialects of the same language (2010).

2.3. Thai Sign Language

Like the United States, Thailand was not devoid of indigenous sign languages prior to the introduction of formal education for the Deaf. Chiang Mai Sign Language and Old Bangkok Sign Language are still extant, though users are elderly and bilingual in modern Thai Sign Language (TSL). In addition to these community sign languages, Thailand also has at least one village sign language, which is a language isolate. The known village sign language is used in Ban Khor, an isolated fishing village in remote northeastern Thailand (Woodward, 2003; Nonaka, 2004).

Despite the existence of these indigenous sign languages, ASL was brought in to educate the Deaf of Thailand approximately 60 years ago (Woodward, 2003). As the Thai Deaf population educated at residential schools was "almost entirely lacking in deaf children of deaf parents," the new language was rapidly adopted, though with substantial influence from the local indigenous sign languages (Woodward, 2003 p.290).

3.0. SIGN LANGUAGE AND HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

3.1. Describing Signs

Linguists working with spoken languages often employ the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), a globally recognized standard for representing the sounds of a spoken language. Sign languages lack such a standard, though transcription methods have been developed. One of these is the Stokoe transcription system, which describes signs based on three features: location, movement, and handshape (Stokoe, 1980). This has been modified since to include the orientation of the palm (Frishberg, 1975; Woodward, 2013).

According to convention, the symbols are placed in the following order:

$$([LOCATION]) ([LEFT]_{[ORIENTATION]}^{[MOVEMENT]}) [RIGHT]_{[ORIENTATION]}^{[MOVEMENT]}$$

Orientation is placed in the subscript position following the hand it modifies (Woodward, 2013); movement is placed in the superscript position following the hand it modifies. Location is optional; if it is not included, the location of the sign is assumed to be the left hand¹. Signs which take place in the neutral space in front of the signer are said to be in 'zero space', which is marked with the symbol A. The left hand is also optional; one-handed signs are always made with the right hand, so if only one hand is described it is assumed to be the right.

In this paper, if a portion of the sign is optional—for example the left hand, or movement—the optional portion will be enclosed in parentheses. In addition to the descriptions provided when necessary, signs discussed will be transcribed..

3.2. Swadesh Word List

An unmodified Swadesh word list is not suitable to determine cognates in sign languages, because certain signs tend to be the same across sign languages. Personal pronouns and body parts are considered basic vocabulary in spoken languages, but in the majority of sign languages these concepts are expressed by pointing (Woodward, 2003). To prevent the overestimation of cognates, a modified Swadesh word list should be used. This paper will be using a hundred word Swadesh word list modified by Woodward (2003) for use with sign languages.

3.3. Folk Etymology

There appears to be a tendency to provide folk etymologies for signs, even in dictionary and textbook descriptions. In ASL, SEARCH is made with a < handshape, which is the letter C in FSL fingerspelling. Initialized signs are quite common in sign languages that have extensive contact with spoken languages, and is a form of borrowing (Johnston & Schrempi, 2007), however there is no common word meaning ‘search’ that begins with a C in English. Folk etymology gives the explanation that this is because the French *chercher* begins with a C, and this initialized sign in LSF has survived into ASL; however, in LSF CHERCHER is actually made with a b handshape, and is not an initialized sign. While it is certainly possible that SEARCH was borrowed from LSF, and maintained the original handshape while CHERCHER in LSH underwent change, there is no real evidence to support this supposition, particularly since LSF tends to maintain older signs (Woodward, 1980).

Likewise, dictionaries sometimes give poetic, iconic descriptions of signs that imply iconicity when none is necessarily present. For instance, the sign LIVE is made with the handshape 2 made with both hands, palms towards the chest, and pulled upwards. The American Sign Language Dictionary gives, along with a picture of the sign, the explanation: “The fountain [of LIFE] wells up from within the body” (Sternberg, 1998). This might be helpful to a learner of sign language as a mnemonic device, but there is no evidence that this has anything to do with the actual etymology of the word, particularly since LSF has cognate VIVRE, which is an initialized sign, an identical movement but made with a Y handshape.

3.4. Kinds of Changes Found in Sign Languages

Comparing modern American Sign Language to records of Old French Sign Language, and to records and photographs of ASL from a dictionary published in 1918, allows for some predictions of how sign languages change over time (Frishberg, 1975).

Sign language linguists can expect to see the same sorts of changes that are encountered in spoken languages: changes such as assimilation, epenthesis, metathesis, and deletion. Assimilation occurs when one or more features of a sign change to be more similar to a nearby sign. Though this is not fundamentally different from assimilation in spoken languages, “nearby” can mean either temporally, a sign preceding or following the assimilating sign, or physically, in which one hand assimilates the handshape, movement, or orientation of the other in a two-handed sign. The tendency is for the left hand, the non-dominant hand, to assimilate to the features of the right hand (Frishberg, 1975).

Two-handed signs can undergo deletion and become one-handed signs; likewise, one-handed signs might gain an epenthetic hand, which will in most cases mirror the first hand. The directionality of these changes depends on the location of the sign. “On the face (in the area of high acuity), signs become one-handed; off the face, they tend to become two-handed. These two-handed signs are often symmetrical, increasing redundancy by presenting the same information to both halves of the visual field” (Frishberg, 1975, p. 706).

Displacement occurs when the location of a sign changes. The location might be deleted entirely, leaving the sign in neutral zero space; signs made on the body tend to move towards the center laterally, and towards the throat horizontally. Signs made on the face tend to move towards the perimeter laterally (Frishberg,

1975). These changes can serve to make comprehension easier. Signs moving off of the face allow for facial expression to be read more easily; signs made on the body move centrally, away from the edges of the signers' field of vision.

4.0. COMPARISON OF LSF, ASL, AND TSL BASIC VOCABULARY

4.1. Shared Vocabulary

Vocabulary was compiled from *The Thai Sign Language Dictionary* (Suwanarat et al., 1990), and the *American Sign Language Dictionary* (Sternberg, 1998). Out of the 100 words on Woodward's modified Swadesh word list, 57 signs were found across LSF, ASL, and TSL; 78 were found in LSF and ASL alone; 56 were found in ASL and TSL alone. Table 1 shows the list of the 24 cognates found across LSF, ASL, and TSL.

Table 1. Basic Vocabulary Cognates in LSF, ASL, and TSL (Accounts for 24/57 of Swadesh List, or 42%).

LSF	ASL	TSL	Notes
OISEAU	BIRD	GAI	Due to semantic shift, the meaning of the TSL sign KHAI has narrowed to 'chicken'. It is also found in the compound signs for 'bird', 'feather', and 'ostrich'.
NOIR	BLACK	DAM	Black is also shared with neighboring sign languages in Vietnam. Though these Vietnamese SLs are genetically related to the indigenous SLs of Thailand, this is probably coincidental, as Vietnamese SLs has some borrowings from LSF due to decades of French occupation.
SALE	DIRTY	BPEUUAN	
TERRE	EARTH	PHOHNG LA IIAAT	
OEUF	EGG	KHAI	
FEU	FIRE	FAI	
POISSON	FISH	BPLAA	
FLEUR	FLOWER	DAAWK MAI	
VIANDE	MEAT	NEUUA	
NOM	NAME	CHEUU	
ÉTROIT	NARROW	KHAAEP	
VIEUX	OLD (PERSON)	GAAE	
JOUER	PLAY	LEN	
ROUGE	RED	DAAENG	
ASSESOIR	SIT	NANG	
SERPENT	SNAKE	NGUU	

LSF	ASL	TSL	Notes
LEVER	STAND	YEUUN	
ARBRE	TREE	DTOHN MAAI	
VER	WORM	NAAWN	
ANNÉE	YEAR	BPEE	
JAUNE	YELLOW	LEEUNG	
CHAT	CAT	MAAEO	
PORC	PIG	MUU	
TRAVAILLER	WORK	NGAAN	

Note: 57 is the number of words for which there was data available in all three languages.

When looking at only LSF and ASL, additional cognates were found. Out of the 78 words for which there was data available in both LSF and ASL, 41 (or 52%) were found to be cognates. This figure includes the cognates found across all three languages.

Table 2. Basic Vocabulary Cognates in LSF and ASL Only (Accounts for 51/78 of Swadesh List, or 52%).

LSF	ASL
DANSER	DANCE
BON	GOOD 1
PLEINE	FULL 1
MENTIR	LIE
NOVEAU	NEW
PLUIE	RAIN
POINTU	SHARP
NEIGER	SNOW
QUEUE	TAIL
CHAUD	WARM
EAU	WATER
HUMIDE	WET
QUOI	WHAT
QUAND	WHEN
VENT	WIND
AVEC	WITH
BOIS	WOOD

Note: Total percentage includes cognates from Table 1.

Likewise, when looking at only ASL and TSL, more cognates were found. Out of the total 56 words for which there was information available in both languages, 32 (or 56%) were found to be cognates.

Table 3. Basic Vocabulary Cognates in ASL and TSL (Accounts for 32/57 of Swadesh Word List, or 56%).

ASL	TSL	Notes
CHILD	DEK	TSL makes a three way distinction for the age of the child: 2 - 5, 6 - 9, and 10-14. The difference is indicated by the height of the sign.
FULL 2	DTEM	
MOON	PHRA JAN	
PERSON	KHOHN	In both ASL and TSL, this sign serves as a productive morpheme that is compounded with verbs to mean a person who does that thing. In ASL PERSON comes after the verb it modifies, in TSL KHOHN comes before. The signs are identical.
RIVER	MAAE NAAM	Compound in both languages. In ASL, the first sign is initialized <i>W</i> , for 'water'. In TSL, the first sign is initialized <i>u</i> for $\square\square\square$ 'water'.
SPOUSE, TO MARRY	DTAENG NGAAN	
WHERE	THEE NAI	
WHO 1	KHRAI	ASL cognate sign is an older, slightly less commonly used variant.

Note: Total percentage includes cognates from Table 1.

When looking at data from only LSF and TSL, very few new cognates were found. For the 56 vocabulary items for which there was information in both languages, 28 were found to be cognates.

Table 4. Basic Vocabulary Cognates in LSF and TSL (Accounts for 28/57, or 49%).

LSF	TSL	English
VERT	KHIIAO	'green'
LISSE	RIAPP	'smooth'

Note: Total percentage includes cognate from Table 1.

It is important to note that LSF and TSL share only two cognates that are not also shared with ASL, and of these, one of them, VERT – KHIIAO 'green', is not native to LSF. The LSF sign VERT is made with the

handshape **Y**, which is a fingerspelled *V*. The equivalent sign GREEN in ASL is made with the handshape **J**, which is a fingerspelled *G*. The TSL sign KHIIO has the LSF handshape, though this has no connection to the spoken Thai word. This is consistent with patterns seen in borrowing: the word is morphologically complex in the donor language, but monomorphemic in the recipient language. However, as these sorts of initialized signs represent a sort of borrowing from spoken languages to sign languages makes this example a less than convincing cognate.

Setting aside these two LSF–TSL cognates, virtually all shared basic vocabulary between the two languages has ASL as a bridge. If the shared vocabulary is due to borrowing, this suggests that TSL and LSF have had no or very little direct contact, and all TSL loans from LSF come via ASL. If the shared vocabulary is due to genetic relationship, this suggests that TSL not a daughter language of LSF; rather, it appears that ASL split from ASL, and then TSL split from ASL later. Both of these possibilities are consistent with the known history of these languages. The high percentage of cognates suggest a genetic relationship is most likely; however, the high percentage of words that are *not* cognates suggest substantial influence from the local sign languages. The proposed subgrouping of the languages appears to be as follows:

French Sign Language

|

American Sign Language

|

Thai Sign Language

4.2. Identified Cognates

Many of the identified cognate signs are in fact identical across languages; signs of this sort include: NOIR–BLACK–DAM, OEUF–EGG–KHAI, NOM–NAME–CHEUU, ANNÉE–YEAR–BPÉE, CHAT–CAT–MAAEO, ROUGE–RED–DAAENG, SPOUSE–DTAENG NGAAN, AVEC–WITH, BOIS–WOOD. Those that are not identical demonstrate common phonological processes such as deletion or epenthesis. Locations shift or are deleted entirely (zero space); marked handshapes change to more common handshapes (such as **B**, **]** or **>**).

Displacement tends to be towards a nearby location. The cognate set FLEUR–FLOWER–DAAWK MAI is signed at the mouth in LSF, at the nose in ASL, and in front of the face in TSL. The LSF–ASL cognate set MENTIR–LIE is signed just beneath the nose in LSF, and just beneath the chin in ASL.

Locations can also be deleted. The LSF–ASL cognates MAL–BAD share handshape, movement, and orientation; in ASL the location is the mouth, where the sign starts, but the LSF location has been deleted, and MAL is signed in zero space. The LSF–ASL cognates VER–WORM undergo the same process. WORM is signed on the forearm; VER is signed in zero space.

When one hand is deleted from the sign entirely, that hand is the left. In the LSF–ASL cognate sets HUMIDE–WET and POISSON–FISH, LSF deletes the non dominant hand. This is likely deletion and not epenthesis due to the asymmetry of the sign, which is made low on the body. Other signs appear to be undergoing this change: the ASL sign CAT can be made either one- or two-handed. Again, this is likely deletion due to the fact that the sign is made on the face (Frishberg, 1975).

Some cognates have undergone semantic shifts. This is the case for OISEAU–BIRD–GAI, which means ‘bird’ in both LSF and ASL. It is made with the handshape **I** held near the mouth, while the fingers are opened and closed quickly in imitation of a bird’s beak. In TSL, the meaning of GAI has narrowed to mean ‘chicken;’ however, its original meaning ‘bird’ is evident not only in the TSL and ASL cognates, as it appears in compounds meaning ‘feather duster’ and ‘peacock.’ It also appears to be related to the TSL signs for ‘duck’ and

'ostrich,' which are made at the same location and with the same movement, but with different handshapes representing the beak.

The ASL–TSL cognates CHILD–DEK is made with the handshape | held out in zero space, which could be thought to represent the height of a child. However, TSL has split the sign into three separate signs, each more specific about the age of the child. It is held at its highest height, though still shorter than an adult, to talk about children aged 10–14, slightly lower for children aged 6–9, and still lower for children aged 3–5.

Though there is a tendency for signs to move from more iconic forms to more arbitrary forms (Frishberg, 1975), signs can also move the other way. In the cognate set VIANDE–MEAT–NEUUA, this is signed with the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand grasping the fleshy part of the skin between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand. However, the TSL sign is a compound: the initial sign is the TSL sign SAT 'animal,' which is signed with the forefinger and pinkie finger raised **g**, resembling the horns of an animal. This appears to use iconicity to help disambiguate the sign, and could not have been deleted in LSF or ASL, as the TSL sign for 'animal' is unrelated to the LSF or ASL sign, and is probably derived from one of the original Thai sign languages. Another possible example of this sort of iconic epenthesis is the cognate set FEU–FIRE–FAI 'fire.' This is signed with the palms facing inwards, and alternately raised and lowered while wiggling the fingers. In TSL, this is preceded by a sign that resembles the striking of a match, which increases the iconicity.

5.0. CONCLUSION

Though currently sign languages are not understood as well as spoken languages, it is still possible to observe historical changes. Further research is needed before techniques such as the comparative method can be used to reconstruct proto-sign languages, and, lacking historical data, this data can best be gathered by thoroughly studying known sign languages and observing changes currently in progress.

NOTES

1. The assumption is that the signer is right-handed, so that the left hand is the nondominant hand. If the signer is left-handed, all signs are reversed, so this would in fact be the right hand.

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WORKING MEMORY CAPACITY AND THE ACQUISITION OF PHRASAL VERBS

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ABSTRACT

Working memory capacity (WMC) has been the object of intensive research in recent years, with studies indicating connections between WMC and the processes associated with second language acquisition. This pilot study investigated the relationship between WMC and the acquisition of phrasal verbs. The WMC of nine intermediate learners of English was measured using a digit span test and a nonword repetition task. Each participant's phrasal verb development was assessed during the pretest, immediate posttest, and delayed posttest using a gap-fill activity and an acceptability judgment task. Results indicated a positive relationship between WMC and phrasal verb scores on the delayed posttest.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Working Memory

Working memory (WM) is a system in the mind that stores and manipulates information during cognitive tasks (Williams, 2012). WM is involved in many everyday activities such as remembering the name of a new acquaintance or calculating an appropriate tip at a restaurant. The concept of WM was first introduced in the field of cognitive psychology in the 1960s (Baddeley, 2003). Cognitive psychologists have used WM to explain individual differences in memorization and information processing (Juffs & Harrington, 2011).

Much of the current research on WM is based on the multicomponent model put forward by Baddeley and Hitch in the 1970s (Williams, 2012; Baddeley, 2003). According to this model, WM is divided into three components: the phonological loop, the visuospatial sketchpad, and the central executive (Baddeley, 2003). The phonological loop, which is also known as phonological short-term memory (PSTM), is concerned with the storage of phonological information. This is the aspect of WM that we use when remembering a telephone number. However, information stored in WM has a limited lifespan. For example, information stored in the phonological loop starts to decay after just two seconds (Ortega, 2009). To retain the information in the phonological store, a person needs to refresh the phonological loop by rehearsing the information. The more times the phonological loop is refreshed, the greater the chance that the information will pass over into long-term memory. As its name suggests, the visuospatial sketchpad is concerned with the storage of visual and spatial information. This is the aspect of WM that comes into play when visualizing football plays. The central executive is the component of WM that manipulates information stored in the phonological loop and the visuospatial sketchpad.

Working memory capacity (WMC) refers to the amount of storage space available in the phonological loop and the visuospatial sketchpad. WMC has a limited capacity and varies between individuals (Juffs & Harrington, 2011). Because WMC is involved in cognitive processing and differs from one person to the next, there is reason to believe that it is one of the factors contributing to individual differences in second language (L2) development.

1.2. Previous Research on Working Memory

Researchers studying second language acquisition (SLA) have become increasingly interested in WMC since the 1990s (Juffs & Harrington, 2011), with findings from the last twenty years indicating a robust connection between WMC and the processes involved in L2 learning. For example, early research suggested that children with high WMC acquired new lexical and syntactic information in English more quickly than their peers (Service, 1992). Similarly, Cheung (1996) found that PSTM scores were predictive of vocabulary acquisition in Chinese middle school students learning English.

Most of the research that has been published on WMC and L2 development has shown a connection between WMC and at least some parts of language acquisition. In a study that explored the relationship between WM and reading, Walter (2004) determined that French students with high WMC scores acquired reading skills in English faster than their classmates with low WMC scores. Adams and Guillot (2008) discovered a link between WMC and the development of vocabulary and spelling in a group of teenagers who were bilingual in French and English. O'Brien et al. (2006) found that high WMC scores conferred an advantage in narrative

development on adult English speakers who were learning Spanish. Juffs and Harrington (2011) found connections between WMC and many of the processes involved in L2 acquisition, such as reading, writing, speaking, and vocabulary development.

1.3. Working Memory and Formulaic Language

Many researchers have explored the relationship between WMC and L2 learning and indicated a significant correlation between them. Recent studies have begun to examine the connection between WMC and knowledge of formulaic sequences. Skrzypek and Singleton (2013) examined the relationship between PSTM and knowledge of collocations in sixty adult Polish speakers who were learning English. Each participant completed two PSTM tasks and one task that evaluated their knowledge of English collocations. The latter task focused on three types of collocations: grammatical collocations, lexical collocations, and phrasal verbs. Results indicated a connection between PSTM scores and knowledge of collocations, both for lower-level learners and higher-level learners. This was the only study we were able to find that directly examined the relationship between WMC and student knowledge of formulaic sequences. Because the role of formulaic language in L2 development is still not well understood, Schmitt (2004) has highlighted the need for additional research investigating the relationship between WMC and formulaic sequences.

One area needing further investigation is phrasal verbs, which are multi-word semantic units that are composed of a verb and a particle or a preposition. Schmitt (2004) classifies phrasal verbs as a kind of formulaic sequence. Phrasal verbs are often considered to be among the most difficult linguistic forms to acquire (Skrzypek & Singleton, 2013). Because of their high frequency in the English language, however, phrasal verbs are important for anyone who wants to sound natural when speaking or writing in English. Therefore, phrasal verb comprehension and production is a critical measure of overall language development in English. Establishing a link between high WMC scores and the acquisition of phrasal verbs could have important implications for second language learning and teaching. For example, tests of WMC could help teachers identify students who might need extra help learning phrasal verbs. Although Skrzypek and Singleton (2013) included phrasal verbs in their study, they only examined learners' previous knowledge of phrasal verbs. To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies that have directly investigated the relationship between WMC and the acquisition of new phrasal verbs.

1.4. Research Questions

This study was designed to answer the following research questions:

1. Will adult L2 learners perform better on phrasal verb tasks after a targeted lesson on low-frequency phrasal verbs?
2. Does WMC affect the ease with which adult L2 learners acquire new phrasal verbs?

We anticipated that the participants would acquire new information about phrasal verbs during the treatment phase of the experiment. We therefore hypothesized that they would receive higher scores on the posttests than on the pretest. We also expected that there would be a positive correlation between WMC and phrasal verb scores on the immediate and delayed posttests.

2.0. METHODS

2.1. Participants

The participants consisted of nine intermediate level L2 English learners at a mid-sized American university (see Table 1). All the participants had been studying in a university context for at least three months, and none of them had been studying in an English as a second language (ESL) setting for more than a semester.

Table 1. Participants

ID	Age	Age of Onset	Months in ESL Context	Proficiency Level
1	21	11	4	4
2	23	10	4	3
3	22	11	4	3
4	28	12	3	4
5	39	9	3	3
6	36	13	3	3
7	32	14	3	3
8	38	13	3	3
9	39	13	3	4
Mean	30.9	11.8	3.3	3.3
SD	7.6	1.6	0.5	0.5

2.2. Design

This pilot test adopted a pretest-treatment-posttest-delayed posttest research design to examine the role of WMC on the acquisition of phrasal verbs. All tasks and sessions were completed during a two-week period, with all learners taking part in a pretest, a treatment, an immediate posttest, and a delayed posttest. The pretests and posttests consisted of a gap-fill task and an acceptability judgment task on phrasal verbs, while the treatment included a short lesson and learning activities on the target phrasal verbs. Participants took the pretest and then received a lesson on phrasal verbs as the treatment. After the lesson, they took the immediate posttest. A week later, we administered the delayed posttest to each participant individually.

The independent variable in this study was the participants' WMC scores, while the dependent variable was their phrasal verb scores. We looked for the relationship between these two variables. We administered learning activities as a treatment to assist the participants in their acquisition of low-frequency phrasal verbs. To measure the WMC of our participants, we asked them to complete two common WM tasks: a digit span test and a nonword repetition task. To assess their knowledge of phrasal verbs, we asked our participants to complete a gap-fill task and an acceptability judgment task. We administered these tasks both before and after a targeted lesson on phrasal verbs. These tasks allowed us to determine which phrasal verbs were new to the participants and whether or not the lesson helped them learn those verbs.

2.3. Materials

The first form that we asked our participants to complete was a short questionnaire that collected basic information about their age, age of onset for learning English, mother tongue, nationality, and English proficiency level. The English proficiency level was self-reported using questions based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001).

Two different types of WMC tasks were used to measure our participants' WMC. The first task was a standard digit span task following the procedure described by Gass and Mackey (2012). Each of them was asked to copy down number sequences of increasing length. The digit span test was conducted with a PowerPoint presentation. Each digit appeared on the computer screen one at a time at one-second intervals. The length of the sequences started at three digits and ended at ten digits. There were three sequences of each length. In order to proceed to a longer number, the participants needed to write down two of the three numbers in each set correctly on the answer sheet.

A nonword repetition task was also conducted to measure the participants' WMC. Adapted from Gathercole et al. (1994), this task included thirty nonsense words which varied in length from three syllables to ten syllables. The nonsense words were developed using simple linguistic features and excluding diphthongs, consonant clusters, fricatives and affricates. This was done to ensure that none of the participants were put at an unfair disadvantage when completing the task, regardless of their linguistic background. After hearing a recording of a nonsense word, the participants were instructed to repeat the word to the best of their ability.

Our target phrasal verbs were selected from three phrasal verb dictionaries: *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1989), *Longman Phrasal Verb Dictionary* (2000), and *NTC's Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs and Other Idiomatic Verbal Phrases* (Spears, 1993). We randomly chose nineteen target items composed of less-frequently-used phrasal verbs from the British National Corpus (BNC) for our target items. Ten distractor items are also randomly selected from the same sources. We used the BYU-BNC website to check each of our target and distractor items against the BNC to ensure that they were low frequency phrasal verbs (Brigham Young University). All of the phrasal verbs we selected appeared no more than fifty times in the entire 100-million-word corpus. The participants were given a 30-minute lesson on the target phrasal verbs. Participants were presented with the definitions and sample sentences for each of the phrasal verbs and were then given a handout listing the nineteen target phrasal verbs. At first, participants were given the meaning of the target phrasal verbs and their use in example sentences. We used the same example sentences from the pretest to help improve the participants' understanding. Then participants completed a matching activity in which they had to match each phrasal verb with its definition. After that, they had five minutes to study with a handout that listed all the target phrasal verbs along with the definitions and sample sentences.

Participants took two types of phrasal verb tests, a gap-fill task and an acceptability judgment task. Each of these tasks was administered three times: once during the pretest, once during the immediate posttest, and once during the delayed posttest. There were a total of twenty-nine items on each of the tasks, which consisted of nineteen target items and ten distractor items. Each task had the same basic organization, but the order and content of the sentences were different.

The gap-fill tasks were prepared following the example of Nekrasova (2009). These tasks were designed to measure whether participants were able to recognize and produce the missing parts of target lexical bundles based on the surrounding context. A paper-based gap-fill task consisting of twenty-nine items was used to measure the participants' knowledge of phrasal verbs. The participants were allotted fifteen minutes to complete this task.

We also used a ten-minute paper-based acceptability judgment task to measure knowledge of target phrasal verbs. The participants were asked to determine, as quickly and accurately as possible whether the sentences were grammatical or ungrammatical (Jiang & Nekrasova, 2007). Participants were instructed to focus only on the meaning of phrasal verbs and to disregard any other grammatical problems with the sentences.

2.4. Procedure

The first session lasted 120 minutes and consisted of five stages: consent form, questionnaire, pretest, treatment, and immediate posttest. First, the participants completed a consent form that provided information about the study, including its goals and expected applications. Next, they completed a language background questionnaire. Immediately following the completion of the forms, participants were given twenty-five minutes to complete the pretest measures: fifteen minutes for the gap-fill tasks and ten minutes for the acceptability judgment tasks. Then they participated in a thirty-minute lesson on the target phrasal verbs. After the treatment, they took the immediate posttests: the gap-fill and acceptability judgment tasks.

A week after the first session, all the participants took a test battery that included two types of WM tasks and the delayed posttest on phrasal verbs. In order to increase the reliability of the study and to control for an ordering effect, the administration of the WM tasks was counterbalanced. In other words, half of the participants took the digit span test first and the rest of the participants took the nonword repetition task first.

We gave brief instructions for both of the WMC tasks before they were administered. The digit-span task ended when a participant failed to write down two of the three sequences of a given length correctly. For the nonword repetition task, participants immediately repeated a recorded nonsense word of increasing syllable length. The task came to an end when they could not reproduce two of the three words in a given syllable length set. The nonword repetition tasks were video-recorded so that they could be double-checked in the future. After the WM tasks, each participant took the delayed posttest on phrasal verbs.

2.5. Scoring

The first tasks that were scored were the ones that measured the participants' knowledge of phrasal verbs. When we scored the gap-fill tasks, we gave one point for each correct answer that contained one of the

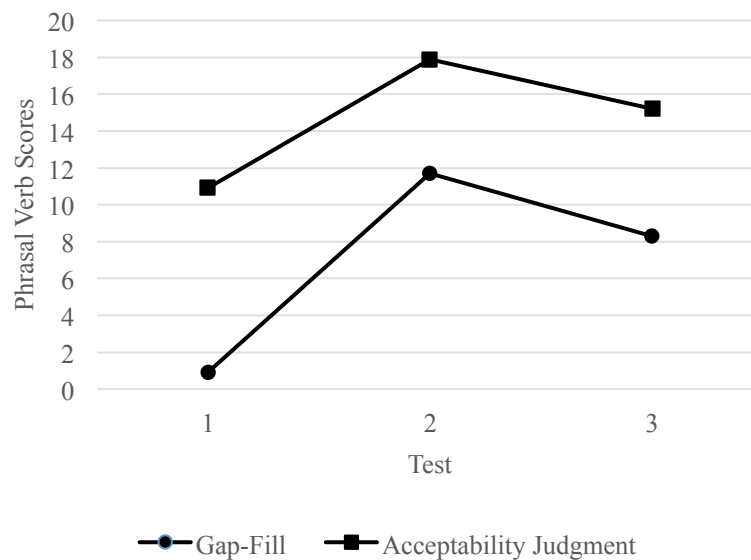
target items. We did not subtract points for incorrect spellings as long as we could tell what word the participant was attempting to write. Because each gap-fill task contained nineteen target items, it was scored out of nineteen points. The acceptability judgment tasks were scored in the same way. The average scores on the acceptability judgment tasks were much higher than the average scores on the gap-fill tasks. We expected this outcome because the probability of guessing the correct answer on the acceptability judgment tasks was much higher than the probability of guessing the correct answer on the gap-fill tasks.

After we had scored the phrasal verb tasks, we moved on to the tasks that measured WMC. To score the digit span task, we reviewed each participant's responses to find the longest sequence of digits that he or she had copied down correctly at least fifty percent of the time. No partial credit was given for numbers that contained a combination of correct and incorrect digits. Since the participants were exposed to only three numbers of each length, they needed to copy down at least two of the numbers of any given length correctly before they could proceed to a longer sequence of digits. For example, if a participant copied down two of the three-digit numbers correctly but only copied down one of the four-digit numbers correctly, then he or she was assigned a digit span score of three. The nonword repetition task was scored in essentially the same manner, except that we were counting the number of syllables that were repeated correctly instead of the number of digits that were written down correctly.

3.0. RESULTS

Our first research question asked whether the participants performed better on the posttests than on the pretest. With this in mind, we compared the phrasal verb scores from the pretest to the scores from the immediate posttest and the delayed posttest. The participants' scores on both the gap-fill task and the acceptability judgment task rose dramatically from the pretest to the immediate posttest (see Figure 1). The average increase was 10.8 for the gap-fill task and 7.0 for the acceptability judgment task. The average scores dropped somewhat from the immediate posttest to the delayed posttest. This was expected because an entire week had passed since the students had been exposed to the target phrasal verbs, and it was likely that they would forget something during that interval. However, a paired samples t-test indicated that the average scores on the delayed posttest were still significantly higher than the average scores on the pretest for both the gap-fill task ($t = 5.33$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.00$) and the acceptability judgment task ($t = 5.20$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.00$). There was only one participant who had delayed posttest scores that were not higher than the scores that he received on the pretest. Interestingly, this was also the participant with the lowest WMC scores. The fact that the phrasal verb scores were significantly higher on the posttests than on the pretest indicated that the participants might have learned something about the target phrasal verbs during the treatment phase of the experiment.

Figure 1. Average scores on the phrasal verb tasks



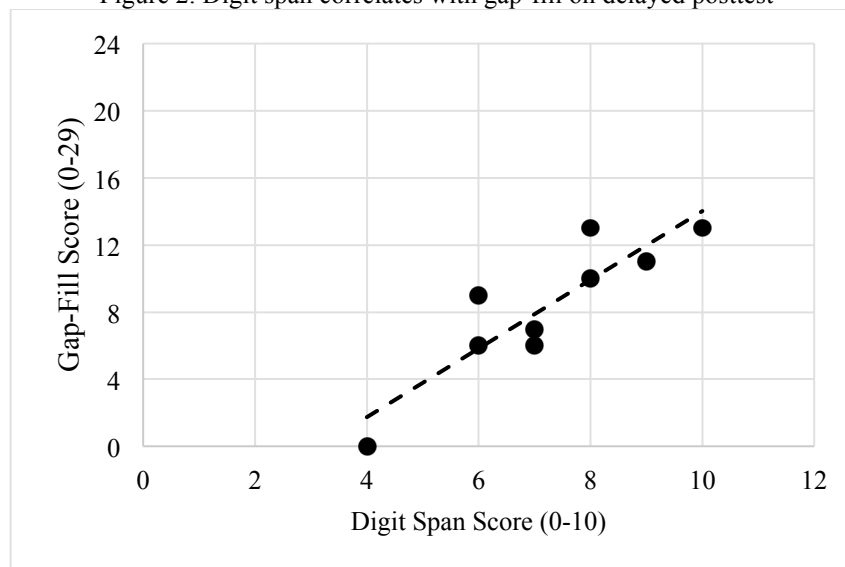
Once we had established that the participants performed better on the phrasal verb tasks after the treatment phase of the experiment, it was possible to turn to our second research question, which asked whether there was a connection between the participants' WMC and the ease with which they learned new phrasal verbs. Pearson correlations were used to determine whether the participants' WMC scores were predictive of their phrasal verb scores. We were not able to find a significant correlation between WMC scores and the phrasal verb scores from the pretest. This outcome was expected because we deliberately chose low-frequency phrasal verbs that the participants were not likely to have seen before the experiment.

The results from the immediate posttest indicated a stronger relationship between WMC and phrasal verb scores. The correlation between the acceptability judgment task and the digit span task was statistically significant ($r = 0.88$, $df = 7$, $p = 0.00$). However, there was not a significant correlation between the acceptability judgment task and the nonword repetition task. Nor was there a significant correlation between the gap-fill activity and either of the WMC tasks. These results suggested that there might have been a weak connection between WMC and phrasal verb scores on the immediate posttest.

The data from the delayed posttest demonstrated an even stronger connection between WMC and phrasal verb scores. There was a significant correlation between the digit span scores and the phrasal verb scores on both the gap-fill task ($r = 0.89$, $df = 7$, $p = 0.00$) and the acceptability judgment task ($r = 0.81$, $df = 7$, $p = 0.01$). The strongest correlation that we found was between the digit span scores and the gap-fill scores on the delayed posttest (see Figure 2). However, the correlations between the WMC scores from the nonword repetition task and the phrasal verb scores from the gap-fill activity and the acceptability judgment task were not statistically significant.

These results suggested that there may be a relationship between WMC and the ease with which L2 learners acquire new phrasal verbs. The fact that both the gap-fill and acceptability judgment scores correlated with the digit span scores on the delayed posttest while only the acceptability judgment scores correlated with the digit span scores on the immediate posttest may indicate that the participants with high WMC remembered what they had learned about phrasal verbs for longer than the rest of the group.

Figure 2. Digit span correlates with gap-fill on delayed posttest



The digit span scores correlated with the scores from one of the phrasal verb tasks on the immediate posttest and both of the phrasal verb tasks on the delayed posttest. However, we were not able to find a statistically significant correlation between the nonword repetition scores and any of the phrasal verb tasks. This outcome may have been due to the fact that there was more variability in the digit span scores (standard deviation = 1.79) than the nonword repetition scores (standard deviation = 1.12).

4.0. DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this study was to assess the relationship between WMC and the acquisition of phrasal verbs in a second language. Our data indicated a positive correlation between WMC scores and phrasal verb scores, particularly on the delayed posttest. The scores from the phrasal verb tests also suggested that learning might have taken place between the pretest and the posttests. These results indicated that high WMC may facilitate the storage of new phrasal verbs in a learner's long-term memory. Our findings corroborated earlier studies indicating that WMC plays a role in L2 learning and performance.

Past research has indicated a connection between WMC and vocabulary development (Cheung, 1996; Ellis & Sinclair, 1996; Gathercole et al., 1999). For example, Cheung (1996) showed a negative correlation between WMC scores and the number of times a group of middle school students needed to be exposed to new words in their L2 before they could remember them. Our study supported these findings by suggesting that high WMC may increase the ease with which students learn a particular kind of lexical item, namely phrasal verbs.

Skrzypek and Singleton (2013) are the only other researchers we could find who have explored the relationship between WMC and knowledge of formulaic sequences. Their results showed a positive correlation between students' WMC and their knowledge of several different kinds of formulaic sequences, including phrasal verbs. Our data did not show a significant relationship between WMC and previous knowledge of phrasal verbs. This was probably due to the fact that we deliberately selected low-frequency phrasal verbs for our experiments. The reasoning behind this choice was that we were attempting to measure the acquisition of phrasal verbs rather than the previous knowledge of phrasal verbs.

Our results also suggested that brief targeted lessons consisting of definitions, sample sentences, and a matching activity can help students learn new phrasal verbs. Paired samples t-tests indicated that the participants may have learned something new about low-frequency phrasal verbs during the treatment phase of the experiment. These findings suggested that traditional teaching strategies involving the use of definitions, sample sentences, and matching activities can be an effective way to teach phrasal verbs.

The study had several limitations that are worth mentioning. First, there was not enough variation in the WMC scores of our participants. The standard deviation in scores was less than 2.0 for both the WMC tasks. Without individual differences in WMC, it is very difficult to find a statistically significant correlation between WMC scores and phrasal verb scores. This issue could be solved by either increasing the sample size or fine-tuning the WMC tasks to better capture individual differences between the participants.

Another important flaw of our study was that there was too much variation in the proficiency level and age of onset of our participants (see Table 1). At the beginning of the study, the standard deviations for proficiency level and age of onset were 0.71 and 2.39, respectively. However, we were able to reduce these values by removing one of the participants from our data set. The participant in question had a proficiency level of five and an age of onset of six. Both of these values differed significantly from the averages for the rest of the participants, which were 3.33 and 11.78, respectively. She also scored higher than the rest of the group on the posttests, despite the fact that she had middling WMC scores. After we removed this participant's scores from our data set, the standard deviations for the proficiency level and age of onset decreased to 0.50 and 1.64, respectively. The correlations between the WMC scores and the phrasal verb scores on the posttests also became stronger than they had been before. These findings indicated that an early age of onset or a high level of language proficiency may help an L2 learner compensate for a low or average WMC.

One unforeseen problem that we encountered while administering our experiments was a typographical error on one of the gap-fill tasks. Because of this error, we decided that it was necessary to eliminate one of the target items from our data set. This resulted in a reduction of the total number of target items from twenty to nineteen on each of the phrasal verb tests. This problem highlighted the importance of pilot testing materials on multiple volunteers before using them in the actual experiments.

Ceiling effects also presented a problem on one of our experimental tasks. The participant with the highest digit span score copied down twenty-three of the twenty-four numbers on the digit span task correctly, which resulted in a score of ten. Because we had not prepared any numbers that were more than ten digits in length, it was impossible to tell how much longer this participant could have gone before he made another error. If we were to conduct this experiment again, we would be sure to include numbers of up to twenty digits. We also realize that this participant might have been using rehearsal strategies to help himself remember the digits long enough to write them down. In light of this possibility, our experiment might have benefited from the use of a modified digit span test that discourages participants from using rehearsal strategies. For example, we could have asked our participants to copy down the digits in reverse order (Gass & Mackey, 2012).

Yet another limitation of our study was our small sample size. A larger sample size would have mitigated the effects of outliers in our data set such as the one described above. Having a larger number of participants would also have made it easier to generalize our findings to the wider population of L2 learners. Although several of our t-tests and correlations reached statistical significance, the fact that we only had nine participants makes it doubtful whether a replication of the current study would yield similar results. If we had included more participants in our study, then we could have felt more confident in the reliability of our experimental tasks.

One additional weakness of our study is that it was too short. Our data suggested that participants with high WMC scores did a better job of remembering the target phrasal verbs during the week that intervened between the immediate posttest and the delayed posttest. However, we do not know what happened after that. It is possible that the students with high WMC scores will retain their knowledge of the phrasal verbs from our experiments for years to come. It is also possible that they forgot everything they had learned the week after the delayed posttest. Without additional posttests, it is impossible to tell which of these two scenarios is closer to the truth.

Based on the limitations that we found in our study, we have several suggestions to offer future researchers who are interested in examining the interactions between WMC and phrasal verb acquisition. First, we recommend that researchers ensure that their participants all have the same proficiency level and age of onset. Second, we advise researchers to double check their experimental materials for typographical errors and potential ceiling effects. Taking the time to pilot test materials on one or more volunteers can greatly improve the quality of the data that is collected later on during the experiment. Third, we encourage researchers to use

larger sample sizes. The more participants they have in the experiment, the more the results can be generalized to the wider population of L2 learners. Having a large sample size also makes it easier to remove a participant or a target item from the data when that is necessary. Finally, we suggest that researchers conduct longitudinal studies. We would particularly encourage studies that track students' retention of phrasal verbs over the course of an entire semester or year. Because this was a pilot test on the relationship between WMC and the learning of phrasal verbs, it is important that future investigators conduct more in-depth research on this topic. In doing so, they will be helping to close a gap in our understanding of second language acquisition.

5.0. CONCLUSION

The findings of this pilot test suggested that there may be a connection between WMC and the acquisition of phrasal verbs. More specifically, our results indicated that learners with high WMC scores received higher scores on phrasal verb tasks than their peers with lower WMC scores. The correlation between WMC scores and phrasal verb scores was stronger for the delayed posttest than for the immediate posttest, which suggested that high WMC may help students enter new phrasal verbs into their long-term memory. One participant with an early age of onset and a high level of English proficiency performed at a higher level than her peers despite middling WMC scores, which suggested that the more familiar a person is with a language, the easier it is for him or her to learn new lexicogrammatical information about that language.

These results have several implications for second language pedagogy. First, administering WMC tests in class could help teachers identify students who need extra help learning phrasal verbs. Second, students with low WMC might benefit from exercises designed to optimize their WMC. Finally, an early age of onset and a high level of language proficiency might help students to compensate for low WMC. Thus, this study provides further evidence that starting to learn a language at a young age can increase a person's overall chances of success.

Although several of our findings achieved statistical significance, it is difficult to generalize those findings to the larger population of L2 learners because of our small sample size and the short duration of our study. It is therefore important that more researchers conduct well-planned and carefully executed research on the connection between WMC and the acquisition of phrasal verbs.

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III. Culture & Society

‘A‘OHE PAU KA ‘IKE I KA HĀLAU HO‘OKAHI: ALL KNOWLEDGE IS NOT LEARNED IN JUST ONE SCHOOL: THE GATHERING OF HULA THAT ACCOMMODATES BOTH CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND TOURISM

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ABSTRACT

The Merrie Monarch Festival is unique in that it is both a cultural institution and an economic-touristic venue. Normally, cultural preservation and tourism are incompatible. This paper examines the ways that the Merrie Monarch Festival maintains a delicate balance between the two.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In Hilo, Hawaii, hula dancers grace the stage, the sweet scent of maile pervades the air, and haunting chants resound. This can only mean one thing. It's "Merrie Monarch Time!" Every year, the sleepy town of Hilo awakens with chants and hula performances, a yearly opening ritual for Merrie Monarch Week.

Originally conceived in 1963 as a way to boost the local economy after a devastating tsunami destroyed Hilo town, the Merrie Monarch Festival eventually became an important means for preserving and celebrating Hawaiian culture through the medium of hula, but also a way to strengthen Hilo's weak economy. Today, the Merrie Monarch Festival is a global phenomenon. It is unique in that it is both a cultural institution and an economic-touristic venue. Normally, cultural preservation and tourism are incompatible. Ramsay Rmigus Mahelani Taum (2010) argues, "Tourism has become a source of economic prosperity on the one hand, and a threat to cultural community identity on the other" (p.31). What makes the Merrie Monarch Festival an exception to the rule? This paper examines the ways that the Merrie Monarch Festival maintains a delicate balance between preserving the Hawaiian culture and benefiting from it economically.

2.0. PRESERVING HAWAIIAN CULTURE

For the hula community the Merrie Monarch is the Olympics of hula. Hula hālau (or hula schools) from across the Hawaiian Islands, the continental United States, or even foreign countries like Japan, inundate Hilo to participate in the Merrie Monarch Festival. Whether dancers compete in the hula competition or to dance in the exhibition portion of the festival, being able to say that they have danced on Edith Kanakaole Stadium stage brings with it a certain prestige in the hula community. Importantly, the hula hālau that participate contribute to the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture through the ancient Hawaiian art known as hula, which includes not only learning the chants and songs they dance to, but also accessing the Hawaiian language so that they can understand the message they interpret with their hands and body movements

There are three components to the Merrie Monarch Hula Competition: Miss Aloha Hula, Hula Kahiko (hula to chants predating the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom), and Hula 'Auana (post overthrow). Although, hula is the focal point of the festival, Hawaiian language holds a central role in the competition. The dancers who can understand the language are better able to access the symbolism embedded in the chant or song, which in turn enhances their interpretation.

During the Miss Aloha Hula competition, not only do the judges scrutinize a dancer's movements, her dress and her lei, but they also assign points on the execution of her chant in Hawaiian. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has sponsored the prestigious Hawaiian language award for Miss Aloha Hula since 1988. Furthermore, the role of Hawaiian language is crucial also for the hula kahiko portion of the competition where each hālau must perform a chant entirely in Hawaiian. Importantly, when contestants are chanting in Hawaiian, they are continuing an ancient tradition in connection with hula protocol in a Hawaiian setting. Master kumu hula and scholar, Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale (2011), who offers commentary every year during the hula competition, notes, "Cultural practices and protocols were and are in place to make a person aware of one's environment and one's place in the environment" (p.57).

For many hula hālau being at the Merrie Monarch is an honor and an opportunity to display their hula genealogy, or the movements and knowledge each kumu hula (or hula master) has passed on to the next generation of hula dancers. Many kumu hula agree that performing at the festival helps the important function of sharing the hālau's repertoire with the hula community. Buck (1993) notes, "For many, but particularly for the participating hālau the festival is the high point of the year, the climax of yearlong preparations, practice, and fundraising by the kumu hula, their student, and family" (p.163). As stated in the *Honolulu Advertiser* (11 April 1993) Kumu hula Leimomi Ho shares similar views, "I tell my students we're there to share and express the love we have for our hula. If we can win the love the audience, that's the important (A2).

In the past decade, there has been a resurgence of Hawaiian cultural and political power, and a part of that resurgence includes the celebration and perpetuation of Hawaiian art such as hula. Thus, the establishment of the Merrie Monarch Festival has helped rejuvenate hula practices by providing a venue for hālau to exhibit their art. Furthermore, the televised competition which is also streamed on the Internet, permits global access to a demonstration of the best hula hālau. Thus, hula becomes more accessible to a local and global audience, performers and teachers.

Perhaps most importantly of all, Hawaiians, whether they dance hula or not, perceive hula as an important means of preserving their culture. Rowe (2008) notes,

They live in full experience that knowledge is practice, that traditional dances interpret their history and make present the beauty wisdom, and values of their Hawaiian culture. For them hula is the continuity and the repository of their cultural knowledge not a unique vocabulary of steps and movements (p.41).

For Hawaiians there is also deep connection between hula and relationship to place. Kanaka'ole Kanahale (2011) states, "Hula is ritualized as it personifies nature. Like nature, hula is rhythmic, inclusive transformative, physical, spiritual, healing and above all, it is Hawaiian" (p.109). Thus, hālau members, especially Hawaiian dancers, acknowledge and feed their identity through hula. Furthermore, hula relies on and contributes to the perpetuation of oral histories. In other words, mele are oral histories. They contain the sensations and memories of those who composed them. The chants and mele hula that are part of the hālau's archive and comprise their hula repertoire lives on the members of the hālau-----they become custodians of the past through performance in the present.

3.0. PROMOTING TOURISM

What is the relationship between hula and tourism? Heather Diamond (2008) notes, "Tourism and traditions are bound together in the marketing of Hawaii. Tourism is the industry on which the state economic fortune have turned since the shut down and relocation of the sugar industry" (p.13). Merrie Monarch equals huge amounts of revenue because of the local and global attention it garners. Here in Hawai'i and aboard people are fascinated with hula.

If you live in the islands, you know it is Merrie Monarch time when Hawaiian Airlines suddenly raises its ticket prices for inter-islands travel and flights from Honolulu to Hilo. In the *Not-So-Merrie Monarch* (2001) article, Galuberman states, "The schedule flights are always full, so they usually add two or three extra flights. But it's Sunday, that brings the over-the-top crush for seats back to O'ahu" (p.80). The Edith Kanaka'ole Stadium, where the hula competition is held, has 4,200 seats and the event is sold out every year (Merrie Monarch Festival).

The Merrie Monarch Festival is a non-profit organization (Merrie Monarch Festival), but other reap huge economic benefits. Local merchants, large and small quickly recognize the revenue-producing value of the Merrie Monarch. Johnson Purdy author of the *The Merrie Monarch Festival: The Preservation and Perpetuation of a Culture* (1999) interviewed Uncle George Naope and Auntie Dorothy "Dottie" Thompson. Uncle George Na'ope, co-founder and co-organizer of the festival along with Dorothy "Dottie" Thompson recalled, that the airlines would fly musicians free of charge. When Merrie Monarch week arrived, Uncle George (1999) explained, "Sleepy Hilo town transformed. Shops and restaurants that normally closed by 5pm would post signs to let customers know that they were open for business during the three days of the hula

competition (Thursday, Friday, Saturday) until midnight or even 2 a.m. (p.45). It is the one of the most profitable weeks of the year. Scott Whitney *author of The Not-So-Merrie Monarch* explains (2001):

For visitor industry people in Hilo the Merrie Monarch is Christmas. It's a week that can make or break their annual balance sheet...lots of our local nonprofits feed of the festival by setting up booths to sell food and drink. And there are hundreds of crafters and lei vendors who depend on the festival (p.80).

The festival translates into new jobs, increased earnings, higher tax revenues, and its extended impacts help to boost the economy. The craft fair alone may generate more than \$1.2 million in gross sales revenues for the week.

Thus, the impact of the Merrie Monarch reaches beyond the sleepy town of Hilo. When Merrie Monarch Festival week arrives each year people are able to access the hula competition three main ways. First, by purchasing tickets and attending hula competition, the second way is on the television in the privacy of your home, and lastly, you can access it via Internet live stream. In the Honolulu Advertiser (11 April 1993) Viotti mentions, “The festival was recorded and first broadcasted in 1981, and three years later, live coverage began” (p. A2). It is true that Merrie Monarch has been successful these past fifty-one years because the hālau participating in these weeklong celebrations---without their participation there would be no festival. It is also important to realize, as Dottie Thompson once recognized, it was the broadcasting of the hula competition that has made the Merrie Monarch Festival what it is today. Indeed, another economic opportunity related to the festival is the lucrative sale of DVDs that the broadcasters produce for the public at an average price of \$45.00. However, not everyone supports the sale of Merrie Monarch DVDs. In the article of *The Not-So-Merrie Monarch* (2001), Kumu hula Chinky Mahoe protests, “Who is benefitting from the sale of these videos? Not the kumu?” (p.83). In addition, Kumu hula Vicky Holt Takamine (2001), feels that there is an ethical issue. She explains, “It’s really scary to me, to think that some of the kumu around the world are teaching their hālau directly from the Merrie Monarch videos. This is what happens when hula goes global” (p.83).

4.0. CONCLUSION

The Merrie Monarch Festival has developed into a cultural and economic sovereign space that operates on multiple levels. For example, emcees, interviews, and interviewees often intersperse their English with Hawaiian audio program option, so that viewers could listen to the Hawaiian language commentary by Hiapo Perreira, a professor in the Hawaiian language during the hula competition increases. This is linguistic sovereignty and speaks to the struggle to save the Hawaiian language from near extinction a few decades ago. There is also aesthetic sovereignty. Spectators are also being exposed to Hawaiian values and aesthetics, even if not everyone is able to understand or even appreciate them. More importantly, such exposure works to redefine authority in a performance space. At some level, however, viewers recognize that hula is a Hawaiian art, and that hālau are a Hawaiian cultural institution, and that there is no hula without Hawaiian language. Amy Stillman (1996) notes:

Messages, communicated by hula competitions...transcend mere display of physical agility or striking visual imagery. The act of performing the hula is an act of situating oneself within the hula tradition; the further act of doing so on a competition stage is acknowledgement of that stage's significance for displaying the Hawaiian cultural tradition that hula embodies (p.357).

While Hawaiian may not have political sovereignty at this time, the Merrie Monarch reminds the world that they do have cultural sovereignty. While the Merrie Monarch generates more interest in Hawaii as a desirable tourist destination, it also helps to educate visitors. But more importantly, the Merrie Monarch is for Hawaiians. The rest is extra.

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NEEDS ANALYSIS FOR HOME CARE WORKER TRAINING

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study creates goals, objectives and materials for a bridge course for immigrant ESL students by identifying needs in the first module of a non-credit home care worker training course. Interviews of stakeholders and classroom observations were triangulated with existing research and materials analysis.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

From my 7 years of teaching at the Adult Community School, I have noticed that most students choose employment (e.g., food service) where linguistic demands are low. Entry-level health careers (e.g., home care workers) can provide opportunity for immigrants as well as meet the growing demand for home care. According to Robert N. Butler, President and CEO of International Longevity Center-USA in Schmieding Center for Senior Health and Education of Northwest Arkansas (2008), “nearly 40% of American families already need some level of in-home eldercare, and those needs will continue to grow dramatically” (p. ii). I will describe the context of the partnership between the Adult Community School and Community College, and show how a pilot needs analysis can form an English for Medical Purposes (EMP) curriculum that could become the beginnings of a health care career pathway.

2.0. CONTEXT

I would like to create a separate course to transition our students to their vocational training goals. In this way, there is less strain on the partnering institution, which I will describe below.

2.1. Macro Context: Institutional

2.1.1. Elder Care Training (ECT)

“Kupuna” means elder or grandparent in Hawaiian, but connotes respect for a source of knowledge and wisdom, which embodies the education that the ECT envisions for the aging population in Hawai‘i. The education center is funded by the Hawai‘i State Legislature and located at a community college. The Home Care Worker Training, a non-credit certificate course, consists of three modules and an additional module for professional development with a specific elder population. The classes are to be taken in succession, but students can exit to work and re-enter for additional training.

The courses are accessible to working adults by being short, affordable, and held during evening hours and on weekends (Tuesday (T), Thursday (Th) 5-9:30pm / Saturday (Sat). 8am–5pm) as seen below:

Module 1: Elder Pal (2 weeks)/\$170

Module 2: Personal Care Assistant (2 weeks)/\$170

Module 3: Home Care Worker Assistant (3 weeks)/\$220

Professional Development: Alzheimer’s Disease and Dementia (1 week)/\$90

2.1.2. Bridge from adult community school to ECT

For the purposes of the bridge to Home Care Worker Training, I continued with the recommended levels, Adult Secondary Education (ASE) Low or 9th and 10th grade reading level, which we used for the Long-Term Care Nurse’s Assistants. However, students are deemed eligible through four criteria met at the intake at the ECT. Students have an oral interview, submit a resume and references, and are not to have any criminal background.

2.2. Micro: Coursework for Elder Pal (module 1)

The goals, course objectives, and curriculum were developed by the Schmieding Center for Senior Health and Education of Northwest Arkansas (Appendix A). The course fee includes the Schmieding Student Handbook, accompanying DVD, and the use of the 7th edition of Mosby's textbook for nursing assistants. Lectures and skills training are based on the Schmieding curriculum as well as needs pertinent to Hawai'i's population.

In addition to attending the course with approved absences, satisfactory performance of skills and written homework and assessments are required to earn a certificate. Skills, such as giving a partial bath, are assessed in class. Students need a cumulative score of 80% on written work based on homework (20%) from the Mosby textbook, a True / False quiz (30%), and a written multiple-choice final exam (50%). It is necessary then, to find out what language support English Language Learners (ELLs) need to show satisfactory performance.

3.0. NEEDS ANALYSIS

In undertaking a needs analysis of a course other than my own, I have found the definition of a needs assessment "the systematic collection and analysis of all information necessary for defining a defensible curriculum" (Brown, 2009, p. 269) may need to incorporate the complexities of the human element, as Brown (2009) continues, in "assembling information on the views of different groups of stakeholders and use the information to..." (p. 286) come to an agreement of workable options to resolve concerns and further develop a curriculum.

3.1. Basic Decisions

In understanding people's perspectives, it is necessary to decide which people will participate in the assessment. The following categories take this into account.

3.1.1. Target group

I needed to identify perceived language needs, but because of the small number of ELLs, I included both Native Speakers (NS) and Non-Native Speakers (NNS). I also wanted to include past students who might reflect the population of students at the Adult Community School (i.e., General Educational Development (GED) students and ELLs). To further identify linguistic concerns, I hoped to include students who did not complete the course due to unsatisfactory written or skills work. With this larger pool of perceptions, I hoped to increase credibility of identifying language needs.

3.1.2. Audience

This needs analysis could be the basis for an evidence-based course proposal to help the immigrant ESL students transition from ESL course at the Adult Community School to vocational training at the Community College. Therefore, I hope to share the results with the Kupuna Education administration and staff as well as the Community School for Adults administrators.

3.1.3. Needs analyst

As the sole analyst of this needs analysis, I am both an insider and outsider. I have worked closely with the ECT administrators in the Community Adult School's formal partnership with the ECT. On the other hand, I have never observed their classes nor have I worked with any of the instructors on identifying language needs for our students.

3.1.4. Resource group

For future study, I hope to talk with current employers of ECT graduates in order to assess the students' linguistic and professional performance. This includes both elders in the home as well as elders in the Adult Day Care and administrators.

3.1.5. Participants

Unfortunately, due to a personal emergency, one of the administrators did not release information regarding NNS and NS in my target group of graduates. To preserve the goodwill of the partnership, it seemed necessary to focus on available participants: the head administrator, the 2 instructors, the secretary, and the two NS and one NNS from the Adult Community School. The same administrator also asked me to not survey the

students. The personal history found in Appendix B is all I could gather in the limited time with participants during class time, as I will discuss in the Method section.

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Gathering information: ECT

Relying on informal individual interviews and conversations I identified the problems the NNS and NS perceived. I also observed two Saturday classes with field notes and limited audio recording. I could only use the survey for the NNS and one of the instructors.

3.2.2. Gathering information: Adult Community School

Language support was given to the NNS during individual meetings on the Fridays before and during the weeks of the Elder Pal instruction. I used a list of high frequency words from the first lesson on the Role of the Home Care Worker to see what words were familiar and unfamiliar with the student. I also used the Mosby textbook's multiple choice questions to assess reading comprehension since the final exam is also multiple choice from the same source. In addition, the readability of the materials—the Schmieding Student text, Mosby textbook, and a textbook used in the Long Term Care Nursing Assistant (LTCNA) course— was assessed using the Flesh-Kincaid program.

3.3. Analysis

3.3.1. Materials readability

In order to give students an entry level to the Home Care Worker Training, I needed to assess the level of reading of the materials. I chose the chain of infection from the first week of reading from each of the textbooks as well as a random chapter. The materials vary in grade level with the Schmieding student handbook ranking from high school to college level. The LTCNA textbook by Diana L. Dugan appears to be more consistently at the eighth grade level.

3.3.2. Perceived and observed problems before the course

Interviews with the instructor and the NNS student conducted before the first module began identified some problems to focus on. In an initial conversation with the administrator / instructor, the role of the home care worker was identified as a difficulty for both NS and NNS students. The NNS student also had difficulty with making inferences about the role of the home care worker while we discussed the answers to an initial reading comprehension assessment.

3.3.3. Perceived and observed problems during the course

After the first two evenings of Elder Pal classes, the NNS student reported problems with the lecture, homework, and using the materials during the lecture. Regarding materials some of the statements reflected lack of time: “my difficulty, homework, reading pages too much. Only one day.” Other statements about the lecture showed that the student had difficulty with the speed as well as focus: “Teacher speed is fast.” “Teacher writing not look whiteboard.” “Is it important? Do I need to catch?” “Not very clear what Teacher said.” Moreover, the student reported having problems finding the corresponding textbook passage with the lecture. These concerns were then incorporated into interview questions to the instructors and the NS students.

In contrast to the above self-reported concerns, the NS students did not report any difficulties with the materials or the lecture. These students and the instructor also reported that they did not observe the NNS student having any problems with the lecture or the materials because they assumed that the NNS student did not have trouble by observing her taking her time and using her dictionary. The nurse instructor explained that she identified important points as “study points”. However, both instructors commented to me separately that they thought it would be better to have a separate class for ESL students. The nurse instructor noted that the NNS seemed to not follow the informal discussions where students shared their opinions.

I observed language problems that the NNS student reported and more than she reported. First, in the lecture, NS #2, who used to be an Emergency Medical Technician (EMT), asked for clarification on two vocabulary items during the lecture, and one of them was “dysphagia”. Next, the NS students were also aware that the NNS needed prompts in remembering the details of the skills. For example, following the nurse instructor's lead, the NS students verified that the NNS student took the correct step in the skill by asking her, “Did you turn on the hot water or cold water first?” Although the NS students did not report any difficulty observed, they were making attempts to help the NNS student.

In addition, I noticed that the NNS student could not follow the gist of the discussions during the lecture. In contrast to gist problems in listening, with reading, the NNS would often ask me more detail questions about general vocabulary, such as the phrase, “people in their 40s and 50s”. Using general vocabulary, for instance, terms related to parts of the body as well as slang and colloquialisms such as “down there” and “privates,” was also challenging for her. However, as the nurse instructor stressed, the students simply need to find out what terms the elder uses or is familiar with.

Finally, I observed there were some specific linguistic features in the lecture that might have been difficult to understand for the NNS students. For example, when socio-pragmatic features of polite communication were quickly addressed. When confronting an elder regarding an observed change the nurse instructor suggested to say that “I noticed you’re a little under the weather” rather than to ask “Are you depressed?” Also, in trying to help students understand terminology, the nurse instructor often used technical terms to clarify meaning. For example, as mentioned previously, NS#2 raised a question regarding “dysphagia”. The nurse instructor responded that the prefix “dys-” means “difficulty” and “phag” means “to swallow”. She then explained that white blood cells were phagocytes because they swallow bacteria. The language of the lecture as well as the lack of scaffolding in academic and medical registers may be a hindrance to NNS learners.

3.4. Results

The ECT’s own evaluation suggests that their materials, lectures, and skills training are meeting their objectives; though limited, a number of participants reported using knowledge and skills they learned to help a family member. Perhaps the responsibilities of a caregiver are not as much of a concern when it is a family member helping another family member. The NNS student also agreed that she understood the role and responsibilities of a home care worker and felt confident about being one (Appendix C). Perhaps this might change within the working context, since the administrator of ECT reported that negotiating the appropriate responsibilities is the most difficult for students to do in a client’s home.

In general, it seems that all the NS participants observed the NNS student experiencing some difficulties. They sometimes could alleviate the difficulty by prompting with detail questions during a skill or asking clarifying questions during the lecture. There seemed to be a general understanding that the NNS needed help (e.g. providing a separate class), but no clear awareness of the specific concerns was observed. For the majority of the time, the NS participants were unaware of the NNS participants’ self-reported and observed linguistic difficulties.

3.4.1. Materials

Although the Schmieding Student Book may give a NS a good overview to approach more detailed reading in the Mosby textbook, the Student Book varies in its level of readability from high school to college level. The level of Mosby textbook also varies, from 8th to 9th grade, a lower level to some high school. For this reason, the intake level should be kept at 9th grade to high school or ASE Low level.

From the NNS’s feedback and from my observation, it is clear that using the DVD was helpful in reviewing and presenting skills. The questions from the final exam and quizzes are taken from the Mosby and Schmieding reading. I am unsure if the linguistic level of these questions can be adjusted to meet the needs of NNS students.

3.4.2. Lecture

The classroom lectures could be altered to meet the needs of NNS students. First, the role and responsibilities of the caregiver could be clarified throughout the lectures by all instructors. Next, critical information and medical terminology could be written on the board. Finally, as Hutchinson and Waters (1987) noted in their own needs analysis for Iranian students studying English for Marine Engineering, Navigation, and Radio Electronics, the content ESL instructors referred to more commonly known situations and systems to explain more specific maritime systems. In this same way, explanations of medical terminology might also use more commonly known examples and terms. The examples and discussions used to exemplify notions of care are difficult for NNS students to understand. While personal narratives may help NS students, the use of long discourse may be overwhelming for NNS learners, especially when they are not familiar with the gist of the discussion.

3.4.3. Skills

NNS students need clear instructions regarding their role in an activity. Since almost all the other skills were satisfactorily acquired, the instructors are capable of modeling to give precision and clarity. Since assisting an elder with cane skills is the only skill where the caregiver acts as a coach; more role play instructions need to be used. Additionally, NNS students could use the checklist in the back of the student book to review the skill before performance assessment.

3.4.4. Other

In the open-ended suggestion section of the evaluation, the NNS student indicated that she would like to have more practice with “vocabulary from the handbook” (e.g., puzzles)

3.5. Limitations

The director of ECT noted that the sample pool was not randomized so it has limited generalizability to other areas of health care. Similarly, I had few participants in my pilot study and will need to wait to see if the size will increase. The lack of access to both materials as well as both past and present students also limited the data I could gather. Moreover, due to schedule conflicts, I could not observe all classroom lectures and skills training.

As previous researchers have pointed out, it is imperative to link the classroom language to the workplace. The scope of this pilot study was limited to the classroom. Also noted by other researchers, it is still difficult to distinguish between difficulties in linguistic competence or in professional competence when students show a discrepancy in achieving performance goals.

3.6. Implications

Creating the bridge for the Adult Community School students to ECT while simultaneously collecting and analyzing data for the purposes of this paper seems to be best described by Hutchinson and Waters (1987) emphasis on English for Specific Purposes “ESP: approach not product” and their discussion of how a “learning-centered approach” (p. 16) within course design is “a negotiated process” as well as a “dynamic process” (p.74). In the middle of the text analysis previously discussed as well as the discourse analysis with observations, I found myself creating a class syllabus and instructional materials (Appendix D) to match the following objectives to help the NNS learn study skills, practice functional language, and acquire lexical items needed to achieve the necessary satisfactory performance in the classroom.

4.0. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The emerging results of this needs analysis have incrementally formed the language support objectives since “objectives are the link that connects the curriculum (i.e., to the materials, testing, teaching, and program evaluation)” (Brown, 2009, p. 284). The goals and objectives are focused on the discrepancy areas observed and identified in classroom materials, lecture, and language used in skills training.

The following are general statements that have guided the learning activities in the language support class. These goals support the Elder Pal goals and are more language specific for NNS students and may change as the program adapts to learners’ needs.

- (1) Use appropriate communication with elders in Activities of Daily Living (ADLs).
- (2) Apply skills needed for active reading and listening.

The more specific instructional objectives are as follows:

- (1) By the end of the course, students will be able to give appropriate and comprehensible instructions and directions, ask for clarification, and negotiate their role with the elder and the family.
- (2) By the end of the course, students will be able to identify the main idea and listen for details in classroom lecture and discussions.
- (3) By the end of the course, students will be able to use their textbook effectively to assist in learning material for written assessments and skills training.

5.0. MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

In order to organize the scope and sequence of materials, a functional content-based syllabus was developed. The student practiced cognitive language skills and strategies in the context of caregiving to elders. In a cognitive framework, students need meaningful practice (e.g., task related to their goals) to transit from declarative knowledge to procedural knowledge. This is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Scope and sequence for Elder Pal Bridge Course for Language Support

Course /week	Goal	Activity
Elder Pal/week 0	a) Use textbook effectively	Needs Assessment Textbook orientation: checklist of skills, vocabulary lists Academic reading strategies Meaning of words in context
Elder Pal /week 1	a) Give appropriate and comprehensible directions and negotiate role b) Identify main idea and details in lectures	I.D. and match parts of body Giving directions for Activities of Daily Living Kinesthetic body positions Active listening for main idea and details in a mini-lecture
Elder Pal /week 2	a) Give appropriate and comprehensible directions and negotiate role	Communication during Activities of Daily Living

6.0. EVALUATION

I was pleased to see that the next module, Alzheimer's Disease and Dementia course, made some changes correlating to problems I had emailed to instructors. First, the nurse instructor included the page number, the column, and the paragraph corresponding to her Power point slide. The same instructor was making a noticeable effort to use more everyday terms instead of technical medical jargon.

Although this class had more lectures than the Elder Pal module, the NNS student had the highest score, 95%, on the final exam. She later told me that she had predicted some of the trickier questions on the exam.

In the future, based on my observations and student evaluation, I would like to give the student scaffolding, practice, and strategies to succeed in the following identified areas:

- 1) Materials: Give students copies of body systems studied in the LTCNA course to help build their background knowledge. Practice top-down and bottom-up reading activities. After the reading assessment, have students role-play a homemaker worker to observe changes in the elder and make decisions about the next step.
- 2) Lecture: Use audiotaped lectures for mini-lectures to help students listen for gist and details, and then have students practice asking questions when they cannot understand the gist.

7.0. REFLECTIONS

The needs analysis of the ECT really became an evaluation of how they met their goals and objectives both for NS and NNS students. Although I met with resistance from instructors, I was pleased to see that some changes were made to accommodate second language learners. I hope that in the future they will be able to target their efforts to growing the program.

I was also pleased to learn from my student that she will go to China to care for her aging parents and then return to finish the homemaker worker modules. She would also like to begin to study Nursing. I informed her that the skills she will learn at ECT are the same skills at the Long Term Care Nursing Assistant (LTCNA) program. Perhaps, this small beginning will become the start of a larger pathway.

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Appendix A: Elder Pal Goals and Objectives

Goals

“Students who successfully complete ... Elder Pal ... achieve a level of competency appropriate for providing care to individuals in need of supervision and minimal assistance with activities of daily living. Elder Pal graduates are trained to provide age appropriate companionship, safety and support in the home or assisted living setting”(Kupuna Education Center, 2013).

Objectives

- (1) To provide students with a brief overview of home care services, methods of reimbursements and self-employment issues.
- (2) To promote a better understanding of caregiver issues and identify strategies for assisting families in crises.
- (3) To describe the functions and responsibilities of the Elder Pal and the personal qualities essential for performing the required tasks competently and compassionately.
- (4) To provide a brief overview and promote understanding of the legal and ethical implications for the Elder Pal.
- (5) To stimulate the student to increase self-awareness, skills and knowledge to better understand and provide quality care for others.
- (6) To promote an increased understanding of communication and provide methods to enhance communication with others.
- (7) To provide students with basic information related to observation techniques, observation reports and documentation of routine and on-routine events.
- (8) To provide basic information on the causes of infection and the use of standard precautions to prevent the spread of infection.
- (9) To provide basic information related to normal changes due to aging, as well as methods for assisting older adults with specific conditions/ diseases and age-appropriate activities.

(Schmieding Center for Senior Health and Education of Northwest Arkansas, 2008, p. 3)

Appendix B: Limited Personal History of Participants.

	Gender	Country of origin	Background in medical field	Educational background	L2,3 languages?	Goals for the class
NS #1	Male	USA (Hawai'i)	Taking care of family elders	College	Dutch	Start home care business
NS #2	Male	USA (Hawai'i)	1 yr exp. as an EMT (4 yrs. ago)	College	None	Start home care business
NNS	Female	China	Family members in medical field/ experience in Chinese reflexology	High School	English	Employment

Appendix C: Perceived and Self-reported Problems for Self and NNS

Stakeholder	Materials	Lecture	Skills
Admin/ Instructor	Role of Home Care Worker	Role of Home Care Worker	Cane Skills
Nurse Instructor	None	Informal Discussion	Role in assisting cane skills
NS #1	Answers in the back, Schmieding book is helpful	NNS answered "False" when question was open-ended	None
NS #2	None	NNS: Uses dictionary Takes time	None
Analyst (classroom observation)		NNS: asks questions to clarify	NS: give prompts to NNS
NNS	Not enough time for homework; Schmieding book is difficult	Speed/ Focus/ Can't find in book	Male /Female contact
Analyst	Book: role, inference, varied readability DVD: detail listening	Problems with gist in discussions; difficult terminology; socio-pragmatic	Directions, small talk, fluency with basic medical terms, slang

Appendix D: Sorting Appropriate Phrases with Functions of Care

“Is the water warm enough?” “Is it too hot?” “Is it too cold?” “Are you warm enough?” “Do you need another bath blanket?” “Is the water starting to cool?” “Is the room warm enough?”	Personal Hygiene
“Am I hurting you?” “Do you need a pillow adjusted?” “Are you comfortable?” “How can I help make you more comfortable?”	Moving, handling, and transferring
“What would you like to wear today?” “There’s a party today. Do you want to wear something special?” “Can I help you with those buttons?” “Would you like me to help you with that zipper?” “Did you wash down there?” “I’m going to finish your bath.”	Grooming

Note: Instructor cuts phrases on the left in strips. Student places strips in functional categories.

MAGIC, BUSINESS, AND COMEDY: THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CHINESE IN 18TH-CENTURY FRENCH THEATRE

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ABSTRACT

Language reflects societal attitudes. In 18th-century France, French theatre revealed societal attitudes through its use of language in theatrical roles. During this century, the inclusion of characters from the Orient became more common. "Magic, Business, and Comedy: The Representation of the Chinese in 18th-century French Theatre" examines this trend. In each of the plays discussed, the Chinese play an integral role and reveal French attitudes toward them, French knowledge of Chinese culture, and something about French-Chinese relations. The plays reveal a limited knowledge of the Chinese, but a growing interest in the Sino people and their society.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of the 18th century in France, many things come to mind: the royal family, the nobility, the fashions, life at Versailles, the political situation, and eventually the Revolution. One does not usually think of Chinese influence in France during this time, with the possible exceptions of the influence of Chinese fashion and the art of porcelain. This paper will discuss the importance of the representations of the Chinese in French theatre by looking at the representations themselves and at the context of the representations in French theatre in the 18th century. The representations of Chinese culture that we see in French theatre are typical of the time period; however, these representations also give some indication of the relationship between the French and the Chinese at the time. In addition to showing what was in style in France during this time period, the representation of the Chinese in French theatre in the 18th century manifests stereotypes that continue today.

The representation of the Chinese in 18th century French theatre is influenced by the idea of the "other" and enhances the idea of Orientalism. Orientalism is the idea of differentiating and separating the West from the East. The scholar Edward Said changed the perspective of Orientalism. "Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist poet or scholar makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West."¹ Orientalism is, according to Edward Said, the idea that the West defines the East and that it groups many different cultures together in one group. The West, he writes, sees the East as one entity and not for the true diversity that is present. The groups which were defined as the Orient at the time were comprised of many different groups, including the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, China, and the Kingdom of Siam. Said describes the situation clearly when he points out that it is an "Uneven exchange with various kinds of power."²

One of the interesting facts about the plays that the French were presenting was that they were doing so with little knowledge of or experience with Chinese culture. The audience for these plays in most cases was none the wiser as to whether or not the representation of the Chinese was correct. That is not to say that the representations were necessarily mean or that they were lacking examples, often based on voyage journals, but they certainly were not truly informed. "Thus all of Orientalism stands forth and away from the Orient: that Orientalism makes sense at all depends more on the West than the Orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear "there" in discourse about it."³ Homi Bhaba remarks that it is not only a way of controlling the "other" person or the community. It is important for the modern reader to understand the century. "As literary creatures and political animals we ought to concern ourselves with the understanding of human action and the social world as a moment when something is beyond control, but it is not beyond accommodation... For a critic must attempt to fully realize, and take responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that the historical present."⁴

Although the notion of Orientalism as defined by Edward Said did not exist in the 18th century, there were men termed as orientalist during the century. One orientalist, François Pétis de La Croix, visited Versailles to advise the king on his relations with the Ottoman Empire.⁵ For the public, the idea of the Orient was present in the century discourse. In *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie française* in 1694, the Orient was defined as "Orient Se prend aussi les Etats, les Provinces de la grande Asie comme l'Empire du Mogol, le Royaume de Siam, de la Chine, &c. Les regions de l'orient, les Peuples d'orient, les Princes d'orient. voyager en

orient. cela vient d'orient. des perles d'orient. une agate d'orient."⁶ This definition mentions the political entities discussed above, but also mentions the people, the culture, and the goods of the Orient. Rey Chow notes that most people who study Chinese literature start with the literature of 1919; therefore, it would seem that the spectators of 18th century would not have been too familiar with Chinese culture.⁷

The fascination with the Orient was, nevertheless, important in 18th- century France. The world of Louis XIV was the definition of splendor and luxurious life for all of Europe, and the glory of France in the 18th century made chinoiserie an important fashion across the continent. The influence of the Orient can be seen at this time in fashion, literature, theatre, and architecture. The French also used the arts as a way of discussing the politics of the day. In the case of the Orient, they looked specifically at the Turkish and Chinese cultures. The French also took inspiration from cultures with whom they were having disputes or conflicts.

2.0. THE FRENCH-CHINESE CONNECTION

France had sent explorers and an ambassador to China as early as the 16th century. However, during the reign of Louis XIV, France had its first Chinese visitor to Versailles. His name was Michel Shen Fuzong, and he visited Versailles in 1684.⁸ "One of the earliest well-documented voyages of a Chinese to Europe was that Shen Fuzong (b.1658), baptized Michael Alphonse. The Jesuit Father Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) met Shen's father, a prominent Chinese Christian physician, while working in Jiangsu province in the lower Yangzi region. Couplet was preparing to return to Europe to drum up support for the China Mission, and his superiors decided that the effort would be aided by taking several Chinese candidates for priesthood. Of the five candidates whom they originally intended to send, Shen was the only one who reached Europe. In Paris they attracted a crowd when they said mass at Montmartre. At Versailles Louis XIV was fascinated by Shen eating with little ivory chopsticks and, in an unusual display of favor, had all the fountains turned on."⁹

Another important Chinese figure was Arcadio Huang, who came to France with Bishop Artus de Lionne and remained there, working for the King until his death in 1716.¹⁰ He worked in the royal library with Chinese books.¹¹ In addition to his work, some other details are available about Huang's life. "We have hints of a number of marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans during that time, but we know remarkably little about these unions. One notable exception was the marriage of a Chinese man named Arcadio Huang to a Parisian woman named Marie-Claude Regnier in 1713...Huang was born in 1679 in Fujian province to Catholic converts, who, after producing four girls, had vowed to dedicate their next child to God if it were male. Their prayers, were answered, and they fulfilled their vow. Baptized as Arcadio, their son was adopted by a priest of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. In 1702 Huang was brought to Europe by Bishop Artus de Lionne. Rather than enter holy orders, Huang used his native knowledge of Chinese-then unique in Paris- to secure the position of assistant to the king's librarian in cataloging the Chinese books in the royal library. Huang became proficient in French and began courting Mademoiselle Regnier. In spite of Huang's precarious financial situation and warnings from several churchmen, Marie-Claude's parents approved of the marriage. For a while, they seemed to prosper as Huang became a popular figure in Parisian salons. The Huangs moved to a larger apartment and Marie-Claude gave birth to a girl. Although the baby was healthy, her mother died a few days later. Discouraged and deeply in debt, Huang died a year and a half later, on 15 October 1716. His daughter, also named Marie-Claude, died a few months later."¹²

These examples illustrate that there were important relations between France and China in the 17th and 18th centuries. The most influential contact occurring between the French and the Chinese resulted from the Jesuit missionaries, who went to China to convert the Chinese. These missionaries wrote accounts of their travels, and this correspondence gave images of the Chinese, not only to the French, but to other Europeans as well.

While the idea of the "other" was very much in fashion in France in the 18th century and was heightened by war and political conflicts, we also see this theme carried over into the world of fashion and literature. In *le Dictionnaire Universel*, Antoine Furetière defines porcelain while also giving a little history of the relations between France and China. Porcelain was very important to the Franco-Chinese relationship, because it encouraged movement and relations between the two countries. Furetière gives a detailed description of the history of porcelain which came to France from the region of Kinagsy in China.¹³ He also uses the word "magnifique" to describe the porcelain. This term also appears as a theme that is connected to mystery

throughout the plays that are examined.¹⁴

The fact that Chinese things were very much in fashion at the end of the 18th century resulted in the creation of the term “chinoiserie.” This term refers to the way in which objects are made in the Chinese manner or style. Examples include jade, porcelain vases, etc. It is interesting because there is also the term “turquerie,” which bears the same meaning as chinoiserie, but for all things Turkish.¹⁵ Like the Chinese, the Turks were present in literature in France during the century before, with the example of the Turkish ceremony in the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* by Molière. The representation of the Turks was present in comedy in France, and this was the same for the Chinese.

It appears that the idea of exoticism was more associated with the Americas during this time. Gilbert Chinard explains that exoticism at that time was associated with the Americas and that the consequences of this obsession was the same for the Chinese. America was seen as very exotic and acted as an inspiration for writers.¹⁶ Chinard’s explanation could be related to the Chinese situation. In the theatre and literature works that Chinard discusses, he uses the themes of the savage and the importance of the decor to describe the scene. The theme of the “other” is also present. The references about the Chinese came from travel logs of explorers and missionaries, which were very important for the representations of the Chinese in France. Chinard explains the situation of the travel logs in relation to America, but the phenomenon was the same in that the travel logs could not explain the situation perfectly; in addition, by the second half of the century, they had lost a lot of their originality.¹⁷ This observation by Chinard appears during the same century as all of the plays which are discussed in this paper.

At the same time as the representations of the Chinese were appearing in the theatre in France, questions of race and identity were being studied in the world of science. During the 18th century, Carl von Linné studied race.¹⁸ He attributed the color of skin to characteristics of race. He observed that Asians had the characteristics of melancholy, yellow skin, inflexibility, severity, and avarice.¹⁹ He described Europeans as pale, astute and inventive.²⁰ All these elements worked together in the culture of the century to stereotype other nationalities and to heighten curiosity about the Chinese and other cultures.

3.0. THE IMAGE OF THE CHINESE IN THE FRENCH THEATRE

To study the Chinese characters in the 18th-century theatre, I will discuss three plays and one ballet pantomime by looking at their similarities and differences. After looking at the plays, I will discuss the consequences of the representation of Chinese characters in these plays. Finally, I will discuss whether or not the representations in these 18th century plays continue in France today.

The first play, *Orphées ou Arlequin aux Enfers* (*Orpheus or Harlequin in Hell*), was published in 1711. This play was for the fair theatre, and its audience was the general public. Therefore, the language used is not very complicated. By the title, it is clear that the subject of the play is serious, since it deals with the theme of hell. The decoration of the scene is of hell with a mountain with fire.²¹ The language Arlequin uses indicates that they will talk about the subject of pain. Since the play is for the theatre, there is not a lot of dialogue. There are, however, extensive descriptions of the actors and directions for the scenes. Before the Chinese character arrives, the other characters who have already been introduced are: Arlequin, Scaramouche, Pluton, and the Swiss villain. In the sixth scene, Arlequin charms the Swiss with a lyre. Arlequin sings a couplet where he describes the horrible image of hell as pain and suffering.²² Meanwhile, Pluton refuses the prayer of Prosperine. The situation looks bleak for the main characters. In the last scene, the Chinese character arrives in hell. We do not know anything about this Chinese character, including what his clothes look like or even his age. The play only says that a Chinese arrives in hell on a stretcher and arrives in a comic way.²³ The comedic entrance of the Chinese creates a relief from the tense scene. There are no explicit directions as to how the actor is dressed or how he is supposed to come to the stage comically. The spectators would not have found it unusual to have a Chinese in hell due to the fact that most of the Chinese population was not Christian. The Chinese man represents the comedy that lowers the tension between Prosperine and Pluton. It is amusing when the Chinese character arrives because he is on a stretcher. Because this is not the way one usually thinks of someone arriving in hell, this is a comical situation. With the little description that we have, we can conclude that the actor must have used dress and cultural references of the century for the public to know that the character was Chinese. There are two other moments in the play when the Chinese character is present. In the

end, the Chinese character eats with all the other characters and is saved.²⁴ Although the Chinese character is not the principal character of the story, the fact that there is a Chinese character present indicates French awareness of the Chinese and interest in them.

The second play with Chinese characters is *l'Opérateur Chinois, ballet pantomime*. *L'Opérateur Chinois, ballet pantomime* was written by Jean-Baptiste Dehesse (1705-1779). The first time the play was presented was in front of the King in the *Théâtre de Petits Appartements* at Versailles on December 12, 1748. Since it is a ballet pantomime, there is not a lot of dialogue, but there are directions for the dancers. The story is about a Chinese operator, a business man, who is in charge of a theatre where there is a show with other characters such as a German baron, a philosopher, and other strangers. The ballet pantomime has the characters of the Chinese operator, three Chinese, two more Chinese men, two Chinese women, a philosopher, three innocent men, three innocent women, a Swiss man, a Swiss woman, a simple man, a simple woman, a German man, a German woman, and a peasant man. Although there are a lot of characters, we do not have a description of their costumes. There are also no names given because the ballet pantomime relies on the visual imagery of the scene. However, at the beginning of the ballet pantomime, there is a description of all things exotic; it is a scene within a scene. The scene opens with merchants with many things to sell. All things that are being mentioned to be sold are exotic, such as Armenian coffee.²⁵ The theatre is described as being decorated in the Chinese style with a theatre of marionettes. The Chinese operator is described as exotic and having utensils for alchemy.²⁶ This pairing of alchemy with Chinese culture gives a sense of mystery and magic. The relation between chemistry and the Chinese presents a stereotype that would persist over time. This idea has been perpetuated in other ways, especially because the Chinese in the ballet pantomime gives the fool a remedy.

The Chinese men and women continue to be present throughout the ballet pantomime, along with the Swiss. It is interesting to have these two nationalities together, because they were both present in the first play as well. The characters that are present represent things that are seen as exotic during the century. It is difficult with a ballet pantomime to describe the Chinese, because there is no dialogue or details about the costumes of the actors; however, it is significant that this ballet pantomime has so many Chinese characters, rather than one comedic one. The Chinese characters are presented as vendors who work with science, another stereotype which still continues today.

The third play gives another image of the Chinese during the 18th century. *Les fêtes parisiennes, comédie en un acte, en vers, mêlée de chants, de danses* was written by François-Antoine Chevrier. The play is the story of a man who wants to have a party for a woman; it is a love story that ends well. However, there is a character that is interesting and important to analyze for this study. There is one Chinese character named M. de la Chine (Mr. China). From the beginning, there is a difference between Mr. China and the other characters in that all the other characters are given first names, and Mr. China is not. What the author is saying by this omission is that what is most important is the fact that Mr. China is Chinese. In addition, Mr. China represents the comedy of the play. His character is described as dressed in the Chinese style with an Arlequin mask.²⁷ Arlequin's mask is well-known in the world of French theatre where it has been used for many years to represent comedy. Thus, the character of Mr. China is a comedic character.

Mr. China is not a principal character in the play, but he plays an important part when he arrives in the fifth scene. Upon arrival, he has a conversation with Mr. Geronte, the main character, in which Mr. China tells Mr. Geronte what he does for a living. He says that he is a painter, actor, poet, decorator, musician, etc.²⁸ Mr. Geronte asks if he is really Chinese.²⁹ This suggests the negative image the French had of Chinese people. It would seem that the French had certain preconceptions as to what the Chinese were like and what kind of work they were expected to do. Mr. Geronte's response shows that during the century the French did not associate those artistic pursuits named by Mr. China with the Chinese. The audience would most likely not have known any Chinese and would not question these stereotypes; indeed, the play could well perpetuate stereotypes of the Chinese. In response to his question, Mr. China tells Mr. Geronte that he wishes to be Italian.³⁰ Mr. China then talks about how he wants to make wine.³¹ Despite his aspirations, by the end of the conversation Mr. China says that he actually works with magic.³² Magic as a work possesses a sense of mystery and is something that was traditionally associated with the Chinese. This has not only been present in French literature, but has also been seen in American pop culture. When Mr. Geronte asks Mr. China what his true work is, he replies that it is better to be a foreign decorator than to be a French decorator in France. This suggests the popularity of Chinese decorative style in France. Mr. China also says that it is good to be a foreigner as long as you are not a

Turk.³³ This remark would seem to indicate that there is a hierarchy among ethnic groups. Mr. Geronte finally asks Mr. China to organize a party for him, and Mr. China asks how much money Mr. Geronte is willing to pay. This theme of the Chinese as a business people focused on making money is a recurring theme, even today. Mr. China comes back in Scene Eight where he only has one line, asking if anyone laughed; this scene once again associates the Chinese with comedy. The last line for Mr. China is in Scene Ten when he talks about the beauty of the scene with everyone.³⁴

The last play is Charles-Simon Favart's *Les chinois, comédie en un acte, en vers, mêlée d'ariettes*. This play is a parody of an Italian play, *Del Cinese*. All the characters in the play are Chinese: Xiao, Agésie, Tamtam, Chimca, attendant of Xiao (a mute), and Xiao's slaves. It is the story of one Chinese family where Xiao, the father, wants his daughter Agésie to have a prestigious marriage. She likes Tamtam who works for her father, though, and hers is thus a forbidden love. Honor and prestige are the central themes of the play. Xiao is rich, which is shown by his having an attendant and slaves. The story is not that different from *le Cid* by Pierre Corneille with a love forbidden by a father. This play is different from the others, though, because the characters' actions are typical for people in France. There is one scene with a discussion about the difference between the Chinese and the French. Tamtam and Agésie are two young lovers. Tamtam tells Agésie that he has traveled around the world, and he goes on to tell her the difference between intercourse in France and China. He says that in France intercourse is not as savage.³⁵ Tamtam goes on to say, in particular, that women in China are slaves to men, while women in France have more freedom to fulfill their desires.³⁶ The message is that the Chinese are more savage than the French. The comparison of the countries continues at the end of the play when Xiao decides to allow the marriage between Agésie and Tamtam. Agésie says to Tamtam that in China we dispose of someone to marriage without knowing the person that is our destiny.³⁷ This again continues the idea that there is not as much liberty in China as in France, especially for women. Nevertheless, everything ends happily for the characters. At the end, Tamtam and Agésie get married with Xiao's permission. The play ends with singers singing some fake Chinese language, "Xin, Xin, Kanin, Xin, Xin."³⁸ Favart created this "Chinese" language. The play *Les Chinois* uses comedy throughout, especially with the different singing scenes. The Chinese in this play do not have the same sense of strangeness or othering as the Chinese in the other plays. There is more of a connection between the themes in this play with the French and their society during the century.

The first Chinese immigrants came to Paris in great numbers after the first World War.³⁹ Before that time, representations of the Chinese in the 19th century typically grouped them with people termed as Asian and not specifically Chinese. In 1800, there was a man named Tchong-A-Sam. He came to Paris after having been captured by a French boat. He stayed in prison in Bordeaux for six months where his interrogation reports characterize him as a true Chinese.⁴⁰ They continue to describe him, looking at his skull and measuring it, saying that all his characteristics are Mongol.⁴¹ Their curiosity about him demonstrates the continued French fascination with the Chinese. This fascination continued in 20th- century theatre, which dealt to a greater extent with Asian culture more generally. In Eugène Ionesco's *Rhinocéros*, there is scene in which the characters discuss the characteristics of Asian rhinos.⁴² The rhino is described as having a yellow color, a stereotype of Asian people. Thus, the use of Chinese characters and the fascination with Chinese and Asian cultures in the French theatre persists, but with many immigrants and increased relations among countries, there is certainly more knowledge of Chinese culture in France today.

4.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have discussed the representations of the Chinese and China during the 18th century in French theatre. Even though the Chinese were not the main subject of 18th-century French theatre, the representation of the Chinese is important to understanding how the French regarded the Chinese during the 18th century and to revealing what stereotypes from that period continue today. This paper has not attempted to represent the true character of the Chinese, but to get an idea about how Chinese culture was understood in 18th-century France.

The idea of Orientalism is different from what we see today, and it contributed to the curiosity toward the Chinese. This helps to understand why there were Chinese characters present in French theatre. As we have discussed, these images of Chinese people were based on the travel logs of explorers and missionaries and on Chinese visitors to France. This fascination was heightened by the fashion and art of the day that was being

influenced by China. All of these factors led to the creation of Chinese characters in French theatre that fell into three categories of portrayal: magic, business, and comedy. From time to time, the Chinese characters had roles that fit the societal norms instead of being strange or exotic. All the characters that we have looked at, although very different, did have some common elements of strangeness, curiosity, and mystery. For the most part, the Chinese characters of 18th- century French theatre did not create stereotypes that have continued; however, being able to compare these 18th- century representations helps us to take a critical look at our society. It is important to study these Chinese characters to study the theatre of the 18th century and to get a better understanding of the relationship between France and China, but also to consider the idea of the other and the stranger.

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LANGUAGE ACCESS AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETING IN HAWAII

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ABSTRACT

This brief paper discusses the challenges facing community interpreting as a developing profession in Hawai'i, and addresses the legal precedents that determine Hawai'i's approach to providing Limited English Proficient (LEP) speakers equal access to the courts, healthcare, and social service programs. Despite the vital role that community interpreters play in providing LEP speakers access to these services and programs, practitioners struggle to be recognized as professionals by members of the public and by service providers. The discussion will include ethical issues specific to the field, the challenges of developing professional practitioners, and the extra-linguistic skills needed to do the job.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment of interpreters and translators is projected to grow 46% from 2012 to 2022, much faster than the average for all occupations. Employment growth will be driven by increasing globalization and by large increases in the number of non-English-speaking people in the United States. Job prospects should be best for those who have professional certification."

For most of human history, and still very often today, interpreters have simply been language skilled individuals serving ad hoc. This has not always led to good interpreting, and much has been lost in translation. Untrained interpreters have a variety of pernicious effects, despite, very often, the best intentions of the interpreter. The ethics of accuracy, impartiality and confidentiality are often compromised by untrained interpreters. They lack the applied skills in memory and note taking that allow professional interpreters to deliver a high degree of accuracy. They assume roles such as mediator and advocate that damage or destroy their ability to appear impartial. The strict confidentiality that distinguishes professional interpreters falls by the wayside. All this impacts public perceptions about interpreters: the role boundaries of interpreters are blurred; it seems any bilingual person can do the job, even a child. The public is left with a fundamental misconception about what the role of the interpreter is, what it is not, and what skills are needed to do the job.

1.1. The Modernization of Interpreting

Modern interpreting practices, which have a strong focus on the ethics of interpretation, have their roots in international law and diplomacy. It was in such settings that interpreting became a modern profession, and this type of interpreting, generally referred to as "conference interpreting", has come to define what it means to be a professional interpreter. It is the standard used at the United Nations, the Council of the European Union, and other missions of international diplomacy. Reputable interpreters on the conference circuit also get many of the high-grossing jobs interpreting at closed-door business meetings where confidentiality and accuracy are indispensable. They get these jobs because of their strict adherence to professional ethics and their proven skills. Conference interpreting is the highest paid, most prestigious branch of the interpreting profession. That is where the money and prestige are, and today all but a handful of emerging interpretation programs focus on conference interpreting. But conference interpreting is limited to a select number of languages and contexts, and primarily serves those in a position of influence or expertise (Edwards, 1995).

1.2. Growing Demand for Interpreters

The need for interpreters' services is increasing all over the world (Hannouna, 2012). In the U.S., courts at the federal and state level, healthcare, and government service providers all face a growing demand for capable interpreters. Demand is rising because of globalization, and also because of legal precedents dating back to the latter part of the 20th century. The passing of Title VI of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, and subsequent laws built upon it, have had a great influence on the role and mandate language interpreters practicing in the U.S. today. Of particular importance for interpreters working in the judiciary has been the Court Interpreters Act (1978). It was the passing of this law that led to the development of the Spanish/English Federal Court Interpreter Certification Examination (FCICE), first implemented in 1980. The FCICE is notoriously difficult, and rigorous training and extensive knowledge are required to pass. Individuals who pass the exam often go on to become important resources for the interpreting community, serving as trainers,

educators, role models, and even returning as exam raters and consultants. Currently, the FCICE is only offered in Spanish as determined by demand in federal courts (although versions of the exam have been developed in Navajo and Haitian Creole). As a result, Spanish/English interpreters are arguably the most comprehensively trained and vetted group of interpreters in the U.S. court system today.

The field of medical interpreting has also seen recent changes due to federal legislation. Many hospitals receive federal funds, which means that they must comply with federal regulations. Executive Order 13166, issued under the Clinton administration in 2000, was the first piece of legislation to define “meaningful access to services” and coined the rather unfortunate term “Limited English Proficient” (LEP), which sounds a bit like a disease. The order requires federal agencies to examine the services they provide, identify any need for services to those with LEP, and develop and implement a system to provide those services so LEP persons can have meaningful access to them. In 2006 the State of Hawai‘i called for measures to be taken to ensure meaningful access to services at the state level. Executive Order 13166 had a trickle down effect, forming the basis of language access laws in Hawai‘i: Hawai‘i Revised Statutes § 321C-1 to 321C-7, based on Executive Order 13166, establish the Office of Language Access, and require agencies which receive state funds to take reasonable steps to ensure “meaningful access” to LEP persons.

1.3. Certification and Training

The Court Interpreters Act was amended in 1988 in order to clearly lay out the provisions for certification and registry of federal court interpreters on a national level. Certification programs for court interpreters working at the state level were later taken up by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC). State certification exams are based on the FCICE, and are likewise performance-based and very difficult; they usually require extensive training to pass, even for experienced interpreters. However, obtaining certification is attractive because it comes with a concomitant rise in earning power. This is the driving force behind increasing demand for training programs, particularly for court interpreting. However, interpreter training programs were not provided for in the Court Interpreters Act or its subsequent amendments. For interpreters working outside the conference circuit, this means that the development of training programs has been a long-drawn-out and unsteady process.

Training programs for court interpreters in Hawai‘i often take the form of weekend workshops and short training courses spanning a few weeks. Some interpreters take translation and interpretation courses at University of Hawai‘i or one of its affiliates. Although for the most part these training options are fairly basic in comparison to the comprehensive training and vetting of conference interpreting training programs, they have begun to have a positive impact on interpreters working outside of the courts as well; in states like Hawai‘i, where an interpreter might work in court in the morning and have an assignment in the hospital in the afternoon, studying for a court interpreting exam means that he or she can provide better interpretation in hospital, too.

Training is a crucial step in the process of standardization of professional practices in any field; interpreting is no exception. According to Mikkelsen (1996), training institutions have a positive impact because once a critical mass of well-trained practitioners is working in the market, they organize to protect clients from malpractice and to protect themselves from outsiders. In this way trained professionals help to regulate the market, and ensure professional standards of practice. In Hawaii, consistent and high standards of interpretation in courtroom, legal, and other community settings still appear to be some way off. Training institutions will play a key role in the process of standardization of professional practices.

According to this analysis, there are 2 potential barriers to LEP individuals getting access to the courts, healthcare, and social services: failure on the part of the court or service provider to provide meaningful access by means of an interpreter or translated literature—an offense punishable by state and federal law; and failure on the part of the interpreter (or translator) to adequately meet the demands of his or her job—an issue of training and professional ethics. This calls for action on two fronts: 1) action on the part of an agency such as the Office of Language Access to facilitate or impel service providers’ conformity with the law, 2) action on the part of some capable body to investigate the training and qualifications of practicing interpreters.

There is another issue as well. Interpreting can be an inconsistent way to earn a living, which means educated immigrants who are proficient in English and have potential to be good interpreters may choose a different profession. Furthermore, trained interpreters sometimes get siphoned off to more predictable careers

where earnings are consistent. Without actually asking interpreters, however, it is difficult to know for certain what their reasons are for changing professions, or what could be done to keep them serving as interpreters.

My proposed research will attempt to collect basic information about the professional development and qualifications of language interpreters in Hawai'i. To the best of my knowledge, no organizing body has attempted to comprehensively collect data from language interpreters working in Hawai'i. This diverse community of professionals and laypersons is loosely organized by affiliation with professional organizations and interpretation agencies, but there is little or no existing data about the number of practitioners in the field, number of assignments completed, sites of interpretation, or training and experience levels of practitioners. I plan to collect data from practicing interpreters to answer these basic questions.

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