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CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS	v
I. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND PEDAGOGY	1
L2 LEARNERS' REFLECTION ON TASK PERFORMANCE: FROM THE TASK-BASED CLASSROOM TO THE REAL WORLD	3
<i>Chie Ogawa, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	
A LANGUAGE PROGRAM EVALUATION OF A KOREAN SECONDARY EFL GENERAL ENGLISH CURRICULUM	12
<i>Moonyoung Park, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	
IMPLEMENTATION OF COMPUTER-ASSISTED TASK-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING IN SECONDARY EFL SETTINGS IN KOREA	25
<i>Moonyoung Park, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	
MODAL FREQUENCY IN JAPANESE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS: A CORPUS-BASED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	36
<i>Ryoko Ueno, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	
INFLUENCE OF KOREAN POPULAR CULTURE ON KOREAN L2 LEARNERS' MOTIVATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION	42
<i>Jae Rim Yoon, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	
II. LANGUAGE USE AND CULTURE	53
REACHING ACROSS TWO OCEANS: STRENGTHENING THE WAVES OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN HAWAIIANS AND VIEQUENSES	55
<i>Rebekah S. Garrison, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas</i>	
THE DUALITY OF A HOMOSEXUAL EPITHET IN SPORTS	59
<i>James Grama, Department of Linguistics</i>	
<i>Bodo Winter, Department of Linguistics</i>	
DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE MOTHER-DAUGHTER AND FATHER-DAUGHTER PHONE CONVERSATIONS	66
<i>Emiko Kamimoto, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	
MAKING A SOLDIER OUT OF A CIVILIAN: LINGUISTIC IDENTITY IN THE U.S. MILITARY	74
<i>Joelle Kirtley, Department of Linguistics</i>	
GENDER IN WRITTEN TEXTS – FROM THE EARLY SHŌWA ERA TO THE HEISEI ERA	81
<i>Nobuo Kubota, Department of East Asian Language and Literature</i>	
'CO-OPERATIVE' MEN: PHATIC COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA MASCULINITY IN JAPANESE MEN'S CONVERSATIONS	90
<i>Kristyn Martin, Department of East Asian Languages and Literature</i>	

VOICES OF LEARNERS OF HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE <i>Hiromi Yoshida, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	101
III. LITERATURE AND WRITING PEDAGOGY	111
CLARIMONDE AND THE CULLENS <i>William Cavert, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas</i>	113
PATTERNS OF ILLICIT PASSIONS: IMAGERY AND POETIC TECHNIQUES IN THE LOVE POETRY OF PRINCESS SHIKISHI <i>Małgorzata Citko, Department of East Asian Languages and Literature</i>	120
MENTORING ARGUMENTATION: PEDAGOGIES COMBINING THE TOULMIN AND ROGERS METHODS <i>Steven Holmes, Department of English</i>	133
CASTING MENTORS AS SELF-EFFICACY BUILDERS IN THE FIRST-YEAR COMPOSITION CLASSROOM <i>Cornelius Rubsamen, Department of English</i>	138
ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS	143
ABOUT THE EDITORS	145

PREFACE

John McE. Davis, PhD Student in Second Language Studies
Gavin Lamb, MA Student in Second Language Studies

On Saturday, April 17th, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its fourteenth annual graduate student conference. The theme of the conference was *Looking at Language and the World: Past, Present, and Future* with papers highlighting how language shapes who people are and how they interact in the world. A diverse group of graduate students and faculty were represented from the Departments of English, Linguistics, Second Language Studies, East Asian Languages and Literatures, and Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas. The plenary speech was given by Emeritus Professor Jean Toyama, followed by 34 student presentations. Sixteen of the presentations are included in the proceedings.

On behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, we would like to thank the faculty and student volunteers who gave their time and energy to making the conference a success. We would especially like to thank the conference co-chairs, Heejin Kim, Sakol Suethanapornkul, and Hiromi Yoshida, without whom the conference would not have been possible. Our thanks also to the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, food and beverage organizers, audiovisual and technical coordinators, program designers, panel moderators, and on-site volunteers for their assistance.

We would also like to thank Robert Bley-Vroman for his support and help during the preparation of the proceedings. In particular, we are especially grateful to Iris Chang and her assistant, Oliver de Silva, for guiding us through the publication process. As in years past, Iris Chang's assistance has been indispensable. Finally, our thanks to the contributors for their quality submissions, patience, and hard work during the editing process. We wish them well in their future research endeavors.

PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

Gavin Lamb, MA Student in Second Language Studies

Jean Toyama was born and raised in Hawai'i and is emerita professor of French at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She taught at the university for over thirty years as well as served as the associate dean of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature. Over her distinguished career as an educator, poet, scholar, translator, and writer of fiction, Jean Toyama published both books and articles among them *Beckett's Game: Self and Language in the Trilogy*. Since retirement she has concentrated on her poetry and fiction.

Jean Toyama honored the Languages, Linguistics and Literature conference by giving the plenary speech at the 2010 opening ceremony, the theme being *Looking at Language and the World: Past, Present, and Future*. She began by thanking the organizing committee for their invitation and, having attended many of these conferences in the past, said she was honored to be included among previous keynote speakers. She started by discussing her participation in the 30th anniversary of Bamboo Ridge Press, which is among the longest surviving small presses in the nation. *No Choice but to Follow*, a volume of linked verse and the topic of her address, was the result of this participation. (The scholarly article included in the volume was written with a grant from the Hawai'i Council for the Humanities and the CD by a grant from SEED.)

Thus, the title of her talk: "*No Choice but to Follow, a renshi in the 21st Century.*"

She began by posing the questions, "Why is it (*No Choice but to Follow*) necessarily of the 21st century and what is *renshi*?"

Starting with the second question first, she explained that "*Renshi* is collaborative or linked poetry, a modern version of Japanese classical *renga* or *renku*." She emphasized the fact that, as in the heyday of *renga* during the Kamakura period in the 17th century, with exemplary poets such as Matsuo Basho, the *process* is as critical as the product. Collaboration was key in the composition of *renga* and writing was a time of camaraderie and competition. The length of time spent writing depended on the length of the *renga* (whether 1000, 100, 50, or 36 links). Dr. Toyama quoted the *renga* expert Konishi Jin'ichi as saying, "the overriding principle of *renga* is that there be no overt expression of personal thought, feelings or views; only the first verse could present a personal voice; each link is a response to the previous link; in other words the voice of the author is absent." In order to ensure that the voice and individuality of the author remain absent from the links, "lot's of rules" were put into place such as the syllabic form (5-7-5) or the requirement to include certain words at certain intervals such as flower, or moon. Each link was then approved by an arbiter before being continued by the next poet. In this way, Dr. Toyama explained, "there's little room for individuality, creativity, a personal voice."

More recently, the Japanese poet, Makoto Ooka, renewed the art of *renga* by observing that the technological era has exacerbated a "modern sense of impermanence," which "expressed itself on the one hand as enervation, and on the other as aggressive egocentrism which rejected tradition and norms. It is difficult for people with such ideas to pay heed to the cultural legacies of preceding generations. Even when exposed to those legacies, they are in most cases unable to appreciate them. They can, therefore, do nothing but disregard preceding generations."

Returning to her first question, "Why is *this renshi* (the links of *No Choice but to Follow*) necessarily of the 21st century?" Dr. Toyama stressed that Western poetry is usually a solitary endeavor that values individuality and creativity. To write linked poetry, as the Japanese did with rules about everything and a proscription against a personal voice, would go against the grain of this western romantic tradition. The *renshi* that she and three other poets collaborated on was a liberated "*renga*". There was only one rule: use the last line of the preceding poem as the basis of the title of the following poem and write a poem that is not too long. Each poet—following a specific line-up: Jean Toyama, Juliet Kono, Ann Inoshita, and Christy Passion—had to write one poem a month within a week of having seen the preceding poem and take the last line as the basis of her title. And this is where the 21st century came into play. The poets communicated on the internet. They each posted their poem by Sunday midnight, one week after receipt of the previous poem.

She then referred to the Mexican poet Octavio Paz, who, having experimented with *renga* in Europe with three other poets, wrote: "I write in front of others, the others in front of me. Something like undressing in a cafe, or defecating, crying before strangers. The Japanese invented the *renga* for the same reasons and in the same manner in which they bathed naked in public." Dr. Toyama, with gentle humor responded that, "No, we four poets didn't feel like we were bathing naked or defecating in public. But some of us were anxious that we had no time to fiddle with our verses, write and rewrite, ask our writing group what they thought. The poem went on the web, raw after one week. We had to live with it, good or bad. There was angst." Posting their poetry on the website of *Bamboo Ridge* was "the great reveal," with no editing or corrections, as is, to be put before the scrutiny of all.

At the end of the process there were 48 linked poems that—unknownst to its writers at the time—would be collected later in a volume and given a title that arrived in the most *uncanny* way. She explained, "In January I gave Juliet the line "Plug Along"; then, she to Ann "The Next Life" ; and then Ann to Christy, "Into the Wild". Christy's poem ended with "My body had no choice but to follow," which became the title.

She further explained that "the process makes you write about something you would have never written about...in addition, the process makes you happy not only about your own poem but also the poem someone else writes from your line." She continued, "I learned later that the line ('In gratitude for All We Do Not Know') almost caused Juliet to quit." But Juliet later wrote, "Yes, magical things happened. We were given unexpected gifts. We experienced consternation and surprise." Dr. Toyama agreed.

She amusingly concluded her talk by reading a few links but first said, "If there is no objection to my becoming sort of political." Then she began to read the beautiful links for the month of November, 2008 with the four titles being "The Fires," "Let the Great Healing Begin," "Shine of Tears," and "Prepare to move into the White House" (the *renshi* may be accessed in its entirety at the following web address: <http://www.bambooridge.com/renshi.aspx?fid=17>).

I. Language Learning and Pedagogy

L2 LEARNERS' REFLECTION ON TASK PERFORMANCE: FROM THE TASK-BASED CLASSROOM TO THE REAL WORLD

Chie Ogawa, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

Second language (L2) learners face challenges in real world communicative encounters such as taking a bus or opening a bank account. In order to examine how learners can reinforce those daily survival skills, Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT) was utilized in an ESL classroom. In this case study, two Japanese learners' oral performances were recorded and analyzed to examine to what extent the task performance aided them in actual task performance in a real-world situation. Further, the study looks for evidence that reflection on performance of target tasks is beneficial for learning.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

One of the main benefits for L2 learners studying in the target language community is that they can have various types of experiences using the language (Shively, 2008). Compared to EFL contexts, ESL learners have more opportunities to interact with people outside of school and to practice the target language (e.g., at restaurants, department stores, work, school and so forth). Despite the benefits, learners do not always succeed in simple daily tasks such as sending a money order or taking a bus, because such real world tasks are seldom taught in school.

Living in a different country, adjusting to new circumstances, and learning the target language can all be frustrating experiences. Students need to learn the language to a sufficient level of proficiency in order to manage many difficult communicative encounters in 'the real world'. Learners are able to live more comfortably in a different country if they know more about how to survive with the new language. In addition, by feeling more comfortable, they may be more able and willing to engage in L2 interactions, which aids their L2 learning development. Teaching students to be able to manage real world interactions can be very meaningful and useful to ESL learners. This study examines learners' second language development during the TBLT delivered in an ESL classroom.

1.1. Tasks Inside and Outside of Classroom

Task-based language teaching (TBLT) has received increasing recognition in the field of second language studies since the 1980s (e.g., Breen, 1989; Long, 1985; Nunan, 1989; Prabhu, 1987; Skehan, 1996). According to Van den Branden, Bygate, and Norris (2009), "the introduction of 'task-based language teaching' articulated with modern views on the learning of complex functional abilities and catered for a model of second language education along holistic, meaning-focused, learner-driven lines" (p. 5).

Many empirical studies in TBLT have examined learners' performance inside of the classroom, such as studies on information gap tasks (e.g., Pica, 2005; Pica, Kanagy & Falodun, 1993), repetition of the task (Bygate, 2001), task planning (Foster & Skehan, 1996; Ortega, 2005), motivation (Dörnyei, 2002), and assessment (Norris, Brown, Hudson, & Bonk, 2002). Further, repeated tasks can help improve learners' performance in a number of ways. For example, Bygate (1996) found learners could improve their complexity and fluency when they repeated the same tasks under the same conditions.

Studies also show that task planning is helpful for fluency (Foster & Skehan, 1996; Ortega, 1999). Foster and Skehan (1996) examined how different task types and planning conditions affected learners' attention and language performance. The findings revealed that fluency was improved when learners were given an opportunity to plan for tasks that required some kind of narrative production. Further, Ortega (1999) found that L2 Spanish learners increased their speech rate on a story-telling task after they planned for the narratives.

Recently, some researchers have become interested in investigating language programs and classrooms that reflect learners' real world needs, such as in studies on (a) immigrant language learners (Wong, Duff, & Early, 2001a, 2002b), (b) learners of English for Occupational Purposes (Flowerdew, 2005), and (c) learners participating in study-abroad programs (e.g., Cohen & Shively, 2007; Shively, 2008). The concept of using language in the real world is important in the present study because learners are expected to apply what they

have learned from class to real-world communicative situations. And, when such situations are negotiated successfully, learners will be able to see more meaning and benefit from their classroom learning.

Along these lines, Springer and Collins (2008) find that “real-world experience may also help students make better use of the time spent in the language classroom” (p. 41). Springer and Collins (2008) conducted a case study with two adult learners in Canada both inside and outside of the classroom, examining identity and language use of immigrant learners. The researchers compared two students in two different contexts and compared selected aspects of their oral interaction in an ESL classroom and during one-on-one tutoring. The study found that the participants perceived their oral performance differently, as well as their identity as language learners and users, inside and outside of the classroom.

However, few studies have compared task performance in the classroom with performance of similar tasks in the real world. For example, although Springer and Collins’s (2008) study analyzes how learners see their oral performance in and outside of the classroom, the nature of the difference in performance was not well documented. Ellis (2003) points out “there has been no research comparing the learner production that results from a second performance carried out under ‘private’ conditions publicly” (p. 259). Therefore, more needs to be known about comparisons between performance of classroom tasks and performance of target tasks in the real world.

The following describes a case study analyzing learners’ performance both inside and outside of classroom and their reflection on learning. Springer and Collins (2008) stated that a “task in the real world must usually be completed the first time round” (p. 55). That is, when L2 learners encounter tasks in the real world for the first time, they often fail to accomplish a successful performance. However, I hypothesize that when learners experience the tasks beforehand, and are given the opportunity to plan and practice task performance in class, they will find it easier to complete the task in the real world. I address this issue by examining the oral performance of two ESL learners both in the classroom and outside of the classroom. This research examines the learners’ performance with a classmate and with a real world interlocutor. The goal of this research is to examine how ESL students learn to do daily communicative tasks by practicing tasks in the classroom context. My research questions are:

1. What do students learn during pedagogic tasks in the classroom?
2. To what extent are students able to perform in the real world after they receive instruction?
3. How does reflection on a target task with a real world interlocutor help the learners’ development of English?

2.0. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Participants

The research took place in an ESL classroom at a U.S. university in Hawai‘i. The participants in this case study were two Japanese L2 English learners. The participants were chosen since they were relative newcomers to the U.S. compared to other students. It was thought that such participants might be more likely to encounter real world tasks for the first time compared to L2 learners who had already settled down in the U.S.

Hiroko¹ was in her 60s at the time of the study. She had been in Hawai‘i for 3 months. She was an English teacher at a cram school for 25 years in Japan and wanted to apply to a graduate school in the U.S. She was also a Spanish interpreter and instructor before undertaking English education. Mami was 19 years old and an exchange student from a university in Japan. She had been in Hawai‘i for four months.

2.2. Data Collection Procedures

A qualitative research method was utilized in this study. In order to answer research question (RQ) 1, I recorded the participants’ oral performances while (a) they were practicing a telecommunication task with a peer in the classroom and (b) while they were calling a real-world interlocutor. For RQ 2, self-evaluation questionnaires and follow-up interviews were used. Based on a class needs analysis conducted prior, the tasks were designed for communicating on the phone. Again, after the students’ performances with classmates were audio-recorded, the next day, each student recorded their performances with real world interlocutors such as a travel agency representative, or bakery employee. After the target tasks, follow-up interviews were conducted

for about five minutes with each participant. Self-evaluation sheets were collected both after the pedagogic task and the target task in order to elicit student reflection and to understand to what extent the student liked the task and to what extent they felt they performed well.

2.3. Needs Analysis

When tasks are to be created and designed, it is necessary to fit these to learners' needs in the real world (Long & Crookes, 1992). Therefore, a needs analysis was administered asking the students about background information (age, first language, English learning experience) and the following open-ended questions:

- 1) In what contexts did you speak English **outside of class**?
- 2) What kinds of difficulties do you have in using English outside of class?

Based on the questionnaires collected, I analyzed the data to see in what situations the students had difficulty in English outside of class (shown in Table 1).

Table 1: Situations Learners' Find Difficult in the Real World ($N=15$)

Situation in which the participants feel difficulty	Number of respondents
Bank	4
Hamburger shop, Restaurant system	3
Shopping (clothes, cosmetics)	3
Hospital	2
On the phone	2
Signing the contract such as housing	1

Note: Some of the respondents indicated more than two situations.

Table 1 shows in which situations the students ($N=15$) indicated they had difficulty with English outside of the classroom. Over all, there were seven different situations where they had had felt frustrated in the target language outside of class.

The questionnaire also revealed that some learners felt more nervous communicating on the phone compared to face-to-face communication: "I want to apply a tour by phone. Phone communication made me more confused because I can't see the person's attitude or gesture [gesture]." "It is so hard when I use English on the phone."

Telecommunication is a challenging speaking situation for L2 learners and one they might want to avoid since they cannot rely on non-verbal communication such as facial expressions or body language. Therefore, I decided to design and implement tasks for phone communication.

2.4. Tasks

Again, the lesson consisted of two pedagogic tasks and one target, real-world task performance. First, the instructor demonstrated the target performance and used Skype to call the front office of the ESL program at the university to ask several questions. The office staff was informed prior about the questions that would be asked. After the call demonstration, students were asked what kinds of phrases were used to answer and end the phone call. The demonstration was used to raise the learners' awareness. Then, some useful expressions were taught.

After learning useful phone conversation expressions, students practiced the first pedagogic task with another classmate (making a reservation at a restaurant). Each pair had two different worksheets with different sets of incomplete information. The purpose of the first task was to make the students feel comfortable in accomplishing the information gap activity before recording their performances. After the restaurant task, the students' performances on the second pedagogic task (making a reservation for skydiving) were recorded (see Appendix A). Before the students started the task, they were allowed to plan what they wanted to say for three minutes.

Next, students performed the target, real-world task with the real-world interlocutor. Prior to the target task, the students were allowed to choose the task they most wanted to perform in order to suit their real-world needs. They brought the telephone number of the place that they wanted to call. And, they could choose their own goal for their calling tasks. These included a) making a reservation in a restaurant; b) booking a tour; and c) getting information from various businesses (e.g., library hours, store information). Table 2 shows Hiroko and Mami's choices.

Table 2: Choices of Places to Call and the Goals of the Target Tasks

Name	Places	Goals to be accomplished
Hiroko	a travel agency	a) To get information about flight availability to Tokyo b) To compare the prices of two airlines
Mami	a bakery	a) To know whether they sell a birthday cake b) To know the business hours

2.5. Data Analysis

The oral performances in both pedagogic tasks and target tasks were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher in order to see how the participants succeeded in achieving their goals. The follow-up interview and the self-evaluation questionnaire were also analyzed to see how they felt about their performances.

3.0. RESULTS

3.1. What do students learn during pedagogic tasks in the classroom?

In the pedagogic tasks, the students were able to make a reservation and complete the missing information on their worksheets. The students were not given any script; thus they had to speak in an unrehearsed, extemporaneous way in order to achieve the task goal. As a result, the researcher observed negotiation of meaning during the conversation. For example, Mami, who was the caller—the person making a reservation—confirmed the information was correct by repeating what the interlocutor said:

- 1 Student A: Do you want to do (3.0) in the morning? or afternoon.
- 2 Mami: In the morning (1.0) please.
- 3 A: In the morning. Ten to Eleven thirty, it's okay?
- 4 M: Ten to eleven thirty?
- 5 A: Yeah.
- 6 A: All you need to bring is a long sleeved shirt (1.0) and pants
- 7 M: Okay, so, we have to bring only a long sleeved shirt (1.0) and uh. sorry I forgot.
- 8 A: And long pants.
- 9 M: Long pants (2.0) Long sleeved shirts and long pants

Mami asked her partner to repeat herself because she had forgotten what the partner said (line 7). Further, Mami repeated what she heard to confirm the information (line 4 and line 9), another way to show her comprehension.

According to the participants' own testimony, the pedagogic task of making a skydiving reservation was easy for the participants. After the interview task, Mami said, "It was easy when I speak about my own things." Hiroko made a similar remark: "These topics are so familiar that I haven't had so much trouble. They were daily-base topic so I'm familiar with them." Further, in the questionnaire, both of the participants stated that the task was interesting, useful and that the difficulty level was appropriate. Also, both of them indicated that they had learned useful expressions during the task.

3.2. To what extent are the students able to perform in the real world after they receive instruction?

The day after the pedagogic tasks were performed, the students were asked to bring the telephone number for the business they planned to call for the real-world task performance (see Table 2). Mami chose to call a bakery, and Hiroko chose a travel agency.

Unlike the pedagogic tasks in which both the caller and the receptionist understood the goal of the phone call, in the target tasks, the participants had to clarify what they wanted with their real-world interlocutor

in real time. One important aspect of the target task was to state the purpose of the phone call. Both participants chose to get information from either a bakery or a travel agency. Mami, who chose to call a bakery, started her conversation as follows:

- 10 Bakery: Hello this is XXX bakery, Daniel can I help you?
- 11 Mami: Uh, hello, I'd like to ask you, do you sell birthday cake?
- 12 B: Uh...excuse me?
- 13 M: (2.0) Do you sell birthday cake?
- 14 B: Yeah.
- 15 M: Oh, okay, I, if I wanna get one, do I need to make a reservation?
- 16 B: (1.0) Yeah, you call at least maybe in advance our turn around is one day. Hello?
- 17 M: Uh, sorry, pardon?
- 18 B: Yeah, can, yep. Uh, just need one day notice.
- 19 M: 3.0) Okay and I, I have one more question when is the business time? When do you open?
- 20 B: Uh (1.0), four o'clock in the morning but it won't be ready until eight o'clock.
- 21 M: Four o'clock am to eight o'clock pm?
- 22 B: Uh, no no no
- 23 M: Hmm?
- 24 B: Four am to, uh, ten pm
- 25 M: Ten pm?
- 26 B: Yeah, that's when we close.
- 27 M: Okay, thank you.
- 28 B: Yeah, okay bye.
- 29 M: Okay.

Though Mami stated the purpose of her phone call (line 11), she was not able to make the interlocutor understand at first. After the interlocutor answered her questions, Mami became confused and asked for repetition (line 17). The interlocutor was able to simplify by rephrasing (line 18). This interaction is an example of clarifying meaning through negotiation. Speakers often rephrase in a simpler way, or, when repeating a phrase, say it more slowly.

Another negotiation of meaning occurred when Mami misunderstood what time the bakery was open. The interlocutor meant that the cake would not be ready until 8am, but Mami misinterpreted this as the closing time (line 21). As seen in her pedagogic task performance, she is able to confirm what she heard by repeating information back to the interlocutor. This strategy prevents misunderstanding about the closing time and she was able to clarify the business hours (line 21-27). However, she did not understand that the cake would be ready by 8am.

Hiroko called a travel agency to get information about air tickets to Japan. Her goals for the target task were to check the seat availability and to compare the ticket prices from two airlines.

- 30 Travel agent: XXXX Travel how may I help you?
- 31 Hiroko: Ah, yes, uh I have a plan to go back to Japan on the twentieth of December.
- 32 I would like to know if, uh air ticket is available on that day.
- 33 T: Japan Airline?
- 34 H: Uh, no, Japan Airline or All Nippon Airways. ANA. ANA or JAL.
- 35 T: Eh, ummmm, where in Japan?
- 36 H: Yeah.
- 37 T: Wh, which destination in Japan?
- 38 H: To Narita
- 39 T: Narita okay?
- 40 H: Yep.
- 41 T: December twentieth?
- 42 H: Yes, one person.

When making a phone call, callers usually state the purpose at the start of the conversation. How much a speaker discloses depends on the situation or the interlocutor. Yet, the disclosing statement is essential to inform the interlocutor about what kind of help she needs. Hiroko clearly stated the purpose of the phone call (line 32). However, she did not state that she was looking for a one-way ticket until line 57, which caused a miscommunication:

- 43 T: When do you return?
 44 H: Yes.
 45 T: (4.0) When's your return date?
 46 H: Ohhhh, um I am not sure. (4.0) Just um
 47 T: You don't know when you are coming back.
 48 H: I'm not sure because, uh, I have uh, something to talk about in Japan
 49 so I do not, how long does it take. So at the present, I am not sure.

When there was miscommunication about the return date, Hiroko became confused by the unexpected question (line 47). Observing her speech style, she is fluid and focuses on her needs. After hearing the interlocutor say, "You don't know when you are coming back" (line 47), Hiroko offered an explanation (line 48), which the interlocutor did not comprehend. Then, the interlocutor started asking about her nationality and found out that it was a one-way ticket.

- 50 T: Well, uh, which passport holder are you?
 51 H: Un.
 52 T: (3.0) Which passport holder, which nationality?
 53 H: Oh, uh, nationality? Uh, Japanese.
 54 T: You are Japanese passport?
 55 H: Yes, I have a Japanese passport.
 56 T: Okay, so you just buy a one-way?
 57 H: Yes, just one way, to buy, uh, one way.

Here we see an instance of negotiation of meaning when the travel agent asked about nationality. Hiroko later wrote on the self-evaluation questionnaire, "I couldn't understand the relation between the nationality and one-way ticket." The interlocutor might have wanted to get this information so that she could ascertain if Hiroko was legally allowed to stay in Japan. However, why nationality mattered was not clear to Hiroko. It could have saved some time if Hiroko had disclosed more about her situation (e.g., "I am looking for a one-way ticket to Narita, but I'm just calling to compare the price of the two airlines, ANA or JAL). Or the interaction might have gone more smoothly if the interlocutor had asked about one-way or round-trip tickets at the beginning of the conversation. Never-the-less, through the negotiation of meaning, Hiroko managed to get the needed information about the price of tickets from the two airlines and whether seats were available. She also politely thanked the interlocutor and ended the call.

3.3. How does reflection on a target task with a real world interlocutor help the learners' development of English?

Willis (1996) recommends asking students to report on how they did the task and on what they discovered. I asked each participant how they felt after their target tasks and also analyzed their responses on the self-evaluation questionnaire. During the target tasks, Mami felt she had difficulty speaking fluently and that she did not understand the interlocutor at all times. She also stated that next time she would prepare in advance before calling. Although she was not entirely sure about the time the cake would be made, she was happy because her goal to find out about business hours was accomplished.

Hiroko felt that she needed to improve her listening skills since she sometimes did not comprehend what the interlocutor had said. She also found the target task was more complicated than the pedagogic tasks because she did not understand some parts of the conversation. She was especially confused when the agent asked about her nationality in order to ascertain if Hiroko needed a one-way ticket. She also explained that since she did not write down her questions before the task, she felt that she would need to do so the next time in order to be better prepared.

4.0. DISCUSSION

Learners' anxiety levels increase during telecommunication compared to face to face communication. Prior to talking to the receptionist, Mami had to listen to the recorded prompts from a voice machine, which had to be responded to correctly in order to reach a representative. She needed to redial more than five times to understand what the machine was saying. When she reached the representative, she was very upset because the representative asked her, "The tour is in English, are you okay?"

Recording the participants' performances let them identify difficulties and made them more aware of their communication style. For instance, Mami was able to comprehend what the interlocutor said by repeating her interlocutor's speech. This aspect of her communication style was observed both in the pedagogic tasks and the target task. Hiroko recognized that her weak point was listening comprehension. However, she was successful in terms of strategically getting the complicated task done. She probably would have been able to make the appropriate ticket purchase, despite the difficulties during the interaction.

Interestingly, I received a request from Mami a week after I recorded her task performance. She asked if I could provide her with a transcription of her performance since she wanted to know exactly what the bakery employee had said during the phone conversation. Her willingness to explore her task performance impressed me and made me realize that this kind of research can help learners and instructors reflect on learning.

4.1. Limitations

For future studies it would be useful to re-design and expand upon this kind of lesson sequence. The pedagogic tasks and the target tasks were different in terms of settings (to whom) and goals (making a reservation or getting information). In order to connect more between pedagogic tasks and target tasks, it might have been more effective to think about the target tasks first. Understanding what the students want to accomplish in their target tasks can support the design of pedagogic tasks. In addition, I did not have a chance to do a follow-up lesson after the target tasks. If the participants repeat the task in the follow up lesson, they would have known what kinds of things to be careful about or how they could say things to avoid miscommunication.

5.0. CONCLUSION

As a language teacher, recording performances provides an opportunity to reflect on task implementation and task design. Although it seems challenging for a teacher to record and transcribe each student's oral task for every lesson, it helps the teacher improve their teaching. In addition, teacher feedback plays an important role in making learners aware of things they did not notice and promotes reflection on learning as well. These kinds of opportunities make teachers think about their feedback as well.

L2 learners face a lot of difficulties during real life interactions, which may not be addressed during in class instruction. Daily survival tasks appear easy to accomplish; as such that they are often regarded as something that learners can figure out by themselves. However, classroom learning can enable learners to feel more confident in the various communicative situations that arise in their daily lives. TBLT provides L2 learners a number of benefits when it comes to practicing tasks that students want to prosecute successfully in the real world.

In a future study, follow-up instruction after the target tasks will be needed in order to make them more effective. I also hope that TBLT implementation will greatly help learners live with the target language more comfortably and encourage them to communicate with the language more often outside of classroom. I believe the incorporation of these kinds of task sequences into instruction will enable much deeper and more profound learning.

NOTES

1. All names for participants are pseudonyms.

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Appendix A:**Pedagogic Task: Skydiving Reservation (Recorded)**

Student A: You work at the Happiness Tour Company at the North Shore. Someone calls you to book a skydiving plan in your tour company. Your task is to make a reservation and select the date and number of people will come. The information of your skydiving tour is below.

Price: \$200 (Tourist) \$150 (Kamaaina: need the ID).

Morning Course: 10am-11:30am, Afternoon Course 1:30pm-3pm.

A DVD and a set of photos by a professional photographer are included.

Pick up service: All hotels in Waikiki. (8am pick up, 12pm pick up)

It is very safe. The instructor will dive together.

A long sleeve shirt and pants are needed.

Your skydiving company schedule of a week 12/20-12/26

	20 Sun	21 Mon	22 Tue	23 Wed	24 Thu	25 Fri	26 Sat
AM	booked	booked	available	available	booked	closed	booked
PM	booked	available	available	available	available	closed	booked

Please fill out the booking form below.

Customer's name		Morning class or Afternoon class	
Number of customers		Hotel name	
Date		Pick up time	



Student B: You are visiting Hawai'i for the first time. You will plan to sky dive in North Shore with your friends. You would like to book a tour on December 25th. Your second choice of the date is 23rd. You have no conflicts on both days.

You would like to check the price of skydiving and where you can be picked up. You are staying in the Halekulani Hotel. Find out if there is any other service in their skydiving tour that you really want to sign up for their skydiving.



Fill the blank of the memo below.

Date of the booking		Skydiving class time	
Pick up service	where?	what time?	price

A LANGUAGE PROGRAM EVALUATION OF A KOREAN SECONDARY EFL GENERAL ENGLISH CURRICULUM

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ABSTRACT

Program evaluation is a systematic way to improve and account for programmatic actions via procedures that are useful, feasible, ethical, and accurate for the intended users of the evaluation process and findings (Patton, 2008). This evaluation study was motivated by an emerging need from school administrators, English teachers and students for the improvement of an English curriculum at a private Korean middle school. A needs analysis survey was conducted with 185 students and 12 full-time English teachers. The results were triangulated with national curriculum guidelines and institutional contexts. Needs discrepancies between the two groups were identified and suggestions were offered.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Curriculum evaluation is a complicated process in which stakeholders' needs and beliefs, language learning factors, socio-political factors, available resources (budget, class size, staff size, staff capacity, and multimedia equipment, etc.) and many other factors interplay (Watanabe, 2006). To make the best use of program evaluation, Patton (2008) has developed what has come to be known as the Utilization-Focused Evaluation (UFE) method, which is conducted for primary intended users of evaluation findings for specific intended uses. This study will describe the application of UFE in the Korean context.

In Korea, the national English curriculum regulates the instructional content and procedures of general English education in elementary and secondary schools. The Ministry of Education first publishes the national curriculum; private companies subsequently create textbooks, some of which the Ministry of Education authorizes to be published; and the authorized English textbooks are then used in school settings. English education is carried out through this procedure. However, considering the tremendous influence of the national curriculum, little attention has been paid to the importance of curriculum evaluation.

This study describes using student and teacher needs analysis as a primary source of information to understand the local implementation of the national curriculum in the Korean EFL (English as a foreign language) context. The purpose of the evaluation was to collect evidence and make innovations to the existing curriculum. The impetus for the current program evaluation study stemmed from my concerns as a former English instructor (at the same school) that the learners' needs and preferences had not been well attended to in the English curriculum. In addition, school administrators and English teachers at the middle school became motivated to do evaluation after a designation by the local office of education as being an English priority school. The intended users of the evaluation included students, English teachers, school administrators, and the evaluator. The intended uses of the project were (a) to understand the students' and English teachers' needs; (b) to plan revisions to the language program on the basis of findings of staff needs; and (c) to prepare for a future report about the findings from this study and communicate the practices of a designated English priority school.

The evaluation was conducted at Middle school A, which is located in Daegu, Korea and where the author taught for five years as a full-time English teacher. As such, I had both an insider's and outsider's point of view. As the middle school has been designated an English priority school by the local office of education, many stakeholders including administrators, the school principle, English teachers and parents seemed highly motivated to modify the existing English courses and curriculum.

Following the UFE method, the study started with identifying clear intended *uses* of evaluation findings for the intended *users* of those findings. The next phase of the evaluation involved implementing the needs analysis by focusing on identifying learners' needs (what middle school learners want to do using English by the end of their school year), preferences about learning strategies, style, tasks and topics, and perceptions about the use of computer and the Internet.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Needs Analysis

Although the benefits of task-based language teaching (TBLT) and computer-assisted language learning (CALL) approaches to language instruction are supported by research findings, the feasibility of these approaches needs to be investigated in Asian contexts where different needs (and cultures of education) exist (Lee, 2000; McDonough & Chaikitmongkol, 2007). Accordingly, understanding the local context is an important step before implementing any new teaching approaches or methods. Along these lines, a comprehensive definition of needs analysis—that takes contextual factors into account—is proposed by Brown (1995): “The systematic collection and analysis of all subjective and objective information is necessary to define and validate defensible curriculum purposes that satisfy the language learning requirements of students within the context of particular institutions that influence the learning and teaching situation” (p. 36). Long and Norris (2000) also emphasize the role of needs analysis for the successful establishment and evolution of a TBLT language program. According to Long (2005), needs analysis can identify language learners’ needs and related tasks in context-specific language programs. The findings from needs analyses enable the development of courses and teaching materials that are tailored to the specific requirements of stakeholders in specific contexts. Such an effort will lead to an efficient, effective and successful language program.

Many researchers have implemented needs analysis in curriculum design for language programs. For example, Ferris and Tagg (1996a) conducted research on learner and instructor opinions on aural and oral academic skills needed by ESL learners for academic success, and, investigated instructor perceptions of students’ academic skills. Findings showed that respondents were concerned with learners’ inability or unwillingness to participate in class discussions, interact with peers, or ask or respond to questions. ESL teachers were advised to (a) impress upon their learners the importance of communication skills, (b) teach students to ask and respond to questions effectively, (c) give students practice speaking, and (d) encourage class participation. Watanabe (2006) conducted a needs analysis survey with Japanese high school students and full-time teachers for curriculum improvement and clarification of the school’s goals and objectives. Her findings indicated that both teachers and students were aware of the importance of preparing for the college entrance exam as well as enhancing communicative competence in English. To meet both the teachers’ and students’ needs, she suggested a task-based language model.

Needs analysis is used not only for the development of language programs, but also for program evaluation and curriculum improvement (Alderson & Scott, 1992). However, few studies have been conducted on needs analysis in EFL contexts (Seedhouse, 1995). Three studies by Park (1997), Song and Park (2004), and Choi (2006) integrated needs analysis methods to evaluate English language programs. However, these studies were heavily dependent on questionnaires. In addition, the questionnaire items were insufficiently specific and/or inclusive to gather enough information to fully understand stakeholder needs and evaluate the programs. Another limitation was, arguably, the usefulness of the findings in that it was unclear how they would be used in improving programs. Further, little research has been done in EFL secondary public school settings generally, presumably due to the heavy focus on college entrance exams, rigid English curricula, textbooks, and lack of recognition of stakeholders, especially learners. The limitations of previous studies have thus motivated me to focus on secondary learners in public school settings and to frame my study by explaining how the findings of the needs analysis and evaluation were used in order to improve the current English course.

3.0. The Study

Again, the language program evaluation study takes place in the Korean EFL context, specifically in secondary general English education in a private middle school. Korea’s national English curriculum guidelines primarily reflect the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of student needs as understood by policy makers, researchers, editorial officers, and teachers—but not students. Accordingly, this evaluation study investigated student needs about English learning, as well as the needs of teachers, school administrative staff, and the government, to achieve a thorough understanding of the program.

Given the intended uses stated above, the following evaluation questions were posed:

- EQ 1: What English needs do Korean EFL learners perceive?
- EQ 2: What are learners' classroom participation preferences?
- EQ 3: What are learners' preferred learning strategies?
- EQ 4: What are learners' preferred lesson topics?
- EQ 5: What are learners' perceptions about the use of computers and the Internet in English classes?

3.1. METHOD

First, to understand societal needs, the goals and content of the Korean government's revised 7th National Curriculum were explored through a document analysis. Second, the institutional context of the private middle school was investigated from the school webpage and personal communication with the English teachers of the school. Third, the perceptions of students and teachers were investigated through two surveys.

3.2. Participants

In order to generate information related to the above-mentioned questions, the study targeted two groups of informants: students and teachers at school A. One survey was administered to 204 first-year middle school students. All students were male; ages were between 13 and 14. School A is considered an intermediate-advanced level middle school in the northern district of the city based on an annual achievement test administered by the government. The return rate was 100%, however 19 out of 204 students' responses were excluded from the analysis as they were incomplete. A total of 185 students' responses were selected for data analysis. For the teachers' survey, twelve full-time English teachers from the school responded to the survey. Nine were male; three were female, and their teaching experience ranged from 4 to 17 years.

3.3. Procedures

Methods consisted of, again, administration of questionnaires, as well as document analysis.

The needs analysis questionnaire used in this study was based on Watanabe's (2006) utilization-focused needs analysis survey for curriculum improvement in Japanese EFL high school context, which was developed from Yoshida and Naganuma's (2003) 'can-do' survey and Ek's (1975) list of language functions. The student survey was administered at the end of the 2nd semester, when, speculatively, students had settled in after the first year of middle school, and had adjusted sufficiently to public English education under the national English curriculum. Students completed their online survey at the school PC classroom during the English class time under the supervision of the English teacher. The teacher survey was administered at the same time and teachers used their personal computers at school or at home to complete it.

In Korean EFL school settings, English language instruction is required to be in accordance with the national curriculum, which also mandates which English textbooks are used in the school. To better understand the current English curriculum of the school, information from multiple sources was gathered, including from (a) the text of the revised 7th national curriculum for English education, (b) the English-language textbook used in conjunction with the national curriculum, (c) the school's website, (d) the school's documents on English program innovation, (e) and student and teacher testimony about perceived language education needs.

3.4. Instrument

The online survey was composed of open-ended and closed-response items. Open-ended responses were requested to obtain insights into students' and teachers' general needs regarding the use of English by the end of middle school. The closed-response survey consisted of six subsections: (a) target tasks based on the four language skills, (b) language use contexts (i.e., English use in Korea and abroad), (c) classroom participation style (i.e., teacher centered, individual, pair work, and group work), (d) topics, (e) learning strategies, and (f) computer-assisted activities.

3.5. Data Analysis

Data from open-ended questions on respondent needs toward the use of English and computers were translated into English and categorized. Descriptive statistics were used to show how students and teachers perceive the degree of importance for (a) target tasks based on the four language skills, (b) language use

contexts, (c) classroom participation style, (d) topics, (e) learning strategies and (f) computer-assisted activities. As the number of teacher participants was small, both teachers' and students' responses were compared only in a descriptive way.

4.0. RESULTS

The survey results showed a variety of needs from the students and the teachers. In this section, their perceptions of English needs are triangulated with societal needs and institutional needs.

4.1. Document Analysis

4.1.1. The Social Context: English Education in General

After realizing the shortcomings of previous grammar-oriented national English curricula, the Korean government introduced CLT (communicative language teaching) as an ideal approach in the 6th curriculum to achieve learner communicative competence (Yoon, 2004). However, the 6th curriculum was also generally regarded as being too fluency-oriented, which has led to a lack of learners' grammatical accuracy. To correct previous shortcomings, the 7th curriculum was created as a grammatical-functional syllabus, which included both communicative functions and grammatical structures. However, the new curriculum still emphasizes communicative competence over grammatical knowledge, and this change has shifted English teaching methodology to more communicative approaches, such as CLT and TBLT. Though official syllabuses have not been explicitly labeled task-based, the concept of 'English learning through tasks' has become an intrinsic part of professional discourse and local TBLT-based innovations are frequently introduced (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2007).

Despite changes in the curriculum, problematic areas have remained including (a) an unclear vision of the curriculum, (b) a lack of specialized training for English teachers, (c) lacking consideration of student needs, (d) lack of authentic teaching materials, (e) lack of school facilities for using audio-visual materials, (f) too little time to teach assigned textbook context, and (g) too many students per class (Yoon, 2004). The national curriculum includes achievement goals in four language skills and in each grade from 3rd to 10th. English achievement objectives were proposed by the Ministry of Education in Korea. Overall, proposed goals reveal a strong emphasis on communication skills and fluency in real life settings rather than grammatical accuracy in students' speech and writing.

Along with the national English curriculum, a more pressing issue appears to be the college entrance examination, or, the Korean version of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (KSAT). The English section of the KSAT has a washback effect on English education. In reality, most English exams developed by English teachers at middle schools and high schools employ test methods and formats similar to the KSAT. The most serious problem seems to be that the KSAT does not include speaking and writing components, thus leading to very little, if any, teaching of speaking and writing in secondary school settings. This listening and reading orientation of the KSAT seriously violates the national English curriculum, which mandates a communicative, integrated skills approach. The following section discusses the institutional context of the middle school where this study was conducted in order to gain insights into the English needs of the institution.

4.2. The Institutional Context of the English Program

School A is a private middle school attached to a high school with a good reputation among parents and students due to high scores on the annual nationwide achievement test. This school is located in the northern district of a metropolitan city in Korea. Students are assigned to the middle school by lottery within the school district. Most students enter the school at age 13 and finish at age 15 and the school grades, 1-3, correspond roughly to grades 7-9 in the North American system. Each grade has 10 classes with 35 to 38 students per class. In spring 2010, there were 1,090 students enrolled in the middle school taking general English education courses taught by 10 full-time Korean English teachers and one native English-speaking teacher. Among 1,090 students, 350 were enrolled in the 1st grade, 360 were enrolled in the 2nd grade, and 380 were enrolled in the 3rd grade. After 3rd grade, students are supposed to choose between general education and vocational high schools. Every year, about 80 % of the 3rd grade students who desire a college education go on to common high schools, and the remaining 20% who prefer employment after high school graduation or achieve lower grades go on to vocational high schools. As the high school entrance national exam was

discontinued in 1998, midterm and final English exams become high-stakes tests. To prepare for these high-stakes tests, more than 70 % of the students receive private education, such as attending private language institutes and paying for private tutoring and home-school materials.

4.3. Survey Data

Tables 1 through 5 summarize the descriptive statistics and open-ended responses of teachers' and students' English needs by the end of middle school (reading, listening/speaking, writing, and foreign language use) (Table 1), preferred student participation styles and learning strategies (Table 2), preferred topics (Table 3), and open-ended responses of teacher and student preferences of overall in-class activities (Table 4) and preferred computer-assisted activities (Table 5). Students and teachers were asked to indicate the degree of agreement with various skills-based needs on a five-point Likert scale (1, strongly disagree—5, strongly agree). A five-point scale was chosen in order not to force participants to either "agree" or "disagree," so that the findings will not reduce the reliability of the scale. To analyze the distribution of the teacher and student responses, the means, standard deviations, and ranks are presented.

Table 1: Teacher and Student Perception of Middle School English Needs

Item	Description	Teachers				Students			
		N	M	SD	Rank	N	M	SD	Rank
R 1	Read a text from English textbook with correct pronunciation.	12	3.58	0.9	18	185	3.26	0.99	5
R 2	Understand words, expressions, & gram rules in the textbook.	12	4.17	0.58	2	185	3.3	0.99	4
R 3	Understand a text equivalent to the level of the textbook.	12	3.92	0.79	5	185	3.35	0.98	3
R 4	Understand the main idea of easy stories or novels in English.	12	3.92	0.52	6	185	3.08	1.09	11
R 5	Choose & read an interesting article from newspapers/magazines.	12	3.25	0.97	26	185	2.75	1.05	24
R 6	Extract necessary info in English from internet website	12	3.25	1.14	27	185	2.79	1.06	20
R 7	Answer the reading section of college entrance English exam.	12	3.92	0.79	7	185	3.06	1.09	12
LS1	Engage in a simple daily conversation with foreigners living in Korea.	12	4	0.74	3	185	3.49	1.04	1
LS2	Introduce oneself in English.	12	4.5	0.67	1	185	3.37	1.01	2
LS3	Talk with a foreigner about what their interest.	12	3.67	0.99	13	185	2.98	1.07	14
LS4	Explain direction when asked by a foreigner on the street.	12	4	0.95	4	185	3.22	1.01	6
LS5	Introduce Korean culture and custom in English to a foreign student.	12	3.17	1.34	30	185	2.66	1.09	29
LS6	Exchange opinions on personal stories / familiar topics with a friend.	12	3.5	1.24	21	185	2.7	1.11	27
LS7	Exchange opinions on social problems with one's friend.	12	2.92	1	37	185	2.49	1.16	39
LS8	Understand the main message / ideas of the English pop songs.	12	3.42	0.9	23	185	2.87	1.08	16
LS9	Sing one's favorite English song.	12	3.75	0.97	11	185	3.11	1.15	10
LS10	Understand the main idea of the favorite TV shows and movies.	12	3.5	0.91	22	185	2.78	1.10	21
LS11	Tell the summary of the favorite TV shows, and movies to a friend.	12	3.08	1.24	34	185	2.53	1.13	37
LS12	Exchange feelings and opinions about TV shows & movies.	12	3	1.04	36	185	2.63	1.15	31
LS13	Deliver a speech or give a presentation in English.	12	2.92	1.38	38	185	2.85	1.12	17
LS14	Speak English with careful attention to the rhythm, intonation, volume, speed and pronunciation.	12	2.5	1.45	39	185	2.69	1.10	28
LS15	Answer the questions in the listening section of entrance exams.	12	3.83	0.94	10	185	3.15	1.15	8
LS16	Pass the English interview in the college entrance exam.	12	3.58	0.67	19	185	2.62	1.16	32
W 1	Keep a diary in English.	12	3.42	0.9	24	185	2.91	1.06	15
W 2	Write English essay.	12	3.25	1.14	28	185	2.6	1.07	33
W 3	Communicate with foreigners by online chatting, or e-mail.	12	3.67	0.78	14	185	2.81	1.12	18
W 4	Write a summary of a story, novel, or other people's opinions.	12	3.17	1.03	31	185	2.59	1.09	34
W 5	Write opinions about a story, novel, or other people's opinions.	12	3.08	1.08	35	185	2.59	1.08	35
W 6	Write thoughts & feelings about one's favorite songs, movies, and TV.	12	3.17	1.12	32	185	2.71	1.07	26
W 7	Request / fill an application form from an institution abroad.	12	3.17	1.34	33	185	2.57	1.11	36
W 8	Answer composition questions in the college entrance exams.	12	3.25	1.06	29	185	2.81	1.13	19
W 9	Answer grammar & vocabulary questions in the exams and TEPS.	12	3.75	0.87	12	185	2.76	1.10	23
F 1	Get minimal things done in English when traveling abroad.	12	3.67	0.99	15	185	3.15	1.02	9
F 2	Communicate w/ the local people while traveling/study abroad.	12	3.67	1.07	16	185	3.17	1.04	7
F 3	Communicate w/a host family during a study program.	12	3.92	0.9	8	185	3.03	1.06	13
F 4	Read course descriptions & choose a course when studying abroad.	12	3.58	0.67	20	185	2.77	1.09	22
F 5	Complete the necessary task/matters in a foreign country.	12	3.92	0.79	9	185	2.64	1.10	30
F 6	Communicate w/ students in the university/language school abroad.	12	3.67	0.65	17	185	2.75	1.17	25
F 7	Go abroad to work or do volunteer work.	12	3.42	0.67	25	185	2.5	1.13	38

Note: R=reading; LS=listening and speaking, W=writing, F= language use in a foreign country.

Table 2: Teacher and Student Perception of Participation Style and Learning Strategy

Item	Description	Teacher				Students			
		N	M	SD	Rank	N	M	SD	Rank
Part1	Teacher centered	12	4.08	0.67	1	185	3.3	1.12	1
Part2	Individual	12	3.42	0.90	3	185	3.15	1.11	2
Part3	Pair work	12	3.67	0.78	2	185	2.61	1.06	3
Part4	Group work	12	3.42	0.90	4	185	2.59	1.08	4
St1	Memorize many words and idioms.	12	4.33	0.65	3	185	3.55	1.06	1
St2	Understand and memorize grammar.	12	4.08	0.67	5	185	3.28	0.98	3
St3	Memorize many English sentences from the textbook.	12	4.17	0.39	4	185	3.04	1.04	9
St4	Solve many grammar exercises.	12	3.92	0.67	7	185	3.14	1.03	7
St5	Solve many reading comprehension questions.	12	3.92	0.67	8	185	3.44	1.02	2
St6	Accurately translate English into Japanese.	12	3	1.04	9	184	3.05	1.01	8
St7	Verbalize or write correct sentences using words, idioms, and grammar rules one memorized.	12	4.08	0.90	6	185	3.19	0.97	4
St8	Listen & read many English sentences & understand them w/o paying too much attention to grammar.	12	4.5	0.67	2	185	3.16	0.97	5
St9	Simulate real conversational situations and use English.	12	4.58	0.52	1	185	3.16	0.95	6

Note: Part#=participation style; St#=learning strategy.

Table 3: Teacher and Student Topic Preferences

Item	Description	Teacher				Student			
		N	M	SD	Rank	N	M	SD	Rank
T1	Language in the world	12	2.83	0.72	24	185	2.47	0.74	24
T2	Foreign culture, people	12	4	0.60	1	185	2.79	0.68	4
T3	World history	12	3	1.21	20	185	2.66	0.71	8
T4	Famous historical sites	12	2.83	0.94	25	185	2.86	0.61	3
T5	Current world events	12	3.08	1.24	18	185	2.66	0.71	9
T6	Korean around the world	12	3.42	0.79	10	185	2.88	0.68	2
T7	Korean culture	12	3.33	0.78	13	185	2.9	0.69	1
T8	Domestic news	12	2.75	1.14	30	185	2.48	0.73	22
T9	Narrative stories	12	3.5	1.00	8	185	2.78	0.79	5
T10	Literature	12	3	1.04	21	185	2.63	0.77	14
T11	Drama (play)	12	3.33	0.78	14	185	2.46	0.78	26
T12	Art	12	2.83	0.72	26	185	2.58	0.71	18
T13	Music	12	3.75	0.75	5	185	2.69	0.71	6
T14	Movies	12	3.58	0.67	6	185	2.69	0.75	7
T15	Fashion	12	3.25	1.14	15	185	2.46	0.77	27
T16	TV drama	12	3.5	0.91	9	185	2.37	0.80	30
T17	Animation	12	3	1.13	22	185	2.42	0.80	29
T18	People in show biz	12	2.83	1.19	27	185	2.47	0.76	25
T19	Education	12	3	1.13	23	185	2.62	0.80	15
T20	Psychology	12	2.75	1.36	31	185	2.21	0.78	34
T21	Science	12	2.58	1.17	33	185	2.6	0.85	17
T22	Nature/environment	12	2.83	0.84	28	185	2.66	0.87	10
T23	Computer	12	2.83	0.72	29	185	2.62	0.83	16
T24	Animal	12	3.25	0.97	16	185	2.64	0.76	12
T25	Sports	12	3.42	1.00	11	185	2.64	0.75	13
T26	Traveling	12	3.83	1.03	3	185	2.52	0.76	21
T27	Food, cooking	12	3.83	0.84	4	185	2.55	0.73	20
T28	Homeroom	12	3.08	0.90	19	185	2.17	0.80	35
T29	Club activity	12	2.67	1.07	32	185	2.45	0.79	28
T30	School festivals	12	2.58	0.79	34	185	2.37	0.79	31
T31	School work (study)	12	3.42	1.08	12	185	2.56	0.86	19
T32	Future course	12	3.25	1.22	17	185	2.22	0.83	33
T33	Friendship	12	3.58	1.00	7	185	2.48	0.80	23
T34	Hobby	12	3.92	0.67	2	185	2.65	0.79	11
T35	Religion	12	2.25	1.29	35	185	2.37	0.79	32

Note: T=Topic.

Table 4: Teacher and Student Preferences for Overall Class Activities

Teachers	<i>n</i>	Students	<i>n</i>
Authentic & interesting online materials	4	Internet (online) materials	34
Reward system, like token, sticker & candies	2	Games (classroom activities)	15
Gestures, changing voice tone	1	PPT Presentation	11
Kinesthetic warm-ups	1	CD-Rom	5
Games (board game, Jeopardy, bingo, etc.)	1	Cramming for a quiz	5
		English pop songs	4
		Discussion in English	3

Table 5: Teachers' and Students' Preferences of Computer-assisted Activities

Teachers	<i>n</i>	Students	<i>n</i>
Computer software	5	Playing computer games	17
Review last session	1	Watching a video clip	15
Quiz show	1	Chatting in English	11
Practicing target phrase	1	Listening to English pop songs	9
Games (board game, Jeopardy, bingo, etc.)	1	E-pal	9
		Internet Surfing	9

4.4. Result of the Teacher Survey

The results of teacher perceptions for tasks using four skills and foreign language use, preferences for learning strategies, participation style, topic, and in-class activities are presented in Tables 1 through 5. Despite the small number of teacher participants (12 teachers), the teachers' survey results indicated somewhat consistent patterns throughout the subsections.

Most teachers acknowledged that reading tasks are necessary with items R2, R3, R4, and R7 ranked in the top 10 out of 39 items. Among reading tasks, teachers perceived that students should deal with vocabulary, grammar, and the main idea from the English textbook (R2-R4). In addition, R7 (*Answer the questions in the reading section of college entrance exam*) was also regarded as highly necessary. However, using authentic materials from the newspaper and magazine (R5 and R6) were considered least necessary among the reading tasks.

Introduce oneself in English (LS2) was perceived as the most important task for middle school students. Students' overall ability to communicate with foreigners on daily topics (LS1-LS4) was marked as very important. On the contrary, teacher perceptions of tasks that need complex functions and accuracy such as exchanging opinions on social problems (LS7), delivering speech, and speaking English with careful attention to rhythm, intonation, and pronunciation (LS13, LS14) were considered as the least important tasks. This may also be due to the teachers' concern about task difficulties compared to students' level.

Teachers considered writing tasks as less important than any other skills. All of the writing tasks were ranked lower than 24 in the overall ranking except two tasks: W3 (*Writing an e-mail and online chatting*) and W9 (*Answering writing sections in the English tests*) which were ranked 14 and 12 respectively. This suggests that teachers acknowledge the importance of practicing daily communication as well as preparing for high stakes tests.

The ability to use English abroad was the second most strongly agreed upon set of tasks teachers believed students needed by the end of middle school. As the school provides students with opportunities such as traveling abroad and exchange student programs, *communicate with host family* (F3) and *complete necessary tasks at the bank, post office, school office* (F5) were ranked the 8th and 9th most important tasks overall.

The most preferred classroom participation style was teacher-centered, followed by pair work, individual work, and group work. These findings indicate that there seems to be few opportunities for students to be involved in communication activities. The findings for learning strategies showed that teachers regard strategies for communicative competence and effective input as the most important, prioritizing *simulating conversational situations* (St 9), *"to listen and read many English sentences and understand them without paying too much attention to grammar"* (St 8). However, teachers also believe in the effectiveness of paying

attention to accuracy through memorization: “to memorize many words and idioms” (St 1), “to memorize many English sentences from the textbook” (St 3), and “to understand and memorize grammar” (St 2).

The teachers rated student preferred topics they have introduced in English class. The teachers perceived that students were highly interested in foreign culture, followed by hobbies, traveling, food and cooking, and music. These results indicate that those daily topics have been frequently introduced in the school’s English textbooks. It is surprising that school-related topics, such as club activities and school festivals, were rarely introduced to students by most teachers.

More than 30 percent of the teachers considered online materials as their preferred teaching realia. They also mentioned reward systems, kinesthetic warm-ups, and games. However, one thing to note in the results is that teachers seem to use a limited number of classroom activities in spite of teaching young language learners. The results for teachers’ preferred computer-assisted activities revealed that the teachers primarily use computer software in class. It is understandable since English textbooks publishing companies provide CD-ROMs which contain textbook texts and audio-recorded data.

4.5. Results of the Student Survey

Again, the findings of student perceptions for tasks using four skills and foreign language use, preferences for learning strategies, participation style, topic, and in-class activities are presented in Tables 1 through 5. Students perceived a stronger need for reading than any other skills: listening and speaking, writing, and foreign use. Among reading tasks, English textbook-related tasks such as reading a textbook with the correct pronunciation, understanding vocabulary, grammar, and main ideas from the English textbook (R1-R4), were viewed as highly important by the students. It is understandable that most questions in the high stakes tests, such as midterm and final exams, are taken from the textbook.

Overall the student needs for listening and speaking tasks is very similar to teacher perceptions. *Engage in a simple daily conversation* (LS1) and *introduce oneself in English* (LS2) were ranked 1st and 2nd among the 39 tasks in the four skills. Tasks involving explaining directions to foreigners (LS4), singing English pop songs (LS9), and answering questions in listening tests (LS15) were also perceived as highly necessary by the students. Contrary to the teacher perceptions, the students found a strong necessity for *delivering a speech or giving a presentation in English* (LS13).

Similar to the results of the teachers, the students viewed the writing tasks as less relevant except for keeping a diary in English (W1), writing e-mails, online chatting in English (W3) and answering composition questions in college entrance exams (W8). All of the writing tasks were ranked lower than 15th. These results indicate that students paid attention to practicing personal communication as well as preparing for high stakes tests.

Students appeared to have high expectations in regards to communicating with local people (F2) and achieving communicative tasks (F1) while traveling abroad or during a home stay program abroad. It can be assumed that traveling abroad opportunities provided by the school may have aroused students’ interest. In addition, several listening and speaking questions in high stakes tests ask about situational conversations similar to F1 and F2, so these examination question trends may also influence student needs.

Students’ most preferred classroom participation style was teacher-centered, followed by individual work, pair work, and group work. These findings indicate that the students seem to be more familiar with teacher-centered and individual styles, both of which are more suitable for receptive tasks, rather than communicative tasks. The findings for students’ learning strategies suggested that they perceived memorizing vocabulary and idioms (St1) and grammar (St2) as the 1st and 3rd most effective way for learning English. They also believe in the effectiveness of solving comprehension questions (St5). One thing to note is that this result seems to be consistent with current English teaching practice in the classroom when they prepare for midterm and final exams.

The students' favorite topics were ranked as follows: Korean culture (T7), Korean around the world (T6), famous historical sites (T4), and foreign culture and people (T2). The popular topics among students were related to their nationality, culture and history. The least popular topics were homeroom (T28), psychology (T20), future courses (T32), and religion (T35).

About 38 percent of students considered computer-assisted tools with online materials, power point presentation, and CD-ROMs as their preferred teaching media. They also mentioned in-class games, cramming for quizzes, singing songs and discussions in English as their preferred learning methods. The results for student preferred computer-assisted activities revealed that they seem to be interested in playing computer games, watching video clips, English pop songs, chatting and writing emails to E-pal. Such results are to be expected given young learners experience with computers and the Internet.

5.0. DISCUSSION

5.1. Comparison of English Needs (EQ1)

Overall, both students and teachers acknowledged a strong need for reading skills with these items having the highest mean ratings. There was also agreement between teachers and students that writing skills are the least important skills. However, when it comes to their specific needs throughout the four skills, conversation skills (introducing oneself, engaging simple talk, etc.) are the most important skills that middle school students should acquire by the end of middle school English education. This finding is also consistent with the government's goal of improving communicative skills including daily small talk. However, whereas the national curriculum emphasizes writing skills (starting in middle school) as a way of improving communicative competence (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2007), students and teachers did not view them as necessary talk. This is a clear inconsistency among the perception of the students, teachers, and the national curriculum.

The highest mean ratings of for all seven reading tasks by both students and teachers indicate the necessity of reading ability. Students and teachers both recognized the importance of English textbook-related reading tasks, such as understanding vocabulary, grammar rules and main ideas. However, compared to students, teachers wanted students to be more prepared for reading sections in the high stakes exams. The necessity of reading textbooks with correct pronunciation according to students differed to teachers' perceptions. Introducing authentic spoken English through online resources and more use of the English textbook embedded CD-ROM may be useful for students.

The responses from students and teachers indicated a great deal of similarity. Students and teachers strongly acknowledged the significance of daily conversation including introducing oneself and explaining directions. Additionally, they also placed strong emphasis on singing one's favorite English songs and preparing for the listening section of high stakes exams. However, contrary to students' and teachers' negative attitudes, the national curriculum placed a greater emphasis on the importance of expressing one's opinion in English, introducing Korean culture, and giving presentations. This gap between achieving goals in the national English curriculum and students' and teachers' perceptions of speaking needs may demonstrate the limitations of top-down implementation of national curriculum in local school settings.

Both students and teachers did not feel a strong need for writing, which received the lowest mean ratings among the four skills. However, both groups still acknowledged the necessity of writing e-mails and online chatting. In terms of the writing section in high stakes exams, teachers recognized the importance of grammar and vocabulary, whereas students preferred composition itself. In contrast to teacher perceptions, students placed greater emphasis on keeping a diary. The national curriculum emphasizes the importance of informal writing activities, such as diary writing, essay composition about oneself and family, and personal letters written to friends about school life. These goals in the national curriculum are also consistent with student and teacher preferences for informal writing rather than formal writing. However, considering the fact that 7th grade is the starting year for English writing in the national English curriculum, it may be more beneficial and motivating to introduce a variety of real world writing opportunities to students based on their needs and interest. Teachers may need to encourage students to engage in different genres of writing, including formal writing, by allowing them opportunities to be involved in authentic writing tasks.

Students acknowledged the necessity of using English for traveling abroad (conversations at the airport, on a plane, and communicating with local people), whereas teachers wanted students to complete necessary tasks at the bank, post office, and school offices. Though the school used to provide a short term (a week or so) traveling abroad opportunity for volunteering students, students and teachers expressed a strong need for achieving communicative tasks in specific contexts. To better meet those needs, incorporating more tasks into the English curriculum may be effective.

5.2. Comparison of Participation Styles (EQ2) and Learning Strategies (EQ3)

Overall, there was strong agreement between the students and teachers that teacher-centered English classes are viewed as the most preferred participation style. There seems to be a clear discrepancy between their most preferred English needs (engaging in daily conversation and introducing oneself) and preferred or self-reported class participation style. Considering the findings from the data analysis of the national English curriculum and the institutional context of the English program, this was not surprising. On average, there are 31 students in one class, therefore, it may be challenging for the English teacher to give individual feedback and pay attention to all students. Besides, high stakes exams such as national college entrance exams and midterm and final exams have washback effects on English education, especially on the class participation style in that those tests do not include actual speaking and writing components, thus leading to very little, if any, teaching of speaking and writing in secondary school settings. Skewed emphasis on the listening, reading and grammar oriented high stakes exams may have an influence on class participation style as well. To better meet both groups' English needs, it may be beneficial to implement well-organized pair and group interaction activities.

In the case of learning strategies, there was a clear gap between students and teachers. Students believed that memorizing many words and idioms, and solving many comprehension questions were the most effective ways of learning English; on the other hand, teachers believed simulating real conversational situations, using English, and listening to and reading many English sentences without paying too much attention to grammar, were the most useful strategies. Contrary to teacher perceptions, students expressed strong needs for understanding and memorizing English grammar. These contradictions in learning strategies may suggest that students were far more willing to focus on accuracy, while teachers aimed to enhance students' fluency and communicative competence. Improving fluency as well as accuracy is also greatly stressed by the national English curriculum. In response to these needs, innovation in current language teaching and learning approaches may be required so that students can still enhance their language fluency without sacrificing accuracy.

5.3. Comparison of Topic Preference (EQ4)

There was a gap between what students like to talk about versus what is presented in actual English class. Topics related to nationality, culture or history, such as Korean culture, Korean people around the world, famous historical sites, and foreign culture and people, were highly preferred by most students. On the other hand, teachers actually introduced topics, such as foreign culture and people, hobbies, traveling, cooking and music, which often appear in the English textbooks and English workbooks for reading comprehension. Based on these findings, depending entirely on the topics in the English textbook may be inadequate to increase students' motivation and interest. It may be useful to introduce students' preferred topics through online audiovisual teaching materials to better serve their needs.

5.4. Comparison of Class Activity Preference (EQ5)

The open-ended responses from students and teachers revealed similar tendencies in preferred class activities. Students and teachers strongly acknowledged the value of online materials, and the use of computers (CD-ROMs, power point presentations). As for preferred computer-assisted activities, students expressed strong needs for online materials, such as online games, video clips and web surfing. Computer-assisted communication activities, such as E-pal and online chatting, are also highly noted by students. Students' preferences and needs are consistent with the national English curriculum in which computer-assisted language learning (CALL) and multimedia-assisted language learning (MALL) are highlighted. Contrary to students' diversified preferences and needs in the use of computers, teachers appeared to utilize English textbook embedded CD-ROMs for their computer-assisted class activities. To satisfy the needs from students and the requirements of the national curriculum, teachers may need continuing opportunities to learn and practice CALL and MALL through in-service training or teacher research groups.

6.0. CONCLUSION

The compared needs analysis suggested that both students and teachers recognized the importance of preparing for high stakes exams as well as acquiring communication skills. In other words, they strongly expressed the necessity of accuracy and fluency at the same time. By the same token, among the four language skills, reading skills and listening and speaking skills were highly emphasized, while writing skills were perceived as least necessary by both groups of respondents. Their strong needs and preferences are in agreement on the features of college entrance English tests and midterm and final exams, both of which focus heavily on listening and reading. In addition to their English needs, students and teachers revealed similar tendencies in that teacher-centered English classes were viewed as the most preferred participation style. Skewed emphasis on the listening-, reading- and grammar-oriented high stakes exams, and large class sizes, may influence the class participation styles and strategies as well.

Despite this serious washback effect, students and teachers acknowledged a strong need for conversation skills (introducing oneself, engaging in simple talk, etc), which is also in agreement with the national curriculum. Both students and teachers also acknowledged the necessity of writing an e-mail and online chatting, achieving communicative tasks in specific contexts (at the airport, bank, post office, and school offices). A slight difference in the topics of the communication skills was observed in that, contrary to students' and teachers' negative attitudes, the national curriculum emphasized expressing one's opinion in English and giving formal presentations. This discrepancy may be due to a top-down application of national curriculum to local schools.

Triangulating the needs of students, teachers, the institution, and the national curriculum, it can be concluded that students and teachers pursue fluency by enhancing English communication skills as well as accuracy by practicing English grammar and reading comprehension. Through well-developed tasks, students may best acquire the target language by engaging in various communicative activities (e.g., productive or receptive, and oral and written tasks) that they likely encounter in real-world contexts. Additionally, integrating technology in the implementation of TBLT makes language learning and teaching more effective by offering students motivation and a variety of language input, and by expanding students' learning experiences in real and authentic contexts.

An inconsistency was observed between students' preferred topic and topics introduced by teachers. This result indicates that the English textbook is a primary content source. Though students and teachers have no control once it is selected, it is consoling that most of the topics of newly selected English textbooks are consistent with students' needs. However, topics related to Koreans around the world, famous historical sites, and foreigners may need to be presented via worksheets or tasks. As the student participants are from 7th grade, it would be more informative to collect needs from 8th and 9th grade for overviews and comparisons of topic preferences according to grade.

Communicative tasks require students to process language pragmatically to achieve an outcome that can be evaluated in terms of whether the appropriate propositional content has been conveyed. To this end, it requires them to give primary attention to meaning and to make use of their own linguistic resources. It would be effective for students to identify target tasks and language forms in the pre-task, and to actually accomplish the given tasks in the during-task phase. For more legitimate assessment of students' task-based learning, I would suggest task-based assessment. Some preferred target tasks identified from the survey are as follows: conversing with native English speakers (NES), sending an e-mail to E-pals, traveling in English speaking countries, keeping a diary, ordering food, giving directions to NES in Korea, playing online computer games with NES, introduce oneself to NES, volunteering for community service in English speaking countries, watching English-language animation and movies etc.

To better implement TBLT in the given EFL middle school context, it seems necessary to inform students how to achieve learning goals. As indicated by their preferred class participation style (teacher-centered), it seems necessary to introduce the task-based approach, assessment and sequence to students beforehand so that they can be more familiar with a new approach, possibly in the beginning of 7th grade. More attention needs to be paid in the progressive change from teacher-centered class activities to peer or group centered class activities.

Developing tasks is challenging work. English teachers are usually allotted the most number of teaching hours, and overworked with administration work and homeroom teacher duties. One possible solution may be English teacher collaboration in creating tasks. Additionally, it will also be beneficial if a head English teacher can compile all the created tasks and other teaching materials and share these with new teachers. As for CALL infrastructure, the school is equipped with two computer labs. However, only one lab has enough computers ($N=35$) for one class. As the student and teacher needs analysis revealed, students are highly interested in and capable of using computer technology in English learning, though teachers are rather reluctant to use the computer lab for several reasons (e.g., lack of computer skills, lack of time, mistrust of online learning, etc). It may be necessary for teachers to build up computer literacy and confidence.

Overall, the impact of this language program evaluation may be the school administrators' and English teachers' realization of the importance of understanding and reflecting the students' needs in the language program. The findings of this program evaluation may help to form the basis of course-embedded program evaluation throughout primary school and secondary school. School administrators allowed the evaluator to develop course-embedded task-based English lessons, and implement them in the school. Follow-up studies will be conducted to (a) illustrate how computer-assisted TBLT (CATBLT) lessons are implemented in a conventional English classroom in EFL secondary school settings and (b) to investigate linguistic development in student writing as well as their perceptions of CATBLT.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF COMPUTER-ASSISTED TASK-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING IN SECONDARY EFL SETTINGS IN KOREA

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to illustrate how computer-assisted TBLT lessons can be designed and implemented in a conventional English classroom in an EFL secondary school setting and investigates the linguistic development in students' writing as well as their perceptions of TBLT. A series of TBLT lesson plans for two units were designed for an experimental group ($N=30$), while a control group ($N=31$) was taught using a conventional pedagogical approach. For each unit, two task-based writing tests (pre/post-test) and a conventional unit test were administered. The findings suggest the task-based approach is effective in improving communicative competence and may not hinder form-focused L2 learning.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, task-based language teaching (TBLT) has become one of the most commonly used language teaching approaches in the field of instructed second language acquisition, having a considerable impact on national English education policies, curriculum design, materials development and classroom teaching. Many studies have been conducted proposing instructional ideas based on the use of tasks (Candlin, 1987; Lee, 2000; Willis 2007). According to Ellis (2003), a task is a work plan that requires learners to process language pragmatically in order to achieve an outcome that can be evaluated in terms of whether the correct or appropriate propositional content has been conveyed. To this end, it requires that learners give primary attention to meaning and make use of their own linguistic resources (though the design of the task may predispose them to choose particular forms). Researchers differ somewhat on defining what characterizes a task and how it is applied in the classroom; however, most seem to agree that learners can best acquire the target language by engaging in activities that they likely encounter in real-world contexts.

Parallel to the development of TBLT in language education is the use of technology in language learning, including the increasing use of computers and the Internet. Recently, a large number of computer assisted language learning (CALL) activities, materials, and websites have been developed under the rationale that computers and the Internet are effective language learning and teaching tools that motivate students. Recently, however, researchers are suggesting that CALL needs to take note of SLA principles in order to make language learning and teaching more effective (Chapelle, 1998; Doughty, 1987). In recognition of the importance of computer applications in second language acquisition (CASLA), the Korean revised 7th national curriculum was first implemented in 2000 at the first and second grade levels in Korean elementary schools, and by 2004, was spread across all levels of school education up to the senior year of high school. Heavily emphasizing communicative competence and fluency in the two curricula, the Ministry of Education encouraged Korean EFL teachers to develop students' communicative competence incorporating computer-assisted language learning (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2002), as well as student-oriented, task-based language teaching (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2007).

However, English classes in public education settings in Korea do not yet fully correspond to the expectations of the national curricula for several reasons. First of all, the feasibility of TBLT needs to be examined in Asian contexts in which different cultural and educational backgrounds exist (McDonough & Chaikitmongkol, 2007). Despite such challenges and limitations, the implementation of computer-assisted task-based language teaching (CATBLT) appears to foster a synergy effect amongst EFL learners, tasks, and technology to create authentic, innovative and immersive language learning environments that complement existing English classes in the Korean EFL context.

2.0. LITERATURE REIEW

2.1. Task-Based Language Teaching in a Korean EFL Context

TBLT has been an established research area for over two decades (cf. Bygate, Skehan, & Swain, 2001; Ellis, 2003; Long, 1985; Prabhu, 1987; Skehan, 1996). Nunan (1991) has proposed five features of TBLT, which include the following:

1. An emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language
2. The introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation
3. The provision of opportunities for learners to focus, not only on language, but also on the learning process itself
4. An enhancement of the learners' own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning
5. An attempt to link classroom language learning with language activation outside the classroom.

According to previous studies by Anderson (1993) and Li (1998), such pedagogical features have been considered difficult to practice in Asian EFL contexts due to several contextual limitations. These include big class sizes, heavy focus on college entrance exams, rigid national curriculum, traditional teaching methods, lacking student motivation, and lacking teacher competence. The implementation of TBLT in Korean EFL settings has also faced the same difficulties. Up to the present, only a few studies have examined TBLT-related topics in Korean EFL settings.

Since early 2000, a decade of studies on TBLT in Korea appear to question the definition and value of the task-based approach, with writing and speaking as the two most frequently explored areas. The literature also reveals that many researchers have taken a great interest in the feasibility of TBLT in the Korean EFL context. The research focus seems to have shifted from simply introducing and examining task-based approaches, to exploring issues of implementation in Korean school settings. However, the majority of studies on the actual practice of task-based approaches have been conducted at the college level where course syllabi and teaching materials are known to be more flexible than those of secondary school settings. More research on implementation and evaluation of TBLT for middle and high school learners is needed in order to know how best to implement task-based teaching and learning at secondary school levels.

2.2. Computer-Assisted Language Learning in a Korean EFL Context

The advancement of computer technology has promoted the use of CALL as an alternative to traditional teaching methods in the hope that it will revolutionize the way students learn a second or foreign language. Such hopes are based on the assumption that CALL can expedite language learning and become an important instructional medium (Singhal, 1998). With the advent of CALL in Korea, many studies have investigated how to enhance students' English ability using computers and the Internet. A variety of studies have found that computers and the Internet help Korean EFL learners enhance their speaking ability (Shin, 2001), listening comprehension (Park, 2001), writing ability (Shin & Kwon, 1999), and reading comprehension (Yoon & Lee, 2001). The results of these studies also suggest that computers and Internet-integrated English classes became more learner-centered. Through innovative learning realia, learners devote much time and effort to authentic reading, writing, listening, and speaking activities.

A cursory glance at literature on CALL indicates evidence supporting the effectiveness of computers and the Internet in aiding language learning in Korean contexts. However, as pointed out by Garrett in 1991, the use of computers and technology does not constitute a method or approach. Rather, it is a medium in which a variety of approaches, methods and pedagogical philosophies can be implemented. It is no wonder that the new medium of language teaching and learning constitutes a challenge for EFL teachers and learners. In this respect, this study puts more emphasis on how CALL integrated English lessons are developed under the task-based framework as implemented in formal secondary school settings.

In the current study, I examine whether computer assisted task based language teaching (CATBLT) is an effective pedagogical approach for young EFL learners in Korea and pose the following research (RQ) questions to investigate this concern:

RQ 1: How much do learners achieve in the task-based writing assessment in two different teaching approaches?

RQ 2: How much do the two groups of learners achieve on unit-review tests ?

RQ 3: What are student and teacher opinions of the CATBLT lessons?

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The research site was a private boys' middle school in Korea. Two English classes were chosen from 10 English classes from the first year (7th grade). The student participants were male Korean middle school students ($N=61$) who were enrolled in required English courses at the school. They ranged in age from 13 to 14 years. All of the participants had four years of previous English instruction in the form of required EFL classes in elementary school. As the school follows a level-differentiated English curriculum, students were assigned to English classes based on results from the English placement test, which was administered by the school and focuses on reading comprehension and grammar. The two selected English classes were for advanced-level students. The two classes were randomly assigned to the following conditions: a control group (non-CATBLT group, $N=31$), and experimental group (CATBLT group, $N=30$).

The teacher participant who taught both groups was a 37 year-old Korean English teacher. He had eight years teaching experience (three years at a private institute; five years at the middle school). Initially, he taught five advanced-level 1st year English classes including the control and experimental group, and volunteered to implement the CATBLT lessons for this study.

3.2. Materials

3.2.1. Use of computers and the Internet

Computer-assisted task-based language teaching lesson plans were developed for the two classes incorporating a personal computer and online sources. Participants in the experimental group took the TBLT English lessons at the school computer lab. A variety of online multimedia sources were introduced throughout the lessons; for e-pal (a world-wide email pen pal service) tasks, students explored an actual e-pal website and searched for an e-pal, and then uploaded a self-introduction essay to the website. They used web search engines to find authentic information to complete their tasks and used word processing software and presentation software (e.g., PowerPoint) to type their essays and prepare for group presentations.

3.2.2. English textbooks

The *Middle School English 1* is a government-approved English textbook for first year junior high school English in Korea. It was authorized in 2008 by the Korean Ministry of Education (MOE), and published in 2009 based on the 7th national English curriculum. As this study was conducted in the existing English curriculum, the textbook had to be a primary source of teaching and learning so that participants would not be disadvantaged in high stakes midterm and final exams. The textbook covers a variety of topics related to students' lives and interests. For the purposes of this study, TBLT pedagogy was integrated in two textbook units: unit 1- *All about Me* and unit 2- *My School Bus*. The specific target of each unit is as follows.

Table 1: Unit Goals in Lesson 1 and 2

Unit	Theme	Communication Function	Grammar
Lesson 1 All about Me	Self introduction, & make friends	My name is Tony. I am from Canada. This is my friend, Sujin. Sujin is cute.	I am tall. You are not tall. I like sports. I don't like music.
Lesson 2 My School bus	Various means of transportation abroad	How do you go to school? I go to school by water bus. What time do you go to school? I go to school at eight.	That is a problem. Is that a problem? They like music. Do they like music? How do you go to school? What time do you go to school?

3.2.3. Lesson plan

The same English textbook was used in both groups; however, as a part of the experimental treatment, task-based lesson plans were developed by the author and then implemented by the volunteer teacher in the experimental group. For each unit, three task-based lesson plans and one task-based writing assessment were implemented over the four class hours. Task-based lessons were designed to elicit communicative interaction between the students, so that students were able to accomplish authentic and real-life tasks using productive skills of speaking and writing.

The design of the task-based lesson involved the following steps (see Figure 1). In the pre-task phase, students were provided (and practiced) target task models and key linguistic items. In the during-task phase, students undertook the task itself usually in a small group. Next, students planned how to report their findings or achievements. Finally, in the post-task phase, students made reports in a different group setting. The teacher occasionally reminded the students of the target structures and grammar at the end of task sequence.

Lesson #2: (in the computer lab)

Target Task: Introduce an e-pal to the class

Target Forms: *I like ... / He likes ... / My name is ... / Her name is... / She is from...*

• **Warm-up Activity:**

- Show an authentic third-person introduction video from a website and ask the students to guess the relation of the interviewees in the video (<http://www.real-english.com/reo/6/unit6.html>). [*worksheet #3*] (5min)

• **Pre-Task:**

- Have the class watch the teacher's introduction of his e-pals focusing on the forms in third-person introduction. (*He is..., she likes..., she is from...*) [*worksheet #4*] (Explain that the students will read three self-introduction messages from an e-pal website. Have the class do a brief analysis of the forms and structures used in the self-instructions, and ask them to brainstorm what makes a good e-pal self-introduction, and what doesn't. (5 min)
- Ask students to choose one different e-pal from the textbook and introduce the person to their partner in English after completing the Step 2 in the *worksheet #4*. Remind the students how to do a third-person introduction. [Pair work, the messages are in the textbook, pg. 16, 17] (7 min)

• **During-Task:**

- Introduce the e-pal project to the class encouraging them to find their favorite e-pal for the next e-mail correspondence. Have them connect to the e-pal website, and introduce the features of the website. (3 min)
- Ask them to search their e-pals by selecting age, gender, nationality. [<http://pcnpalsnow.com>], and complete the Step 1 in the *worksheet #5*. (17 min.)

• **Post-Task:**

- Have the class form 8 groups of 4 students each, and ask them to introduce their e-pal to their group in English. Complete the Step 2 in the *worksheet #5*. (8 min.)

• **Homework:**

Answer questions in workbook pg. 15 for reading comprehension.

Figure 1: A Sample Task-Based Lesson Plan in Lesson 1

For the control group, the volunteer teacher was asked to document his lesson content and sequences, but teach in the same way as in the other, experimental English class. The overall features of his lessons in the control group were considerably teacher-centered, and grammar- and vocabulary-focused (see Figure 2). Therefore, there were few chances for students to interact in pairs or groups. Instead, they engaged in individual activities to solve grammar or reading comprehension exercise drills in the textbook. One sample lesson sequence of the control group is as follows:

Lesson #3: (in the classroom)

Target Forms: 3rd person singular, subjective, possessive, and objective pronoun

• **Warm-up Activity:**

- Vocabulary quiz (10min)

• **Main Activity:**

- The teacher helped students translate the content in 'Enjoy Reading' section into Korean by explaining new vocabulary, sentence structure, and grammar. (20 min)

• **Review:**

- The teacher summarized the target grammatical rules with example sentences and reminded students of the correct use of them. (10 min)

Figure 2: A Sample Lesson Sequence in the Control Group

3.2.4. Pre-test, Post-test

To compare the two groups and to measure change resulting from experimental treatments (i.e., the task-based approach), a pretest-posttest design was used. Following guidelines for designing performance assessment (Norris, Brown, Hudson, & Yoshioka, 1998), two sets of task-based writing tests were developed—one set for unit 1 and one set for unit 2—to measure participants' performance in approximations of real-life, authentic writing tasks.

The performance assessment was designed to meet three requirements: (a) Examinees must perform some sort of task; (b) the tasks must be as authentic as possible; and (c) the performances are scored by qualified raters (cf. Shohamy, 1995, and Wiggins, 1989.) The theme, target structures and grammar of each unit were considered in the design of the tests. A sample pre- and post-test for unit 1 is provided in Figure 3 (below).

Pre-Test

Task 1. Writing an E-mail to American Host Family

- Imagine you just received an e-mail from John, your American host father in the U.S. army base in your hometown.

Dear (your name),

Hi! I hope you still remember our dinner gathering this Sunday. There is one more seat available, so you can bring your best friend Minsu. Please let us know his age, hometown, hobby, favorite food, and food he doesn't like so we can prepare. Hope to hear from you soon!

Sincerely,

John

- After reading the e-mail, you sent a text message to Minsu asking his age, hometown, hobby, favorite food, and food he doesn't like. You just received a text message from Minsu on his personal information.

Name	Age	Hometown	Hobby	Favorite Food	Food he doesn't like
Minsu	12	Bokhyun-dong	Playing Computer games	Pizza	Fried Chicken

- Now it is time for you to send an e-mail to Mr. John Smith introducing Minsu with his personal information. Please complete the e-mail in the blank below in 20 minutes.

Post-Test

Task 1. Writing an E-mail to E-Pal

- Imagine you just received an e-mail from your e-pal, Mike, from Canada.

Dear (your name),

Hello! Thank you for your kind e-mail! I am also happy to be your e-pal. Oh, you said your favorite person is your brother, right? Please let us know more about your brother. Hope to hear from you soon!

Sincerely,

Mike

- After reading the e-mail, you interviewed your brother and found his personal information.

Name	Age	Appearance	Favorite Sport	Favorite Food	Food he doesn't like
Minho	15	Tall and thin	Swimming	Kimchi	Pizza

- Now it is time for you to send an e-mail to Mike introducing your brother, Minho, with his personal information. Please complete the e-mail in the blank below in 20 minutes.

Figure 3: Sample Pre-& Post-Test in Lesson 1

To check the reliability of the pre- and post-tests, an additional class ($N = 28$) at the same advanced level was administered the two sets of pre- and post-tests. According to the reliability test results, Cronbach alpha values for the two sets of pre- and post-tests were 0.82 and 0.97. The pre- and post-test writing data were scored by two trained raters, who scored performances using an analytic rubric. Pearson's correlation coefficient was computed to assess the interrater reliability between the two raters. The results indicated a strong correlation between the two raters: ($r = 0.951$, $n = 244$, $p = 0.000$).

3.3. Procedures

On the first day of the English lesson, participants of the control and experimental groups were told that they were taking part in a study on the implementation of task-based teaching approach in general English curriculum settings and given information describing the study. They were given up to 20 minutes to complete the pre-test sheet. From the second to fourth class hour, participants in the experimental group were taught using a task-based approach. When units 1 and 2 ended (one unit requires five class meetings), both groups completed the post-test for 20 minutes.

All participants were also completed a unit-review test, which consisted of 20 multiple-choice questions focusing on the vocabulary, reading comprehension, and grammar of a given unit.

To investigate if there was a statistical significance for Test administration (pre- & post-test) \times Group (control & experimental group) interaction, analysis of variance with repeated measures was conducted. The between-subject factors were the control group (using the traditional pedagogical approach) and the experimental group (using the task-based approach), and the within-subject factors were test scores on the pre-test and the post-test for both Unit 1 and 2.

3.4 Data Analysis.

To investigate if there was a statistical significance for Test administration (pre- & post-test) \times Group (control & experimental group) interaction, analysis of variance with repeated measures was conducted. The between-subject factors were the control group (exposed to traditional approach instruction) and the experimental group (task-based approach), and the within-subject factors were test scores on the pre-test and the post-test for both unit 1 and unit 2. To examine participants' reactions to CATBLT, an open-ended online survey was administered to the experimental group participants.

4.0. RESULTS

4.1. (RQ 1) How much do the learners achieve in the task-based writing assessment in two different teaching approaches? Is there any meaningful difference?

Pre- and post-tests were used to identify any meaningful difference of participants' task-based writing performance. The pre- and post-tests were delivered before and after each lesson. The data regarding possible effects of CATBLT were analyzed using descriptive statistics and repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Descriptive statistics of the pre- and post-test from the unit 1 indicate that the TBLT group ($M = 82.17$, $SD = 14.12$) and the control group ($M = 82.42$, $SD = 12.31$) had similar mean values in the pre-test (see Table 2). In the post-test, the TBLT group ($M = 90.67$, $SD = 14.12$) performed better than the control group ($M = 86.77$, $SD = 8.06$).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Pre- & Post-test Writing Assessments

Lesson Unit	Test	Group	N	M	SD
Lesson 1	Pre-test	TBLT	30	82.17	14.12
		Control	31	82.42	12.31
	Post-test	TBLT	30	90.67	11.20
		Control	31	86.77	8.06
Lesson 2	Pre-test	TBLT	30	66.17	21.92
		Control	31	67.90	14.71
	Post-test	TBLT	30	83.50	13.01
		Control	31	69.52	17.86

Table 3 shows ANOVA results for unit 1 pre and post tests. There was a main effect for time (pre- and post-test), which means participants experienced a significant increase in the task-based writing assessment scores regardless of their group. And, there was a non significant result for Time \times Group ($p = .09$) which indicated that the two groups' test performances did not differ. There are several possible reasons for the similar test performance of the two groups. First, the task itself seemed to be quite easy for both groups, exhibiting a ceiling effect in overall scores. Second, the CATBLT treatment during unit 1 was only three class hours, which

may have been too short a period of time to impact task performance. Nevertheless, the task-based group did perform on average somewhat better than the comparison group on the post-test.

Table 3: Analysis of Variance with Repeated Measures for Unit 1 Tests

Source	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Between Subjects					
Group	100.99	1	100.99	.45	.51
Error	13269.50	59	224.91		
Within Subjects					
Time (pre/post)	1259.67	1	1259.67	28.34	.00*
Time \times Group	130.98	1	130.98	2.95	.09
Error	2622.30	59	44.45		

* $p < .05$

According to the ANOVA results for unit 2 tests (see Table 4), the significance value of Time \times Group interaction is .002; therefore the finding rejects the null hypothesis (CATBLT makes no difference to learning gains in task-based writing assessment) and accepts the alternative hypothesis that significant improvement did take place and that group membership made a difference. That is, the CATBLT group improved substantially (17 points improvement) and outperformed the traditional group (14 point difference on the post-test), both to statistically significant degrees. Within three lessons of CATBLT treatment, the experimental group students' significant improvement in the task-based writing assessment was encouraging for stakeholders at the middle school. However, participants received 10 hours of TBLT instruction during unit 2. Thus, the significant improvement for the CATBLT group on the post-test after unit 2 may be attributed to the additional TBLT instruction and practice of various communicative tasks.

Table 4: Analysis of Variance with Repeated Measures for Unit 2 Tests

Source	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Between Subjects					
Intercept	628271.29	1	628271.29	1533.63	.00*
Group	1143.42	1	1143.42	2.79	.10
Error	24170.11	59	409.66		
Within Subjects					
Time (pre/post)	2736.33	1	2736.33	15.05	.00*
Time \times Group	1883.87	1	1883.87	10.36	.002*
Error	10728.01	59	181.83		

* $p < .05$

4.2. (RQ 2) How much do the two groups of learners achieve on unit-review tests?

All of the first year students were required to take a school unit-review tests after covering each unit regardless of their level, which were heavily focused on the vocabulary, grammar and reading comprehension related to the units. To find differences in performance between the TBLT group and the control group on the two unit-review tests, descriptive statistics (see Table 5) and independent t-tests were used. When comparing the two groups' scores on the two unit-review tests, the significance for Levene's test was greater than .05 for unit 1 and 2, indicating that there was no significant difference in the unit-review tests.

Table 5: Group Statistics in the Unit-Review Tests

Unit	Group	N	M	SD
Unit 1	TBLT	30	95.33	5.40
	Control	31	93.23	5.85
Unit 2	TBLT	30	87.50	10.15
	Control	31	77.90	11.60

The group statistics findings in Table 5 indicate that the TBLT group scored higher than the control group in the two tests, especially in the unit 2 review test, though, again, the difference is not statistically different. Never-the-less it is a promising sign that the task-based approach, which included a focus on form element, did not negatively impact students' language accuracy while leading to apparent benefits for learning to do communicative tasks.

4.3. (RQ 3) What are student and teacher opinions of the CATBLT lessons?

After 10 class hours' implementation of CATBLT, a retrospective written survey was conducted in order to obtain student and the volunteer teacher reactions toward the use of CATBLT. The author wanted to know about the feasibility of CATBLT in the Korean EFL secondary school context based, and teacher and student perceptions were to inform this understanding.

4.4. Students' Reactions

The students were asked to provide written feedback of their opinions of the CATBLT lessons via an online survey. Thirty students were asked to rate their preferences for various aspects of CABLT instruction on a scale from 1 to 5. Tables 6, 7, and 8 show participants' (a) perceptions of the effectiveness of CATBLT in English language skills (Table 6), (b) preference of participation style (Table 7), and (c) opinions about activities and materials (Table 8). Their written feedback on an open-ended survey item was categorized into advantages, difficulties & concerns, and suggestions, and is presented with frequency of response in Table 9.

In Table 6, students were asked to rate their opinion on the effectiveness of CATBLT for English language skills on a scale of 1 ("not effective at all") to 5 ("most effective"). Students indicated CATBLT is most effective in improving learning and practicing communication skill ($M=4.33$, $SD=0.48$). Writing skill was ranked second highest, followed by listening and reading skills with the same mean value ($M=3.87$). As for speaking skill, students viewed CATBLT as relatively less beneficial to speaking skills than other skills despite the fact that they marked practical communication skills as the one that benefited the most from CATBLT instructions.

Table 6: Students' Views on the Effectiveness of CATBLT in English Language Skills

Item	N	M	SD	Rank
Practical Communication	30	4.33	.48	1
Writing	30	3.93	.79	2
Listening	30	3.87	.97	3
Reading	30	3.87	1.01	4
Speaking	30	3.70	.99	5

There was no difference in the students' most preferred participation style in the CATBLT evaluation and needs analysis survey administered four month prior (See Table 7). Their most preferred classroom participation style was teacher-centered ($M=4.27$, $SD=0.53$), followed by individual work ($M=3.90$, $SD=0.76$), pair work ($M=3.67$, $SD=0.76$), and group work ($M=3.50$, $SD=0.97$). Though students in the CATBLT group had the task-based approach explained to them, the more gradual transition from introducing communicative activities towards tasks as a warm-up unit in the existing curriculum and syllabus may help students change their preference for participation styles.

Table 7: Students' Preference of Participation Style in CATBLT

<i>Item</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Teacher-centered	30	4.27	.53	1
Individual Work	30	3.90	.76	2
Pair Work	30	3.67	.76	3
Group Work	30	3.50	.97	4

Students were asked to rate their preferred language learning activities and materials used in the CATBLT classes on a scale of 1 ("not preferred at all") to 5 ("most preferred") (Table 8). Students acknowledged the use of computers (and the Internet) as the most preferred language learning tool ($M=4.37$, $SD=0.67$). It was surprising that students ranked the pre- and post- task-based writing assessment as the second most preferred learning realia. This finding indicates the potential and value of task-based language assessment in future implementation of CATBLT. The textbook was identified as the least preferred realia ($M=3.60$, $SD=0.81$). The result reminds English teachers to be mindful of their use of the textbook (given its unpopularity) and to consider learners' interest and needs.

Table 8: Students' Preferred Language Learning Activities and Materials

<i>Item</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Computer (Internet)	30	4.37	.67	1
Pre/Post Test	30	4.30	.65	2
Worksheet	30	4.17	.71	3
Presentation	30	3.90	.76	4
Homework	30	3.83	.59	5
Word Processing	30	3.80	.66	6
Textbook	30	3.60	.81	7

Students provided numerous positive comments of CATBLT (Table 9). The questionnaire provided an open-ended question asking for students overall opinions of CATBLT after they participated in the series of CATBLT classes. The most prominent advantage of CATBLT was providing students with communicative tasks which are not only empowering but also closely related to their curriculum and textbook. The implementation of the task-based approach incorporated with computer technology appeared to be a good match for language learning and teaching. Students' main concerns were that implicit learning of English grammar and key structures might negatively affect their high stake tests and there was little individual feedback from the teacher. Students also pointed out that task instruction should be more clearly stated. Another concern was that inappropriate use of computers and the Internet in English class could distract them. As for suggestions, a few students mentioned that task-based approach might work better if a native English teacher implemented the class. They also expected individual feedback on their writing tasks from their English teacher.

Table 9: Students' Overall Evaluation of CATBLT

<i>Student comments</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Advantage	
Students could actually correspond with e-pals in English.	20
Students could introduce themselves in English	14
Students were highly motivated and interested in the use of computer for language learning and practice.	12
As tasks were very authentic, students became confident in real-life communication in English.	11
Difficulties / Concerns	
Implicit grammar learning made students nervous about midterm and final exams.	8
Students were not sure how well or poorly they performed in each task.	5
Students were confused of task instruction.	4
Students were distracted due to unnecessary web surfing.	3
Suggestions	
It may be more effective if native English teacher can teach in task-based way.	4
Teacher's feedback on students' writing may be helpful to them.	3

4.5. Teacher's Reactions

After implementing CATBLT implementation over 10 class hours, the teacher participant was also asked to answer the same survey. His overall impression on the advantages of CATBLT was that students appeared to be highly motivated by the real-life tasks. Introducing authentic pictures and video clips to students enabled them to experience more real-life tasks and gain more confidence in task performance. The most serious limitation, however, seemed to be the lack of individual feedback to students, especially when they engaged in small group activities. He also pointed out the need for preparatory sessions for both English teachers and students to better prepare for the implementation of TBLT. As students mentioned, the teacher also worried that the PC and the Internet could distract students with unnecessary web surfing or computer games. In terms of pair or group activities, as students were not familiar with small group activities, the atmosphere in the interaction became slack. Lastly, the instructor also expressed a concern with the heavy work load in CATBLT lesson development.

5.0. CONCLUSION

The study investigated the effectiveness of CATBLT for task-based writing assessment. The findings indicate that CATBLT may be an effective pedagogical approach and tool for helping young EFL students under a general English curriculum. Students' opinions of CATBLT were mainly positive, although they did mention a few pitfalls. Never-the-less, student participants noted more advantages from CATBLT than concerns. The teacher (CATBLT practitioner) also expressed positive views noting that the task-based approach has a lot of potential.

This study was part of a larger effort to build program evaluation into the development and delivery of the English language program. As a part of language program evaluation and the development sequence, the findings from this CATBLT implementation should not just be theory testing or the demonstration of program effectiveness, but should try to understand and improve language programs as they are put into practice.

The current study has limitations which should be acknowledged. Since this study focused on a specific instructional context (i.e., private middle school students in Korea) the findings are not generalizable to other contexts or L2 populations. Further, the small number of participants and short experiment period also seemed to be major limitation of the study. Studies should continue to expand the empirical basis of CATBLT by including more diverse EFL school contexts and learners. Finally, in order to examine the feasibility of CATBLT in the Korean EFL context, more longitudinal studies need to be conducted from the government level so that accumulated findings from these further studies may build a valuable basis for implementing CATBLT at program levels in the Korean context.

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MODAL FREQUENCY IN JAPANESE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS: A CORPUS-BASED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to analyze English textbooks used in Japan and to demonstrate how current Japanese reforms in English education have influenced actual education. The study compares two corpora: (a) a corpus of English found in Japanese English-language textbooks, and (b) the British National Corpus (spoken). The study finds that English in Japanese English-language textbooks is different from English in the BNC in terms of modal frequency and modal function.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Within discourse on English language education in Japan, no other topic has created more controversy than the sufficiency of English communicative skill. A common perception is that Japanese people are proficient in grammatical knowledge but less proficient in listening and speaking abilities. In response to such criticisms, the Japanese government revised the Education Ministry guidelines for English language instruction and proposed a five-year "Action Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Activities" in 2003 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology [MEXT], 2003). These innovations had two specific characteristics: (a) to start English language education at a comparatively early stage--in junior high school, and (b) to focus instruction on the pragmatic use of English (Goto & Ino, 2003). The new curriculum guidelines thus emphasized communication skills, especially in listening and speaking:

THE COURSE OF STUDY FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGES

I. Overall Objectives

To develop students' basic practical communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages. (MEXT, 2003)

English has played a central role as the common international language in linking people who have different mother tongues. For children living in the 21st century, it is essential for them to acquire communication abilities in English as a common international language. (MEXT, 2003)

As a result of these innovations, all English textbooks for junior high school students were revised in 2006 putting more focus on spoken communicative skills.

The aim of this paper is to analyze a number of revised English-language textbooks currently used in Japanese junior high schools and to investigate how the recent Japanese reforms in English language education have influenced instruction. To gauge this effect, the study compares English from Japanese junior high school textbooks with English used in actual settings (as represented by spoken English language corpora). Currently, Japanese reforms in English language education puts more focus on 'real' English, so if the English in textbooks is similar to English that can be seen in English language corpora, we can say that these reforms have had an influence on English language education toward a greater emphasis on actual spoken English communication.

2.0. THE STUDY

2.1. Why do Japanese speakers have challenges with spoken English communication?

It is often said that Japanese people find it difficult to communicate in spoken English. Many Japanese students cannot speak English well, even though they achieve high scores on grammar tests. According to TOEFL test scores data in 2003 Japanese average scores were well below the average of all countries in each section except for the grammar (Educational Testing Service [ETS], 2003). In addition, the total average score ranking of Japanese was 248 out of 259 countries (ETS, 2003).

There are three main reasons that account for these communication difficulties. The first is the popularization of the TOEFL test in Japan (Goto & Ino, 2003). A wide range of people take the TOEFL test in Japan, while in some countries, only a limited number of elite-track people can take this test. For example, the number of Japanese applicants for the TOEFL CBT in 2003 was 81,749, while that of China was 24,075.

The second reason is the linguistic differences between Japanese and English. Because Japanese has different linguistic roots from English, it is more difficult for Japanese-speaking people to learn English than people who speak a language from the Indo-European language family. In fact, the TOEFL scores in European countries are far higher than those of Asian countries (ETS, 2003).

Third, the English education system in Japan puts an emphasis only on English grammar. By contrast, most countries throughout the world focus not only on grammatical skills but also on communicative skills.

For these three reasons, the Japanese government implemented reforms in English language education, and one example is the change in textbooks.

2.2. English textbooks in Japan

Again, given the push in English language education to improve communicative skills, six new English textbooks for secondary school education were published in Japan in 2006 each containing the innovations in English language education previously noted. Each school has sole discretion on which textbook to use for instruction.

Table 1: New edited versions (2006)

Textbook title	Publisher	Circulation	% of schools using textbook
New Horizon	Tokyo-shoseki	1,575,372	42.5
SunShine English	Kairyudo-shuppan	802,856	21.0
New Crown	Sanseido	761,139	20.5
Total English	Gakkou-tosho	323,054	8.7
One World	Kyouiku-shuppan	177,664	4.8
Columbus 21	Mitsumura-tosho	69,040	1.0
Total active.comm	Shubunkan	0	0

Again, the premise of this study is that if frequency of modal auxiliaries in Japanese English-language textbooks is similar to modals frequency in the BNC-spoken corpora, this indicates that English instruction replicates 'real' English speech in frequency of modal occurrence. Thus the emphasis on communicative language in revised textbooks (resulting from recent government reforms) instantiates input that resembles actual English-language usage and is effectively helping students improve their spoken language proficiency.

3.0. METHODS

3.1. Corpus-based analysis

Leech (1992) defines corpora as large bodies of naturally occurring computer-readable texts or text-extracts. A corpus (plural: corpora) can be defined as a body or collection of linguistic data for use in scholarship and research (Leech, 1992). According to Francis (1982), the founder of corpus linguistics, a corpus is a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language to be used for linguistic analysis. Johansson (1991) adds that a corpus is a body of texts put together in principled way, often for the purposes of linguistic research. In this analysis, the definition from Leech and Fligelstone is adopted:

Computer corpora are, especially, bodies of natural language material (whole texts, samples of texts, or sometimes unconnected sentences) which are stored in machine readable form. ... It should be added that computer corpora are rarely haphazard collections of textual material: they are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and are often assumed to be (informally speaking) representative of some language or that type. (Leech & Fligelstone, 1992, p. 115-116)

In this research, two corpora, the British National Corpus (of spoken English) and corpora of English language textbooks used in Japanese junior high schools are compared in terms of the occurrence frequency of auxiliary modals. The study focuses on modals since modality is one of the most difficult concepts for Japanese-speaking English learners (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999). By comparing modals in Japanese textbooks and the BNC-spoken, the study will show how the recent Japanese reforms in English language education—which purports to emphasize ‘real English’—has influenced textbooks that are used in English language teaching.

3.2. British National Corpus

One of the corpora used in this research is the British National Corpus (BNC), a 100 million-word text corpus containing samples of written and spoken English from a wide range of sources. It is divided into two parts: the BNC-spoken and the BNC-written. In this case study, the BNC-spoken corpus was used since the focus of the research was spoken English. The BNC-spoken contains transcriptions of spontaneous natural conversations by members of the public.

3.3. English textbook corpus

The BNC-spoken corpus will be compared with corpora taken from three Japanese English-language textbooks noted below. The English textbook corpora were compiled by scanning each textbook and storing text in machine-readable form. The following textbooks, used by 80% of all schools in Japan, were used for this study.

- (a) *New Horizon*
- (b) *Sunshine English*
- (c) *New Crown*

3.4. Comparison of occurrence frequency of modal auxiliaries

In this study, the above-referenced corpora were compared, again, in terms of modal frequency.¹ According to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), the reason why Japanese have difficulty using modal auxiliaries is that the Japanese language does not have modal auxiliaries:

Modal auxiliaries are among the more difficult structures for ESL/EFL teachers to deal with. Some of your students, who have been told time and time again that present-tense verbs with third person singular subjects require an –s ending, overgeneralize this rule to modals... Another source of difficulty with the form of modals, of course, may be your students’ native language(s). Not all languages have modal auxiliaries. (p. 137)

Modal auxiliaries (will, would, can, could, should, must, may, shall, and others) in the following four corpora were compared (Table 2).

Table 2: Corpora Compared for Modal Auxiliary Frequency

Corpora	
BNC-spoken	(corpus of English spoken by native speakers)
Textbook Corpus (a) <i>New Horizon</i>	(corpus of English taught in a classroom)
Textbook Corpus (b) <i>Sunshine</i>	(corpus of English taught in a classroom)
Textbook Corpus (c) <i>New Crown</i>	(corpus of English taught in a classroom)

Corpora were compared for modal frequency by calculating percentages of the number of each modal auxiliary. Corpora were also compared in terms of which function/meaning of “can” most commonly appeared in the BNC-spoken corpus versus the textbook corpora. The function/meanings included (a) ability for animate subjects, (b) potentiality for inanimate subjects, (c) making general requests, and (d) making requests for permission (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999). Percentages of function were calculated for the BNC versus the textbook corpora.

4.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Wide differences were found between the four corpora in terms of the modal auxiliaries “would” and “can” (see Figure 1). “Would” occurs most frequently in the BNC-spoken corpus. The likely cause is that British people commonly use “would” (Chambers 1995). On the other hand, the occurrence frequency

of “can” in the three textbooks’ corpora is higher than in the BNC. This is because the auxiliary verb “can” is taught over and over again in Japanese junior high schools.

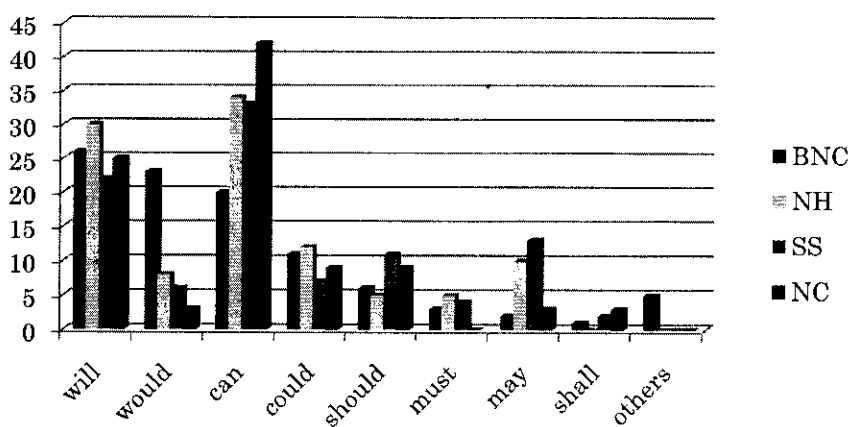


Figure 1: The Occurrence Frequency of Modal Auxiliaries (%)

In addition, it is notable that “can” is taught in the classroom mostly in the meaning of “ability.” According to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), the functions of “can” can be divided into four parts.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) Ability for animate subjects | e.g. I can speak Indonesian. |
| (b) Potentiality for inanimate subjects | e.g. This business can be reorganized/ |
| (c) Making general requests | e.g. Can you help me with this math problem? |
| (d) Making requests for permission | e.g. Can I leave the room now? |

In reference to this classification, use of “can” in the two types of corpora (BNC and the textbook corpora) are sorted into four different types noted above (see Figures 2 and 3).

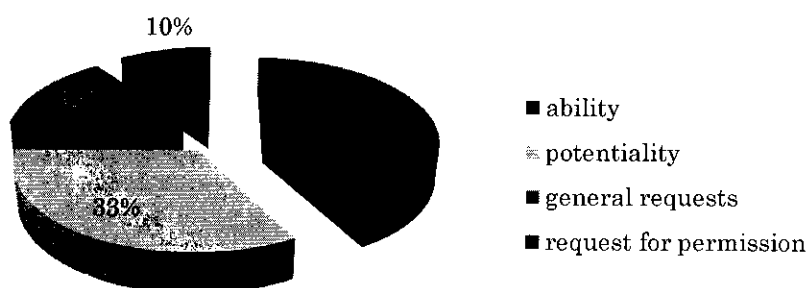


Figure 2: The Classification of “can” in BNC



Figure 3: The Classification of "can" in the Textbook Corpora

The distribution of the usage of "can" in BNC is more balanced, while that in the textbook corpora places a disproportionate emphasis on the usage of ability for animate subjects. This difference is underscored by the fact that English learners in Japan rarely use "can" for representing the potentiality for inanimate subjects (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005).

On the whole, these results tell us there are important differences (for some grammatical forms) between English spoken by native speakers (as represented in the BNC-spoken corpora) and English taught in Japanese junior high school classrooms. Again, these differences include variance in frequency of certain modal forms—that is, the less frequent occurrence of "would" in Japanese textbooks—as well as differences in frequency of a given modal's function, or the disproportionate use of "can" in Japanese textbooks to denote ability. Given these differences, it can be argued that acquisition of proper communicative skills in English is hindered by instructional texts that do not reflect the proportionate occurrence and meaning of modals found in English-language corpora, and, by implication, English speech. Therefore, what is needed is to bring English instruction in the classroom—particularly input from textbooks—closer to English spoken by native speakers.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In the 21st century, globalization in various fields has advanced rapidly, and each individual has more and more opportunities to participate in international activities. In such a situation, English has played a central role as an international language. However, many Japanese are restricted in their exchanges with foreigners due to their lack of sufficient communicative abilities in English. What is needed now is improvement of English teaching methods and course materials.

This study has revealed that some aspects of English taught in Japan are quite different from English spoken by native speakers in terms of modal auxiliaries. In order to enhance Japanese people's communicative skills in English, English in textbooks must be more in line with practical English usage.

NOTES

1. The statistical software used in this research is Oxford WordSmith Tools 4.0.

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INFLUENCE OF KOREAN POPULAR CULTURE ON KOREAN L2 LEARNERS' MOTIVATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

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1. 0. INTRODUCTION

Not only does foreign language learning involve acquiring linguistic competence; it also includes learning the cultural and symbolic meanings embedded in the language (Kramsch, 2006). Purely linguistic aspects of language learning do not determine learners' L2 identity alone. The social, cultural, and political values of the learner—as well as the target culture—also influence construction of L2 identity. As Kinginger (2004) suggests, a foreign language learner's history, socio-cultural background, imagination, and disposition toward language together shape achievement in learning.

With respect to the cultural dimension of language learning, learners may specifically be attracted to and use the popular culture of the target language in their language learning. Accordingly, researchers have suggested popular culture be used as a pedagogical resource (see Giroux & Simon, 1989; Liu, 2004). The most well known research on the relationship between pop culture and L2 learning involves hip-hop culture and English learning. Ibrahim (1999) examines how rap music and hip-hop influence ESL learners' identities with respect to race, gender, and politics. Also, research investigates the appropriation of African American vernacular English rap, dress, and other hip-hop cultural artifacts, by learners in locations around the world (Alim, Ibrahim, & Pennycook, 2009).

Some studies have looked at the role of Japanese popular culture in Japanese L2 learning (see Fukunaga, 2006; Ohara, forthcoming; Seo & McMeniman, 1998). Ohara investigates the impact of *anime* on low proficiency Japanese learners. Students influenced by *anime* used language that they had not learned in class and said that they imitated *anime* characters, indicating the impact of popular culture on L2 learning and identity construction. Further, Black (2006) discusses how *anime* fostered the learning of English by a Chinese adolescent in Canada. The study shows how pop culture can foster language and culture learning in unpredictable ways including using non-target cultural artifacts toward language learning and identity construction.

I believe, to some degree, that Korean foreign language (KFL) learning has been similarly affected by Korean popular culture. The noted popularity of Korean popular culture is called *Hanryu*, a Korean term that means "Korean Wave" and is used to refer to the sudden and intense popularity of Korean popular culture in various forms, including music, movies, soap operas, and online games. According to Toru (2007), "by early 2006, several countries—Japan, Taiwan, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Uzbekistan, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China—were in *Hanryu* grip" (p. 282). *Hanryu* is also beginning to influence non-Koreans' interest in learning Korean. Yet despite this increasing popularity of Korean popular culture and its influence on Korean as a foreign language, there have been few studies of this phenomenon. The fact that *Hanryu* is a recent occurrence may account for the lack of research studies regarding the impact of Korean popular culture on Korean L2 learning.

Given the dearth of research on this topic, this paper will investigate the following questions:

- (a) How, and to what extent, does Korean popular culture influence KFL learners' motivation?
- (b) How does Korean popular culture intervene with KFL learners' L2 identity construction as reflected in personal narratives?

By examining two KFL learners' interview narratives, I will investigate how two KFL college students in Hawai'i interpret their own learning experience and the influence of Korean popular culture. I believe exploring KFL learners' narratives will allow me to better understand the role of Korean popular culture in the learning process in Korean foreign language contexts.

2. 0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1. Cultural Orientation of Motivation

What motivation means and what components compose learners' motivation have been topics of debate. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), some second language learners want to communicate with members of the target language community and become similar to them. Gardner (2001) calls these desires *integrativeness*, an important variable that influences learners' motivation to learn language. Orientation, or "the reasons for learning the L2" (Ortega, 2009, p. 173), is an antecedent of motivation. Antecedents are "variables that contribute to increases or decreases in motivational quantity" (Ortega, 2009, p. 170). All of these elements lead to motivation to learn the L2. Also, "instrumental orientation"—the practical benefits from learning an L2 such as getting a good job or higher grades at school—plays an important role in language learning motivation (Gardener, 2001).

Beyond integrative and instrumental orientation suggested by Gardner, researchers have enriched the range of antecedents of language learners' motivation. For example, Dörnyei (1990) argues that sociocultural orientation is no less important than integrative and instrumental orientation and that the social and cultural dimensions of language learning should be considered in motivation research. Clement, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994) conducted a study with EFL learners in Hungary to investigate the different factors of orientations that influence learners' motivation levels. They concluded that an "English media factor" (p. 432), among other factors such as xenophilic, sociocultural, instrumental, and identification, was one main orientation for foreign language learners. The English media factor includes watching TV and listening to music in English. Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) name a similar factor "cultural interest" in their study exploring seven components of L2 learner motivation. They suggested that cultural interest "reflects appreciation of cultural products associated with the particular L2 and conveyed by the media (e.g., films, television programs, magazines, and popular music)" (p. 618).

A few empirical studies have shown the consistent impact of cultural interest orientation on motivation. Cheung (2001) discusses how popular culture can operate as a tool to motivate English L2 learners in Hong Kong. He argues that popular culture is the primary source of contact with the target language in foreign language contexts and is thus an important stimulus to motivate language learners. Also, Lamb (2004) introduces the learning tendency of English L2 learners in Indonesia. Learners in Indonesia make contact with the L2 mainly through music and TV rather than through direct contact with members of the target culture. I believe—and hope to show—that for learners who learn Korean as a foreign language, Korean popular culture may have a similar impact.

Furthermore, Black (2006) and Ibrahim et al. (2009) indicate that popular culture is able to engage the imagination of learners across boundaries and frontiers, and makes language use more contextual and motivating. Therefore, popular culture sometimes blurs the boundaries of cultures and languages as traditionally understood. This is the advantage that popular culture has in attracting and appealing to certain language learners, a phenomenon found in this study as well.

2.2. L2 Identity Construction

As Norton (2006; Norton Peirce, 1995) argues, there is a need to investigate the dynamic aspects of identity construction. Identity is hardly static or permanent but is rather constantly reconstituted and discursively constructed when people talk or think (Weedon, 1997). As Kinginger (2004) suggests, "foreign language learners are people too; people whose history, dispositions toward learning, access to sociocultural worlds, participation, and imagination together shape the qualities of their achievements" (p. 241). In other words, L2 language learners, based on the context and the way they interact with others, constantly reshape and change their L2 identities (Norton, 2001). Language learners negotiate and construct their L2 identities through interaction, including both linguistic and non-linguistic.

Norton (1997) and Kramsch (2003) point out the importance of the cultural and social dimensions of language learning for understanding how L2 learners construct their identities. In this paper, I will also pay attention to the role that the cultural dimension of learning Korean plays in the participants' L2 learning and L2 identity construction.

Black's (2006, 2007) studies show how popular culture can be transformed into fanfiction and allow English learners to construct and express their different identities online. Fanfiction writing not only engaged and motivated the English learners in an unexpected way but also provided them with the space to explore and express their identities as experts in the culture rather than just learners of the culture. Lam (2000) investigates a teenage boy—an immigrant whose first language is Chinese—and the way he displayed remarkably different identities at school and on the Internet. Kinginger (2004) discusses a female French L2 learner's L2 identity reconstruction when she moved to France. Different aspects of society and culture, as well as language itself, interacted with her French L2 identity reconstruction. Based on previous studies dedicated to L2 learners' identity construction and negotiation of identities, especially related to popular culture and L2 learning and L2 identity construction, I will analyze two male KFL learners' narratives to investigate how Korean popular culture informs their language learning expressions of identity.

3.0. PARTICIPANTS

3.1. Jonathan

The first student participant, Jonathan (a pseudonym), is a 20-year old male college student. He was born and raised in Hawai'i and is of Vietnamese ancestry. Growing up, he spoke both Vietnamese and English, and he learned Japanese as language requirement in college. According to Jonathan, he studied Japanese because it was the only Asian language offered in his college at that time. He has been learning Korean through *Language Program*¹, but could not register for a university level class at the time of the interview since all the Korean beginning classes were already full. He was planning to take a Korean language class the following semester. His goal is to become a screen actor and a director. Considering the increasingly recognized film market in Korea, he hopes to pursue his career in Korea both as an actor and, eventually, a director. He has been to auditions offered by major Korean celebrity management companies in Hawai'i. He also hopes to go on an exchange program to Korea next year after fulfilling required college credits.

3.2. Alex

The other student participant, Alex (a pseudonym), is a 21 year-old male undergraduate student at a four-year university. He is ethnically Chinese, Hawaiian born, and raised in Hawai'i. Despite his ethnic background, and like many local people in Hawai'i, he did not speak Mandarin Chinese or Hawaiian growing up but did choose to learn Chinese after he entered university. He used to only speak English and Hawai'i Creole until he started to take Japanese classes in high school. In high school, he chose Japanese to fulfill the language requirement. Of the three classes offered—Hawaiian, Spanish, and Japanese—he thought Japanese would be the most similar to Chinese. He decided to study Japanese as a major in college, and he also started to learn Korean and Chinese. At the time of the interview, he was taking Korean and Chinese beginning level courses, as well as Japanese linguistics and literature classes. The reason he chose to learn Mandarin Chinese was to learn the language that his family and relatives speak. Currently, he is in an exchange program in Japan and plans to go to Korea after finishing his studies.

4.0. DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected through face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The participants were recruited through Korean language class instructors and the students' friends for their interest in Korean culture. I asked people who were taking Korean classes if they knew anybody with interest in Korean popular culture and they introduced the participants to me. The participants are both enrolled in university degree programs and learning Korean. Each interview was conducted approximately for an hour, and follow-up interviews were conducted as additional questions arose, either face-to-face or through e-mail. The interviews were conducted in English, digitally recorded, and transcribed.

5.0. DATA ANALYSIS

As Pavlenko (2002) states, narratives enable researchers to hear narrators' inner voices, including learners' "motivations, investments, struggles, losses, and gains as well as ... language ideologies that guide their learning trajectories" (p. 214). Learners can also express what they believe and how they perceive their own experiences speaking other languages and experiencing other cultures, allowing researchers to explore language learners' insights.

Drawing on Pavlenko's (2007) framework I will analyze the narratives of two KFL learners in terms of content, context, and form. *Content* refers to what the narratives are about, or the topics that arise during the narratives. *Context* consists of (a) the micro-context, or the local context in which the narrative takes place, including the relationship between the researcher and respondent. *Context* also consists of (b) the macro-context, or the social, political, and cultural circumstances in which the respondent and the interviewer have lived. In this paper, Korean culture in Hawai'i, where Korean popular culture has been popular among people from diverse ethnic groups, will be a distinct macro-context to be considered. Lastly, the *form* of the narrative is the linguistic aspect of the narrative.

To analyze narrative forms, I focus on the use of pronouns, evaluative language, and *footing* (Goffman, 2001). *Footing* refers to positioning in the narratives, including how the narrators change their role in their utterance, for example by moving from being a storyteller to animating and delivering the voices of the characters in the story. In this case, the narrator changes their role from 'author' to 'animator.' Author footing is when the speaker generates the utterance for themselves and speaks on behalf of the self. Animator footing is voicing the speech of others. Further, footing also includes shifting from the author to the principal, whose judgment and standard are delivered through the utterance. A shift in tone and attitude could be expressed by using footing. *Footing* is a useful tool to investigate how the narrator evaluates and interprets their past experiences and how they position themselves or others. In doing so, the narrator animates not only other people's speech, but they also animate their own inner speech—their thoughts—to express their feelings or opinions more vividly.

6.0. NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The excerpts data below are organized according to the main topic or content emerging in the narratives. Context and form are analyzed where relevant. Reported speech in excerpts is in double quotes and inner speech is in single quotes, adapting transcription conventions from Atkinson & Heritage (1984).

6.1. Popular Culture and Motivation

6.1.1. Loving culture to learning language

Alex enjoys watching Korean dramas and movies, and that was his motivation to learn the Korean language. In his case, cultural interest leads to learning language.

Excerpt 1: Alex, 'Dramas are cool'

- 1 I: So why are you studying Korean?
- 2 A: I didn't know Korean I wasn't a Korean so I didn't, I wasn't interested in before I started watching
- 3 and listening to music and watching all the dramas, watching Friday shows and all that stuff (.) and I
- 4 was like 'huh (.) now I wanna learn that' and then I felt bad about my Chinese-ness. so then I was
- 5 like 'Oh maybe I should learn Chinese' but then still I was like 'Well, now I feel obligated to learn
- 6 Chinese' (.) but then when I started watching Taiwanese dramas and stuff, and >I was like< "now I
- 7 REALLY wanna learn it too: cool too co:ol(hhh)"

Alex's motivation to learn language is clearly stated in excerpt 1. Csizér and Dörnyei's (2005) notion of 'cultural orientation' resonates with Alex's reason and motivation to learn languages. Alex says he wanted to learn Korean when he started learning Korean culture, watching Korean dramas, and listening to Korean music. In learning Chinese as well, he first decided to learn the language only because of his ancestry. When he became interested in Taiwanese dramas, however, he became motivated to learn the Chinese language. As seen clearly in his narratives, he is motivated to learn the L2 when he takes an interest in the target culture. As Cheung (2001) points out, for language learners in the foreign language context, media and popular culture are the primary sources that provide opportunities to experience the target language and culture.

Alex constructs his identity as non-Korean in line 1 when he explains why he decided to learn Korean: "I didn't know Korean I wasn't a Korean." On the other hand, he expresses he felt "obligated" (line 4) to learn Chinese due to his ethnicity. Despite his family-derived ethnic identity, Chinese is not the primary

identity he wants to foreground only because he is Chinese. Rather, Alex feels more connected to the target culture when he first becomes interested in popular culture, as seen in line 5 and 6.

In terms of form, Alex animates his inner speech by shifting footing. He is giving voice to his inner thoughts by saying them aloud in order to emphasize his interest and passion about Korean pop culture. In lines 4 through 6, he creates space in his narrative to show how his thought process was developing. In doing so, his inner speech becomes more visible and noticeable in his talk. At the same time, he uses evaluative language in describing how he felt about learning Korean and Chinese. He uses positively evaluative language when discussing how he felt about the culture and language while watching dramas, such as “(REALLY) wanna learn that” or “too cool.” Meanwhile, when he talks about learning Chinese, because he felt he was neglecting his ethnic identity, he says he felt “obligated” in a negative way.

In excerpt 2, Alex describes his experience in high school as a language learner and how it changed after he became interested in popular culture, which provides further detail about his motivation to learn languages.

Excerpt 2: Alex, ‘I Wasn’t Too Interested in Language Before’

- 8 I: In middle school or high school (.) did you like learning language in general?
 9 A: In middle school (.) I watched a lot of Chinese movies because that was when all those famous
 10 Chinese movies came out ya? So I liked watching those but before that (.) not really too interested in
 11 language (.) I don’t think I was too interested in language, but then again in middle school and high
 12 school they forced us to take language, so language was like something we have to take. But then
 13 after I started getting interested in all the dramas and all the stuff I was like ‘Oh yes! I need this in
 14 my life!’ especially for Korean because before looking at all that Korean dramas and stuff, I didn’t
 15 know anything about Korean culture or anything besides Korean food (.) so from that then I was like
 16 ‘O::h’ And for my Japanese, until I started learning about the culture and stuff (.) when I was in my
 17 first year, I was just like ‘Just get it over with.’ when I started learning and started to like learning
 18 about culture and stuff, learning about the different things that they have there that we don’t have
 19 here and stuff like that, then I was just like ‘Oh, that’s cool. I wanna learn this:’

I asked Alex if he had always been interested in learning languages since that may be an account for his interest in different languages. He answers that he was not particularly interested in learning language before he watched dramas and TV shows. According to Alex, he liked watching dramas or movies before he became interested in learning the language. In line 14, he emphasizes his interest by saying “especially for Korean” and explains how he gained knowledge about Korean culture and became interested in the language as well. Again, it is clear his motivation to learn languages is strongly culture-oriented. Alex describes a similar process with respect to Japanese. Initially, Alex was not motivated to learn Japanese in high school until he started enjoying Japanese dramas. For Alex, cultural interest, language learning, and constructing a new identity in the L2 are inseparable. As Ortega (2009) states, “foreign language students are seen to develop much cultural knowledge about the L2” while learning the second language (p. 248).

Hawai‘i, where Alex was born and raised, has many co-existing cultures and ethnicities. Korean dramas are aired on television and have been popular for several years. This local context seems relevant to his interest in and knowledge of Korean culture, especially when he mentions he lacked cultural knowledge about Korea (excepting Korean food). Given the large Korean population in Hawai‘i, it is interesting that he “did not know much about Korean culture or anything” until he became interested in Korean dramas. However, after he started to learn about and like Korean culture, Hawai‘i offered various opportunities for him to learn more about Korean language and culture.

Alex uses evaluative language and footing in excerpt 2 as well, expressing how he becomes interested in learning language and how he relates to the learning process. Describing his language learning experiences before he started watching dramas and movies, Alex says he was “not too interested,” that school “forced” him to learn language, and that language was “something we have to take” or something to “get over with.” In contrast, after he started “liking” cultures, he “needed it” in his life. By saying so, he expresses he needed to learn the target language culture since he wanted to understand and enjoy the popular culture. His attitude toward language learning changed after he started liking popular culture associated with the language,

evidenced use of evaluative language. His attitude is also expressed through a shift in footing when he animates his inner speech: 'Oh yes! I need this in my life' or 'Oh, that's cool. I wanna learn this.'

6.1.2. Learning language to learn culture

For Jonathan, learning Korean is part of pursuing his professional goals, which relate to finding work in the Korean film industry. For Jonathan, thus, his motivation to learn is both cultural and instrumental.

Excerpt 3: Jonathan, 'I Want to Be a Movie Actor in Korea'

- 20 I: Why did you choose Korean?
 21 J: It was one of the languages I've wanted to learn. Just (be)cause originally I wanted to do film in
 22 Asia, and I figured Korea (.) was one of the larger markets right now, for uh (.) just film, [so
 23 I: [oh okay.
 24 So you wanna make film? or=
 25 J: =I I actually wanna start off acting in film but there is uh: >I don't know< for me acting is uh you
 26 have to be uh (.) experienced? rather than taught? So I wanna study film making film as my
 27 background? but for most [(xxx)
 28 I: [you wanna start as an [actor
 29 J: [RIGHT and I know that it's how the the industry
 30 in Asia works that people start off as actors and build way up to the industry so

Jonathan states he wants to be a movie actor and a director in Asia, and that the Korean film industry has been growing significantly in recent years. In his narratives, he mentions that the purpose of pursuing his dream in the film industry is to introduce different cultures and different ways of being to people through film. His motivation to learn Korean can be seen as either instrumental or cultural in that he is interested in Korean culture because, on the one hand, he wants to pursue a career in the Korean film industry. But he also watches Korean movies, dramas, and TV news to learn about the different dimensions of Korean culture, which shows his cultural interest in the Korean community. At the same time, he wants to achieve his professional goal of being a movie actor by learning Korean language.

In excerpt 4, Jonathan illustrates his interest in media and Korean culture when he discusses what he watches and how he interprets the Korean community portrayed in the Korean mass media. Here, his identities as media major and non-expert in Korean culture are constituted.

Excerpt 4: Jonathan, 'Is What I am Seeing Really Korea?'

- 31 I: Does it help uh the dramas and movies help you (.) uh to learn Korean (.) language?=
 32 J: = I think I think it helps uh to see it like language used in the culture, so it adds more culture uh uh
 33 (.) like seeing what (be)cause we learn different uh (.) I mean just we learned the formal the formal
 34 speech uh just polite first meetings kind of thing. but to see it actually used in different situations,
 35 and why people say certain things. U:m it it helps in that sense, uh (0.5) also the film helps with like
 36 understanding uh (1.0) like I don't know if and and I actually ask myself sometimes sometimes you
 37 know 'is what I'm seeing really (.) [Korea' you kno(hhh)w
 38 I: [Right
 39 J: um (.) so I mean definitely like if it's like I'll look at like uh Seoul is metropolitan metropolitan uh
 40 mos- most likely it's pretty (.) uh (.) it's (.) up to date? Kind of? But I've seen other films where they
 41 talk about like uh (.) you know the country side things like that. It's like when I go to Vietnam, they
 42 have KBS world, so I'll watch that to see (xxx) in Korea, so
 43 I: Oh the dramas are all aired=
 44 J: =right yeah the dramas are aired and I also watch KBS News(hhh)
 45 I: Oh I see [oh you watch the news too
 46 J: to kind of [see what's going on yeah

Jonathan categorizes the advantages of watching Korean dramas and movies in learning Korean into two levels. First, he says dramas and movies help him to learn Korean by providing the contexts in which the language is used in culture (line 32) and pragmatic knowledge (line 34). The other advantage is that the Korean

dramas helped him to understand the culture, not just language. At the same time, however, he asks himself 'is what I am seeing really Korea?' (line 37). He shifts footing and animates his own inner speech to create space in his narrative to express the doubt and question he has about the media portrayal of Korean culture. His effort to be aware of how the media portrays the culture is shown in his inner speech. In line 44 and 46, he says he also watches Korean news aired live when he is in Vietnam in addition to Korean films and dramas. As news is another resource for Jonathan to understand the Korean community, it shows his interest in learning Korean culture, not just Korean language.

The micro-context provides Jonathan with a resource for expressing his own intercultural knowledge as well. Jonathan asks for clarification or agreement when he talks about Seoul as "metropolitan" and "up to date" in line 40. In addition, there are short pauses when talking about Korean culture. Since I am a Korean, he positions me as a cultural expert by asking clarification and pausing while commenting on Korean culture. On the other hand, when he talks about media, there seems to be no pause or hesitation compared to when talking about Korean culture. Even when discussing how Korean culture is portrayed in Korean media, or how he interprets it, there is no pause or hesitation, which shows his expertise and confidence in interpreting and discussing media. His identity as a media major and outsider of Korean community is constructed and expressed through his talk.

In lines 43 through 46 I show my surprise when I discover he was watching KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) news and dramas. While interviewing participants, I assumed that they only watched dramas and movies or listened to Korean pop songs. On the contrary, Jonathan reacted to my surprise simply by saying "yeah" in line 46. His identity as a media major could explain his interest in media portrayal of the Korean community.

In excerpt 5, he talks about his experience in working for *Language Program* and tells what kinds of people come to buy *Language Program* in Korean. His description resonates with cultural interest (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005).

Excerpt 5: Jonathan, 'Aunties Want to Learn Korean to Watch Korean Dramas'

- 47 J: And that's actually who buys the most Korean Language Program, all the aunties that wanna learn
48 Korean so that they can watch Korean dramas yeah (laughs) the retired old aunties (.) they buy
49 Language Program so that they can learn it, and then they watch the dramas and then they go to
Korea
50 I: Are they Koreans? or not;
51 J: Just local, local people they they might have uh (.) might be local Koreans but majority of them are
52 Okinawans, local plantation ladies that grew up here: uh (.) and so that's funny (be)cause we're
53 always required to ask "why you wanna learn the language" and they always say "oh (be)cause
54 I wanna watch Korean drama: and I wanna go to Korea one day (laughs)" every time when there's
55 an old lady that comes up and asks for Korean I know exactly why she wants to bu(hhh)y (be)cause
56 she watches dramas you know and they wanna watch and understand more (be)cause subtitles, they
57 translate the language but they can't fully translate the culture and so if you listen to the language,
58 you understand more, and so that's mainly why so they can get more(.) connected to culture.

Jonathan works for the commercial language software company *Language Program*, and he talks about how many Korean L2 learners are motivated by Korean dramas. He explains the customers who buy the most Korean programs are the "aunties who want to watch Korean dramas and go to Korea." Since he is required to ask the reason why the customers are learning the language, he knows about their motivations. From line 54 to line 56, the motivation of older ladies in Hawai'i is animated by Jonathan. In other words, he voices the ladies' utterances. They want to watch Korean dramas without subtitles and feel more connected to Korean culture (line 58) while watching them. They also want to travel to Korea one day. Their motivation resonates with Csizér and Dörnyei's (2005) notion of 'cultural interest' for motivation to learn a language.

The macro context of living in Hawai'i is relevant both for Jonathan and the "aunties" who learn Korean to watch Korean dramas and movies. The popularity of the Korean dramas in Hawai'i is not limited to the Korean population in Hawai'i, and many local people watch Korean dramas regardless of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

Talking about the older ladies who want to learn Korean because they watch Korean dramas, Jonathan shifts *footing* throughout the entire narrative. Instead of talking about his own thoughts or stories, he tells others' stories by animating what they have said through his narrative. Also, he borrows their speech in lines 53 and 54 when asked why they want to learn Korean. By doing so, he is creating the space in his talk to emphasize that there are many aunties who learn Korean since they are interested in Korean popular culture, specifically Korean dramas.

7.0. CONCLUSION

Alex and Jonathan represent language learners whose motivation to learn languages is derived from popular culture and who develop multiple identities that belong to several communities. Their narratives consistently show a positive attitude toward learning the Korean language that is derived from watching Korean dramas or movies and liking Korean culture. In Alex's case, all the languages he chose to learn, including Japanese and Chinese, became much more fascinating when he engaged with the culture. In other words, as many researchers suggest, language learning involves more than just acquiring linguistic competence. Language learners are motivated by the cultural products of the target language. Alex becomes more motivated to learn the language when he is already fond of the target culture, especially popular culture. Considering Black's (2006) study about a Chinese adolescent who learns English through Japanese *anime* fanfiction, Alex also shows how popular culture attracts and engages younger learners to learn language in a different way from the traditional ways of teaching culture and language.

Jonathan, on the other hand, seems to have an instrumental as well as cultural orientation. His interest in film leads him to become interested in the Korean film industry, and that motivates him to learn Korean. He is currently interested in exploring how the media portrays Korean culture, as well as pursuing his professional goals, by studying Korean. Given that not all language learners are academically motivated to learn a language, incorporating resources that can attract a broader range of language learners and that can blur boundaries of traditional cultures will engage language learners in more diverse ways.

In future research, it will be meaningful to investigate these participants' KFL learning from a longitudinal perspective in order to see if their motivation or sense of Korean identity changes over time. However, I was able to have a retrospective longitudinal perspective in that Alex had been watching Korean dramas since high school and is still interested in Korean culture and language. Furthermore, Jonathan and Alex both have already planned their exchange program in Korea, which will encourage them to keep learning Korean. It will be helpful to study their identity reconstruction and achievement after their experiences living and studying in Korea in order to better understand the diverse dimensions of their language and culture learning process.

NOTES

1. *Language Program* is a commercial software program designed for autonomous language learners in various languages.

APPENDIX (adapted from Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

>talk<	= rapid speech
<talk>	= slowed speech
"talk"	= constructed dialogue or reported speech
'talk'	= inner speech
<u>talk</u>	= emphasis
.	= falling intonation
?	= rising intonation
,	= continuing intonation
-	= cut-off speech
(.)	= micropause
(1.0)	= timed pause
('translation')	= translated text provided by the author
((comments))	= clarifications or descriptive comments provided by the author

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II. Language Use and Culture

REACHING ACROSS TWO OCEANS: STRENGTHENING THE WAVES OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN HAWAIIANS AND VIEQUENSES¹

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

Through my archival research and collection of oral testimonies in Vieques, Puerto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands, I demonstrate how a heightened solidarity among Viequenses and Hawaiians has existed since 1980. Although inhabitants of these islands are geographically distanced and linguistically unique, their opposition to U.S. military bombing practices on Vieques, Puerto Rico, (1941-2003) and Kaho'olawe, Hawai'i, (1941-1990) caused both groups to engage in common strategies that emerged from similar relationships with the United States. Strident resistance among these islands against increased U.S. imperialism and heightened globalization during the second half of the twentieth century is an extension of the resistance that has existed on these islands since their annexation to the U.S. in 1898. In addition to Moanikeala Akaka's pilgrimage to Vieques in 1980, and the many Hawaiians who have since extended their hands in solidarity against the U.S. Navy bombing practices in Vieques, there has also been an expression of trans-island unity through print, specifically newspaper articles from the 1980s in Puerto Rico.² As the resistance to bombings on both Vieques and Kaho'olawe continued to grow exponentially, so did the understanding that the islands had been historically connected since U.S. Naval occupation began on both islands in 1941.

1.1. Vieques and Kaho'olawe: Parallel Realities

Although there are numerous historical similarities between the islands of Vieques and Kaho'olawe, it is important to highlight their biggest difference before analyzing their many commonalities. Kaho'olawe was nearly an unpopulated island, leased to Agnus MacPhee and Eben Low in 1918 for ranching purposes until, in the name of national defense, the U.S. began its fifty year bombing practice in 1941. Vieques by contrast was populated by roughly 10,000 inhabitants. In 1941, without a single vote taken by Viequenses, the U.S. Navy began to expropriate 75% of the island—that is, 26,000 of 33,000 acres—and sandwiched the population in the center of the island. The majority of Viequenses were given a 10 day eviction notice and, in some cases, 24 hours to vacate the lands they had inhabited for generations.³ Much like the lack of consultation regarding Hawaiian and Viequense annexation to the U.S., the lack of land consultation expressed by the U.S. towards Viequense expropriations furthers my argument that resistance expressed through solidarity between Viequenses and Hawaiians is an extension of the resistance that has existed on these islands since their annexation to the U.S. in 1898.

Vieques and Kaho'olawe are roughly the same size. Vieques is located six miles off the coast of *la isla grande* (the big island) of Puerto Rico. Kaho'olawe is also a smaller island, located about seven miles off the coast of Maui, and encompasses a land mass of about 28,000 acres. Vieques is approximately 21 miles long and 6 miles wide and Kaho'olawe is about 11 miles long and 6 miles wide. Like many of the parallels that these islands share, Kaho'olawe was taken over and controlled by the U.S. Navy in 1941 and used as a bombing target without the consent of Hawaiians. Kaho'olawe endured this onslaught in the name of national defense until 1990, and Vieques until 2003 (Guadalupe 2009).

2.0. ARCHIVAL RESEARCH IN VIEQUES AND The HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

In the 1950s, the brochure *Vieques Greets You!* was written only in English and distributed throughout the island disregarding the fact that the majority of Viequenses only spoke Spanish. At the top of the opening page there is a pencil sketch of a jíbaro shaking hands with a military official. They stand on a path with the word 'Welcome' and a sign pointing to Isabel II, the capital of Vieques. Under the subtitle, *A Hearty Welcome To You All*, we read:

The townspeople of Vieques are happy to welcome all of you to our little town and island. You have left home and those near and dear to you. We, as citizens of the same United States of America wish to help you and make your stay as happy as possible. What little we have to offer you we are only too glad to do so. May you long remember Vieques as the little island with the great big heart. (1)

A Hearty Welcome to You All describes Viequenses as if their sole purpose for existence is to serve the U.S. military. However, regarding land expropriation on Vieques, unlike in *A Hearty Welcome to You All*, Viequenses did not 'offer' what little they had left. Viequenses were easily manipulated by the U.S. Navy because they worked as sharecroppers on the last open sugar plantation in Playa Grande and did not hold titles to the property. The actions that the U.S. Navy took and continued to take until their departure from the island in 2003, which were approved by the U.S. government and permitted by Puerto Rico, are one of the greatest injustices that the U.S. has ever perpetrated against its own citizens.

Under the subtitle *History* we read, "Vieques, as well as Puerto Rico, was discovered by Christopher Columbus in the year 1493" (2). As the brochure teaches the history of Vieques, beginning with the year it was purportedly discovered, it completely disregards Viequenses' ancestral connection to the indigenous Taino people. Much like in Kaho'olawe, ancestral connection to the land as expressed by Hawaiians is what in part helped Hawaiians be victorious in stopping the bombing in 1990. Denying this ancestral connection to the land is an extension of the resistance that has existed on these islands since their illegal overthrow in 1898.

The next section in the brochure is entitled, *Participation in The Second World War*. Under this section we read:

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, there remained but one great objective to be realized by all good Americans, namely, to prepare and win the war. In every way possible, Vieques also did its share to help put an end to World War II. It not only sent its sons to fight and die on the battle fields of Europe but also unreservedly approved the giving of its best lands and its last sugarcane factory for the construction of a naval base in order to defend the Caribbean and Panama Canal Zones. (3)

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, nearly half of U.S. Naval expropriations (10,208.85 acres of land) were approved in *Civil Case No. 2300* by the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico, on November 12, 1941. The Viequenses did not "unreservedly approve the giving of its best lands and its last sugarcane factory for the construction of a naval base in order to defend the Caribbean and Panama Canal Zones." The "taking of land," as defined in *Civil Case No. 2300*, happened before the bombing of Pearl Harbor and before the U.S. had entered into war. Contrary to what is stated in this brochure, although sugar plantation owner Juan Angel Tió had started negotiations with the U.S., the vast majority of Viequenses inhabiting the island were not informed about U.S. national defense plans regarding their own island. Furthermore, the court cases were conducted in English, and held on the island of Puerto Rico, not Vieques. And, nowhere in *Civil Case No. 2300* does the court document indicate that the U.S. Navy, under the pretext of national defense, intended to practice wartime maneuvers, that included bombing resulting in thousands and thousands of pounds of heavy metals being deposited into the oceans, land, and air for an indefinite period of time.

The U.S. is a country founded on and governed by principles of freedom of expression and a fair, democratic process. However, Viequenses were treated unfairly with respect to national defense and the course of action taken by the U.S. regarding the mass expropriations that were to ensue on Vieques. These U.S. citizens were forced to relocate from the land that they had been working and living on for generations. Further, it can be inferred that the U.S.'s privileging of national defense requires keeping information from its citizens, as experienced by Viequenses during a time when the U.S. had not yet officially entered the Second World War.

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, land expropriations by the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Army for bombing practice began in Kaho'olawe in May of 1941. The bombing of Pearl Harbor catapulted the territory of Hawai'i into Martial Law and resulted in the U.S. Navy taking control of the entire island of Kaho'olawe on December 8, 1941. However, the U.S. Navy and U.S. Army had already begun bombing practices in Kaho'olawe many months before, as reported in the Honolulu Advertiser on May 13, 1941:

Air Corps would use [the] island as [a] bomb target, while Navy wants it to test warship guns. Both the Army and Navy have made bids for the acquisition of Kahoolawe, one to obtain an adequate practice bombing field and the other for a land target to be used in testing the guns of its cruisers and battleships, it was reported yesterday. (A1)

The land acquisitions of Vieques and Kaho'olawe happened when both islands were still territories of the U.S., annexed in 1898. Hawai'i was not a state, and Vieques was not a commonwealth. Although the U.S. had not entered into the Second World War, it was using the islands for its own national security purposes. No vote was taken by Viequenses nor Hawaiians about the practice of warlike activities on their ancestral land. Seizing these lands for further militaristic maneuvers was not a direct result of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, nor because the U.S. had entered into war. These islands were taken over for militaristic purposes by the U.S. before the country was involved in the war. U.S. Navy bombing practices in Vieques, and Kaho'olawe, historically unified resistant groups in these islands because of their organized and shared opposition to U.S. militarization during the twentieth century.

3.0. RESISTANCE TO U.S. MILITARY EXPROPRIATIONS: A SHARED CAUSE

As noted in the five articles I found while conducting archival research in Vieques, and the compilation of over 25 hours of oral testimonies I collected expressing resistance to U.S. Navy bombing practices, many Hawaiians and Viequenses resisted and continue to resist U.S. imperialism. The shared historical struggle against the U.S. military presence in Hawai'i and Vieques developed an important solidarity between the Hawaiian and Viequense people. Moanikeala Akaka, one of the original Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana [family] members, articulates this solidarity in her description of a visit to Vieques in 1980:

Tourists, people are lured here to these islands just like the beauty of Vieques. Vieques is beautiful, and yet America thinks nothing of using us as bombing targets, and would have continued to, to this day if we had allowed them to get away with it. I have so much aloha for the people of Vieques because they've been through so much suffering, but it's those rare moments of victory. The bombing stopped on our islands. It's important that people, you know, if you're going to be living here, it's important that people get to know and understand a bit of the history of what's transpired here, and also understand that we're not anywhere U.S.A. We're Polynesia. We've been here for 2,000 years. America is what, a couple hundred years old? It's important for them to respect the native culture and to respect the people. (2010)

As Akaka illustrates through her pilgrimage to Vieques in 1980, this action of solidarity proved to be a radical transition during a culminating moment of struggle.

Resistance to the threat of the U.S. Navy unified Vieques and Kaho'olawe in their mutual land struggles. Viequenses and Hawaiians became one because of their shared goal of protesting the devastating effects that U.S. Naval bombing practices had on their islands. In a testimony given to me in 2009 in Vieques by one of the Viequense leaders who was not only instrumental in stopping the U.S. bombing practice in 2003, but also one of the founders of *Verde Vieques* (Green Vieques; a group which is reclaiming Viequense land), Alba "Pupa" Encarnación spoke about the historical similarities between the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico, and Hawai'i and the dichotomy of *seeing* an island and *knowing* an island:

I've known about Hawai'i. I have known of its struggle to maintain their culture. I know that internally there are situations with people because they want to retain their independence, which is practically Puerto Rico's struggle. Distance or location has nothing to do with it. All societies show resistance to certain things when they do not like them. I think that is the great democracy that I can express to you. Now, there exists no pure democracy, but that democracy that allows me to tell you I do not like this, the Navy abused us, there are people in Hawai'i who want to get rid of that permanent bond, well that is what is important. I think sometimes one has to *know* and not only *see* us. What is seen, because our beaches can be seen. The hula in Hawai'i is seen, the costumes, that is really what is seen. We have to go see what happened, how are the *natives*? It's like the natives of Vieques. (2010)

This expression of *nativo* [native] solidarity between Viequenses and Hawaiians justifies the belief that the future of Vieques should be determined by the Viequenses, and that the future of Hawai'i should be determined by the Hawaiians. To know the land and be ancestrally connected to the land, to understand your ancestor's historical struggles in connection to the land and be connected to that history is the sentiment felt and experienced by Viequenses and Hawaiians.

4.0. CONCLUSION

After the Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico and Vieques in the fifteenth century, these islands were colonized again by the United States at the end of the nineteenth century after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1898. Former Spanish island colonies span from the Caribbean to the Pacific and, along with Hawai'i, proved to be strategically located for future U.S. interests involving Latin American and Asian markets, and for future militarization under the pretext of national defense. By colonizing such islands, the U.S. capitalized on its new global dominance.

The power switch from Spain to the United States' militaristic, economic, and political supremacy defined the twentieth century for ex-Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific, while U.S. dominance was also extended to the Hawaiian Islands. Many Hawaiians and Viequenses never accepted and continue not to accept this domination. Even though solidarity among Viequenses and Hawaiians had yet to be ignited in 1941, as globalization and more effective means of mass communication and new technologies flourished, so did the awareness that both Vieques and Kaho'olawe were being manipulated by the U.S. Navy without consent from Viequenses nor Hawaiians. Their expression of solidarity in resisting the bombing of their ancestral lands, whether coming from a Spanish-speaking island or Hawaiian-speaking island, thrives against the common threat of the U.S. Navy.

NOTES

1. Special thanks to Olivia Sánchez and Maggie Guth-Bleakley.
2. The titles of such articles include, "Isla Hawaiana Enfrenta Situación Similar a Vieques" [Hawaiian Island Faces Similar Situation as Vieques], "La Marina de EU Pierde Una 'Batalla' Con Grupo Conservacionista de Hawaii" [The U.S. Navy Loses A 'Battle' With a Conservationist Group from Hawaii], "Isla de Hawaii Similar a Vieques Llega a Un Acuerdo con la Marina" [Hawaiian Island Similar to Vieques Comes to An Agreement with the Navy], "Hawaiianos Respaldan a Viequenses Lucha Contra Ocupación Marina EU" [Hawaiians Support the Viequense Struggle Against U.S. Naval Occupation], and "Isla Hawaiana Pide a Marina EU Termine Bombardeo" [Hawaiian Island Asks the U.S. Navy to Stop Bombing].
3. United States of America, Petitioner v. 10,208.85 acres of land, more or less, in the Wards of Mosquito, Florida, Llave, Mulas and Puerto Diablo, Municipality of Vieques, Puerto Rico, Juan Angel Tió, et al, Defendants. No. 2300 Civil 1-7. District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico. November 12, 1941. Petition for Condemnation of Land. Museum Fortín Conde de Mirasol, Vieques, Puerto Rico. Aug. 2009. Print.

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THE DUALITY OF A HOMOSEXUAL EPITHET IN SPORTS

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

"[Any] Notre Dame fans in here? Anybody like Notre Dame?...Not many people do unless you're a true Notre Dame guy. And I knew the whole country's watching and they want us to win. It made me sick after that game...[the coach] had his guys...get up and they do this little cheer, like this, (clap) you know, this little faggot dance."

Greg McMackin (2009)¹

In 2009, Greg McMackin, coach of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Warriors football team, used the word "fag" during the Western Athletic Conference's annual football media preview. Quickly realizing what he had done, McMackin attempted to apologize for his comments, but instead ended up using the term two more times. Several days later, he issued a formal public apology stating, "I don't talk like that and I'm really ticked off at myself for saying that."¹ McMackin's comments are a microcosm of the statements that have been made in the sporting world over the last decade. Had it been an isolated incident, McMackin's use of the word "fag" may not have garnered the degree of media attention that it did; however, "fag" is no stranger to the realm of sports. Two years earlier, in 2007, an ex-NBA star Tim Hardaway was quoted as saying "[you] know I hate gay people, so I let it be known...[it] shouldn't exist in the world or the United States."² Prior to this incident, in 2002, Garrison Hearst, an ex-running back for the San Francisco 49ers, was quoted as saying, "I don't want any faggots on my team...[or] in the locker room."³

The way in which the word "fag" continues to be used despite its pejorative, anti-gay connotations becomes particularly apparent in McMackin's reaction to his own use of the word in a public sphere. He quickly realized the potential consequences of his usage of the word and tried to convince the reporters present not to divulge his comments to the public. That the word is used despite widespread awareness of the homophobic connotations highlights the prevalence of heteronormativity in sports. This paper explores the use of the word "fag" in relation to sports and makes the claim that "fag" has at least two distinct meanings: 1) one outside of a sports context meaning "gay" that is a highly offensive homosexual epithet, and 2) one used in the context of sports that has a jocular meaning used between heterosexual male athletes meaning "stupid" or "wussy." We demonstrate that these two meanings are linked, and we further demonstrate that this link helps to perpetuate hegemonic masculinity through homophobic discourse without strong homophobic attitudes. To demonstrate this, we focus on the general results from our interviews as well as three speakers' cases that we believe reflect the intricacies and motivations behind the use of "fag."

2.0. BACKGROUND

A concept that has received a lot of attention in gender research is Connell's idea of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), a form of masculinity which serves to produce and reproduce itself at the expense of other forms of masculinity, for example the masculinity of gays. Sports, in particular, is one of the prime areas that construct this form of masculinity. According to Connell (1995), "sports has come to be the leading definer of masculinity in mass culture" (p. 53), and Anderson (2002) echoes that "an athlete represents the ideal of what it means to be a man" (p. 860).

According to Butler (1990), "heteronormativity" is the idea that heterosexuality is pushed into society as the more "natural" form of sexuality than homosexuality (cf. Piccolo, 2008). Anderson (2002) gives many examples of how this heteronormativity is especially prevalent on many athletic teams. He shows how in the world of sports, anti-gay discourse is often normalized through "homophobic language and the silencing of gay discourse, identity, and behaviours" (Anderson, 2002, p. 865). Messner (1992) notes that, "to be suspected of being gay [on an athletic team], or even to be unable to prove one's heterosexual status is not acceptable" (p. 34). We conceive of the use of "fag" as an instance of a lexical "masculinity insurance" (cf. Anderson, 2002, p. 865). Terms like "fag" are indexed to ensure a speaker's masculinity, as they serve to establish distance between heterosexuality and homosexuality. A desire to create this distance is clear, as Anderson (2002) also notes that the existence of gay male athletes "may threaten sport as a prime site of hegemonic masculinity and

masculine privilege" (p. 861). Additional evidence for the existence of heteronormativity comes from Pascoe (2005) where, "the word ["fag"] is used in male groups in a jocular way, e.g. for building joking relationships among adolescent boys." This jocular use of the word is yet another way in which hegemonic masculinity is perpetuated as the norm, and alternative sexualities are marked as in some way less acceptable.

Esera Tuaolo offers additional insight into the use of the word "fag" on sports teams. Tuaolo describes his own experience as a closeted gay athlete in the NFL, stating that "[h]omophobia peppered the banter. They called each other "fags", "fucking queers", "fudgepackers" – they took it to the crude and graphic limits. I laughed at the gay jokes to be part of the conversation. I hid behind my laughter" (Tuaolo & Rosengren, 2006, p. 94). Tuaolo's experiences demonstrate both the degree to which homophobic terms like "fag" and "queer" are used, as well as the extent to which concepts of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity are relevant to the realm of sports. Additionally, Tuaolo notes that epithets were used as "gay jokes," indicating that the terms were used in a jocular way, much like those described by Pascoe (2005). However, of note is that Tuaolo's experience is primarily with adult males in the NFL, and not with adolescent boys (cf. Pascoe, 2005), indicating that the jocular meaning of "fag" is applicable in a variety of male-dominated communities.

These studies indicate that the word "fag" can be used both as an offense towards gays as well as an in-group marker on athletic teams. In the following qualitative analysis of our interviews, we will provide more direct evidence for this duality of meaning. In addition, we fill a gap in the literature; while Anderson (2002) and Tuaolo & Rosengren (2006) focus on the perspective of gay athletes, we seek to find what heterosexual athletes think about homophobic language in general, particularly the word "fag."

3.0. METHODOLOGY

Eight interviews with eight athletes located in Hawai'i were conducted at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The interview with Billy was conducted by both researchers. All other interviews were conducted by the first author alone. The interviews took between 40 and 80 minutes, and participants received \$10 for their participation. Interviews were recorded and transcribed using a DR-1 portable digital recorder from TASCAM/TEAC.

Table 1: Overview of Participants and Sports Involvement

Name	Sport
Peter	football
Billy	martial arts /football
Jeff	soccer /football
Kent	volleyball /football
Mike	soccer
Mark	martial arts /football
John	football
Dave	football

Note: Topics in bold indicate the main sport discussed

All participants were native speakers of English from different dialect backgrounds, except Mike who was born in the US but spent most of his life in Japan. Participants were 18 to 27 years old. All played on a college team or a high school team for a period of one to four years. Table 1 provides the pseudonyms for participants and also highlights what kinds of sports our participants were involved in. Crucially, all athletes participated in team sports that can also be categorized as contact sports, as both Connell (1995) and Griffin (1998) suggest that team and contact sports are more likely to reproduce hegemonic forms of masculinity.

We also felt that for the purposes of collecting accurate data, it was important to know the sexuality of our participants. This stemmed from our assumption that a self-identifying gay athlete would likely provide quite a different perspective, and thus different answers, than a self-identifying heterosexual athlete. However, in order to make our participants feel more comfortable throughout the interview, we did not want to ask directly about their sexual preferences. Thus, we interpret answers to questions about the attractiveness of male Hollywood actors as well as the answer to "Do you have a girlfriend?" as indicating that all of our speakers were in fact heterosexual.

The interviews follow the structure depicted in table 2. The three portions of the interview we focus on are *Sports*, *Sports and sexuality*, and *Sexuality in general*. The other sections were included for a different purpose for another study. In the *Sports* section, we elicited discussion from our interviewees about their experiences on sports teams (using questions such as *What's it like to play on a football team?* and *What's the best experience you've ever had playing football?*). The *Sports and sexuality* section was aimed at eliciting their opinions of gay athletes playing contact sports (using questions like *What do you think about gay people playing football?*). It was this section where we also posed questions directly asking about the interviewees' experiences with and opinions of the word "fag" (*Do any of your teammates use the word "fag"?*). Finally, the *Sexuality in general* section was focused on ascertaining the interviewee's opinions about alternative sexualities (using questions such as *What is your opinion on civil unions/marriage?*). The subsequent analysis and discussion is based primarily on the data gathered from these three sections.

Table 2: Structure of the Interview

Section	Topic
1.	Introduction
2.	Hollywood actresses
3.	Hollywood actors
4.	War in Iraq
5.	Sports
6.	Sports & sexuality
7.	Sexuality in general
8.	Imitations

Note: Bolded topics indicate those relevant to this study.

4.0. RESULTS

In all of our interviews, our participants demonstrated a tolerance of homosexuality. Most justified their attitude by supplying statements such as "I have gay friends" and "they're just people like anybody else" in an attempt to mark this tolerance. Many of the interviewees also conveyed a certain apathy to homosexuality and sexual preference in general, reflecting that they "[didn't] care if [people] are gay or straight or whatever" (Jeff). Additionally, all were quite clear that they "wouldn't have a problem" if someone on their team was gay. Though all interviewees lacked the stereotypical, vehement homophobia conveyed by Garrison Hearst or Tim Hardaway, occasionally interviewees would add a caveat to their tolerance of homosexuality, warning that though they were tolerant, "it might be kind of weird in the locker room" (Peter). This serves to show that perhaps tolerance and awareness of gays on an athletic team can be viewed as two separate things, and that while Peter, for example, is accepting of the *idea* of homosexuality, he may not be as comfortable with its overt presence in a sphere as familiar to him as football.

With regard to the word "fag," we confirm that in the realm of sports, it is a fairly frequent word. This is echoed in a study by Anderson (2002) where participants reported that on their teams, "they call everyone a fag," and one closeted gay soccer player described his sport as "the most homophobic" by saying that "everything was fag this and fag that" (p. 871-872). Likewise, most of our participants reported that they had heard the word on their team, with some reporting its noticeably frequent use. When asked if anyone on his team used the word "fag," Dave stated that it was used "all the time," followed by laughter, perhaps indicating how frequent it was. Peter cites it as being heard so often that "it doesn't really affect [him]," and Jeff answered "yeah definitely."

Not only was "fag" cited as a frequent lexeme on sports teams, its distribution and meaning showed a good deal of similarity across interviews. When asked what the word meant, participants reported that "fag" was used to describe someone "wussy," "wimpy," or used when someone "did something stupid." Crucially, the word "fag" is here being indexed to notions of weakness ("wimpy/wussy"), as well as incompetence or, even more strongly, failure (when someone does something "stupid"). Additionally, there seems to be a reduction in the offensiveness of the word, as Jeff pointedly noted that "most of the time, ['fag'] is just banter back and forth." This fact coupled with the frequency of "fag" demonstrates that the meaning employed by heterosexual speakers is indeed jocular.

The use of "fag" meaning "wimpy" is similar to some of the statements made by openly gay athletes interviewed by Anderson (2002) who did not seem to take offense to the use of "fag." Hekma (1998) reports gay athletes as saying, "[oh], they didn't mean it that way" when speaking about their heterosexual teammates' use of the word. Based on these statements, one could come to the conclusion that the word "fag," perhaps due to the frequency with which it is used on sports teams to mean "wimpy," is devoid of any relation to actual homosexuality. However, our interviews show that this is clearly not the case. When asked whether the participants would use the word to describe a gay teammate, all of them responded "no", or "at least not to their face." On a similar note, Anderson (2002) reports a soccer player who is now openly gay as saying that his teammates used the word "fag" all the time, but stopped doing so after his coming out (p. 871). Other athletes in Anderson's study report that after coming out, the word "fag" continued to be used, but only as an insult among heterosexual teammates (p. 872). This paradoxically polarized nature of the word (on the one hand meaning "wimpy" and at the same time having a homosexual connotation which is often denied) became very apparent in our interviews. Our participant, Jeff, somewhat quizzically remarked, "I don't like it, but I use it," indicating simultaneously his desire to be part of the heterosexual in-group, but at the same time his dislike of the term in general. Other participants were less tolerant of the term. For example, Billy cited the term as "disrespectful" and claimed that he did not use it.

Anderson (2002) notes that "talking about girls" can be another dimension of heteronormativity (p. 870). Three participants noted this during their interviews; Jeff was particularly open about it and explained that there was often a lot of locker-room bragging about girls, remarking that often guys would talk about "what they did with their girlfriends the night before" or "who's looking fine in class today." "Talking about girls" and the use of the word "fag" can be interpreted as two sides of the same coin. They both create an atmosphere of heteronormativity on athletic teams where the heterosexual is construed as the norm and homosexuality as a deviant form.

In the following three cases, "fag" and its use on athletic teams is detailed for three individual interviewees: Kent, Billy and Mike. Case 1 is a discussion of Kent and highlights his striking use of the word "fag." Case 2 focuses on Billy, a speaker with less tolerance for the word. Finally, case 3 highlights the experience of Mike who has had a unique exposure to the word "fag."

4.1. Case 1: Kent

Kent's use of "fag" is particularly interesting as he was the only speaker in our study to use the word even before we asked him about it. Asked whether the sports he played in high school were "manly" sports, Kent responds, "[not] volleyball, you know. There's a bunch of people that teases it, you know, 'oh, only fags play it,' I mean, come on. Not just fags play it, you know?" By establishing volleyball as a less "manly" sport and then using the term "fag" to describe the contingency of players associated with volleyball, Kent indexes "fag" with the idea of an inferior form of masculinity. Crucially, Kent first uses the word in a quotative context and then implements the term as his own in the very next utterance, stating "not just fags play it." This shows that "fag" is likely a working part of Kent's lexicon and not just a form used around him by his peers. Even more evidence of this is the subsequent comment that Kent makes about how he would treat a gay person on his team. Though like the other participants, Kent reports that he "wouldn't care" whether someone on his team was gay, he does state that he would likely use "minor insults" to joke with this hypothetical gay player. When asked what those minor insults would be, Kent responded, "[oh], you know, like, you faggot, you know...something like that." Not only does this serve to solidify the notion that "fag" is indeed an easily accessed part of Kent's lexicon, it also creates an argument for Kent indexing, at least here, the jocular meaning

of the word. The surprising aspect of this is of course his apparent comfort with using this term to describe a gay man, which could potentially indicate that the jocular meaning of "fag" is in some way more accessible to Kent.

Though the aforementioned exchanges took place prior to our introduction of the word "fag" into the discourse, Kent also discussed "fag" in a much different light when we asked him if people used the word "fag" on his teams:

Um, yeah, actually, we don't use it. Because, you know, our coach, I mean if we talk like that, of course they, you know. Our coach teaches us respect...our high school is all about respect. I mean. Yeah. But we get it. From other teams, you know. They call us those words.

Of note here is the deviation from his earlier statements where Kent comments how he would use the term as a "minor insult" to a gay player on his team. Here, however, Kent is fairly adamant about the word never being used on his team due to issues of "respect". There are two possible ways to interpret this data. On the one hand, Kent could simply be "covering his tracks" and highlighting his desire to appear politically correct in the interview. If his use of the term earlier was perhaps more indicative of its actual use, Kent might feel the need to subtly reinstate his tolerance of homosexuality by marking his coach's desire to create a respectful environment. Alternatively, Kent may be employing the two different meanings of "fag" at different points in the interview (i.e., the unprompted usage as an instance of the jocular "fag," and the prompted usage as an instance of the offensive "fag"). This is possible given that Kent uses the word to describe the "minor insults" he might use on a gay teammate, and as such is line with prior research that demonstrates relationships are built in male groups via jocular interactions (Pascoe, 2005). While both of these reasons are possible and plausible, Kent does add a caveat to the discussion, claiming that his teammates used to call each other "idiots." That Kent equates "fag" and idiot is perhaps another piece of evidence towards Kent employing different meanings of "fag" at different points in the interview; however, the more pertinent issue is that the two are indexed to the same genre of meaning. By associating the two terms, Kent's experience reflects that the air of heteronormativity in sports is indeed strong.

4.2. Case 2: Billy

Billy, in sharp contrast to Kent, was wholly against the use of the word in any context. When asked if anyone used the term in his fighting group, Billy responded:

No, they call each other 'vaginas' and stuff...but like, they never say that word because it's still not tolerated there as well. Because you train with a bunch of guys and stuff, and like, no one ever says anything like that. Because, it's just not right...it's just like someone calling me the N-word when I'm training, you know? It's just uncalled for.

Most noticeable here is Billy's aversion to the word in general, citing it as "uncalled for," "not tolerated," and "not right." Additionally, Billy is aware of the offensive meaning behind "fag," commenting that it is comparable to someone using the word "nigger" with him. The degree of offensiveness that is evoked with such a comparison makes it clear that the word "fag" is still highly tied to its epithetic meaning. In fact, Billy's coach was so aware of the offensive nature of the word that he banned it and other words like it from the team. This mentality of respect seemed to have rubbed off on the players. According to Bill, "The team is like your family; you don't disrespect your family."

Perhaps the most contextually interesting aspect of Billy's experience is his insistence against the use of the word "fag." He invokes feelings of community when describing his teammates, stressing that if anyone were to use the term "fag" to refer to anyone he knew, he would "probably do something about it." This opposition to the word "fag" and its use makes it clear that there is a high degree of offensiveness tied to the word for Billy. However, he interestingly claims that instead of the word "fag," members of his sparring group call each other "vaginas." Again, we see an instance where in lieu of the word "fag," another word evoking non-masculinity is used, in this case, a metaphor equating males to female genitalia. Thus, the word "vagina" appears to have a similar meaning as "fag" would have in the same context.

4.3. Case 3: Mike

Mike offers simultaneously perhaps the most conclusive evidence for the dual meanings of "fag." Born in Hawai'i, Mike lived most of his adolescent life in Japan. However, in recent years, he has returned and takes part in both a Japanese soccer team, and, in the off-season, an intramural soccer team. Mike has been mostly involved with Japanese-dominant linguistic communities, and as a result, his English is not that of a native speaker. Because of the time spent away from the US, he seems to have missed out on some of the vocabulary often used by adolescent male social groups. When asked about the word "fag," he reports that it is used "if someone [does] something stupid", especially "when they joke, not really at someone, but just for fun." As before, this demonstrates an instance where the secondary, jocular meaning of "fag" is invoked, as well as the indexing of "fag" to mean "stupid." However, the following exchange is revealing:

J.G.: Was there any word that was an equivalent of that in Japanese?

Mike: I don't even know what 'fag' is.

J.G.: In Japanese?

Mike: What is 'fag'?

J.G.: Oh, what does the word mean?

Mike: Yeah.

As evident here, Mike was not aware that the word "fag" can also refer to gay individuals and carries with it a special pejorative meaning. His experience with the word "fag" is solely based on encounters within sports teams, and it never occurred to him that the word had homophobic connotations. This experience not only further illustrates the way the word is commonly used on sports teams, but also serves as strong evidence for the duality of meaning expressed in "fag," since Mike was only aware of the jocular meaning of the word "fag" and not its offensive meaning.

5.0. DISCUSSION

"Fag" is thus used in two rather distinct ways. While the offensive meaning is viewed as disrespectful by all of our speakers, "fag" seems to still be used in a jocular way on sports teams. We argue that through this duality of meaning, heteronormativity on athletic teams can be sustained even without explicit intent on the part of the speaker to invoke the pejorative meaning of "fag." Mike provides an excellent example of this, as he was not aware of the offensive component of "fag" or its association with homosexuality. Because of his ignorance of this meaning component, he could continue to use the word "fag" and therefore perpetuate homophobic discourse without knowing that the word is actually homophobic. Even though our other speakers knew of the word's homophobic connotations, they often seem to use "fag" in a jocular way. However, judging from our interviews, this jocular meaning is still very much associated with a negative perspective on homosexuality. Both Billy and Kent cite the word as either "disrespectful" or "unacceptable", demonstrating that the word itself, regardless of context, is still attached to a negative impression of homosexuality for some speakers. This negative attitude can be seen in Anderson's study, wherein some of the openly gay athletes stated that they never used "fag" themselves; however, "fag" continued to be used among their teammates but was never directed to them (Anderson 2002, p. 872). Thus, though "fag" marks in-group membership in what can be termed a "playful jocular" on sports teams, it continues to not only be offensive to gays, but promote further layers of heteronormativity in an already heterosexually dominated speech community.

This suggests a new and noticeably more complex view of how homophobia is instantiated on athletic teams. In prior discussions of heteronormativity and homophobic discourse, heteronormativity was explicit and often intentional. However, data from our interviews suggests another form of heteronormativity without intention. Our speakers did not endorse homophobic discourse, and they did not explicitly endorse heteronormativity, yet they perpetuate heteronormativity through language use. "Fag" and words like it serve to maintain a covert heteronormativity on sports teams by virtue of being indexed to the perception of homosexuality as an inferior masculinity. Though some of our speakers may be unaware of the social realities this language use creates, others follow this language use even though they are aware of its possible consequences. As Jeff so aptly remarked, "I don't like it, but I use it." Indeed, the use of "fag" serves to create and uphold the idea of hegemonic masculinity.

6.0. OUTLOOK ON FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several phenomena which need to be investigated in order to better understand how homophobic discourse is instantiated and what this homophobic discourse means for different parties. We have only discussed two instances of the use of the word "fag"; however, there are numerous other communities that employ the word which could serve to help complete the picture of how "fag" functions. In future studies, we plan to look at heterosexual members from a female athletic team, where the word "fag" is used very frequently. Furthermore, we know that "fag" is used among gay groups, and that it possibly indexes an altogether different meaning in this community (e.g., referring to "flamboyant" gays or a certain stereotype of homosexuality). Finally, we feel that the words "fag" and "faggot"—though related—seem to differ in their degree of offensiveness, something we plan to look at in further studies. We are currently conducting a priming experiment in order to get more robust evidence for associations between homophobic language and stereotypes of effeminateness and weakness. All of these avenues of future research will help us to obtain a richer picture of the discourse surrounding homosexuality in sports and homophobic language. Ultimately, these studies may raise awareness of covert heteronormativity on athletic teams. By bringing attention to the discussion of heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, it is our hope that the degree of homophobia felt by gays on sports teams may be lessened, thus facilitating a more positive and tolerant attitude towards all genders and sexualities.

7.0. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1. Taken from "College football: Hawaii coach Greg McMackin transcript." Retrieved from http://www.sltrib.com/cj_12948576.
2. Taken from "Retired NBA star Hardaway says he hates 'gay people'". Retrieved from <http://sports.espn.go.com/nba/news/story?id=2766213>.
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DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE MOTHER-DAUGHTER AND FATHER-DAUGHTER PHONE CONVERSATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The following describes a qualitative case study of Japanese family phone conversation focusing specifically on conversation-closing constituents in phone talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Reaching closure is difficult in phone conversations; individuals are visually restricted and only rely on audio. For smooth endings, we devise proper closures, affected by Japanese culture and gender. This study of mother-daughter conversation and father-daughter conversation supports Tannen's observations in that the mother and daughter tended to co-construct conversation easily and smoothly. However, both the mother and daughter experienced difficulty in moving from "pre-closure" to "closure" and ending the conversation. FDCs moved from "preclosure" to "closure" without failure.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In this study I explore certain characteristics of Japanese family phone conversations with a particular focus on the closure of phone conversations. Specifically, I will examine mother-daughter and father-daughter conversations. The idea for this research focus came from informal conversations that I engaged in with my classmates in a Japanese sociolinguistics course, during which the class discussed how Japanese phone conversations are culturally unique and how conversations between fathers and their children tend to be shorter than those involving mothers and children. Living away from my parents, I receive calls from them quite often and I have occasionally wondered why conversations with my mother flow more smoothly and last longer than conversations with my father. To understand these phenomena, I recorded phone calls from my parents for approximately one month. Analysis of the transcribed conversations allowed a deeper understanding of gender differences in conversational style as well as the uniqueness of Japanese conversation endings.

2.0. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Conversation Ending

After Schegloff and Sacks (1973) conducted pioneering studies on telephone conversations, which examined English telephone conversation data and identified sequential organization of talk-in-interaction patterns, much research has been done on phone conversations. A number of researchers have attempted to examine telephone conversations in other languages and cultural settings (Luke & Pavlidou, 2002; Pavlidou, 1997, 1998). However, closings of phone conversations are not as widely studied as conversation openings.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Clark and French (1981), and Button (1987, 1990) have each developed categorizations of conversation closings. Schegloff and Sacks point out that participants cannot simply hang up even when they had nothing more to say. They must first agree that there are no more topics to discuss. Murata (1994) has noted that closing a conversation is "co-operative work" in that it needs both parties agreement (p. 91). Indeed, participants in phone conversations typically construct endings to telephone talk—or, the "closing section" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973)—by instantiating two sets of closing remarks: pre-closing statements (one for each interactant) and closing statements (one for each interactant; cf. Clark & French, 1981; Hashiuchi, 1999). Example 1 provides an example of a typical telephone conversation closing section with pre-closing and closing statements.

Example 1: Closing section

- A: Well (pre-closing statement)
- B: OK (pre-closing agreement)
- A: Bye (closing)
- B: Bye-bye (closing)

As noted in example 1, one person initiates a pre-closing statement (e.g., "We-ell," "Okay," "So-oo," or "Well, I've got to run now"); the other person responds with some signal of consent (e.g., "Okay"). If

agreement is reached, the conversation will be closed. However, the pre-closing statement can be responded to with the opening of a new topic instead (Clark & French, 1981, p. 3). Therefore it is necessary that the first turn (the first pre-closing statement) is also positioned as "closing down a topic" (Pavlidou, 2002) or "at the analyzable end of a topic" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In other words, it has to be a sequence in which one person offers to close down the topic and the other accepts the attempt.

The process of conversation closing can be difficult, particularly for Japanese speakers. Murata (1986) reported that half of native Japanese speakers and Japanese learners experienced some difficulty in closing conversations. Interestingly, eighty percent of native Japanese speakers are afraid to be rude by taking the initiative in ending a conversation. Learners of Japanese have problems ending conversations as well. According to Murata (1986), sixty percent of Japanese learners mentioned their lack of knowledge of idiomatic expressions as preventing them from being able to end conversations. Other researchers have investigated Japanese phone conversation endings and have similarly found they present Japanese speakers with difficulties (Murata, 1989; Okamoto, 1999; Takagi, 2002). Takagi (2002) focused on three features of Japanese conversation endings, including leave-taking, pre-closing and terminal exchange. She found that closing a telephone conversation is a delicate and complicated process. Her participants were very careful to allow each other to save face when they finished their phone conversations, and most of them were not good at abrupt endings. As these studies show the uniqueness and difficulty in Japanese phone conversation closings due to Japanese social norms of interaction (Gumperz, 1972), this study also found uniqueness of Japanese phone conversation closings from a gender perspective.

2.2. Gender

2.2.1. Gender differences in conversations

Tannen (1990) sheds light on gender differences in ways of speaking and conversational styles. For example, for men, conversation is often a way to negotiate their status in a group and to keep people from pushing them around. In other words, they use talk to preserve their independence. On the other hand, for females, conversations are a tool to negotiate closeness and intimacy. Further, men consider a complaint as a challenge that requires a solution, whereas women show understanding and offer emotional support. Men do not often talk about their innermost thoughts but speak in order to exchange information and get attention, whereas women express their feelings. Tannen uses the word "genderlect" to indicate men and women's different speaking styles.

Tannen (1999) identifies various linguistic differences in genderlect between men and women. For example, women tend to talk at length about one topic, but men tend to switch topics, which gives the impression that men do not listen. Another difference involves back channeling (e.g., "mhm," "uhuh," "yeah"), which is more frequent in women's speech and used to show they are listening. By contrast, men more often give silent attention. Women who expect back channeling interpret the silence as the interlocutor not paying attention. Finally, another aspect of genderlect identified by Tannen relates to "participatory listenership": when women talk to each other, they often finish each other's sentences and anticipate what the other is about to say. This practice is often considered by men as an intrusion and lack of attention (Tannen, 1999).

2.2.2. Mother-daughter conversation and father-daughter conversation ending

Some researchers claim that mother-daughter conversations (MDCs) are more successful than father-daughter conversations (FDCs). Often daughters talk with their mothers more frequently and longer than their fathers (Kasuga, 2000). Mothers exhibit a high level of consideration in MDCs, and do not interrupt or speak at the same time as their interlocutor (Barumont, 2000). In other words, mothers use high-considerateness speech with their children (Beaumont, Vasconcelos, & Ruggeri, 2001). The reason for this could be conversation styles. According to Tannen (1984) successful conversations occur among speakers with the same conversational style. The speakers who share the same conversational style share similar expectations for the pace of turn-taking and the use of simultaneous speech. It may be that the mother and the daughter share a more similar conversation style than the father and daughter.

3.0. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1. Participants

The participants of this study are my mother, my father and myself. We are a middle class family living in Tokyo, Japan. When the data was collected, I was studying abroad and lived separately from my parents. I am a graduate student (in my mid 20's) temporary living in the U.S. My mother (in her mid 60's) is not a traditional Japanese stay-at-home housemother but is a very independent, successful woman. My father (in his mid 50's) is also not a traditional *Teisyukanpaku* type of father (a husband who is at the top of the family structure and has the most power in the family, sometimes translated as "bossy husband" or "chauvinistic husband"). My family power structure is horizontal. In my view, my mother and I are like friends who chat a lot and go out together. While I am away from her, we have phone conversations and exchange emails at least three times a week. On the other hand, phone conversations and emails are not exchanged between me and my father as often. I call him only when the call is necessary and for family occasions. However, we talk a lot, play tennis, and drive around the Tokyo area together when I am home back in Japan.

3.2. Data

The data for this study were audio-recorded phone-Skype conversations of MDCs and FDCs. My parents used a phone and I used an Internet phone system through my Macintosh computer. For approximately one month, all phone conversations were recorded using the Microsoft word notebook layout recording system. The recording system was chosen because it could record better than regular digital recording devices. All conversations were subsequently transcribed and coded.

4.0. FINDINGS

4.1. Length of conversations

One important difference between mother-daughter conversations and father-daughter conversations was conversation length. The total length of MDCs was 103:51, while the total for FDCs was 34:42 (see Table 1)

Table 1: Lengths of conversations

Conversation	1	2	3	4	5	<i>M</i>	Total
MDC	33:21 (Nov.2)	19:19 (Nov.5)	13:12 (Nov.6)	18:29 (Nov.8)	19:30 (Nov.12)	21:17	103:51
FDC	7:50 (Nov.2)	2:10 (Nov.7)	2:26 (Nov.12)	4:01 (Nov.19)	8:15 (Unknown)	7:34	34:42

Note: Cells include length of time for single conversation.

As can be seen from Table 1, there was a large difference in mean conversation times between MDCs (21:17) and FDCs (7:34). The difference between the means was 13:43. Why were FDCs shorter than MDCs? Extract 1 shows the details of father-daughter conversation 1, which occurred on 11/2.

Extract 1 (conversation 1):

FDC on 11/2

1. Emiko(E): Hikihajime ni dounika shinai to.
'I have to do something before it goes bad.'
2. (1.0)
3. Father(F): Souda ne.
'I agree.'
4. E: Ato ga deru. Dane ni naru.
'It will get worse later.'
5. F: un. (1.0) ima wa nanji nano?

- ‘Yes. (1.0)What time is it now?’
6. E: ima [wa jyuuni ji yonjyuppun.
‘Now [is 12:40.’
7. F: [sottchi wa.
‘[how about you.’
8. F: ohiru?
‘Afternoon?’
9. E: iya, yoru.
‘No, night.’
10. (1.0)
11. F: yoru?[yoru ka.a.:
‘Night? night (I see)’
12. E: [un.
‘[yes.’

Compared to the MDC data (see Extract 2, conversation 3, below), there are more pauses, shorter utterances, and more topic changes. After a pause in line 2, the speaker takes a turn and says, “I agree” to keep the conversation going. “Dounika shinai to” in line 1 may sound like an incomplete sentence, but for me, I am saying my opinion and expect my father either to respond according to the “participatory listenership” rule or back channel. The same thing happens in line 10. These can be interpreted as examples of Tannen’s “silent attention.”

Topic changes are often observed in FDCs. After my father shows agreement in line 5, there is a pause. To get out of this awkward moment, my father initiates a new topic here instead of giving his opinion. As Tannen (1999) notes, frequent topic changes by men give the impression that men do not listen. These topic changes make FDCs shorter. In MDCs, my mother and I make many comments. We co-construct the conversation very easily and make the conversation longer.

4.2. Conversation Ending

The most significant difference between MDCs and FDCs was the conversation endings. Again, Japanese phone conversation closings are a unique and difficult speech act (Takagi, 2002). This was also observed in my data, and two different features of phone conversation endings were found: there was one closing section for FDC but several closing sections for MDC. The next two extracts are typical conversation endings with my mother (Extracts 2a, 2b, and 2c) and with my father (Extract 3).

Extract 2a (conversation 3):

MDC on 11/6—Closing section 1

1. Emiko(E): Beru (name of energy drink) nonde neru no desu.
‘You should drink BERU (name of the energy drink), and go to bed.’
2. Mother(M): Sooshimasu. Honjyaba.[XXX
‘Yes, I will. Bye [XXX’
3. E: [hai. Baiba::i.
‘[OK Bye-bye’
4. M: Genki da ne. Emiko ne. nett. nett. Ii, dewa yoi syuumatsu o.
‘You sound good. Emiko right. right. Good then have a nice weekend.’

5. E: Genki dayo datte amarini tukarete kaettekita neteta mon.
kiduitara.
'I am good. Because I took a nap when I came back home
because I was exhausted. I did not realize (that I fell a sleep.)'
6. M: (laughing) a::
'(laughing) well::

Extract 2b (one minute later in conversation 3) :

MDC on 11/6—Closing section 2

34. M: ne::honto dayo ne. honto. Osowaru to ii ne::: kaette kitara to
'yah right. You should learn once you come back.'
35. iu kaiji de gozee masu dayo. Honjyaba ne. [Emiko.
'That's all. All right then. [Emiko.'
36. E: [Honjyaba ne.
'[All right then.'
37. (1.0)
38. M: ano. kaette kita battkari datta no. ugai suru kara.
'Well. I just came back. I will gurgle so.'
39. E: nett. Nanka ne. [dekakeru tte itteta kedo tsunagattcyatta to
omotte.
'Well.[Although you said you would go out, you picked up
the phone.'
40. M: [un?
'[what?'
41. M: iya,ima kaette kita battkari datta no daka[ra kaette kite(.)
'No. I just came back so I came home and'
42. uwagi nuida tokoro datta no. dakara cyoudoyokatta.
'I just took off my jacket. It is good timing.'

Extract 2c (later in conversation 3):

MDC on 11/6—Closing section 3

60. E: un. Ikanakute ii. Mata renraku ga atte kara ni shite.
'Yes. You do not have to go. (Could you do) after she contacts
me.'
61. M: un. Sontoki renraku cyoudai.
'OK. Tell me once she contacts you.'
62. E: nnett.
'All right.'
63. (2.0)
64. M: hai hai. Jyaane.
'Ok. uh huh. Bye.'

65. E: Hai hai. Odaijini.
'Ok.Ok. Take care.'
66. M: Hai mata ne.
'Yeah. See you.'
67. E: Baibai.
'Bye-bye.'
68. M: hai,baiba:i.
'Ok. Bye-bye.'
69. (3.0)

Interestingly, more than one closing section was observed in MDC. Extracts 2a, 2b and 2c, show tat there were three closing sections.

Why did more than one closing sections occur? In line 1, I offered a statement that displayed my care for my mother's health. Wishing good health by saying 'take care' is often a constituent of a closing section (Okamoto, 1999; Takagi, 2002). Thus taking line 1 as a sign to close the conversation, my mother initiated pre-closing activity by saying "all right then (Bye)" in line 2. I followed with a pre-closing response and closing sentence in line 3. Next, my mother tried to end the conversation with "have a nice weekend." In general, my closing response should have been given in line 5, but I extended the conversation by giving a reason why my voice sounded good because she brought up a new topic and also repeated the discourse particle "ne" three times. A similar routine was observed from lines 34 to 42. Then my mother initiated the agreement that "we have no topic to talk about," and issued a pre-closing statement in line 35, "that's all. All right then." I provided a pre-closing response in line 36. Then my mother stated why she wanted to hang up in line 38 as a leave-taking move. She might then have expected a good-bye exchange, but I start a new topic in line 39— a key moment that made my mother continue talking. This part of the interaction is in line with Beaumont, Vasconcelos, and Ruggeri's (2001) finding that mothers use high-considerateness speech with their children, and my mother showed similar high-consideration for me here. From my point of view as her daughter, I know my mother is concerned about me living away from home in a foreign country. As a result, her consideration prevented her from ending the conversation.

So how did we end the conversation? My utterance in line 62 and a pause in line 63 played a significant role. Line 62 ("all right") was a sign that the previous line was the conclusion and I was finished talking about the topic. A pause in line 63 also worked as an agreement to move to a closing activity. Therefore my mother understood that the conversation was really coming to an end and gave a pre-closing statement in line 64, which I agreed with, so the conversation was not extended. We both accepted moves toward ending the conversation, which we successfully closed. The conversation-closing pattern from line 64 to line 69 was very similar to the one observed in FDC (see extract Extract 3).

Extract 3 (conversation 1):

FDC on 11/7

1. F: Mou, kaze hiku to are da. (1.0) karada yowakute dameda.
'Oh. When I catch a cold umm. (1.0) my body gets weaker and not good.'
2. (4.0)
3. E: Jyaa odaijini.
'Then take care of yourself'
4. (2.0)

5. F: un. Hai.(1.5)jyaa kiotsukete.
'Yeah. Yes. (1.5) all right take care.'
6. E: hai. Watashi wa nemasu.
'Ok. I will go to bed.'
7. (1.0)
8. F: Hai.
'Ok.'
9. (1.0)
10. E: hai.
'all right.'
11. F: hai. Jyaa nee.
'ok. Bye.'
12. E: jyaa ne[:::oyasumi:::
'Bye. [:::. Good night:::]'
13. F: [hai.
'[ok.'
14. (1.0)
15. F: hai.hai.oyasumi:::
'ok. ok. Good night:::]'
16. (3.0)

In Extract 3, a long pause in line 2 made me think that the conversation was no longer developing, so I offered a leave-taking ("then take care of yourself") which also functioned as a pre-closing statement. My father responded in the same way in line 5 ("well, take care") as a pre-closing response. In line 6, I clearly showed my will to end the conversation by saying, "I will go to bed." After the second pre-closing activity from line 6 to line 10, where we showed agreement with each other, we moved to the "closing section" and finished the conversation. Note that the repeated pre-ending activities for Extracts 2c and 3 seem to demonstrate a pattern in the closing sections. Both my father and I said "hai (ok or all right)," "bye," and "Good night" several times, which is similar to the pre-ending activities in closing section 3 of MDC Extract 2c. This is a pattern found in all family phone conversations.

From the results, it can be noted that the FDC ending (in Extract 3) had a similar ending pattern to the MDC ending (closing section 3 in Extract 2c). However, there was only one closing section observed in FDC (Extract 3), whereas there were three closing sections in MDC (Extracts 2a, 2b, and 2c).

5.0. DISCUSSION

In the extracts above, since the mother and the daughter share the same gender, they used similar conversation styles and genderlect. Thus, they co-constructed conversation more easily, the conversation generally went more smoothly, and it took longer to end. On the other hand, the father and daughter, applied a different conversation style and genderlect in their talk. That made their talk very short and simple. This difference could explain why a daughter talks more with her mother than with her father.

As previous studies claim, this small-scale study showed how hard it is to end a phone conversation. I observed a unique repetition phenomena of closing sections in MDC endings (Extracts 2a, 2b, and 2c), and the same pattern of confirmation and agreement to end conversations in both MDCs and FDCs.

This data is just a limited case study, but I believe it is unique because it closely observes Japanese family phone conversation endings, for which there are a limited number of Japanese phone conversation-ending studies. For future research, I would like to investigate more Japanese phone conversation endings (e.g., a son and mother/father phone conversations) and apply the findings to Japanese language education. Lastly this was a very nice opportunity for me to get a better understanding of my family.

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MAKING A SOLDIER OUT OF A CIVILIAN: LINGUISTIC IDENTITY IN THE U.S. MILITARY

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ABSTRACT

New members of the U.S. Military are now part of a powerful organization with very specific goals and traditions, and their identities necessarily undergo a lot of changes to reflect their new positions. Among those changes is the way they speak. This paper describes the results of seven sociolinguistic interviews with people presently in the service conducted to investigate how language forms the identity of a member of the U.S. Military and how military personnel use language to communicate their commitment to military involvement.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Military has held a prominent and powerful role on the global scene since the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945. Since then, U.S. Military policy changed from isolationist to expansive involvement outside of U.S. borders, causing the need for the number of military staff to remain consistently high in times of both war and peace in the decades following. There are about a million and a half active personnel and a million and a half reserve personnel presently serving in the U.S. Armed Forces. It is one of the largest unified communities of practice in America. Within the Armed Forces, there are four main branches: Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard. Each branch has standardized training; its practices common to the entire branch. Each branch is distinct from the other, but at the same time, there are practices and goals shared among them that cause members of one to associate strongly with members of the others while also maintaining a healthy rivalry between branches. In this study seven members of two separate branches were interviewed to find their opinions about what took place in their own branch and what could be generalized to all branches of the Armed Forces.

2.0. TOPIC

There are many things that could be supposed about language use within the U.S. Military. It might be safe to assume that soldiers speak differently than civilians and that within members of the military, there are differences between ranks and branches, but there are few studies that actually explore exactly what is happening in this particular community of practice. This study served as a probe into what members of the military themselves could see happening with language. The seven members of the U.S. Military interviewed reported a wealth of interesting lexical items, hierarchical practices, language convergences, and relationships between identity and attitudes toward language. They themselves could tell that there were things that set their language apart from that of civilians, and each of them had an interesting perspective and opinion about those differences. For some instances of language differences, every person interviewed had something to say, and for others, different participants had exactly opposite opinions. One thing that they agreed on, however, is that their language certainly changed after joining the military, and they identify themselves as members of a very specific group of speakers, sharing a common goal in the defense of American interests and a common language.

3.0. RELEVANT RESEARCH

There is very little research on language in the U.S. Military. Most of what currently exists concerning military usage deals only with the lexicon of specific branches and is in the form of a reference material for people who need to communicate within the military construct. There is a dissertation written by Ladislav Chaloupský that set out to deal with providing a dictionary of military slang for foreign serviceman serving in collaboration with the U.S. Military, but it eventually became a paper about not only lexical items, but differences in speech styles within the military. Chaloupský conducted fourteen interviews with men and women of the U.S. Military to examine how they spoke differently from one another, but his observations were of what he called "unusual lexical units and grammatical irregularities" (Chaloupský, 2005, p. 207).

4.0. METHODS

Individual qualitative interviews were conducted with seven subjects, beginning with a written demographic survey that provided basic information about their age, sex, regional background, and role in the military. They were asked general questions about the military in order to elicit lexical items specific to the military and questions about emotional experiences in particular so that they would use their most natural speech in the act of storytelling at the same time. The next questions concerned things that they have noticed about language in the military, such as lexical items that certain people use, differences in the way that different ranks speak, and linguistic changes that they themselves have adopted. They were all very happy to share their experiences and had a lot to contribute about the topic.

The seven participants served in two different branches of the Armed Forces. Five of the participants were in the Army, and two were in the Navy. Five of the participants were active duty, and two were in the reserve forces. Six participants were male, and one was female. One participant was an officer, and the other six were enlisted. They had served between three and twelve years. Two had been deployed to Iraq; three others had been deployed elsewhere overseas. They all came from different parts of the country, two of them having grown up as children of service members who moved all over the world.

4.1. Participants' Background Information

Adam is a radio repair specialist in the Army originally from Texas who has served for five years and has been to Iraq twice. He joined the military to get out of Texas where he said there were no opportunities for him. Ben is a platoon sergeant E7 who grew up all around the world as a son of an Army father. He has been serving for twelve years and had just returned from Iraq when he was interviewed. Caleb served in the active Army for five years, took some time off to try to be a hippie for a while he said, and is now a cadet in the U.S. Army Reserves. He grew up in California, though his first language is Khmer. He has served for a total of twelve years. Daniel was a submarine warfare officer for seven years who got tricked into submarine duty by a recruiter, but ended up enjoying his time there. He left the military only two months before the interview. He grew up in Honolulu. Eli is serving as an enlisted member of the Army. He grew up in inner-city California and has served for six years total. He will leave the military soon and wants to begin studying theater. Felix is a member of the Army National Guard who has been involved in the military for three years. He is presently pursuing his Master's degree, and he was a high-school science teacher before that. Ruth has been serving as an operation specialist for nine years in the U.S. Navy. She also grew up as an Army brat, living in many places during her childhood.

5.0. SALIENT ISSUES TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Participants felt that their language was different than that of civilians in several ways. The first thing that five out of seven participants mentioned was that military personnel tend to use in abundance acronyms that civilians would not be able to understand. They reported that they began to learn acronyms from the very beginning of their service and now use them as lexical items, sometimes forgetting that a civilian family member or friend would not be familiar with the term. Adam said that acronyms had become words for him since joining the military. "I did not know CFLCC was the Combined Forces Land Combat Component, I figured it was a movie about water." Ben reported that he used acronyms to describe what was happening at work and what he does in the military with his military peers and often finds himself using the terms with people outside of the military and has to explain himself. He provided examples of places on base that are commonly referred to only by the acronym: *PX* 'general store', *MTF* 'Medical Treatment Facility', *MWR* 'Morale Welfare Center'.

Gratuitous use of profanity was also mentioned frequently by the participants as something that was very particular to being a part of the U.S. Military. Terms like a *sailor's mouth* are not for naught. Four of the participants mentioned that they had definitely noticed their own use of profanity increasing after they joined the military. "Soldiers got dirty mouths. Period," Adam exclaimed. He also mentioned that civilians would be offended if he spoke to them the way that he speaks to his peers in the military. Caleb speculated that maybe profanity is so prevalent in the military, particularly among the enlisted, because of the socioeconomic class that many of the military's personnel come from. He said that since most of the enlisted come from a background of hard labor and rough neighborhoods, they bring rougher language with them into the military, and that language

becomes an identifying marker for the enlisted's community of practice. As well as off-color terms, Adam talked about how personnel insult one another more than other communities of practice that he has been involved in. He compared the offensive banter that takes place in the military to the insults that siblings throw at one another, saying that just like when one's sister calls one an offensive term but then takes offense herself when someone else refers to her brother that way, the military is a select in-group wherein it is safe to insult one another, but civilians could not participate in the same name-calling and insults.

Another salient component of military lexicon is the colorful slang that originated within the military. Military personnel use such wonderful terms as *scuttlebutt* 'a water fountain' and 'gossip', *gee dunk* 'junk food', *snafu* 'a catastrophe', and *fourth point of contact* 'a person's behind'. Radio terminology has played a large part in the lexical differences between military personnel and civilians, though some of the lexical items have entered into mainstream culture as well. Terms like *roger* and *over* are used in jest by most of us, but to military personnel, using these terms rather than the terms used by civilians can be a matter of life or death. Adam mentioned the terms *roger* and *wilco* and also said that members of the military tend to count differently and use the military radio communication method (*alpha, bravo, harlie...*) to spell things out.

Non-lexical linguistic changes also occur as a part of a military member's identity shift. In the process of changing from civilian to soldier, personnel often use less of their regional markers of dialect or pick up markers from other regions. Ben talked about how it is very easy to determine where young soldiers have come from, but he has peers who have been in the military for ten or more years that don't use regional dialect markers unless they start talking about their hometowns or their families. He says, "It all becomes one military language the longer you stay in." Caleb mentioned that because most of the training camps and many of the military bases and facilities are in the American South, most of the members of the military develop a sort of southern accent when they join. He says that southern military personnel speak with more of a southern accent after joining and personnel from other parts of America develop subtle southern traits.

There are several other non-lexical markers of military speech that were reported by the participants. Adam said that many people who serve have a certain "vocal inflection of authority," that he doesn't even know why sometimes, but that he can tell "yeah, this guy was a joe. He served at one point and time." A *joe* is a person who has served in the military at some point. Eli reported obtaining more confidence in his speech while serving. Caleb called the difference a military bearing, a very serious tone with very little inflection. Daniel reported that during his time in the military, he became a lot more composed in his speech. He began to use less "um's" and "ah's" and learned to speak in a more professional manner. There are also of course non-linguistic cues that set Service members apart from civilians. During Daniel's interview, the subject came up of how we were to have identified one another before the interview. He said that the speed of his walk, how his shoulders are held, and his general posture all contribute to his military identity.

6.0. DISCUSSION

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the changes that every civilian undergoes when he or she joins the military is the ideology that engenders these changes. Why must soldiers and sailors be so entirely different than their civilian selves when they join the Armed Services?

A member of the U.S. Military is required to carry out very specific duties quickly and efficiently in moments of extreme stress. They have no room to make mistakes, and they have to follow orders at all times without question and without hesitance. Some of the duties that they must perform may be unsavory to say the least, and they must maintain an emotional distance and calm in order to carry out orders and follow procedure. For this reason, their communication must be efficient and clear, but there must also be a clear break between what their language was as a civilian and what their language is as a soldier for several important reasons. The clear differences between the speech of civilians and the speech of U.S. Military personnel reflect these specific performance requirements.

Many of the speech items unique to the military that the participants mentioned may serve to make communication within the military much clearer and more concise. A concern for efficiency is possibly a lot of the reason that so many of the common terms that are used by all military personnel have become acronyms. It is very important that operations and logistics have very specific titles, but those titles can be unwieldy.

Speakers turn those titles into acronyms, and those acronyms become lexical items of their own, leading to concise speech, where a lot of information is communicated very quickly.

Radio terminology also requires a great level of precision. If a civilian is speaking on the phone and says *repeat* to the listener, the speaker is probably asking to hear the last utterance again, but in the military, Caleb shared, if someone says *repeat*, his or her intention is that another artillery round be fired at the exact location where it just landed. If these lexical items get confused, people can take lives unintentionally. Likewise, all orders issued over the radio must be carefully given and the person on one end of the line needs to know that the person on the other end has understood exactly what was said. For this reason, a very specific system was developed for spelling out commands, and there are specific words to signal the beginnings and ends of conversations. Daniel talked about how radio communication not only changed his lexical choices, but also affected his speech rate and intonation. His speech has become much quicker since his time in the military, and he attributed this to his recurring need to quickly and efficiently communicate on the radio to other chambers of the submarine where he served. Other participants also mentioned that a faster speech rate was something that they would attribute to a member of the military. Ben said that military personnel use shorter sentences and have a more concise format to their conversations. Some participants also felt that they used less vocal pauses and had more fluency in their speech since joining the military. These changes that help communication to happen more quickly become habits for the personnel that have to use them every day until they become a part of what identifies a member of the military.

There are other reasons that military personnel speak the way that they do. The military is a very strict hierarchy wherein orders come from the top down, and every subordinate must follow orders quickly and often without question. There must be a structure in order to maintain consistency and to operate successfully. This hierarchy is cemented by and reflected in speech interactions. Ben said that when he came in, leaders were not interested in building a rapport with recruits. They just gave directives; they were quick, concise, and to the point. There was a lot of shouting, and they were immediately in your face if you made the slightest of mistakes. Now, he said, higher-ups in the military learn their own language, "they learn a tactful kind of political way of disagreeing with each other instead of being direct about it." He himself is more authoritative, more concise, and less tolerant to questioning when speaking with subordinates. His speech is usually more direct in these circumstances. In contrast, during interactions with superiors, he tries to be more tactful, using questions instead of direct statements. Leaders in the military also demand a different amount of politeness. Adam mentioned that it is not acceptable to approach superiors with the same casual insults that you would your peers. Also, of course, several participants mentioned that superiors must be addressed by their ranks and with "yes, sir" "no, sir." All of these practices serve to remind military personnel of their position in the power structure constantly. They are always aware of who is below and above them in rank because they must act accordingly. These practices no doubt confirm the chain of command so that when orders are given, they are instantly processed and there is no confusion as to who makes decisions and who must carry out those decisions.

Adopting language traits common to the military is also a matter of shaping one's new identity as part of the military organization at large. Military training includes learning to begin using these linguistic items in order to separate one's present from one's past as a civilian. Using the same patterns of speech as other people in the military creates a strong sense of team cohesion. The military is a family of sorts, certainly a very well-defined community of practice, and speaking the same as other members of the community and differently than those outside of the community forms a stronger bond. Soldiers and sailors are in an atypical work environment where teamwork is more important than for most. Most of what they do must be done as a group because one man or woman cannot operate the heavy machinery or complex technology that is being used. Shared language styles can generate a stronger sense of community and shape an individual into a team member.

In addition, perhaps, intentional linguistic change may have something to do with breaking ties with recruits' past semantic associations. Words and terms are laden with emotional experience, and a soldier or a sailor cannot be weighed down with emotional associations. So, when recruits join the military, they must learn not only new terms that are specific to military needs, but also terms that do already have a civilian counterpart so that they can perform the difficult tasks that are required of them. When a young soldier carries out his orders to the letter, but unknowingly kills someone who did not comply with military procedure, there will be a lot of emotional association involved with the civilian terms *victims* or *casualties*. Instead, within the military, the person will be referred to as *collateral damage*. The two wars that are presently being waged in the Middle East,

are referred to in the military as *Operation Iraqi Freedom* and *Operation Enduring Freedom*, which, no doubt, are conveniently shortened to OIF and OEF in correspondence and conversation. OIF lacks the heavy semantic charge that comes with the terms *war* and *conflict*. George Lakoff (1991) writes that couching events or circumstances that would otherwise be considered abhorrent in complex and overly circumspect new terms helps those instigating said events or circumstances to pacify the public (p. 27). In the case of the military, these emotionally untouched new terms and acronyms may serve to emotionally distance personnel from the duties that they are required to perform.

6.1. The Process of Stylistic Change

The process of becoming an efficient member of the U.S. Military begins on day one of basic training. Basic training is notorious for being rigorous and demanding. Felix talked about how the military has a very direct purpose: to put a new recruit under stressful conditions and to teach them how to react appropriately under stress. As such, there is a lot of screaming that goes on in training. Ben said that one could have four or five drill sergeants in one's face at a given time shouting and reprimanding, and he compared it to a shark attack. In the past few years, changes have been made to training strategies. Drill sergeants are no longer allowed to degrade recruits, but they still use their tones, volumes, and general demeanors to intimidate the recruits and simulate the stress levels that occur during combat. Changes in a recruit's language begin here, in the stressful context of basic training. New recruits begin to learn acronyms for the places that they go on base. They constantly learn new words for concepts and objects that will be specific to their military experience. They also learn new military terms for concepts and objects that they already had words for in their time as a civilian. For each branch, a bathroom becomes something new: for the Army- a *latrine*, for the Navy- *the head*. What civilians call guns now become *weapons*. Caleb reported that during his time in basic training, he was punished each time he used a civilian word for something that had a military term ascribed to it. If he misspoke and called an M-16 a *gun*, he said the punishment would be to do one-armed push-ups while holding his genitals and chanting, "This is my rifle, this is my gun. One is for fighting, one is for fun." Caleb believes that this intense affirmation of the use of military terms serves to initiate new recruits into "the culture of the warrior, the culture of the Army." Eli said that basic training is all about "trying to break you down, make you the same as everybody else to create that team cohesion." Adam reported that this process is commonly called institutionalization within the military. Over time, the intensity of training lessens, but military personnel constantly learn new terms and acronyms as they receive training throughout their military careers, and using military terms rather than civilian becomes intuitive to the point that members of the military have trouble switching back to familiar terms when speaking to civilians. Participants mentioned that their speech is markedly different when they are off duty than when they are in uniform. They maintain a military demeanor when they are acting within that particular community of practice, but try to drop those linguistic changes when they spend time elsewhere, though they find that their military identity has a way of following them home. Ben says that he struggles after twelve years of service to remember which lexicon to use when he is talking to people. He has to focus when talking to civilians in order to not use terms that would be unfamiliar to them.

6.2. Effects of Ideology and Involvement

Several participants talked about how attitude towards involvement in the military as well as branch and type of duty heavily affect how likely a person is to use all of these markers of military involvement. It may be that a person's use of these items may reflect how committed that person feels to the military's ideals. Two of the participants mentioned personnel who are more *huuah* than others as having stronger linguistic markers of being in the military than those who are less *huuah*. *Huuah* is a term adopted from an Army battle cry that can now stand for agreement, involvement, or a statement of support. It is also now used as an adjective to describe someone who is particularly militaristic. Eli thought that those who had a sense of "*huuah* Army stuff going on" would be more likely to speak with distinctly military speech patterns. He said that "that stuff will go on definitely Marines, definitely you can tell for Marines because they're more of the infantry, discipline, loud, you know that whole thing." Adam said, "I am not trying to be this *huuah* person, so I catch myself: That was a really military statement. I don't need those." Participants reported that ideology was also likely to affect how a person chose to interact with his or her superiors and subordinates. Adam said that those who were more militaristic, more *huuah*, were more likely to speak very differently to their superiors than to their peers or subordinates. The time commitment each member makes to the military also affects the speech that personnel use. Felix, a member of the National Guard, reported that while he feels that he has perceptive skills for military language, he would not choose to speak in that way himself: "I definitely probably wouldn't use those types of language, I'd probably say car instead of POV, but I understand them."

During the interviews, despite their backgrounds or the dialects that they spoke, several participants pronounced a few words in a way that was not necessarily consistent with their regional dialects, but was consistent with other participants, particularly the word *sergeant*. Instead of [ˈsɑɪdʒənt], some participants pronounced this word [ˈsɑɪʔ]. All tokens of the word were extracted from all of the interviews, and each token was categorized as either an instance of [ˈsɑɪdʒənt] or of [ˈsɑɪʔ] (see Table 1). Participants' use of this pronunciation seemed to be affected by their involvement with military service. Those who were active duty military personnel were much more likely to use the alternative pronunciation. Adam was the only participant to use both pronunciations, and he made it clear during his interview that he strived to be as non-militaristic in his speech choices as he could because he doesn't want to be a person with two separate identities, and he tries to only use military jargon when he is talking about something task specific. The alternative pronunciation was often used by active duty personnel when used in the context of *drill sergeant*. Perhaps this is viewed as a separate lexical item that always has this different pronunciation when used in military contexts. Particularly interesting was Eli's use of the pronunciation. He seemed to be the most eager to leave the military, and yet he uses the military pronunciation in all nine tokens of *sergeant*. In contrast, Caleb is very pro-military, though he is presently in the Reserves, but he did not use the alternative pronunciation in his token. It seems that use of the alternative pronunciation may be correlated to how much time one spends in a military context.

Table 1: Frequency of [ˈsɑɪdʒənt] and [ˈsɑɪʔ] Tokens for Each Participant.

Participant	Military involvement	[ˈsɑɪdʒənt]	[ˈsɑɪʔ]	Total tokens
Adam	Active	4	4	8
Ben	Active	0	11	11
Caleb	Reserves	1	0	1
Eli	Active	0	9	9
Felix	National Guard	3	0	3

7.0. CONCLUSION

The U.S. Military uses its own idiolect of English in order to ensure that their communications will be entirely clear. Acronyms and radio speech are a part of this efficiency. Lexical items and expressions of hierarchy are products of a need for emotional distance and team cohesion. Also, the linguistic differences within the military probably have a lot to do with the type of people that the military attracts and the fact that it was traditionally an all-male institution and even now definitely has a male majority. Male groups might use more insults and latent competition in their speech than mixed or female groups. The military is a unique mix of people from all regions of the United States, and as such, there is a very diverse representation of American English present. This mixing of dialects results in both convergence and divergence, contributing to the separate dialect of Military English. All of these separate requirements and circumstances have created a complex idiolect that should be further studied.

8.0. FUTURE WORK

There were several things mentioned by the participants that warrant a closer look in the future. There were many linguistic differences reported, though there most certainly exist more differences, particularly phonetic differences. Many participants struggled with wanting very badly to put their finger on exactly what it is that gives away a *joe*, but they could only say that there is just that special something that lets you know he was in the service. A lot more recordings, in a natural setting, will be necessary to quantify just what that special military something is. It would be very interesting to explore if it is true, as Caleb mentioned, that the military generally speak with a bit of a southern accent at times

There are two main areas of particular interest to the researcher in the military community of practice, the realization of hierarchy in speech interactions and language as a reflection of military identity. In the future, it would be useful to collect and analyze recordings of military personnel of different ranks and positions interacting and look for markers of dominance and submission, and also to analyze the speech of a larger number of personnel to discover general differences between those of higher and lower ranks. Obtaining those recordings may prove difficult because of the sensitive nature of military communication. Another route that

research could take is comparing personnel from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and regions who have been in service for different amounts of time to see how their language has changed and how this interacts with their feelings toward military service. Also, one could manipulate circumstances, such as in uniform or out of uniform, or with other personnel present or without, and analyze the differences in speech patterns. Perception studies wherein listeners will hear speech from military personnel of different ranks and positions and from civilians and make judgments about their backgrounds or occupations will also be informative. This community of practice is rich with linguistic patterns and diversity, and there are so many interesting things yet to discover and quantify.

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GENDER IN WRITTEN TEXTS – FROM THE EARLY SHŌWA ERA TO THE HEISEI ERA

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ABSTRACT

Japanese is known to have many sex-exclusive linguistic differences (Reynolds, 1991). Most studies of Japanese gender have so far analyzed data from spoken interactions. Given the differences between spoken and written Japanese (Clancy, 1982), we need to ask if there are gender differences in writing as well. Japanese written texts from two periods (the pre-war era and the present era) were compared in this study. Findings suggest that speaking style has changed significantly in that there has been a general shift from negative politeness to positive politeness, particularly in female writing.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

It has been observed that “Japanese language has many sex-exclusive or almost sex-exclusive differences” (Reynolds, 1991, p. 3). Maynard (1997) notes “the most prominent difference between masculine and feminine speech is the use of different interactional particles” (p. 73). However, interactional particles are characteristically used in spoken language, not written language, and gender differences are more prominent in casual spoken discourse. As the difference of spoken and written texts is particularly significant in Japanese (Clancy, 1982), it is of interest to ask if there are gender differences in written texts. It is also necessary to take into consideration the reorganization of spoken and written Japanese after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which resulted in significant changes letter writing style. In this study, therefore, I examine written texts in two different periods: (a) the early Shōwa era (1925 to 1945) and (b) the Heisei era (20 years leading up to the present). I investigate whether the gender differences in writing are seen within and between the two periods. Findings reveal a gender difference in writing styles (between men and women) within each period, and a shift of a politeness strategy in female writing from the early Shōwa era to the Heisei era.

2.0. CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE

As generally known, the Japanese language is significantly different to Indo-European languages with respect to certain elements. In order to discuss gender in written Japanese, I will briefly explain important Japanese linguistic features in (a) spoken and written Japanese, (b) male and female speech, and (c) the honorific system, all of which will form the basis of the analysis to come.

2.1. Spoken and Written Japanese

An important feature of the Japanese language is the distinction between spoken and written style. The Japanese feudal system, which lasted up to 1868, collapsed due to the Meiji Restoration. During the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), spoken and written Japanese were clearly distinct, but because of the *Genbunichchi* movement, which aimed to unify the spoken and written forms of the Japanese language, colloquial expressions started appearing in written Japanese.

Clancy (1992) points out that the various spoken Japanese styles slow the mastering of the language. In terms of styles, Clancy also notes that “each style has its own lexical, morphological, syntactic, and intonational properties... [and] the selection of a style is typically determined by the relative status, age, and sex of speaker and hearer” (p. 55). Although similar to the spoken style, there are many types of written styles in the Japanese language; however, the formal expositive style is normally preferred regardless of the characteristics of the sender and the receiver (Clancy, 1992). For example, authors tend to use polite forms even when writing to their friends for whom the formal style is not required in conversation.

Despite these conventions, certain linguistic phenomena traditionally associated with spoken Japanese are beginning to be found in written Japanese as well. Markers of “phatic communication,” for example, which is common in speech, has also been identified recently in casual writing (Reynolds, 2000). Phatic communication is defined by Malinowski (1923) as “language used in free, aimless, social intercourse [and] a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words” (as cited in Maybin, 1994, pp. 9-10). Furthermore, the notion of phatic communication is meant to “draw attention to the dynamic interaction

- (5) *Kenzyoo-go*
 a. *Watasi wa Sasaki sensei ni koo o-hanasi si-ta.*
 'I told Sasaki *sensei* this way.'
- (6) *Teinei-go*
 a. *Watasi wa sono hito ni koo hanasi-masi-ta.*
 'I told him this way.'

(Harada, 1976, pp. 501-502)

Harada referred to the three categories as 'subject honorifics', 'object honorifics', and 'performative honorifics', and describes the first two as constitutive of a single category called 'propositional honorifics'. Propositional honorifics and performative honorifics are distinguished by 'social superiority', which Harada defines as follows:

Given an appropriate definition of this notion, we can see which NP [Noun Phrase] refers to a person socially superior to the speaker (an SSS) and which NP does not. All that a grammatical description has to say is that a predicate is put in the subject honorific form if its subject denotes an SSS...Performative honorifics differ from propositional honorifics in that they do not require the presence of an SSS in the propositional content of the sentence. (pp. 501-522)

With respect to the difference between the subject honorifics and the object honorifics, Harada notes that "subject honorifics are used when the subject refers to the SSS, and objective honorifics are used when the indirect or direct object refers to the SSS" (p. 503). In both cases, the speaker shows respect to the socially superior person, but the subject honorifics elevates the hearer's position relative to the speaker, while the object honorifics lowers the speaker's position relative to the hearer.

3.0. DATA AND ANALYSIS

3.1. Data

Recently, even though written letters are still preferred to electronic messages for certain situations (e.g., seasonal greetings), emails are replacing letters as computer technology advances. In this study, I therefore compared letter texts in the early Shōwa era (1925 to 1945) and email texts in the Heisei era (20 years leading up to the present). I analyzed a collection of letters² that contain correspondences written by Japanese male and female novelists: 10 letters were written by seven men (ages from 26 to 37) and 10 letters written by seven women (ages from 31 to 42). For email texts³, 6 emails written by three men (ages from 24 to 29) and 6 emails written by three women (ages from 32 to 41). Both the letters and the emails were sent to friends of the authors.

3.2. Analysis

Texts in this study were analyzed in terms of (a) honorific verb forms, (b) interactional particles, and (c) non-verbal symbols produced at sentence endings (e.g., symbols such as emoticons, Chinese characters, ellipses to indicate pauses, etc.). Each verb was counted and categorized into one of three honorific forms mentioned earlier: respectful, humble, and polite. Non-honorific forms were counted as well. Interactional particles were counted and identified as masculine, feminine, or neutral. Non-verbal symbols were also counted for frequency, but not categorized in any particular way.

Analysis was on the basis of comparing frequencies of use for a given linguistic form. Percent values for frequency of female and male use of honorifics, interactional particles and non-verbal symbols were calculated by dividing the total number of honorifics/interactional particles/non-verbal symbols by the total number of sentences for all male—or female—texts in a given era. To gauge gender differences, percentages were compared between males and females on a given form *within* a particular era. And, percentages of forms in letters (from the Shōwa era) and emails (Heisei era) were compared for both genders to observe gender-related changes in usage *between* the two eras.

4.0. FINDINGS

4.1. Honorifics

Analysis shows an obvious gender difference in the use of honorifics in the letter texts within the Shōwa era. Although many different forms of honorifics were produced, a clear gender difference was observed in propositional honorifics (a respectful form and a humble form) followed by performative honorifics (a polite form). Here, I refer to a combination of a respectful and polite as (A), and a combination of a humble and polite form as (B) ⁴. Figure 1 shows the frequency of honorific combinations (A) and (B) in written texts during the early Shōwa era and the Heisei era.

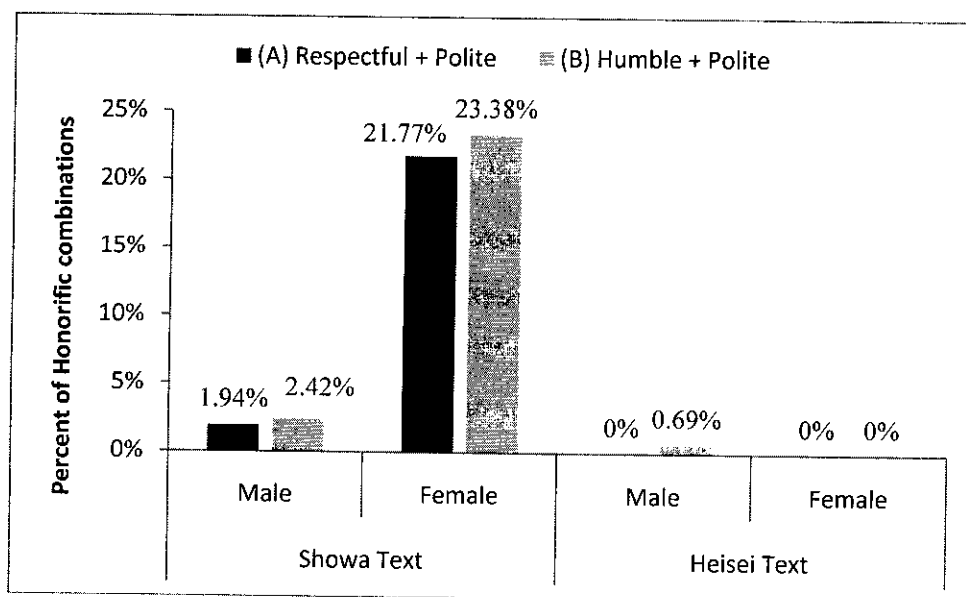


Figure 1: Percent of Honorific combinations out of all sentences in male and female written texts respectively during both eras.

There is also a clear difference in honorifics use between the two eras for both males and females—females especially showed quite a dramatic difference in honorifics use between the two periods. In Figure 1, (A) and (B) combinations were rarely produced by male authors (1.94%, and 2.42%), but were used more frequently by female authors (21.77% and 23.38%) in the early Shōwa era. However, both the male and female authors in the Heisei era rarely produced both the combinations of honorifics in the email texts. Some examples of the combination (A) are given in the following:

- (7) Men
 - a. *Shite + kudasai*.
'Do + please'
- (8) Women
 - a. *Shite + kudasai + mase*.
'Do + please + polite form'

The Japanese verb, *shiro*, is an imperative form of *suru* (do), and it conjugates *shi-te* when followed by the respectful form, *kudasai* (please). It was observed in the data that while the combination of the verb *shi-te*, and the respectful form *kudasai*, was produced only by the male authors, the combination of *shi-te* and *kudasai* followed by the polite form *mase*, was produced only by the female authors.

4.2. Interactional Particles

In contrast to the frequency of honorifics, interactional particles were rarely produced by both male and female authors in the early Shōwa letter texts (Male: 3.39%, Female: 2.41%), but many were produced in the Heisei email texts (Male: 58.3%, Female: 50%), as shown in Figure 2. Figure 2 shows a clear difference in use between the periods for both genders, but less difference between the genders within both periods.

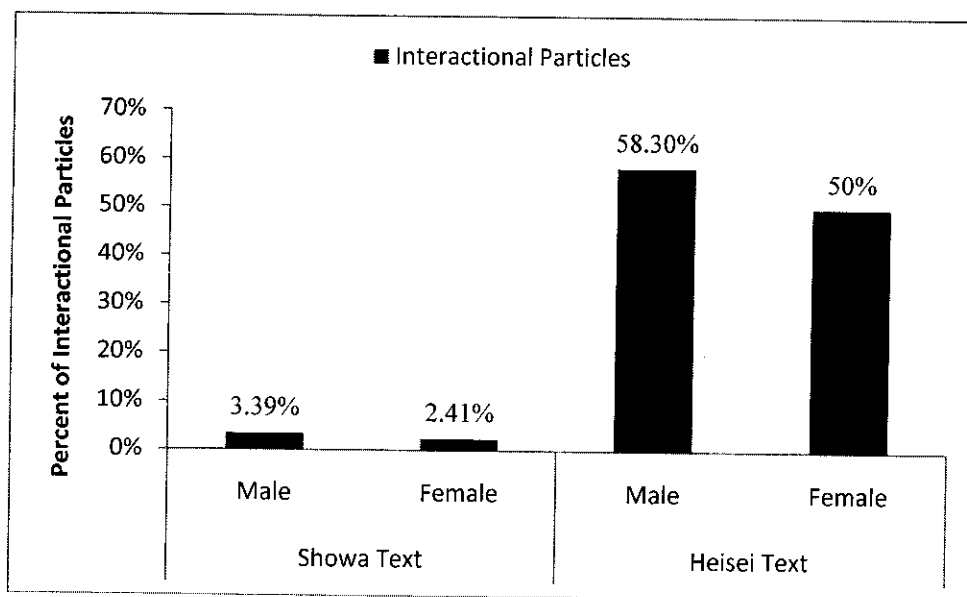


Figure 2: Percent of Interactional Particles out of all the sentences in male and female written texts respectively during both eras.

When interactional particles are analyzed by type, however, differences can be seen. Figure 3 shows the percent of interactional particles produced by the male and female authors in both eras classified into three gender forms. Again, Figure 3 shows that interactional particles occur more frequently in writing from the Heisei era. Looking at the classified gender forms (except 'neutral'), the male authors produced masculine forms more than the female authors (Male: 35.41%; Female: 11.22%), and the female authors produced feminine forms more than the male authors (Male: 1.38%; Female: 7.14%). However, interestingly, more masculine forms were produced than feminine forms by the female authors.

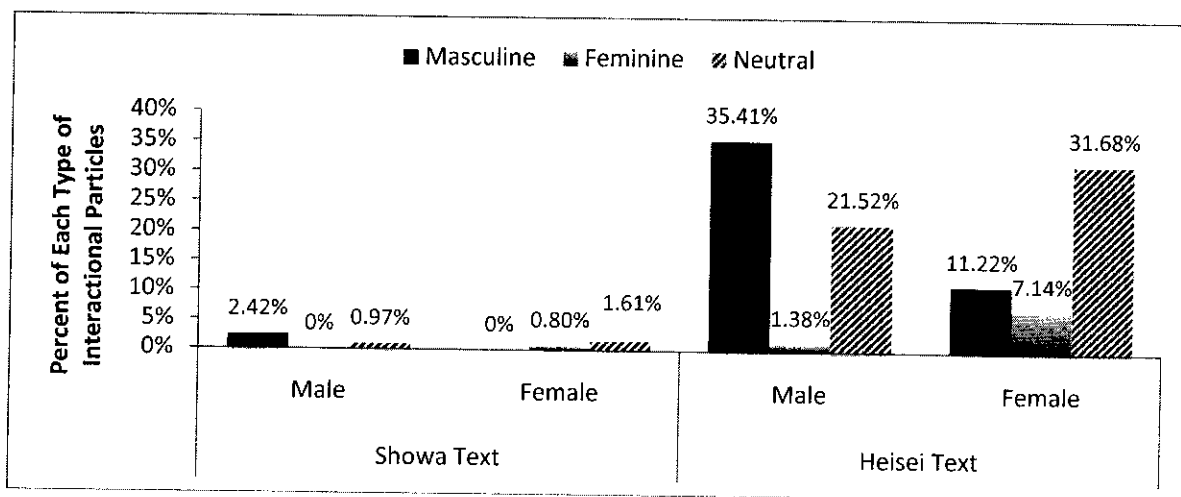


Figure 3: Percent of interactional particle type out of all sentences in male and female written texts during both eras.

4.3. Non-verbal Symbols

The non-verbal symbols appearing in the written texts were commonly the following items and usually occurred in the sentence-final position. The examples are given below:

- (8) a. Pauses (indicated below by ellipses)
Gomennasai...
 'I'm sorry...'
- b. Emoticons
Ohayoo (^-^)
 'Good morning (^-^)'
- c. Phonographic marks
Tanosii ne ♪
 'It's fun, isn't it? ♪'
- d. Exclamations
Osoi yo!!
 'You are late!!'
- e. Parenthetical Chinese character(s)
Itai(涙)
 'It's painful (涙)' 涙= tears

Excepting the Chinese character (涙) in example 8e, all other items are relatively common worldwide. Figure 4 shows the percent of non-verbal symbols produced in email texts.

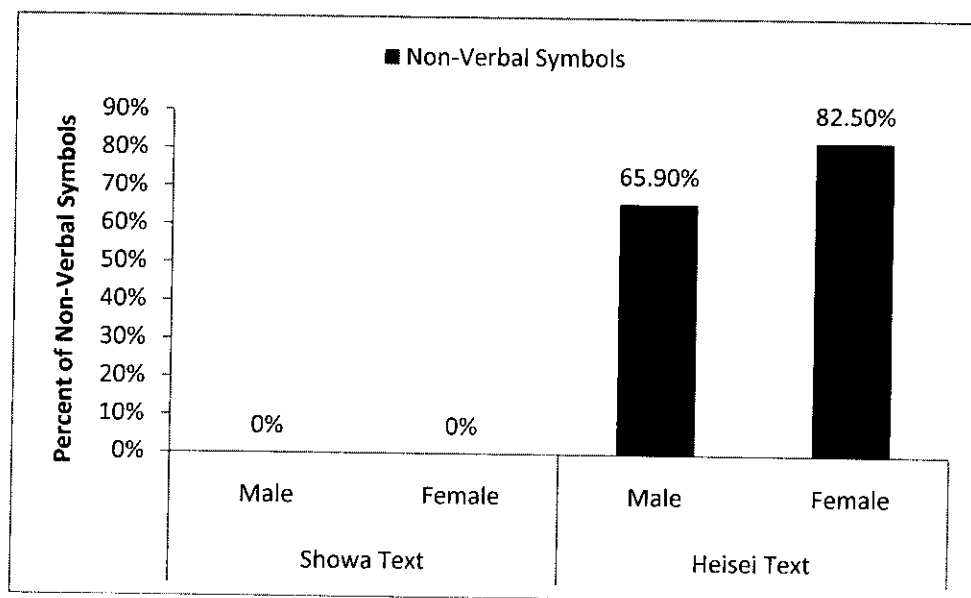


Figure 4: Percent of non-verbal symbols out of all sentences in male and female written texts respectively during both eras.

Figure 4 shows that both the male and female authors ended sentences with non-verbal symbols more than any other form. The greatest frequency is in female writing (82.5%).

5.0. DISCUSSION

Although the sample size was small, the results reveal gender differences in both the letter texts and the email texts. In the early Shōwa era, the gender difference was clear in the use of honorifics; the female authors were likely to speak more politely than the male authors in the letter texts. In the pre-war era in Japan, a commonly held view was that women were socially inferior, and because of this hierarchical structure, they were expected to behave accordingly (Reynolds, 1998). The sentence endings in the Japanese language express the social status between the speaker and the hearer. According to Reynolds (1985), "if the speaker is ranked as superior to the hearer, he or she will be inclined to end the sentence with a more dominant mode than the hearer might use, and vice versa" (p. 15). Further, Lakoff (1973) points out that "the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the way in which women are spoken of" (p. 45). Speaking politely is thus seen to characterize female speech and index their social status. Ide (1979) notes that women's tendency to use more polite forms shows that women are regarded as socially lower than men. Furthermore, Ide points out that the fact that women use humble expressions (more frequently than men) reveals a power relationship that is usually seen in the relationship between merchants and their customers (merchants in Japan are known to use humble styles of speech with their customers). Therefore, it seems safe to assert that the gender difference observed in the letter texts in the early Shōwa era is the result of speech styles caused by a male-dominated society.

Very interestingly, in contrast to the letter texts, honorifics were rarely produced by male and female authors in email texts. This difference may be explained by a cultural change in Japanese society starting after World War II such that women have been treated more equally with men. This change possibly influenced female speech styles, evidenced in the declining use of honorifics in female writing. In contrast, the interactional particles, which were hardly seen in the letter texts, were produced frequently by both genders in the more recent email texts. This shift can be explained by two things: (a) the gradual colloquialization of written Japanese, and (b) the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978).

Brown and Levinson's (1978) notions of psychological distance and politeness help to explain the difference in frequency of honorifics and interactional particles in writing from the Shōwa and the Heisei eras. As Clancy (1982) notes, the formal expository style is normally preferred in writing regardless of any characteristics of the sender and the receiver. In fact, honorifics show not only politeness but also show distance between speakers. If we recall the results, in the letter texts of the early Shōwa era, a certain distance occurs between the sender and the receiver, even between friends. This psychological distance is possibly caused by more use of honorifics or less use of interactional particles. However, there is less and less psychological distance in the email texts of the Heisei era because of more frequent use of interactional particles or infrequent use of honorifics. This gap may be explained by applying the politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1978); a preference is shown for negative politeness and expressing distance between speakers in the early Shōwa era, and a preference is shown for positive politeness and expressing solidarity in the Heisei era. That is, there is a shift from negative politeness (the early Shōwa era) to positive politeness (the Heisei era) in writing.

While gender differences were observed in the use of honorifics in the letter texts of the earlier Shōwa era, gender differences in the Heisei era were observed in the use of interactional particles. With respect to the frequency of the interactional particles, both the male and female authors produced them in at least 50% of all sentences (Male: 58.3%, Female: 50%). Masculine forms were produced more by the male authors (35.41%) than the female authors (11.22%), and feminine forms were produced more by the female authors (1.38%) than the male authors (7.14%). Although the female authors produced more masculine forms than feminine forms, this consequence was expected due to the characteristics of spoken Japanese and a decrease in feminine speech styles among younger Japanese women (Okamoto & Sato, 1992).

Honorifics and interactional particles perform the function of distinguishing gender in written texts as the results show. However, non-verbal symbols, which were prominently produced in the email texts, not in the letter texts, also become a key element in differentiating gender. Although the frequency of the non-verbal symbols was striking regardless of gender in the email texts, the female authors tended to produce them more frequently (Male: 65.97%, Female: 82.65%). Ide (2002) sheds light on the high frequency of interactional particles for both gender groups: "Japanese discourse shows characteristics of a high context culture. Most of the meaningful information is in the context and is shared by the speaker and the hearer, and therefore, only the

new information needs to be stated" (p. 4). In terms of the relationship between the high context culture of Japan and non-verbal symbols in writing, Hamada (2007) notes that usage of non-verbal symbols in email texts represents a characteristic of Japanese communication style that is considered to be high-context culture, and it performs the function of maintaining harmonious relationships. That is, the frequency of the non-verbal symbols observed in this study represents a typical characteristic of Japanese language, and in the nature of the non-verbal symbols in written texts, it is safe to say that it closely relates to human emotions.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In this study, written texts in two different periods (letter texts in the early Shōwa era and email texts in the Heisei era) were analyzed in terms of gender differences. By examining elements which are produced in the sentence-final position, the parallel gender difference was observed in the use of honorifics in the letter texts, and also in the use of phatic communication, which makes use of interactional particles and non-verbal symbols, in the email texts. Honorifics were preferred more in the letter texts and phatic communication was preferred more in the email texts by both the male and female authors. However, in each era, honorifics and phatic communication were respectively preferred more by the female authors than by the male authors. In other words, while there is a general shift from negative politeness (in the Shōwa era) to positive politeness (in the Heisei era), the shift is much more prominent in female writing. And, given the tendency of women to use non-verbal symbols in writing, non-linguistic behavior in writing appears to be another marker of gendered communicative style.

NOTES

1. However, Okamoto and Sato note that not all Japanese people, especially younger generations, will agree with this classification.
2. I used 'Takami, Jun (2004). *Takami Jun: Akiko to no tayori, chiyū to no tayori*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan shinsha.' and 'Ineko, Sata (2006). *Sata Ineko: Nakano Shigeharu, Nogami Yaeko hoka raikan ga kataru nama no sokusek*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan shinsha.'
3. I used my personal emails received from my friends.
4. Japanese language allows combinations of more than one honorific in the sentence final position to show more politeness.

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'CO-OPERATIVE' MEN: PHATIC COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA MASCULINITY IN JAPANESE MEN'S CONVERSATIONS

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ABSTRACT

In this study, I analyze the phatic communication strategies used in male-male conversations in a recent Japanese television program to reveal that the men depicted use co-constructing strategies more often than controlling strategies in discourse. With the emergence of new images of masculinity in Japanese media, I argue that the traditional expectations of men's conversational styles are changing as well, and that images of men establishing connection and intimacy in communication are becoming increasingly visible in today's Japan.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

During the bubble of high economic growth in the 1980's and 1990's, marriage-seeking Japanese women were said to look for the 'three H's' in men: high income, high education, and high physical stature (Mathews, 2003; Miller, 2003). These days, in the midst of recession, there is talk of the 'three C's' instead—comfortable, communicative, and cooperative (Mathews, 2003; Miller, 2003). The 'modern' man can bring home only a 'comfortable' income, but he must be communicative and cooperative rather than a competitively-driven businessman. As I will discuss below, the image of 'ideal masculinity' as reflected in these terms is under pressure to change not just from marriage-seeking women but from all corners of society as Japan's business and economic structures face drastic reconfiguration. This paper examines the 'traditional' images of masculinity in postwar and contemporary Japan and attempts to locate communicative, cooperative speech strategies by Japanese men—as demonstrated in a recent televised variety program—within new emerging media images of a 'softer', less competitive masculinity.

2.0. IMAGES OF MASCULINITY IN JAPAN

In discussing images of masculinity in modern-day Japan, I caution that the concept of 'masculinity' is itself a subject of much controversy. The study of what it means to be 'masculine' finds early roots in psychoanalytical studies of Freud, Horney, and Jung, and in social psychology, which largely sought to define masculinity in terms of a normative 'sex role'. However, in more recent years the subject has been recognized in a wider variety of fields, including anthropology, history, and linguistics, and has received critical attention in particular from proponents of gay theory and feminist theory. This variety of perspectives on masculinity has understandably led to a multitude of conflicting and competing definitions; as Connell (1995) observes, "there is no masculine entity whose occurrences in all societies we can generalize about... the things designated by the term in different cases are logically incommensurable" (p. 44).

Thus there is no single, overarching conceptualization of masculinity upon which to draw for comparisons and conclusions. However, in this study, it is not the focus to examine the psychological constructions of masculinity by the everyday man, but rather to look at the *representations* of masculinity as found in the depictions of men in media images. Therefore, my discussion of masculinity will be limited to broad, prescriptive archetypes and their promotion by the media to Japanese society.

2.1. Salaryman Masculinity

There are many images of so-called masculinity in the Japanese media: the fierce samurai portrayed in historical dramas, the athlete praised for prowess on news programs, the young pop idol groomed for good looks and charisma on music and variety shows. All appear, sometimes simultaneously, as possible conceptualizations of masculine identity. However, a dominant icon on which media images of masculinity are often based is the *sarariiman*, or 'salaryman' (Dasgupta, 2003).

Broadly, the salaryman may be described as a middle-class white-collar office worker, generally employed in a large corporation or firm and expected to follow a seniority-based track of salaries and promotions until retirement. The history of this archetype finds its roots in the push for modernization and economic growth in Japan, starting in the Meiji Era after the forced re-opening of the country to the outside

world, and progressing rapidly after World War II. Defeated and occupied by the U.S., Japan turned to the production of economic power rather than military power in order to gain recognition as a nation, and embarked on a period of expansion in industry and trade. Subsequently, this push for economic superiority encouraged the men of the nation to be hard-working, productive, and competitive in business.

Vogel (1971, 1979) describes the salaryman of the 1960's, the security and affluence this everyman worked for, and the new 'bright life' he was entitled to in the rapidly growing economy. With the guarantee of lifetime employment and a steadily-increasing salary, the salaryman was a symbol of the ideal man: able to provide a comfortable living and education for his family. Media of the 1960's and 1970's focused on the salaryman-centered nuclear family as a target, selling the latest products and technologies in accordance with the increasing affluence of the "Economic Miracle" they were creating (Dasgupta, 2003). The catch, of course, to this guaranteed lifestyle was that the salaryman was expected to devote himself to his company with utmost loyalty; once integrated into the company's hierarchy, he could not leave for another company without causing offense and possibly serious damage to his employability. However, Vogel (1971) views this system of lifetime devotion in a positive light: "By being committed to the firm for life and receiving many benefits for his long-term service, he [the salaryman], in fact, ordinarily feels loyal and genuinely interested in the firm's welfare. Thus the salary man has solid grounds for self-respect in his basic value system" (p. 160).

Dasgupta (2003) notes that the defeat in WWII and the subsequent focus on economic transformation also played a part in the rise of the salaryman figure. Each rendered the previous masculine ideals of the soldier and the farmer obsolete: "...the salaryman, as reflected in the term *kigyo senshi* [corporate warrior] ... appeared to replace the soldier as the new masculine ideal" (p. 122). The salaryman was expected to embody the values of loyalty, diligence and self-sacrifice in all aspects of life including behavior, appearance, consumer habits, and even verbal and body language.

2.2. The Decline of the Salaryman Image

The salaryman image held sway throughout the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's. But in more recent years, especially with the decline of the Japanese economy in the 1990's and the subsequent recession, the salaryman image has lost much of its appeal. Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda (1995) sum up many of the negative traits that have come to be associated with the salaryman:

...a workaholic who toils long hours for Mitsubishi or Sony or some other large corporation, goes out drinking with his fellow workers or clients after work and plays golf with them on weekends, and rarely spends much time at home with his wife and children, much less does anything around the house, such as cleaning or changing diapers. (p. 229)

Mathews (2003) analyzes the construction of masculinity using the concept of *ikigai*, or 'that which makes life worth living', and observes that while many older men take pride in living utterly devoted to their work, younger generations are less certain about their priorities. Devoting oneself entirely to one's company is exhausting and often unfulfilling, and for many men leaves no time or energy for anything else. Many in Mathews' study expressed a desire to devote more time to family and to themselves.

Moreover, the salaryman image does not appeal to women as strongly as it might once have. Since the 1980's, women have participated increasingly in the workforce, and although the numbers are still comparatively low, more women are choosing to get married and have children later or not at all (Jolivet, 1997). Fewer women are willing to give up their lifestyles to become housewives to distant, absent husbands, and many women who are married with children have begun to insist on the father's increased involvement at home, such as helping with housework and childcare. The dropping birthrate has even led to a similar stance from the government in campaign attempts to find a solution, with the promotion of images of men as caring, involved fathers (Ishii-Kuntz, 2003).

These influences have begun to affect the image of men as depicted in media: in recent years, the 'caring father' has made appearances in everything from dramas to variety shows to news programs. Particularly telling of this influence is a commercial for laundry detergent (currently airing as of this writing) which depicts a father, presumably meant to stand in for the everyday salaryman, helping prepare the child for a bath and generally showing interest and involvement in his family. Although it is evident in the commercial that

the mother is still the one who actually does the laundry, the detergent product is strongly associated with the father and his increased emotional involvement in the home. This and numerous other examples make it clear that, though still a dominant figure in media images of men, the distant and uninvolved salaryman is losing ground as an effective model of masculinity in contemporary Japan.

3.0. PHATIC COMMUNICATION

Phatic communication refers to the interaction between the speaker and the hearer and their mutual involvement in a conversation. The notion of this aspect of language use was first derived by Malinowsky (1923), who coined the term “phatic communion” to describe a function of language that “serves to establish bonds of personal union between people... and does not serve any purpose in communicating ideas” (p. 315). The term was later picked up by Jakobson (1960), who counted “phatic” as one of his six factors of verbal communication, defining it as “primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works... to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention...” (p. 355). From this foundation, the notion of phatic communication has developed to denote the effort between both speaker and hearer to form a connection and achieve a level of solidarity in communication with each other.

There are several linguistic elements in the Japanese language which play a role in this type of communication (which will be described in greater detail below). A great deal of analysis has been done on these elements; however, while research has frequently investigated aspects of phatic communication in Japanese women’s conversations (see Ehara et al., 1993; Wetzel, 1991), to my knowledge there is as yet no research on the use of phatic communication in Japanese men’s speech.

3.1. Interactional Particles

The particles *ne* and *sa* function as markers at the end of a phrase to signal that the speaker is checking whether the listener is involved in what s/he is saying. While both particles perform this function, *sa* has been characterized as being more forceful and has often been associated with masculine speech (McGloin, 1990; Sreetharan, 2004, Uyeno, 1971). Further, while *ne* is used with both formal and informal forms in speech, *sa* generally only occurs with informal forms (Uyeno, 1971).

Ne and *sa* are often categorized as sentence-final particles (see Sreetharan, 2004; Uyeno, 1971), but according to data presented in Reynolds (2000), the *ne* is used more often in non-sentence-final positions (1,764 uses to 1,469) while *sa* is used only in non-final positions. Cook (1990) notes as well that speakers frequently use *ne* between phrases to “maintain the addressee’s involvement in the speaker’s talk, thus mitigating the fact that the speaker is keeping the floor” (p. 35). (See also Maynard, 1997.). My own observations in this study confirm this. Both *ne* and *sa* occur frequently after short phrases within a longer structure. An example from the television data used in this study demonstrates this usage (*ne/sa* in bold):¹

- (1) N: nanka yaranakereba naranai to koto naru to tabun/ () mo ii daroo **ne** uee tte kichau-n da
ne/ <S: un> dakara tabun aa tte ore ga yabee shaberenee to omotte/ <S: un> () da to ka
sa/ <S: un un un> atama daiji jan ka/ <S: un un un> nanka happyo shinakya ikenai koto to ka
sa/

N: probably when it turns into a situation where something has to be done/ () is probably enough, it hits me all at once/ <S: uh-huh> so probably when ‘aah!’ I’m thinking, ‘oh no, I can’t talk’/ <S: uh-huh> () and all/ <S: uh-huh, uh-huh> the beginning’s important, right/ <S: uh-huh, uh-huh> when something has to be announced

3.2. Back-channeling

The <...> marks seen in example (1) indicate the listener’s feedback to the speaker, not necessarily signaling agreement with what is being said but simply showing that s/he is listening. These back-channels (also known as *aizuchi*) “signal to the speaker that the speaker’s turn should continue. The listener conveys an understanding that the extended event of talk is in progress. ...The listener is simply passing on the opportunity to take over the ‘floor.’ Thus, [the back-channel cues] are signals of the collaborative nature of discourse...” (LoCastro, 1987, p. 104). LoCastro goes on the conjecture that back-channel cues indicate that those involved

are "willingly participating in the co-operative interactional discourse act" (p. 104) when the cues are used synchronously with the speaker's utterances (and possibly indicate the listener's refusal to co-operate when used asynchronously).

Reynolds (2000) sets the use of *ne* and *sa* particles and the use of feedback cues as counterparts to each other in the respective terms of "channeling" and "back-channeling." In channeling, the speaker seeks to affirm his/her connection with the hearer. In back-channeling, the listener uses verbal or physical cues (such as nodding) to demonstrate his/her interest and/or support to the speaker. Together, these two counterparts form a phatic interaction between the speaker and hearer, an indication of involvement on both sides to produce a single discourse.

3.3. Latching and Interruption

To explain these aspects of communication, a brief explanation of the conversation turn-taking system proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) is first required. A conversation consists of turns of speaking taken by its participants. In any given dialogue, there are points at which a speaker may end a turn and another speaker (or the same speaker) may be selected to take the next turn, either by the current speaker or through self-selection (speaking up on his/her own). These points are referred to as "transition-relevant places."

Latching occurs when the current speaker finishes the end of a turn and reaches a transition-relevant place, and another speaker starts immediately after with no overlap or gap in speech. As demonstrated in example (2), latching (indicated by = = joining the end of one turn with next) can occur in a series of sequential turns, each speaker starting a turn immediately after the previous speaker has finished. This style of conversation requires each participant to pay close attention to what the other is saying in order to have an answer prepared, without pausing to think and creating a gap between turns, and also requires that the speaker ending a turn willingly give up the next turn to another speaker. Latching, therefore, invokes high involvement and cooperation between the participants in a conversation.

- (2) T: nanka otonashii kanji ga suru kedo sa/ <G:uun> jitsu wa sugoi shaberu yo ne=
 G: =@oshaberi da ore@=
 T: =ne=
 G: =uun=
 T: =sore koso ichiban ano: nante iu-n daroo=
 G: =soo da ne/ ano tsune ni kawaranai kamoshirenai ne

T: you're like that/ umm what should I say/ umm on TV/ <G: uh-huh> you have a sort of cool air/ <G: uh-huh> somehow you give off a mature air but/ <G: uh-huh> you're actually really talkative=
 G: =@I'm a talker@=
 T: =right=
 G: =yeah=
 T: =that's why you're the most umm what should I say=
 G: =that's true/ um I might be constantly the same

Interruption occurs when another speaker starts to take the next turn before the current speaker has reached or indicated the approach of a turn's end.² Ehara, et al. describe two possible types of this phenomenon: Type 1, in which the first speaker continues his/her turn despite the interruption (usually resulting in the new speaker stopping); and Type 2, in which the first speaker ends his/her turn prematurely and the new speaker continues. While both types can be interpreted as attempts to control the conversation by one of the speakers—in the former case by the first speaker refusing to forfeit speaking ground to the new speaker, and in the latter by the new speaker claiming a speaking turn without letting the first speaker finish—in Type 1 the first speaker holds the right to continue speaking according to the turn-based conversation system. Ehara et al. consider Type 2 to be a much stronger indicator of attempting to control the conversation, and it is this type of interruption I will examine below.

3.4. Phatic Communication and Masculinity

Tannen (1991) characterizes the speech of most men broadly as "primarily a means to preserve independence and negotiate and maintain status in a hierarchical social order," and the speech of most women

as "primarily a language of rapport: a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships" (p. 77). In other words, men understand conversation as a form of competition, while women understand it as a form of connection.

McConnell-Ginet (1989) describes a similar contrast, stating "studies of single-sex conversation ... suggest that women regard conversation more as a cooperative enterprise than as a competition, enlarging on and acknowledging one another's contributions, and signaling active listening by nods and *mmhms* during a partner's turn..." (p. 42). In contrast, "men generally view conversation more individualistically and less socially, with each participant's contribution self-contained and the "right" to one's own turn taking priority over any "responsibility" to others during their turns" (p. 42).

Ehara, Yoshii, and Yamazaki (2001), in a study of the communication strategies used by male and female students in conversation, found that Japanese men were more likely to use strategies which exerted control over the conversation, in particular through silence or lack of back-channels and through interruption. Women, on the other hand, were found to prefer strategies that supported a mutually-constructed conversation.

Nakamura (2003), drawing from experience in counseling men who have committed domestic violence, observes that "masculine styles of communication in Japan [are] characterized either by silence... or by aggressive speech" and that "gender norms suggest to men not only that talkativeness cannot form or reconfirm their masculinity but that it may reveal 'unmanly' weaknesses, worries, pains and possibly tears" (p. 168). Japanese men, he argues, learn to express themselves through competition and aggression, and lack effective role models in expressing emotions in words.

I believe these characterizations can be applied to what is expected of salaryman masculinity: independence and competition for speaking ground are underlying in speech, whereas establishing connections and intimacy, especially through the cooperative phatic communication strategies discussed above, are not. In the cross-purpose nature of the styles of 'masculine' and 'feminine' speech as observed by Tannen and Ehara et al., we can see a possible connection with the decreasing appeal of the salaryman as a husband and father. Together with the emergence of new images of masculinity in Japanese media, I argue that the traditional expectations of men's conversational style are also undergoing change and that images of men using phatic communication strategies and establishing connection and intimacy in communication are becoming increasingly visible in contemporary Japan.

4.0. DATA ANALYSIS

The main data for this study comes from five conversations taking place between five men during an episode of a variety television show recorded in 2003. The participants are all men around the age of 30 who have worked together as part of a musical group for approximately 15 years at the time of the recording. They were divided into rotating pairs (subjects N and T were paired together, then T and G, G and K, K and S, and finally S and N) and had a conversation for 20 minutes, of which approximately 10 minutes each were broadcast. The conversations were conducted alone, without the presence of staff in the room, but the participants were aware of being filmed and were not given any prompting on what to talk about. Participants spoke for roughly equal amounts of time in each conversation; that is, no conversation was dominated by one speaker holding the floor more often than the other.

Table 1: Subjects and Respective Ages by Conversation

Conversation	Subjects	Age of Each Subject
1	N + T	31, 29
2	T + G	29, 30
3	G + K	30, 31
4	K + S	31, 26
5	S + N	26, 31

Because data were filmed material and edited for televised entertainment, there are frequent changes in angle in which often only one of the speakers is visible on screen. Due to this, it is impossible to obtain an accurate count of nonverbal back-channels and as such only verbal cues were counted (including interactional particles, back-channels, latches, and Type 2 interruptions).

4.1. Interactional Particles and Back-channeling

As evident in Figures 1 and 2, not all of the conversations featured a high level of phatic communication. Conversations 4 and 5 in particular featured relatively few linguistic markers of phatic communication due to lower usage of interactional particles and back-channels by one or both of the participants. There are many factors that may explain this variation, such as personal speaking style or possible desire for disaffiliation with the conversation partner, but such aspects are beyond the scope of this paper. For the purposes of this study, I will focus on conversations 1, 2, and 3.

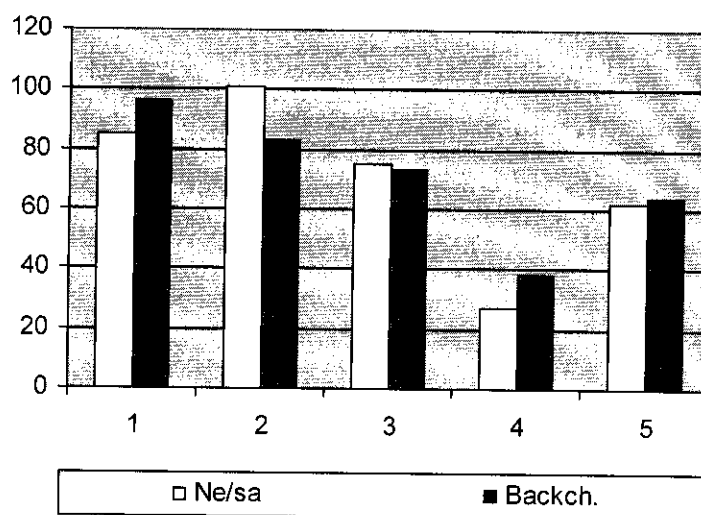


Figure 1: Total Uses of Interactional Particles and Back-channels by Conversation

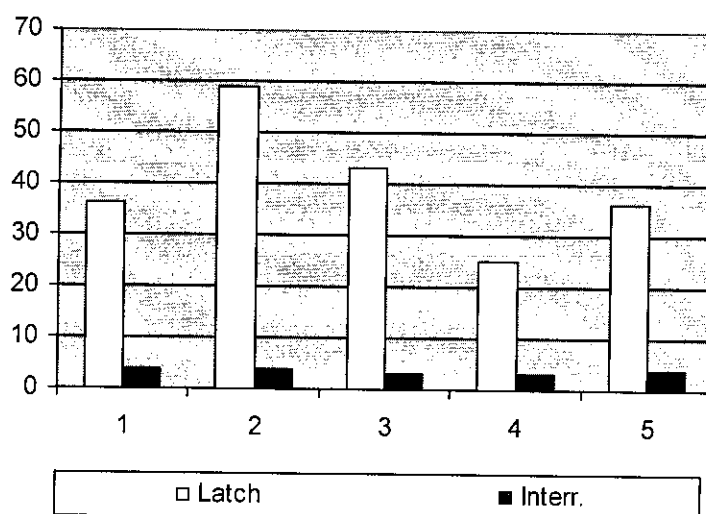


Figure 2: Total Latches and Type 2 Interruptions by Conversation

4.1.1. Conversation 1

Conversation 1 featured subjects N and T (Table 2). In approximately 64 conversation turns (not including back-channel responses), N used the interactional particle *ne* 25 times and *sa* 12 times; in total, 37 instances of interactional particles occurred in his speech. T took slightly fewer non-back-channel turns with approximately 49 turns, within which he used *ne* 33 times and *sa* 15 times for a total of 48 uses altogether.

Back-channels occurred a total of 46 times in N's speech, of which 13 were in conjunction with interactional particles used by T. In T's speech, back-channels occurred a total of 50 times, 10 of which were in conjunction with interactional particles used by N. Although the nature of the data makes it impossible to take an exact count, it is worth noting here that both parties also displayed frequent head nodding in place of or during a verbal cue.

Table 2: Conversation 1 Totals for Turns, Interactional Particles, Back-channels and Co-occurrences

Subject	Turns (approx.)	<i>Ne, sa</i> (Total)	Back-channels	Co-occurrences
N	64	25, 12 (37)	46	13
T	49	33, 15 (48)	50	10

Out of a possible (approximate) 64 turns, N demonstrated latching 17 times and Type 2 interruption 2 times. T, of a possible 69 turns, demonstrated latching 19 times and Type 2 interruption 2 times (Table 3).

Table 3: Conversation 1 Totals for Latches and Type 2 Interruptions

Subject	Latches	Type 2 Interruptions
N	17	2
T	19	2

4.1.2. Conversation 2

Conversation 2 featured subjects T and G. As shown in Table 4, within approximately 61 conversation turns, T used *ne* 36 times and *sa* 20 times for a total of 56 uses of interactional particles altogether. G, over an approximate 65 turns, used *ne* 36 times as well, but used *sa* only 9 times; in total, 45 instances occurred in his speech overall.

Back-channels occurred in 36 times in T's speech, including 9 instances in conjunction with interactional particles from G. G gave back-channels 47 times, of which 21 instances occurred in conjunction with interactional particles from T. Similar to conversation 1, both T and G exhibited frequent head nodding in place of or together with verbal back-channels.

Table 4: Conversation 2 Totals for Turns, Interactional Particles, Back-channels and Co-occurrences

Subject	Turns (approx.)	<i>Ne, sa</i> (Total)	Back-channels	Co-occurrences
T	61	36, 20 (56)	36	9
G	65	36, 9 (45)	47	21

Out of 61 possible turns, T demonstrated 31 instances of latching (Table 5). He did not demonstrate Type 2 interruption during Conversation 2. Similarly, out of approximately 65 possible turns, G demonstrated latching 28 times, but also demonstrated Type 2 interruption 3 times.

Table 5: Conversation 2 Totals for Latches and Type 2 Interruptions

Subject	Latches	Type 2 Interruptions
T	31	0
G	28	3

4.1.3. Conversation 3

Conversation 3 featured subjects G and K (Table 6). Within approximately 59 turns, G used *ne* 25 times and *sa* 6 times; in total, interactional particles occurred 31 times in his speech. K, taking approximately 60 turns, used both *ne* and *sa* 22 times each for a total of 44 uses altogether.

Back-channels occurred 56 times in G's speech, of which 12 instances were in conjunction with interactional particles from K. K, on the other hand, gave verbal back-channels only 17 times, of which only 2 occurred in conjunction with interactional particles from G. K's usage of back-channels in conversation 4 is also relatively low (25 instances); it may be possible to conjecture that this low usage is reflective of his particular style of speaking.

Table 6: Conversation 3 Totals for Turns, Interactional Particles, Back-channels and Co-occurrences

Subject	Turns (approx.)	<i>Ne, sa</i> (Total)	Back-channels	Co-occurrences
G	59	25, 6 (31)	56	12
K	60	22, 22 (44)	17	2

Out of (approximately) 59 possible turns, G demonstrated latching 23 times and Type 2 interruption once. K, out of a possible 60 turns, demonstrated 20 instances of latching and 2 instances of Type 2 interruption (Table 7).

Table 7: Conversation 3 Totals for Latches and Type 2 Interruptions

Subject	Latches	Type 2 Interruptions
G	23	1
K	20	2

4.2. Discussion

As shown in section 4.1., the participants in Conversations 1, 2, and 3 demonstrate frequent usage of interactional particles, back-channels, and latches in comparison to the approximate number of conversation turns taken, and demonstrate infrequent use of Type 2 interruption towards each other. Conversation 2 in particular displayed the highest levels of phatic elements: T used interactional particles 56 times over 61 possible turns or 0.92 times per turn, equaling approximately 1 use per turn, while G used interactional particles 45 times over 65 possible turns or about 0.69 times per turn, equaling at least 1 use every other turn. Latching occurred in nearly half of all turns taken. By comparison, in Conversation 4 (which displayed the least use of phatic elements overall) K used interactional particles 14 times over 65 possible turns or about 0.20 times per turn, while S used interactional particles 13 times over 67 possible turns or about 0.21 times per turn. Both K and S's ratios equal roughly 1 use occurring every 5 turns. Similarly, latching occurred in only about one-fifth of all turns taken.³

Overall, in the above three conversations and in Conversations 4 and 5, Type 2 interruption occurred very rarely. Furthermore, while there were indeed instances in which one conversant interrupted the other's conversation turn, in many cases the interjected speech was an elaboration of a statement just previous, followed by yielding the floor, or an agreement with what the speaker was saying. A closer examination of what exactly is being said in these instances is needed to determine whether the interrupting speaker is truly attempting to exert control over the conversation.

Overall, this study shows a high frequency of phatic communication in 3 of the 5 conversations analyzed. Although there are still aspects of communication present, such as interruptions, that emphasize independence and competitiveness, the overall image created by the data is of connected, cooperative dialogue. Though we must keep in mind that this particular example is an example of communication between men, and not between men and women as might be considered more applicable to the issues being raised in Japan's changing society, I believe that this image of men sitting down and talking openly and cooperatively on television is nonetheless part of a gradual break from traditional ideas of masculinity taking place in media representations in Japan.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This paper gave a brief overview of some of the issues 'traditional' masculinity in Japan is facing in today's society, and examined the frequent use of phatic communication in televised male-male conversations as a potential shift of Japanese masculine speech towards more cooperative, rapport-building strategies. While the study presented here shows results that contradict the general perceptions of Japanese masculine speech, broader investigation is necessary to determine whether these results truly indicate a shift in speech styles or are an isolated incident. Furthermore, a solid data-based analysis of phatic communication in male-male conversations from earlier times is needed for proper comparison. A thorough study of the phatic communication usage between men on television shows of the 1960's and 1970's, the peak era of the salaryman, would provide a great deal of information on media expectations of masculine speech during that time and reveal the changes in these expectations that occurred over subsequent decades. This study provides a starting look at the use of phatic communication by contemporary Japanese men, and it is hoped that future research will continue to explore the subject in further depth. Such research will help illuminate the past, present, and possible future perceptions of masculinity in Japan.

NOTES

1. The following symbols are used in the transcripts provided:
 - / very short pause within a speaker's turn
 - : indicates the sound which precedes it is drawn-out
 - [indicates when another speaker starts during current speaker's turn
 - <> indicates approximate timing of verbal back-channels during current speaker's turn
 - = indicates latching from one turn to the next
 - @ laughter, laughing tone when placed on both sides of speech
 - () indicates unintelligible speech
2. A similar phenomenon, *overlap*, can occur a new speaker begins when the first speaker has indicated (through signals such as variation in articulation) that the turn's end may be approaching, but has not yet reached a transfer-relevant place. Although the new speaker begins before the first speaker has finished, the first speaker generally finishes the turn shortly after the new speaker has begun. It is often unclear whether this type of behavior may be interpreted as controlling (new speaker attempts to take turn sooner rather than wait for first speaker to finish) or cooperative (new speaker displays enthusiastic involvement and anticipates next turn in order to maintain pace of conversation); Tannen (1991) points out that the interpretation of such overlapping may depend more on personal speaking style and expectations than a single universal perspective.
3. The actual length of a turn may vary greatly; the ratios given here do not indicate the actual distribution but are used to reflect the overall average usage.

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VOICES OF LEARNERS OF HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the multiple identities of Hawaiian language learners that emerge during talk. In this paper, I focused on one participant who is from Hawai'i but grew up on the U.S. mainland. Goffman's framing theory (1974) is applied to analyze how the participant categorizes herself and others who live within and outside of Hawai'i. The analysis is complemented by ethnographic data. The analysis reveals the complex and multiple aspects of the participant's identities. Through her talk, she frames herself as Hawaiian and positions herself as a 'non-authentic' Pidgin speaker and 'non-authentic' Local.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Hawai'i is well-known for its multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual society. An important research area emerging from this cultural milieu is the investigation of Pidgin, or Hawai'i Creole, a language spoken by people in Hawai'i, especially by those who are categorized in some way as being Local.¹ A further Local research concern relates to the revitalization of the indigenous Hawaiian language, which more people are learning as their first or second language.

In the beginning of 1970s, the revitalization movement of the native Hawaiian culture—the "Hawaiian Renaissance"—was inspired by the U.S. civil rights movement in the 1960's (Wilson, 1998a; Wilson, 1998b; Matsubara, 2006). A similar revitalization movement of the Maori language was taking place in New Zealand at roughly the same time. The result of these political movements in Hawai'i has been the development of language programs that provide students the opportunity to learn through the medium of the Hawaiian language from kindergarten through to doctoral-level courses at Hawaiian universities.

I had the good fortune of meeting students who were attending Hawaiian immersion programs and allowed to visit a few Hawaiian language schools—a very memorable event. I witnessed the revitalization of the Hawaiian language first hand and saw that more and more children are growing up as bilingual speakers of Hawaiian. Moreover, this event made me aware of the heterogeneous population of Hawaiian learners and caused me to wonder about the kinds of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identities for such individuals.

Hawaiian language education has been widely researched (e.g., Huebner, 1985; Kapon, 1994; Slaughter, 1997; Wilson, 1998a; Wilson 1998b, Warner, 1999; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). However, these studies have tended to focus on language policy or pedagogy. Few studies have focused on the voices of the learners themselves (e.g., Maka'ai, Shintani, Cabral & Wilson, 1998). Further, despite increasing numbers of students who are taking Hawaiian language classes at college and university levels (Warner, 1999), little research attention has been focused on the language learning experiences of students in these situations.

In addition, research on Hawaiian language learning has yet to look at the development of particular learner identities. As noted elsewhere, language is used as an ethnic identity marker (Spolsky, 1998; Fishman & Garcia, 2010). If so, we might ask what kinds of identities arise for Hawaiian language learners? What sorts of identities do Hawaiian learners with mixed ethnic backgrounds experience? To what degree is Hawaiian language used as an ethnic identity marker? How is Hawaiianess instantiated, and to what degree does Hawaiianess interact with the cultural identity of 'localness'? Consider that there are various definitions for what it means to be Local (Yamamoto, 1974; Okamura, 1994; Lum, 1997; Rosa, 2000; Young, 2004). If learners of Hawaiian identify themselves as Local, are their self-conceptions similar or different to the definitions of localness in published academic research? With these questions in mind, I decided to look at identities of learners of Hawaiian at the college level as represented in learner talk.

In the current study, I investigate how learning Hawaiian affects identity construction. I interviewed students from Hawai'i who are taking Hawaiian language classes at the college level (in Hawai'i). In this study, I define "students from Hawai'i" as individuals who were either born and raised in Hawai'i or who explicitly

stated that Hawai'i was their home, although they may have spent some time outside of Hawai'i in the past. Further, as an analytical tool, I apply framing theory by Goffman (1974).

The research is based on interviews with learners of Hawaiian. I recognize that these learners are from a heterogeneous population and they have their own views on language, people, and places in Hawai'i. Thus, it is important to emphasize that I do not intend to generalize my findings to all learners of Hawaiian language.

2.0. LOCAL IDENTITY IN HAWAI'I

Lum (1997) points out that hardship experienced at plantations, and during World War II, contributed to the development of Local culture. Moreover, he adds how Local culture has developed based on native Hawaiian culture.

(The immigrant laborers) entered a native Hawaiian culture that valued interpersonal relationships and love for the land. Their own values of family loyalty, obligation, and reciprocity coincided with those of native Hawaiians: an orientation that valued harmony between people, minimized personal gain or achievement, and shared natural resources. This cultural accommodation on the part of native Hawaiians and immigrant labor was born out of a tradition of hardship, struggle, and conflict that counters the romantic notions of blended cultures, the melting pot, or a multiethnic Hawai'i based on a democratic sharing of cultures. (p. 4)

Lum's definition of Local culture is collective and focuses on how Local culture was created by both native Hawaiians and descendants of immigrants.

However, other scholars define Local differently. Rosa (2000) defines localness by focusing on its historical aspects; in addition to being a designation denoting either native Hawaiians or the descendants of immigrant groups, Local signifies a historical relationship based on a commonality among working-class people of color and difference from whites.

According to Rosa (2000) and Okamura (2008), Local was used for the first time in 1931 to classify people from Hawai'i as different from people from the mainland. The word was used during the Massie case in which five local men were accused of kidnapping and raping a woman from the mainland. Rosa (2000) argues that this event became an unforgettable cultural memory and continues to define localness even today. This case has been talked about repeatedly in diverse ways: in books, university classes, in TV dramas, and historical tours. For Rosa, "the case itself and narratives of it in the postwar years have consistently served as a means to express local identity as a cultural identity continually in the making" (p. 100).

Rosa (2000) also points out that Local is not only a cultural identity but also an "inherently political identity" (p. 101). He warns that it can blur the "historical difference" between native Hawaiians and settlers who mainly came from Asia at the end of nineteenth century and in the beginning of twentieth century (p. 101). In the 1980s and 1990s, the enhancement of Local identity occurred due to political and economical factors (Okamura, 1994). These factors included (a) Japanese investment, (b) tourism, (c) Hawaiian sovereignty, and (d) conflicts among ethnic groups. Due to foreign investment and tourism, "local identity has been maintained as an expression of resistance and opposition, to ... outside domination and intrusion" (Okamura, 1994, p. 174).

Okamura discusses how the Hawaiian sovereignty movement in the 1970s caused crucial changes in ethnic relations (Okamura, 1994, p. 169). Young (2004) argues that non-native Locals who identify themselves as Local have gradually "felt displaced in the only 'home' they have known" because of the native Hawaiian sovereignty movement (Young, 2004, p. 81). Similarly, Fujikane (1997) points out that "local identity is often used as a means of self-legitimation at the expense of peoples who face ongoing political struggles in Hawai'i" (Fujikane, 1997, pp. 57-58). Rosa also notes that identifying as a Local can be considered "a reactionary response by settler peoples who perceive the sovereignty movement as a threat to the solidarity among Hawai'i residents" (Rosa, 2000, pp. 101-102).

Given this historical background of the development of Local culture and Local identity by different perspectives characterized by academic voices in academic discourse, I return to framework of this study, which looks at *in situ* expressions of localness and Local identity during actual talk and interaction.

3.0. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. A Constructivist Perspective

In this study, I take a constructivist perspective on doing interviews and analyzing data. According to Hatch (2002), "constructivists assume a world in which universal, absolute realities are unknowable, and the objects of inquiry are individual perspectives or constructions of reality" (p. 15). In line with these ideas, I take the view that multiple realities exist within the research event. Through the interview, the participants and I join together in the process of co-constructing the reality of our interaction. Reality is what the participants and I agree it is. Also, this shared and mutually constructed reality is fundamentally shaped by the context of the interview: who the interactants are, how the interviewee perceives me, how I perceive the interviewee, and what we share during our discussion, are all produced by and unique to the interview interaction. Thus, the truth-value of my participants' testimony is not a research concern. Rather, I analyze how they tell me specific stories in specific ways—how they strategically use language—to construct the dialogue in ways that portray certain cultural identities. The notion of "frame" (Goffman, 1974) allows analysis of these types of phenomena in interview speech, a term I define later in the paper.

3.2. The Active Interview

My conception of the interview is in line with Holstein and Gubrium (2004): "all interviews are active interviews" (p. 140). No matter how the interviewer tries to avoid being involved in the interview process (e.g., to preserve the objectivity of interview data), it is impossible to do so. Even when the interviewer chooses participants for the interview, they already assume "some image or model of the subject behind the interview participant" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004, p. 148). Thus, the interview is an inevitably active event.

I also follow the approach of Atkinson & Coffey (2002) by regarding the interview as a space in which interactants produce accounts and narratives during the interview interaction, as opposed to a tool that obtains information about participants' "non-observable or unobserved actions, or past events or private experiences" (p. 810). Similarly, Warren (2002) points out "the purpose of most qualitative interviewing is to derive interpretations, not facts or laws, from respondent talk" (p. 83). Thus, the purpose of interviewing the participants in my study is not to excavate authentic information, but rather to co-construct accounts and narratives through the interaction between the participants and myself.

3.3. Discursive Identity

I take a discursive approach in investigating participants' identities. In this study, I take the view that participants' identities are constructed through narrative discourse. Autobiographical narrative can build the self of the narrator by describing oneself as a specific kind of a person (Wortham, 2000).

4.0. THE STUDY

4.1. Methodology

Interviews were semi-structured. I prepared ten questions related to the interviewee's family, her hometown, her experiences learning Hawaiian, her motivation for learning Hawaiian, and her future goals as a Hawaiian language learner. The interview lasted approximately one hour. I audio-recorded and transcribed the interview interaction. I also observed my participants' Hawaiian classes. I took field notes both from the observations and interviews.

4.2. Participants

The participant is a student who is taking Hawaiian classes at the college level. This study is part of a larger project with additional participants, but here I only focus on one individual: Clair.² On her mother's side Clair has a Norwegian, Portuguese, and Hawaiian ethnic/racial background. Her father is from the mainland. Clair describes her father as racially "white." Clair was born in Hawai'i, but moved to the mainland and grew up there. She returned to Hawai'i six years ago when she was 14 years old. She has taken Hawaiian classes since she was a high school student. When I interviewed her, she was taking a Hawaiian class at a university in Hawai'i.

5.0. FRAME ANALYSIS

The origin of frame analysis derives from Bateson's (1972) argument that interlocutors use frames to understand the meaning of their talk. Bateson's conception of framing came from his observations of monkeys during play. Bateson noticed that metacommunicative messages of 'this is play' were conveyed between the monkeys to mark and define the 'play situation' for all involved, so that each would participate appropriately. Goffman (1974) applied this notion to the study of everyday (human) talk. Frames can be seen as schemas of interpretation that become present during interaction and that guide and organize the way talk can (or should) proceed. Goffman defines frames as "definitions of a situation [that] are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events ... and [speakers'] subjective involvement in them" (p. 10). By framing, people are able to interpret situations or activities and thus interpret the meanings of others—as well as manage their own interaction—in appropriate ways. Entman (1993) elaborates the notion of framing further as an organizing feature of interaction: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52).

According to Ribeiro and Bastos (2005), frame analysis offers a way of analyzing what is going on during speech. A frame is a useful tool to see what kind of social contexts are constructed in talk and interaction (p. 61). Ensink (2004) uses frame analysis in his study of talk during research interviews. He identifies four types of frames: the interview frame, the social research frame, the mutual relation frame, and the topic-related cognitive frame, each of which may be displayed in research interviews. When I interviewed learners of Hawaiian for this study, the interview frame of respondent and interviewer was constructed. Both of us framed each other as such: I asked questions and respondents expected to be asked questions. Thus, the way I talk to respondents during the interview is different from the way I talk about my research at a conference. This is because I frame myself as a presenter of my study and I also frame other people as "audience," not respondents in an interview. Audiences also frame me as a presenter, not an interviewer.

To examine and identify frames, I will look at several discursive elements. I focus in particular on the use of personal pronouns such as "we," "they," and "everybody"; demonstrative pronouns such as "here" and "there"; evaluative language, such as "relaxed" and "sophisticated"; and hedges such as "a little bit" and "seriously."

6.0. DATA ANALYSIS

6.1. Claiming Hawaiian Identity

Prior to the talk in Excerpt 1 below, I asked Clair about her Hawaiian teacher. By doing so, the frame shifted out of the interview framework; the respondent frame changed to a "learner of Hawaiian" frame.

Excerpt 1 (C: Clair, I: Interviewer)³

- 136 C: Yeah:, coz like, like, with the Hawaiian language, like, *Hawai'i* like Hawaiian
 137 people, we are all relaxed, you know. We are not like uptight, we have to say (.)
 138 something, like, I don't know. It's all about sim. simple stuff, like, humble::, like,
 139 **ohana*, like stuff that like stuff that (0.2) ah:::. Back in the day, we ha::d (02.)
 140 you know? Ourselves, water, food, fishing=
 141 I: =Hmm
 142 C: =you know, just like simple stuff (.) and (.) I don't know. (0.2) With other
 143 languages maybe, it's little more (.) it has to be little more (.) so(h)phisica(h)ted
 144 (h), because, maybe, I don't know, maybe they have important statu::es, yo
 145 know, (h)like (h), colosseums,
 146 I: Hahaha. (laughs)
 147 C: I don't know, but, yeah. Hawaiian is all about the la::(h):nd(h). Hahaha it's
 148 more relaxed, so. I think, his teaching is exceptional, coz I think, I don't
 149 know, coz Hawaiian language is derives off of Pidgin, and Pidgin language
 150 doesn't (h) make(h) a(h) se(h)nse at(hh) all(hh) sometimes, hehehe, and so (.)
 151 yeah. (0.3) It's exceptional.

In this excerpt, various frames are constructed; however, the most significant aspect is how Clair frames herself as Hawaiian and how she distances herself from others. Also, she accounts for (i.e., rhetorically depicts in a cogently truthful way) aspects of Hawaiian people and culture.

First a frame shift occurred at line 136 when Clair said "*Hawai'i*, like Hawaiian people, we are all relaxed" (l.136-137). At line 137, Clair uses "we" three times and once more at line 139. Using "we," she clearly categorizes herself as Hawaiian. She also explains who the Hawaiian people are. Hawaiian people are "all relaxed" (l.137), "not like uptight" (l.137), and "humble" (l.138), and they like "simple stuff" (l.138 and l.142), such as "[them]selves, water, food, fishing" (l.141).

Interestingly, her description of Hawai'i is "the Hawai'i in the past" when the Kingdom of Hawai'i existed. Her account of Hawai'i could be related to Holt's (1964) argument that people in Hawai'i are living with "the impact of the abstract force of a past event" (p. 22). In a way, nobody can be free from any past event, however, in the Hawaiian context, it points to one certain image of Hawai'i or Hawaiians in the past. Holt points out the burden of being Hawaiian, explaining that Hawaiian history, culture, and identity are confused by "exaggerations, misrepresentations, half-truths, and sentimental images" (p. 23). Clair's account of Hawaiian culture as "It's all about sim. simpl stuff" (l.138) shows certain exaggerations of Hawaiian culture and that the Hawai'i of the past can be related to "sentimental images."

From line 142 to line 145, Clair creates a new frame by referring to a group of people as "they" (l.144). This reference shows that she does not belong to the frame of "they." These people speak "other languages" (l.142-143). Also, "they" speak in a way that is "...more (.) ... so(h)phistica(h)ted(h)" (l.143-144) than Hawaiian people. These "so(h)phistica(h)ted(h)" people have "important statu:es" (l.144) and "coliseums" (l.145). Statues and coliseums reference the historical buildings of ancient Greece or Rome, arguably to contrast how European cultures and people are different from Hawaiian culture and people. Clair clearly distinguishes these two frames.

Again from line 147 to 148, Clair defines aspects of Hawaiian culture by saying "Hawaiian is all about the la:(h):nd(h). Hahaha it's more relaxed." Here, she is contrasting Hawaiians as being "more relaxed" compared to others, probably those to whom she refers as "they" who have statues and coliseums.

In the above excerpt, Clair contrasts Hawaiians with people who speak "other languages" by using examples such as "statues" and "coliseums" that reference people of non-Hawaiian cultures. Through this explanation she appears to take the position of someone knowledgeable about Hawai'i and frames the interviewer as a novice of Hawaiian culture. At the end of the excerpt, Clair refers to Hawaiian language and Pidgin.

6.1. Resisting Local Identity through Framing

In Excerpt 2, Clair and I construct a new frame. In the previous excerpt, she aligned with Hawaiian identity; however, in this excerpt she resists framing herself as Local.

Excerpt 2

- 147 C: I don't know, but, yeah. Hawaiian is all about the la:(h):nd(h). Hahaha it's
 148 more relaxed, so. I think, his teaching is exceptional, coz I think, I don't
 149 know,coz Hawaiian language is derives off of Pidgin, and Pidgin language
 150 doesn't (h) make(h) a(h) se(h)nse at(hh) all(hh) sometimes, hehehe, and so (.)
 151 yeah. (0.3) It's exceptional.
 152 I: Do you speak Pidgin?
 153 C: >NO<, NO. haha
 154 I: No? haha
 155 C: Coz I didn't grew up here, I grow up in ???(0.3) ???and ??? .
 156 C: Yea:h.
 157 I: Huh!
 158 C: And, I was born here in Honolulu. And I moved there, all around like the US.

- 159 coz my parents were in military↑.
 160 I: Oh:::
 161 C: And I moved to the Big Island, but (0.2)I don't speak Pidgin, coz I guess I
 162 didn't grow up here. So, I am a little bit different from who grew up here.
 163 I: Oh::, when did you come, I mean, when did you come to Hawai'i, though?
 164 C: Um::, the summer before 8th grade for me, so 2003↑. So I've been here 6 years
 165 now
 166 I: Wo::w.
 167 C: Yea::h. Haha.
 168 I: I am not good at catching Pidgin (0.2). I know, some speak really (.) ah::,
 169 strong Pidgin, but some (.) not everybody do.
 170 C: Aha, yeah. Yeah, yeah, not everyone (.) no. I only speak Pidgin when I make
 171 fun of <someone> , hehe.
 173 I: Haha
 174 C: Yeah. Anyway (.) Haha, Coz I don't speak like seriously. It's like "C'mon
 175 now!". Haha, I speak E(hh)ngli(h)sh(hh), why should I pretend? Yeah.

At line 149 and line 150, Clair talks about Pidgin. Her account positions her as a person who knows about Pidgin, though someone who does not speak the language. I am not sure if she is a Pidgin speaker. At this point in the interview, I did not know that she grew up on the mainland since she had simply mentioned that she was from the Big Island. Therefore, in line 152, I asked her "Do you speak Pidgin?" She replied by saying ">NO<, NO." at line 153. The first ">NO<," was uttered very strongly and quickly. Clair usually speaks softly, and, up to this point in the interview, had not made an utterance as strongly as this. This flat refusal shows that she wants to keep herself out of the Pidgin speaker frame.

From line 155, Clair explains that she did not grow up in Hawai'i, therefore she does not speak Pidgin. Nevertheless, this fact does not exclude her from being someone who can be framed as Hawaiian, as indicated in Excerpt 1. Again, from line 161 to 162, she accounted repeatedly for why she does not speak Pidgin. She also referred to her position in relation to other people in Hawai'i. After the following explanation, "I don't speak Pidgin, coz I guess I didn't grow up here," Clair creates a frame of a person who is "a little bit different from [those] who grew up here" (l.162) to position herself as someone who doesn't speak Pidgin.

According to her account, people who grow up in Hawai'i speak Pidgin and these people could be interpreted as Locals. Although she did not frame herself as a Pidgin speaker, she did not deny her Local identity. By defining herself as "a little bit different from [those] who grew up here," she creates what might be termed a modified-Local frame instead. She elaborates this frame from line 168 onwards.

At line 168, when I frame myself as a "non-native Pidgin speaker" and a "novice in the Pidgin language," by pointing out that not everyone speaks strong Pidgin, Clair agrees: "Aha, yeah. Yeah, yeah, not everyone (.) no." (l.171). Here, both Clair and I share the same opinion that Pidgin speakers speak Pidgin differently. We reframe "Pidgin speakers"—which is now defined as simply people who grew up in Hawai'i—by noting the diverse populations of Pidgin speakers.

Although we both reframe Pidgin speakers in this way, this frame still overlaps with the frame of Locals: people who grew up in Hawai'i. At line 168, I point out that while some people speak strong Pidgin, "not everybody" (l.169) does. Clair agrees by saying "not everyone (.) no" (l.171). At this point, it is not clear yet whether Clair has interpreted my utterance as including only Pidgin speakers or Locals as well.

Next, Clair declares “I only speak Pidgin when I make fun of <someone>.” She refers to herself by using “I.” This appears to indicate that she includes herself in the “everyone” category (l.171). “Everybody” in line 169 refers to Locals who speak Pidgin to varying degrees. Thus she frames herself as Local and as someone who occasionally speaks Pidgin, although she did not describe herself as a Pidgin speaker earlier. However, she adds that she does not speak Pidgin often, but only at specific times. Moreover, at line 174, she claims “I don’t speak like seriously.” Thus it can be interpreted that she speaks Pidgin, but only when she makes fun of someone and when she wants to speak in a way that is not “serious.” Through this account, she contrasts ‘authentic’ Pidgin speakers and inauthentic Pidgin speakers.

At line 175, Clair frames herself as an English speaker: “I speak E(hh)ngli(h)sh(hh), why should I pretend?” Here, she creates a frame of English speaker to show that she does not belong to the ‘authentic’ Pidgin Speakers’ frame.

Thus, it could be interpreted that “everyone” at line 171 refers to both Pidgin speakers and Locals. She frames herself as one of the Pidgin speakers and Locals; however, as she repeatedly claims, she is not an ‘authentic’ Pidgin speaker. Also, as she marks herself as “a little bit different from [those] who grew up here” (l.162), she identifies herself as not being an authentic Local born and raised in Hawai‘i. It can thus be interpreted that Clair experiences various kinds of Local identity by framing herself as someone who speaks Pidgin, but only on limited occasions.

6.2. Resisting Local Identity through Framing

In Excerpt 2, Clair frames herself in several ways. She did not include herself in the Pidgin speaker frame. However, later she frames herself as a Pidgin speaker though one that does not speak it seriously. She also affiliated herself as Local, but because she did not grow up in Hawai‘i, she identifies herself as a non-authentic Local by creating a frame of “a little bit different from [those] who grew up here.” Further, it became clear that Clair also understands the strong connection between Locals and Pidgin speakers. However, as her creation of non-authentic Local and non-authentic Pidgin speakers indicates, these two social categorizations include various kinds of people.

7.0. Concluding Discussion

In this study, I focused on a learner of Hawaiian to explore her discursively constructed identities. As evidenced in both excerpts, Clair and I constructed frames to position one another. By looking at the kinds of frames that were constructed, it becomes clear how she categorizes herself. In Excerpt 1, she clearly framed herself as Hawaiian. She also defined aspects of being Hawaiian. To show who the Hawaiian people are, she created a new frame for “non-Hawaiians,” those who speak different languages and have a more purportedly sophisticated culture than Hawai‘i. In this excerpt, she positioned herself not only as Hawaiian, but also as an expert on Hawaiian culture and people, and by framing me as a novice.

In Excerpt 2 Clair resists a Local identity through framing. Clair did not frame herself as a Pidgin speaker; however, she states she speaks Pidgin when she makes fun of someone. On the one hand, she did not frame herself as a Pidgin speaker. On the other, she identified herself as an occasional Pidgin speaker. This shows that Clair positions herself as a non-authentic Pidgin speaker. A similar categorization is seen in the Local frame from this excerpt. By framing herself as a person who did not grow up in Hawai‘i, she did not categorize herself as Local. However, she did not entirely disqualify herself from being Local either. Instead, she created a new frame of being “a bit different from people who grew up” in Hawai‘i” (l.162). By doing this, she asserts that there is another kind of Local—one that does not speak Pidgin, was not born and raised in Hawai‘i, but is nevertheless a Local.

The current study was a small part of the interview with Clair. As a further study, I will focus on how she used Hawaiian words throughout the interview. Also, it will be important to look at how she frames herself when talking about her experiences joining activities during Hawaiian class. Further, I plan to investigate how other participants in my study, who have different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, frame themselves during interview talk.

NOTES

1. In this paper, I use the term Local to denote a group of people who were not only born and raised in Hawai'i, but also have knowledge of local culture, and, most importantly, identify themselves as a Local.
2. Pseudonym
3. Transcription convention
 - (.) Micro Pause
 - (0.2) Pause of about 0.2 second
 - (h) Breathing/Laughing voice
 - >< Quicker than surrounding talk
 - = Latching
 - :: Sound stretching
 - CAPS..Louder than surrounding talk
 - Ita* Hawaiian words
 - ??? Personal Information, removed to protect confidentiality

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III. Literature and Writing Pedagogy

CLARIMONDE AND THE CULLENS

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an exploration of the language and symbolism of the vampire in literature, specifically a comparison of how these ideas are expressed in the works of the French author Théophile Gautier and the American author Stephanie Meyer. These authors represent a point of historical and cultural contrast between both France of the mid-nineteenth century and America in the early twenty-first. One would initially expect to find little similarity between these two stories, being as they are separated by so much time and space, yet the imagery and the metaphors presented in each story bear a remarkable resemblance.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

As night falls the vampire arises. In the darkness that envelops the world he is free to hunt his human prey. His skin as pale as moonlight, nearly translucent when seen under the night's sky, he cannot even remember the feeling of sunlight, for now it would be the harbinger of a painful death he has so long avoided. His immortality is guaranteed so long as he has people to feed upon, he has become nothing more than a leech, slowly sucking dry his victims, ingesting their life-force to prolong his own shadowy existence. The countryside fears his awakening, fears the disappearances, and the ash white corpses left behind to be discovered in the morning. Only the sun or a piercing wound to the heart could bring his devilish existence to an end. He is one of many vampires who walk the night, allowed to remain on earth because of some long ago ancient pact with the devil, terrorizing humans at night who must always look over their shoulders, lock their doors, and latch their windows. This is the image that has dominated our understanding of vampires for the past hundred years, the darkened half human half demon that awakens only at night.

However, it is not true that vampires have always been characters shrouded in the dark of night, feeding off us as if we were cattle. In fact many people are aware of an opposing image of the vampire, one of a strikingly beautiful, tragically romantic figure who elicits adoration and compassion rather than horror. To quote Dr. Sam George, a scholar who hosted a symposium in England on the literary vampire, "the new breed of vampires are far from monstrous, they are glamorous and sexy and have an emotional side" (qtd. in Casciato). Furthermore she describes this type of vampire as an Americanization of the imagery, in part because of the role the *Twilight* series by Stephanie Meyer has played in its popularization. However, many readers of her books would be surprised to discover that a French author, Théophile Gautier, articulated this image of the vampire long before Meyer. In truth the beautiful tragic vampire is an idea that predates Meyer by over a hundred and fifty years, as well as vampire in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* by sixty. Indeed, a number of parallels exist between both Gautier and Meyer, beginning with their description of beautifully seductive vampires and continuing through the symbols that they use in creating their vampires.

To understand where this literary presentation of the vampire comes from, it is essential to know something of where the idea of the vampire originates and what it symbolized. From there, the images of Gautier and Meyer can be studied together, as well as the vampire's relationship with the society they live in, their relationship with religion, with their gender, and why they are still relevant today. Indeed both authors pay homage to a familiar tradition of images and ideas, though they might not always present them in the same way. Each author is bound to the legacy of the vampire and must make obligatory references to our symbolic understanding of who a vampire is and what role they have in society.

2.0. ORIGIN OF THE WORD AND SYMBOL

The image of the vampire first appeared in French literature with the publication of the *Lettres Juives* by the Marquis d'Argens in 1737 (Wilson 579). The Marquis recounts a story he heard during his travels abroad in Eastern Europe, a story of vampires killing peasants in the village of Kisolova. In addition to the travelogues of d'Argens, the word vampire first appears primarily in religious and scientific correspondence between priests and academics in France and their contemporaries in the East who wrote west searching for advice on how to

treat cases of vampirism. The word entered the public vocabulary with the publication of *Dissertations sur les apparitions et sur les revenants et les vampires* by Dom Calmet in 1746. In English the word first appears in similar religious and scientific correspondence, beginning with a critique of the Greek Orthodox Church which purportedly had a habit of excommunicating anyone suspected of being a vampire. However, in her article *History of the Word "Vampire"* Katharina M. Wilson notes that the introduction of the word into English is less well documented and therefore subject to greater debate. Although certainly it is well documented that the word migrated west along with gruesome tales of vampires originating from what is now known as Serbia (*upir*) and Hungary (*vampir*) (Wilson 583).

The literary tradition of the vampire came to France from translations of British texts, beginning with *The Vampyre* by John William Polidori (1819, translated into French 1820) who inspired a number of spin offs and imitators with his principal character Lord Ruthven (Wilson 579). Lord Ruthven is more similar in nature to another later well-known vampire, Count Dracula, in terms of their role as the evil antagonist, than he is to the tragic vampires of the Romantic Movement as characterized in France by Gautier's female vampire, Clarimonde. While these vampires are presented in different styles and with different dispositions, they all share certain common attributes based on the following archetype.

The vampire is the perfect metaphor for a parasite; it survives only by feeding upon the blood of humans. It is symbolically akin to a leech in the way it consumes human blood and is related to the idea of the succubus, a demon who feeds off the human life force. Like a parasite the vampire produces nothing of worth, they do not contribute to the society they live in; they live off the blood of unwitting victims, harvesting them from society. No matter how beautiful or moral a vampire is presented in literature, they are still bound to this very basic notion of what a vampire is: a parasite. The vampire could therefore easily be understood as a metaphor for the aristocracy and nobility of Europe. The nobility lived off of the crops the peasantry grew and the feudal labor the peasantry performed. They quite literally survived off of the livelihood of their peasants. The language of the French Revolution reveals this connection of aristocracy to the leech and the vampire, who sucked dry the countryside that fell under their domain. For example, the writings of Abbé Seyes who described the need for change in the relationship between the nobility and society, "[the nobility] must be neutralized. We must re-establish the health and working of all the organs so thoroughly that they are no longer susceptible to these fatal schemes that are capable of sapping the most essential principles of vitality" (Hunt 70). This connection has carried through into the literature of the vampire; it is not surprising, beginning with Polidori's Lord Ruthven and Gautier's Clarimonde on up to Meyer's Edward Cullen, that vampires have maintained an aristocratic tone. They have maintained their regal features and a noble visage even when the idea of a noble class is foreign to the author.

3.0. IMAGE OF THE VAMPIRE

Certainly the physical image of the vampire described by both authors is noticeably similar; both Edward and Clarimonde enjoy an otherworldly beauty and grace. Each vampire is described using the vocabulary of art, and compared, for example, to timeless masterpieces. In doing so, Meyer and Gautier lend their vampires a kind of immortal and classical beauty that seems both ageless and unreal. The vampire is given an unattainable beauty that appears divine in nature. For example, Gautier renders both divinity and classical beauty with the opening description of Clarimonde, "The greatest painters, who followed ideal beauty into heaven itself, and thence brought back to earth the true portrait of the Madonna, never in their delineations even approached that wildly beautiful reality which I saw before me" (Gautier 7). Gautier compares Clarimonde to an image of divine origin, to the perfection of God. Clarimonde is art of the highest caliber; "Neither the verses of the poet nor the palette of the artist could convey any conception of her" (Gautier 7). Grigore-Muresan believes that the narrator invokes the arts only to show their powerlessness and inability to represent Clarimonde (52). The narrator falls back to the imagery of art because words alone are insufficient. Gautier seeks to create the impression that the beauty of Clarimonde is ageless by relating it to the mythology and image of the Madonna.

Meyer's Cullen family and especially Edward, the primary male character, are described in similar fashion, "I stared because their faces, so different, so similar, were all devastatingly, inhumanly beautiful. They were faces you never expected to see except perhaps on the airbrushed pages of a fashion magazine. Or painted

by an old master as the face of an angel" (Meyer 19). Just like Gautier, Meyer first compares the vampire to a beauty that is inhuman, airbrushed, and beyond anything grounded in reality. Her narrator, Bella, references art as well, incorporating it with the idea of divine beauty. Like Clarimonde, Edward and his family resemble a heavenly ideal. Meyer attempts to raise her vampires to the same level of breathtaking regality as Gautier, but uses a vocabulary more modern in nature. Describing one of the vampire girls Bella says, "[she] had a beautiful figure, the kind you saw on the cover of the *Sports Illustrated* Swimsuit Issue, the kind that made every girl around her take a hit on her self-esteem just by being in the same room" (Meyer 18). In the same vain as Gautier, Meyer recalls our highest ideals of beauty, in this case the *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue, and yet places the vampire above it, as if the splendor of the vampire trumps anything on earth.

The beauty of the literary vampire is not its only striking physical trait. Linked to the idea of the vampire as a metaphor for the aristocracy is the physical appearance of the vampire as highborn. One of the very first traits that Romuald notices about Clarimonde is her refined appearance. Her features recall a noble origin, features that in class-based societies were thought to be more pronounced as the nobility intermarried and separated themselves and their bloodlines from the common people. Clarimonde is thus a reflection of the society in which she was imagined.

Clarimonde's nose first gives Romuald the impression of her nobility, "There was a delicacy and pride in the regal outline of her nostrils bespeaking noble blood" (Gautier 7). Romuald immediately recognizes that she comes from high society just by her physical visage; he has not even begun the explanation of her dress, nor her manners, or even inquired into her identity. His next clue is her delicate hands, "...and from her wide ermine-lined sleeves there peeped forth patrician hands of infinite delicacy, and so ideally transparent..." (Gautier 8). Even the language that Gautier uses brings to mind a noble image; as the word patrician comes directly from the Latin designation for nobility. Her hands have never seen the hard labor of common women; they have remained perfect and unblemished. The narrator's impression ends up being correct, she has land, influence, and wealth. Not only does the vampire serve as a metaphor for the nobility, feeding off the peasantry, but often is depicted as noble, much as Clarimonde, and is identified as such right from the first description of her physical appearance.

Though Meyer avoids such description, perhaps because the idea of an aristocratic visage would be alien to the young girls that make up her audience, she does still make an oblique reference to this set of features. She describes her vampires as having, "...their noses, all their features, were straight, perfect angular" (Meyer 19). This matches up to the idea that nobility has a more hawkish set of features, something that can be described by the adjective *patrician* used by Gautier when describing Clairmonde. They are the hunters after all, not the prey, as nobles but also as vampires.

Another important point of comparison between the physical descriptions of these fictitious vampires concerns the impression that vampires live primarily nocturnal existences, which has given them a pale, nearly translucent skin tone. This idea of pale white skin permeates even into those stories whose vampires do not fear sunlight, such as Gautier's Clarimonde who walks freely in the light of day. And yet though she walks in the day Romuald describes her as having, "...smooth lustrous skin of her half-bare shoulders, and strings of great blonde pearls — almost equal to her neck in beauty of color..." (Gautier 7). She assumes the noble ideal of beauty that women should have pale, milky white skin to suggest that they have not labored in the sun.

Though the whiteness of her skin is in sharp contrast to the redness of her lips, "Teeth of the most lustrous pearl gleamed in her ruddy smile..." (Gautier 7). Her smile foreshadows her need to consume blood, the red of the lips matching the color of blood, and indeed red lips appear along with pale skin repeatedly in all genres of vampire literature. Perhaps most famously with Dracula, the red lips are a symbol of sexuality, good health, and desire (Craft 109). In fact, this look is recreated everyday by women who apply blush or lipstick, and has been so since women would pinch their cheeks in order to bring out a healthy red color. The vampire naturally has this quality, in part from their desire to feed and in part from the blood they consume, staining their lips a fresh, lively red color.

Meyer's vampires also do not follow a strict avoidance of sunlight and like Clarimonde do not suffer any ill effects from it; in fact they sparkle as if covered by glitter. But yet they too have the palest, nearly, translucent skin. "Every one of them was chalky pale, the palest of all the students living in this sunless town"

(Meyer 18). Though they seem to love the outdoors and nature they do not tan or acquire any of the pinkish hue normal to humans. Furthermore, while they have sworn off feeding on humans, their lips are red, just like the vampires before. Like Clarimonde their red lips are a symbol for their highlighted state of arousal, a healthy color that stands out ever more against their white skin.

Though Craft says that the red lips are a sign that foreshadows the vampire's consumption of blood, in both of these cases I believe these images seem far more linked to sexuality, either the overdrive of teen libidos in Meyer or of the young virgin priest who narrates for Gautier. In either case, sex appeal, by virtue of the physical appearance of the vampire acts as a perfect tool for seducing potential victims.

4.0. RELATIONSHIP WITH GENDER

The vampire plays an interesting role in showing our understanding of gender in that the vampire is subject to a reversal of gender roles. Because of its nature as a predator and a leech upon society, the vampire must exist outside the established social norms of the day. The vampire Clarimonde and the young priest Romuald are subject to a reversal of roles, as he is the innocent virgin and she the experienced, wealthy suitor. Roger's Lacanian analysis further supports a reversal of gender roles between Clarimonde and Romuald: "Romuald has identified with a woman whereas his ideal ego must be male." (171). Clarimonde begins the reversal with her first look; she depersonalizes Romuald, rendering him no more than the object of her desire. In his complete innocence he could not escape the influence of Clarimonde. This is a reversal of the stereotypical situation between men who lust after the innocent virgin girl. Rogers notes as well that the female vampire has taken the role of the aggressor, "...these female vampires are sexually aggressive and hence 'castrating,' since they are usurping the 'male' role of sexual initiator and place the innocent 'dameoiseau' (a masculinized feminine word) in the 'female' role..." (173). As the innocent virgin, Romuald does not realize that he has fallen under her spell. She promises happiness, to be the provider of the family, and therefore to take the role of husband. He will never have to do anything save supply his blood and like any good wife he provides the nourishment for his family. While more modern standards have seen changes in many of our notions about gender roles, this story was written with more classical gender roles in mind. Clarimonde can furnish everything, seeing to Romuald's every need, so long as he provides the meals.

The gender reversal in *Twilight* is present though less pronounced, perhaps because of changes in our own society-based perceptions of gender roles. In this case, Edward the male vampire finds himself playing the role of the coy female. He avoids Bella, he allows her to pursue him, and constantly questions why she would be interested in him, behavior that one might consider typical of a teenage girl. Even more indicative of the gender reversal is the question of the sexual relationship between Edward and Bella. Just like in *La Morte Amoureuse*, it is the female who takes the lead as the sexual aggressor. The vampire once again finds itself playing a role opposite the norm. Edward is the perfectly innocent one, having saved his virginity for nearly a hundred years, and constantly pushes Bella back. It is his reluctance that delays their sexual relationship from developing for so long.

5.0. RELATIONSHIP WITH SOCIETY

While in general the vampire serves the role of a leech on society, the vampires in *Twilight* prefer the image of a predator. In the novel Edward tells Bella that he is the perfect hunter: "I'm the world's best predator, aren't I? Everything about me invites you in- my voice, my face, even my smell" (Meyer 264). Edward fears his own predatory instinct and abilities. Time and time again Meyer attempts to demonstrate how her vampires are different from our classical ideas. They escape the symbol of the vampire by paying homage to it. Edward demonstrates his morality by denying his predatory nature. However, the narrator Bella seems relatively unperturbed that her lover admits to being attractive, welcoming, and inviting only so that he can feed off his victims. He presses her further explaining how vampires treat humans as prey and how easily they can take what they want. Superior strength and reflexes, the power of seduction, the ability to draw prey towards them, all render the vampire the perfect hunter. Again, these powers relate back to the original symbol of the vampire, not only do they feed upon us, they are stronger and greater than us, just like the relationship between an aristocratic landlord and the peasant laborers that work his land.

In fact, the power of seduction is quite common in literary vampires, beginning of course with Lord Ruthven, who used his powers to seduce and murder the narrator's own sister after their wedding. Gautier describes in great detail the very first look between Clarimonde and Romuald. His eyes were fixed upon her, her power of seduction, her ability to trap a gaze, was so complete that it took only one glance. His eyes locked onto hers and he saw, "With a single flash they could have decided a man's destiny. They had a life, a limpidity, an ardor, a humid light which I have never seen in human eyes" (Gautier 7). The eyes of Clarimonde continue the seduction, nothing escapes them, "*they shot forth rays like arrows, which I could distinctly see enter my heart*" (Gautier 7). She can see into a man's soul and she seduces him by understanding and knowing his very desires. In this instance the vampire can make you a slave without you ever realizing it happened. Clarimonde perpetually gives Romuald everything he could desire, distracting him for sometime from the truth that every night while he slept he was being fed upon.

Despite defining Edward as a hunter, Meyer seems to have recognized the idea of the vampire as a leech on society in the way that she attempts to set the Cullen family apart from this idea. In general the family contributes nothing to society, they play the stock market to great success using the power of precognition, so they have little need for jobs and though they do not feed off humans they must constantly fight their urges. Meyer's exception is Carlisle, the father figure in the family. Despite his taste for blood, he serves as the small town doctor. He has spent his life trying to give back to humanity, trying to overcome his desire in order to save people using his unique set of skills. Not only is he not a leech on society, he takes up a profession characterized by care and compassion. This is best juxtaposed to Meyer's presentation of the less savory vampires who do not have jobs, do not contribute to society in the least, and directly feed off society. Whereas the Cullens avoid imposing a human cost upon the society they live in, other vampires seem to have no problem with feeding on and leeching off whomever they need to survive.

Clarimonde in this case, is more akin to Meyer's evil vampires than the Cullen family. She lives off society, leeching off the wealthy and powerful. She is a vampire and as the aristocratic woman of questionable morals she is also a vampire upon society. The wealth that she enjoys is not her own, "What is that palace I see over there, all lighted up by the sun?" I asked Sérapion. He shaded his eyes with his hand, and having looked in the direction indicated, replied: "It is the ancient palace which the Prince Concini has given to the courtesan Clarimonde" (Gautier 17). Everywhere she goes Clarimonde seems to have a palace, within the city, in the countryside, and even in Italy. She fulfills the basic precept of someone who has done nothing to deserve her high social position. Even more damning are her weak morals, indicative of a sinful and decadent aristocrat, an image that recalls the writings of the Marquis de Sade, a famous libertarian and pornographer of noble origins in the eighteenth century, well known for the orgies and sexually deviant activities performed at his chateaux and Paris residence. "The great courtesan Clarimonde died a few days ago, at the close of an orgie which lasted eight days and eight nights. It was something infernally splendid. The abominations of the banquets of Belshazzar and Cleopatra were reenacted there" (Gautier 29). In this passage Sérapion, Romuald's superior and father figure, connects Clarimonde's immoral sexual attitude with something demonic and exotic, invoking another name for the Devil, and Cleopatra, the Egyptian princess famous for seducing the Roman generals Julius Caesar and Marc Anthony.

Despite differing relationships with society, the vampires of Gautier and Meyer still acknowledge the same metaphor, that the vampire is a parasite. It is a parasite from outside of society; it is not the same as us and can never be one of us. Both Meyer and Gautier express this idea through the physical placement of their vampires. In each instance the vampire lives far from town, away from human civilization, deep in a thick forest. Though they may interact with humans, they cannot live amongst them.

Meyer places the Cullens in a remote house down an unpaved road hidden by ferns. This speaks to an intentional exclusion from society. Believing themselves to be dangerous and knowing that they are no longer part of human society, the Cullens have completely removed themselves from it. When Edward first takes Bella to meet his family she has no idea where they could possibly be going, all she knows is the further they drive the more and more remote the area is becoming. "We passed over the bridge at the Calawah River, the road winding northward, the houses flashing past us growing farther apart, getting bigger. And then we were past the other houses altogether, driving through misty forest... he turned abruptly onto an unpaved road. It was unmarked, barely visible among the ferns. The forest encroached on both sides, leaving the road ahead only

discernable for a few meters as it twisted, serpentlike, around the ancient trees" (Meyer 320). Dark woods have always been a source of terror for humans; what better place for a vampire to live and be concealed from society than in a forest of ancient trees.

Gautier gives Clarimonde a strikingly similar residence: a castle deep in the woods, far from everything, removed even from the small town nearby. Romuald does not even realize that Clarimonde lives within his Parish. She has removed herself completely from society. She is an outsider and thus must live outside of society. "The ground flowed backward beneath us in a long streaked line of pale gray, and the black silhouettes of the trees seemed fleeing by us on either side like an army in rout. We passed through a forest so profoundly gloomy that I felt my flesh creep in the chill darkness with superstitious fear... At last the whirlwind race ceased; a huge black mass pierced through with many bright points of light suddenly rose before us, the hoofs of our horses echoed louder upon a great vaulted archway which darkly yawned between two enormous towers... I obtained a confused glimpse of vast masses of architecture — columns, arcades, flights of steps, stairways — a royal voluptuousness and elfin magnificence of construction worthy of fairyland" (Gautier 21). Again the narrator must take a long journey to reach the residence of the vampire, wandering a dark and confusing path through the woods. At the end of that path is a magnificent residence, a testament to the power and the longevity of the vampire. Further, while the vampire may live outside of society, they live with a certain lavishness. Again we recall the metaphor of the aristocracy, those who also lived removed from the peasant villagers who supported them, those who felt that they lived outside of common society, and who lived in ornate residences far grander than anything a commoner could hope to afford.

6.0. APPEAL OF CLARIMONDE AND EDWARD

The appeal of these stories is not because vampires are outsiders to our society, but because the vampires in these stories combat their terrible nature. By struggling with the selfishness inherent in the symbol of the vampire, these characters render themselves human and relatable. Inside all of us is a struggle between good and evil, therefore while reading these stories we identify with this conflict as it depicted in the vampire's struggle. The vampire ceases to be an outsider as their struggle becomes more personal and human. Because Gautier and Meyer place their characters in opposition to the intrinsic metaphor, the characters become something other than a vampire. Though they are indelibly linked to the literature that precedes them, they escape simply being an outsider through their conflicted nature.

The appeal of these stories is also born out of the romance between the vampire and the principal human characters. In both cases a human character becomes linked with the vampire romantically. While the vampire may be representative of something exotic or evil, this does nothing to dissuade the human lovers. In fact, I believe it is human nature to be drawn to such traits. Though we can relate to the internal conflict within the vampires, they still represent a foreign idea, an exotic world that makes them all the more appealing. Through them we can experience that world, we can leave our old lives behind. It is this appeal to foreign accents or tall dark and handsome strangers that draw us towards the vampire. Even their purported evil nature draws us in; as we see the conflict within them, we want to believe that they can be good. Romuald remains convinced that there was nothing truly evil about Clarimonde and that hers was the greatest love he ever knew. Bella experiences the same conflict, constantly stressing that Edward can dominate the desires and hunger inside of him. We want to believe there is good in everyone and in both of these stories the narrators get their wish; the good comes out and wins over the nature of the vampire.

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PATTERNS OF ILLICIT PASSIONS: IMAGERY AND POETIC TECHNIQUES IN THE LOVE POETRY OF PRINCESS SHIKISHI

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ABSTRACT

Princess Shikishi's love poems, which are believed to be too emotionally profound to have been written simply for the sake of Japanese traditional poetic convention, have made her one of the most admired and controversial poetesses in Japanese literature. This paper will examine original versions of her love poems, taking into account patterns in usage of vocabulary, natural imagery, and Japanese poetic techniques. Reading poetry from textual and contextual points of view is crucial for understating literature. Thus, I argue (and clarify) that whatever inspired Shikishi's love poems, her work reflects a dual (subjective and objective—private and public) perspective on Japanese poetry.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Princess Shikishi was the third daughter of 77th Emperor of Japan named Goshirakawa, so by birth she was a princess of blood (*naishimmō*). It is arguable when exactly she was born, but most scholars claim ca. 1150, whereas Murai argues for 1149 precisely (Murai 824). At the age of nine or ten the Princess was appointed to serve as *sai'in* ('high priestess' or 'vestal virgin')¹ at the Kamo Shrines² and remained so for ten years until 1169 when she resigned, likely due to an illness. Most likely during the 1190s she took vows and became a Buddhist nun with an acquired name Shōnyohō (Sato 5). Not much is known about her life after she retired from the *sai'in* post, but it has been confirmed in diaries from the medieval poet and compiler Fujiwara Teika and Bureau of Poetry (*Wakadokoro*) Recording Secretary (*kaiko*), Minamoto no Ienaga, that she died at the beginning of 1201. Based on the information available, Shikishi's life appears to be one full of sacrifices, seclusion and constant solitude. The question thus arises—where did the talent for composing such profound poetry come from: real experiences or the endless imagination of a professional and gifted poetess?

Princess Shikishi's excellence in composing poetry has not been mythologized or undeservedly overstated, but legitimately confirmed by a number of factors, one of which is that her poems were included in fifteen of twenty-one imperial anthologies (Sato 1). She was regarded as a very talented poetess even during her own time. As emphasized by Hiroaki Sato, 82nd Emperor of Japan and Goshirakawa's grandson, Gotoba himself described Shikishi as outstanding (Sato 2). Furthermore, the renowned poet of the Mikohidari poetic school,³ Fujiwara Shunzei, included nine of her poems in the seventh Japanese imperial anthology entitled *Senzai waka shū* ('Collection of a Thousand Years'). Shunzei is also widely believed to have written a poetic treatise entitled *Koraifūteishō* ('Collection of Poetic Styles Old and New')⁴ for Princess Shikishi, although it is doubtful that the treatise was in fact created only at the Princess' request. Also, a number of her *waka* were selected for the next imperial anthology, namely *Shinkokin waka shū* ('New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems')⁵ which together with *Kokin waka shū* ('Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems')⁶ became the canon of Japanese poetry. With the number of poems included in *Shinkokinshū*, Princess Shikishi outnumbered even Fujiwara Teika, with whom she had been well acquainted. Regular exchanges of letters and a few meetings between both poets, combined with Teika's admiration for Shikishi's poetry confirmed in his diary *Meigetsuki*, became the basis of suspicions about an alleged love affair between them. Thus, since most of the biographical information on Princess Shikishi is difficult to confirm, it is likely that by the early fifteenth century the love affair between Princess Shikishi and Fujiwara Teika appeared to be a widely known fact and generated the image of a tragic love affair. A play of entitled *Teika*, by the renowned *noh* playwright Komparu Zenchiku, is compelling proof of this highly medievalized concept, though many scholars in Japan and in the West—including Ishida Yoshisada, Fujihara Haruo, and Robert Huey—do not agree they were actually lovers (Huey 86-87).

The idea of Shikishi as an excellent poetess and a lover to Fujiwara Teika has persisted until the modern era, as modern feminist poetess Yosano Akiko expressed admiration for Shikishi in one of her *tanka* (short *waka* consisting of thirty-one syllables: 5-7-5-7-7), and another modern poet, Hagiwara Sakutarō, called her a "poet of tragic love." This image is undeniably inscribed in the ideal of love descending from the Heian period (i.e., 8-12th century) when love was expressed by a word *koi* ('sad love' or 'longing')⁷ and referred mostly to women who were endlessly waiting for their beloved's rare visits. However, close examination of

Princess Shikishi's love poems combined with an analysis of her life stages should help to explain the real reasons for which she was able to compose poetry so skillfully, or at least present a less romanticized version of her life.

2.0. POSSIBLE CONCEPTS OF THE "ILLICIT PASSIONS"

There are at least three possible modes of interpretation and evaluation of Princess Shikishi's love poetry, which should be supported by simultaneous examination of contextual reasons for which her poems are considered superior. The first possibility takes into account the Japanese poetic convention that obliged all professional and amateur poets to compose love poems. This explanation appears probable and reasonable, but it was likely not the only motivation for Shikishi to create *waka*. The second possibility is the gladly acquired love affair with Fujiwara Teika, which, although contributing to the creation of a romanticized image of the Princess, might be perceived as an indication of a lack of professionalism. Already in the tenth century, Ki no Tsurayuki, a compiler of *Kokinshū*, highly respected poet and critic of the early Heian period, in the introduction to *Kokinshū* known as the *Kana* preface, criticized Japanese love poetry in the following way: "Because people nowadays value outward show and turn their minds toward frivolity, poems are mere empty verses and trivial words. The art of composition has become the province of the amorous, as unnoticed by others as a log buried in the earth; no longer can it be put forward in public as freely as the miscanthus flaunts its tassels" (Craig McCullough 5). Thus, it is notable that according to the *Kokinshū* convention, whose aim was to establish Japanese poetry as a form of art, and which dated three hundred years before Princess Shikishi, the composition of love poems based on personal experiences with possible usage of letters, being the most popular means of early stages of "courtship" and contact with the outer world, was considered inappropriate. This approach strongly disagreed with the earlier concept of *makoto*, which was a major requirement for the first private collection of Japanese poetry titled *Man'yōshū*. It should be also noted that taking into account the social reality of the late Heian period,⁸ it would have been unacceptable for a Buddhist nun and a former *sai'in* to involve oneself in a love affair, especially with someone of a lower rank, like Fujiwara Teika, who, although later became one of the most influential poets, could never be considered equal to Princess Shikishi—a princess of blood and a descendant of Shinto⁹ gods. Therefore, an affair between Shikishi and Teika would have been illicit in every possible way. However, though improbable, a legend around both poets and their alleged affair grew over the centuries and helped to sustain a romantic concept of an unfulfilled love, thus also justifying Shikishi's passionate love poems. This, being in accordance with the Heian period court aesthetics, could have also been a skillful match of two excellent poets in order to first mythologize and then maintain the significance of their poetry. It is difficult or almost impossible to confirm this theory, and the legend itself remains an important factor to consider when analyzing the love poems of Princess Shikishi.

The third possibility is related to the context and reality of Shikishi's lifestyle. The Princess never married¹⁰ and since youth lived in seclusion even from the court. First, she was a *sai'in* at the Kamo Shrines, and then, probably due to her father (Murai 9), Emperor Goshirakawa's, death in 1192,¹¹ she became a Buddhist nun. She did not have a permanent place to live, as she moved to the Hachijō residence sometime in 1185 (Murai 169), then to the Oshi no Kōji residence in approximately 1190 (Murai 162), to the Rokujō residence, then to the residence of the imperial librarian and sponsor of poetry contests (*uta'awase*), Yoshida Tsunefusa, who being well acquainted with Shikishi, mentioned her in his diary entitled *Kikki* ('Felitious Record') multiple times, and finally to the Ōi Mikado residence apparently left to Princess Shikishi by her father. A constant need to move could have been caused by a number of unrests occurring during the famous Gempei war (1180-1185) between the Minamoto and Heike clans, and the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate in 1192, which was a military dictatorship that controlled the royal court and the Emperor. The capital, called Heian-kyō (today's Kyoto), suffered badly during the war and from an earthquake in 1185, which could explain the frequent moves of Princess Shikishi from residence to residence. Despite a number of disturbances during that period, Shikishi's life appeared stable, but painful, which would partially explain the lack of information about her. Thus, it could have been the years unnaturally spent in seclusion that caused an instinctive longing for love or any kind of attention. Shikishi's psychological state must have been unusual, as she did not exactly lead the conventional lifestyle of a court lady. It is known that Shikishi was in close relations with her father, which can be examined based on their correspondence (Murai 8-9). However, composing poetry could have been a way to

release all the suppressed feelings and desires of a woman, which, when combined with Japanese poetic convention, resulted in her exceptionally beautiful and skillfully composed *waka*. Thus, partially opposed to Ki no Tsurayuki's idea of poetry, Shikishi's poems are not merely a "form for the sake of the form," but pieces written by a sentient human being.

All the possibilities described above put Princess Shikishi in certain categories—a poetess following conventions, a female aristocrat who fell in love, and a priestess and a nun whose obligations were to serve Shinto gods and Buddha. In regard to the third possibility, a love affair, or even composing poetry based on personal experiences, could have been perceived as a sign of illicit attachment to worldly matters. However, there is another possibility that might explain the recognition of Shikishi's excellence in poetry during her lifetime. It is notable that all major poets of the *Shinkokinshū* era estimated her poetry as outstanding, which causes one to wonder whether she was perceived as someone beyond categorization due to her imperial descent, *sai'in* service, devotion to poetry, or other features and virtues she might have possessed, and which were difficult for her contemporaries to define. If that was the case, it is intriguing how consistent all the opinions of her poetry appear to be, and why the legend about an affair with Teika came into being. Was this legend created to diminish Princess Shikishi as a paragon of Japanese poetry, or rather to add an exciting story to 'flavor' her unexciting, but ideal life as a suffering priestess and nun?

3.0. POETRY OF PRINCESS SHIKISHI

One method that can help examine the concepts of "illicit love" described above is a textual analysis of Princess Shikishi's love poems, combined with the contextual aspects of the poetry's creation. Such an analysis should consist of translations of her love poems together with the commentaries preceding them, usually explaining the circumstances in which a given piece was composed. Attention should also be paid to poetic form, poetic devices and references that Princess Shikishi utilized in her poems. The analysis will clarify whether there were any particular patterns which she followed in her poems, or whether she composed love poetry influenced by the emotions of the moment.

It should be noted that to date only 399 of Princess Shikishi's poems (Sato 16) have survived, although Yamasaki gives a number of 400 (Yamasaki 11). The majority of her poems were composed in three so called *hyakushu* sequences consisting of a hundred pieces of *tanka*, a form whose features are explained below. Hiroaki Sato claims that the rest of Shikishi's poems seem to be taken from similar sequences, which have been lost (Sato 16). The dates of creation of the three *hyakushu* sequences (A, B, and C) mentioned above remain an object of argument. Kunishima Akie claims that sequence A was composed in 1169, that is, just after Princess Shikishi retired from the *sai'in* post, or even before, as one of her poems from this sequence included in *Shinkokinshū* is signed as one composed by a *sai'in* (Yamasaki 11-12). Other scholars argue for a much later date of (ca. 1194). Yamasaki claims that this sequence was composed in 1188 (Yamasaki 12). He emphasizes that none of the poems from sequence A are included in *Senzaishū* compiled by Shunzei in 1183 (Yamasaki 12). Taking into account Shikishi's close relation to Fujiwara Shunzei, his admiration for Shikishi's poetry and the undeniable power he possessed in the poetic world, it seems unusual that sequence A had not attracted his attention, especially since nine of her later poems may be found in *Senzaishū* (Yamasaki 12-13). Sequence B is usually believed to have been created between 1187 and 1194 (Sato 17), although Yamasaki seems convinced that it was rather 1194 (Yamasaki 11). Sequence C was composed in 1200 at the order of Emperor Gotoba (Huey 86). In his diary *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara Teika described one of the *hyakushu* sequences by Princess Shikishi as "divine" (Sato 17), which indicates that he greatly respected her poetic ability. This sequence is especially significant due to the fact that seventy *tanka* were selected for inclusion in the imperial anthologies, with *Shinkokinshū* containing twenty-five of them. Yamasaki divides Shikishi's poetry into four sequences (Yamasaki 11), the fourth of which he calls sequence D and describes it as "Poems Not Found in the Personal Collections Though Selected for Imperial Anthologies." He also emphasizes that three hundred and sixty of Shikishi's poems are gathered in the so called *Shikishi Naishinnō shū* ('Collection of Shikishi Naishinnō'). Ishikawa provided a basic explanation for the poems included in this collection (Ishikawa and Tani 3-62). Okuno provides exactly four hundred poems attributed to Princess Shikishi, however she explains that three hundred and sixty pieces are surely of Shikishi's authorship, whereas the rest raise doubts (Okuno 3-9).

Princess Shikishi remains an unusual poetess in many aspects. For example, she never participated in any of the officially held poetry contests, which were a crucial poetic activity for the era preceding the compilation of *Shinkokinshū* (Carter 176). Furthermore, the poetry of Princess Shikishi appears to combine two traditions of Japanese poetry, namely *Kokinshū* and *Shinkokinshū*, as her *waka* contain typically *Kokinshū* poetic devices though with many innovations characteristic of the poetic tendencies on the eve of *Shinkokinshū* compilation. Thus, the question arises whether Princess Shikishi was able to embody a so called “old words, new heart” (*kotoba furuki, kokoro atarashiki*) ideal, established by Fujiwara Shunzei and Fujiwara Teika. This ideal promoted sophisticated vocabulary of the Heian court rather than unpolished expressions from *Man'yōshū*, which were to be the beginnings of Japanese poetry and many yet-to-come poetic devices were not yet established. In general, it was *Kokinshū* that defined the sophistication of Japanese poetry, whereas *Man'yōshū* was in some court circles perceived as a lower-level collection. Thus, Shunzei and Teika are believed to not have judged this collection highly in comparison to other poets of the Rokujō poetic school,¹² although it is also possible that Shunzei and Teika simply had another copy of *Man'yōshū*, which could have included discrepancies with the manuscript possessed by the Rokujō school.¹³ Thus, if Princess Shikishi indeed followed the directions of Shunzei and Teika, with whom she was well acquainted, it would signal she followed someone's newly invented convention rather than her personal style, although Shunzei's personal sensibility might have helped Shikishi to partially abandon Tsurayuki's strict standards of court poetry as a form of art and follow the standards of the “new style” focusing more and more on emotions than on the form itself. Carter correctly argues that Shikishi created totally new conceptions, including an example of two allusions to earlier poems in one piece (Carter 176), which is notable in the sequence C analyzed in the section 4.0.

3.1. Characteristics of Shikishi's Poetry: Form and Poetic Devices

Evaluation of Princess Shikishi's poems should be conducted on the basis of what was stated above, that is forms and traditions, but also the context of the poetry creation. It was mentioned that the Princess composed poems in the sequences of one hundred *tanka* called *hyakushu*, a tradition adopted during the reign of Emperor Horikawa, that is, between 1086-1107. Probably due to a very limited format of *tanka* (5-7-5-7-7 syllables) it had become a challenge to compose poems in sequences during *uta'awase*. This was also surely motivated by the establishment of the imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*), which were considered a unity and a form of art (LaMarre 161-188). In the *hyakushu* sequences the poems were divided into the following categories: spring, summer, autumn, winter, love, and miscellaneous with a number of pieces ascribed to each of them – subsequently 20, 15, 20, 15, 10, and 20. Such a form became a widely accepted and practiced norm of composition by the time Princess Shikishi began to create her own *tanka*. Thus, similar to the imperial anthologies which *hyakushu* sequences were aimed to imitate, every poem is an integral part of a sequence. Therefore, *tanka* composed in sequences should be interpreted in sequences, not as separate pieces.

In accordance with poetic conventions, Princess Shikishi used a number of typical poetic devices of the *Kokinshū* tradition in her poems: *kake-kotoba* (‘pivot words’), which is a pun that allows reading, and possibly translating, a homonym included in a poem twice. Words such as *matsu* (‘to wait’, ‘pine tree’), *engo* (‘related words’), related to *kake-kotoba*, help to unify certain images in a poem through connotations obvious for Japanese poetic convention. *Fushimi* (‘lying down and seeing’), for example, is associated with *yume* (‘dream’); *makura-kotoba* (‘pillow words’) which is most frequently a five-syllable figure modifying the following word, that is *hisakata-no* (‘boundless’) can precede words like *tsuki* (‘moon’), *sora* (‘sky’), *ame* (‘rain’) etc.; *uta-makura* (‘poetic place names’) are words related to *makura-kotoba* and involve specific places' names in a poem. For example, Yoshino Mountain is associated with cherry blossoms since it is known for the blooming cherry blossoms in spring; *jo* (‘introductory phrase’) which usually consists of twelve or more syllables, introduces a word or a certain idea into a poem: for example, *yukue mo shiranu* (‘not knowing the destination’). In addition to all of the *Kokinshū* style poetic devices noted prior, there is one more poetic technique that is significant for Shikishi's poetry, namely *mitate*. This technique aims at emphasizing confusion distinguishing between two things. Some other poetic techniques typical of even earlier poetry than the *Kokinshū* style might also be noticed in Princess Shikishi's poetry, for example, personification of the elements of nature like *kaze* (‘wind’).

The poetic devices presented above are all found in poems of Princess Shikishi. Furthermore, other techniques that developed much later and became features of the *Shinkokinshū* style, which are notable in Shikishi's *tanka*: *honka-dori*, are usually quite long phrases borrowed frequently from earlier poems and included without any reference to the source.¹⁴ *Honka-dori* were probably the biggest and most rebellious innovation that occurred since the establishment of the *Kokinshū* style that, although requiring allusions to other poems, would have never have allowed such close imitations. This shift from tradition was significant and foreshadowed significant changes for the future of Japanese poetry.¹⁵ The phenomenon of *honka-dori* only confirms that an idea of sequences and allusions were important in Japanese poetry. Another poetic technique characteristic for the *Shinkokinshū* style, which might also be observed in Princess Shikishi's poems, is *taigen-dome* ('ending with a noun').

Yamasaki presented an interesting table featuring the majority of the above mentioned poetic devices in the poetry of Princess Shikishi. He observed that in sequence C, the number of *honka-dori* and *taigen-dome* is the most frequent among all the sequences—27 and 43, respectively (Yamasaki 14). This could indicate that sequences A and B were written together or shortly after one another, whereas sequence C might be a representation of a change in Princess Shikishi's personal poetic style. However, although the amount of traditional poetic techniques helps to analyze the poems, it should not be the only variable taken into account upon interpretation.

3.2. Love Poetry of Princess Shikishi

It is known that Princess Shikishi's approach towards love poems is quite unusual, as she focuses on the psychology of the poem without referring to a number of natural images. This style became a convention in the next generation of poets (Carter 176). Furthermore, Carter claims that Shikishi combines Shunzei's ideals of *yūgen* ('subtle profundity of things barely suggested by the poems') and *en* ('romantic beauty associated with formal court composition', Carter 176) with great imagination and a personal approach towards poetry. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, contemporary scholarship has at its disposal only three full *hyakushu* sequences composed by Princess Shikishi. Love poetry from sequence C will be analyzed in section 4.0. However, for a thorough understanding of Shikishi's poetic ideas utilized in her love poetry, it is important to analyze the love poems from sequences A and B as well.

Sequence A contains fifteen surprisingly diverse love poems. Some of the love *tanka* are clearly focused on purely psychological aspects of love, without any natural images or references to any earlier poems by other poets. Thus, a few poems appear to be "suspended" in the love of the speaker's psychological rather than real solitude.¹⁶ Many love poems in this sequence express the sorrow and even resentment caused by the woman's feelings and constant waiting for her lover. There are examples in which the emotions are emphasized by natural images; for example, *omoigusa* ('grasses of thoughts/love'), traditionally associated with summer, or simply *kusa* ('grass') among which the woman was hiding and thus unconsciously revealing her real feelings as the flourishing grasses attract people's attention. Other images appearing in this sequence's love poems are tears in the form of *tsuyu* ('dew'), which conventionally referred to constant crying; *sode* ('sleeves'), on which aristocrats wept their tears;¹⁷ or simply the sound of water intensifying her pitiful situation and symbolizing her limitless tears. There are other images conventional for Japanese love poetry appearing in this sequence, for example, *tsuki* ('moon'), referring to the awaited man.¹⁸ Also the idea of *yume* ('dream'), conventionally associated with love, appears a few times in this sequence, and it is clearly expressing the woman's desire for a tryst. Namba argues that dreams in Shikishi's poems refer to love, but they also serve as emphases of various emotions (Namba 53-54). Yet, in her early sequence it is clear that they were associated with love. Simultaneously, there are a few unusual treatments of traditional notions; for example, in one of the poems the speaker states that she would not cry again, or in another piece the woman uses an expression containing a part of the human body, namely *mune* ('chest').¹⁸ Thus this new and direct treatment of the subject of love is truly unusual and one may wonder whether such innovations by Princess Shikishi were setting new standards for other poets. On the other hand, a number of *tanka* refer to poems from *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinshū* and even the worldwide famous novel and masterpiece of classical Japanese literature, *Genji monogatari* ('Tale of Genji') written by the celebrated female writer of the Heian period, Murasaki Shikibu. The love poems are not entirely innovative, but it is intriguing to observe even a slight shift from the tradition of the Heian court poetry.

It is also interesting that fifteen love poems from sequence B resemble a process of falling in love and continuously getting more deeply involved with the feeling, longing for a beloved person in moments of seclusion, and eventually hoping that love would vanish. It should be noticed that the images of four seasons in the sequence are compatible with the stages of love which the speaker is undergoing in the sequence. Thus, the *seri* ('watercress') from poem no. 4 is an element associated with spring and represents an early stage of love, whereas *hanagatsumi* ('flowering flags') in the poem no. 8 and *suetsumuhana* ('safflower') in poem no. 9 are images usually associated with summer and symbolize the bloom of the relationship. Subsequently, *Tatsutahime* ('Prince Tatsuta') and *sagi* ('reeds') clearly represent autumn and symbolize the waning of love. Furthermore, this sequence of love poems is a manifestation of conventional Japanese love poetry composed by a court lady and relates to the already mentioned Heian ideal of *koi*. Poems in this sequence are full of poetic allusions to the earlier poems from *Kokinshū*, the third imperial collection *Shūi waka shū* ('Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poetry') and the fourth imperial collection *Goshūi waka shū* ('Later Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poetry'), which indicates that her poetry belonged to the new stream of descriptive symbolism and the "old *kotoba* new *kokoro*" concept. Only one love poem in this sequence, namely no. 10, ends with a *taigen-dome*, so it might be concluded that the style remained rather traditional. However, in the whole sequence there is only one example of *makura-kotoba* – *Asaka no Numa* in no. 8, and also only one example of *kake-kotoba* – *fuchi* in no. 11. Thus, this sequence of love poems represents a process, and the natural images certainly help to capture the moment and specific feeling of the speaker.

It is notable that Princess Shikishi's love poems were influenced by a number of factors, including the religious aspects of her life. In fact, one of the most famous of Shikishi's love poems, *tama no yo* ('string of beads') and included in the famous collection *Hyakunin Isshu* ('One hundred poems by one hundred poets') compiled by Teika, is frequently interpreted in relation to Buddhism. Ishikawa analyzed this poem in detail (Ishikawa 23-44). The analysis of sequence C will provide more detailed information on the general treatment of love in Shikishi's poems.

4.0. THE ANALYSIS OF *HYAKUSHU* SEQUENCE "C"

The date of this sequence's creation (1200) should indicate the maturity of Princess Shikishi's poems in the love section as well. It is important to notice whether these love poems are similar to poems in sequences A and B described above. One quite significant difference may be observed immediately; sequence C contains only ten love poems, which is unusual for the *hyakushu*. The analysis provided below will be conducted on the basis of Sato's book, as well as Okuno's study of Shikishi's poems.

- しるべせよ跡なき波にこぐ舟の行へも知らぬ八重の塩風
-*Shirube seyo ato naki nami ni kogu fune no yukue mo shiranu yae no shiokaze*
-Guide, you the far wind that blows the paths of tides and does not know the destination of a boat rowing on the waves that leave no traces.

The poem is clearly imitating a prayer to the god of wind which would indicate a religious and specifically Shinto influence on Shikishi's creative process. The question arises whether the speaker was so lonely that she was forced to ask the wind for help. The poem is very indirect; it could even be a poem on religion, not love, which is intensified by *yae* ('eight layers').²⁰ There is a *honkadori* and it alludes to love poem no. 472 from *Kokinshū* by Fujiwara Kachi'on: *Shiranami no ato naki hou ni iku fune mo kaze zo tayori no shirube narikeru* ('It is the wind which guides the boats directed where there are no traces of white waves'). Thus, the *honkadori* does not directly imply love. However, Okuno emphasizes that *yukue mo shiranu* in poem no. 1071 in *Shinkokinshū* refers to the uncertainty of love (Okuno 496-497). Therefore, the love association from the *honkadori* is indirect, which creates a so called "second bottom" of the poem. In general, the speaker is lost and the poem seems to be a manifestation of a "cry" for love.

- かくとだに岩垣沼のみをつくし知る人なみに朽つる袖哉
-*Kaku to dani iwagaki numa no miotsukushi shiru hito nami ni kutsuru sode kana*

-As this is the way it is, that there is no one who knows the water markers in the marsh fenced by rocks, my sleeves decay.

There are a number of poetic devices in this poem: for example, a *kake-kotoba miotsukushi* ('water marker/sacrifice'), as well as a *honkadori* alluding to a poem by the pre-Nara period (710-784) aristocrat and renowned poet of the *Man'yōshū*, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro. The *honkadori* harkens to Hitomaro's poem *Shūi waka shū*: *Aoyama/Okuyama no iwagaki numa migomori ni koi ya wataramu au yoshi o nami* ('Water-hidden in mountain depths, in a marsh fenced in by rocks, I keep longing, with no way to meet you,' Sato 89). It is notable that water is present in the poem in a form of *kutsuru sode* ('decaying sleeves'), an image intensified by an element of nature, namely *numa* ('marsh') visible both in Shikishi's poem, as well as in Hitomaro's poem. Their presence is directly related to a woman who is constantly crying, but she is simultaneously aware of the fact she cannot help her own situation. Her sleeves decay like the water markers in the marsh, which indicates that the woman has been shedding tears for a long time. As a part of the sequence, the poem is connected to the previous one with the associations of water, as well as the expressions *shiru* vs. *shiranu* ('to know' vs. 'not know') that intensify the confusion into which the woman undeniably falls.

- 夢にてもみゆらんものを嘆きつつうちぬるよひの袖のけしきは
-Yume nite mo miyuran mono o nagekitsutsu uchinuru yoi no sode no keshiki wa
-The view of my sleeves while I grieve falling asleep at night is visible even in your dreams.

Although there is no direct allusion to any poem, Okuno points out that this *tanka* could have been influenced by poem no. 162 found in Teika's private collection entitled *Shūigū*, in which *yume* is also used (Okuno 501). The image of sleeves repeated from the previous poem acquired a new role; in accordance with the convention of Heian culture, sleeves were used as pillows. Furthermore, *yume* indicates that the situation described in the poem occurs in the evening, which was the time of day when men usually visited their lovers. Thus, the woman is waiting for her beloved man, but she feels embarrassed that he could have seen her crying in his dreams. She is attempting to conceal her true feelings, but their intensity is overwhelming even for her. It is notable that the lover ("you") is experiencing love for the first time. Furthermore, it is important to observe that sleeves are connecting this poem with the previous one. Sato claims that this poem alludes to a piece by the renowned poet Otomo no Yakamochi, and was found in his private collection (Sato 89), but Okuno does not mention it. It is also significant that the poem was selected for the love section of *Shinkokinshū* as no. 1124.

- わが恋知る人もなしせく床の涙もらすな黄楊の小枕
-Wa ga koi wa shiru hito mo nashi seku toko no namida morasu na tsuge no omakura
-There is no man who knows about my love. Oh, the wooden pillow, do not reveal the tears of my bed.

First of all, it should be noted that this poem, included in *Shinkokinshū* as no. 1036, has two unusual *honkadori*: 1) an anonymous no. 504 from *Kokinshū*'s love section: *Wa ga koi o hito shirurame ya shikitaie no makura nomi koso shiraba shirurame* ('Does he know my love? Only my rug-cloth pillow knows it, if anyone at all does,' Sato 89); and 2) Taira no Sadafun's no. 670 also from *Kokinshū*'s love section: *Makura yori mata shiru hito mo naki koi o namida seki aezu morashitsuru kana* ('This love that no one but my pillow knows: I've let it abroad, unable to hold back tears,' Sato 89). It is important to point out that the phrase *wa ga koi wa* exists from the *Man'yōshū* times and it may be found in a number of other poems; for example, included in *Kokinshū*, or another imperial anthology, *Kin'yōshū* (Okuno 502). Despite undeniable connections to the above mentioned poems, Princess Shikishi appears to have modified this traditional phrase slightly, as *wa ga koi wa shiru hito mo nashi* cannot be alluding to any phrases in the imperial anthologies or private collections (Okuno 502). It is notable that the speaker's heart and what the speaker is expressing are two separate things. The woman is surely in love, but again, she is embarrassed by her tears, which is emphasized by the personification (a poetic technique already from the *Man'yōshū* era, possibly of Chinese origin) of the pillow and her tears. Perhaps the speaker cries for the first time while in her bed, and her despair could be revealed to anyone. *Makura* ('pillow') is an important element in this poem. Okuno emphasizes that long before Princess Shikishi's time, women's confessional in the form of love and tears was a common poetic device, which is visible in poems of lady Ise included in *Kokinshū*, as well as Izumi Shikibu's *tanka* selected for *Shinkokinshū* (Okuno 503.) *Tsuge* ('wooden

box') is a *kake-kotoba*, as it overlaps with a verb *tsugeru* ('to tell'), which emphasizes the woman's fear of her feelings to be given away. This *tanka* connects to the previous one with the image of *namida* ('tears')—water, as well as *sode* ('sleeves') and *makura* ('pillow'). Interestingly, it also relates to the poem preceding the previous one with the verb *shiru* ('to know'), which indicates the woman's obsession about concealing her love. Furthermore, similarly to the previous piece, this poem involves *hito* ('person') from outside of her world of suffering.

- 知らせばや菅田の池の花かつみかつみるまになにしをらん

-*Shiraseba ya Sugata no ike no hanakatsumi katsu miru mama ni nani shioruan*

-*I want to let you know why I fade upon seeing you in the waterside grasses in the Sugata Pond.*

Although the poem does not contain any direct allusions to other *waka*, Okuno observes that an expression *shirasebaya* may be found in the fifth imperial anthology *Kin'yō waka shū* ('Collection of Golden Leaves', Okuno 504). Furthermore, *katsumi* ('waterside grasses') is a *kake-kotoba* to *katsu miru* ('to see two different things simultaneously'). The phrase *katsu miru mama ni nani shioruan* appears in various anthologies; for example, in *Shinkokinshū*, which indicates how much is borrowed from earlier poems in this piece. The poem alludes to an anonymous poem from *Kokinshū*: *Michinoku no Asaka no numa no hanakatsumi katsu miru hito ni koi ya wataramu* ('Flowering flags in Asaka Swamp of Michinoku: as infrequently seen a lover will she have to be?', Sato 90). According to Okuno, the Sugata Pond is placed somewhere in Nara, Japan's first capital and a symbol of the "old times." It also appears in various collections (Okuno 504-505). However, it is more important to notice that *sugata* is a *kake-kotoba*, as it primarily means 'a shape, appearance of a person'. Perhaps the long awaited lover is reflected in the water of the pond. It would imply that this person is somewhere close, or is simply imagined by the speaker. The flourishing waterside grasses symbolize love at the peak of its intensity, which could justify an imagined shape of a beloved person. Interestingly, this poem is believed to be composed from a man's point of view. In fact, it has a second version in which instead of *nani shioruan* one can find *nami zo shioruru* ('the waves soaking someone's clothes'), which would indicate constant shedding of tears. In any case, the poem is connected to the previous one by the image of water implied by *ike* ('pond') and *hanakatsumi* ('flourishing waterside grasses'), as well as by another person's involvement.

- 我妹子が玉裳のすそによる波のよるとはなしにほさぬ袖哉

-*Wagimoko ga tamamo no suso ni yoru nami no yoru to wa nashi ni hosanu sode kana*

-*My sleeves do not dry, as I do not fall like the waves upon a gemlike skirt of my wife.*

This poem was selected as no. 849 for the ninth imperial anthology *Shinchokusen waka shū* ('New Imperial Collection') compiled by Teika. It should be emphasized that the word *wagimo(ko)* had been widely used already in the *Man'yōshū* times, and it refers to the presence of a wife. The word, used by men, indicates that this *tanka* is also composed from a man's point of view. Although in the Heian period *wagimoko ga* was used as a *makura-kotoba* modifying *suso* ('skirt'), in this poem it is used as *jo* (Okuno 507). The phrase *tamamo no suso* appears in Hitomaro's poem no. 40 from *Man'yōshū*, whereas *tamamo* provides the meaning of a gem-like seaweed which typically in the *Man'yōshū* tradition could symbolize a woman and be a *kake-kotoba*. Thus, in a poem composed from a man's perspective, the woman could be standing by a pond present in the previous poem, which could be confirmed by *nami* ('waves'). Another possibility could be that the skirt had a pattern of waves on it (like in no. 394 from *Senzaishū*). Another phrase *yoru koto wa nashi* can be also found in *Man'yōshū* (no. 3158), which arouses a question whether Princess Shikishi derived her inspiration also from that collection. An expression *hosanu sode* ('nor drying sleeves') suggests that someone is constantly crying. However, there is a contradiction here; despite the fact that the waves do not fall upon the skirt, the sleeves are still wet. Okuno indicates that this kind of confusion is typical for Princess Shikishi's style (Okuno 508). Furthermore, Okuno points out that there is a version of this poem with *toko* ('bed') instead of *suso* ('skirt'), which increases the amorous atmosphere. The poem is connected to the previous one by the male point of view, as well as elements of sleeves and water.

- 逢事は遠津の浜の岩つつじいはでや朽ちんそむる心を
 -*Au koto wa tōtsu no hama no iwatsutsuji iwade ya kuchin somuru kokoro o*
 -Meeting you is like a tinged heart that decays without saying a word; just like rock azaleas on the beach in the far sea.

First, one can find a connection to *Man'yōshū* in this piece, as a phrase *tōtsu no hama no iwatsutsu* can be found in poem no. 288 of this collection. *Iwatsutsuji* itself may be found in *Izumi Shikibu shū* ('Collection of Izumi Shikibu') as no. 19, as well as in *Kokinshū* and *Shūigū*, and it is a metaphor of a deep love. The poem implies that the meeting of the lovers is a very distant matter. Thus, returning to the female point of view, although the speaker is in love, she cannot express her true feelings, so there remains nothing to do but cry. It is interesting that there seems to be no chronological order of the four seasons in this love sequence, as *iwatsutsuji* ('rock azaleas') are usually associated with spring, whereas at the beginning of the sequence one can observe summer images. Thus, the sequence itself appears to be confused and simultaneously confusing the reader. Still, the poem does not fail to connect to the previous one with an image of water entailed by *hama* ('beach') and *kuchiru* ('to decay').

- 我が袖はかりにもひめや紅浅葉の野らにかかる夕露
 -*Waga sode wa karini mo hime ya kurenai no Asaha no nora ni kakaru yūtsuru*
 -Will my sleeves dry even for a moment? Falling upon the crimsons in the Asaha Field, evening dew.

This poem was selected for the love section of the nineteenth imperial collection *Shinshūi waka shū* ('New Collection of Gleanings'). It contains a *honkadori* from *Man'yōshū*: *Kurenai Asaha no nora ni kakaru kusa no tsuka no aida ware o wasurasu na* ('We mow grass in safflower Asaha Field: even as briefly as your grip on it, do not forget me', Sato 90). It is not known where the Asaha Field is placed. However, in the poem it is portrayed as a place with *kurenai no* ('crimsons' or 'safflowers'), which is a *makura-kotoba*. Thus, the question arises whether it is the evening dew colored with red, or the fields are simply full of red flowers, or perhaps both. It should be pointed out that red is a significant color for love poetry, as the redness of someone's eyes could symbolize constant crying and sorrow. It is clear that sleeves were never dry once the woman fell in love. However, as opposed to the previous poems in this sequence, it is arguable if the speaker is genuinely attempting to conceal her tears. Perhaps she simply puts her wet sleeves on the flowers of the Asaha Field. It ought to be noted that although the place is different from the previous *tanka* (beach vs. field), it is still an open space in which a woman could be awaiting her lover's arrival. There are a few significant connections to the preceding poem; for example, the presence of a flower—azaleas and crimsons—undeniably intensifies the amorous atmosphere by providing both the visual and fragrant aspects of their existence. It should also be remembered that in early Japanese poetry women were compared to flowers. Furthermore, another tie with the previous piece is created by the continued image of decaying sleeves.

- あふ事をけふ松がえの手向草いく夜しをるる袖とかは知る
 -*Au koto o kyō matsugae no tamukegusa ikuyo shioruru sode to ka wa shiru*
 -Do you know for how many nights my withered sleeves made an offering to the gods at a pine-branch, so that we meet today?

Interestingly, one can observe a revival of religious (Shinto) themes almost at the end of the sequence. The poem was included in *Shinkokinshū*. It contains a *honkadori* of Prince Kawashima's poem from *Man'yōshū*: *Shiranami no hamamatsu ga eda no tamukegusa ikuyo made ni ka toshi no henuramu* ('Pine branch votive grass on the white-wave beach, for how many generations have the years passed?' Sato 90). Okuno points out that *ikuyo* ('how many nights') refers to the *ikuyo* ('how many generations') in the *Man'yōshū* poem, and creates a specific kind of *kake-kotoba* (Okuno 514-515). There is also another *kake-kotoba*, namely *matsu* ('pine/to wait'), which implies that her prayers are eternal. What is the speaker praying for? It seems that the woman will be awaiting her lover forever, as that was the convention and expected behavior of a woman. It is not clear if the speaker was eventually able to meet with her lover, so the sequence remains ambiguous and in the sphere of hopes and dreams rather than in real life. The poem connects to the previous one by the natural

elements, as well as to the constant tears and process of waiting. Nothing seems to proceed in this relationship, if there ever was any real love affair in this sequence.

- 待ちいでていかにながめん忘るなといひしばかりの有明の空
 -Machi'idete ika ni nagamen wasuruna to iishi bakari no ariake no sora
 -How could I gaze waiting by the waning moon that has just said: do not forget.

The poem contains a *honkadori* from *Kokinshū* no. 691 by monk Sosei: *Ima komu to iishi bakari ni nagatsuki no ariake no tsuki o machi'idetsuru kana* ('Because you said, I'll come now, I have waited until the Long Month moon, at daybreak, has come out', Sato 90.) A phrase *ariake no sora* or *ariake no tsuki* ('waning moon') conventionally symbolizes a man, and sometimes also Buddhist enlightenment.²¹ In any case, it is not clear if the lovers managed to meet, but this *tanka* closes the sequence of ten poems with the speaker, likely a woman, awaiting her beloved man while gazing outside. It can be concluded that she is incredibly lonely and sorrowful. It is interesting that in the *honkadori* that was used in this poem a man explicitly says that he would visit her, but in Shikishi's poem the situation is different. The only thing the man allegedly says here is *do not forget*, so the speaker keeps the words deep in her heart and although she is uncertain, she still waits and dreams of a man who will rescue her. Perhaps it is the moon she happens to see every night that causes her to wait. The speaker could have also met this man only once and she simply preserves the memory of moments spent together. The poem is connected to the previous one only by an image of *ariake no sora* symbolizing a man and probably an illicit affair that even if it never took place, was projected into the world of the speaker's imagination. No other images are notable here, which intensifies the process of waiting and the speaker's solitude.

5.0. CONCLUSION

It is notable that sequence C represents an imaginary, yet illicit love. Love poems at the beginning and end of the sequence mention religious elements and thus balance the compositions, whereas the pieces in the middle of the sequence represent a very strong and almost uncontrollable feeling of desire. They could even be manifestation of a love obsession. The switch to the male point of view in two of the middle *tanka* is interesting. Perhaps Princess Shikishi felt that she could not express certain aspects of love composing a poem only from the woman's perspective. In any case, it is an interesting device which references *Man'yōshū*, a collection which undeniably influenced sequence C to a great extent. It is difficult to determine the origin of Shikishi's fascination with the *Man'yōshū* poetry, but it is evident that some of the references come from Shunzei's *Koraijūteishō*, as in the second love poem in the sequence analyzed above. The second poem alludes to a *Man'yōshū* piece with the first word *okuyama* instead of *aoyama*, which might be found in this anthology from the Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyoto (Shipen kokka taikan 2684). Thus, *okuyama* was probably transmitted from Shunzei's copy of *Man'yōshū*, as it stands in the same form in *Koraijūteishō* (Nihon kagaku taiki 490). It is also known that Princess Shikishi had numerous siblings (Murai 2-3), one of whom was a Buddhist monk named Shukaku. He sponsored a few poetry contests in the late 1190s and was close to the Rokujō poetic school (Huey 53), which might be another connection to the *Man'yōshū* tradition for Princess Shikishi. Moreover, taking into account a connection to *Koraijūteishō* and Shikishi's interest in the authenticity of emotions, as well as the presence of *makoto* (a feature of the *Man'yōshū* poetry), it is not surprising the poetess alluded to this collection.

The love affair in sequence C seems to be a desire and an imagining of the speaker. It represents a lonely and isolated woman, yet not totally deprived of terrestrial pleasures and sufferings, which could resemble the situation of Princess Shikishi herself. Thus, Teika, who was undoubtedly fascinated with Shikishi, could have been not her lover, but simply an admirer. Furthermore, taking into account the medievalization of Japanese poetry in the later period, quite an uninteresting image of Shikishi's personal life could have incited a romanticized interpretation of her relationship with Teika. The Princess remains a poet of imagination who skillfully implied an idea of "illicit love" in her poems, likely to attract some attention, or simply to experiment with her own poetic style.

Obviously, it is difficult to conclude why exactly Princess Shikishi's love poems are so highly regarded and whether they were based on any kind of personal experiences. However, there are other examples in Japanese literature that resemble Shikishi's situation. The famous traveling monk and poet Saigyō composed love *waka* considered exceptional despite the lack of evidence that they were based on personal experiences. In the case of Princess Shikishi, the only undeniable passions that can be pointed out are poetic composition and religion. These passions however are not as illicit as secret love affairs.

NOTES

1. *Sai'in* was a female relative to the Emperor, often a princess of blood, who served as a vestal virgin (or high priestess) at the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto.
2. The Kamo Shrines are two independent but closely associated Shinto shrines in Kyoto. According to the tradition of the Kamo Shrines, they were built at their present locations in 678, although their origins are said to go back to the reign of the legendary first Emperor, Jimmu (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).
3. The Mikohidari poetic school was established by the late 1100s and descended from the Fujiwara family. As opposed to the Rokujō school, also of Fujiwara descent, Mikohidari was more innovative in its approach. The school highly appreciated *Genji monogatari* as a 'textbook' of poetry creation. The poets representative of the school are: Minamoto Yoshitune, Jien, Fujiwara Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Ietaka, and Jakuren (Huey 59).
4. *Koraifūteishō* ('Collection of Poetic Styles Old and New') is a two-volume treatise on poetics written by Fujiwara no Shunzei in 1197 and revised in 1201. Volume 1 contains discussions of the nature and history of Japanese verse (*waka*) and explications of 191 verses selected from the eighth-century collection *Man'yōshū*. In volume 2, Shunzei gives examples that display the variety of expressive effects that can be achieved with *waka* and analyzes verses drawn from seven imperial anthologies, beginning with the *Kokinshū* and ending with the *Senzaishū* (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).
5. *Shinkokin waka shū* ('New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems'), or in short *Shinkokinshū* is the eighth imperial anthology of Japanese poetry. It consists of twenty books. It was compiled at the wish of Emperor Gotoba. The collection clearly did not refer to the *Kokinwakashū* tradition and its rules of creating poetry. It introduced the new poetic figures *honkadōri* and *taigen-dōme* (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).
6. *Kokin waka shū* ('Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems'), or in short *Kokinshū*, is the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry. It consists of twenty books. It was compiled at the wish of Emperor Daigo. This collection, together with its *Kana* preface written by Ki no Tsurayuki, set poetic convention for centuries (*Encyclopedia of Japan*).
7. *Koi* was a key concept describing love in the Heian period. It might be translated as 'sorrow is love'. In its original form, this expression had been written with two Chinese characters: first *ko*, signifying loneliness, and second, *hi*, or longing and sorrow. This notation of the word appears in the anthology *Man'yōshū* written exactly the way it was described above. Analysis of ideograms' meaning points at a peculiar kind of love feeling, dominated by sadness and loneliness. A very painful feeling of longing for a beloved, absent person was hidden in the expression *koi*.
8. Although historians date the following historical period, Kamakura, from 1185 to 1333, cultural reality at the imperial court was still deeply submerged into the Heian lifestyle and social conventions.
9. Shinto is Japan's indigenous religion and one of the world's oldest religions, which has its own mythology, gods, and goddesses etc. It existed on its own until the arrival of Buddhism to Japan in the sixth century, and from that time on merged with Buddhism, forming a unique system of beliefs. It became a tool of imperial propaganda during World War II.
10. Princesses of blood by the late Heian period usually did not marry as their high position did not urge them for marriage. Furthermore, the "marriage policy" at that time was entirely taken over by the Fujiwara family.

11. Another reason for Shikishi's decision to take vows could have been caused by the theory of *mappō*, which traditionally is believed to be a degenerate era during which people were not able to achieve enlightenment.
12. The Rokujō poetic school was more conservative than the Mikohidari school in its approach towards poetry. The poets of this school highly valued and studied *Man'yōshū*. Poets representing the school were Fujiwara Akisue and Minamoto Michichika.
13. During the medieval age the so called secret transmission (*denju*) began to be practiced as a method of teaching a specific art. Thus, certain houses or families possessed knowledge on one particular art in which the family members specialized. The Rokujō family possessed a copy of *Man'yōshū* and they were experts of this collection, whereas the Mikohidari school became specialists of *Genji monogatari*. Other families had other copies of various writings and "unofficially" studied those texts also. Secret transmission was a way to maintain the power and high status of the family as the literary protectors and specialists.
14. According to the standards of modern scholarship, this may appear as plagiarism. However, it is crucial to understand that in Japanese culture the art of close imitation of the original has always been socially accepted and even considered an act of respect or admiration.
15. In the later periods, one can find completely different styles of composition, which implied many new techniques and natural elements prohibited in traditional Japanese poetry. A good example is the famous *haiku* poet, Matsuo Bashō.
16. It ought to be remembered that loneliness and sorrow were basic and conventional feelings from which much Japanese court love poetry were composed.
17. Wet sleeves, in which the aristocrats wept their tears, were a symbol of love. Wide sleeves were also commonly used as pillows and were an erotic image of lovers who slept on each other's sleeves.
18. Conventionally the bright moon symbolized either a beloved man for whom a woman was waiting or Buddhist enlightenment. Usually a man was able to find the way to his lover's house only during the bright moon-lit evenings as he did not want to reveal the secret of their affair to anyone by using, for example, a torch.
19. Directly mentioning the woman's black long hair was the only erotic element that could appear in Japanese poetry in the Heian culture. Describing parts of the human body was conventionally prohibited in Japanese poetry.
20. Eight is a number associated with Shinto and its rituals. The examples can be found among others in *Man'yōshū*.
21. It is notable that in a diary entitled *Towazugatari* ('A Tale No One Asked For') by lady Nijō, one of the protagonist's lovers is a Buddhist monk and he receives a pseudonym Ariake no Tsuki, which would imply that the lovers must have been hiding their affair from the world. Thus, illicit love might be somehow involved in this expression.

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MENTORING ARGUMENTATION: PEDAGOGIES COMBINING THE TOULMIN AND ROGERS METHODS

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on my experience as a writing mentor, I will show how using Rogerian Rhetoric and the Toulmin Schema in conjunction helps students' metacognition when planning to write argumentative research papers. With this stronger base to build on, they can use assignments as vehicles for self discovery and reflection.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

A mentor can be defined as an English graduate student working as a non-grader in the English 100 composition classroom. Instead of grading, they serve as a confidante, guide, and friend to the first year students. The pedagogical approaches this paper is concerned with are approaches to negotiating the analytic argument essays of the English 100 composition classroom, particularly the research argument paper.

Through the fall 2009 and spring 2010 semesters, I began to experiment with a relatively new combined pedagogical approach for negotiating research papers. Since the 1990s, two philosophies have merged in teaching students the process of constructing research-oriented argument papers. Rogerian Rhetoric, inspired by the work of psychologist Carl Rogers, systematizes the approach to incorporating counter-arguments into a research paper. The Toulmin Schema, developed by philosopher Stephen Toulmin, posits the structure of an argument as a movement from data to claims. Using Rogerian Rhetoric and the Toulmin Schema together encourages the student to think of their writing as participating "in dialogue" with an already existing conversation.

2.0. ROGERIAN RHETORIC

Rogerian argument is the basis of Rogerian rhetoric. Rogerian rhetoric is the broad range of rhetorical strategies based on the work of Carl Rogers, whereas Rogerian argument is the application of those strategies into a written argument paper. Rogerian argument was first given that name by Young, Becker, and Pike in *Rhetoric: Discovery and Change*. They argue against a conventional, defined structure for an argument, but argue that it does have discernible phases. They give Rogerian argument four phases:

- 1) An introduction to the problem and a demonstration that the opponent's position is understood.
- 2) A statement of the contexts in which the opponent's position may be valid.
- 3) A statement of the writer's position, including the contexts in which it is valid.
- 4) A statement of how the opponent's position would benefit if he were to adopt elements of the writer's position. If the writer can show that the positions complement each other, that each supplies what the other lacks, so much the better. (283)

This articulation, with its ability to be reproduced on Powerpoint slides in student presentations, encapsulates Rogerian argument and forms the basis for textbooks like *A World of Ideas*, or Patricia Connors' 1995 article "How to be Persuasive in Writing."

In terms of the evolution of how the Rogerian model became adapted into the classroom, it is worth noting that writing is not a major topic in the works of Carl Rogers. Indeed, he never directly addresses it as a topic or a practice, or a facet in therapy, throughout *Client-Centered Therapy*, *Freedom to Learn*, or *Freedom to Learn for the 80s*. Rogers is more interested in learning than in writing. Never-the-less, in some crucial points, he does explain how instructors can make room for writing in a student-centered learning approach. He gives one example in *Client-Centered Therapy* of how examinations, writing, and all the standard evaluative methods can be apparent in the Rogerian model. His example teacher explains to the class at the beginning of the course:

I would like this course to be, in so far as possible, your course, to meet the purposes you would like to have it meet. There is one limitation which is imposed upon me as well as upon you, and that is the examination which every section of this course must take. With that limitation in mind, what purposes would you like this course to serve? (396)

In this case, Rogers offers a situation where there really is "one limitation." However, in the writing classroom, often this one limitation has dramatic effect. If a class, to fulfill the writing class requirement set by the university, must have a certain number of pages completed, then the class will still likely center on and around writing. And if the students are required to take the course, then one has to ask how much freedom there really is. A Rogerian model might inform the way students interact with that writing and with each other, but the necessity to write will remain the same, even if the expectations involved in that writing and the kinds of writing might change.

Rogerian Rhetoric has its roots—if not its actual form—in Carl Roger's *Client-Centered Therapy*. In the chapter "Implications for Psychological Theory" Rogers lays out nineteen propositions about how the individual re-organizes value systems and the way they see the world. Although Rogers paints the human as malleable, in the ninth proposition Rogers argues that, "As a result of interaction with the environment, and particularly as a result of evaluational [sic] interaction with others, the structure of self is formed" (498). Rogers follows this proposition with an example describing the infant interacting with his or her environment. Soon, the infant experiences evaluation: "You're a good child" or "You're a naughty boy," and these experiences shape the infant's perceptual field (499). Rogers suggests that this model grows the structure of the self. This lack of autonomy is crucial for understanding argument as something actually capable of reshaping the structure of the self. Rogers' fourteenth proposition argues:

Psychological maladjustment exists when the organism denies to awareness significant sensory and visceral experiences, which consequently are not symbolized and organized into the gestalt of the self-structure. Certainly an educator wants to ensure that neither the spiritual or material needs of a student are becoming atrophied; but whether comic correctives will manage to address these issues without the student shutting out the lesson might be a matter of debate. (498)

As a case study, let us consider a student I mentored in the Fall of 2009. This student often expressed very strong negative opinions against several of the earliest readings. He would often declare loudly that he thought a given text was "stupid" to the instructor in class. When I met with him for a conference, however, instead of rebuking him or, worse, outright defending every text—I instead listened to not only what he was saying, but how he was saying it. As I asked him about his process of reading, I discovered that as he came to disagree with a text, he would then stop reading it. Burke might argue that the texts we were reading were failing in their own mode to operate "comically." However, as a mentor, the lack of reading served as a bigger concern. If this student was not completing the assignments, then he was setting a problematic precedent for his first semester in college. I sensed that many of the student's problems with reading were in large part due to his sense of threat from the material being presented. In class, the student was the only proactive critic of the readings, and it seemed like he might feel like the only one who saw anything wrong with them. To help this student succeed in college life, I needed to take on the role of a Rogerian therapist. I needed to be a Rogerian mentor.

To achieve this role, I engaged in a variety of devices that Rogers encourages in *Freedom to Learn*. For instance, I engaged in what Rogers calls *congruence*. I expressed my own relationship with the texts we had been reading in class. Like him—and many others in the class—I of course did not necessarily agree with everything every text said. However, I have nothing to fear from arguments I disagree with—in fact, the instructor likely assigned the texts with the expectation that some people would disagree with them. Rather than seeing texts as only items to be consumed or jettisoned, I argued that it is more important to read a text that you disagree with so that, if you want to later disagree with it, you can give clear examples of how the argument is invalid. I then used this point to explore how looking at arguments he disagreed with could serve as useful or even vital points in his research and essays.

In this case, I eventually did come to making an argument, and perhaps this means I was engaging more in the Rogerian argument of Young, Becker, and Pike where the rhetor eventually does engage in presenting a position. In fact, I followed every step in Rogerian argument. I 1) introduced the problem (that the

student finds the reading for class “stupid”), then 2) argued that indeed the student’s point was partly valid (I also disagreed with some of the readings). I then 3) offered the position that the student should do the reading not only in spite of disagreeing with something, but possibly even because of it. And 4) I suggested that taking this approach will likely lead to more success not only in this class but in future classes.

I also recognized that I wasn’t going to completely remove the student’s sense of threat after one half hour discussion. Further, many of the student’s frustrations had nothing to do with school—he was also in the midst of a myriad of financial and social woes. However, he did remark at the end of the conference that he had never considered taking that approach to reading and research. And, in the following weeks, I noticed a near immediate change in the way the student approached class. The student no longer made quite so many polemical or flippant responses—but instead continued to engage in more personal discussions with his peers about the specific topics of papers and writing.

I put Rogers’ theory to its limit in a class activity I led in the spring of 2010. I hosted a Rogerian Debate on the subject of “Rail or No Rail” which I took to be a relatively neutral topic about the proposed rail line. For this exercise, I had each student take one step in Young, Becker, and Pike’s version of Rogerian debate, with one new step added where one speaker would introduce their side’s position. Previous to the class, I had asked students to read a few brief articles to prime them on the major topics—and the topic had also come up in class. After the debate was over, I asked the students how it went and what their thoughts were on the Rogerian style. Although the comments were brief, they nevertheless highlighted the rewards and challenges of using the Rogerian mode. One student remarked that “it would be easy to adopt this method for my research paper,” which was great news for me as a mentor, however some students struggled with certain sections. Another student (Student B) said, “it is hard to describe your opponent’s position neutrally.” On the one hand, this reflected the strength of challenging students with Rogerian rhetoric: rarely are students tasked to actually keep an open mind. But on the other hand, perhaps this also includes a tacit criticism of Rogerian rhetoric in that it tasks the student with understanding a topic neutrally but gives them no analytic framework that strives for neutrality. Another student chimes in with the question, “how do you assess the validity of the points?” As a mentor, I felt like the student implied in this question a further question: “what do you do when you cannot reconcile the two positions?” since that ended up happening in the debate. To me, this suggested it was time to introduce them to an analytic framework for breaking down argument, such as the Toulmin Schema.

3.0. THE TOULMIN SCHEMA

The Toulmin Schema, developed by philosopher Stephen Toulmin, posits the structure of an argument as a movement from data to claims. Toulmin introduced the schema in *The Uses of Argument* and further developed it in *An Introduction to Reasoning*. The Toulmin Schema is a layout containing six interrelated components for analyzing arguments: claim, data, warrant, backing, rebuttal, and qualifier.

The schema has been at times characterized as too formalized. Keith and Beard remark that in “some cases, the sentence that one scholar identified as a warrant might appear, to another scholar in another context, as a claim” (30). In fact, Toulmin addresses this concern on the same page that he introduces the idea of the warrant:

The question will at once be asked, how absolute is this distinction between data, on the one hand, and warrants, on the other... By grammatical tests alone, the distinction may appear far from absolute, and the same English sentence may serve a double function: it may be uttered, that is, in one situation to convey a piece of information, in another to authorize a step in an argument, and even perhaps in some contexts to do both these things at once. (92)

One of the main rewards of using the Toulmin Schema is its flexibility. The very process of talking with a student and working dialectically to break down an argument can often be the most rewarding part of the mentoring process, and consensus is not required for this activity to be productive. Perhaps some demystification about the Toulmin Schema would go a long way in composition classrooms. Warrants can be difficult to identify—and to build consensus on—since at different times some claims may be warrants and some warrants may be claims. Although this does not invalidate the Toulmin schema, it does present something of a challenge for those interested in teaching it. And addressing problems with understanding and

comprehending warrants is not something likely to come up in works that use it to teach writing, such as *A World of Ideas*, *For Argument's Sake: A Guide to Writing Effective Arguments*, or Maxine Hairston's *Successful Writing*. Generally, textbooks are interested in giving a concise, clear explanation of the Toulmin Schema—at the expense of avoiding its nuance or elements that might confuse the student.

Trying to decide what is data and what claims a writer is interested in making can also help move a student from a very broad topic into a more specific one. Another student, Jane, sought help because she was having difficulty coming up with a topic to write about. She had a general theme: the future of culture. However, she had not managed to get her topic any more specific than that. She said that she might be interested in censorship, but that still struck me as too broad a topic for a five page paper. After some further discussion, she said that her group had encouraged her write a paper on movies. This still seemed too broad to serve as a good starting point for her research.

When I tried to get her to think of her argument in Toulmin's terms, it became easier for her to latch onto a more specific topic. I encouraged her to first come up with and decide what her data was. On the one hand, I encouraged her to explore web resources like Academic Search Premier and see what articles might interest her. But I also asked her to consider what sort of data she might already have. I asked her about her favorite movies, and the second one she listed was *Superbad*. Already we were entering the domain of specific examples.

After thinking about what data we had available, I then was able to guide the student into developing the sort of claim that could become a strong thesis. I noted that *Superbad* might be a good example to work on because the movie is so full of obscenities that it could not have been released under previous censorship guidelines, such as the Hayes Code. Since she obviously liked *Superbad*, it seemed like she might be able to take a stance on film censorship: that censorship has become less strict over time, and that this generally can be seen in a positive light. Since *Superbad* is generally a mainstream, somewhat popular film that has been well-received, it is a good example to use and a good point to build further research upon. Using it as an example seemed warranted—and thinking of it as a representative example boosted her confidence.

The student reported that this method of topic-building worked for her. As we finished, she was smiling brightly and said that I had really helped her. The session went quickly and smoothly and I genuinely felt like I had helped move her in the direction of writing a strong, coherent paper. Further, she had new tools to engage in future research.

At no point in mentoring students in this way did I need to draw the Toulmin diagrams or even bring up Toulmin himself. However, the logical systems that Toulmin presents for analyzing argument helps me show students what they need to develop the strong arguments they will need to succeed in collegiate writing. The system does this by using the terminology and the inductive leaps that students are often on the cusp of making, but at times get bogged down in by quasi-academic discourse and conventions. Understanding the inductive leaps students are *close* to making but have not made yet might be something that only the writing mentor, in individual conferences, can understand.

Perhaps the biggest benefit was in the actual time saved. When mentoring a student where I do not think of the Toulmin Schema, my mentoring sessions would last an average of 35 minutes before I felt like the student was able to move on to the next step with confidence. When I did implement the Toulmin Schema, I found my sessions ran closer to 25 minutes. The students seemed more confident and happier walking out of the door—and that was because I had to spend less time clarifying my earlier comments to avoid giving the dreaded “bad advice.”

In the classroom, focusing on the argument first before responding to it, can maintain a neutral tone and keep the threat low. I put this impression of the Toulmin schema to the test by facilitating a class discussion on the U.S. Policy concerning homosexuality in the military. I took this to be a controversial subject that could risk raising the threat level in the class. I asked the class what they made of the language of *morale* and *unit cohesion* being used to justify the policy: were these parts of the law data or warrants? Although the question itself might warrant much discussion, I paid close attention to the demeanor of the class. Each student spoke,

taking their turn, and in turn shared their personal experiences about homophobia, and from the topic of homophobia, into the broader spectrum of biases.

4.0. CONCLUSION

When retaining a low-threat environment by engaging with Rogerian principles while mentoring, students seem more confident as they leave individual mentoring sessions. In class, students engage neutrally in open conversation and find ways to identify with the topics. Further, students are challenged when they try to respond neutrally to opposing viewpoints. By engaging with the Toulmin Schema, students can sometimes find an analytic framework to qualify the relationship between their argument and opposing viewpoints, which further builds confidence and reduces threat.

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CASTING MENTORS AS SELF-EFFICACY BUILDERS IN THE FIRST-YEAR COMPOSITION CLASSROOM

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ABSTRACT

According to Albert Bandura's *Social Foundations of Thought and Action* (1986), self-efficacy is the degree of people's belief in their ability to attain goals. Two independent studies by McCarthy and Shell have linked Bandura's theory to writing pedagogy, showing that students with high writing self-efficacy perform better academically. Drawing from my experience as a writing mentor, I will analyze the mentor's potential for providing verbal persuasion and vicarious experience to build self-efficacy in first-year composition students.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Albert Bandura introduced his self-efficacy theory in *Social Foundations of Thought and Action* and later refined and expanded it in *Self-efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. According to Bandura's theory, self-efficacy is the degree of people's beliefs about their ability to "produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives. Self-efficacy beliefs determine how people feel, think, motivate themselves and behave" (71).

The implications of self-efficacy theory for composition studies are considerable. Several studies have shown the connection between writing self-efficacy beliefs and writing performance. In an early study, McCarthy et al. compared first-year composition students' self-assessment of writing ability with actual writing proficiency and found that "Students' perceptions of their writing skills are related to their actual writing performance" (470). Likewise, Shell et al. conducted a study of undergraduate students' self-efficacy beliefs and their effect on reading and writing performance, which confirmed the hypothesis that self-efficacy beliefs impact academic performance.

Given the relationship between writing self-efficacy beliefs and academic performance, building students' self-efficacy toward writing is an important aspect of teaching first year composition. Bandura identifies four sources for self-efficacy gains: mastery experiences, coping with physiological factors, verbal persuasion, and vicarious experience. In the framework of mentoring, the last two are especially applicable. Verbal persuasion is the act of providing encouragement and positive reinforcement, while vicarious experience refers to observing social models—watching peers succeed at a task raises self-efficacy, while seeing them fail lowers it.

Teachers in traditional classroom settings are not always in an ideal position to act as self-efficacy builders. As assessors of student performance, first-year composition teachers can be an intimidating presence in the classroom. Since self-efficacy beliefs are influenced by peer modeling, the age and skill discrepancy between instructor and student often makes professors an unlikely object for social modeling. Instead of relying on traditional classroom structures to build students' writing self-efficacy, I will examine the potential for mentors to tap verbal persuasion and provide vicarious experience as a source of self-efficacy for first-year composition students.

2.0. VERBAL PERSUASION

Bandura has noted that self-efficacy gains through verbal persuasion are "apt to be only as strong as the recipient's confidence in the person who issues them. This confidence is mediated through the perceived credibility and expertness of the persuaders" (Bandura 105). Mentors, although they do not have the power to grade students, are perceived as advanced writers in the first-year composition classroom, which makes them a credible source for verbal persuasion.

More importantly, Bandura adds that "knowledge of the realities that performers will have to manage is . . . another consideration in evaluating the credibility of social persuaders" (105). Many of our writing mentors are recent college graduates and are thus intimately familiar with the demands placed on first-year students, including discursive practices, grading criteria, and course requirements. At the same time, mentors

are also aware of the challenges of being a student: time management, balancing social needs and employment with college, financial difficulties, sleep deprivation and a range of other factors that constitute the realities of student life.

It follows that writing mentors at UH Mānoa possess the “credibility and expertness” required to successfully utilize verbal persuasion. There are several ways in which mentors can take advantage of their unique position in the first-year composition classroom to tap verbal persuasion as a means of building self-efficacy. Many first-year students encounter stumbling blocks in basic tasks such as “understanding the assignment’s requirements,” which can create anxiety and thus lower students’ self-efficacy beliefs. Using verbal persuasion, mentors can try to reverse this process and help students feel that they have what it takes to complete the assignment successfully. In some cases, simple encouragement on the mentor’s part that the task is manageable given the student’s skill level can boost students’ self-efficacy beliefs. One method that I have found useful in the past is to break down a complex assignment into more manageable parts. One example from my mentoring practice is the following writing assignment:

Respond to question 5 in the “Suggestions for Critical Writing” section of Jacobus on p. 53. [One of Machiavelli’s most controversial statements is: “a man who wishes to make a vocation of being good at all times will come to ruin among so many who are not good.” How would Lao Tzu respond to this statement? How does the American political environment in the current decade support this statement? Under what conditions would such a statement become irrelevant?] In formulating an essay that deals with this question, make sure you address the specifics of the prompt: the quotation from Machiavelli, the comparison to Lao Tzu, the application to the current American political environment, and the final question about the possible irrelevance of Machiavelli’s advice. Don’t just list a series of answers to these questions, but formulate a coherent essay that includes all these issues, using your own judgment and the evidence you select as most relevant for the answers. (Jacobus 53)

Several students I worked with for this assignment felt overwhelmed by the complexity of the project and found it difficult to get started. The specific problems students experienced included understanding the short reading selections from Machiavelli and Lao Tzu, dealing with several challenging questions in one coherent essay, considering philosophical and political issues and choosing a proper mode of writing. We broke down the assignment into the following components: first, analyze Machiavelli’s quote and understand its exact meaning (a couple of students did not know what “vocation” means and had not consulted a dictionary either); next, answer the three questions posed by the prompt individually and write one or two paragraphs each; finally, organize these answers logically into a coherent essay. Once the students realized that they can deal with the problems posed by the assignment in increments, they were prepared to take the necessary steps.

Another common scenario that lends itself to verbal persuasion is working with instructors’ written feedback. As Eric Wiltse has observed, “Instructors find that constructive criticism can increase some students’ self-efficacy beliefs in their ability to write and motivate them to work harder and improve their writing. However, the same comments that were intended to be constructive can cause other students to dislike writing and to give up trying to improve subsequent drafts” (126). It seems plausible to argue then that mentors can help students interpret the instructor’s comments as constructive criticism, rather than a mark of flawed writing. Some of the students I have worked with automatically assume that extensive written feedback is a sign of a weak paper. A more positive outlook would regard the comments as an indicator that the student was able to engage the instructor and that the feedback provided can serve as a starting point for further improvement. When working with students on revisions, I try to emphasize strong points of the paper and highlight positive feedback by the instructor before addressing the paper’s flaws.

Ultimately, the fact that a graduate student regularly attends class and shows a vested interest in the students’ writing performance can serve as a form of social persuasion. It is not uncommon for first-year students to feel lost and alone in the new academic environment. Upon encountering obstacles in the form of academic discourse, challenging assignments and competitive classrooms, it is easy to feel as though the burden of tackling these difficulties rests solely on the student’s shoulders, which creates anxiety and lowers self-efficacy beliefs. Having a mentor in the classroom, who looks out for students and offers assistance with writing and college related issues, can serve as a boost in perceived self-efficacy, prompting students to try harder to succeed.

3.0. VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE

While verbal persuasion requires a conscious effort on the mentor's part, vicarious experience through social modeling generally takes place unconsciously. In this form of self-efficacy building, observing people succeed at various tasks through sustained effort and employment of task-specific strategies can convince students that comparable tasks can be similarly managed. According to Bandura, "people actively seek proficient models who possess the competencies to which they aspire. By their behavior and expressed ways of thinking, competent models transmit knowledge and teach observers effective skills and strategies for managing environmental demands" (88). As in the case of verbal persuasion, mentors are in the ideal position to provide vicarious experience for first-year composition students. Since self-efficacy gains through social modeling depend largely on the observer's ability to identify with the role model (Bandura 101), it should be stressed that mentors not only exert credibility and expertness, but are in many ways no different than the students in the class. The basic task of coming to class, taking notes, and participating in class activities can provide a model for students to observe and learn from vicariously. While the basics of attending class are taken for granted by experienced students, first-year students are not always inclined to do the same. In my experience, it is not uncommon for students to exhibit a number of unprofessional behaviors in the classroom, ranging from coming late to class to falling asleep during lectures. Having someone in the class to model appropriate classroom behavior can be a valuable resource for students' vicarious experience.

In addition to exhibiting basic classroom behavior, mentors also model problem solving techniques and strategic planning in the classroom. As Bandura has argued, "Modeling influences can convey rules for generative and innovative behavior as well. In abstract modeling, people learn thinking skills and how to apply them by inferring the rules and strategies that models use as they arrive at solutions" (93). In "Fifty Ways to Add Your Mentor," a reference for instructors and mentors at UH, instructors are encouraged to "Ask the mentor to strategize aloud in class," in order to provide students with an example of how to break down complex problems and "help students feel less intimidated" by the assignment (2). While instructors are perfectly capable of abstract modeling, it seems less effective in building self-efficacy beliefs, since students are aware of the gap in skill level. Instead, instructor and mentor can collaborate to provide students with vicarious experience by casting the mentor in the role of problem solver in class.

Although the benefits of social modeling seem self-evident, Bandura discusses the potential pitfalls of social comparison. Many college classes grade students on a curve, which pits students against one another. The more advanced students receive a boost in self-efficacy at the expense of their classmates who are less skilled. While this is a common problem in college classrooms, Bandura has suggested the following approach:

Modeling influences can be structured in ways that instill and strengthen a sense of personal efficacy while avoiding the personal costs of adverse social comparison. This is achieved by maximizing modeling's instructive function and minimizing its comparative evaluative function. The modeling situation is construed as an opportunity to develop one's knowledge and skills through the aid of proficient models. (92)

Since mentors are in the unusual position of being an active participant in class, but are not graded, and therefore not in competition with the students, it is unlikely that any "adverse social comparison" will take place. Rather than exhibiting anxiety about unfavorable social comparison with the mentor, students can focus on acquiring the skills needed to succeed through vicarious experience.

4.0. CONCLUSION

As I have demonstrated, there is great potential for applying Bandura's self-efficacy theory in mentored sections of first-year composition. In their dual role as authority figures and fellow students, mentors are in an ideal position to act as self-efficacy builders. Both in individual conferences and in the classroom, mentors can utilize verbal persuasion and provide vicarious experience for first-year students. It is, however, crucial to provide mentors with the necessary training to realize the full potential of the mentor as self-efficacy builder. As a first step, UH writing mentors have collaboratively created a Laulima website as a resource for students, teachers and mentors, which contains a wealth of useful materials, including a section devoted to

building self-efficacy. Further steps could be taken as well, such as dedicating time during the bi-weekly mentor roundtable meetings, conducting workshops for mentors and inviting specialists to talk about writing self-efficacy.

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