

2017 proceedings

21st Annual Graduate Student Conference

College of Languages,
Linguistics & Literature

Edited by

Uy-Di Nancy Le

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PREFACE

Uy-Di Nancy Le, MA student in Second Language Studies

The 21st Annual Graduate Student Conference of the College of Languages, Linguistics & Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa was held on Saturday, April 22nd, 2017. As in past years, this conference offered the students in the six departments across the college, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies, the opportunity to come together and build a stronger community across the college by sharing their work with one another. This annual conference provides an opportunity for students to become socialized into academic practices, such as presenting at a conference and producing a paper for publication in these proceedings. It also allows students to take on various roles in the academic community, as all conference chairs, proceedings editors, coordinators, and volunteers for the conference are themselves graduate students.

As the twenty-first iteration of this conference, it was the perfect opportunity to celebrate all the outstanding achievements of LLL graduate students. This year's conference theme, "Be Seen, Be Heard," reflected not only our goal of celebrating our achievements but also represented our intent of making sure everyone's voices are heard, especially during 2017's difficult political climate. The conference opened with a motivating address from Dean Laura E. Lyons, followed by an inspirational keynote by Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, a PhD candidate in English at UH Mānoa, widely published poet and professional performer. A special addition to this year's program were talks delivered by five featured speakers: Dr. Christina Bacchilega, Dr. Mary Shin Kim, PhD candidate Victoria Chen, PhD candidate Gavin Lamb and PhD candidate Michael Pak. Throughout the day, there were 36 graduate student presentations.

The conference was chaired by Lisa Chow (English), Noella Handley (Linguistics), R. Hughes (SLS), Uy-Di Nancy Le (SLS) and Taylor Lewis (SLS). They were supported by the guidance and conference advisory of Jim Yoshioka, the Events Coordinator for the College of LLL, Dr. Julie Jiang, Assistant Professor of Chinese in the EALL department, and Karin Mackenzie, the Director of the Office of Community and Alumni Relations for the Colleges of Arts and Sciences. Further support for the conference was provided by the College of LLL, the Colleges of Arts & Sciences Alumni Association, the Francis and Betty Ann Keala Fund of the University of Hawai'i Foundation, and the National Foreign Language Resource Center. Student volunteers from several departments in the College of LLL helped make the conference a success by giving their time to help organize, plan, and run the conference, including moderating presentations, managing registration, and providing technical support for the presenters.

We would like to give a big mahalo to all of the student volunteers and everyone who participated in both the conference and the compiling and editing of the proceedings. In addition to, we thank Dean Laura E. Lyons, Jim Yoshioka, Dr. Julie Jiang, Karin Mackenzie, and everyone else who helped advise throughout the process of the conference and proceedings publication. Of the 36 student presentations at the conference, 14 presenters submitted their papers for publication in the proceedings. We are grateful for this response and for the help of our copy editors who worked over the summer to provide feedback and helped prepare the papers for publication.

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

Honolulu, 2017

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

EA AND THE MO'OLELO THAT RAISE US

Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

ABSTRACT

What does Kanaka Maoli Mo'olelo & Art have to do with nation building and self-determination? Everything.

Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio

Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio is a *Kanaka Maoli* activist, poet, musician, educator, and a PhD candidate in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her formal research areas are indigenous theory, translation theory, and *Kanaka Maoli mo'olelo*.

Jamaica's introduction to formal education began in her hometown of Pālolo at Ke Kula Kaiāpuni o Ānuenue where she honed her aloha for 'Ōlelo and 'ike Hawai'i. Jamaica is a proud graduate of Kamehameha Schools Kapālama. After high school Jamaica attended and graduated with honors from the Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity program at Stanford University and a later received a Master's degree in the Arts Politics program at the New York University Tisch School of the Arts.

Jamaica is a widely published poet and professional performer and has shared her poetry throughout Oceania, on 5 continents, and at the White House by invitation of President Obama. In her free time, Jamaica facilitates poetry workshops for local and *Kanaka Maoli* youth in Hawai'i and is a board member of the award winning organization Pacific Tongues. Currently Jamaica is a junior faculty specialist at Native Hawaiian Student Services at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

2017 LLL EXCELLENCE IN RESEARCH AWARD PRESENTATIONS

Dr. Cristina Bacchilega - English

Cristina Bacchilega is a professor in the Department of English where she teaches folklore and literature, fairy tales and their adaptations, and cultural studies. Both a Guggenheim and a Fulbright fellow, she has lectured widely and received numerous awards, including the Regents' Medal for Excellence in Teaching.

A prolific writer, Bacchilega has an impressive list of publications, including: *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies*, *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place*, and *Fairy Tales Transformed? Twenty- First-Century Adaptations and the Politics of Wonder*. She co-edited "Sustaining Hawaiian Sovereignty," a special issue of *Anglistica*. Bacchilega's most recent works appear in publications such as *The Classic Fairy Tales: A Norton Critical Edition*, *Folktales and Fairy Tales: Traditions and Texts from around the World*, and *The Cambridge Companion to the Fairy Tale*. She is also the co-editor of *Marvels & Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies*.

Dr. Mary Shin Kim

Mary Shin Kim is an associate professor of Korean linguistics in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, where she teaches Korean conversation analysis, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. Her research focuses on investigating the intricate relationship between language and social interaction observed in everyday and institutional settings. She has published on evidentiality, question and answer sequences, repair organization, reported speech, stance, and self-presentation. Her research appears in *Discourse Processes*, *Discourse Studies*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Pragmatics and Society*, *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, and *Text and Talk*, among other places. She currently serves on editorial boards of three refereed journals. Previously, she taught in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Victoria Chen

Victoria Chen is a PhD candidate in the Department of Linguistics. Her dissertation, *A reexamination of the Philippine-type voice system and its implications for Austronesian primary-level subgrouping*, investigates the comparative grammar of indigenous languages spoken in Taiwan, which provides new evidence for the classification of higher-order Austronesian languages. After her dissertation, Chen wants to document the morphosyntax of endangered languages, and explore how similarities and differences in the grammar of closely related languages contribute to their linguistic history and the theory of Universal Grammar. Besides linguistics, Chen likes coffee, music, and animals!

Gavin Lamb

Gavin Lamb is a PhD candidate in the Department of Second Language Studies whose research interests examine multilingual practices at the nexus of language, society and the environment. Lamb's dissertation research explores the linguistic and social practices that emerge in the intersecting contexts of wildlife conservation and nature-based tourism in Hawai'i around one charismatic 'flagship species,' the Hawaiian green sea turtle. His research seeks to bridge sociocultural linguistics with emerging interdisciplinary research on human- environment relations in the social sciences and humanities. This research addresses the intertwined social and ecological challenges posed by the environmental crisis, from climate change to species extinction, and the diverse cultural responses to its consequences. His dissertation research is supported through the Russell J. & Dorothy S. Bilinski Fellowship.

Michael Pak

Michael Pak is a PhD candidate in the English department. His dissertation, titled “Embracing the Absurdity of Failure: Reimagining Failure in Composition Studies,” urges educators to embrace a nuanced understanding of failure in their own pedagogical approaches. Pak's research interests include popular culture, ethnic American literatures, and composition pedagogy. His work has been published in the anthology *Building a Community, Having a Home: A History of the Conference on College Composition and Communication Asian/Asian American Caucus*, as well as academic journals *Amerasia* and *Composition Forum*. He was privileged to serve as the assistant director of the Writing Center at UH Mānoa from 2014-16.

WHAT CAN WE SAY ABOUT THE LANGUAGES OF ANCIENT EUROPE?

A. Douglas Callender, Linguistics

ABSTRACT

What Europe looked like linguistically prior to the Indo-Europeans is very unclear, as little evidence has remained to the present day. Here, we attempt to use what little we do have to arrive at a preliminary understanding of the linguistic state of ancient Europe. Using direct evidence, we briefly examine the relationships among the Paleo-European languages that have surviving records, as well as the Old European Hydronymy and questions of early substrates in Germanic and Greek. We also use existing theories of factors concerning the distribution of linguistic diversity to predict the approximate linguistic geography of Early Europe.

While almost all languages currently spoken in Europe belong to the Indo-European language family, this was not always the case. The urheimat of the Indo-Europeans is believed to be located in the Kurgan area in southern Russia between the Black Sea and the Volga river. The Proto-Indo-Europeans began their incursion into Europe around 1500 BC and completed their final stages of expansion around 600 BC, with their entrance into Iberia. At this point, Europe had been inhabited by *Homo sapiens* for 40,000 years, and had been acquainted with agriculture for 5,500 years. In most cases though, these aboriginal languages of Europe left scant evidence for contemporary linguists to build off of (indeed, even among the many Indo-European languages, Greek and Latin are the only ones in Europe to have left a substantial written record prior to the Middle Ages), and so these languages have remained largely a mystery.

Before we begin any inquiry into what these early Paleo-European languages might have been like, one very important problem must be squarely addressed. Due to the large amounts of time and the paucity of extant evidence on which to draw conclusions, much of what will be said further on will be very speculative. One of the primary objects of historical linguistics is to create accurate linguistic family trees, ie. to create models that situate languages within groups and subgroups according to common ancestry with other languages. Unfortunately, because of the comparative nature of this work, the human pattern-seeking inclination often leads people to be overreaching in their grouping and to boldly proclaim new language families based on rather flimsy evidence. Thus, historical linguistics as a science has a rather unfortunate tendency to attract crackpots. I imagine that professional historical linguists, who are at this point tired of hearing these sorts of wild ideas, will probably react quite defensively to the idea of saying anything at all about such a poorly understood, poorly documented area of linguistics. I don't blame them. However, if we scale back our expectations to match the available data, and we acknowledge the speculative nature of the enterprise, I think that an investigation into what we can know about the Paleo-European languages can build and improve ideas that are useful in modeling the linguistic history of both Europe itself and of other areas. Keeping this ever in mind, this paper can hopefully serve as a small first step towards extending the domain of our linguistic knowledge further back in time

There are, essentially, three major topics whose study can illuminate the nature of early Europe. The first is studying the Paleo-European languages themselves, which includes not only Basque, the only such language presently living, but also the larger group of languages that left behind surviving written texts. There are five languages (Etruscan, Rhaetic, Lemnian, Iberian, Tartessian) who have left a good enough record that we can say with some certainty are definitely Paleo-European. There are also a number of other languages (Minoan, Pictish, Eteocretan, Etc.) which are candidates for Paleo-European languages, but where the record is either not large enough (or helpful enough) to say for certain, or the script itself has not yet been deciphered. Given that European writing systems are based on the Phoenician script, it is perhaps not surprising that most of these languages tend to be found in the Mediterranean area.

Rhaetic, Etruscan, and Lemnian are usually grouped together into the Tyrrhenian family. Given that Etruscan was spoken in central Italy ("Tuscany" is named after them), Rhaetic was spoken in the alps around Eastern Switzerland, northeastern Italy, and Tyrol, and Lemnian was from the Greek island of Lemnos, the question of where to place this language family's urheimat is a mystery, as what evidence there is is contradictory. Lemnian and Etruscan seem to be more similar to each other than either is to Rhaetic, indicating an Italian origin. However, there are accounts from Greek and Roman historians, as well as legends, that suggest migration westward, notably

there has been speculation that the legend of Aeneas was borrowed from the Etruscans. There also seems to be some accounts of the Tyrrhenians as a marine people, and even some suggestions that they were the Sea Peoples of Egyptian history, (notably one of the names the Egyptians gave the Sea Peoples was *Trš*).

The other two languages, Iberian and Tartessian, existed on the Iberian peninsula, with Iberian spoken in the east on the Mediterranean coast and Tartessian spoken in the southwest. Both areas were quite economically active in the ancient world: the Mediterranean coast was also settled by Carthaginian and Greek colonists, and the southwest experienced much trade due to its large deposits of tin. Basque's predecessor, Aquitanian, was also spoken to the north. Given the large number of similar words between Iberian and Basque, it is clear to us that, at the very least, Aquitanian and Iberian were in close contact, if not related.

The second major topic for investigation is the Old European Hydronymy, a series of common elements found in river names in Central and Western Europe without any Indo-European etymology. It's theorizer, Hans Krahe, suggested that the center of the OEH was somewhere in the vicinity of Poland and Germany, and that further western instances of OEH river names were later. Jörg Rhiemeier believes that the speakers of OEH belonged to a family he calls Aquan, a sister family to Indo-European. He is, as of now, working on a dictionary of proposed Aquan roots.

OEH is probably the most speculative piece of major evidence. Similar "reconstructions" are often the products of the aforementioned crackpots, and display a lack of understanding for the processes of historical linguistics, primarily the comparative method. While I have been told that OEH is more supported than these other theories, and that it has generated serious scholarly consideration and discussion, unfortunately almost all of this discussion has up to this point been in German, and so it is impossible to give an independent appraisal of the idea apart from to say that a lot of other people seem to take it seriously. Hopefully this will change in the future. It is perhaps worth noting that Price, studying place names of Britain, says that historically river names tend to be more stable than hill and city names.

The third major topic is potential non-Indo-European substrata in present day Indo-European language families. One example of this is the Germanic substrate hypothesis: between 1/3 and 1/4 of the entire Germanic is without a traceable Indo-European root. Furthermore, these words tend to be thematically concentrated (notably words involving the sea tend to be of this sort). This has led some scholars to propose that a non-IE substrate is responsible for these words (Venneman famously ascribed them to Semitic contact with Phoenician traders. The evidence for that particular hypothesis is weak.) Even more striking is the case of a pre-IE Pelasgian substratum in Greek. Beekes cites Furnée as listing more than 1000 pre-Greek etyma. Furthermore, unlike with the Germanic substratum, we have written records from ancient Greece describing the Pelasgians, who existed during the Mycenaean era of Greek history and are reported in multiple separate written histories.

The major question though, is whether these Pelasgians were Paleo-European or simply a different branch of Indo-European. The major competitor to a non-IE Pelasgian would be an Anatolian one: at this point in history Greek settlement of the Aegean coast of Anatolia was not yet underway, and as Proto-Greek settlement of Greece was known to have come from the north, it is not unreasonable to imagine that the immediately prior inhabitants of Greece were Anatolian speakers¹. As for the Germanic substratum, many of the so-called substrate words have had IE roots proposed for them as an alternative. It must be noted that the notion of a substratum existing to explain words without apparent etymologies is very tempting in situations where data is scarce, and thus one should be naturally skeptical of such claims.

While these three areas provide all we can really know directly about Paleo-European languages themselves, when it comes to the patterns of language diversity in early Europe, we can use our knowledge of current languages and their distribution to be able to say more. Nichols gives a list of the main factors to be considered when predicting the concentration of linguistic diversity in an area².

- As latitude increases, linguistic diversity decreases.
- Diversity increases in coastal and mountainous areas, coast areas because they tend to be more fertile and amenable to maritime trade, mountain regions because they encourage isolation.

What Can We Say about the Languages of Ancient Europe?

- Wetter climates have higher linguistic diversity than dry ones.
- The development of large-scale economies leads to a decrease in linguistic diversity. Indeed, perhaps the most harmful thing to happen to linguistic diversity throughout history was the development of the centralized state.

The overall theme of these (and other, smaller factors) is that language diversity tends to increase with population density. The less area a group needs in order to be self-sufficient, the higher one can expect the linguistic diversity to be.

Nichols further notes that, with the notable exceptions of Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic, the rate of elaboration for language stocks is typically very slow. Many, if not most of the descendants of any node on the language tree will not survive, meaning that the older a family is, the less diverse it will be at the top level. The usual pattern for a stock tree is a binary or trinary branching, and it is only in very rare circumstances that one sees the sort of radial branching that is found in Indo-European. Language isolates are also quite common.

Ringe, applying these insights to Neolithic Europe, came up with the following estimates for stock diversity in each region of Europe.

- The Mediterranean is a warm area that is both mountainous and coastal, with three major peninsulas that increase coastline and allow for easier navigation using primitive maritime technology. As such, we would expect both the largest number of stocks and the largest number of languages to be in this area. Even after the Indo-European incursions, the Mediterranean seems to bear out this pattern, with Pre-Roman Italy alone being host to and least two separate stocks and at least two separate branches of Indo-European. Nichols based her studies of linguistic diversity primarily off of her work in North America, and the closest climatic analogue to the Mediterranean in North America is California, which happens to be the most linguistically diverse area therein.
- A large amount of diversity in the Alps
- The Atlantic coast and Britain, while not containing as much diversity as the Mediterranean, due to it being flatter and more northerly, would still be wet enough and coastal enough to support a strong basin of many linguistic stocks
- The European interior could expect a moderate number of stocks
- The least diverse region would be Scandinavia, an area which until 12,000 BC was under ice. We could probably expect at most two or three different stocks.

How can this information be tested? What could we do to improve and revise these factors to get better results? Given the scarcity of extant evidence, it's difficult to do any real testing. However, we are fortunate in that the area with the most predicted diversity, the Mediterranean, happens to be the area where we have the most evidence.

Let us, for instance, take as a test case Iberia. Given the above factors, we would expect Iberia to be a (relative) hotbed of diversity, and indeed from what we can tell this seems to be the case. It is also the last place that the Indo-European expansion affected, and the only place where a Paleo-European language has survived. There are at least two, maybe three known Paleo-European language families in Iberia (not counting the Punic brought by Carthaginian settlers), and very likely even more that have not survived. This seems to support the "California analogue", although we should be careful to keep in mind that there undoubtedly many other factors complicating the picture, and it would not do to simply think of Iberia as "California at half size" (to quote Jörg Rhiemeier).

This is a very fresh area of inquiry, and there are many questions that can drive further study. What other factors can be used to predict linguistic diversity? What would we need to explain the differences in type of linguistic diversity? How have the relevant factors changed over the course of history, and more directly are there historical thresholds (due to changes in technology, political organization, etc.) that require a recalibration of our factors? How well can techniques that have results verified in one area of the world be ported over to a different area? Hopefully, in the future curiosity about these and other questions will drive an increase in scholarly consideration of the topic of linguistic diversity and the ancient world.

NOTES

1. Beekes does claim that there are enough words in Greek without any plausible PIE reconstruction (or which would require a violation of known sound change laws to connect to a PIE root) that there must be at least some Non IE substratum in Greek.
2. The term “linguistic diversity” is a bit vague, and can encompass many different meanings. One might speak of dialectal diversity (how many languages or dialects are in an area), genetic diversity (how many language families are in an area) and typological diversity (how different are the grammars of the languages of the area). These diversities can differ, for instance, going by number of languages Central and Southern Africa is an extremely diverse area of the world, yet with the exception of the Khoisan languages almost all of these are Bantu languages that behave very similarly. In this case, Nichols and Ringe measure diversity in terms of “stocks”, that is, groups of languages that are related at a time depth of the limit of the comparative method (ie. around 6000 years).

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AN EVOLVING MAINSTREAM: A LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION IN CARY, NC

Lucas John Edmond, *Second Language Studies*

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I take an ethnographic approach to analyze the linguistic landscape of Cary, a suburb of Raleigh, NC, to investigate the ways in which two recent immigrant groups have settled and distinctly altered the cultural identity of the town. Although the South Asian and Hispanic communities have grown at a fairly equal rate in Cary, the language, imagery, and spatial arrangement of signs related to these two communities in the town index quite different levels of social acceptance and integration. Taking the signage as constructions of identity in space, the South Asian community's visible and multilingual signs suggest pride and openness, yet the Hispanic community's primarily monolingual signs suggest peripherality. Coupled with sociohistorical and ethnographic data, this finding reveals how the different communities have unequal access to the construction of their identities in the linguistic landscape based on cultural and socioeconomic characteristics, which in turn affects how they assimilate into the area. This demonstrates how the linguistic landscape of a town can reveal differential levels of acceptance and assimilation in multicultural areas, as well as how a contextualized study of the linguistic landscape can reveal social trends beyond language use and can be used to better understand how communities transform in diversity.

1.0. INTRODUCTION



Figure 1: The shop front of *Biryani Maxx* in Cary, NC.

Based on the text displayed at this restaurant front, advertising a non-vegetarian combination lunch including dishes such as *daal curry* 'lentil curry' and *mirchi ka salan* 'peanut chutney,' at first glance, one might guess that it is located in a shopping complex in New Delhi. The only signals that reveal that this is not a restaurant in India are the dollar pricing and the restaurant's subtext, "Indian Cuisine," which would be a superfluous label in India. Rather, I took this photograph at a restaurant called *Biryani Maxx* in the town where I grew up: Cary, a suburb of Raleigh, North Carolina. When most people imagine ethnic diversity in the United States, North Carolina is probably not one of the first places that comes to mind. Yet this sign is not an anomaly in Cary; in fact, there are over thirty visibly Indian or South Asian restaurants peppered throughout the area, not to mention other establishments such as markets, beauty parlors, and clothing boutiques.

These visible signs, along with the language inscribed upon them, thus reveal an evolving social, ethnic, and linguistic diversity in Cary. However, beyond merely signaling a newfound diversity, which can be superficially gleaned from public data sources such as the results of the census or surveys, these signs reveal an intricate social organization not visible in numbers alone (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). Through the public signage, we can see how communities create, adapt, claim, and share space among various groups of people (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). The ways in which different communities constitute and present themselves, as well as how they interact with and are integrated into the larger society, are thus established directly into the linguistic landscape of the town.

In this paper, I will juxtapose how two migrant groups, the South Asian and the Hispanic communities, establish their presence in Cary, North Carolina by means of this public signage. Initially conceptualized by Landry and Bourhis (1997) as the examination of language on public signs for purposes of measuring ethnolinguistic vitality, early studies of linguistic landscapes were primarily concerned with quantifying the codes of languages on signs. However, for this study, I draw on an ethnographic methodology for analyzing the linguistic landscapes (Blommaert, 2013). While still taking the signs in space as my starting point, I additionally use sociohistorical information,

interview data, and ethnographic observations to analyze more deeply how the signage indexes and symbolizes sociocultural relationships, much of which is not visible from the language code on the signs alone. Based on this, I will demonstrate that the linguistic landscape in Cary reveals differential levels of sociocultural assimilation that these two communities have achieved in time, a difference tied to history, class, and geography. My analysis shows that, although the two communities have a nearly equal historical presence in the town in terms of size, the South Asian community has created its own celebrated identity in town and become “mainstream” in Cary society, while the Hispanic community remains peripheral, both in terms of their visibility in the LL and in sociocultural status.

2.0. ASSIMILATION, POWER GEOMETRIES, AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

Whenever immigrant groups settle in new places, questions arise about how they will adapt to the place, as well as how the host community will react. Alba and Nee (2003) proposed a model for this called the “new assimilation model.” They argued that rather than a shift of new groups towards unilaterally resembling the host community, the change is variable, defining assimilation as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences... [in which] individuals on both sides of the boundary see themselves more and more alike, assuming they are similar in terms of some other critical factors such as social class” (p. 11). This definition recognizes that not only do immigrants change over time to resemble their host society, but the host society (the “mainstream”) also changes in response. This implies a multidirectional flow where people, languages, and cultures interact and evolve (Appadurai, 1996).

Despite this positive prediction, Alba and Nee (2003) also concede that assimilation and access to influence over the mainstream are closely linked to the initial sociocultural and economic characteristics of migrant groups. In order to better understand this process, Massey’s (1991) conceptualization of power geometries becomes useful. In understanding globalization and the differential changes brought to destinations by migration, Massey urges an emphasis on space and movement rather than time and change alone. She elaborates:

For different social groups, and different individuals, are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these [migration] flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn’t, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation to the flows and the movement. (Massey, 1991, p. 25)

This concept implies that entry into a mainstream is not simply a product of time, but rather is closely linked to the processes of migration; no two groups move to a place in the same manner, with the same intention, or from the same home country condition, all of which affects access to assimilation.

In terms of the linguistic landscape, as researchers have argued that signs constitute and symbolically construct public space (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), we could expect that immigrant groups that have a relatively more visible presence in the linguistic landscape have achieved a greater degree of this assimilation. Blommaert (2013) makes this link, though not explicitly, when studying his neighborhood in Antwerp, Belgium, showing how the signage of different immigrant groups overtime evolves along with their overall socioeconomic status. For example, the Turkish community, which has settled in his neighborhood, displays relatively permanent, multilingual signage that reaches out to both mainstream Belgians as well as Turkish immigrants and other groups. However, the signage of the Polish community, which is more transient, is monolingual and much less fixed, appearing mostly on vehicles, which points to the relative impermanence of this community in the neighborhood. Using Alba and Nee’s (2003) terminology, we then might argue that the Turkish community has assimilated, fundamentally altering the culture and landscape of the neighborhood, whereas the Polish community, which has migrated with little power, has not yet done so. The signs therefore offer a unique sociolinguistic lens to examine the processes of assimilation, though this must be couched in an ethnographic understanding of how different groups come to and settle in new places.

3.0. MIGRATION TO THE US AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

In recent years, researchers have begun applying the method of linguistic landscapes to better understand migration and the migrant experience in the United States. Most have focused on distinct urban ethnic enclaves, exploring how communities use language on signs for a variety of purposes. Leeman and Modan (2009) examined the Chinese used in the Chinatown of Washington, DC, which has experienced a great loss in its Chinese-speaking population. Nevertheless, Chinese is omnipresent, and can be found on establishments from local restaurants to multinational corporations, such as Starbucks, which led them to conclude that Chinese is not used instrumentally,

but as a means to construct an appealing neighborhood identity. On the other hand, looking at “Little Ethiopia” also in Washington, DC, Woldemariam and Lanza (2015) illustrate how the Ethiopian community has imbued Amharic words and cultural images symbolic of a unique Ethiopian identity, demonstrating a level of pride and transnational connection to the homeland. These divergent cases point to the need for analysis which consider factors beyond code choice, as the instrumental and symbolic meaning of languages in space will vary considerably with context.

Some studies have also begun to examine places less traditionally associated with multilingual communities that now display signs of multilingual signage. Troyer, Cáceda, and Giménez Eguívar (2015) found that in the small town of Independence, Oregon, despite having a large Hispanic population, the Spanish language was limited in the linguistic landscape. Based on the signs as well as interview results, they concluded that the large Hispanic community is largely avoiding the use of Spanish to hide, especially considering the anti-Spanish rhetoric found in the town and country. Such studies both illustrate how immigrant groups are beginning to settle into new spaces across the country, yet mark their space differently.

While most of these studies hone in on how single immigrant groups have created distinct spaces in the linguistic landscapes of US cities, few have compared how different groups do this within the same space. A comparison can help reveal how communities interact and claim space, pointing to the different factors which allow or inhibit access to the linguistic landscape. Cary offers a case of a recently multicultural place where several groups co-exist in the same space, making it ideal for such a study. Furthermore, most previous studies in the US have examined how immigrant groups maintain cultural identities, but rarely consider how these identities have altered the overall mainstream culture.

4.0. RESEARCH CONTEXT

4.1. Cary, North Carolina

Cary, a suburb of Raleigh, is part of one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in the country, the “Triangle”- Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. Now a “town” with over 150,000 people, Cary boasts a median income higher than the state and national averages, as well as one of the lowest crime rates in the entire nation for a city of its size. Labeled “super suburbia” by National Geographic (Bourne, 2001), Cary has long been viewed as a highly regulated, homogenous suburb populated by upper-class white families. Despite this caricature, Cary has become one of the fastest-growing immigrant communities in North Carolina today, with over 20% of its population being foreign-born (Johnson & Appold, 2014). In this paper, I will examine two of the largest immigrant groups in the region (which are diverse themselves): the South Asian community and the Hispanic community, which includes families from Mexico, Guatemala, and other Central and South American countries.

Although at a superficial level, an examination of official census data begins to reveal the historical development of these communities in Cary. In the past 15 years, the South Asian and Hispanic communities have grown at a fairly similar rate. While this general growth trend reflects an overall trend throughout the United States (Johnson & Appold, 2014), we can also observe trends here which reflect the economic and social changes affecting North Carolina.

A few reasons explain these trends. The first is the development of the region as center of technology and higher education. First, since the 1960s, North Carolina has been undergoing structural changes to modernize and diversify its economy, which is best embodied in the Research Triangle Park (RTP), a large research and development park that sits between Raleigh, Durham, and Cary. While its success has spurred the overall growth of the Triangle, thus attracting immigrants from all around the world, it has specifically lured a new workforce with technical, specialized skills. Besides RTP, the Triangle is also home to three major research universities: Duke University in Durham, North Carolina State University in Raleigh, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. These highly ranked universities continue to attract students and researchers from across the United States and abroad. At the same time, India and other countries of South Asia have been undergoing similar structural changes, which has produced a specialized work force. Many of these workers come to the US to continue their education on a student visa or to work at a company on an H1-B visa, a visa which the US government specifically offers to temporarily bring in immigrants with specialized technical skills. Both of these visas can lead to permanent residency status and eventual citizenship. Across the United States, South Asians have been the largest recipient of the H1-B visa (Patterson, 2006), which means that on average, the South Asian migrants to the United States largely come with high educational backgrounds and work in professional occupations such as health, engineering, and

information technology, factors which match the profile of RTP (Waters & Pineau, 2015). Thus, as the park continues to flourish, the South Asian community has continued to rapidly expand.

Besides technology, North Carolina also has a strong agricultural sector, which has required an increase in laborers, many of whom come from Latin America. In fact, North Carolina has more agricultural workers from abroad than any other state (Gill, 2012). In general, the majority of the Hispanic community in North Carolina have come to work in lower income jobs, such as farming, cooking, and cleaning. Unlike the South Asian immigrants, who by and large work alongside longer-term American residents, the Hispanic population is much more hidden from the public gaze.

These two different migratory routes reveal very different power geometries at play. The South Asian community has largely come to the North Carolina through a prestigious channel and occupies positions in multinational companies. The US government actually solicits and sponsors these immigrants. On the other hand, the Hispanic community has generally come through other routes to work in mostly labor positions.

4.2. The Field: Chatham Square

The data for this particular study comes from a suburban strip mall, Chatham Square. Located less than a mile from the historic downtown center of Cary, Chatham Square is an old, unassuming collection of businesses. Originally composed of small diners and shops, the area has transformed over the years into a hub of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the area. Recognized by journalists as a “gateway to the world” (Cummings, 2011), Chatham Square houses an eclectic range of multicultural businesses, from a Bengali sweets shop to a Hispanic ministry. Every time I return home, I notice new spice shops, Indian restaurants, *taquerías* ‘taco shops,’ and markets popping up in shopping centers both old and new. As such, this is not an ethnic enclave. Rather, I would argue that it functions as a microcosm to the overall demographic changes occurring in Cary and other nearby towns.

5.0. METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

5.1. Ethnographic Linguistic Landscapes

For this study, I primarily draw upon Blommaert’s (2013) ethnographic approach to linguistic landscapes that he developed to analyze his neighborhood of Oud-Berchem in Antwerp, Belgium. He argues for a primarily qualitative analysis which synthesizes a longitudinal, historical understanding of the place being studied and synchronic data embodied by a corpus of photographic snapshots of the signs in the area. This methodology has several important implications.

First, Blommaert (2013) argues that we must attend not only to what language is represented on the signs, but also what meanings each sign contains. In particular, he draws on Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) concept of geosemiotics. Scollon and Scollon (2003) asserted that we must analyze the indexical and symbolic meaning of signs, both of which require interpretation beyond mere language choice. The indexicality of a sign refers to how a sign makes meaning in reference to another sign or object, whereas the symbolic meaning refers to how signs may represent something which is ideal or metaphorical. For example, in Cary, one South Indian restaurant has a sign that reads “Udupi Cafe Vegetarian South Indian Cuisine” with a picture of a young Krishna to the left (Figure 2). The indexical reading of this sign tells us that at that location, there is a vegetarian restaurant serving South Indian food. However, the name Udupi also carries a symbolic significance, particularly for patrons familiar with India. Udupi is a coastal region of South India known for its vegetarian dishes. In fact, across India you will find restaurants simply called “Udupi” signifying this type of cuisine. The image of Krishna further deepens this connection, as he is the patron of Udupi. Thus, by choosing this name and using this image, the restaurant creates a symbolic association with this region, conjuring up images of idyllic temple towns serving pure vegetarian cuisines.



Figure 2. A sign for Udupi on the side of a car.

Furthermore, Blommaert (2013) stresses that all signs must be considered and contextualized as indicators of the past, present, and future sociocultural conditions of migrant groups. Even a small sign with a limited audience may be an indicator of emergent multiculturalism. For example, when first collecting my photographic data, I did not notice any signs of multilingualism in the signage of a tobacco shop called *Smoke for Less*. However, while talking with the owner of a nearby Bengali sweets shop, *Mithai*, she mentioned that, despite never having gone into *Smoke for Less*, she knew that the owner was Ethiopian because of a sign that reads “Habesha Market,” as Habesha is a term used to refer to Ethiopians. Inside, surely enough, you can buy a variety of Ethiopian foodstuffs, such as *injera*, an Ethiopian flatbread, and products. The small sign with only one non-English word, therefore, designates the space as an Ethiopian community store, but only for those who know the word. Though the sign may be statistically insignificant, it points forward to the presence of an emerging community.

In addition to Blommaert’s (2013) methodology, I also utilized other methods which fit within the scope of ethnographic linguistic landscapes. First, I conducted open-ended interviews with six shopkeepers and two customers to gain a deeper understanding of the area’s signage, history, and sociocultural makeup (Malinowski, 2009). Four of the shopkeepers were of South Asian descent and worked in the area’s Indian markets, and two were from Mexico and worked in the Hispanic markets. The two customers were both of South Asian descent and frequented the Indian markets. Lastly, I examined various documents related to the history and diversity of the area, including newspaper articles, magazines, community websites, and planning documents. Triangulating the data in this way allowed me to construct a deeper understanding of the linguistic and cultural situation in the area as opposed to if I had only taken pictures of the signs.

5.2. The Current Study

The fieldwork for this study was done mostly over the course of a week in March of 2016. I took 134 photographs of signs for this research in and near Chatham Square during that time. I also conducted the interviews with the shopkeepers during that period. I returned to the area and took additional photographs in January of 2017 to note any major changes. I interviewed the two South Asian customers over Skype in March of 2017.

6.0. SIGN ANALYSIS

6.1. Coding for Sign Visibility

In order to begin analyzing the signs collected, I categorized them into four main groups based on their relative prominence and location in the landscape (Blommaert, 2013):

- (a) *Main signs*: Primary signs that appear above the shops’ entrances.
- (b) *Window signs*: Signs onto the windows or hanging up on the inside of the windows. Associated with specific shops, these signs tend to offer additional information of the services offered within the shop.
- (c) *Fliers/Minor signs*: Fliers and signs hung up on the inside of the windows. Because some shops had several signs from the same language with little function besides corporate advertising, these were counted as a single sign for the final analysis so as not to skew the distribution (Troyer, et. al., 2015).
- (d) *Decontextualized signs* (Scollon & Scollon, 2003): Signs not attached to any walls, such as signs on cars, signs stuck in the grass, and signs on newspaper stands.

6.2. Coding for Language

After breaking the signs down into these three main categories, I further classified them based on the languages represented. Coding for most languages, including Spanish, was fairly straightforward. However, coding for Indian languages was particularly more complicated, which requires extra explanation.

As a former British colony, English has been fully nativized to the Indian context and Indian English is a co-official national language of the Republic of India, serving as a lingua franca of business and education. Therefore, I had to develop an appropriate coding scheme which fairly represented Indian English. If a sign contained an Indian term, I considered this to represent an Indian language. However, if there was explanatory language on the sign that would indicate the intended audience reaches beyond the South Asian community, I would argue this as bilingual (Backhaus, 2010). For example, *Biryani XPRX* is a restaurant in the area specializing in biryani, a popular dish consisting of spiced rice and meat. As the word biryani (now a pan-Indian word and a borrowed word in English) is in the title of the restaurants, anybody of South Asian background would immediately recognize the type of food expected, as such biryani joints are ubiquitous throughout South Asia. However, the restaurant's main sign contains the subtext *Indian and Indo-Chinese Cuisine*, clarifying that they serve Indian food. Unnecessary for a South Asian audience, this signifies that the sign is meant for a broader audience who understands American English, but not necessarily Indian English.

I also coded in this way proper names and nouns, which, although often transcending linguistic boundaries, continue to connote associations with certain places or cultures, even if this is not clear to all consumers (Curtin, 2009). For example, one restaurant I visited was called *Madras Dosa & Curry*. As the sign clarifies that the restaurant is a "South Indian restaurant," any English-speaking readers would know what type of food to expect. However, Madras, the former name of Chennai in Tamil Nadu, India, symbolizes a specific Tamil identity. For this reason, I also labeled this as bilingual, representing both English and Indian English.

7.0. SIGN RESULTS

7.1. Signs of Chatham Square

As expected, English, the main lingua franca of the United States, is the most commonly used language on the signs (see Table 1). The producers of these signs consist of both L1 and L2 English speakers, both from the United States and abroad. However, Spanish also commands a large presence in the landscape, with many shops advertising completely in Spanish. This will be explored more in a later section.

Table 1. Languages on Signs in Chatham Square.

Language	Main Signs	Window Signs	Fliers/Minor Signs	Decontextualized Signs	Total
English	42 (64.6%)	8 (36.3%)	9 (31.0%)	3 (16.7%)	62 (46.2%)
Spanish	7 (10.8%)	3 (13.6%)	7 (24.1%)	3 (16.7%)	20 (14.9%)
Chinese	0.0	1 (4.5%)	0.0	0.0	1 (0.7%)
Japanese	0.0	0.0	1 (3.4%)	0.0	1 (0.7%)
Bilingual	16 (24.6%)	10 (45.5%)	12 (41.4%)	12 (66.7%)	50 (37.3%)
n	65	22	29	18	134

The next largest group of signs are bilingual, containing traces of other languages along with English (see Table 2). These bilingual signs illustrate the diversity in Cary, with over twelve languages on display, even if only in minor instances. Note that the languages most represented in the bilingual signs are Indian languages, indicating a strong community identity as well as an ability to interact with non-South Asian members of the community.

Table 2. Breakdown of Bilingual Signs (percentages).

Language	Main Signs	Window Signs	Fliers/Minor Signs	Detached Signs	Total
Indian English	11 (68.8%)	2 (20.0%)	0	5 (41.7%)	17 (34.0%)
Spanish	1 (6.3%)	2 (20.0%)	2 (16.7%)	5 (41.7%)	10 (20.0%)
Japanese	2 (12.6%)	1 (10.0%)	0	1 (8.3%)	4 (8.0%)
Chinese	1 (6.3%)	0	2 (16.7%)	0	3 (6.0%)
Hindi	1 (6.3%)	2 (20.0%)	5 (41.7%)	0	8 (16.0%)
Telugu	0	0	1 (8.3%)	0	1 (2.0%)
Urdu	0	0	0	1 (8.3%)	1 (2.0%)
Arabic	0	2 (20.0%)	1 (8.3%)	0	3 (6.0%)
Swahili	0	0	1 (8.3%)	0	1 (3.0%)
Korean	0	1	0	0	1 (3.0%)
n	16	10	12	12	50

7.2. Language use among the South Asian and Hispanic communities

The first category I identified, the main signs, are the most visible indicators of diversity in the linguistic landscape. These signs reach out to a large potential audience and are meant to “recruit, attract, and inform” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 61). Therefore, the language used on these signs by these communities makes for a useful starting point to compare how they establish their presence and reach out to greater audiences. To examine this distinction, I hone in on those signs which outwardly indicate an affiliation with one of the communities, either by choice of language or by a direct reference to a cultural identification. Based on my count, 17 shops indexed a symbolic relationship with the South Asian community, while eight shops indexed one with the Hispanic community (see Table 3).

Table 3. Languages Present on Main Signs of Shops Indexed as “South Asian” or “Hispanic.”

South Asian Shops	n=17	Hispanic Shops	n=8
English only	4 (23.5%)	English only	1 (12.5%)
Bilingual	12 (70.5%)	Bilingual	1 (12.5%)
Indian language only	0 (0%)	Spanish only	6 (75.0%)

A striking divergence emerges in the language used on the main signs of these two communities. A majority of the South Asian shops are either bilingual or presented only in English. On the other hand, a majority of the Hispanic establishments were titled in Spanish only; no sign featured only English. This reveals a major difference in how these communities use their linguistic resources, as well as what linguistic repertoires they have at their disposals.

The signs in the landscape invariably tell us about an intended audience (Backhaus, 2010). As most of the Hispanic-owned shops have signs written only in Spanish (e.g. Figure 3), we can assume that the intended audience consists solely of Spanish speakers: mostly immigrants and their children. While such salience indicates strength amongst the Spanish-speaking community (Blommaert, 2013), it also indicates a lack of integration with the majority, English-speaking community in Cary. Although more people in North Carolina are learning Spanish than previously, the population that commands Spanish remains limited. Therefore, economically-speaking, the shopkeepers would benefit by using bilingual shop signs, which would pull in both Spanish and non Spanish-speaking customers. However, their lack of English signage suggests that they perhaps do not feel that non-Hispanic Americans would have any interest in the products offered. Furthermore, this lack of integration may not be intentional. This display could be the result of a limited access to the English language, which might point to a larger socioeconomic issue; namely, the Hispanic migrants who come to the area tend to have relatively lower levels of education and economic power (Johnson & Appold, 2014), barring them from effectively receiving English education, and thus remaining peripheral in society.



Figure 3. A Spanish sign in Chatham Square.

On the other hand, the South Asian community primarily displays bilingual signs consisting of English and some Indian language. Much like Woldemariam and Lanza (2015) found in the “Little Ethiopia” of Washington, DC, these signs maintain connections to a local identity, but also invite others into the spaces. The South Asian community in Cary avoids the use of specific Indian languages and scripts on signage not as a way to hide culture, but rather as a way to unite the Indian community and confidently reach out to a wider base.

Within this unity created by English, we can interpret many Indian business signs as symbolically carving out space within the community underneath which lies a rich linguistic diversity. For example, at *Triangle Indian Market*, fliers were posted with regional Indian languages (Figure 4). One flier written in Hindi and English advertises in Hindi for a “night full of humor and song.” Next to that is a flier written in Telugu-English advertising for a Telangana cultural night. Thus, while the main signs indicate unity and openness of the community, smaller signs illustrate diversity and an ability to maintain cultural ties related to particular regions, languages, and religions of South Asia.



Figure 4. These bilingual fliers are posted side-by-side in the window of *Triangle Indian Market*.

7.3. Interactions between the South Asian and Hispanic communities

While I have hinted at the differential levels of assimilation that the two communities have achieved through their own signage, their hierarchical socioeconomic statuses become especially evident when we see how these two communities interact in space.

Fresh Halal Meat Int'l Grocery and Fish is a small grocery-cum-butcher shop which primarily sells South Asian and Middle Eastern products and meats. Since 2008, it has been owned by an Indian man from Mumbai. When I visited, I encountered a small handwritten sign on the door reading *Necesito Ayuda*. This lone sign, which literally means “I need help” in Spanish, is intended to solicit an employee from the Spanish-speaking community. While talking with the owner about his clientele, he mentioned Indian, Pakistani, and African customers, but made no reference to any Hispanic customers. Thus, unlikely to be understood by the shop’s main clientele, we can see that the shop owner is reaching out to Hispanic passersby who frequent the nearby *tiendas* ‘shops’ and *taquerías* ‘taco shops.’ Further, since the clientele is not Spanish-speaking, we can assume that he is not looking for somebody to work the cashier. Rather, he wants somebody who can work in the butchery, a manual labor type job. Additionally, it is interesting to note the unnatural nature of the Spanish on the sign. Rather than a more standard way to indicate help is wanted, such as *se necesita ayuda* ‘help wanted’, the owner chose a very direct phrase which sounds like an automatic translation. This gives us an insight into the current status of the shop. First, the unnatural use of Spanish indicates that there is probably no employee there yet that is fluent in Spanish, but there soon could be. Much in line with practices across the restaurant industry throughout the US, the owner is targeting a lower income group as a source of cheaper labor. Second, despite an incomplete access to Spanish, the owner craftily utilizes what linguistic resources he has to serve his economic interests. This indicates a high level of educational privilege and resources.

I similarly found this type of relationship represented in the spoken languages used in Indian markets. For example, at *Patel Brothers*, one of the major Indian markets in Chatham Square and the whole Cary area, several languages are regularly used, including Spanish. Anushka, who previously worked part-time at *Patel Brothers*, shared:

Among the clientele, they're speaking their own um their own dialects. But then, if they're asking like an Indian worker a question, they would always talk in Hindi or English. And then, if they were speaking to their employees that were non-Indian, who were all Spanish speaking, so they knew Spanish and so they would all speak Spanish with them.

Similar to the case of *Fresh Halal Meat Int'l Grocery and Fish*, Spanish is positioned as a language of labor, which the Indian owners have added to their repertoire, assumedly to reach out to his population. Spanish is not generally found in India, so it can be inferred that these business owners learned some levels of Spanish specifically for the purposes of business. On the other hand, at *Las Tres Fronteras*, a large Mexican market, I encountered few languages other than Spanish.

I also encountered evidence of this linguistic divide in the ideologies of the South Asian community while talking to Kumar, the head chef at *Madras Dosa & Curry*. He expressed confusion over the Hispanic community’s relationship with English:

Yeah, Hispanic community, still a, maybe they are staying here more than uh five or ten years, they, I don't know, why they are not, still now they don't want learn English and, yeah few people, not people, many people say 80% of the people I seen a lot of Latino people, they don't want to speak, they, they not ready to learn, I don't know.

As an immigrant himself who did not attend an English medium school growing up in India, Kumar experienced learning English on his own. His words reflect a common rhetoric in America which paints the Hispanic community as unwilling or unable to learn English. This reflects different opportunities afforded to the two communities, which in turn reveals another socioeconomic difference. Both back in India and in the US, Kumar had access to English language speakers, teachers, and materials, which allowed him to gain proficiency on his own. This case illustrates a linguistic power geometry operating between these two communities. However, prior to shifting, most Hispanic immigrants probably had little access or need of English in Mexico and Latin America. In the US, then, a lack of systemic support for their learning, coupled with the large community who speak Spanish, keeps them isolated from gaining proficiency in English.

We can see from these instances how the South Asian community has positioned itself higher than the Hispanic community in terms of their socioeconomic and linguistic status. The Hispanic community, though strong in number, displays few instances of other languages in their public signage and space. While a few examples exist of Hispanic shops using English, it remains limited. However, as mentioned earlier, even small signs can be an index of larger changes, and these signs may be an indication that the Hispanic community is gaining a foothold in Cary. Furthermore, while most first generation migrants may have limited access to English, both Spanish-speaking shopkeepers reported that their children were growing up bilingual, using English at school and Spanish at home. Also, I should note that this lack of English does not necessarily disturb the Hispanic community, nor do members of the community directly perceive themselves as marginalized. Mario, the shopkeeper from *Las Tres Fronteras*, explained that the area seemed to be a calm place for all people to live: Hispanics, white people, black people, and Asians. Though I asked about any unfair practices, he claimed that he felt comfortable. While the Hispanic community appears to remain peripheral socioeconomically and linguistically at the moment, as the area continues to diversify and the economy continues to recover, we could see the Hispanic community assimilating more into the mainstream in the coming years.

8.0. TRANSFORMATION BEYOND SIGNAGE

So far, based on this analysis of the linguistic landscape in Cary, we can see how the two communities have claimed space differently and are thus represented differently. Beyond the signs, there is ethnographic evidence of how these two communities have experienced different levels of social acceptance, and thus assimilation, as a reflection of their social, economic, and linguistic resources coming into the country. In particular, the South Asian community has quickly gained a remarkable level of acceptance in the area. The Hispanic community, on the other hand, seems to have made less of an impact, perhaps except in the area of restaurants and food culture.

8.1. South Asian Culture in Cary

Thiru Reddy, founder and owner of the Triangle Indian Market since 1995, the first Indian market in the Southeast, recognized this new culture, partially attributing it to economic success and partially attributing it to cultural visibility:

Because at the work place, some Indians are eating at the desk and (?), and they are seeing the food, smelling, haha and then they all are now used to, so we are, we are into the *mainstream* [emphasis added] also slowly, whether foodwise, and I would say it's a kind of globalizing. *It's not like one ethnic, so it's all new* [emphasis added].

As Thiru Reddy points out, this form of assimilation is not the case where a new group is wholly absorbed into the old group. Rather, there exist layers of diversity side-by-side in a new mainstream.

Anushka, who has lived in Cary since 2000, shares a similar sentiment:

I bring like Indian food to like lunch, like at my job, and all my friends are like begging me as opposed to before I would like, be like "Shit, I have Indian food for lunch today, maybe I'll just throw it away and buy." You know, those are the kinds of things that would go through my

head...Now, everyone is so accepting and, I just feel like when I was growing up, it was really hard being like South Asian in an area that people didn't really know about South Asian culture, but now, it's so well-known that I feel comfortable.

This anecdote particularly emphasizes how dramatically the understanding and acceptance of South Asian culture has increased in Cary in the last decade.

Perhaps, no shop in the area illustrates this ongoing evolution of the mainstream better than the established Indian sweet shop, *Mithai*. Opened in 2003 by Sudha and Suchitra Dutta, *Mithai* has become one of the most known Indian sweets shops in the US Southeast. The Duttas, whose families come from Bengal, a region known throughout India for its desserts, paid homage to their Indian heritage through their shop's signage. Although the shop advertises itself as a pan-Indian sweet shop, their main shop sign features the word *mithai* 'sweets' in both the Roman script and Hindi (Figure 5).



Figure 5. The main sign at Mithai featuring Indian-English, Hindi, and American English

However, recently, a Bengali American and her Caucasian husband, Sherry and John, the new bought the shop and plan to expand it and broaden the customer base beyond the South Asian community. Inside, the new LCD display menu that Sherry and John installed features vibrant pictures of fresh vegetables and nuts. They advertise their products with a variety of health buzzwords, such as “No Synthetic Additives” and “Hormone-free milk.” These food issues are common concerns amongst upper-middle class residents in Cary that I have met, white and South Asian. Thus, while the owners continue to offer the same fundamental dishes, the new owners are rebranding the restaurant to attract a wide audience beyond the South Asian community. Just gleaning the Facebook reviews, this appears to be successful so far: based on their public profiles, the clientele commenting is not just Indian, but includes several North Carolina natives as well.

These examples are just the beginning. Down the road from Chatham Square, a banner draped over an old sign out front of a church advertises the opening of a new Hindu temple in place of the Christian church. This is a new group claiming a space formerly equated with the mainstream as their own, signaling a stronger level of comfort or pride. Furthermore, at least three local theaters now show Indian films regularly, side by side with the biggest Hollywood hits. Also, Cary hosts *Diwali*, the Hindu festival of lights, as one of its major annual holidays, placing it next to other traditional festivities like Christmas, Easter, Kwanzaa, and Independence Day.

8.2. Hispanic Culture in Cary

Unlike the South Asian community, I have found considerably less evidence of this cultural mainstreaming with the Hispanic community. While Cary does hold one holiday which is related to the Hispanic community, *Estrella de la Esperanza* ‘Star of Hope,’ a celebration coinciding with the Christian holiday of Epiphany (or Three King’s Day), and the event does have cultural elements (food and a parade), it is mostly a fundraiser to collect donations for local families in need.

The area where I have found the mainstreaming of the Hispanic community is in the food culture, though this seems to be a general trend across the country and does not represent anything unique to Cary. When I have visited the restaurants which only advertise in Spanish, I have noticed far fewer white, non-Spanish speaking customers than when I have gone to places that specifically label themselves as Mexican restaurants. However, there are indications of change in the language practices of newer Mexican restaurants. For example, the recently opened *Esmeralda Grill* started out as a mobile taco truck that initially catered primarily to Hispanic customers during the lunch hours. However, the owners opened this permanent shop in Chatham Square, adding to the growing authentic Mexican food scene in the area. The main sign is symbolically bilingual: the structure and title is English, but the

name of the owner, Esmeralda, retains its Spanish status. Compare this to the older taco truck, which is simply titled in Spanish: *Taquería Esmeralda*. Furthermore, the window signs contain both English and Spanish, which indicates a potential shift in how the community is reaching outside of the Spanish-speaking community, pointing towards future processes of assimilation.

9.0. CONCLUSION

Through the ethnographic study of the linguistic landscape of Cary, NC, I have demonstrated and argued that, despite having grown at a similar rate in the area, the South Asian and Hispanic immigrant communities have achieved significantly different levels of assimilation in the broader community due to differences in their initial socioeconomic characteristics and power geometries. An important implication of this finding is that global cultural flows are not equally accessible to all, but are linked to and embedded in social structures and power geometries. This has played out crucially in the town of Cary, where the introduction of the South Asian community has drastically altered the culture, but the Hispanic community has remained relatively isolated.

As Cary continues to grow, what is mainstream will continue to morph as forces of diversity expand. We can see that the South Asian community, along with their cultural practices, have become a part of the social fabric of the town of Cary. Though the Hispanic community remains linguistically and economically peripheral today, it is likely that with time, the community will become more settled and experience more socioeconomic success. These groups will continue to redefine the notion of mainstream in North Carolina, as well as the United States at large.

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REDUPLICATION IN OROHA: THE MULTIFACETED PROCESS AND ITS EFFECTS WITHIN THE LANGUAGE'S GRAMMAR

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ABSTRACT

This paper covers the known forms of reduplication that exist in Oroha and how they are used to productively change the meanings of words in a myriad of ways. The morphosyntax of Oroha is complex and understudied; this paper takes the first in depth look at the reduplication patterns found in the language.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the process of reduplication in Oroha. There has been little documentation on the language to date. Thus it is probable that currently there is not a full documentation of every type of reduplication which exists in the language, and so this paper will serve as a survey of those forms which are documented.

Oroha is spoken predominantly in a small number of villages on the island of Maramasike, otherwise known as Small Malaita in the Solomon Islands. It is a Southeast Solomonic language¹ which is closely related to Sa'a, a much more dominant language. Of course both are overshadowed by Solomon Islands Pijin as the lingua franca of the country, and Sa'a is more dominant on Small Malaita than any other local language.² Oroha is rapidly shifting to Sa'a³ which is grammatically very similar, though it has many more phonemes and other distinctions that Oroha does not.⁴ Oroha reportedly only has 38 fluent speakers (Ethnologue, 1999), making among the most endangered languages within the Solomon Islands.

1.1. Previous Work On Oroha

The earliest scholarly work on Oroha is a 28 page sketch grammar of the language as recorded by Walter G. Ivens in 1927. Ivens also wrote a dictionary and small grammar sketch of Sa'a and Ulawa.⁵ What is known is that his sketch does little to illuminate the full scope of any one morphosyntactic phenomenon, let alone anything as complicated as the system of reduplication. More recently the Oroha dictionary project has been underway under the direction of Dr. Jordan Lachler and Dr. Sheri Wells-Jensen from the University of Alberta and Bowling Green University respectively. It is their documentation over the past years that the bulk of the data I have to work with comes from. All of the examples contained within this paper are taken from the data repository contained within "The Oroha Lexicon", the server on which all the Oroha data collected by Dr. Lachler, Dr. Wells-Jensen, and their research assistants, including myself, is stored. I have been an aid in their research over the last few years for the Oroha dictionary project, and have been using the resources available to fill in a sketch grammar that is currently underway.⁶ Other scholars have mentioned Oroha in other bodies of work. All of those that I have found, however, have been using Ivens as a basis for their analysis, rather than additional fieldwork.

2.0. PHONEME INVENTORY

Oroha has a small phonemic inventory, as is common for Southeast Solomonic languages. In this paper I use an orthography which is listed below in a table of my own making. Nearly all of the graphemes are the same as their IPA representations with the exceptions of [r] and [ʔ].

Table 1. Orthographic representations of Oroha phonemes

Phonemes	p	t	k	m	n	r	s	h	w	ʔ	a	e	i	o	u
Graphemes	p	t	k	m	n	r	s	h	w	'	a	e	i	o	u

3.0. REDUPLICATION

Both full and various kinds of partial reduplication occur in Oroha. In addition, combinations of full and partial reduplication can occur within the same wordform.

3.1. Full Reduplication

There are many words in Oroha which exhibit a full reduplication of the stem. However the effect that this process has does not seem to be linked to the part of speech, and can have the same effect for different parts of speech as seen in the examples below:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| (1) | aano | aanoaano ⁷ |
| | aano | aano -aano |
| | creep | RED -creep |
| | 'to creep' | 'a peeping tom (one who creeps)' |
| (2) | heko | hekoheko |
| | heko | heko -heko |
| | limp | RED -limp |
| | 'limp (adj.)' | 'a loosely hanging betel nut tree leaf stalk' |

While Full Reduplication is used as a nominalization strategy in some cases, in others an overt nominalizing suffix is also required.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------|-------|
| (3) | so'o | so'oso'ona | |
| | so'o | so'o -so'o | -na |
| | find | RED -find | -NMLZ |
| | 'to find' | 'a found item' | |
| (4) | 'awa | 'awa'awana | |
| | 'awa | 'awa -'awa | -na |
| | migrate | RED -migrate | -NMLZ |
| | 'to migrate' | 'a migration' | |

Thus far it appears that when true full reduplication occurs it nominalizes whatever it is being applied to in some way or another; however there are other attested processes which occur with this particular non-concatenative process. The following example illustrates that full reduplication can impart multiple semantic roles at once:

- | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------|
| (7) | kae | kaekae |
| | kae | kae -kae |
| | lie | RED -lie |
| | 'to lie' | 'a habitual liar' |

Example (7) shows that not only does nominalization occur, but it indicates a habitual aspect as well.

- | | | |
|-----|---------|---|
| (8) | kau | kaukau |
| | kau | kau -kau |
| | coral | RED -coral |
| | 'coral' | 'coarse sand; gravel (made out of coral)' |

Example (8) illustrates that reduplication can be applied to nouns as well, in which case it cannot nominalize, but rather it changes the meaning in a different way. In this case a kind of pluralization occurs, in that the sand or gravel is made up of millions of bits of coral.

(9)	koro	korokoro
	koro	koro -koro
	unknown	RED -unknown
	‘unknown’	‘to be in disguise’

Now it can be seen that an entity can be reduplicated to become verbalized. Once again, there is a semantic relation to go along with the change in form, and thus this is true reduplication, however [korokoro] can have another meaning as well: “unfamiliar; unrecognizable”, which is an adjective. This difference must pertain to the syntax of the sentence. Reduplication does not only affect native Oroha words; it can be applied to loan words as well as evidenced in the word [kurakura] “a healer” which is derived from [kura] “to cure”, which was borrowed into the language from English.

There are also words which become reduplicated to show diminutiveness, or cuteness, such as [kusi] “cat” to [kusikusi] “kitty”, similarly with [kui] “dog” to [kui] “puppy”.

Another example of the multitudinous results of full reduplication is the stretching of the semantics to mean something more in a similar vein than the unreduplicated form without changing its part of speech or anything else. This kind of extension can be seen in the below example:

(10)	nii	niinii
	nii	nii -nii
	give	RED -give
	‘to give’	‘to share’

Example (10) may also be categorized as adding a reciprocal nature to the root form of the word.

3.2. False Or Inherent Full Reduplication

Various examples have been found of words which look like the result of full reduplication, but where the unreduplicated form is either unattested or semantically unrelated.

(5)	a.	hiku	hikuhiku
		hiku	hiku -hiku
		touch.food	RED -???
		‘to touch (said of food)’	‘a necklace’

While this does look like reduplication, and fits with the supposed pattern of nominalizing a different part of speech, the two wordforms are nothing alike semantically. Due to the small phoneme inventory of Oroha, it is possible that [hikuhiku] is not at all related to [hiku]. The Oroha word for necklace may simply be [hikuhiku] and there is no reduplication and thus the interlinear gloss should look like this:

(5)	b.	hikuhiku
		necklace

Another example of this phenomenon is listed below:

(6)	iire	iireiire
	a method of making fire	a fin of a fish or porpoise

3.3. Recapping Full Reduplication

The above types of form-meaning relations are the only ones that have been discovered for full reduplication thus far. As further research is undertaken it is possible that more that will be discovered, and perhaps a more streamlined view of what is possible will be seen as well. To recap the possible relationships between the non-concatenative form of full reduplication and the meanings it ascribes are as follows:

- A nominalizing effect within the same semantic domain
- A marker of habitualness and nominalizing process at the same time
- Indicate that something is made of the unreduplicated form or perhaps a pluralization of sorts
- A verbalization of adjectives within the same semantic domain
- Diminutivizing
- Extend the semantic meaning within the same part of speech

3.4. Partial Reduplication

Oroha also uses partial reduplication with some similar semantic effects, however there are also other ways the process slightly differs. This section runs through the above stated outcomes of full reduplication with examples illustrating the same processes used in partial reduplication if they exist in the data gathered thus far; it then goes on to describe other ways in which partial reduplication affects the wordforms found in Oroha.

First there is the nominalization of verbs. This is evident in the following examples:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (11) | 'a'a
'a'a
spread(vines)
'to grow or spread (said of vines)' | 'a'a'a
'a -'a'a
RED -spread(vines)
' a type of vine that grows along rocks' |
| (12) | piro
piro
sprout
'to sprout; to bud' | pipiro
pi -piro
RED -sprout
'germination; blossom' |

This may pertain to other parts of speech as well, however there are no examples as of yet and further research needs to be conducted.

Like in example (7), partial reduplication can also be found to be a marker of habitualness.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (13) | maarau
maarau
destroy(intentional)
'to intentionally destroy' | maamaarau
maa -maarau
RED -destroy(intentional)
'one who habitually destroys' |
|------|--|--|

Once more there is also nominalization that occurs, however this time without the [-na] suffix. There are limited examples of habitual aspect in the data, and all of them are due to reduplication, and all of them nominalize the verb as well.

There are no known instances of using partial reduplication to verbalize another part of speech like the full reduplication has the ability to do. This could indicate that verbalization only occurs through full reduplication. More likely, it simply hasn't been documented yet.

As seen above, the forms for “cat” and “dog” can be fully reduplicated to mean “kitty” and “puppy”. [kusi] to [kusikusi] and [kui] to [kuikui] respectively. Both of those forms can also be realized as [kukusi] or [kukui] respectively, achieving the same meaning⁸ through a partial reduplication as they did through complete reduplication. “Kitty” can be made even cuter with apocope forming [kukus] (this process cannot be applied to “dog”).⁹

The last bullet point in section 3.2 stated that full reduplication can be used to extend the semantics of the unreduplicated form. By this I mean that the core meaning remains the same, but has shifted, is exaggerated, or built upon in the new form. This was illustrated by example (10) above. The process can also be seen to occur with partial reduplication as in the following examples:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (14) | saewasu
sae -wasu
heart -smelly
‘to be angry’ | saesaewasu
sae -sae -wasu
RED -heart -smelly
‘to get angry easily’ |
| (15) | mauri
mauri
alive
‘to be alive’ | maumauri
mau -mauri
RED -alive
‘to be living life’ |

The next example is similar to (14) and (15) in that its part of speech is not changed, and the core meaning has not changed drastically, however it is somewhat different; it may be a substrate of the type of reduplication that is highlighted by examples (10), (14), and (15). It is an intensifier; it keeps the idea of the unreduplicated form intact, more so than any other form of reduplication seen throughout this paper.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (16) | saeseeni
sae -seeni
heart -good
‘to be generous’ | saesaeseeni
sae -sae -seeni
RED -heart -good
‘to be very generous’ |
|------|--|---|

Example (15) may be categorized as an intensifier as well, rather than the semantic extension, or perhaps it is both.

3.5. Recapping Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication gives the evidence that the reduplicated segment attaches to the left edge of the wordform, which was ambiguous with only full reduplication examples. The grammatical effects of the process of reduplication are largely the same as those of full reduplication. Though no evidence has yet been attested to the ability to verbalize other parts of speech. This is probably due to a lack of documentation, rather than an inability to do so. Likewise the intensifying aspect which occurs through partial reduplication does not appear with full reduplication for the same reason, I assume.

It is evinced that both types of reduplication can occur with the same words, however the only attested words to which that applies are [kusi] and [kui], “cat” and “dog”. These were diminutivized in both forms. This may be a closed class of words that can utilize both interchangeably, pertaining to animals (perhaps only domesticated animals, at that).

3.6. Both Types In A Single Word

Substantially rarer than the either type of reduplication alone, it appears that a single word can have both full and partial reduplication occurring concurrently. The only example that can be found in the data gathered so far is given below:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (17) | ooro
ooro
freestyle.swim
‘to freestyle swim’ | ooroorooro
OORO -o -oORO -o
RED -RED -freestyle.swim -RED
‘a swimmer’ |
|------|---|---|

Once more this is glossed as a nominalizing process, which appears to be the most common effect of reduplication in Oroha.

The idea that reduplication can only be attached on the left edge of a wordform is, again, challenged by the last [-o] morpheme. Another analysis of this could be that there is an echo vowel attached to the end of the wordform for some reason, which lengthens the final vowel. The idea that it is a mistake in the documentation is possible, though unlikely, as I gathered this word in February 2015 and was curious about the four consecutive [o]’s in the transcription, and I was assured that was right. The three possible analyses for example (17), as I see it, are as follows:

As above, written down with a full reduplication, a partial reduplication, the base word, and then a suffixed partial reduplication; full reduplication, partial reduplication, the base word, and an echo vowel; or It could be a full reduplication, an epenthetical [-o-] due to the same vowels being placed next to one another, the base word, and an echo vowel. Unfortunately there is no way currently to find out for certain.

4.0. CONCLUSION

This paper serves to explore the possible types and effects of those different types of reduplication in the Southeast Solomon language Oroha. With its small phonemic inventory, it is little wonder that reduplication is a common phenomenon which occurs in the language. The major challenge that kept this paper from being much more in depth is the lack of documentation on this endangered language. With so little documentation it is difficult to know if there are more reduplicated words which we simply have yet to record, or if certain forms that we have collected have an unreduplicated form or can stand on their own; examples of this would be [kotakota] “muddy water” which does not have an attested unreduplicated form, or [maemaeha] “death” which is reduplicated from [mae] “to die”, however needs (insofar as is known) the [-ha] nominalizing suffix. Oroha's morphological system is only just now beginning to be researched in earnest.

More research is needed before this can be revisited, however it appears that reduplication, regardless of full or partial or both, have largely the same functions. What triggers which function and why is still a mystery. However with a firm knowledge of the types of effects that reduplication causes in Oroha, further research will be that much easier to carry out.

NOTES

1. Tryon and Hackman (1983)
2. Here I use the term ‘local language’ rather than ‘indigenous language’, ‘heritage language’ or ‘mother tongue’ or other terms of that ilk. This is due to the fact that there are languages spoken on the island and throughout the rest of the Solomon Islands which are not from the country, or are pidgins or creoles. Not only that, many people speak Solomon Islands Pijin as their native language, rather than their heritage language; furthermore their heritage language may not be a language local to Maramasike, as there has been an influx of people from other islands and intermarriage for decades with those from other Islands.
3. Personal Communication
4. See Ivens (1918) versus Ivens (1927). Also Tryon and Hackman (1983).
5. Ivens 1918
6. Lachler and Jensen, unpublished
7. The reason I believe the first in the set of reduplicated forms is the actual reduplication is because in the partial reduplication it becomes more clear which syllable is the reduplicated: always the first portion; it makes more sense to assume that this pattern does not change over the form of reduplication, either full or partial, and thus the first instance of the wordform is the reduplicated part attached to the stem as a prefix, rather than the other way around.
8. They may or may not be identical, though the speaker I asked about it said that there was no difference between [kusikusi] and [kukusi].
9. This is interesting in that it forms a syllable with a coda position consonant, which is generally disallowed in Oroha, however that phenomenon is out of the scope of this paper.

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NOVEL MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL DERIVATIONAL PATTERNS IN KOREAN ONOMATOPOEIC AND MIMETIC NEOLOGISMS

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes Korean sound symbolic neologisms for the morphophonological patterns currently in use. Standard sound symbolic terms have a set of rules that can be applied to enact connotational change. Sound symbolic neologisms, however, do not follow these rules in the same manner, and even exhibit novel patterns. This experiment found that the newly found segmental reduction is most widely used with the neologisms, and also found that among the standard patterns, vowel harmony changed the most. The original set of morphophonemic rules are no longer exclusively used to derive new forms of onomatopoeic and mimetic words.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Comparative to other world languages, Korean has a relatively large number of sound symbolic terms, and also has one of the most active systems of sound symbolic word change (Cho 2006). In addition to the large number of terms in the Korean sound symbolic lexicon, there are a number of systematic changes and rules used to alter the connotations of these sound symbolic terms. In Korean, the concept of sound symbolic terms for the purposes of this paper, are called ‘의성의태어’ uysenguythaye which translates roughly to onomatopoeic and mimetic words. This paper will look into changes in the system used to enact morphophonological change in sound symbolic terms in Korean due to the influx of neologisms to the lexicon through one survey that was based on a prior survey. The main objective of the prior survey was to look into how Korean speakers think of and treat onomatopoeic neologisms as well as looking into generally what is happening with regards to morphophonological changes. The goals of the second main survey were to look into the range of use and the limits of the evolving standard rules as well as one developing new rule: segmental reduction.

‘의성의태어’ uysenguythaye is defined as a word which mimics a sound or a shape, and they typically are adverbs (Sohn 1999). There are a large number of uysenguythaye that are accepted into the standard language, (standard as defined by the allowance of terms into the dictionary) but in addition to these standardized accepted terms there are a large number of unofficial terms that also fall under the definition of an uysenguythaye. Through slight morphophonological changes, the connotation of an uysenguythaye also changes, thus leading to the creation of non-standard forms of standard words. Moreover, among unofficial sound symbolic terms, there is a growing number of sound symbolic neologisms.

Updated research on the system of Korean sound symbolism is imminent due to this recent influx of novel uysenguythaye into the Korean language, and there are three main reasons this paper will look into this topic. First, while there is a need for research on the increasing number of novel uysenguythaye, there is not much being done at the present. Second, there is not much research on how the standardized system of onomatopoeia interact with these novel forms. Third, despite the lack of research, there is anecdotal evidence that neologisms and standard terms interact differently with the morphophonological rules that needs to be further researched. Thus this paper seeks to increase the literature on this topic by providing some of the first steps into defining the current system.

The goals of Survey 1 were to look into the current status of Korean onomatopoeic neologisms and the accompanying morphophonemic rules to enact connotational change that go with them. As such, the first survey focused of four main points for the creation of the survey questions. First, in order to gauge the level to which respondents were familiar with the neologisms, respondents were asked about the level of exposure they had to each word. Second, to extracts the general understanding of the meaning of each word, respondents were asked whether each word should be considered an ‘의성어’ uysenge or an ‘의태어’ uythaye. Third, respondents were asked whether or not each word could be changed to a similar form to see if there was a conscious understanding of onomatopoeic morphophonemic changes. Fourth, respondents were asked to give alternative forms of each neologism to check the amount of morphophonemic flexibility each word possessed, as well as to look into what kinds of methods were being used to enact connotational changes.

After taking data regarding morphophonemic rules gleaned from the first survey and comparing it to the standard methods of connotational change, the second survey was created focusing on a few particularly salient rules

as compared to standard expectations. According to results taken from Survey 1, while novel uysenguythaye not only used the standard patterns, they also exhibited the use of novel patterns previously not associated with onomatopoeic connotational change in Korean. That is to say, not only was there evidence for the use of tensification, aspiration, and vowel harmony, but also for the novel semi-systematic use of some form of segmental reduction. Thus the main objectives of Survey 2 were to look into what the scope and limitations of use of both the newly developing segmental reduction and the standard rules. As such, the main questions of focus were as follows: can the new pattern be applied to standard uysenguythaye? Is this new rule more frequently used with neologisms than the standard rules? Are the standard rules still effecting connotational changes on neologisms in the same manner as before? Is there a limit to the use of all these rules? If so what is it?

2.0. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PRIOR RESEARCH

2.1. Korean ‘Uysenguythaye’ Labelling and Definitions

Korean Sound Symbolic terms can be divided into two different systems. The first system is used by Korean linguists and divides the terms into sound-symbolic terms (‘의성어’ uysenge) and manner-symbolic terms (‘의태어’ uythaye), while the second system is widely used by general linguists classifying sound symbolic terms from all languages. Thus according to Sohn (1999), for general purposes it is accepted that sound symbolic terms are divided into three types, the phonomime (sound-symbolic), the phenomime (manner symbolic, mimetic), and the psychomime (mental state symbolic). However, due to the nature of the term and concept division in the Korean language itself, phonomimes and psychomimes are conflated into one term which will be umbrella termed as mimesis (‘의태어’ uythaye) here. Thus we have the two terms ‘의성어’ uysenge and ‘의태어’ uythaye. Phonomimes mimic our auditory perception of sound, while mimetic terms imitate our perception of sight, smell, touch, taste, and psychological state. According to Naver Korean Dictionary, Korean phonomimes are words which imitate the sounds of people or objects, and Korean mimetic terms are words which imitate the shape, image, or movement of things or people. The two terms ‘의성어’ uysenge and ‘의태어’ uythaye are commonly conflated into the single term ‘의성의태어’ uysenguythaye for academic purposes.

2.2. Morphological Phenomena

Generally speaking, sound symbolism can have connotational changes enacted by a total of six different morphological and phonological phenomena. There are two types of morphological changes that typically can occur: reduplication and derivation (Sohn 1999). Reduplication can either be whole or partial; whole meaning that the whole word is copied and repeated, and partial meaning that only a part of a word is copied and repeated (신 2014). An example of whole reduplication is ‘반짝반짝’ panccakpanccak where ‘반짝’ panccak is duplicated. An example of partial reduplication is ‘까르르’ kkalulu where ‘르’ lu is copied and repeated.

The second type of morphological phenomena associated with sound symbolic connotational changes is derivation, and the derivation of sound symbolic terms has two main types. The first type is when an adverb is changed into another part of speech, and with this form the sound symbolic adverb is attached to a post-position grammatical marker such as ‘-거리다’ -kelita, ‘-이다’ -ita, ‘-이’ -i, or ‘-하다’ -hata thus rendering the adverb a noun, verb, adjective, etc. (i.e. ‘보글+거리다’ pokul+kelita or ‘멍멍+이’ mengmeng+i). The second type is when any other part of speech is changed into an adverb, most typically done by taking an initial verb and creating a sound symbolic adverb (i.e. ‘굽다’ kwupta ‘구불구불’ kwupwulkwupwul or ‘피곤하다’ phikonhata ‘피곤피곤’ phikonphikon) (김 2014).

2.3. Phonological Phenomena

With regards to phonological phenomena, connotational change can be described in terms of phoneme place. There are three places in which change may occur: the initial consonant onset (e.g. 빙 ping, 핑 phing, 뽕 pping), the vowel nucleus (e.g. 호호 hoho, 히히 hihi, 하하 haha, 헤헤 hehe), and the final consonant coda (e.g. 뽕 pping, 뽕 ppik) (Cho 2006). The connotation of each word changes through the use of different classes of phones in each location. In these three locations, there are a total of four phonological rules that may be applied to change a

word's connotation.

First, in the initial consonant there is a contrast between lax, tense, and aspirated consonants. This means that an initial lax consonant can undergo aspiration or tensification in order to change word connotations. The aspiration rule in the Korean language refers to the concept where an obstruent and 'h' form a phone chain or where an 'h' and a lax obstruent form a phone chain and are then contracted into a single aspirated consonant. The following rule applies:

- (1) a. Rule
 ㅁ [p], ㅂ [tʃ], ㄷ [t], ㄱ [k] [+asp] / ㅎ [h] ____; ____ ㅎ [h]
- b. Example
 좋다 [조타]
 cohta [cotha]
 'like'

(Sohn 1999)

However, for the phonological connotational change within a sound symbolic term, this rule is applied differently than is typical in Korean. Due to the fact that lax and aspirated consonants carry a different, set connotation for sound symbolic terms, the rule is applied irrespective of the presence of an /h/ and a lax sound simply becomes an aspirate sound. We can see this in the examples '빙빙/핑핑' 'pingping/phingphing', '달달/탈탈' 'taltal/thaltha', '감감/캄캄' 'kamkam/khamkham'. The change in initial consonant undergoing aspiration creates a slight change in meaning between the two words. A lax or aspirated consonant is chosen according to the degree of intensity involved in the desired expression. A lax consonant denotes slowness, mildness, heaviness, largeness etc., while an aspirated consonant denotes flexibility, crispness, speediness etc.

The second phenomenon that occurs in the initial consonant is tensification. According to 신 (2014), tensification refers to a phone chain consisting of an obstruent and a lax obstruent, where the lax obstruent becomes a tense consonant. The following rule applies:

- (2) a. Rule
 ㅁ [p], ㅂ [tʃ], ㄷ [t], ㄱ [k], ㅅ [s] [+tense] / ㅁ [p], ㄷ [t], ㄱ [k] ____
- b. Example 1
 깊다 [킵다] [킵따]
 kiphta [kipta] [kiptta]
 'deep'

(Sohn 1999)

According to Sohn (1999), as with the aspiration rule, this regular tensification rule is changed to bear a meaning change regardless of the presence of neighboring sounds when it is applied to sound symbolic words. Once again, a lax consonant becomes a tense consonant for the purposes of meaning change, rather than an automatic change based on neighboring phones. As can be seen through the examples '빙빙/뽕뽕' 'pingping/ppingpping', '달달/탈탈' 'taltal/talttal', '감감/캄캄' 'kamkam/kkamkkam', there is a different connotation attached to the words based on their initial consonants. Once again, as with aspirates, the desired intensity of an expression determines the choice of tense or lax. A lax consonant still denotes slowness, mildness, heaviness, largeness etc., while a tense consonant denotes denseness, fastness, smallness, extra swiftness etc.

The third phenomenon occurs within the syllable central vowels and is called vowel harmony. Vowel harmony is a phenomenon where vowels are divided into two groups and the vowels in a word are assimilated to vowels of the same group, typically taking the group of the first vowel in a word. Korean vowel harmony divides vowels into bright and dark categories. In sound symbolism these vowel groups bear different connotations, and thus the choice of one group over the other depends on the meaning one wishes to convey. Bright vowels are /ㅏ /a/, /ㅓ /ay/, /ㅗ /o/, and /ㅜ /oy/ and convey smallness, affectionateness, cuteness, femininity, fragility, flimsiness, blockishness, frivolousness, brightness, happiness, etc. (Cho 2006). Dark vowels are /ㅑ /e/, /ㅓ /wu/, /ㅕ /ey/, /ㅗ /

/wi/ (/ | /i/, and /___/ /u/), and convey the opposite. They convey largeness, ponderousness, masculinity, clumsiness, unwieldiness, darkness, gloominess etc. There are also several scholars who have determined the connotation of these vowels in the opposite manner. In either case, the vowels are taken to be opposites.

Finally, in the final consonant, meaning can change by the choice of certain consonants over the others. This phenomenon is irregular and follows no systematic rule. As an aside, the concept of the final consonant in context of partial reduplication refers to the coda of the word, while in most other contexts refers to the final consonant of each syllable. Due to the fact that this change is irregular, this change does not refer to the same change to the same meaning in every word that ends with the same consonant, but rather that part of the word now bears a connotation that is associated with that consonant. Final consonant /ㄷ/ 'l' has a smooth, flowing, liquid connotation and thus many sound symbolic terms denoting these concepts end with /ㄷ/ 'l'. /ㅇ/ 'ng' implies opening or spherical imagery, while /ㄱ/ 'k' indicates sudden imagery. /ㅅ/ 's' implies meticulousness or smallness and /ㄴ/ 'n' gives a sense of fast, light movement. And finally, /ㅁ/ 'm' indicates goodness or expanding into a wide space. While it is possible to change the final consonant of a sound symbolic term to match a different connotation, it is highly infrequent and final consonant typically remains static (Cho 2006).

3.0. SURVEY 1

3.1. Sourcing Sound Symbolic Neologisms

To create the basis for this survey, neologisms were sourced through three different methods. First, Korean native speakers in their 20's were asked if they knew of any new slang *uysenguythaye*; second, through the utilization of Google Search, neologisms trending in 2015 were sourced, and then finally, a thorough examination of posts and comments made on Korean Facebook pages was conducted. Then to confirm the use and ubiquity of the sourced neologisms along with whether the target word was sound or manner symbolic or not and widely used, sourced words were plugged into the Facebook and Instagram hashtag search functions. In addition, a comparison was drawn to standard *uysenguythaye* to check for similarities in manner of use. Whether or not the connotational changes that occur with standard *uysenguythaye* could occur with these neologisms was also confirmed. For the words that were confirmed to be sound symbolic, a definition for the term was then determined through the synthesis of examples of usage on the above social media platforms.

After determining the definition of the neologisms, the degree of recency of each word for the purposes of only researching extremely new words was checked by plugging the terms into the Naver Cisik Sacen (네이버 지식사전), a Wikipedia style online dictionary, and words found to be already logged in the dictionary were excluded. The reasoning for including only new, unrecorded terms was to ensure that no terms that could have potentially been standardized could enter into the research. Should a neologism make it to a stage of standardization, the likelihood that the word will bear more similarities to standard terms increases, and thus only words that have no set standardized properties were included in the study.

3.2. Results Discussion

Analysis of results can be divided into three main parts based on the type of change incurred by each altered word. The first type is morphological, the second is phonological, and the third is, for the purposes of this paper, called a 'novel' category. The morphological and phonological categories are exclusively for the use of standard connotational change patterns. Thus changes made in this third 'novel' category are called so because they employ rules or phenomena that are typically not used in the standard system of morphophonological connotational change for *uysenguythaye*. This third 'novel' category can be divided into novel morphological and novel phonological changes.

The goals of Survey 1 were to explore what is currently occurring within the use of Korean *uysenguythaye*, and thus inquired after what speakers actually would use with regards to target neologisms. Based on preliminary research, results were expected to show that there is continual use of old morphophonological patterns and also several new methods of expressing connotational changes. Results of this preliminary survey supported this hypothesis, and in addition found more flexibility than previous allowed with regards to the standard set of morphophonological rules. Novel patterns were also discovered and tentatively categorized. In addition, one

interesting finding was that the least morphophonologically flexible neologism was explicitly expressed not to be a sound symbolic term at all by a respondent. This, combined with high levels of flexibility in all the terms, indicates that sound symbolic neologisms are highly flexible as are the standard uysenguythaye, and also are potentially more morphophonologically flexible than terms coined in the past. This conclusion can be derived from the diverse findings of novel derivational patterns. In total there were more instances of morphological rule use than phonological rule use and the most commonly used pattern was found to be reduplication. This is indicative, however, more of that sound symbolic terms in Korean are often formed through reduplication patterns than the morphophonological flexibility of these terms.

Due to the nature of this type of net-casting survey many of the forms found and rules used were not common enough to derive any conclusive rules governing their use however, and thus more research is necessary. An example of the necessity for further research can be garnered from the patterns found relating to what should have been vowel harmony patterns, but instead reflected a pattern more similar to vowel substitution or vowel insertion. In addition, there was some use of typing errors to create new forms that may or may not have been simply responder error or could be a more rule governed form spawned from an original typing error.

4.0. SURVEY 2

4.1. Survey Design and Experimental Goals

Survey 2, then built upon the findings in Survey 1 by taking the foundational knowledge gleaned from the first survey and focusing on a few particularly salient aspects of the neologisms and their accompanying morphophonemic rules as compared to original sound symbolic words and their connotational change patterns. The findings from Survey 1 indicated that there has been a shift in the use of standard methods of morphophonological change as well as the addition of new methods of change, the most systematic of which was a form of segmental reduction. Thus this second survey aimed to find out what kinds of shifts have occurred in three specific standard rules (tensification, aspiration, and vowel harmony) and what kind of segmental reduction rules are being followed. As such, the goals of this survey were to test the usage limits and the scope of both the standard connotational change patterns and the currently forming patterns.

Target words for this survey are a total of six neologisms with the most morphophonological flexibility as taken from the first survey. Four words with low level of flexibility were excluded and this exclusion created a balanced set of three ‘의성어’ uysenge and three ‘의태어’ uythaye (determined as such through the majority opinion agreed upon in the results of Survey 1). A set of six parallel filler words that match the neologisms in terms of phonological segment similarities were also chosen in order to hide the objectives of the survey from the respondents, who were simply told this was a survey on social media language use, especially relating to hashtags.

Table 1. Survey 2: ‘의성의태어’ Uysenguythaye

	Neologism	Standard Term
1	‘뽀뽀’ ppyuppyu	‘ 짹짹 ’ ccwakccwak
2	‘오구오구’ okwuokwu	‘아장아장’ acangacang
3	‘꾸꾸까까’ kkyukkyukkyakya	‘꾸역꾸역’ kkwuyekkkwuyek
4	‘샤샤’ syasyak	‘까르르’ kkalulu
5	‘쿰척쿰척’ khwumchekkhwumchek	‘줄깃줄깃’ colkiscolkis
6	‘귀욤귀욤’ kwiynomkwiynom	‘새금새금’ saykumsaykum

4.1.1. Participants

Participants were Korean native speakers in their 20’s who received at least 10 years of their education in Korea. There was a total of 58 respondents, 4 of which had to be excluded due to not meeting the above criteria. Having posted the survey to social media sites and messaging boards aimed at Korean university students in Korea and studying abroad in Hawaii, the majority of participants were university students in Korea, approximately half of which were currently on one to two semester long study abroad terms in Hawaii. A total of seven background questions were asked to determine eligibility for the study and to track any potential oddities in the results collected. Information collected included age range, gender, length of education received in Korea, native language, first

language acquired, whether or not they have studied abroad for more than two years in the last six years (asked in case there were any strange patterns seen when comparing those who have and have not had long term time outside Korea), and the amount of time spent on the internet.

4.1.2. Survey form

Survey 2, like Survey 1, was conducted through Google Forms. There was a total of 91 questions asked (49 target and 42 filler), with two follow up questions. Follow up questions asked if the respondent had any extra comments they would like to add and also inquired after the purpose of the study. Participants who were too accurate in guessing the purposes of the study were excluded from the results analysis.

Target and filler words were created by applying the four morphological rules (aspiration, tensification, vowel harmony, and segmental reduction) to each of the words where applicable. Some rules were inapplicable to some words due to phonotactic constraints and thus were left out. The segmental reduction rule, being a novel pattern, had several possible channels of reduction and thus more than one form for each word was created. As this is a novel rule, in order to test what kind of restrictions are in place on its use, every possible form of reduction was included for all of the target and filler words. Possible segments for reduction were the initial consonant, final consonant, semivowel, and syllable. Combination segmental reductions were also included. The reasoning for these five options of reduction was that these types of forms were found in the initial survey.

The question format took a brief phrase utilizing terms, grammar, and common errors found in social media posts and paired it with a matching hashtag containing the neologism or standard uysenguythaye. The choice of a phrase and hashtag question structure was due to the overwhelming trend for sound symbolic neologisms to come after a phrase as a hashtag in social media posts on Twitter and Instagram. The sentence remained the same for each form of a word to control for sentence acceptability in responses. Respondents read the phrase and combined hashtag and then were asked to judge the level of naturalness on a Likert Scale from 1 – very unnatural to 5 – very natural, with the option to not respond if the respondent had no idea what the stimuli provided meant at all. They were instructed to not overthink and respond with the first degree of naturalness that came to mind. Questions were randomized so there was no obvious pattern between target and filler stimuli, but were presented in the same order to all respondents.

4.1.3. Preliminary suppositions and implications

Thus for the second survey, the results found were taken and reanalyzed for the most likely ubiquitous rules in order to focus more on how specific rules interact with sound symbolic neologisms. The standard phonological rules of tensification, aspiration, and vowel harmony, along with a new exploratory pattern of segmental reduction were chosen due to their overall higher frequency of use found in Survey 1 along with their ability to be used with the majority of the target words. Thus the second survey aimed to find out what kinds of shifts have occurred in three specific standard rules (tensification, aspiration, and vowel harmony) and what kind of segmental reduction rules are being followed. As such, the goals of this survey were to test the usage limits and the scope of both the standard connotational change patterns and the currently forming patterns.

Expected results for this survey include the prediction that novel uysenguythaye will be able to utilize the newly forming pattern of segmental reduction more widely than standard uysenguythaye, due to the more flexible nature of novelty when compared to standardized forms. I also predict, however, that the traditional methods of enacting connotational change will maintain a higher level of acceptability than the novel patterns. I anticipate this due to the previously noted expansion of the use of these rules, which will allow potentially for the standard use of the rule along with the newly forming broader use. In the case of all four patterns, I expect that there will be a limit for when they can and cannot be applied, though I am unsure as to the degree to which that limit can be determined by this survey. While this is a more comprehensive survey compared to the first one, there are still several limitations, including being unable to ask about every possible form and including potential interference from the contextual sentences. Contextual sentences could lower or raise the level of naturalness for certain words depending on how much respondents think internet language stylistics are acceptable. However, overall this should be relatively controlled for by the use of each rule over several words.

4.2. Survey 2 Results

4.2.1. Filler stimuli

There were a total of 42 filler stimuli comprised of standard uysenguythaye. All surveyed filler stimuli were marked unnatural except for eight words that are either contextually relevant and from the dictionary (아장아장 acangacang mode = 5, 쫄깃쫄깃 ccolkisccolkis mode = 5, 새큼새큼 saykhumsaykhum mode = 5, 까르르 kkalulu mode = 5, 꾸역꾸역 kkwyekkkwyek mode = 5), a contextually appropriate separate word with the same form as a filler word with an applied rule (짹 짹 ccakccak mode = 5, 아자아자 acaaca mode = 5), or commonly used but not considered standard enough to be found in a dictionary (아짱아짱 accangaccang bimodal mode = 3, 1). It is notable that the non-standard common term is the only one of these that is potentially considered unacceptable at 1 or neither acceptable nor acceptable at 3. All other fillers were rated at a mode of 1 and considered very unnatural, which is expected considering the stagnant nature of the definitions and acceptable forms of these terms. These results indicate that there is a limit to the standard sound symbolism system, which matches prior findings and research.

4.2.2. Target stimuli

Target stimuli were comprised of uysenguythaye neologisms and their altered forms. There was a total of 47 terms surveyed. ‘뽀뽀’ ppyuppyu and ‘오구오구’ okwuokwu had 7 derived forms each, ‘꾸꾸까까’ kkyukkyukyakkya and ‘샤샤’ syasyak had 9 each, ‘쿰척쿰척’ khwumchekkhwumchek had 4 derived forms, and ‘귀욤귀욤’ kwiyomkwiyom had a total of 11 derived forms. With regards to degree of naturalness, a mode of 4 or 5 indicates the term is natural, 3 indicates the term is neither natural nor unnatural, and a mode of 2 or 1 indicates the term is unnatural.

4.3. Survey 2 Results Analysis

4.3.1. Analysis methodology and methodology reasoning

This section will discuss the process and methodology behind the data analysis for Survey 2. Due to the fact that the survey was conducted asking for respondents to rate naturalness on a Likert Scale from 1 to 5, result cannot be analyzed through interval analysis and must be analyzed through ordinal analysis. Since Likert Scale data is ordinal, the best method of analysis is to first take the mode. Likert Scale responses indicate that when a number is high the given phrase is accurate and when a number is low the given phrase is inaccurate. Thus it can be taken that answers of 4 and 5 indicate the stimuli is a natural phrase, a 1 or 2 indicates the stimuli is an unnatural phrase, and a 3 indicates that the given phrase is neither. Therefore, modes were divided into three groups: natural, unnatural, and neither. After taking the modes of each stimuli the percentage of responses that were the mode was calculated. High percentages indicate that a larger majority of respondents agreed with the mode response, and a low percentage indicates that there was less agreement and more debate on the acceptability of the mode response. After taking these percentages, then correlation was calculated in two different methods. First correlation was calculated between phenomena use and the mode, and then correlation was calculated between phenomena use and the degree of naturalness (only natural (4-5) and unnatural (1-2) mode responses were compared, responses of 3 were left out due to ambiguity).

4.3.2. Descriptive statistics

First the mode was taken for overall descriptive statistical analysis. The most natural initial forms and the most natural derivational forms received a mode of 5. Next, terms that were still naturally but not considered perfect received a mode of 4. Terms that were neither natural nor unnatural received a mode of 3. Unnatural words were marked as 2. Finally, terms that were considered extremely unnatural were marked as a 1. Notable is that 우구구 wukwukwu and 꾸꾸까까 kkwukkwukakka were found to be bimodal, but both had one of their modes as 1.

After taking the mode of each stimuli, modes were divided into three groups: natural, unnatural, and neither. Out of all stimuli the percentage or how many were in each category was also calculated. These results can be seen

in Table 2. There were 22 natural terms and 44 natural instances of phenomena use, there were five words and nine phenomena use instances considered neither natural nor unnatural, and there were 20 words and 49 phenomena use instances that were found to be unnatural.

Table 2. Neologism ‘의성의태어’ Uysenguythaye Degree of Naturalness

Degree of Naturalness	Number of Words	%	Number of Instances	%
Natural (5-4)	22	46.8%	44	43.1%
Neither (3)	5	10.6%	9	8.8%
Unnatural (2-1)	20	42.6%	49	48.0%
Total	47	100%	102	100%

Next, Table 3 shows the average mode for each of the neologisms among their derived forms. The neologisms that can be changed in the most amount of ways have higher average modes and those with low average modes cannot be changed in as many ways. The highest average mode was found to be ‘귀욤귀욤’ kwiyoumkwiyoum and the lowest was ‘오구오구’ okwuokwu.

Table 3. Average Mode of Neologisms

Neologism	Average Mode	Number of Altered Forms
ppyuppyu	3.14	7
okwuokwu	2.14	7
kkyukkyukkyakya	2.75	9
syasyak	3.11	9
khwumchekkhwumchek	2.5	4
kwiyoumkwiyoum	3.18	11

4.3.3. Inferential statistics

With regards to inferential statistics, two separate types of calculations were made: the percentage of the degree of naturalness for each phenomena, and the correlation between phenomena use and naturalness. To first explain the results of the degree of naturalness, Table 4 shows the naturalness of all consonant changes. The degree of naturalness for all consonant change phenomena together was 30%, and the degree of unnaturalness was placed solidly at 50%, and thus results indicate that consonant change in neologisms is considered generally unnatural. Particularly for the changes to lax and tense consonants, two thirds of all responses were considered unnatural. Finally, differing from the other two, changes to an aspirate were considered natural to a degree of 50%.

Table 4. Degree of Naturalness for Consonant Change Phenomena

Degree of Naturalness	Consonant Change	%	Lax	%	Tense	%	Aspirate	%
Natural (5-4)	3	30%	0	0	1	33.3%	2	50%
Neither (3)	2	20%	1	33.3%	0	0%	1	25%
Unnatural (2-1)	5	50%	2	66.7%	2	66.7%	1	25%
Total	10	100%	3	100%	3	100%	4	100%

Table 5 depicts the degree of naturalness in percentages for all vowel change phenomena. 66.7% of all instances of vowel change phenomena were considered unnatural. Out of the instances of vowel harmony use, 75% were considered unnatural while 66.7% of general change phenomena were considered natural. However there were only three instances of general change and this result should be taken with caution.

Table 5. Degree of Naturalness for Vowel Change Phenomena

Degree of Naturalness	Vowel Change	%	Vowel Harmony	%	General Change	%
Natural (5-4)	5	33.3%	3	25%	2	66.7%
Neither (3)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Unnatural (2-1)	10	66.7%	9	75%	1	33.3%
Total	15	100%	12	100%	3	100%

The degree of naturalness in percentages for segmental reduction phenomena are given in Table 6. Overall, 50% of all reduction phenomena were considered natural while 40.9% were considered unnatural. 80% of all vowel reduction instances were considered natural, and 62.5% of glide reduction instances were found natural. In contrast, 40% of consonant reduction was considered unnatural and syllable reduction was split with both unnatural and natural instances at the same result of 50% each.

Table 6. Degree of Naturalness for Segmental Reduction Phenomena

Degree of Naturalness	Segmental Reduction	%	Vowel Reduction	%	Glide Reduction	%
Natural (5-4)	11	50%	4	80%	10	62.5%
Neither (3)	2	9.1%	0	0%	1	6.3%
Unnatural (2-1)	9	40.9%	1	20%	5	31.3%
Total	22	100%	5	100%	16	100%
Degree of Naturalness	Consonant Reduction	%	Syllable Reduction	%		
Natural (5-4)	1	20%	2	50%		
Neither (3)	2	40%	0	0%		
Unnatural (2-1)	2	40%	2	50%		
Total	5	100%	4	100%		

Following percentage calculations, the correlations of phenomena use to two slightly different rankings of acceptability were calculated. The first method of correlation calculations took the correlation of the mode and each phenomena use, while the second method took the correlation of being natural or unnatural to each phenomena use. Table 7 shows the first method of correlation calculations. Negative numbers represent a negative correlation between mode and phenomena use, positive numbers represent a positive correlation between mode and phenomena use, and the closer the result is to zero, the weaker the correlation between the two. Thus it can be concluded that there was no exceptionally strong correlations between the mode and each type of phenomena use, however consonant change and vowel change indicated a weak positive correlation. This indicates that the degree of unnaturalness for these two phenomena groups found in the percentage calculations has a weak degree of correlation.

Table 7. Correlation of Mode to Phenomena Use

	Consonant	Lax	Tense	Aspirate	
Correlation	0.148	0.190	0.135	-0.06	
	Vowel	Vowel Harmony	General Change		
Correlation	0.274	0.331	-0.0664		
	Reduction	Vowel Reduction	Glide Reduction	Consonant Reduction	Syllable Reduction
Correlation	-0.008	-0.181	-0.148	0.099	-0.019

The second method of correlation calculations, between the degree of naturalness and the phenomena use, is depicted through Table 8 below. Once again, there was no strong correlation found between the two variables, however, vowel and glide reduction both exhibited the highest positive correlations. After redistributing the neologisms into natural and unnatural categories and eliminating those determined to be neither (at a mode of 3), consonant and vowel phenomena had a negative correlation; however, reduction instead showed a positive correlation. That is to say, the results showed the beginnings of a trend for this phenomena group, though not a highly significant one.

Table 8. Correlation of Mode to Phenomena Use

	Consonant	Lax	Tense	Aspirate	
Correlation	-0.145	-0.2	-0.106	0.079	
	Vowel	Vowel Harmony	General Change		
Correlation	-0.284	-0.347	0.079		
	Reduction	Vowel Reduction	Glide Reduction	Consonant Reduction	Syllable Reduction
Correlation	0.05	0.203	0.213	-0.106	-0.015

4.3.4. Problems within the Analysis

The largest issue regarding the analysis of the results from Survey 2 was that the number of stimuli for each phenomena use was simply too small. Due to the fact that all target stimuli were derived from a total of just six neologisms there was no other possibility but to have a small number of phenomena to compare results with, but if there was a larger pool of available stimuli the results and hypotheses would have been easier to confirm overall. Unfortunately, due to external limitations this survey was unable to be expanded past the six neologisms, however, these results will provide a more guided pathway for any future research looking into uysenguythaye neologisms and the associated phenomena use with them, which renders this study of moderate use regardless of the modulated effects seen here.

The second issue revolves around a few specific mode calculations. There was a total of four stimuli that were found to have bimodal results. Among the filler stimuli ‘아짱아짱’ accangaccang (3, 1) and ‘꾸억꾸억’ kkwuekkkwuek (2, 1) both were bimodal, and among the target stimuli ‘꾸꾸까까’ kkwukkwwukkakka (2, 1) and ‘우꾸꾸’ wukwukwu (3, 1) were both bimodal. Filler stimuli were unnecessary to further calculate results for, but the target stimuli needed to have percentages and correlations calculated based on their modes and thus caused a few problems. A bimodal response indicates that there are two groups of people who both believe to an equal degree that the term in question is a certain level of acceptable. For ‘꾸꾸까까’ kkwukkwwukkakka both modes fell under the unnatural category so there was not as large of an inconsistency as with ‘우꾸꾸’ wukwukwu which received a mode of 1 and a mode of 3. These two modes indicate the term falls under a different category for the two groups of respondents, unnatural and neither. Due to the fact that the neither category was mostly insignificant for data calculations this term was placed under the unnatural category when necessary.

4.4. Survey 2 Discussion

The goal of Survey 2 was to test the limits and the scope of both the standard phenomena and the developing phenomena use, and as such the survey inquired after the degree of naturalness respondents felt towards novel uysenguythaye and their variants. It was predicted on the basis of data found in Survey 1 that uysenguythaye neologisms would continue to use standardized rules more prevalently than novel rules, but that novel rule use would still be moderately active in the system. In addition, it was also predicted that there would be a clear limit to the scope of all phenomena use. However, Survey 2 results indicated that these predictions were inaccurate.

Actual survey results indicated that there is a clear distinction between the systematic use of phenomena with standard uysenguythaye and the use of phenomena with novel uysenguythaye. There is no evidence of systematic use of any phenomena, standard or novel, with neologism terms. In short, instead of the systematic use of connotational change phenomena traditionally associated with uysenguythaye, the use of phenomena has been reduced to the lexical level where each neologism itself determines the acceptability of each phenomena use. As can be seen in the results of Survey 2, there was no strong correlation calculated between rule use and naturalness. This indicates that there is no evidence for the systematic use of morphophonological rules in the process of enacting connotational changes in neologisms. Thus, it can be concluded that the limit of the use of connotational changes in neologisms must be determined by the naturalness of each phenomena with each neologism. Even as such, there was slight evidence for two rules which have potential to become systematic in their application and these were vowel and glide reduction.

Due to the limitations of a survey asking only about a total of six neologisms, the analysis of results could not provide generalized evidence on each rule use and as such, more research is necessary based on a larger number of rules and neologisms to determine the veracity of these findings. The degree of naturalness of rule use, the manner of rule use as systematic or lexical, and the degree to which rule use is systematic or lexical can be confirmed more precisely through the expansion of neologism stimuli to include a larger sample size.

Since the use of connotational change phenomena was determined at the lexical level, there is a necessity to discuss in more detail specific lexical items and the phenomena that can be applied naturally to enact meaning change and those that cannot be applied naturally at all. In the case of ‘귀욤귀욤’ *kwiyomkwiyom*, natural examples were 귀염귀염 *kwiyeomkwiyeom*, 기욤기욤 *kiyomkiyom*, 기염기염 *kiyeomkiyeom*, 겹겹 *kyemkyem*, 꼼꼼 *kyomkyom*, which reduced glides and vowels in each term. Respondents found 귀욤귀욤 *kkwiyomkkwiyom*, 기염기염 *kiemkiem*, 기욤기욤 *kiomkiom*, 귀여귀여 *kwiyeokwiye* to be unnatural indicating that tensification, multiple glide reduction, and consonant reduction cannot be naturally applied.

In the case of ‘샤삭’ *syasyak*, natural salient examples included 슈삭 *syusyuk*, 쇼삭 *syosyok*, 사삭 *sasak*, 썩썩 *ssyassyak* which applied vowel change (ㅏ *ya* → ㅑ *yu*, ㅓ *yo*), glide reduction, and tensification. Unnatural salient examples included 셔셔 *syesyek*, 사사 *sasa*, 수숙 *swuswuk*, using vowel harmony, consonant reduction, and vowel change/glide reduction.

Natural salient examples of ‘뿌뿌’ *ppyuppyu* were 뿌뿌 *ppwuppu*, 뿌유 *ppyuyu*, 뽀뽀 *phyuphyu* which applied glide/consonant reduction and aspiration, while unnatural salient examples included 뽀뽀 *ppyoppyo*, 뽀뽀 *pyupyu*, applying vowel harmony and reverse tensification (alternatively laxification).

For ‘꾸꾸까까’ *kkyukkyukkyakka*, 쿄쿄까까 *khyukhyukhyakhya*, 꾸꾸까까 *kkwukkwukkyakka*, 꾸꾸까까 *kkyukkyukkakka* were found to be natural salient examples, applying aspiration and partial glide reduction. With regards to unnatural terms, 꾸꾸까까 *kkwukkwukkakka*, 까까 *kkakka*, 쿄쿄가가 *kyukyukyakya*, 꾸꾸껴껴 *kkyukkyukkyekkye* were included, and these applied total glide reduction, syllable reduction, reverse tensification (alternatively laxification), and vowel harmony.

The only term found to be a natural variant of ‘오꾸오꾸’ *okwuokwu* was 오꾸꾸 *okwukwu* which applied vowel (arguably syllable) reduction. Terms found unnatural included 오꾸오꾸 *okhwuokhwu*, 오꾸오꾸 *okkwuokkwu*, 오고오고 *okooko*, 우꾸우꾸 *wukwuwukwu*, 우꾸꾸 *wukwukwu* which applied aspiration, tensification, vowel harmony, and vowel (arguably syllable) reduction.

And finally, there were no natural salient examples of ‘쿰척쿰척’ *khwumchekkhwumchek*, but unnatural salient examples were 쿰착쿰착 *khomchakkhomchak* and 쿰억쿰억 *khwumekkhwumek* which applied vowel harmony and consonant reduction.

5.0. DISCUSSION

The inquiry into the current use of sound symbolism and their intersection with neologisms challenges the standard system of morphophonological change associated with sound symbolism in Korean, and also adds to our understanding of language change over time. The current understanding of sound symbolism is relatively stagnant and does not account for language change and thus has become outdated and even potentially inaccurate in some instances. By specifically probing into how newly coined *uysenguythaye* function relative to connotational changes, this study provides the first step into reestablishing the norms of this sect of terminology. Current norms state that there are very specific instances in which a very standardized set of rules can be applied for connotational changes, and this can be easily divided into four rules taking place in three different phoneme locations. However, should the predictions made through this study prove to be true, a complete breakdown and restructuring of this

system is currently underway, new rules are being formed, old rules are being changed, and the majority of these rules appear to have lost their standardization in the process.

Results indicate that the standard morphophonological connotational change patterns do not function with neologisms in the same way that they do with standard uysenguythaye. However, this change is only notable with neologisms as the standard system remains intact with standard uysenguythaye. There is yet to be any evidence that there is a new system in place, despite the use of novel derivational patterns, and instead there has been found to be evidence of a change to a system where the allowance of a pattern use is determined by each novel lexical item. The correlation between all the various pattern uses with neologisms is very weak, and thus it can be concluded that the system of pattern use among neologisms is in no way standardized. However, there are a few patterns that appear to be developing into what could be a standardized rule in the future, namely glide reduction and vowel reduction. In summation, the scope of each morphophonological pattern is different for each novel lexical item.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Due to preliminary findings that there has been at least a partial breakdown and restructuring of the system of Korean sound symbolism in Survey 1, this study provides a first step into labelling and reestablishing the norms in place at the present. This study was conducted to first find out what potential changes have occurred through Survey 1, and then through Survey 2 salient changes to the system were more specifically tested to attempt to reestablish some of these norms. The choice of a survey for both sections of the research was to be able to source larger amounts of data and to serve as a net to catch as many new forms as possible. The first survey took a very open approach, simply inquiring as to what speakers believed to exist in the system in the first place, and then the second built upon the organization of the findings in the first survey to specifically probe into a few target patterns. The choice of asking about the degree of naturalness was to allow for a scale of change. The second survey found that there has been a breakdown of standards for standard morphophonological connotational patterns as well as the beginnings of the establishment of at least one novel pattern. However, the main conclusion found in Survey 2 was that the choice of what phenomena can and cannot be used with an uysenguythaye neologism now lies at the lexical level, where each word determines acceptable phenomena instead of taking rules at a systematic morphophonological level. Novel forms exist in a nebulous space of acceptability and thus cannot be contained into a black and white type questioning system. Implications for this study largely include evidence for the beginnings of the restructuring of the system of Korean sound symbolism and insight into how language change is systematically operating in Modern Korean. Thus this study provides a platform for future work looking into morphophonological flexibility as it intersects with language change over time.

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‘GIVE’ IN SASAK: VOICE AND ALIGNMENT IN DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the first dedicated linguistic description of the most prototypical ditransitive constructions in Sasak, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. Focusing on the typology of alignment in argument flagging, this analysis demonstrates that Sasak both adheres to and defies typological expectations. Sasak employs the two most common types of alignment observed in flagging, *indirective* and *neutral*, and the language also exhibits an *indirective-neutral alternation* resembling the famous dative shift in English. This alternation is very typologically rare outside of certain genetic groupings, such as Germanic languages, and is only found in about 6 percent of the world's languages.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper provides the first dedicated linguistic description of ditransitive constructions in Sasak. Sasak (ISO 639-3 code *sas*) is a member of the Sasak-Sumbawa subgroup within the Malayo-Polynesian grouping of the Austronesian language family (Blust, 2013). The language has about 2.7 million speakers on the island of Lombok in Indonesia (Austin, 2010). On the whole, Sasak has received relatively little linguistic description outside of the work of Peter Austin (e.g., 2000, 2013), Fay Wouk (e.g., 1999, 2002, 2008), and Eli Asikin-Garmager (e.g., 2016). However, this existing work makes it quite clear that different varieties of Sasak throughout Lombok exhibit significant lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic variation. This particular analysis focuses on a variety of Sasak spoken in Ampenan, a town on the western coast in the city of Mataram. To my knowledge, Ampenan Sasak has not been documented in published research.¹ Because ditransitive constructions with three expressed arguments are relatively infrequent in natural Sasak discourse, the data presented here is primarily comprised of elicited examples. This paper explores areas of typological interest related to the ditransitive verb ‘give’ in Sasak, focusing on the alignment of argument encoding in flagging.

2.0. DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND ‘GIVE’

As Margetts and Austin (2007, p. 393) point out, compared to intransitive and monotransitive verbs, ditransitive verbs “have been largely ignored or excluded as marginal” in linguistic research. This paper follows influential work in ditransitive typology (e.g., Dryer, 1986; Haspelmath, 2005; Haspelmath, 2015; Malchukov et al., 2010) and adopts a cross-linguistic definition of a **ditransitive construction** as one consisting of a **verb plus three core arguments: An agent (A) transferring a theme (T) to a recipient (R)**.

This analysis focuses on one particular ditransitive verb, ‘give’. Although it does not exhibit uniform grammatical behavior cross-linguistically, ‘give’ tends to be the most frequent, underived, three-argument verb denoting physical transfer of T to R from A (see Haspelmath, 2013; Kittilä, 2006; Margetts & Austin, 2007; Newman, 1996; Newman, 1998; among others). Accordingly, a linguistic description of ditransitives in any language is well-advised to begin with ‘give’. From this starting point, existing research on the typology of ditransitives offers some common avenues for exploration.

3.0. TYPOLOGY AND DITRANSITIVES: ARGUMENT ENCODING

The current study follows the typological approach common to research on ditransitives by figures such as Dryer (e.g., 1986), Haspelmath (e.g., 2005, 2013, 2015), Heine and König (2010), Malchukov et al. (2010), Margetts and Austin (2007), and Siewierska and Bakker (2007). As such, this section draws from these sources altogether and only cites a particular source if it makes a claim not espoused by the others.

Of primary interest in ditransitive typology is the question of how arguments are encoded. Very often, this centers on the issue of **alignment**, which entails comparing the properties of the ditransitive R and T to those of the monotransitive Patient (P). Research on alignment has identified three primary alignment configurations. These configurations can be illustrated through English-language examples comparing R and T to P. Consider the prototypical monotransitive P, represented between brackets in (1). Here the P argument consists of a noun plus a determiner, with no additional marking by an element such as an adposition or case marker.

In **Patientive Voice (PV)**, P remains without voice marking or morphology. However, A is reduced to a clitic form and occurs on the first non-NP element in the construction. As in AV, the constituent order is A-V-P. This is illustrated in (9), which is the PV analog of (7).

- (9) siq=k inem téh no
 by=1SG drink tea DEM
 ‘I drink the tea’
- (FM2-20170405-RH)

A full NP for the A argument may appear in PV, but it occurs within a phrase after the verb. This occurs in (10), which is analogous to the AV form in (8). Here A is realized as a clitic *=ne* on the verb and as a full NP in the *siq*-phrase. For the sake of convenience, *siq* is translated in this paper as ‘by’, but the exact grammatical behavior and semantics of *siq* is a matter requiring further investigation.

- (10) inem=ne_i ès no siq [kanak no]_i
 drink=3 ice DEM by [child DEM]
 ‘the child drinks ice’
- (FM2-20170407-CL)

The basic transitive constructions in (7) and (9) and in (8) and (10), demonstrate a voice alternation fitting the description of a *symmetrical voice system* (e.g., Himmelmann, 2005). However, the voice system of Sasak is unusual, because symmetrical voice marking is typically associated with the verb (Himmelmann, 2005). Sasak does not mark the verb to indicate the alternation between AV and PV. Instead, it is the cliticization of the A argument that signals whether a construction is in AV or PV.

A given Sasak ditransitive construction can occur in both AV and PV. The ensuing analysis therefore examines ditransitives in both voices to see how Sasak compares to typological patterns and expectations.

5.0. ARGUMENT ENCODING: ALIGNMENT IN FLAGGING

Alignment emerges through the encoding of arguments, and one common focus in ditransitive typology is the question of *flagging* (Haspelmath, 2005; Haspelmath, 2015; Heine & König, 2010; Malchukov et al., 2010): Which arguments are flagged by receiving a case marker, affix, or adposition? For instance, monotransitive P is not flagged in (1). Neither R nor T is flagged in (2), demonstrating neutral alignment. In (3), T is unflagged but R is flagged with the preposition *to*, which shows indirective alignment.

- (1) I see [the girl]
- (2) I give **[the girl]** [the mango]
- (3) I give [the mango] **[to the girl]**

This section examines flagging in Sasak by comparing monotransitive P to ditransitive R and T in both AV and PV, beginning with AV.

5.1. Flagging: Monotransitives in AV

As (11) through (14) illustrate, monotransitive P is not flagged via case marker, affix, or adposition in AV. Furthermore, P may be definite or indefinite, as it occurs with a demonstrative in (13, 14) but without one in (11, 12).

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|
| (11) | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> aku inem téh </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> 1SG drink tea </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> 'I drink tea' </div> | (FM2-20161121-G1) |
| (12) | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> kamu kaken paoq </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> 2 eat mango </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; padding: 0 10px;"> 'you ate a mango' </div> | (FM2-20170310-CL) |

- (13) kanak no kaken paoq no
child DEM eat mango DEM
'the child ate the mango' (FM2-20170310-CL)

- (14) kanak nine no empòk kanak mame no
child female DEM hit child male DEM
'the girl hit the boy' (FM2-20170310-CL)

5.2. Flagging: DOCs in AV

Sasak has a ditransitive construction resembling the prototypical DOC described in *Section 3.0*. Examples (15) through (17) provide these ditransitive constructions in AV, where the R and T arguments are both unflagged.

- (15) aku bèng kamu kembang
1SG give 2 flower
'I give you a flower' (FM2-20170222-RH)

- (16) aku bèng kamu kembang no
1SG give 2 flower DEM
'I give you the flower' (FM2-20170222-RH)

- (17) dengan nine no bèng dengan mame no buku no
person female DEM give person male DEM book DEM
'the woman gives the man the book' (FM2-20170222-RH)

As with P in monotransitives, T and R in ditransitive constructions may be specified with a demonstrative as in (18) or unspecified as in (19).

- (18) kanak no bèng guru no paoq no
child DEM give teacher DEM mango DEM
'a child gives the teacher the mango' (FM2-20170407-CL)

- (19) kanak no bèng guru paoq
child DEM give teacher mango
'the child gives a teacher a mango' (FM2-20170407-CL)

In sum, ditransitive constructions in AV demonstrate an alignment pattern where P, R, and T are all encoded the same way: The arguments are not flagged via adposition, affix, or case marker, and they each may be optionally specified with a demonstrative. Given that P, R, and T pattern together, Sasak evinces **neutral alignment** for flagging in AV.

5.3. Flagging: IOCs in AV

Sasak also has a second ditransitive configuration available, which resembles the IOCs discussed in *Section 3.0*. In examples (20) through (22), R is flagged with the preposition *tipaq* 'to'. The T remains unflagged in these examples, just as in (15) through (19).

- (20) kamu bèng kèpèng tipaq aku
2 give money to 1SG
'you give money to me' (FM2-20170402-RH)

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- (21) aku bèng kembang tipaq kamu
1SG give flower to 2
‘I give a flower to you’ (FM2-20170402-RH)

- (22) kanak no bèng manok no tipaq dengan nine no
child DEM give chicken DEM to person female DEM
‘the child gives the chicken to the woman’ (FM2-20170310-CL)

There is an asymmetry between R and T in IOCs: T may be specified or unspecified, but a specified R is preferred. Although (23) is acceptable, my consultant reports that the demonstrative in (24) is better because, “You need to have *no* to make it perfect.” This asymmetry is not present in DOCs.

- (23) kamu bèng ès tipaq kanak
2 give ice to child
‘you gave ice to a child’ (FM2-20170412-RH)

- (24) kamu bèng ès tipaq kanak no
2 give ice to child DEM
‘you gave ice to the child’ (FM2-20170412-RH)

In sum, constructions (20) through (24) demonstrate **indirective alignment**, where R is flagged while unflagged T patterns with P. As Table 1 illustrates, Sasak evinces two different alignment patterns in AV: Double-object ditransitives have neutral alignment where unflagged P, R, and T pattern together, and indirect-object ditransitives have indirective alignment where R alone is flagged. Sections 5.4 through 5.6 explore whether these alignment patterns change in Patientive Voice.

Table 1. Alignment in Flagging for AV

	DOC	IOC
AV	Neutral alignment	Indirective alignment

5.4. Flagging: Monotransitives in PV

As in AV, the P argument in PV is unflagged. Instead, the A argument is the one receiving special treatment: It is reduced to a clitic form and attaches to the first non-NP element. See (25) and (26).

- (25) siq=m kaken paoq no
by=2 eat mango DEM
‘you ate the mango’ (FM2-20170405-RH)

- (26) siq=k inem téh no
by=1SG drink tea DEM
‘I drink the tea’ (FM2-20170405-RH)

When the A is a third-person argument, it is often double-marked by the presence of: 1) the expected pronominal clitic on the first non-NP element, and 2) a post-predicate by-phrase with *siq* plus a full nominal. This is represented in (27) through (29). In (29) the by-phrase helps disambiguate the thematic roles of the two third-person arguments, ‘the girl’ and ‘the boy’.

- (27) inem=ne ès no siq kanak no
drink=3 ice DEM by child DEM
‘a child drinks ice’ (FM2-20170407-CL)

- (28) wah=n inem ès no siq kanak no
 already=3 drink ice DEM by child DEM
 ‘a child drank ice’ (FM2-20170407-CL)

- (29) siq=ni empòk kanak mame no siq [kanak nine no]_i
 by=3 hit child boy DEM by [child female DEM]
 ‘the girl hit the boy’ (FM2-20170310-CL)

In (25) through (29), the P argument is clearly unflagged by adposition, affix, or case marker. This is also the case in AV. However, there is an asymmetry involving demonstratives between AV and PV: The P may occur without a demonstrative in AV, but P needs a demonstrative in PV. The specified P arguments in (30) and (32) are acceptable, but the lack of demonstratives in (31) and (33) renders ungrammatical constructions.

- (30) siq=n inem ès no siq kanak no
 by=3 drink ice DEM by child DEM
 ‘a child drinks ice’ (FM2-20170407-CL)

- (31) *siq=n inem ès siq kanak no
 by=3 drink ice by child DEM
 ‘a child drinks ice’ (FM2-20170407-CL)

- (32) siq=k inem téh no
 by=1SG drink tea DEM
 ‘I drink the tea’ (FM2-20170405-RH)

- (33) *siq=k inem téh
 by=1SG drink tea
 ‘I drink tea’ (FM2-20170405-RH)

There may be a pragmatic explanation for this asymmetry: Perhaps PV necessarily endows P with more prominent status, and so P must be marked with a demonstrative that makes it more specific and/or referential. As the next section explains, this asymmetry does not affect R and T in ditransitive constructions.

5.5. Flagging: DOCs in PV

Just as the P argument is not flagged in PV, neither the R nor the T is flagged via adposition, affix, or case marker in DOCs in PV. Instead, as with monotransitives, A is the argument that gets marked. In (34), A is marked by cliticization. The A in (35) is double-marked with both a clitic form =*ne* and a full form in a by-phrase, which is a familiar pattern from AV.

- (34) siq=ke bèng kamu kembang no
 by=1SG give 2 flower DEM
 ‘I give you the flower’ (FM2-20170405-RH)

- (35) siq=ne_i bèng dengan nine no buku no siq [dengan mame no]_i
 by=3 give person female DEM book DEM by [person male DEM]
 ‘the man gives the woman the book’ (FM2-20170208-RH)

As in AV, R and T do not need to be marked with a demonstrative in PV. In (36), neither R nor T receives a demonstrative. R is marked optionally with the demonstrative *no* in (37), and T receives the optional demonstrative in (38). This optional marking sets R and T apart from the P in PV.

- (36) siq=ne_i bèng guru paoq siq [kanak no]_i
 by=3 give teacher mango by [child DEM]
 ‘the child gives a teacher a mango’ (FM2-20170407-CL)

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- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| (37) | siq=ne _i
by=3
'the child | bəŋg
give | guru
teacher | no
DEM | paoq
mango | siq
by | [kanak
[child | no] _i
DEM] | (FM2-20170407-CL) |
| (38) | siq=ke
by=1SG
'I give you the flower' | bəŋg
give | kamu
2 | kembang
flower | no
DEM | | | (FM2-20170405-RH) | |

In sum, DOCs in PV show the same type of **neutral alignment** as in AV: P, R, and T are each unflagged by adposition, affix, or case marker. Although P, R, and T do show an asymmetry regarding marking by a demonstrative, this does not affect a diagnosis of the alignment system found in flagging.

5.6. Flagging: IOCs in PV

The IOC described in Section 5.3 is also available in PV. In (39) and (40), the R argument is again flagged via the preposition *tipaq* ‘to’. The T is unflagged. Both R and T are unspecified in (40), demonstrating that the asymmetry regarding demonstratives in DOCs holds up in PV IOCs as well. (41) shows that a demonstrative is preferred with the A argument.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| (39) | siq=ke
by=1SG
'I give the flower to you' | bəng
give | kembang
flower | no
DEM | tipaq
to | kamu
2 | | (FM2-20170405-RH) |
| (40) | siq=n _i
by=3
'the child gave a mango to a teacher' | bəng
give | paoq
mango | tipaq
to | guru
teacher | siq
by | [kanak
[child
DEM] | (FM2-20170412-RH) |
| (41) | *siq=n _i
by=3
'the child gave a mango to a teacher' | bəng
give | paoq
mango | tipaq
to | guru
teacher | siq
by | [kanak] _i
[child] | (FM2-20170412-RH) |

As far as flagging, IOCs demonstrate the same **neutral alignment** in PV that they show in AV: R is flagged with a preposition *tipaq*, and both P and T are unflagged.

5.7. Summary: Alignment in Flagging Across AV and PV

Table 2 summarizes the alignment patterns that emerge in argument encoding through flagging in the two types of ditransitive constructions in both AV and PV. For each type of ditransitive construction, the alignment remains the same in both voices: The monotransitive P and the ditransitive R and T are all unflagged in DOCs, and only R is flagged in IOC.

Table 2. Alignment in Flagging for AV and PV

	DOC	IOC
AV	Neutral alignment	Indirective alignment
PV	Neutral alignment	Indirective alignment

6.0. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1. A Typological Evaluation of Alignment in Sasak

Several typological points are relevant to flagging in Sasak. First, Sasak allows two types of ditransitive constructions, and each type can occur in each voice. Importantly, alignment is stable across the two voices for a given ditransitive construction. This lends further credence to analysis of Sasak as a symmetrical voice language.

Second, Sasak adheres to some typological expectations with flagging. To begin, Sasak employs the two most common types of alignment observed in flagging. In Heine and König's sample (2010, p. 103) of 398 ditransitive constructions involving flagging from 315 languages, indirective alignment is the most frequent (195 constructions, or 49 percent), and neutral alignment is in second place (137 languages, or 34.4 percent). Furthermore, if a language flags an argument in a ditransitive construction, then it is far more likely to flag the R than the T. This point is illustrated in Haspelmath's sample of 110 ditransitive constructions across 100 languages (2005): In the 65 constructions that involve flagging, 58 of them (89.2 percent) flag the R rather than the T. This is exactly the case in Sasak, where R is flagged but T is not.

Third, by employing two types of ditransitive constructions, Sasak exhibits an **indirective-neutral alternation** (Haspelmath, 2015). This alternation resembles the famous *dative shift* in English that has received much linguistic attention. Despite its fame, however, this alternation is very typologically rare outside of certain genetic groupings—Germanic languages, for instance (Holmberg & Rijkhoff, 1998; Primus, 1998). For example, Blansitt (1973, cited by Siewierska, 1998, but unavailable for this study) samples 107 languages and finds only seven non-European languages that exhibit a dative shift. Furthermore, Siewierska (1998) samples 219 languages and finds only 12 languages that have this alternation. Both of these samples establish a cross-linguistic percentage of languages with the dative shift at about 6 percent. This puts Sasak in relatively rare typological company.

Finally, perhaps because of its rarity, the conditions governing this alternation “have been studied only for very few languages” (Haspelmath, 2015, p. 26). It is possible that the dative shift in Sasak may be explained, at least in some cases, by cross-linguistic notions of *prominence*. This is a complex issue, but the main ideas can be briefly encapsulated here. Cross-linguistically, Recipients tend to be more “prominent” than Themes: R is more likely to be topical, animate, human, definite, a personal pronoun, and/or a speech-act participant (see Dryer, 1986; Haspelmath, 2007; Heine & König, 2010; and many others). Haspelmath (2007) puts forth a universal stipulating that R is more likely to be marked the lower it goes in terms of animacy, definiteness, and person—in other words, the lower R becomes in prominence. This dynamic seems to explain at least some alternation preferences in Sasak.

For example, in (42) and (43) the T 'me' is very high in prominence because it is a personal pronoun and speech-act participant. The R 'a crocodile' is not very high in prominence, as it is non-human and indefinite. As a result, (42) is grammatical but not preferred. Instead, the IOC in (43) is much more preferred, as the lower-prominence R has now been flagged with 'to'.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------|-----|------|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| (42) | dengan | mame | no | bèng | bebaloq | aku | |
| | person | male | DEM | give | crocodile | 1SG | |
| | 'the man gives a crocodile me' | | | | | | (FM2-20170222-RH) |
| | | | | | | | |
| (43) | dengan | mame | no | bèng | aku | tipaq | bebaloq |
| | person | male | DEM | give | 1SG | to | crocodile |
| | 'the man gives me to a crocodile' | | | | | | (FM2-20170222-RH) |

Further research is needed to see how the dynamics of prominence might play a role in explaining the conditions behind Sasak's indirective-neutral alternation. For example, in some cases, a DOC is completely acceptable even though the R may be lower in prominence than the T. Derived from (44), both (45) and (46) have a high-prominence personal pronoun 'him' for T and an R 'the mother' which is arguably lower on the prominence scale. A sentence like (45) 'I give the mother him', for instance, is not acceptable in English and must be expressed as (46) 'I give him to the mother'. However, in Sasak, both (45) and (46) have congruent, acceptable meanings.

- (44) aku bèng inaq no anak=n
1SG give mother DEM child=3
'I give the mother her child' (FM2-20170426-RH)
- (45) aku bèng inaq no ie
1SG give mother DEM 3
'I give the mother him (her child)' (FM2-20170426-RH)

- (46) aku bèng ie tipaq inaq no
 1SG give 3 to mother DEM
 ‘I give him to the mother’

(FM2-20170426-RH)

6.2. Future Directions

This analysis has conducted the first pass at analyzing ditransitive constructions in Sasak and evaluating them against typological patterns and expectations. Attention here has focused on flagging, which is only one of the most common argument-encoding strategies found in ditransitive constructions around the word. However, there are at least two other common argument-encoding strategies that receive attention in the literature: *indexing* of arguments and *constituent order* (Haspelmath, 2005; Haspelmath, 2015; Heine & König, 2010; Malchukov et al., 2010; Siewierska & Bakker, 2007). Additionally, several other areas of interest garner attention in the typological literature as well. This includes *passivization*, *relativization*, and elucidating *derived* and *underived* ditransitive verbs (Haspelmath, 2015; Malchukov et al., 2010). Each of these areas deserves deeper treatment in the future, in order to assess and explain how Sasak compares to cross-linguistic patterns.

NOTES

1. The primary language consultant for this paper is a native speaker from Ampenan, and she is married to another speaker of Sasak from central Lombok. This means her particular idiolect of Ampenan Sasak is also influenced somewhat by the *meno-mené* variety. Data for this analysis were collected as part of a field methods course at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the spring semester of 2017. Every example in the paper has a reference to a recording session. These sessions are available for free through the university’s online archive Kaipuleohone at kaipuleohone.org.

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THE POSSIBILITIES OF DETACHING ‘-E HATA’ FROM KOREAN PSYCH ADJECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the possibilities of detaching the emotion-device, or auxiliary predicate ‘-e hata’ from psych adjectives when describing a third person’s emotive state in the Korean language. Detachment of ‘-e hata’ from certain psych adjective stems occurs occasionally and the adjectives keep the dictionary form ‘-ta’ in spoken Korean when stating a third person’s emotional experience, and yet the listener precisely comprehends that the speaker is describing a third person’s emotion. This study found that the native Koreans detach auxiliary predicate ‘-e hata’ from the psych adjectives carrying negativities when describing the emotive state of the third persons.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper initially questions whether the current Korean textbooks and learning materials used to teach Korean to the foreigners reflect colloquial Korean or not. Among those spoken forms, detaching auxiliary predicate ‘-e/a hata’ from the psych verbs and adjectives takes place occasionally in colloquial Korean such as in the following conversation pattern:

Example 1

Minci: *yumi nun yocum ette-ke cine?*
yumi TC lately how-AD do-INT-Q
‘How’s Yumi doing lately?’

Sucin: *Ah, kyay yocum himture.*
Ah, that girl lately difficult-do-INT
‘Ah, she’s going through difficulties lately.’

The correct formation of the psych verbs and adjectives, the answer should be written as

Example 2

Sucin: *Ah, kay yocum himturehay.*
Ah, that girl lately difficult-INF do-IN-INT
‘Ah, she’s going through difficulties lately.’

Noting the English translation stays the same, the sentence ender ‘-ehay’ is changed to ‘-e’, because ‘-e hata’ is a grammatical device so that Sucin can express her objective sentiment towards Yumi. To Sucin, Yumi seems to go through hardship and she wants to transfer this message to Minci. In this case, the correct grammatical structure asks the speaker (Sucin) to use the sentence ender ‘-e hata’, so she should say “*kay yocum himturehay*” (she’s going through difficulties lately). Previous studies on ‘-e hata’ have categorized the types of sentences that end with ‘-e hata’, and detailed lists of attachable adjectives and verbs have made.

2.0. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PRIOR RESEARCH

According to Lee (1997)’s research on ‘-e hata’ from *The Definition of the Verb*, ‘-e hata’, the morphological characteristics of ‘-e hata’ type sentences are largely divided into two categories; attaching ‘-e hata’ to the adjectival stems, and attaching ‘-e hata’ to the adjectives with ‘-hata’ ending. For example, the word ‘kipputa’ (glad) is glued to the ‘-e hata’ and becomes ‘kippehata’ for the first person to illustrate the third person’s emotive state. To attach the ‘-e hata’ to the noun ‘+ -hata’ (an English equivalent of do / to be) compound verbs such as ‘pikonhata’ (to be tired), the noun ‘pikon’ (tiredness) stays the same while the ‘-e hata’ is inserted between ‘pikon’ and ‘-hata’. Then the word is formulated into ‘pikonhayhata’, which is ordinarily applied in spoken Korean to describe a third person’s observable emotive status of being exhausted. One could say “*Thomasnun yocum pikonhayhay*” ‘Lately Thomas is tired’ when asked by someone to inform Thomas’ condition.

Lee (1997) developed the two sentence categories above and analyzed how those sentences changed the meanings with ‘-e hata’ attached by using the adjective ‘kipputa’ (to be glad):

1. *Nanun kipputa.* ‘I am glad.’
 2. *Nanun kippéhanta.* ‘I am glad.’
 3. *Ku/nunun kipputa.* ‘He is/you are glad.’
 4. *Kunun kippéhanta.* ‘He is glad.’
- (Lee, 1997)

When translated in English, there seems to be no tangible changes among the four sentences except the different subjects. However, Lee (1997) states that the attachment of ‘-e hata’ to the adjective ‘kipputa’ adds an action, so the sentence number 2 ensures that ‘I’ am truly in the mood of gladness. Sentence number 3 and 4 take the third person subjects. Lee proposes that the sentence number 3 does not function clearly, since the word ‘kipputa’ (to be glad) is a subjective stative verb. Lee’s claim is that the sentence number 3 cannot be formed if the subject is not expressing his/her subjective emotion without attaching ‘-e hata’ to the word ‘kipputa’. In other words, the subject should always be the first person to detach the ‘-e hata’. Therefore, sentence number 4 works perfectly, Lee (1997) claims, because the ‘-e hata’ acts as an agent to objectively express the subject (third person)’s emotion by the narrator so the listeners would accept that ‘he is glad’.

A complete list of the psych verbs and adjectives can be found in Oh (2013)’s study. Oh (2013) emphasizes the importance of attaching ‘-e hata’ correctly by differentiating the first and third person subjects. Oh takes an example of a foreign student using the psych adjective ‘tired’ without attaching ‘-e hata’ when the student describes the condition of another student:

Example 3
 Michael ssi-ka yocum pikonhay-yo.
 Michael HTc -NM lately tired-POL
 ‘Michael is tired lately.’

(Oh, 2013)

Focusing on the correcting the sentence so it must be written as ‘*Michael ssika yocum pikonhayhayyo*’, Oh states that the omission of ‘-e hata’ can deliver the message in a way that the narrator does not intend to, so the ‘-e hata’ form must be taught accurately to the non-native Korean speakers. Oh takes another clear example to illustrate another case of using ‘-e hata’:

Example 4
Na nun simsimhay.
 I TC bored-INT
 ‘I am bored.’

Example 5
Ku-nun simsimhay.
 He-TC bored-INT
 ‘He’s boring; he’s a boring person.’

(Oh, 2013)

The sentence is grammatically correct, but the meaning changes by detaching ‘-e hata’ from the psych adjective.

Example 6
Ku-nun simsimh-ahay.
 He-TC bored- INF-do-IN-INT
 ‘He is bored’

(Oh, 2013)

The sentence is now grammatically correct since ‘-e hata’ acts as a device to illustrate the third person’s emotive state.

Although these previous studies emphasize that the emotive device ‘-e hata’ is always followed with psych adjectives to describe the third person’s emotive state, the contemporary Korean allows the detachment of ‘-e hata’

from the psych adjectives to illustrate the third person’s emotional state. This phenomenon is most visible in everyday conversation in Korea.

This research focuses on the grammatical conditions of when and why such phenomenon takes place in spoken Korean. Another glance at the small conversation between Minci and Sucin at the beginning of the introduction clarifies the phenomenon:

Example 7
Minci: *yuminun yocum etteke cine?*
yumi TC lately how-AD do-INT-Q
‘How’s Yumi doing lately?’
Sucin: *Ah, kyay yocum himture.*
Ah, that girl lately difficult-do-INT
‘Ah, she’s going through difficulties lately.’

The auxiliary predicate ‘-e hata’ can be simply removed so that the sentence ends with the casual sentence ender ‘-e’. Since the root of the verb ‘*himitulta*’ conveys the same definition in both sentences, the listener (Mincijee) understands perfectly that Yumi is going through hard times lately. Treating the notion as a hypothesis, this paper examines the possibilities of detaching ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ from the psych verbs and adjectives in Korean language without changing the speaker’s original intention of illustrating the speaker’s subjective observance on the third person’s emotive state. This paper initially takes a close look at various types of Korean language learning materials developed for the English-speaking students and observes the pedagogical patterns of grammatical structures of ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’. A list of verbs and adjectives that can be used without ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ when describing the third person’s emotive or psychological state was then constructed. Then an online survey was conducted to see the detachment of ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ from the Korean psych adjectives used among the native Korean speakers living in South Korea. The survey was then analyzed for the results of 10 questions created to see the patterns of attachment and detachment of the emotive device ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ from the list of psych adjectives formulated for this research. At the end of the data analysis, this research will compare the traditional pedagogical approaches in teaching the ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ structure in psych adjective stems to describe a third person’s emotive states and the colloquial usage with the possibilities of detaching ‘-e hata’ ‘-e hata’ from the psych adjective stems in Korean language.

3.0. SETTINGS METHODS AND PROCEDURES

To discover the mentioning of detaching ‘-e hata’ from Korean psych adjectives, a thorough analysis was conducted on current Korean textbooks and learning materials found through the affiliated research institute, including the *KLEAR Korean Language Textbook Series*, which are currently in use as the official textbooks for the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Then, a survey on the use of ‘-e hata’ among native Korean speakers was conducted to observe the phenomenon of detaching ‘-e hata’ from the psych adjectives in the daily conversation. Based on the Oh (2013)’s extensive list of ‘-e hata’-friendly adjectives, the extraction of the predicates that can be used without ‘-e hata’ being attached became possible. The paper examined the possibilities of detaching ‘-e hata’ from each word of Oh’s list by utilization of the example from the introduction. The participants are native Korean speakers who were born and raised in Korea. The age of the participants ranges from mid-20s to early-60s. Out of total 30 participants, 3 are from Honolulu, 2 from Vancouver, and 25 from Seoul, Korea. The survey questions were created by the researcher, based on the researcher’s past experiences in teaching Korean, and communication with the native Korean speakers. The entire survey was conducted from February 20 to 25th, 2017 via www.surveymonkey.com. The participants were allowed to choose all the answers (for each question, two answers were given; one with ‘-e hata’, the other without ‘-e hata’) that apply for each of the ten questions.

4.0. DATA ANALYSIS

The grammatical structure and usage of ‘-e hata’ was rather hard to find among the selections of Korean language textbooks and learning materials. The materials are targeted at the non-native Korean language speakers. The following collected data (textbooks and dictionaries) describes the definition, usage and practice drills of the suffix ‘-e hata’. The KLEAR textbook: *Integrated Korean: Intermediate: Level 2* (Cho et al, revised in 2001) states

“-e/a hata turns an emotive adjective into a verb. Such a verb refers to the clearly perceptible feeling of a third person” (Cho et al, revised in 2001, p. 56). There is no mentioning of detaching ‘-e hata’ from the adjectives for the first person to describe the third person’s emotive state.

Yonsei Korean 2 (2007) by Yonsei University Korean Language Institute pinpoints the usage of ‘-e hata’ that it is used with a descriptive verb indicating emotion and changes the descriptive verb into an action verb. With first person subject, only ‘*cohahata*’ (to like)/ ‘*silehata*’ (to dislike) appeared in the textbook, like the following example: “*James ssinun hankukmalul cal hanun salamul pulew-ehamnita.*” (‘James envies people who speak Korean well’). Written in English and Korean, the textbook is composed of a series – six different books from the beginner to the advanced levels. The ‘-e hata’ usage is explained after the reading part was introduced at first, followed by the fill-in-the blanks drill. However, most interestingly, the actual definition of the ‘-e hata’ is introduced after several drills of making sentences using ‘-e hata’ by looking at the pictures given next to the blanks. The *Yonsei Korean 2* (2007) defines the ‘-e hata’ as a descriptive verb of expressing emotion and transforming into an action verb.

In the *Korean Grammar Dictionary as a Foreign Language* (2002) by Baek, the description of the ‘-e hata’ usages are carefully explained; if a plain sentence like ‘This task is hard for Minci’ is about to be written in Korean, three different ways are available:

- 1) *Minjinun i ili elyewe.*
- 2) *Minjinun i ili elyew-esse.*
- 3) *Minjinun i ilul elyew-ehay.*

Baek states that sentence 1) sounds awkward when described by the first person, but sentence 2) sounds more natural and unforced. However, Baek did not provide support on this ‘unforced’ sentence type. The researcher speculates that sentence 2) is already occurred, and the fact Minci had difficulties with the task was proven makes it sound more natural. Sentence 3) is acceptable since the emotive device ‘-e hata’ is deployed to illustrate the observation of the first person.

Another Korean grammatical dictionary found in the data collection – *Korean Grammar Dictionary studying with Korean Teachers* by Kim et al (2014) – was targeted at the students speaking Chinese. Although the dictionary was written in Korean, the illustrative sentences followed by each grammatical structure were translated in Chinese. Kim et al (2014) divides the ‘-e hata’ usages into three different categories:

- 1) Adjectives describing emotions/conditions express the other person’s feelings into action when attached to the ‘-e hata’: “*Minsussika Jiyeonssilul coahayyo*” ‘Minsoo likes Jiyeon’
- 2) The ‘-e hata’ changes adjectives into verbs, used with particles ‘ul/lul’: “*Emmaka akilul kwiyeowohayyo*” ‘Mom adores the baby’
- 3) The case of irregular uses: “*Akika kun kaylul musewohayyo*” ‘The baby fears big dogs’

(Kim et al, 2014)

In the third sentence, the word ‘*musepta*’ means scary, but when it is attached with ‘-e hata’, it changes to ‘*musewohata*’, which means that (someone) fears (something). As Oh (2013) stated in her research, the omission of ‘-e hata’ delivers the message in a way that the narrator does not intend to. In such cases, the possibility of omitting ‘-e hata’ from the verbs is not an option to be considered.

Followed by the analyses of the Korean language textbooks and dictionaries above, a survey was conducted to see the detachment of ‘-e hata’ from the Korean psych adjectives among the native Korean speakers’ conversation. 10 psych adjectives that are seemingly possible without ‘-e hata’ for third person were selected. Then 10 short conversation dialogues were made to test the possibility of detaching ‘-e ha’ from the selected Korean adjectives:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1) | <i>simkakhay</i> | <i>simkakh-ahay</i> | serious |
| 2) | <i>himtule</i> | <i>himtul-ehay</i> | have a hard time |
| 3) | <i>pikonhay</i> | <i>pikonh-ahay</i> | tired |

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4)	<i>hunpwunhay</i>	<i>hunpwunh-ahay</i>	excited
5)	<i>wuwulhay</i>	<i>wuwulh-ahay</i>	gloomy
6)	<i>simsimhay</i>	<i>simsimh-ahay</i>	bored
7)	<i>~ko siphe</i>	<i>~ko siph-ehay</i>	want to ~
8)	<i>sile</i>	<i>sil-ehay</i>	dislike
9)	<i>oylowe</i>	<i>oylow-ehay</i>	lonely
10)	<i>coha</i>	<i>coh-ahay</i>	like

The following is an example of the survey question:

Example 8

Sookyung: *wa, i cangnankamtul ta mwe-ya?*
 Wow, this toys all what-INT-Q
 ‘Wow, what are all these toys for?’

Mina: *ta wuli kangacikuya. Cip-e amu- to epsu-myen kaku-lang sinpal-ilang ta muletttelako,*
 All our puppy-thing-INT, house-to nobody-also not to be-if furniture-and shoes-and
 all bite and tear-QT-INT (_____).
 ‘They are all for my dog. He chews off the furniture and shoes when he’s left alone, because he’s bored’

Choose all the answers that apply:

- (1) *Simmsimhayhayse*
 Bored-INF do-IN-INT
 Because he’s bored
- (2) *Simsimhayse*
 Bored-do-INT
 He is bored

The survey results were analyzed into two groups based on the frequencies of the a) adj. + ‘-e hata’ combination and b) the frequencies of the adj. used without ‘-e hata’ to describe the third person’s emotion. Among the group a), the word ‘*wuwulhay*’ ‘gloomy’ showed the highest frequency in usage (93.33%) in the native Korean conversation when describing a third person’s emotive state, and the word ‘*oylowehay*’ ‘lonely’ came in second (90.00 %), although there was not much of a gap between the two words. ‘*Himtulehay*’ ‘go have a hard time’, ‘*pikonhay*’ ‘tired’ and ‘*silehay*’ ‘dislike’ took the third, fourth and fifth place respectively, and these psych adjectives require ‘-e hata’ for Koreans to explain the other’s situation in everyday conversation. The ultimate question and hypothesis of this study – detaching ‘-e hata’ from the adjectives did occur in the conversation since there were no absolute 100% answers recorded in the survey. The word ‘*simkakya*’ ‘serious’ was most frequently used without ‘-e ha’ – in the conversation (93.33% has chosen the answer without ‘-e ha’), followed by the word ‘*~ko siphe*’ ‘want to ~’, ‘*simsimhay*’ ‘bored’ and ‘*hunpwunhay*’ ‘to be excited’, respectively.

The psych adjectives attached to ‘-e ha’ display several characteristics; first, the meanings are not clearly visible to the others (gloomy, lonely, having a hard time, tired, dislike) unless it is verbally informed. Second, without ‘-e ha’ to those psych adjectives, they take on different meanings (i.e. he’s bored vs. he’s a boring person). Lastly, the native Koreans apply ‘-e ha’ to safely illustrate the third person’s psychological status to the others. On the opposite side, the psych adjectives detached from ‘-e ha’ contain other intriguing characteristics; the meanings are rather visible to the others (serious, want to do~, bored, excited) without being verbally informed.

Even without ‘-e hata’ added to those psych adjectives, they still maintain the same meanings: “*kyay wancen hunpwunhase*” ‘she was really excited’ / “*kyay wancen hunpwunha-haysse*” ‘she was really excited’. The native Koreans detach ‘-e ha’ from the psych adjectives when those adjectives alone can illustrate the third person’s psychological status to the others.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to prove that the detachment of ‘-e hata’ is not a mere speculation derived from the native Korean intuition; A survey with a list of psych adjectives was created and conducted after a detailed analysis of the ‘-e hata’ usage in the Korean language textbooks. The current Korean language textbooks used to teach non-native Korean speakers fully demonstrate the dictionary terms and examples of ‘-e hata’ from the previous studies. The survey results are significant in that they state the possibility of detaching ‘-e hata’ to describe the third person emotive state. The psych adjectives used without ‘-e hata’ are more physically visible to the others, so the third person emotion device becomes unnecessary.

Due to the small number of participants in the survey, this research is merely a preliminary study to look into the actual usage of Korean grammatical rules. More in-depth studies are needed to see the differences between the following psych adjectives that must be attached to ‘-e hata’ to carry meanings, and those that must not be attached to ‘-e hata’ to carry meanings. The options of combining contemporary spoken Korean to the current textbooks must be considered from pedagogical perspectives, and the daily conversation stylings in current spoken Korean should be studied by utilizing various literary sources including Korean literature, news, and social media.

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CONVERSATION BETWEEN SASAK SPEAKERS IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Khairunnisa, Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This article investigates how cultural values are accommodated within Sasak language, a Western Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the island of Lombok, eastern Indonesia. Results suggest that cultural values are observable in the components of communication as proposed by Hymes (1972). They reflect three communicative competence indicators in Sasak: *uni kane*, how Sasak speakers use the language; *tate care*, how they apply behavioral norms embedded in the style; and *lepas base*, how they address each other. This research provides insight into how a native fieldworker analyzes the communicative competence that is beneficial to the outsiders conducting further research on the language.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper reveals the analysis from the data taken in fieldwork I conducted in Lombok, eastern Indonesia. It discusses the cultural values contained within the conversation between two Sasak speakers. As noted by Salzman, Stanlaw, and Adachi (2015: 13), one possible definition of culture would be a system of symbols which reify and legitimate culture interpretable as a set of symbols in people's heads, it is more than only behavior resulting from them.

As every language has different culture, the way the speakers view the world also varies. Given this fact, how to capture the cultural values within the language seems to be a challenge for ethnographers. According to Saville-Troike (1989: 2), as also agreed by most linguists and ethnographers, Dell Hymes answered to such challenge by publishing his article entitled 'The ethnography of speaking' in 1962. His publication as pointed out by Saville-Troike (2003: 1) offers a new synthesizing discipline which gives focus on the patterning of communicative behavior because it constitutes one of the system of culture and works within the holistic context of culture as well as it relates to patterns in other component systems. Later, a new field known as Ethnography of Communication emerged since the publication of a volume of the *American Anthropologist* with this title (Gumperz and Hymes 1964) as reported by Saville-Troike (2003: 1). Ethnography of Communication addresses 'a new order of behavior and its role in the structuring of communicative behavior and its role in the conduct of social life' (Saville-Troike, 1989: 2).

Regarding capturing the cultural values in language, one of the approaches offered in ethnography of communication is analyzing communicative events. This is because communicative events consist of components that offer a deeper understanding of how social norms are applied. (Hymes, 1972: 59-70). The next part of this paper discusses a brief description of the Sasak community followed by an explanation of how I place myself within the community as a native speaker and fieldworker. The last section discusses an analysis of the components of communication and Sasak culture.

2.0. SASAK COMMUNITY

The Sasak community lives on Lombok, the eastern part of Indonesia, an island between Bali and Sumbawa. There are around 3 million people who inhabit the island and they speak a language called Sasak. This language belongs to Western Malayo-Polynesian languages and is under-documented.

As a native speaker, I have experienced the situation where more and more Sasak speakers shift to speaking Indonesian. We, the speakers, feel inferior to speak our mother tongue once we become educated and gain higher status in the community. Our attitude towards language may result from the disappointment of our condition as an indigenous community where everything is still left behind compared to those living in the western parts of the country, where they have better lives and easier access to education and facilities. As a result, unfortunately, this attitude causes us to not only slowly lose our language but also our culture.

Culture in Sasak is reflected in their language. There are three speech styles in this language aligning with the caste system in the society. In general, the community is divided into noble and commoners. The noble people speak high speech style and the commoners speak the lower style, but both have their own standards in politeness corresponding with three cultural concepts to claim one as having the quality to be called a Sasak person; *uni kane* 'know how to use the language', *tate care* 'know how to behave' and *lepas base* 'know how to address each other'. (Mahyuni, 2006: 2).

3.0. FIELDWORK IN MY OWN NATIVE COMMUNITY

As a native fieldworker, I meet the status as an insider, which benefits me in getting easier access to the speakers. However, I also gain a new status as a scholar. According to Kanuha (2000), insider research refers to when researchers do research with populations of which they are also the members. The other fact that I noticed is that I am the only one who (so far) has gone to the United States for a PhD in my neighborhood. In fact, people in my neighborhood were surprised to know that my research is on Sasak. They never thought that Sasak would be taken to such intellectual level.

I came home during the winter break of 2016-2017, carrying recording equipment. The equipment I brought meets the standard of language documentation, as it includes one set of audio and video recorders. In fieldwork, especially in language documentation, multimedia recordings (audio and video) have been recommended as the basis for any documentary corpus (Himmelman 2002:12; Lehmann 2001:9; Wittenburg 2003:124; McConvell 2003, 2007:2).

I also had a video of my advisor and the students in the field method class with whom I was working with, delivering their messages in Sasak. These experiences helped to make native speakers understand my work and what to expect from the study.

More importantly, my status as a member of the community who conducted research in my own group helped me win their trust. When I told them that the data would be archived in University of Hawaii's Kaipuleohone Language Archive, and not shared on any social media, they trusted me. This situation is relevant with what was suggested by Dweyer and Buckle (2009, pp. 58):

“The benefit to being a member of the group one is studying is acceptance. One's membership automatically provides a level of trust and openness in your participants that would likely not have been present otherwise. One has a starting point (the commonality) that affords access into groups that might otherwise be closed to 'outsiders.' Participants might be more willing to share their experiences because there is an assumption of understanding and an assumption of shared distinctiveness; it is as if they feel, 'You are one of us and it is us versus them (those on the outside who don't understand).’”

The speakers were enthusiastic to get involved in the study, even though I did not promise them any compensation in return. I did not find any significant difficulty in collecting data, except when there were a few unexpected things happening during the recording. As my goal was to record natural conversations, I tried not to be present during the recordings. I waited outside the speaker's house. This arrangement made the speakers feel more comfortable and helped them to speak naturally, but this also means that I had less control of what might have happened. Overall, the recording was good and I obtained the data I expected. There was no technical problem, so I could save the data in my computer using some standard programs to do the metadata and transcription.

4.0. COMMUNICATIVE EVENTS AND CULTURE IN SASAK

The communicative event analyzed in this article is a conversation between two Sasak speakers. The analysis is based on Hymes (1972, pp. 35-65), regarding the components attached to communicative events. This article reveals such components as follows:

4.1. Message form

Hymes (1972: 59) emphasizes the importance of message form because it bears the most serious defect in most reports of speaking. This importance is attached to the correlation between message form and message content in a sense that it is impossible to capture the whole meaning of the communication if we just rely on the content and excluding the message form. Hymes assumes researchers often ignored that how something is said (the message form) is a part of what is said (message content).

The data affirm the use of low registers as the verbal code signaling the identity of both speakers within the society. The language they use confirms that they belong to the lower social caste. Low and long tones also accompany the register; these are important clues to politeness. However, I need to make clear that it is how the low register is used which shapes the message content. I observed that both speakers exhibited understandable and clear message forms. By this I mean the message form and the message content go hand in hand, which eases the interpretation of the meaning.

Additionally, as compiled in Savile-Troike (1989 pp. 149), movement also constitutes in describing the message form which then needs to be analyzed based on specific values and meanings enclosed within the speech community. I observed some movements which can be related to the values in Sasak culture. The veritable movements identified are the use of some right-hand gestures. In Sasak culture, only the right hand is permissible in communication, using the left hand could be fatal, as it is deemed to be rude. The video shows two significant right-hand movements. The first one, moving the hand forward with the palm facing upward. The older speaker does this when he is asking about what else can be done. Another hand movement is hand-backing, which is also done by the older speaker, to signal the younger speaker to talk as the older speaker is running out of ideas. Interestingly, if the first hand movement seems quite general and the younger speaker can also do so, the second hand movement does not work the same way though. In this case, because of the age issue, only the older speaker is permitted to do so, for it would be considered inappropriate if this was done by the younger speaker.

4.2. Message Content

In the conversation, the dominant topic is about jobs. As the older speaker, **S** gave some advice how to sell food and obtain alternative side jobs. **F** shows a respectful manner to the advice given to him, even though he knows that **S** does not have any experience with what he is talking about because he is not a businessman either.

Similar with Hymes, Savile-Troike (1989, pp. 150) asserts that the message content refers to 'What communicative acts are about, and to what extent meaning is being conveyed'. Further, he points out that accurately carrying the message content is salient to successful communication. The video unfolds that successful communication is established; there is no gap or misunderstanding found. The following example illustrates the extent to which meaning is understood.

S: nah nengke, bagus taoq-te?
DM now good place- 3PL

'Now (your) is our place good?'

F: Bagus
Good

'Good'

S: Bedagang
Selling

'to sell'

(FM2-20170111-K)

We can see that, even though **S** completes his question afterward, **F** already understands that the place **S** is referring to means the place where **F** sells coconut ice. Therefore, it can be assumed that the content is successfully communicated.

4.3. Setting

The place and time are crucial in Sasak culture. The recording was conducted in the older speaker's house because the social rule is that the younger person should come to see the older, not the other way around. Regarding the timing, the recording was at 5 PM, which is considered the best time for people to visit each other and talk. If the timing is chosen before 5 PM, people usually take a nap and do their prayer around 4-4:30 PM. Starting after 6 PM, there is no way people can have a visit and talk because it is the sacred time for Maghrib praying, and they believe evil or genies are everywhere during that time.

The picture below shows **S** and **F** sitting down facing each other. They display the style of how men should sit in Sasak, referred as *besile* in which both legs are crossed and both hands are placed on thighs or knees. To sit in this fashion expresses respectful manner and politeness.



Figure 1: *Besile* is cross-legged sitting style by placing hands on the top of the thighs or knees.

4.4. Scene

As scene is more psychological, meaning that it is not only about the physical observable situation, I analyzed this scene based on how the participants place themselves during the conversation in relation to cultural values. Hymes (1972, pp. 60) suggests that scene implies always an analysis of cultural definition. Thus, I assure that both S and F know their roles in the conversation in accordance with Sasak culture. As an older speaker, it is S who gives advice and suggestions, not the reverse. In Sasak, it is not likely for the young to teach or give a speech to the elder unless they are requested to do so. So, although F might have more knowledge, he preferred to listen than to talk.

4.5. Participants

One significant point mentioned in Savile-Troike (1989: 142-143) is that an adequate description should include background information covering the role-relationship within the scope of family and social institutions. Moreover, there should be explanations regarding distinguishing features in the life cycle, and differentiation within regarding sex and social status.

S is a 70 years old male, a Quran teacher, born in Pondok Prasi (a village that belongs to the Mataram municipality, West Nusa Tenggara) and never moved to another place. S is identified as belonging to the lower caste.

F is a 19 years old male, just graduated from high school and has a temporary job selling coconut ice while serving as a guard for a construction project. His parents are from central Lombok, and speak a different dialect from Ampenan's, but he was born and grew up in the same neighborhood with S. Additionally, F also belongs to the lower social caste.

I also elaborate this analysis by providing answers to some questions proposed by Savile-Troike (1989, pp. 143-144) as to contribute to providing adequate information about the participant.

First, who has authority over whom: to what extent can one person's will be imposed on another? By what means?

To some extent, the older people have the authority over the younger people. In the conversation, the older speaker dominates the talk while the younger speaker only follows the flow. Therefore, S dominates and leads the conversation.

Second, what forms of address are used between people in various role-relationships?

As explained by Mahyuni (2006: 2), address form has a significant role in Sasak community as it determines the communicative competence. It is observable from the data that S addresses F with *ante* for agent marker and *mèq* for patient marker. Both literally mean 'you' but indicating lower speech style. Conversely, F addresses S with *side* which also means you but bears honorific features.

Next, how do characteristic of 'speaking well' relate to age, sex, or other social factors?

In Sasak, social factors such as sex and age determine how people are defined as being able to speak well or not. Regarding sex for instance, men should not be too talkative because this is associated with the way women talk. Both speakers in this research are male, and they do display men's talk. If I compare this data with the other recordings I obtained from female speakers, it is so distinct in a sense that the female speakers are a way more talkative and loud.

More importantly, Sasak speakers must always take age into consideration when talking with others. Both speakers show clear respect to each other, not only from the side of the younger speaker but also from the older speaker. F never uses a high tone or any stress which may be implied as disrespect, but by the same token, the older speaker also never raises his voice. Instead, he uses low and long intonation. His act can be perceived as showing respect and giving the model to the younger speaker.

Further, the dress of the participants may also be relevant to the interpretation of their communicative behavior, and thus requires description:

S wears *kèrèng* 'sarong' and *songkoq* 'Muslim hat', this is in fact how he dresses on daily basis. *Kèrèng* is a big part of Sasak identity as Sasak people wear it daily, and when it is combined with *songkoq*, they add to religious identity. Thus, the low and long intonation he uses is a part of his communicative behavior and his dress both express his identity as a good Sasak Muslim man. In other words, the expectation would be that someone dressing up like this would not likely use rude words or swear.

4.6. Purposes – outcomes

Hymes offers some example of purpose-outcomes, such as a marriage contract, a trade, a communal work task, an invitation to a feast, or composing of social peace after a death. In other words, purposes – outcomes refers to the final result expected from the speech event. Hence, based on the data, I assure the purpose of the conversation to be accomplished is to find a solution of how to improve profit in selling. Hence, the outcomes are some idea coming out from the conversation of how to improve such profit.

4.7. Purpose – goals

Purpose – goal needs not be confused with purposes – outcomes. If the later one deals with 'the product' expected from the speech event, the former is more about the specific goal accompanying the expected outcomes. As a matter of fact, I do not see if there is any specific goal from the conversation. It is just a casual conversation in which people share their thoughts.

4.8. Key

Hymes (1972, pp. 62) points out, 'Key is introduced to provide for the tone, manner, or spirit in which the act is done'. Savile-Troike (1989, pp. 142) also explains;

'Key may be signaled by choice of language or variety, by nonverbal signals (e.g. wink or posture), by paralinguistic features (e.g. degree of aspiration), or by a combination of elements. Such as in Abey; men's not standing fully erect during the ceremony'.

Quite similar with the case found in Abey, Key is also identified in Sasak. There exists the term *cengak*, which means to sit with the posture of the back straight and chin up. This way of sitting has a negative connotation

as it is interpreted as expressing dislike, arrogance or disrespect. In respecting each other especially in the case of age differences, instead of *cengak*, one's back should be lower. Referring to the picture in the previous section, it is observable that both speakers lower their backs signifying they are humble and respectful to each other.

I will now break down my analysis based on the points mentioned earlier by Hymes (1972) regarding elements that could signal Key. First, the variety of language used by the speakers is categorized as the lower variety or known as *jamak* claimed as belonging to the lower social caste as opposed to *alus* which belongs to the higher social caste. Meanwhile, the paralinguistic features noticeable are low and long tone as well as the hand movements.

4.9. Channel

Because this is a conversation, the channel is oral. This oral channel is also accompanied by eye contact and hand gestures.

4.10. Forms of speech

The language used in the conversation is Sasak and the dialect traditionally refers to *ngeno-ngenè*, a dialect spoken around the central west coast and central east to north east coast. However, since Ampenan is an urban area, a mixture of dialects is noticeable. Therefore, I prefer to call the variety of Sasak spoken in Ampenan as Ampenan-Sasak. The other observable Key is the use of low speech style, the variety in Sasak spoken by the lower social caste.

4.11. Norms for interaction

As norms for interaction are crucial in conveying successful communication and are regarded as culturally specific, I argue that both speakers portray how Sasak speakers take age as a significant social factor in communication. The rule in Sasak is, if the age-gap is vast, the younger speaker is not expected to argue with the older one. In fact, it is even considered rude to cut off during turn taking. The recording reveals that F never disagrees with S and not even once cuts off S's utterances.

This analysis supports what Savile-Troike (1989, pp. 154) points out, 'The rules for interaction components include an explanation of the rules for the use of speech which are applicable to the communicative event'.

4.12. Norms of interpretation

Communicative competence includes the ability to interpret any norms governing the communicative event. The data disclose that both speakers can interpret the clues taking place during the conversation. For instance, as S leads the conversation, he is expecting F to complete his utterance by using long and lower tone in the end of his utterances. F takes this clue as a request to be present to what S says through completing his utterances. He understands that if he pays attention, he will know the word to complete those utterances.

4.13. The genre

The genre or the type of the speech event in this research is a conversation. We need not forget however, as stated by Savile-Troike (1989: 141) that genre should be classified based on the indigenous perceptions and diversion of the speech community itself. As a member of the community I understand that the conversation in this research is categorized as what is referred as *ngeraos-raos* which means to have a casual conversation. Talking about the indigenous perception of Sasak culture, this kind of conversation is very common and has been a part of the culture itself. Once people know each other and live in the same neighborhood or work at the same place, the rule in the society is that they must greet each other and talk. Otherwise, they will receive social judgment as being arrogant or introverted. Sasak people usually visit each other just to have a casual conversation. In Sasak, this is called *ngayo* which is a way to indicate appreciation and closeness. (Mahyuni, 2006: 9).

5.0. CONCLUSION

The cultural values are embedded in the conversation between the two Sasak speakers involved in this study. The evidence of this is how the components of the communication link to the social rules in Sasak community. As a native fieldworker, I argue that both speakers demonstrate the quality of respecting each other as reflected in the three concepts of politeness in Sasak culture; *uni kane*, although they do not use high speech style, the tones are low and they use some discourse markers indicating respectful manners; *tate care*, the video shows both speakers sit down in a way Sasak men should sit down, known as *besile*. Additionally, they face each other and maintain eye

contact, and the younger speaker also lowers his back during the conversation; *lepas base*, they address each other in a respectful way based on their age. This evidence also proves that linguistic behavior best interacts as fashion only in ethnography of speaking because this discipline bridges linguistics and culture to explain how people use their language in communication.

NOTES

1. Data for this analysis were collected as part of my graduate assistantship work as a language consultant in a field methods course at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the spring semester of 2017. Every example in the paper has a reference to one of the recordings I collected from the fieldwork during the winter break in Lombok. This recording is available for free through the university’s online archive Kaipuleohone at kaipuleohone.org.

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“GOOD JOB!” LANGUAGE FOCUS AND INSTRUCTION IN A RESEARCH INTERVIEW

Yu-Han Lin, Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

This study contributes to an understanding of how second language learning and instruction become possible in a research interview. Despite previous studies about second language (L2) learning space in the wild, a less-researched area where L2 learning space is contingently created contains research interviews with a non-institutional agenda. This study views the interview as a social activity in order to examine how language focus and instruction become a contingent topic in a sociolinguistic interview. By applying conversation analysis, this study demonstrates how L2 instruction and learning along with expert-novice and teacher-student relationship emerge in the interview interaction.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Second language (L2) learning and use play an essential part for people with practical needs including traveling, work, education, and so forth (Theodórsdóttir, 2010). While traditional L2 instructions in the classroom shed light on effective pedagogical practices for learners to better acquire L2, one living concept of L2 learning outside of the classroom, or learning in the wild, has gained attention based on the interactionist hypothesis of second language acquisition (SLA) (Theodórsdóttir, 2010; Kasper & Burch, 2016). Despite previous studies about second language (L2) learning space and instruction in the wild, a less-researched institutional setting where L2 focus and instruction become possible contains research interviews whose agenda is not related to language instruction. One potential reason is that research interviews are traditionally viewed as a tool to generate information from the interviewee, thus ignoring the active role of an interviewer and the interactional possibilities that may occur in an interview. This study adopts the social practice perspective of an interview (Talmy, 2010) to examine how language focus and instruction become a contingent topic in a sociolinguistic interview. This emergent phenomenon would have been neglected if the interview were not regarded as a social activity (Talmy, 2010; Potter & Hepburn, 2012; Heritage, 2002). This study thus contributes to our understanding of where language instruction can possibly occur beyond traditional classroom instruction and ordinary conversations. This study also sheds light on how the contingent L2 teacher-student or L2 expert-novice relationship is locally and sequentially constructed, thus going beyond the situated relationship between an interviewer and interviewee in a research interview. Moreover, recognizing the interviewer's participation in co-constructing narratives in an interview (Rapley, 2001; Potter & Hepburn, 2012), this research study will demonstrate how the interviewer plays an active role in co-constructing language focus and instruction in an interview.

2.0. BACKGROUND

In social activities, L2 speakers may have double focus: topic and language (Theodórsdóttir, 2010, p.115). Participant's orientation to topic or language depends on moment-by-moment interaction. In particular, language focus is directly related to Focus on Form (FonF; Doughty & Williams, 1998), which refers to an L2 speaker's attention directed to the language form in an activity orienting to meaning. Language form contains a word's meaning, pronunciation, morphology, grammatical features, pragmatic functions, and so on. While some research described FonF in an organized instructional setting (Lauzon & Doehler, 2013), Kasper and Burch (2016) proposed the possibility of FonF in ordinary conversations. Once FonF becomes a focal point, teaching and learning space may be contingently created. L2 learning in the wild has received more and more attention in the field of conversation analysis for SLA (CA-SLA) (Theodórsdóttir, 2010). This aligns with the suggestion proposed by Firth and Wagner (1998), “acquisition and learning do not stop; certainly, they do not stop outside of the classroom” (p. 91). However, there is little information about language focus or instruction located in a situation with a different institutional agenda, such as a research interview.

A research interview is regarded as one type of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992). Within this type of talk, it is assumed that participants orient to its institutional agenda. Nevertheless, whether participants stick to the agenda requires empirical examination of the actual interaction occurring in an interview. Viewing research interviews as a social practice is to acknowledge the existence, and even active role, of the interviewer in a research interview (Talmy, 2010; Potter & Hepburn, 2012; Heritage, 2002). Talmy (2010) proposed that data generated from an interview is a joint product of both the interviewer and interviewee rather than a direct report merely drawn from

the interviewee. Neglecting the interviewer’s participation is equated with treating the interview data as “discrete speech events isolated from the stream of social interaction in which—and for which—they were produced” (Wooffitt & Widdicombe, 2006, p. 39). Andrew (2008) argued that the missing voice of the interviewer may lead to a partial and incomplete data analysis and outcome. Hence, this study is based on regarding interviews as a social activity to unfold interactional possibilities, including L2 instruction, in the ongoing interview conversation.

This study orients to filling in the gap by examining how L2 instruction and learning are contingently relevant in research interviews that are oriented to a non-instructional agenda. This study examines a segment of the interview interaction in which participants shift their talk orientation from the interviewee’s narrative to the language form of Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) pronunciation varieties and later shift back to the institutional agenda. This study aims to discover how language becomes a preference in the ongoing topic of research interview interaction. Three questions are driven by unmotivated observation of the data:

1. Speakers: Who initiates the language focus or instruction as a topic? How is language focus, or instruction, implicated in the identities of, and relationship between, the interviewer and interviewee?
2. Resources: Which linguistic and interactional resources are utilized by speakers to make language focus, or instruction relevant in the interview interaction?
3. Actions: What actions does language focus or instruction accomplish in the interview interaction?

3.0. DATA AND METHOD

The data was extracted from one 90-minute sociolinguistic interview in the United States, 2013. The interview examined TSM speaker’s language identity and attitude: the status and role of TSM among overseas Taiwanese students, different social and political contexts of speaking TSM in Taiwan and the United States, and TSM maintenance when studying abroad. There were two participants in the interview, including the interviewee and the interviewer. The interviewee is a male TSM and Mandarin Chinese (hereafter referred to as Mandarin) speaker. He was a graduate student at a Midwestern university when the interview was conducted. The interviewer, who was also the researcher, is a female TSM and Mandarin speaker, although her TSM is less fluent compared to the interviewee’s. She was a schoolmate of the interviewee when conducting this interview. The participants are friends. The interview was audio-recorded at the interviewee’s apartment upon his request.

TSM was the main language in the interview assisted by Mandarin. TSM is the major native language (81.9 % of 21.407 million over the age of 6; National Statistics, 2009) spoken in Taiwan, whereas Mandarin is the official language there. TSM has two phonological systems involving literary and colloquial pronunciations. While the former is used in formal settings, the latter is used in daily life (Lin, 2013).

Conversation analysis (CA) was used as an analytical tool to examine the audio data. According to Maynard (2003), “Conversation analysis investigates how utterances, by virtue of the sequences in which they appear, perform recognizable social actions” (p.55). The data was transcribed by following a modified set of verbal transcription conventions. This study focuses on the instances where language becomes a focal point in an interview to demonstrate the phenomenon of an interview as a social practice.

4.0. ANALYSIS

For the following analysis, I will present a language table prior to the excerpts to briefly summarize the language focal point discussed by the participants in the interaction. Through sequential analysis, I will present which speaker initiates the language focus as a topic and terminates the sequence, which resources the participants adopt to maintain language focus or instruction, and how their contingent relationship emerges through interaction in the interview.

Prior to the analysis of Excerpts 1A and 1B, Table 1 briefly summarizes the language focus occurring in the interaction. The first column contains the place name, *e-lin*, its first syllable, *e*, and second syllable, *lin*, in Mandarin. The second column presents correspondent TSM pronunciations for the Mandarin items on the first column. The

third column shows respective linguistic contexts for individual TSM pronunciations. In the first row, *E-lin* (Mandarin pronunciation) has two TSM pronunciations; one is *dzi-lim* (standard) and the other *li-lim* (dialect). These two pronunciations are interchangeable and were used by the participants interchangeably in the interview. In the second row, the first syllable of *e-lin*, *e*, also has two TSM pronunciations: a literary pronunciation, *dzi*, and a colloquial pronunciation, *neng*. These are used in different contexts. In the third row, the second syllable of *e-lin*, *lin*, has two TSM pronunciations as well: *lim* in formal settings and *na* in both formal and ordinary settings. Their occurrences are also context-dependent.

Table 1. Language Focus in Excerpts 1A and 1B.

Mandarin	TSM pronunciation	Location of occurrence
二林 e-lin ‘Place’	dzi-lim (standard) li-lim (dialect)	
二 e ‘two’ (1 st syllable above)	dzi (literary pronunciation) neng (colloquial pronunciation)	1. Place name (e.g., dzi-lim) 2. Phone no. (dzi dzi khong/two two five) 1. Serial number (tsit neng sann/one two three) 2. Dollar (nengko/two dollars)
林 lin ‘forest’ (2 nd syllable above)	lim (literary pronunciation) na (literary + colloquial pronunciation)	1. Place name (e.g., dzi-lim) 1. Place name (e.g., tua-na) 2. Forest (tshiu-na)

Before the excerpt, the interviewer asked the interviewee whether he would speak TSM with his infant son in the U.S. The interviewee confirmed this by telling a story about another Taiwanese Ph.D. student who also spoke TSM with his daughter in the U.S. That student speaks haikhao accent (a variety of spoken TSM) since he is from dzi-lim, Tsionghua, central Taiwan.

Excerpt 1A (00:45:25.392)

IE: Interviewee; IR: Interviewer

Tier 1: Transliteration; **Mandarin in bold**; Tier 2: English gloss; Tier 3: Idiomatic English translation

001 IE li: >dzi- **na<ge:** (.) dzilim e la
He that place name POS PRT
He that (.) he's from *dzi-lim*.

002 (0.8)

003 IE lilim (.) **e[lin]**
place name place name
Li-lim (in TSM) is *e-lin* (in Mandarin).

004 IR <[**E]lin**>
place name
E-lin.

005 IE henn.
Yes.

006 (0.5)

007 IE lilim e
place name POS
He's from *li-lim*.

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- 008 (0.8)
- 009 IE °he° >isu kong < ze- > ze sinsua
Yes meaning speak this this by the way
- 010 kong < .h dzilim e ho. [.hh m] h
Speak place name POS PRT
Yes, it means this- this by the way, he's from *dzi-lim*,
- 011 IR [lilim]
place name
Li-lim.
- 012 [((Tapping))]
013 IE [uan] kai hia >u tsitle<
we place name there have one
- 014 **DAlin**
place name
In Ka-I there's a place called *Dalin* (in Mandarin),
- 015 (0.2)
- 016 IE I—> >a °to° < thak <tuana>
PRT COP read place name
and it's called *Tuana* (in TSM).
- 017 IR R—> <tuana>
place name
Tuana.
- 018 IE F—> henn (.) **yyiang si lin**
Yes. same COP 2nd syllable of *e-lin*
Yes. They are both *lin* (in Mandarin).
- 019 (0.8)
- 020 IR <tshiuna>=
Forest
Tshiuna (“forest” in TSM).
- 021 =((tapping))
- 022 IE henn
Yes.
- 023 (0.5)
- 024 IE **nage lin↓ ze- zebian yaonian na**
that 2nd syllable of *e-lin* this here should be read 2nd syllable of *tsi'u-na*
- 025 **nabian yaonian lim**
there should be read 2nd syllable of *dzi-lim*
That *lin* (in Mandarin) is called *na* (in TSM) here and *lim* (in TSM) there.
- 026 IR °hm[:]°

- 027 IE Hm.
[boitiann a]
it depends PRT
So *lin* doesn't have a fixed TSM pronunciation.
- 028 (0.2)
- 029 IE °henn° lilim
yes place name
Yes. *Li-lim*.
- 030 (0.5)
- 031 IE >li buesai lin↓< dzina
you cannot read wrong place name pronunciation
You can't pronounce it as *dzina*.
- 032 (0.8)
- 033 IE dzilim
place name
dzi-lim.
- 034 (0.8)
- 035 IR °mm:°=
036 IE =tua- tuana li besai thak tualim
place name you cannot read wrong place name pronunciation
Tua- *tuana*, you can't pronounce it as *tualim*.
- 037 (0.2)
- 038 IE .h HEH h .hh >si zu ane a<=
PRT COP this way PRT
That's it.
- 039 IR =tuana
place name
Tuana.
- 040 (0.2)
- 041 IE tuana=
place name
Tuana.
- 042 IR =°tshiu[na°]
forest
Tshiuna/forest.
- 043 IE [tshiu]na a
forest PRT
Tshiuna/forest.
- 044 (0.8)
- 045 IE a ↑ni haiyou (.) dzilim
PRT you still place name

		There's still <i>dzi-lim</i> .
046		(0.5)
047	IE	°henn° Yes.
048	IR	henn henn henn henn Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
049		(0.5)
050	IR	na: 2nd syllable of <i>tua-na</i> or <i>tshiu-na</i>

Language focus is initiated by the interviewee, when he initiates a further discussion on the pronunciation of *lim*, the first syllable of *dzi-lim*. He repeats the place name *dzi-lim* and code-switches into Mandarin to provide its Mandarin correspondent, “elin,” in line 3. His repetition and code-switching seem to be crafted as a recipient design for the interviewer, whose TSM is less fluent in comparison to his. Were it not for the interviewer, the interviewee could have continued his narrative naturally in TSM. Note that *dzi-lim* and *li-lim* are interchangeable as mentioned in Table 1. The partial overlap of the interviewer’s repetition in line 4 indicates her competence in presenting *li-lim*’s pronunciation in Mandarin rather than waiting for the interviewee’s translation. This is strengthened by the high volume of the first syllable, “E,” and her slowed speech. The interviewee’s confirmation in line 5 seems to mark an epistemic balance between the participants. However, the interviewee’s “sinsua kong” (“by the way” in TSM) in lines 9-10 to mark a disjunctive topic shift appears to be a preface for his following language focus as well as a shift away from the interview agenda orientation. This projection is coupled with the subsequent recycle of “dzilim e” from line 7, the turn-final particle, “ho,” and an in-breath in line 10. The language focus orients to the pronunciation of *lim*, the second syllable of *dzi-lim*, when the interviewee proposes a contrastive example of another place name in Mandarin, “DALin,” in line 14 and its TSM pronunciation, “<tuana>”, in line 16. As mentioned in Table 1 and the interviewee’s later elaboration (lines 18, 24-25), the Mandarin character, *lin*, has two TSM pronunciations, *lim* and *na*. Their occurrences are context-dependent. In this case, *lin* (Mandarin) in the place name, *da-lin* (Mandarin), is pronounced as *lim* in *dzi-lim* and *na* in *tua-na* (TSM). The interviewee’s code-switching from TSM to Mandarin when proposing the contrastive example (line 14) is marked to orient to the interviewer’s dominant language, Mandarin. Moreover, the slowed speech of the corresponding TSM pronunciation (line 16) appears to emphasize the pronunciation contrast, thus reinforcing the interviewee’s language expert identity. An epistemic discrepancy is also relevant between the interviewer and the interviewee as TSM expert and novice. In summary, the interviewee’s language focus initiation is constructed by his code-switching (lines 3), and it is re-initiated by a disjunctive topic shift (lines 9-10) and a contrastive example through code-switching (line 14) followed by a TSM pronunciation in slowed speech (line 16).

While the interviewee re-initiates a discussion of language as a topic, the interviewer’s action is essential in making the language focus a continuous focus. First, the interviewer’s repetition of the place name, “lilim,” in line 11 following the interviewee’s “dzilim” (line 10) seems to indicate several possibilities. One is that the interviewer aligns with the interviewee’s projected elaboration. She marks her language focus on this word instead of simply offering a neutral continuer (e.g., mm hm), thus supporting the idea that this repetition serves as an invitation for the interviewee’s elaboration. In addition, “lilim” (line 11) shows the interviewer’s dialectical variety compared to the interviewee’s “dzilim” (line 10).

Second, the interviewer’s repetition of “<tuana>” in slow speech in line 17 has several functions; she aligns with the interviewee’s example proposal, and she shows a specific focus on the word, *tua-na*. The interviewee provides a confirmation as well as a positive assessment in line 18, indicating that he possibly treats the interviewer’s repetition as not only a confirmation request for pronunciation, but also as a response to his initiation in line 16. More specifically, the interviewer and interviewee’s emergent student-teacher relationship becomes relevant by perceiving the interviewee’s “<tuana>” (line 16), the interviewer’s “<tuana>” (line 17), and the interviewee’s confirmation (line 18) to be a teacher-initiation, student response, and teacher feedback (IRF)

Fourth, the interviewer's identity as being a TSM student is observable in other positions. The interviewee continues his language instruction by expanding the interviewer's example (line 20) to re-iterate the different TSM pronunciations of *lin* in lines 24-25. This is followed by his summary in line 27. Instead of moving on to another topic, the interviewee maintains his instruction with parallel pronunciation rules: *lim* in *dzi-lim* cannot be replaced by *na* to be *dzi-na* (lines 29-33), and *na* in *tua-na* cannot be replaced by *lim* to be *tua-lim* (line 36). His laughter, "HEH" (line 38) appears to emphasize the completion of his reiteration after a 0.2s pause (line 37) and to index an invitation for reciprocal laughter from the interviewer. The lack of recipient laughter triggers the interviewee's wrap-up statement, ">si zu ane a<" ("That's it" in TSM; line 38). Interestingly, the interviewer latches on with a repetition of "tuana" in line 39. This post-completion expansion seems to indicate her action of reviewing the interviewee's pronunciation rule instruction. Her choice of repeating the correct pronunciation, *tua-na*, rather than the wrong one, *tua-lim*, seems to display her understanding of the interviewee's previous focal point in line 36. This renders the interviewee's repetition of *tua-na* a confirmation and positive feedback in line 41. The interviewer's other silent repetition of ">tshiu-na" in line 42 strengthens her role as a student to be familiar with the collocation and pronunciation of *na*. This is partially overlapped with the interviewee's ">tshiu-na" in line 43. Note that the turn-final particle "a" in line 43 marks the function of the interviewee's utterance as a reminder; That is, *na* occurs in not only *tua-na* but also *tshiu-na*. Furthermore, another reminder of a pronunciation contrast, *lim* in *dzi-lim*, is found in line 45. After the interviewee's self-confirmation (line 47), the interviewer offers an emphatic alignment in line 48. Her elongated pronunciation of "na:" in line 50 reinforces her attempt to familiarize herself with this syllable. As a whole, language instruction initiation by the interviewee is aligned with by the interviewer using her candidate example, "<tshiu-na>" (line 20), and repetitions of *dzi-lim* in line 11, *tua-na* in lines 17 and 39, *tshiu-na* in line 42, and *na* in line 50. Most importantly, the contingent identities of teacher and student are made explicit through the participants' collaboration.

Tier 1: Transliteration; **Mandarin in bold**; Tier 2: English gloss; Tier 3: Idiomatic English translation

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- 056 IE neng sann si >zele sizun< thak (.) neng,
two three four this time read two
But we say one *neng*/two three four; at this moment we'll say *neng*/two.
- 057 IR °mm mm [mm mm mm]°
058 IE I —> [>ubo.< bokang]
tag Q different
Right? They're different.
- 059 (0.2)
- 060 IR R—> mm.
Yeah.
- 061 IE I —> >ubo.<
tag Q
Right?
- 062 IR R—> <°dzi(niu)°>
(Meaning unknown)
- 063 IE F—> henn. Lilim
yes place name
Yes, *li-lim*.
- 064 (0.5)
- 065 IE tsit neng, neng nengko
one two two two dollars
One, *neng*/two, *neng*/two, *neng*/two dollars.
- 066 IR mm mm [ZENGSI]
PRT PRT formal
067 IE [tsit neng.]
- 068 IR **de sihou wen de sihou >jiu°si°<**
POS time literary POS time COP
(IR) Yeah. When it's a formal use or literary pronunciation, it's
(IE) One *neng*/two,
- 069 IE henn
Yes.
- 070 (0.2)
- 071 IE a na: lim
PRT 2nd syllable of *tua-na* or *tsi'u-na* 2nd syllable of *dzi-lim*
Na, lim,
- 072 IR °lim°
2nd syllable of *dzi-lim*
Lim.
- 073 IE dzilim=
place name

074	IR	<i>Dzi-lim</i> =°dz° <u>dzi</u> <u>dzi</u> <u>khong</u> [°hm hm] hm two two zero
075	IE	[neng.] two (IR) <i>Dzi</i> /two <i>dzi</i> /two zero, yes. (IE) <i>Neng</i> /two,
076	IR	hm°
077	IE	henn. Yes.
078		(0.2)
079	IE	henn henn. Yes.
080		(0.2)
081	IE	°henn° <u>TIO</u> yes right
082		{{((flipping sheets))-(.)BUEBAI.}} not bad Yes. Right. Good job.
083		((flipping sheets))

The interviewee first redirects the interviewer's attention to *dzi-lim* by saying "likhuann" ("you see" in TSM) with stress in line 51. He extracts the first syllable, *dzi*, by code-switching to Mandarin, "zege- (.) E" ("this e" in Mandarin; lines 51-52). He then code-switches back to TSM when explaining this "e" as being pronounced as *dzi* in the compound word, *dzi-lim*, in line 52. Just as in line 3, the interviewee's code-switching is recipient design for the interviewer and thus makes the interviewer's identity relevant as a TSM novice. Furthermore, emphasizing his focus by code-switching into Mandarin marks the interviewee's language focus shift. He proposes a contrastive example of *dzi*, "neng" (line 56), by initiating the conjunction "kesi" ("but" in Mandarin; line 54) and embedding *neng* in a serial number in line 56. As shown in Table 1, *e* has two TSM pronunciations, *dzi* and *neng*. In this excerpt, *dzi* is used in a place name ("dzilim"; line 52), whereas *neng* is used in a serial number, "tsit neng sann" ("one two three" in TSM; lines 54 and 56). The interviewer aligns with the interviewee by providing recipient tokens of "mm" in quiet speech in line 57. Treating the recipient tokens as insufficient, the interviewee explicitly summons the interviewer's response with a tag question, ">ubo.<" ("right?" in TSM) and a comment, "bokang" ("they are different" in TSM) in line 58. Even after the interviewer's recipient token as a confirmation in line 60, the interviewee re-initiates his tag question as summons in line 61, thus treating the interviewer's confirmation as insufficient. It is not until the interviewer's response in line 62 that the interviewee offers confirmation without further summons in line 63. Interestingly, the interviewer's subsequent response appears to be an incorrect pronunciation, "<°dzi(niu)°>" (line 62) in quiet speech compared to the correct one, *dzi-lim*. Her identity is made relevant as a TSM language novice, especially when the quiet speech appears to reinforce her uncertainty of the candidate pronunciation. The interviewee aligns with the interviewer by offering his confirmation followed by other-initiated other-repair, "Lilim" in line 63. The other-initiated other-repair thus makes its preceding confirmation less a confirmation for the interviewer's incorrect pronunciation than a transition and preface for his corrected pronunciation, *li-lim*. This expands the TSM knowledge discrepancy between the interviewer and the interviewee, with the former the novice and the latter the expert. The interviewee furthers his instruction by both recycling the numerical example (lines 54 and 56) and offering a new example of embedding *neng* in "nengko" ("two dollars" in TSM) in line 65. In particular, the interviewee's active instruction and the interviewer's response guided by the interviewee explicitly mark the teacher-student relationship between both participants.

Another IRF sequence appears to be relevant in the interviewee’s invitation to reply (Mehan, 1979, p. 112). The interviewer’s response (line 60) to the interviewee’s invitation (line 58) does not appear to meet the latter’s expectation. The re-initiation of the interviewee’s tag question (line 61) triggers the interviewer’s pronunciation as a response (line 62), and the sequence is closed by the interviewee’s other-initiated other-repair as feedback (line 63). This case again shows how a typical language instruction sequence may be occurring in a research interview, which has a non-instructional institutional agenda. The situated relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is overridden by the contingent teacher-student relationship once more. As a whole, the language lesson shift is initiated by the interviewee through code-switching (lines 51-52) and a contrastive example (lines 54 and 56). The interviewee’s invitation to reply and the participants’ teacher-student interaction are activated by the IRF sequence negotiation (lines 58-63).

The interviewer’s contingent identity as a TSM student is made relevant in the following ways. First, her incomplete summary as seen in “ZENSI” (“formal” in Mandarin; line 66) and “wen” (“literary pronunciation” in Mandarin; line 68) echoes the participants’ previous discussion about *wenduyin*, or TSM literary pronunciation, in the interview (off transcript). Through the summary, the interviewer demonstrates her understanding of TSM literary pronunciation. Even though the object is missing in the interviewer’s summary, the interviewee confirms with her in line 69. The confirmation indicates participants’ shared knowledge of how the syllables should be pronounced in a formal setting or when a literary pronunciation is applied. The confirmation also treats the summary as complete without the need for further clarification.

Second, the interviewer’s TSM example in line 74 demonstrates her competence in knowing which language context *dzi* should be used. This is reinforced by the interviewee’s positive feedback in line 81 and praise in line 82. After the interviewee articulates “dzilim” in line 73, the interviewer latches on by providing a candidate example pronouncing the first syllable, *dzi*, of *dzi-lim* in a formal setting when used in telephone numbers, “dzi dzi khong” (“zero zero two” in TSM) in line 74. The interviewer is again demonstrating her understanding of TSM literary pronunciation by offering a candidate example. The interviewee’s positive assessment, “henn” (“yes”), followed by another positive assessment, “TIO” (“right” in TSM), in line 81 displays his emphatic alignment and epistemic confirmation. Moreover, his praise, “buebai” (“good job” in TSM) with a high volume in line 82 appears to indicate his identity as doing being an instructor who positively affiliates with the interviewer’s understanding and use of TSM literary pronunciation. The occurrence of *buebai* is possibly one of the canonical examples used to praise students in the classroom. This explicitly marks the interviewee’s orientation toward TSM instruction at this moment. Hence, the interviewer’s TSM student identity stands out as relevant in her candidate example (line 74) and in her prior incomplete summary (lines 66 and 68). The interviewee’s TSM instructor identity is made explicit with his positive assessment and praise (lines 81 and 82).

The long side sequence is terminated in line 83 by sheets flipping. The absence of the interviewer’s response and the sheet flipping sound seem to indicate an exit from the language focus orientation and a resumption of the research agenda, which occurs after 1.0s (off transcript), associated with the sociolinguistic interview.

The situated relationship is sequentially salient between the interviewee as a TSM language instructor/expert and the interviewer as a TSM language student/novice. The resources provided by individual and both speakers are reiterated below in Table 2. The actions accomplished through language focus in the interview are the interviewee doing being a TSM language expert and instructor, whereas the interviewer is doing being a TSM novice and student.

Table 2. Resources Applied in Language Focus & Instruction Implementation.

IE as a TSM expert or teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiation: code-switching (L3) • Re-initiation: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Disjunctive topic shift: sinsua kong (“by the way” in TSM) (L9-10) 2. Contrastive example through code-switching: da-lin (L14) 3. TSM translation in slow speech: tua-na (L16) 	Language focus shift into dzi (1 st syllable) dzi-lim (L51-52): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Code-switching (L51-52) 2. Contrastive example: neng (L54 & 56) 	Assessment: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Confirmation/positive assessment: henn (“yes” in TSM) (L18, 22, 69) 2. Repetition as positive feedback: tua-na (L41) 3. Other-initiated other repair: li-lim (L63) 4. Positive assessment + praise: henn tio (“yes, right” in TSM)(L81) + bue-bai (“good job” in TSM) (L82) 	Parallel pronunciation rules <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lim in dzi-lim cannot be replaced by na to be dzi-na (L29-33) 2. Na in tua-na cannot be replaced by lim to be tua-lim (L36)
IR as a TSM novice or student	Termination: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Absence of response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Candidate examples: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tshiu-na (“forest” in TSM) (L20) 2. Dzi dzi khong (“two two zero” in TSM) (L74) Candidate answer: Dzi-niu (L62) 	Incomplete summary (L66 & 68)	Repetitions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dzi-lim (L11) 2. Tua-na (L17 & 39) 3. Tshiu-na (L42) 4. Na (L50)
IE & IR	IRF sequences: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. L16-18: IE initiation (L16) + IR repetition (L17) + IE positive feedback (L18) 2. L58-63: IE invitation to reply (L58) + IR recipient token (L60) + IE re-invitation (L61) + IR candidate answer (L62) + IE feedback: other-initiated other repair (L63) 			

Excerpts 1A and 1B present language focus initiated by the interviewee, co-implemented by both participants, and terminated by the interviewer. In particular, the contingent identities of teacher and student become sequentially relevant in this side sequence. This case extends the possibility of language learning space. The interviewer’s active role in co-constructing language focus makes her identity explicit as a TSM novice and student. Through her actions, the interviewer demonstrates a certain amount of TSM understanding, and yet she relies on the interviewee’s elaboration and instruction. Hence, the interviewee’s identity as a TSM expert and instructor is made relevant.

5.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study has provided a preliminary finding for how language focus and instruction become contingently relevant in a research interview, thus extending the idea of FonF in the wild (Kasper & Burch, 2016). Moreover, when a topic focus is shifted to a language focus, the interviewee and interviewer’s identities become contingent and thus go beyond situated, or default, identities (Richards, 2006). In particular, the teacher-student relationship is salient in this non-institutional setting. The findings and discussion presented here are not meant to question whether participants stick to their institutional agendas. On the contrary, the findings present the rich interactional possibilities to be found in an institutional setting, thus acknowledging contingent learning space created due to participants’ needs even in a research interview. This expands L2 learning contexts beyond the classroom and ordinary conversations. Furthermore, when interaction between participants in a research interview is closely examined, the emergent TSM expert-novice relationship and language instruction strengthen the interviewer’s fully active role in a research interview (Heritage, 2002; Potter & Hepburn, 2012). CA methodology helps us understand the participants’ identities and relationship beyond their situated identities as interviewee and interviewer. Most importantly, language instruction is contingent and co-constructed by participants in a non-instructional setting. Future investigative directions lie in discovering more instances of language instruction in various contexts to broaden the fluidity and flexibility of language learning spaces.

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AN EXPLORATION OF TONOGENESIS IN OCEANIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper conducts an analysis of tonogenesis in two linguistic regions of Oceania: the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia. Using the analyses of Rivierre (1993), Bradshaw (1979), and Ross (2003) as models, it identifies similarities and differences of the process in the two regions and identifies areas for future study.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Very few Austronesian languages have phonemic tone; yet there are several distinct cases in which tone has arisen independently (Thurgood, 1993). Some early hypotheses by linguists who studied tonal languages suggested that tone may be a retention from a tonal proto-language that was eventually lost in most daughter languages (Dempwolff, 1939). However, today, linguists generally accept that tone is rarely a genetic retention and more often an innovation that occurs through a process called tonogenesis (Kingston, 2011). This paper, conducts an analysis of tonogenesis in two separate cases in Oceanic languages: the languages of the North Huon Gulf Chain in Papua New Guinea (Ross, 2009) and those in New Caledonia. Using the analyses of Rivierre (1993), Bradshaw (1979), and Ross (1993) as models, I discuss the ways in which tone developed in both of these regions. Interestingly, although these languages have evolved from the same proto language, they have undergone very different processes in their development of phonemic tone. In the North Huon Gulf Chain, tone seems to have developed from obstruent voicing contrasts (Bradshaw, 2007). In New Caledonia, however, tone emerged from geminate consonants left over from syllable reduplication (Rivierre, 1993). Yet, one can observe in both cases, similar qualities that tend to accompany tonal languages, such as monosyllabism and a highly-eroded phoneme system. Although, a great deal of work has been conducted on tonogenesis -- especially in the context of Chinese and the Mon-Khmer languages of Southeast Asia -- these cases in Oceania remain critically understudied. Many of the tonal languages are not well-documented, and these analyses are based on just one or two of the languages. Therefore, establishing a comparison in these two separate contexts contributes to the literature on tonogenesis by exploring two regions of tonal languages that have not yet been thoroughly studied. The information from the languages of the North Huon Gulf (NHG) and New Caledonia can identify areas for future study and begin to untangle key information on the history and development of such a unique linguistic feature within this language family.

1.1 What is tonogenesis?

The term ‘tonogenesis’ was coined by linguist James Matisoff in the 1970s. It refers to the study of the phonological processes that take place that cause phonemic pitch to develop. Tone may develop due to phonological innovations from contact or simply through internal sound changes. Initially a phonological environment may cause natural pitch changes to occur. Over time, these pitches associated with certain phonological environments become phonemic. Although the term ‘tonogenesis’ is generally applied to new tonal developments, it may also pertain to tonal evolutions where, for instance, a 2-tone language develops into a 3-tone language or a 6-tone language, etc. Yet these two situations are undoubtedly related. Phenomena that may encourage new tonal developments in tone languages often relate to the same phenomena that cause tone to initially emerge. Important to note, is that tonogenesis need not be a long process; in some cases, tone may arise quickly if not spontaneously, as two dialects (one tonal and one non-tonal) of Cherokee in Oklahoma indicate (Vajda, 2017).

A typological survey of tonogenesis throughout the world shows similar linguistic aspects in tonal languages. Most strikingly, one sees a tendency for tonal languages to limit morphological processes and trend towards monosyllabic words (Maddieson, 1978). In terms of the processes that initiate the development of tone in previously non-tonal languages, linguists see a correlation between laryngeal distinctions and tonal developments. This should not be a surprise if one considers that tone is merely a change in the speed of the vibrations of the vocal chords, the very part of the vocal tract that has been observed to cause tone.

The relationship between the linguistic feature and the pitch of the tone (whether tone is high, low, or contoured) is not perfectly consistent across languages, but it is possible to observe some tendencies. For instance, in many tonal languages, there is a tendency for environments with voiced obstruents to create low tones and those

with voiceless obstruents to create high tone (Maddieson, 1997). The reason for this correlation rests in the physiology of the vocal tract. When a speaker produces a voiced obstruent, the vocal folds are closer together to produce the necessary vibrations. When a voicing contrast becomes lost in that language, the distinction between pitches associated with the voiced and voiceless obstruents may persist, resulting in a phonemic contrast not based on voicing but instead on the tone of voice (Yip, 2002).

Yet, voicing is not the only linguistic phenomena to affect tone. For example, the languages of New Caledonia developed high tone due to aspirated stops (Haudricourt, 1963; Rivierre, 1993), while in Punjabi (Bahl, 1957), voiced aspirated stops lowered tone. In many Bantu languages, plain stops caused pitch to develop while implosives had no effect on pitch (Wright & Shryock, 1993). In Chinese, the loss of final glottal consonants created a tonal contrast in Early Middle Chinese (Sagart, 1999).

Most commonly, it is the initial consonants, which seem to determine the height of the tone. This has been observed in “many Tibeto-Burman languages (Karen, Gurugn, etc.), Austronesian (Phan Rang Cham, Huon Gulf Chain), Tai-Kadai languages (Thai, Lao, etc.), Hmong-Mien, Mon-Khmer (Vietnamese), and Khoisan” (Thurgood, 2002). Such an overwhelming correlation between initial consonant type and tone height has been noted by many linguists who have further broken this relationship down to observe that high pitch tends to develop after voiceless initial stops, and low pitch after voiced ones (Hyman, 1978). Haudricourt (1954) even notes that in Vietnamese, initial consonants seem to set the tone height while final consonants determine tone contour, in effect, doubling the number of tones in the language.

Without a doubt, the most widely spoken and widely studied group of tonal languages is the Chinese languages. Linguists widely agree that Old Chinese did not have phonemic tone. Rather, tone developed between 500 BCE and 500 CE due to the loss of final laryngeals. As these consonants disappeared, tone developed in place of the “micromelodic” features of these final consonants. A rising tone emerged on words containing word-final /ʔ/ and a low tone emerged on words containing word final /h/. No tone emerged on words containing other final consonants. Middle Chinese therefore had a 3-way tonal system, which then split into a 5-way tonal system in many of its daughter languages depending on the voicing of the initial consonant (Sagart, 1999). Chinese, therefore, shows a different process from many tonal languages mentioned above. Rather than the initial consonant determining tone height, the final consonant did so.

Similarly, tone in Athabaskan languages developed due to a shift of the glottalic nature of the final consonant to the vowel. This occurrence caused a “distinctive non-modal, ‘constricted’ voice quality” (Kingston, 2005). Kingston’s hypothesis depends upon the glottalic state which influenced vowel quality. Similar to Chinese, it is the final consonant that determines tonal grade rather than the initial consonant.

Punjabi provides an excellent representation of tonogenesis due to the regularity of the environments in which tone occurred. Murmured consonants created differentiation in the voicing of the adjacent vowels. Initial murmured consonants caused a low tone to appear, and final murmured consonants caused high tone. When murmured consonants disappeared from the language, they left behind these tonal contrasts, which then became phonemic. Those words without a murmured consonant took on a mid tone upon phonemicization of tone (Bahl, 1957).

Consonants are not the only influence on tonal systems. In some cases, as in many Algonquian languages such as Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kickapoo, tone developed due to vowel contraction. Long vowels in Proto-Algonquian became high tone in Cheyenne and short vowels became low tone. This analysis is also linked to stress patterns in the languages, which is also a very important factor involved in tonogenesis. Stress often corresponds to long vowels and high tones (Leman, 1981).

Despite variation in the types of situations that have caused tone to arise in the typologically diverse set of languages presented here, a common feature among all of them is that distinctions in the laryngeal state of phonemes has caused tonogenesis to occur. Whether it affects initial or final consonants, murmured or aspirated consonants, consonants or vowels, long or short vowels, the state of the glottis appears to be the primary reason for the emergence of tone.

1.2. Tone in Austronesian Languages

Typologically, most Austronesian languages are toneless. However, instances of tonal development have emerged throughout the Austronesian language family, causing 14 languages to have tone today. The Chamic languages, spoken in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Hainan Island developed tone due to the close contact with tonal mainland languages. Western (“Cambodian”) Cham has a “Mon-Khmer-like register system (Henderson, 1982) while Eastern (Phan Rang) Cham appears to be evolving a three-register system. Both systems appear to be, as Maddieson (1997) calls them “ambiguous tonal systems.” These dialects are sesquisyllabic and have developed their phonemic tonal contrasts due to influence from Khmer and Mon-Khmer language groups such as Vietnamese and Bahnaric. In contrast, the Chamic speakers (the Utsat) of Hainan speak a monosyllabic language that has an incredibly complex tonal system consisting of five distinct tones: high, rising, mid, low, and checked fall. In these languages, tonogenesis studies by Ian Maddieson and Keng-Fong Pang discover that rising tone correlates with final glottal stops if the initial consonant derived from a voiceless consonant, and falling tone occurs when initial consonant derived from a voiced consonant (Matisoff, 1999).

Instances of tone outside of the Chamic family are significantly less studied. Most instances of tone occur on or around the island of New Guinea, raising the possibility of influence from contact with Papuan languages. This appears to be the case with the Indonesian languages of the Ma’ya-Matbat group. However, linguists have not yet determined the tonogenetic processes through which tone emerged. Remijsen (2001) believes that the tonal languages from which Ma’ya and Matbat acquired tone no longer exist, though they were once spoken on the islands where the Austronesians arrived. Ma’ya and Matbat have quite complex tonal systems. The dialects of Ma’ya that have tone have three distinct tones: Rise, Fall, and High. Matbat, on the other hand, has 5 lexically contrastive tones: Extra High Fall, a High Level, Low Rise, Low Level, and Fall. However, contact does not discredit the processes of tonogenesis, as the Chamic languages can support. Whether tones develop due to contact or not, they still develop in a systematic manner. Therefore, more work must be conducted to be able to more comfortably discuss tonogenesis in this region (Remijsen, 2001).

Other areas with tonal languages throughout the New Guinea region include: Mor in the Cendrawasih Bay of western New Guinea (Laycock, 1978), Kara, Barok, and Patpatar of New Ireland (Hajek, 1995), Awad Bing of the Madang Province (Cahill, 2001), and Jabêm and Bukawa of the Huon Gulf Coast (Bradshaw, 1979; Ross, 1993). All of these cases, except for the languages of the Huon Gulf Coast remain severely understudied. In most, linguists have not yet comprehensively established the features of their tonal systems, so diachronic study is not yet possible. Further out in the Pacific, it is possible to eliminate any question of contact. In mainland New Caledonia, where no one lived before the Austronesians arrived, phonemic tone has developed completely independently in two separate language groups.

It is possible to analyze the tonogenetic processes in the two most studied tonal groups within Oceania. Although they both derive from Proto Oceanic, their geographic and linguistic contexts are quite different. As a result, their tonal development varies greatly.

2.0. TONE IN THE HUON GULF CHAIN

Within the languages of the Huon Gulf Chain in Papua New Guinea, only two languages have developed tone: Jabêm and Bukawa. The Huon Gulf Chain languages can be further split into the North Huon Gulf Chain (NHG) and the South Huon Gulf chain (SHG). The NHG consists of only three languages: Jabêm, Bukawa, and Kela (Ross 1988). This situation, in which only two languages of a larger subgroup currently have phonemic tone, allows for a fairly transparent analysis using the Comparative Method to distinguish which phonological environments gave rise to tone in these two languages. In addition to tone, Jabêm and Bukawa further exhibit “a tendency towards monosyllabism, a reduction of the number of syllable-initial consonant contrasts, and a much grosser reduction in syllable-final contrast” (Ross, 2009), all features often associated with tonal languages. Jabêm is by far the most well-documented language of the NHG, and most tonal studies have been conducted on Jabêm solely because the language is better documented than Bukawa (Bradshaw 1979). It also seems to be the most conservative, while Kela, the least documented, is the least conservative and lacks tone (Bradshaw, 2007). Bukawa is in an interesting position where it can reveal processes about its sister languages and the phenomena that caused the more conservative one to maintain tone, while the less conservative one lost it (Bradshaw, 2007). Study of toneless Kela may also inform the tonal processes in its sister languages. For example, Kela shares consonant

changes with Bukawa but without the accompanying tone, indicating that it perhaps once had tone, but lost it when the environments for it were lost, a fate that may be waiting for Bukawa.

Early studies into Jabêm tonogenesis reveal a reluctance to acknowledge that this might be a situation of tonogenesis. Dempwolff (1939), one of the first linguists to investigate the language, believed that tone in Jabêm developed through tone harmony and ancestral tone. He believed that tone also existed in Sio, a nearby Austronesian language on the north coast of the Huon Gulf, which, if so, provided possible evidence for his hypothesis of ancestral tone. Meanwhile, decades later, Milke (1965) hypothesized tone to exist in Tumlcó in the West Sepik Province and viewed it as a similar retention of ancestral tone. However, Milke, also noted a connection between voiced obstruents in Tami, a Huon Gulf language, and low tone in Jabêm correctly hypothesizing that the two were intimately linked. But instead of acknowledging that tone in Jabêm may have been innovated, he assumed the opposite -- that Tami lost tone after voiced obstruents. A decade later, however, the acceptance of tonal development became more prominent. Bradshaw (1979) and Ross (1993) investigate the possibility of tonogenesis in the region, and discover this hypothesis to be much more plausible than tonal retention.

These investigations of tonogenesis in Jabêm and Bukawa suggest that the development of tone was relatively recent. Tone would have emerged after the two diverged from their closest relative, Tami (Bradshaw, 1979). Although Jabêm, like many tonal languages, tends to prefer monosyllabic words, disyllabic words are still common. Words consisting of a higher number of syllables, however, tend to be highly morphologically complex, an indication that the language prefers words of fewer syllables. The frequency of disyllabism corresponds to a larger tendency throughout the Austronesian language family, but this preference for monosyllabic words does not.

Furthermore, although Jabêm and Bukawa have quite large phoneme inventories compared to many other Austronesian languages, they have strict constraints on which phonemes may appear in the same syllable (Ross, 1993).

Jabêm does not allow initial clusters and only /b, p, m, ng, ʔ/ can appear syllable-finally (Bradshaw, 1979). Even more striking is Jabêm's strict rules that do not allow voiced obstruents to occur in the same word as voiceless ones nor high tone with low tone. Bukawa, on the other hand, does not have such strict rules. Obstruent voicing may change within a word and does not directly correlate with tone pitch. Yet, these closely-related languages presumably would have developed tone in the same context before diverging from each other. Therefore, these phonological changes, such as onset voicing and oral-nasal contrasts, which obscured the tonal environment in Bukawa, would have occurred after phonemic tone was already established.

Table 1. Phoneme inventories of Jabêm and Bukawa (Ross, 1993)

		Labial	Labialized velar	Alveolar	Velar	Labialized velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	p ^w	t	k	k ^w	
	Voiced	b	b ^w	d	g	g ^w	ʔ
Prenasalized	stops	^m b	^m b ^w	ⁿ d	^ŋ g	^ŋ g ^w	
Nasals		m	m ^w	n	ŋ		
Fricatives				s			{h}
Prenasalized	fricative			ⁿ s			
Lateral	Voiceless			{l ^h }			
	Voiced			l			
Semivowels	Voiceless		{w ^h }	{y ^h }			
	voiced		w	y			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	{ø}	o
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Note: phonemes in brackets only occur in Bukawa

According to Bradshaw (2007), such phonological changes may be more salient within the language than tone at this point, which is why Bukawa provides context for the distinction between Kela – which is toneless but shares the phonological innovations – and Jabêm – which is tonal but has not undergone these innovations.

As briefly mentioned above, the occurrence of low vs. high tone in Jabêm is generally predictable based on the following elements (Dempwolff, 1939):

1. Neither voiced (including prenasalized voiced stops: *ns, mb, nd, ŋg*) and voiceless obstruents (*p, t, k*) nor low and high tone may appear in a single morpheme. Glides (*l, j, w*) and nasals, however, are neutral and can appear in either high or low tone morphemes
2. Low tone correlates with the existence of a voiced obstruent in the syllable or if an adjacent syllable of the same morpheme contains a low tone. Low tone cannot occur in a syllable containing a voiceless obstruent.

As these points show, low tones are incompatible with voiceless obstruents while high tones are incompatible with voiced obstruents. Because these distinctions do not exist in Bukawa to the same extent as they do in Jabêm, this investigation focuses on Jabêm, the more conservative language.

The restrictions on obstruent voicing within a word are so strict that an interesting innovation of Jabêm arises in regard to its subject prefixes. Jabêm has two sets of subject prefixes that provide an option for speakers, allowing them to match the prefix to high tone or low tone of the first syllable of the verb roots. Prefixes are as follows (Bradshaw, 1979):

Table 2. Subject prefixes in Jabêm (Bradshaw, 1979)

Subject Prefixes (realis)	High-tone	Low-tone
Singular: 1st person	ka-	ga-
2nd person	kô-	gô-
3rd person	kê-	gê-
Plural: 1st person incl.	ta-	da-
1st person excl.	a-	à-
2nd person	a-	à-
3rd person	sê-/tê-	sê^-/dê-

The allomorphy of these prefixes is particularly evident in comparing their cliticization to monosyllabic vs. disyllabic words. When they attach to a monosyllable verb, they remove the voicing contrast of the verb root. But when they cliticize to a disyllabic root, they do not match the voicing contrast of the rest of the root because it lies outside the foot. This situation shows the close relationship between voicing and tone height. It is impossible that Jabêm retained all of these subject prefixes, and therefore it must have created one of them. An investigation of which was retained and which was innovated suggests that the high-tone prefixes (those beginning with voiceless

stops) were innovations. Evidence from other members of the HC subgroup such as Iwal, Kela, and Tami, have the voiced velar stop at the beginning of their prefixes (Bradshaw 1979).

In Bukawa, however, more recent phonological changes now allow consonants of different voicing grades in the same word and allow voiceless obstruents to appear with low tone and vice versa (e.g. Bukawa *ga-kún*, ‘I called out’ vs Jabêm *ka-kún* or Bukawa *ka-gili*, ‘I provoked trouble’ vs. Jabêm *ka-kili*.) In Jabêm, the initial consonant of the person prefix takes on the voicing of the following word, but this is not necessary in Bukawa.

As one might expect due to this close relationship between tone height and consonant voicing, minimal pairs only exist in words that do not contain any stops. Generally, in both Jabêm and Bukawa, minimal pairs are distinguished based on semantic context rather than phonological differences (Ross, 2009).

Table 3. Jabêm minimal pairs (Ross, 2009)

<i>awá</i>	‘valuables’	<i>awà</i>	‘his/her mouth’
<i>awé</i>	‘outside’	<i>awè</i>	‘woman’
<i>olí</i>	‘body’	<i>olì</i>	‘wages’
<i>yaó</i>	‘prohibition’	<i>yaò</i>	‘emnity’
<i>wá</i>	‘mango’	<i>wà</i>	‘crocodile’

In words where stops do occur, in addition to tonal contrasts, there are also voicing contrasts between the consonants, providing another clear indication of the relevance of the correlation between consonant voicing and tone height.

Table 4. Voicing contrasts, Jabêm (Ross, 2009)

<i>palín</i>	‘careless’	<i>balín</i>	‘far away’
<i>pín</i>	‘shell’	<i>bín</i>	‘speech’
<i>típ</i>	‘all at once’	<i>díb</i>	‘thud’
<i>sakín</i>	‘service’	<i>sagín</i>	‘house partition’

Dempwolff’s claims should initiate some skepticism, however, especially in regards to his first point where *ns* is grouped as a voiced obstruent with *mb*, *nd*, and *ng*. Even though /n/ is voiced, /s/ is a voiceless fricative, not a voiced stop like the others. In cases such as this, it is essential to look at data from nontonal related languages as well as nontonal proto-languages. Through this method, one may observe that **z* became voiceless /s/ in Jabêm. This conclusion illustrates a perfect contrast between **z* and *ns* that matches that of **b* and *mb*, **d* and *nd*, and **g* and *ng*. With this hypothesis in mind, if one compares Jabêm /ns/ and /s/ to their reflexes in other nearby language, /ns/ correlates with voiced obstruents while /s/ correlates with voiceless ones, with only a few exceptions (Bradshaw, 1979).

Table 5. Cross-linguistic comparison on /ns/ and /s/ (Bradshaw, 1979)

Jabêm	Tami	Numbami	Iwal
(n)s’-	Ns-, (n)dj-	(n)z-, (n)d-	s-
s’-	s-	s-	r-

Despite erosion of medial consonants, one can also see evidence, of this correspondence medially. Many of the predictable low tones can be traced back to POC nasal grade reconstructions. These nasal grade obstruents are often reflected as voiced obstruents in Jabêm and other Huon Gulf Chain languages (Bradshaw, 1979).

Low tone in Jabêm is overall very predictable. However, the few instances of low tone that do not correspond with a voiced obstruent or a low-tone adjacent syllable of the same morpheme can be accounted for if one assumes that syllables that once had voiced obstruents either lost these segments or they became devoiced. For example, (n)s’ developed from **z*, and *θ*, *w* from **v* (Bradshaw, 1979).

Table 6. Proto Oceanic nasal grade reflexes (Bradshaw, 1979)

POC	Jabêm	Tami	Numbami	Iwal
POC <i>*mp</i> , <i>*ŋp</i>				
<i>*mpoRok</i> ‘pig’	bôc	mbol	bola	bwelk
<i>*ŋpoŋi</i> ‘night’	ŋa-bôc	mboŋ	(towambana)	tambok
POC <i>*nd</i>				
(<i>*ndandani</i>) ‘thick’	ŋa-dani	n(d)andan	dendeliŋa	dadani
(<i>*ndama</i>) ‘pleiades’	dam	ndam	damana	
POC <i>*ŋk</i>				
(<i>*ŋkalanŋkala</i>) ‘scales, ringworm’	ŋa-gala	galagal	galagala	galagala
<i>*ŋkasu</i> ‘nape of the neck’	gêsu-	gise	gidu	

One may notice that when a prenasalized obstruent occurred in coda position in POC, only the nasal portion generally remains in Jabêm and Tami. The obstruents seem to have had no effect on the tone in Jabêm, suggesting that these POC prenasalized obstruents were already reduced when tone became a phonemic part of the language (Bradshaw, 1979).

Another situation in which tone seems to diverge from the correlation of high tone found with voiced obstruents and low tone found with voiceless obstruents, are borrowings. In situations where there is no voicing conflict for obstruents in the same morpheme, low and high tones have been assigned accordingly. However, in situations of conflict, there appears to be no preference for high tone or low tone. Sometimes high tone was assigned and sometimes low tone with no way of predicting which would be chosen (Bradshaw 1979).

Based upon the data presented here, Ross (2009) orders the sound changes from Post-Proto-Huon-Gulf to Pre-Proto-North-Huon-Gulf, the mother of Jabêm, Bukawa, and Kela, so that low tone occurred first in those syllables with a voiced obstruent and then those with a voiceless obstruent obtained high tone. After, voicing harmony and tonal height harmony occurred so that weak syllables took on the voicing and the tone height of the strong syllable of a word. Such a hypothesis, accounts for the lack of many of these sound changes in Bukawa and Kela.

3.0. TONOGENESIS IN NEW CALEDONIA

An entirely different situation has arisen in New Caledonia. Tone seems to have developed from former reduplicated forms rather than from obstruent voicing. The languages of New Caledonia may be set apart from other Austronesian languages because five of the 28 languages spoken in the region have developed tone (Haudricourt, 1963). Furthermore, these five languages did not develop tone together. Rather, two ‘pockets’ of tonal languages have emerged: Cêmuhi and Paicî in the Center North and Drubea, Numèè, and Kwenyîi in the Far South (Rivierre, 1993). Unmentioned in Rivierre (1993), Aijë, Arhâ, and Arhō also seem to have tone, and if they do, they have rather complex tonal systems with four distinct tones (Leenhardt, 1946).

These two tonal areas belong to two separate branches of the New Caledonian subgroup. Because there is not yet any evidence of non-Austronesian speaking people inhabiting New Caledonia before the arrival of the Austronesians, tone could not have developed due to contact and therefore must be treated as either a retention of tone from an ancestral language such as Proto-New-Caledonian or an individual innovation in both areas. Analyses by Haudricourt (1968) and Rivierre (1993) suggest the latter to be a more likely probability.

Like Jabêm and Bukawa, the tonal languages of New Caledonia have a preference for monosyllabic words and have been phonologically eroded so that Oceanic cognates are often unrecognizable (Rivierre, 1993). These changes have notoriously labeled the New Caledonian languages as aberrant and have caused difficulties in subgrouping the languages – an issue that has not yet been entirely solved.

Haudricourt (1963) was the first researcher to investigate the origin of tones in this region. His analysis provides evidence of tonal development from ancestral syllable reduplications. His inspiration for this hypothesis originated in Milner's (1958) observation that some Polynesian languages, such as Tuvaluan and Rennellese, have developed aspirated stops from partial reduplicative processes (Milner, 1958).

Haudricourt's support for this claim is embedded in two observations:

1. Geminate consonants may arise from syllable reduplication due to the lenition of an unstressed pretonic vowel, which is eventually lost.
2. $c(v)cv > ccv$
Evidence for this initial claim can be found in Bellona where this change is currently taking place. For instance, in slow speech the word for 'to play' is *babange*, with a partial reduplication of the first syllable of *bange*. But in fast speech, the reduplicated syllable is reduced to *bbange*. Similarly, the word for 'flying fish' shows the same contrast: *sasabe* > *ssabe* (Milner, 1962)
3. Many reduplicated words throughout Melanesia and Polynesia, many of which are reconstructible in POC, are cognate with high tone forms in the Northern tonal languages. These high tone forms correspond with aspirated consonants in non-tonal Northern languages.

Once again, sound changes in Polynesian languages may support this claim. Milner (1962) compares Samoan reduplicated forms with their aspirated counterparts in Tuvaluan.

Table 7: Samoan reduplicated forms with their aspirated counterparts in Tuvaluan (Milner, 1962)

Samoan	Tuvaluan
<i>Pepe'a</i> 'smell like a bat'	<i>Pheka</i> 'have a bad odor'
<i>Tatalo</i> 'pray'	<i>Thalo</i> 'pray'
<i>Totolo</i> 'crawl'	<i>Tholo</i> 'crawl'
<i>'a'asa</i> '(of sun) hot'	<i>Khasa</i> '(of sun) hot'

Eventually the loss of medial vowels in syllable reduplication caused geminate consonants in Proto New Caledonia, which then, depending on the language, became aspirated consonants, voiceless fricatives, or tone. Eventually, syllable reduplications reduced to geminate consonants, which then reduced to aspirated consonants. Intriguingly, the only New Caledonian languages that do not have aspirated consonants are those that have tone, indicating a direct correlation between these consonants and the development of phonemic tone. One can see a correlation where aspirated oral and nasal stops have disappeared in these languages, while the non-aspirated stops continue to correspond (Rivierre, 2001). Iaaï, a nontonal language from the Loyalty Islands, for example, provides clear evidence of the aspiration distinction. Iaaï has kept morphological verbal alternates. Therefore, when one looks at transitive versus intransitive forms, the transitive form does not have aspirated consonants while the intransitive forms do. This correlates with POC grammatical reduplication. Furthermore, aspirated stops, which would have had a "greater degree of stress" (Milner, 1958), developed high tone while a low tone emerged after all other consonants.

Table 8: Aspiration and high tone correspondences (Rivierre, 2001)

English	POC	Caac	Pwapwâ	Nemi	Haveke	Cèmuhi	Paicî
Hole, mouth	*papa	phwa	xwa	hwa	fwa	pw'ɔ-(n)	pwū
claw(>hand)	*kuku	shi-	si-	hi-	θi	í-(n)	í-
thrash	*sasa	tha	thai	thai	tha-	tá-	tá-
mollusc	*sisik			thik		t'	t'uu
breast	*susu	Thi (Yua)	thi	thi		tí-(n)	t'uu
pus	*nana(q)			hnaa-			

As is so often the case with languages, this observation, however, is not perfect. There are cases where non-reduplicated POC forms may be reflected with an aspirated consonant or high tone (Rivierre, 1993).

Table 9. Exceptions to aspiration and POC reduplication (Rivierre, 1993)

English	POC	Caac	Pwapwâ	Nemi	Haveke	Cèmuhi	Paicî
Older sibling of same sex	*tuqa	khiiya		hie-	θiya-	cúo-	cíε
(>swollen)	*tumpu(q)	Khibu (Yua)	chiguk	higuk	θibu	cíbu	
Caus pref.	*pa-	pha-	pha-	fa-	fa-	pá	
To swim	*ka(ou)	hyaa,hyao	Soom	hyoom	θoom	éoom	éoo
To cultivate	*quma			hum	xum	úm	ū
Nit, louse's egg	*li(n)sa	Neda (yua)	hnida	hpida	hpida	níide	nída

This indicates that reduplication must have been productive even in a proto New Caledonian language that included both the mainland and the Loyalty Islands. Irregularities from the POC roots that should be associated with the disintegration of the reduplicative processes on the mainland are few and far between, but in the Loyalty Islands, where reduplicative processes remained in use longer, irregularities are easier to notice (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1976).

The variation in amount of irregularity between the Loyalty Islands and the mainland suggests that the loss of productive reduplication happened quickly. A rapid decline may have been caused through the interaction of two processes. The first of these is the emergence of new grammatical forms, such as the reflexive prefix (which also sometimes acts as a middle voice), that may have competed with reduplication and taken on more widespread meanings. Secondly, phonological development may have quickly eliminated the use of reduplicative processes. If geminate consonants quickly became aspirated consonants, connection to the original reduplicated form may have become more obscure and thus clouded the evidence of former reduplication, which ultimately would have hindered reduplication from being a productive process (Rivierre, 1993). Rivierre further believes that aspirated consonants likely existed in the proto-Northern languages and likely proto-Mainland as well. In addition to aspiration, stress played a particular role to tonal development. Because of aspiration as a result of gemination, increased stress on the aspirated syllable caused the emergence of a high tone. A non-high or mid-tone was assigned to any word without a high tone, creating a binary tonal system.

If tone developed in this way, there would have been a binary tonal system (with two registers) in the beginning. High tone would have existed in segments that could be traced back to reduplicative processes and an unmarked register would have existed in all other cases. Eventually, the unmarked register then would have “evolved ‘downwards’, by a downdrift phenomenon, or by the appearance of a low tone” (Rivierre, 1993).

This downdrift appears to have occurred in different ways in different areas. The languages of the Far South likely experienced a tone reversal where high tones became low tones. Evidence for this exists in the tone morphology of Kwenyii (Rivierre, 1978). The low tone of the languages of the center of New Caledonia came from a downdrift affecting the “non-initial part of unmarked sequences” (Rivierre, 1993). Among these, for example, are morphemes that contained at least four mora. A downdrift occurred on the third mora of such words. Or sequences of morphemes followed by clitics developed a low tone on the syllable after the melding point of the first morpheme with the second. Cèmuhi of central New Caledonia is the only language that has developed a phonological low tone causing three registers. It is not yet known how this third register appeared, but Rivierre makes three observations about its distribution:

1. Low tone in Cèmuhi corresponds to aspirated intervocalic consonants in surrounding languages. This environment caused a neutral-high sequence in Cèmuhi, which, due to contrast, became a low-high sequence, and finally a low-low sequence.
2. [a] appears in a large number of low tone monosyllables, hinting at a relationship between the phoneme with low tone. A possibility indicated by surrounding languages was that [aa] became stressed on the second mora causing a high tone.
3. Low tone appears in many late Polynesian and European borrowings. Some tone sequences may have been adopted for expressive purposes.

In addition to these environmental observations, Cèmuhi and its neighbor Paicî show prosodic distinctions from the more southerly languages. This is because these languages are isotonal, meaning that in isolation tone only appears on the first syllable of the word. Secondly, high tones do not appear on words that begin with seminasals, suggesting that seminasals must have some sort of phonetic property that did not allow them to undergo the process of gemination like normal consonants did. And finally, tones in these languages, unlike other New Caledonian languages are enclitic, meaning that they appear only on verbs and nouns and not on grammatical words. However, in fast speech, the tone of the nouns or verbs gets transferred to the following grammatical morphemes creating a wave-like transition between tones (Ozanne-Rivierre, 1995). This development likely resembles Jabêm tone, which also does not have more than one pitch on a word or its enclitic morphemes. However, it appears that Cèmuhi is changing and beginning to incorporate more complex tonal patterns in order to meet the “expressive needs of the speakers.” This is most evident in compound words which retain the tone of both components, but if these changes continue the intonational patterns of Cèmuhi may one day more closely resemble those of its sister languages in the far south.

The development of tone in two separate areas of the mainland from the same linguistic situation implies that some feature of stressed, aspirated stops in these languages encouraged tone to develop. This may be because of the extra emphasis required and perceived in aspirated stops. However, then the question emerges why tone developed so quickly in New Caledonia but has not developed in Polynesian languages with aspirated stops, such as Tuvaluan. Yet, some feature of these aspirated stops encouraged tone to emerge in the exact same manner in two geographically distinct areas of the island. Recent innovations to the tonal systems, such as tone reversal in the south and a third tone in Cèmuhi, differ quite distinctly. This indicates, as this topological study has also shown, that tonogenesis cannot be considered a single process. Tone can evolve in very similar and very yet different ways, depending on the linguistic situation.

4.0 DISCUSSION

This juxtaposition of tonogenesis in these two distinct regions of Oceania, allows for the comparison of the processes in each location and how these processes pertain to the larger literature on tonogenesis. For instance, as this typological study has suggested, the tonal developments in both New Caledonia and the North Huon Gulf Chain are due to the laryngeal quality of phonemes. Those languages of the NHG created a context for tone based on a distinction between the vibration of the vocal chords while those of New Caledonia developed tone after a small puff of air, similar to the voiceless glottal fricative, /h/. In addition, both tonal systems have primarily developed based upon the quality of initial consonants rather than that of final or medial consonants. They also assign pitch in similar contexts that correspond with those of the larger tonogenesis discussion (Edmondson & Gregerson, 1993). In both situations, high tone developed after voiceless consonants. But it did not develop after all voiceless consonants. Stress also played an important role in tonal development and pitch assignment. In Jabêm, stressed syllables were the first to develop tone. Later, they acted as a model to which the phonemes in all unstressed syllables assimilated their voicing and tonal properties. This created the consonant and tonal harmony evident in Jabêm (Ross, 1993). In New Caledonia, the extra stress associated with aspirated syllables created the perfect environment for high tone to develop (Rivierre, 1993).

In both cases, an understanding of non-tonal related languages provides clear evidence of the mechanisms that caused tonogenesis to occur. In the Huon Gulf languages, Kela and other less closely related languages, such as Tami, show obstruent voicing contrasts that clarify discrepancies in the Jabêm data, such as /ns/ behaving like a voiced obstruent. Data from these related languages also allows a reconstruction of proto languages that can provide insight into the phonological changes that occurred to create the ideal environments for tonal development. In New

Caledonia, meanwhile, non-tonal languages throughout the mainland and the Loyalty Islands have aspirated stops that correspond with high tone in the tonal languages. Furthermore, similar processes in less closely related languages, such as the Polynesian languages, support the interpretation that the phonological changes proposed by Haudricourt are plausible changes that have occurred elsewhere in the language family. Without study of the larger context in which these tonal languages exist, claims of tonogenetic processes would not be nearly as strong.

Despite the implications that these correspondences may have for the overall understanding of tonogenetic processes, differences exist between tonogenesis in these two regions. Although both language subgroups evolved from POC, they developed tone in different manners. While New Caledonian languages relied heavily on the grammaticalized reduplicative processes of POC, the NHG languages instead developed tone due to a loss of contrast of initial obstruent voicing. Such observations raise questions about the nature of the languages at the time of tonal development that would have caused them to develop tone in two completely different manners. This distinction shows that tone does not develop in the same manner even if the languages are genetically related. It is thus possible to predict how tone might develop in a language simply based on how it emerged in other neighboring or closely related languages. An understanding of tonogenesis in a language requires a diachronic understanding of its development, as well as that of related languages.

As a result, this investigation of the two best-studied instances of tone in Oceania invites other linguists to explore the processes in which tone developed in the other tonal Oceanic languages. One may not assume that the tonogenetic processes of the tonal languages in New Ireland or the Cendrawasih or the Madang Province or Eastern Indonesia, would be the same as those in the Huon gulf or New Caledonia. Preliminary and synchronic studies of tone in these languages shows that the tonal systems are quite diverse. Those of Ma'ya and Matbat have complex three and five-tone systems, while others throughout New Guinea seem to only have two-tone systems. Further study can only reveal more interesting information about the nature of tonogenesis throughout the typologically nontonal Austronesian language family, and a better understanding of Austronesian tonogenesis can contribute greatly to the wider tonogenesis literature.

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FROM TBLT TO PBLL: AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Along with its widespread use as an alternative in educational reform movements throughout the U.S. and across many other countries, Project-based language learning (PBLL) has been enthusiastically received by practitioners and researchers in the second language field in recent years. Paradoxically, PBLL is still being treated as a peripheral or supplementary segment in orthodox discussions of language teaching methodologies and in actual classroom practice. In this conceptual paper, I attempt to review the current theories adopted by advocates of PBLL in second/foreign language pedagogy. First, PBLL will be discussed through the PBL underlying principles and its elements and how these components are compatible with key findings of SLA and different approaches and methods in language teaching, particularly Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT). Then, I will propose to study PBLL from ecological-semiotic approach as a more holistic approach to language education.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Without a lot of effort, a simple lookup in a dictionary can result in some definitions of *project*. It is (1) a *carefully planned* piece of work to get information about something, to build something, to improve something (Longman Dictionary). It also refers to (2) a piece of *planned* work or an activity, which is finished over a *period of time* and intended to achieve a particular *aim* (Cambridge Dictionary). It can be observed that a project is a series of related tasks with a goal/outcome, which is planned and implemented over a certain period of time. Speaking of project as a learning method, Webb (2007) elucidated: “projects require a *goal* where students must *search for a method*, acquire skills and knowledge, *accept* failure and *bounce back* from it, and keep trying until the goal is achieved. They *learn* through experiences, more important, they learn how to *research and apply* knowledge. Success is measured by the *complexity* of the project and the ability to *finish* it.” (emphasis added).

Project-based learning (PBL) as a method of instruction is often attributed to the American educational philosopher John Dewey (1859-1952) who reported and promoted “the benefits of experiential, hands-on, student-directed learning” (Markham, Larmer, & Ravitz, 2003, p. 1). However, Leo van Lier in his foreword to the edited book by Beckett and Miller (2006) entitled *Project-based Second and Foreign Language Education: Past, Present, and Future* noted that:

The reform movement that started with Dewey, Kilpatrick and others in the United States was in many ways similar to earlier educational reforms proposed in Europe, in particular the action-based, experience-based and perception-based recommendations made by numerous educational thinkers, from Jan Comenius in 17th century Prague, to Johann Pestalozzi in 19th century Switzerland, the Italian educator Maria Montessori in the early 20th century, and the giant of modern educational theory, Jean Piaget. To this list must certainly be added the special case of L. S. Vygotsky whose influence was huge in the early years of the Soviet revolution. (page. xi)

PBL is grounded in the situated cognition view of learning that stresses the inseparability of knowing and doing. Markham et al. (2003) maintained that “knowledge, thinking, doing, and the contexts for learning are inextricably tied” and “learning is partly a social activity; it takes place within the context of culture, community, and past experiences.” (p. 2). The documented effectiveness of PBL in mainstream education is also on increase (Holm, 2011; Thomas, 2000).

PBL has been introduced into the field of second language teaching in the 1980s “as a way to reflect the principles of student-centered teaching” (Hedge, 1993, cited in Beckett, 2006, p. 3). However, this estimate could be based on the first report of using project-based learning for advanced classes by Fried-Booth (1982) on the ELT Journal. Many language teaching professionals might have implemented PBL into their language classrooms in one way or another before. The original major goal of project-based language learning (PBLL) was to provide L2 learners with opportunities “to receive comprehensible input and produce comprehensible output” (Eyring, 1989, cited in Beckett, 2006, p. 4). More recently, PBLL has started to be used in content-based language instruction, ESP, project-based computer-assisted EFL education, community-based language socialization, and teaching critical and problem-solving skills (Beckett, 2006). Along with widespread use of PBL as an alternative in educational reform movements throughout the U.S. and across many other countries, PBLL has been enthusiastically received by

practitioners and researchers in the second language field in recent years. Paradoxically, PBL is still being treated as a peripheral or supplementary segment in orthodox discussions of language teaching methodologies, even not being reviewed in the recent edition of the comprehensive textbook on language teaching by Richards & Rodgers (2014). Moreover, PBL has been meant different things for different people. This could be explained by the fact that PBL itself does not have a unified theoretical framework to connect all the claimed features. Therefore, it is important to back up PBL from a cogent theoretical background. Kurt Lewin (1951, p.69) famously stated that “there is nothing so practical as a good theory.”

In this conceptual paper, I attempt to review current theories adopted by advocates of PBL in second/foreign language teaching. First, PBL will be discussed through the PBL underlying principles and its elements and how these components are compatible with key findings of SLA and different approaches and methods in language teaching, particularly Task-Based Language Teaching. Then, I will propose to examine PBL from ecological-semiotic perspective as a more holistic approach to language education (van Lier, 2004, 2011).

2.0. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF PBL

In second and foreign language education, teachers and scholars often use “project work” or “project-based learning” interchangeably when referring to long-lasting activities in which learners take the active roles in acquiring and constructing knowledge by employing the target language as a means to facilitate them accomplishing the pre-agreed goals or intended outcomes. Because there is no single definition for both PBL and PBL, it is quite open for divergent interpretations among teaching professionals and specialists in both mainstream education and second language pedagogy. Therefore, professionals usually provide a working definition relevant to their purposes or orientations. For instance, Fried-Booth (1982) wanted to motivate her advanced English learners to use integrated skills and study remedial language in a more authentic manner, she came up with a project idea where her students would study the problems of the disabled tourists and the collect information about facilities available to the disabled in the city so that they (learners) can produce a guidebook for those disabled tourists. As her students perceived the usefulness of the idea, they all embarked on a learning program where the project was the core element for other activities. In this sense, a project is a *carefully planned* piece of work to get information about something, to build something, to improve something (Longman Dictionary), and PBL in Fried-booth’s study appears to close to Hedge’s (1993) definition:

A project is an extended task, which usually integrates language skills work through a number of activities. These activities combine in working towards an agreed goal and may include planning, the gathering of information through reading, listening, interviewing, etc., discussion of the information, problem solving, oral or written reporting, and display. (p. 276)

Hedge further described that learners would develop genuine communicative needs in the target as they need to “negotiate plans, analyze and discuss information and ideas” and “project work encourages imagination and creativity, self-discipline and responsibility, collaboration, research and study skills, and cross-curricular work through exploitation of knowledge gained in other subjects.” (Hedge, 1993, pp. 276-277)

The concept of project work in language education remained much the same as researchers operationalized it in more formal empirical studies (Beckett, 1999; Gibbes, 2011). Nevertheless, like PBL, the scope of PBL tends to be expanded as Ford and Kluge (2015) refer to an approach instead of a specific method for PBL. They noted: “PBL is a student-centered teaching approach which incorporates the use of extensive projects in the classroom. A project poses a challenge to engage students in a process of discovery of knowledge and skills that culminates in a tangible product of their discovery process” (p. 114). Even so, there is no common definition for PBL in mainstream education and for PBL through the literature in second language pedagogy. However, there is a common agreement of what constitutes good PBL and PBL.

3.0. DEFINING FEATURES OF PBL AND PBL

Through many years of developing and disseminating PBL in the U.S. and other countries, PBL specialists at Buck Institute for Education (BIE), a professional organization based in California have identified eight essential elements of a project in PBL. In a recent revision, these eight elements were transformed into the “Gold Standard PBL” (Larmer, Mergendoller, & Boss, 2015). They maintained that academic content including *key knowledge* and *understanding* and the development of *key success skills* are core constituents of any well-designed projects. These targets could be seen as the “ends” of PBL. The ends can be derived from standards proposed by global and/or local educational authorities (e.g., The Common Core State Standards Initiative in the U.S.). Speaking of second/foreign language education, the ends can be identified from a number of standards and guidelines (e.g., CEFR in Europe, ACTFL or 5Cs in the U.S. or adapted CEFR in Asia). To be able to achieve these “ends”, essential elements should be taken into consideration in project design as the “means” of PBL including *challenging problem or question*, *sustained inquiry*, *authenticity*, *student voice and choice*, *reflection*, *critique and revision*, and *public product*. Projects should be open-ended, challenging, but meaningful enough to engage students so that they can sustain their interests to pursue. Sustained inquiry suggests that projects have to be extended and learners are supposed to investigate an issue in depth. Authenticity requires that projects have to be situated in the real-world, directly related to students’ experiences and identities. Student voice and choice refers to the criterion that students have to be involved in all stages of a project process including choosing a final product, planning what to do, and negotiating with teachers during implementation. Likewise, projects should allow sufficient space for students to reflect on their own learning journey (reflection element) with feedback from teachers so that they can revise and refine their goals and processes. Finally, students are expected to show what they learn by creating a product that can be shared with (pre-determined) audience both inside and outside the classroom.

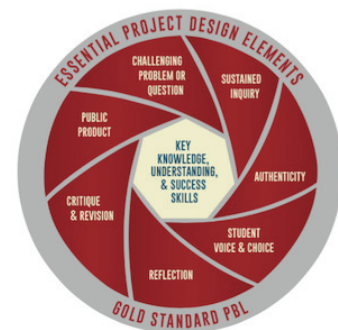


Figure 1: Essential Project Design Elements - Gold Standard PBL (Larmer, Mergendoller, & Boss, 2015)

In second language pedagogy, Stoller (2006) specifies the conditions for PBL to be effective in her attempt to “build a defensible theoretical framework for project work” (p. 20). She noted that PBL should:

- (a) have a process and product orientation;
- (b) be defined, at least in part, by students, to encourage student ownership in the project;
- (c) extend over a period of time (rather than a single class session);
- (d) encourage the natural integration of skills;
- (e) make a dual commitment to language and content learning;
- (f) oblige students to work in groups and on their own;
- (g) require students to take some responsibility for their own learning through the gathering, processing, and reporting of information from target language resources;
- (h) require teachers and students to assume new roles and responsibilities (Levy, 1997);
- (i) result in a tangible final product; and
- (j) conclude with student reflections on both the process and the product.

(ibid, p. 24)

In the same effort, Ford and Kluge (2015) also identified twelve characteristics for their “creative PBL” (p. 115) as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Twelve Important Aspects of PBL

(1) Essentialness	(5) Engagement	(9) Production
(2) Centrality	(6) Creativity	(10) Reflection
(3) Goal Relevance	(7) Ownership	(11) Application
(4) Motivation	(8) Collaboration	(12) Challenge

Being scrutinized carefully, there are commonalities contributing to the effectiveness of PBL among the essential elements (BIE, 2015), conditions (Stoller, 2006), and characteristics (Ford & Kluge, 2015). Table 2 shows

how they can go together. It is important to note that different elements of the project work closely with one another and project designers need to take them into consideration when planning a project. That being said, PBL is quite a holistic and comprehensive approach to education and language education.

Even though PBL has been widely received in mainstream education and in foreign language education, it appears that PBL or PBLL is still in its infancy with many features and elements. More importantly, these elements or features are pedagogy-motivated, not theoretically-based. While this operationalization of PBL/PBLL is useful for practitioners, it lacks the power of explanation from a unified theoretical framework connecting all the given features listed above.

Table 2. Commonalities of Elements, Conditions, and Characteristics for Effective PBL(L)

Gold Standard PBL	Stoller (2006)	Ford & Kluge (2015)
Student Voice & Choice	Student ownership	Ownership
Reflection	Student reflections	Reflection
Critique & Revision	Process orientation	Engagement
Public Product	Product orientation A tangible final product	Production Application
Challenging problem	Target language resources	Challenge
Sustained inquiry	Project duration	Motivation
Authenticity	Natural integration of skills	Goal relevance
Key Knowledge, Understanding, & Success skills	Dual language/content New roles and responsibilities Independent & group work	Essentialness Centrality Creativity Collaboration

In the following section, I will examine PBLL from several theoretical frameworks to identify relevant theories supporting PBLL for different research and pedagogy purposes.

4.0. TOWARD A UNIFIED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PBLL

Speaking of PBLL, one question might come up is which language and learning theories PBLL aligns to. Stoller (2006) commented that PBL could be shaped in multiple forms, which has been embodied in experiential learning, negotiated meaning and experience, research and inquiry, problem solving, cooperative learning, task-based instruction. She reviewed the benefits of project-based language learning and justified its legitimacy through empirical studies of authenticity, motivation, enhanced language proficiency, collaborative skills, and learner autonomy as foundational backups for PBLL. Likewise, Thomas (2000) also pointed out that cognitive research is often cited in support for PBL including studies on motivation, expertise, contextual factors, and technology. In terms of motivation, students possessing mastery-oriented goals are more engaged into schoolwork than those with performance-based orientation. The argument for PBL is that it facilitates and nurtures student autonomy, collaborative learning, and authentic performance-based assessments, so it orients learners toward learning and mastery. The corollary is that students will be more motivated and engaged into learning. In the same logic, PBL is supported by enhancing learners' metacognition through scaffolding, maximizing real-life contexts for better learning through the situated cognition, and opening space for authentic technology integration via collaboration and information skills. It can be seen that instead of developing a theoretical framework for PBL and PBLL, most researchers mainly focus on the benefits of PBL.

Unlike PBL, a number of language theories can be used to make sense of PBL in the literature. Obviously, the functional view of language in that language is a means for expressing functional meanings and performing real-world tasks resonates well with the goal of PBL. Learners will make use of the target language resources to help them accomplish a set objective or achieve an outcome, usually in a tangible final product. One example of how this view is realized in PBL can be seen in a report on advanced English learners producing a booklet for the disabled tourists (Fried-Booth, 1982). Empirically, Beckett (1999) examined the implementation of project-based instruction in a Canadian secondary school's ESL classes as her doctoral dissertation. She indicated that teachers' views of PBL were broad and integrated, surpassing the conventional views of SLA and including a functional view of language. As such, PBL lends itself to the interactional view of language in that "it sees language as a vehicle for the realization of interpersonal relations and for the performance of social transactions between individuals" (Richards & Rodgers, 2014, p. 21). One key element of PBL is the focus on teamwork and cooperative learning. As noted earlier, students have to "negotiate plans, analyze and discuss information and ideas" when working on project work (Hedge, 1993, pp. 276-277). They also learn how to present and critique the final products orally and/or in writing productively where the audience could be speakers of the target language or their peers. More interestingly, genre, manifested by discourse-specific norms and purpose-specific texts, is definitely the significant concept for PBL. In PBL, final products are what learners do in the target language. One example is how Simpson (2011) employs PBL for a course of *English for Tourism* at a university in Thailand. Another example is how Diem (2009) implements PBL for English-majors at a university in Vietnam where "students spend time outside the classroom on their own, acting as journalists, editors, designers, and producers" (p.39). It is clear that different linguistic registers are needed for different purposes. Particularly, *English for Tourism* will be different from *English for Journalism*. Similarly, content-based language teaching is developed on a premise that students will learn the target language as a corollary of learning the contents. PBL, if carefully designed, could support dual content and language because both are learning outcomes learners want to accomplish (Stoller, 2006).

A metaphor for PBL is a magnet, which attracts almost any objects that has a magnetic field. PBL tends to open room for any views of language, which in turn also consolidates its holistic approach per se. Cognitive, structural, sociocultural, lexical views are all compatible with PBL in one way or another. Second Language Acquisition (SLA), a young independent academic discipline is sometimes criticized as not so informative for the language teaching field. However, with the efforts of many scholars in recent years, research findings from SLA, particularly instructed SLA, appears to be very illuminating for PBL. Ellis and Shintani (2014) attempt to bridge the "pedagogic discourse" with the "research-based discourse" when writing an introductory book about SLA. What they have done is really beneficial because teaching professionals can have access to SLA findings. They provide a list of eleven principles which are well-aligned with the design elements and conditions that proponents of PBL are promoting.

Table 3. Interaction between PBL Elements and Principles from Instructed SLA

Gold Standard PBL	Ellis & Shintani (2014)
Student Voice & Choice	9. Instruction needs to take account of individual differences in learners. 10. Instruction needs to take account of the fact that there is a subjective aspect to learning a new language.
Reflection	10. Instruction needs to take account of the fact that there is a subjective aspect to learning a new language.
Critique & Revision	3. Instruction needs to ensure that learners also focus on form.
Public Product	11. In assessing learners' L2 proficiency, it is important to examine free as well as controlled production. 7. Successful instructed language learning also requires opportunities for output.
Challenging problem	5. Instruction needs to take into account the order and sequence of acquisition.
Sustained inquiry	6. Successful instructed language learning requires extensive L2 input.

Authenticity	2. Instruction needs to ensure that learners focus predominantly on meaning. 4. Instruction needs to be predominantly directed at developing implicit knowledge of the L2 while not neglecting explicit knowledge.
Key Knowledge, Understanding, & Success skills	8. The opportunity to interact in the L2 is central to developing L2 proficiency. 7. Successful instructed language learning also requires opportunities for output. 1. Instruction needs to ensure that learners develop both a rich repertoire of formulaic expressions and a rule-based competence.

Specifically, principle 9 stresses the importance of individual differences in learners because each of them has different ability, motivation, attitudes, emotions, interests, concerns among many others. Therefore, conventional instruction (structural syllabus) seems to fail to take account of this principle, yet PBL encourages student voice and ownership when implementing a project. More or less, they are empowered to exert their agency and construct identity for learning. Student voice and choice also reflects the opportunities they have to learn and talk about the important issues to them. Likewise, public products align with principle 7 and 11 in that learners are required to produce a language-related product so they have to write or talk about what they do. PBL have equal emphasis on process and product, so both ongoing formative and summative assessments are relevant. Table 3 shows how these principle match with the Gold Standard PBL.

Closely examined, one of the approaches to L2 language education can be seen as most relevant to PBL is TBLT in terms of their philosophical underpinnings and pedagogical practices. TBLT takes “tasks” as the fundamental unit of analysis, motivating needs analysis, syllabus design, and learning assessment. Long (2014) notes that “task is the unit of analysis throughout the design, implementation, and evaluation of a TBLT program, including the way student achievement is assessed.” Simply put, “task” is what learners need to be able to *do* in the new language. TBLT starts with the identification of *target-tasks* through needs analysis, the modification of real-world tasks into *target-task types*, and finally grading and sequencing target-task types into *pedagogic tasks* to form a task-based syllabus.

TBLT’s strengths lie in its strong empirical foundations. Long (2014) notes that “TBLT is a coherent approach and, because it is grounded in a theory and in research findings in SLA, has at least a chance of being correct” (p. 8). The theoretical framework of TBLT is solidly grounded in Cognitive-Interactionist Theory of Instructed Second Language Acquisition (ISLA). Even though TBLT is best informed by the current findings of SLA, it is not whole-heartedly welcomed without criticisms (Swan, 2005) and TBLT also means many things to many people ranging from task-supported language teaching (TSLT) to pure Task-Based Language Teaching (Long, 2014). It could be seen that TBLT have a lot common with what PBL advocates promote in terms of philosophical underpinnings, but they are different in how these philosophies can be realized in practice. The following table shows the interaction in philosophical principles between PBL advocates and TBLT advocates. It is obvious that there is much overlapping between the two.

Table 4. Interaction between PBL Design Elements and Philosophical Underpinnings of TBLT

Gold Standard PBL (BIE, 2015)	Philosophical underpinnings of TBLT (Long, 2014)
Student Voice & Choice	Individual Freedom
Reflection	Rationality
Critique & Revision	Mutual Aid and Cooperation Egalitarian Teacher–Student Relationships
Public Product	Participatory Democracy
Challenging problem	Emancipation
Sustained inquiry	Learner-Centeredness
Authenticity	Learning by Doing
Key Knowledge, Understanding, & Success skills	L’education Integrale

However, there are also differences in how TBLT and PBLT interpret these philosophies. For example, TBLT maintains that learner-centeredness and individual freedom can be realized through need analysis to identify target tasks that meet the expectations of majority of learners. However, outcomes of need analysis often resulted from many people and many stakeholders are far different from each individual's needs. Moreover, TBLT aims to develop pedagogic tasks so that they can prepare learners for the real-world target tasks. This view seems to assume that classroom learning is designed to prepare for the real world. In fact, this view of education has been challenged for a long time. John Dewey (1859- 1952) used to say that "education is not a preparation for life, education is life itself." van Lier (2004) also argued against the view of classroom as an artificial environment and for the view that a classroom is embedded in within a socio-political cultural setting and it is authentic in its own way.

More importantly, TBLT is strongly grounded in the psycholinguistic tradition that aims at manipulating inherent task properties to promote acquisition. As (Ellis, 2000) pointed out, the psycholinguistic perspective "assumes that there are properties in a task that will predispose, even induce, learners to engage in certain types of language use and mental processing that are beneficial to acquisition" (p. 197). This is not applicable to many defining features of PBLT, particularly, learners' voice and choice and content-based commitment.

5.0. FROM TBLT TO PBLT—AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

While acknowledging the overlapping contribution of TBLT to PBLT, it is clear that TBLT has not captured many aspects of PBLT. Obviously, a better theoretical framework is needed for PBLT. To this end, the ecological-semiotic approach language education appears to be more comprehensive to inform PBLT (van Lier, 2004, 2007, 2011). The ecological-semiotic approach moves away from the notion of acquisition in conventional SLA research, and embraces the notion of participation for language development (van Lier, 2004).

Table 5. Ten Principles the Ecological-Semiotic Approach

Principles	In PBLT
1. Relations	The focus of ecology is the study of relations, not separate subjects, objects, and rules. The focus is not just on linguistic codes as in TBLT, but the languaging as part of the learning process. TBLT is interested in how a learner interacts with a task, but PBLT is concerned with both a single task and the other elements in the system such as learners, teachers, contexts.
2. Context	Context is indivisible from meaning; "Context is not a container in which speech actions are performed, but an unbounded space of resonances that emanates from any all expressions of agency." (p. 386)
3. Patterns & systems	"Language is not governed by rules, but by interrelated organizational forces." (p. 387). Unlike TBLT, learners define their target audience for the project outcomes in PBLT, language is not either correct or incorrect, but acceptable by the audience. Therefore, there will be no fixed standards, but adaptable criteria.
4. Emergence	"Language development is not an accumulation of objects, but a process of transformation, growth, and reorganization." (p. 388) PBLT allows trials and errors to help learners construct and reshape their language development trajectories.
5. Quality	Focusing on the educational experience, the quality not quantity. In PBLT, it is not the quantity of grammatical points or number of vocabulary learners can accumulate, but what they do with the language (all aspects and all senses)
6. Value	"Language education requires an overtly ethical and moral stance, embodying visions of self and identity" (p. 389). PBLT is value-realizing (through voice and choice)
7. Critical perspective	Solve a real-world problem from learners' perspectives. PBLT allows learners to focus on the issues that matter to them. They are guided to examine a concern in depth or are encouraged to solve problems in their own community.
8. Variation	Learners should be exposed to different types of language, different cultures. Through working on projects, they will be directed to investigate and reflect on the variability. The concept of nativeness will be challenged as learners will understand that they focus on getting things done via language, not focusing on the target language itself.

9. Diversity	PBL often involves group works and learners will have their own voice and choice. By working together and learning from different group, learners will learn to appreciate the diversity.
10. Agency	Agency is ‘physical, social, and intellectual movement.’ This is the key concept of the ecological-semiotic approach to language learning. It is also relevant to PBL in that PBL nurture life-long learners, help them to learn on their own, not to depend on teachers to their professional and personal development.

In both his works, van Lier (2004, 2011) put forward the key characteristics of the so-called ecological-semiotic approach to language, learning, and education. Provisionally, the ecological approaches are “concerned with situated cognition and agency” (van Lier, 2011). Pointing out the limitations of conventional SLA focusing on the computational processing of linguistic codes (input or output), van Lier showed that what was missing in the study of language development is the interdependence of both linguistic and non-linguistic/semiotic elements in interaction with learners and their contexts. Table 5 shows how the principles of ecological-semiotic approach can be realized by PBL.

From the philosophical underpinnings and the empirical foundations of SLA, Long (2014) proposed ten methodological principles for TBLT (Table 6). He defined methodological principles (MPs) as “universally desirable instructional design features, motivated by theory and research findings in second language acquisition (SLA), educational psychology, philosophy of education, general educational curriculum design, (Long, 2014, p. 301)” Based on the ecological-semiotic approach discussed earlier, I also propose ten methodological principles embracing those stated in Long (2014).

Table 6. MPs of TBLT vs. MPs of PBL

MP	Task Based Language Teaching	Project Based Language Teaching
1	Use task, not text, as the unit of analysis	Use project/activity as the unit of analysis
2	Promote learning by doing	Promote learning IN doing (action-based)
3	Elaborate input	Scaffold learning/input
4	Provide rich input	Provide affordances
5	Encourage inductive “chunk” learning	Encourage both implicit & explicit learning
6	Focus on form	Focus on emergence/semiosis FonL/FonS
7	Provide negative feedback	Provide feedback and feedforward
8	Respect learner’s developmental processes	Respect learner’s identity development
9	Promote cooperative collaborative learning	Co-construct community of practice
10	Individualize instruction	Promote agency/autonomy

In TBLT, tasks as the unit of analysis are arguably identified from needs analysis. However, needs analysis may cover what learners need to do in the future, not in the present. Likewise, pedagogic tasks in TBLT will act as the preparation for learners to perform real-world tasks latter on. This view denies the fact that classrooms are authentic on their own as they are part of the larger system. PBL should treat tasks as real on their own and learners will co-construct the tasks as they interact with one another and with the tasks. There is not a demarcation between inside classroom and outside classroom. Needs analysis will provide information for teachers to plan and prepare resources, but learners will always have their own needs when they come to a course. Because each student is unique in his/her own way, researchers can rarely identify a general need for many as assumed by TBLT advocates. Moreover, the selection, grading, and sequencing of tasks in TBLT syllabus is still controversial in theory, and few examples of TBLT syllabi can be found in practice. PBL takes a more holistic view to select, grade, sequence tasks as teachers plan a project. However, these tasks are not fixed, but modifiable as students interact with them. From the sociocultural perspective, the same task will result in different kinds of activity when the same learners perform at different times (Coughlan & Duff, 1994). Therefore, a balanced syllabus needs to account for both planning and improvisation (van Lier, 2004). Using project and activity as unit of analysis will allow spaces for both planning and improvisation.

The second principle of TBLT emphasizes learning by doing. This cognitive view of learning as a result of doing is questionable. In PBL, learning occurs as learners engage in doing. Doing and learning are intertwined and

not causal. Therefore, it is better to promote “learning IN doing” in PBL. Engeström (2009) noted that both ‘acquisition’ metaphor and ‘participation’ metaphor of learning is questionable because it “depicts learning primarily as one-way movement from incompetence to competence, with little serious analysis devoted to horizontal movement and hybridization” (p. 68). He puts forward the ‘expansion’ metaphor to approach learning as “learners learn something that is not yet there” (p. 68). This view of learning emphasizes the intertwinement of learning and doing as “the learners construct a new object and concept for their collective activity, and implement this new object and concept in practice.” (p. 68). In PBL, learners will acquire what they have not learned and do what they have not done before. Learning in this sense is also the process of becoming (Zheng, 2016, class discussion).

The third principle of TBLT states that teachers need to elaborate input for learners to acquire. However, language learning is not merely an encoding-decoding mechanism, it involves other aspects of learning as well. Learners bring to their classrooms with their experiences, hopes, joys, problems. Teachers do not focus only on the linguistic codes, but need to support learners in many other aspects. Therefore, instead of focusing on input elaboration, teachers need to scaffold learners’ learning. Van Lier (2004) distinguished two kinds of work that could lead to successful scaffolding in pedagogy: structural and interactional. The structural scaffolding involves planning, setting up, and maintaining the scaffolding structure. The interactional scaffolding is what occurs moment-to-moment on, at or inside the structure. These two aspects of scaffolding can form a “single pedagogical meta-strategy” with three layers:

- a) planning task sequences, projects, recurring classroom rituals (macro);
- b) planning each activity in terms of sequences of actions, moves (meso);
- c) the actual process of interaction from moment to moment (micro).

(p. 149)

In PBL, scaffolding occurs in all three layers. Unlike TBLT, the needs analysis and syllabus design are done by specialists or teachers, learners are also the agents of the planning process. They participate to co-construct and co-implement a project with their peers and teachers. This does not imply that teachers start with zero in their instructional plan, but provide a broad framework (structural scaffolding) for learners to act. Teachers also facilitate learners in each specific task and when they interact with one another to carry out the task. Input elaboration is important in the micro-level, but insufficient in the scaffolding of PBL.

While TBLT is close to PBL, TBLT focuses on linguistic acquisition out of task implementation. To that end, Long (2014) proposed that rich input provision is one of the methodological principles of TBLT. However, from ecological-semiotic perspective, language learning is not merely an act of replacing one set of labels from ones’ mother language to the target language. Providing rich input for learners to process the linguistic codes is insufficient. Language learning involves other semiotic resources. In PBL, teachers need to focus on providing affordances. Affordances in PBL are resources learners can act up on to implement and complete their project goals. Resources can be cognitive, social, symbolic, emotional, technological and many more. The difference between resources and affordances is that affordances instigate actions while resources will be useless if learners do not take actions to interact with the resources and appropriate them. Providing affordance is an act of scaffolding as discussed above. The same resource can not be directed to many learners at the same time, yet teachers need to consider different internal and external factors to empower learners to act up on those resources.

The next principle of PBL states that learners need to focus on both implicit and explicit learning. While TBLT encourages implicit or ‘chunk’ learning through inductive reasoning, PBL see different approaches and strategies as affordances learners can act up on. This principle is also compatible with general observations of SLA research which maintain that implicit learning is still the main mechanism for language acquisition, but explicit learning helps to speed up the process (Long, 2014). In PBL, learners are exposed to affordances to take actions, learning from trials and errors. However, teachers will scaffold the learning process to direct learners’ attention to relevant learning resources.

The sixth principle of PBL focuses on language (form, meaning, and semiotics). ‘Focus on form’ in TBLT refers to the reactive attention to form through interaction, distinguishing it with ‘focus on forms’, equivalent to the traditional way of teaching grammatical points and memorizing a wordlist. In PBL, form, meaning, and other semiotic resources will be stressed up to the objectives of each activity learners engage into or the project outcomes learners want to achieve. The principle of ‘focus on language’ also suggests that the product of each

project learners want to work on should be directed to the audience of the target language.

The seventh principle of PBL encourages teachers and learners to focus on feedback and feedforward. This principle is resonant with the design elements of PBL that revision and critique is an essential element for a successful project. Feedback and recasts in TBLT are also a key component to support language development. However, feedback is necessary, but inefficient. In PBL, teachers and learners need to focus on *feedforward*, the idea that focusing on what will be done in the future is more beneficial because feedback often focuses on what have been done. One example of this can be the case that teachers provide a word or a structure to speed up learner's fluency and communicative needs when they get stuck in getting their message across. The concept of feedforward is similar to the concept of *prolepsis*. van Lier (2004) explained that "prolepsis is a form of looking ahead, of assuming something to be the case before it has been encountered, a foreshadowing in some sense" (p. 152).

The eighth principle of PBL focuses on learner's identity development. Identities, as van Lier (2007) maintained, "are ways of relating the self to the world" (p. 58). There are commonalities between self and identity, but they are not the same. According to van Lier, identities need to be understood from the past, the present, and the future. PBL allows favorable space for learners to reflect, to examine, and to project their identities through the way they implement the project and through what they produce. Learners bring their past experiences, stories, memories to a project, then they struggle with what they have to work on within project itself and outside the project, and finally they can project themselves through the products they create in the future. The language they use, the color they select, and manner they deliver the product will all together manifest and shape learners' identities.

More importantly, PBL aims at nurturing a community of practice, the idea that learners need to collaborate, need to work together to achieve a bigger goals and competition is not the only way to develop. In PBL, learners co-construct the norms, realize values, follow the rules, create a new game. In the 21st century, these skills are of upmost importance to thrive in an unpredictable and challenging world. Most project requires learners to work in group. They not only acquire knowledge through participating in the doing, but also they learn how to work with others.

The tenth principle of PBL is to promote agency and/or autonomy. This is also the tenet of action-based teaching (van Lier, 2007), an approach that "puts human agency in the centre of attention" (p. 46). In PBL, learners take the ownership of their projects. Van Lier maintained, "without ownership, agency and self-determination, autonomy cannot develop. And ultimately motivation and autonomy are but two sides of the same coin of agency" (p. 48). Learners are responsible for their own learning and teachers are in different roles to support. Teachers can be a leader, a motivator, a model, a manager, and a coach. Teachers scaffold students' learning by providing orientations and support learners along the way. However, it is important to note that "the curriculum does not start out by specifying and sequencing the material that is to be 'covered', but it starts out with the activities, needs and emergent purposes of the learner." (van Lier, 2007, p. 53)

6.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have reviewed the literature of project-based language learning and mapped PBL with current approaches and methods to language teaching. I argue that TBLT is closest to PBL, yet a more holistic theoretical framework is needed to capture the complexity of PBL. Therefore, the ecological-semiotic perspective to language, teaching, and education is more relevant. Based on ten methodological principles of TBLT, I added ten equivalents inspired from the ecological-semiotic perspective. These principles are more holistic and structured so that teachers can rely on to design and implement PBL which allows the natural transition between planning and improvisation. I take the view that TBLT can provide the empirical foundation for PBL while the ecological-semiotic perspective can facilitate the instructional implementation process. It is also important to note that due to the limited space of this paper, many ideas need more elaboration and clarification. Future papers will address these limitations.

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EXAMINING EFFECTS OF REVITALIZATION ON PRONUNCIATION OF SOUTHERN TUTCHONE EJECTIVES

Ashleigh Smith, Linguistics

ABSTRACT

I propose an experiment designed to test perception and production of ejective phonemes among Southern Tutchone speakers in the Yukon Territory of Canada. This experiment compares the speech of older L1 speakers against that of their younger L2 counterparts to determine differences in pronunciation and perception of ejective phonemes. Age divisions are constructed to highlight effects of language revitalization efforts on the acquisition of Southern Tutchone. Results from this study will be critical in assessing existing revitalization efforts and determining their effectiveness in passing on the language to emerging generations of Southern Tutchone speakers.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Although Athapaskan (Dene) languages continue to be spoken across Northern Canada, the ever-present encroachment of the English language has affected the way that the First Nations languages in this region of the world are spoken. This is especially true for younger generations who, thanks to revitalization movements, are learning their ancestral tongues as a second language. It is important that in this era of linguistic shift, this type of speech is examined to determine whether or not these speakers are picking up the more unique, non-English sounds characteristic of their heritage languages.

In this paper, I propose an experiment designed to test the perception and production of ejective phonemes among Southern Tutchone speakers in the Yukon Territory of Canada. This experiment will compare older L1 Southern Tutchone speakers against their younger L2 counterparts in order to determine the differences in speech patterns and perception of ejective phonemes between generations. The age divisions in the proposed groups are constructed to illuminate the effects language revitalization projects have had on the acquisition of Southern Tutchone among younger speakers and test whether or not these programs are successful in passing on the unique phonetic traits characteristic of Athapaskan to the newer generation of Southern Tutchone speakers.

2.0. SOUTHERN TUTCHONE PROFILE

Southern Tutchone is a member of the Athapaskan¹-Eyak-Tlingit language family, is a subsection of Northern Athapaskan, and is spoken in northwestern Canada in the southwestern Yukon territory. Most speakers of the Southern Tutchone language reside in settlements at Aishihik, Burwash Landing, Champagne, Haines Junction, Kloo Lake, Klukshu, and Lake Laberge, and some reside in Whitehorse, Yukon's only established city (The Endangered Languages Project).

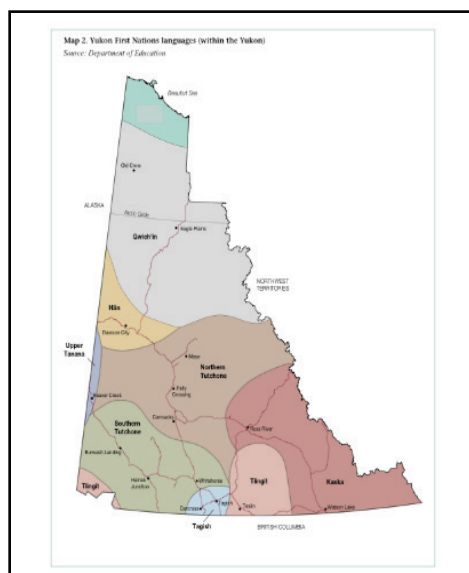


Figure 1. Yukon First Nation languages (Yesnet.yk.ca).



Figure 2. Southern Tutchone Language Communities (Globalcitymap.com).

Note: Starred emphasis mine.

Southern Tutchone is an endangered language, with only approximately 200 fluent speakers left out of an ethnic population of approximately 1,400, according to a 2011 census. Ethnologue lists the language as shifting, given a 7 rating on the EGIDS scale, as fluent speakers age and younger speakers shift to English, the dominant and omnipresent language in Canada (Lewis et al. 2016). Several varieties of Southern Tutchone exist dispersed throughout the southern Yukon settlements and all are mutually intelligible (YNLC). The greatest dialectal division separates Northern from Southern Tutchone and occurs around Lake Laberge; while sometimes considered to be a single entity culturally, Northern and Southern Tutchone are divergent linguistically. The two groups can usually understand one another and are able to converse but with moderate difficulty (Krauss 1981). This paper, however, focuses solely on Southern Tutchone, and the experiment proposed in Section 5 targets specifically the variety of the language spoken in the rural area surrounding the Aishihik and Haines Junction settlements.

3.0. HISTORY OF DOCUMENTATION

Like most Northern Athapaskan languages, Southern Tutchone was not adequately documented until the 1970's. One of the first to record the language was Burwash native Daniel Tlen, a University of Victoria linguistics graduate and one of the first to collect and create Southern Tutchone language materials. As a member of the Southern Tutchone language community, Tlen documented the speech of his friends and relatives, compiled a dictionary, designed language courses, and recorded songs and stories, making him the first linguist to develop pedagogical materials for Southern Tutchone (Krauss and Golla 1989).

In 1984, the first Southern Tutchone literacy workshops were instated at the Yukon Native Language Center (YNLC), available to all community members (Lewis et al. 2016). Prominent Southern Tutchone linguist and native speaker Margaret Workman worked with YNLC for over two decades, conducting literacy workshops and developing language-learning materials. Upon her retirement in 2004, she had helped to create interactive place names CDs, a noun dictionary, audio lessons, and more than two dozen multimedia titles exclusively in Southern Tutchone (YNLC).

4.0. SOUTHERN TUTCHONE IN SCHOOLS

Thanks to the efforts of these earlier linguists, Southern Tutchone is now included in the curriculum of several schools throughout the southern Yukon Territory. Southern Tutchone language classes are available for students grades K-12 in schools at Kluane Lake, and three elementary schools in Whitehorse have language programs which include Southern Tutchone in their curriculum (Golla 2007). The St. Elias Community School in Haines Junction, Yukon offers Southern Tutchone language classes to students from K-12: one teacher handles K-4, another grades 5-12. Students are able to learn Southern Tutchone Monday through Friday, five days a week, but it is unclear exactly how much of a student's school day is conducted in the target language (Yukon First Nation Education Resources).

The absence of established best practices in language revitalization programs has often resulted in each revitalization effort developing its own unique methods and pedagogical materials. This can create isolating environments which can lead to widely ranging acquisition results, even within a single language community. For this reason, this experiment will limit participant selection to those in the Aishihik and Haines Junction area, and participants included in the youngest age group (18-30) will be limited to target those who have graduated from the St. Elias school system in Haines Junction and self-identify as a Southern Tutchone speaker. These restrictions are in place in order to provide further control to the experiment and test exclusively the language which emerges as a result of revitalization efforts in the St. Elias school system. For many L2 speakers, the most exposure to the language comes from the classes offered in the school; as such, the curriculum plays a crucial role in shaping Southern Tutchone as it is spoken presently.

5.0. PROPOSED EXPERIMENT

The experiment described in the following sections is designed to test three groups of Southern Tutchone speakers in order to determine their respective levels of perception and production of ejective phonemes. Like all Athapaskan languages, Southern Tutchone is polysynthetic, and its phonemic inventory contains several sounds which are not found in English, such as lateral affricates and phonemic tone. There are forty-three consonants in the Southern Tutchone phonemic inventory, seven of which are ejective. The ejective phonemes are exhibited in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Ejective series in Southern Tutchone (Yukon Native Language Centre).

Orthographic Representation	tl'	t'	tth'	ts'	ch'	k'	k'w
IPA	tl'	t'	tθ'	ts'	tʃ'	k'	k'w

Ejective consonants are a hallmark feature of Northern Athapaskan languages. Most of the ejectives included in Table 1 above are also found in other languages in the region; some Northern Athapaskan languages

even possess ejective phonemes beyond this list (see Section 7). If new speakers of Southern Tutchone are proven to have trouble distinguishing ejectives from other sounds or are unable to produce ejectives correctly, this may be a sign that the language is in the beginning stages of decline. As noted by Palosaari & Campbell (2010) “many of a language’s signature phenomena fall into jeopardy when the language is endangered, and its speakers no longer acquire it fully.” Therefore, in order to determine whether or not this signature phenomenon of Athapaskan is being properly acquired by L2 speakers, the experiment proposed below will investigate the perception and production of ejective phonemes among Southern Tutchone speakers of various age groups. Section 5.1 below outlines ideal participant groups and in Section 5.2, I predict and discuss possible outcomes from this experiment. Methodology is explained in Section 5.3.

5.1. Participants

This experiment will be limited to include participants from the Aishihik and Haines Junction settlements who are over the age of 18 and self-identify as a speaker of Southern Tutchone. As mentioned previously, those in the younger age group are limited to graduates from the St. Elias school system. In order to effectively determine the differences in perception and production of ejective phonemes between older and younger speakers, participants will then be divided by age into three separate groups: the first will include Southern Tutchone speakers ages 18-30; the second, ages 31-50; the third, ages 51 and older.

These age divisions are not arbitrary but are selected based on the timeline of the formation of revitalization programs and the institution of language classes in schools. As mentioned previously in Sections 3 and 4, Southern Tutchone language programs began to emerge in schools in the 1970’s, and the first community literacy program was established in 1984. The oldest participant group, those over age 50, is constructed in order to target L1 Southern Tutchone speakers who learned the language as children and whose language development was entirely unaffected by these programs. This native-speaking group is expected to serve as the ideal production standard for the perception and production of ejective phonemes. Limiting the youngest group to those under age 30 will effectively target those whose language learning were affected the most by revitalization efforts. The median age group, those between 30 and 50, will likely include speakers with characteristics of both the younger and older groups; surely some members of this middle group will have learned the language as an L1 while others will have learned the language prior to large-scale revitalization efforts.

5.2. Predictions

Based on the ubiquity of English in northern Canada, it is reasonable to assume there will be a level of English influence on the way Southern Tutchone is spoken today. Less than 15% of ethnic Southern Tutchone people are fluent speakers of the language, while practically everyone speaks English. Therefore, I expect that the results of this experiment will show that the older age group, who received more exposure to Southern Tutchone early in life, will recognize ejective phonemes with more accuracy than younger speakers, who are almost exclusively L1 English speakers learning Southern Tutchone as a second (or heritage) language. I also predict that production of the ejective phonemes will be less consistent among younger speakers, whose phonologies are firmly ingrained in English.

Because, linguistically speaking, their age group is situated between two very different generations, the results of the median age group (31-50) are difficult to predict. These speakers will likely have acquired the language from their L1 Southern Tutchone speaking-parents of the prior generation, but just how much or how well it was acquired is uncertain. It is possible that their acquisition of non-English phonemes, like ejectives, could be less than complete, and their English phonology will influence both their production and perception of Southern Tutchone ejective phonemes. However, the members of this age group would have also been present for or directly involved in the development of the revitalization programs of the 1970’s and ’80’s, so it is also possible that their linguistic perception could have been shaped by the speech resulting from these efforts.

While I expect that a percentage of speakers will fail to produce ejective consonants in required situations, it is also possible that the results of this experiment will include examples in which speakers over-correct and produce ejectives in situations where the correct form is actually a related plain or aspirated phoneme, especially among those learning Southern Tutchone as a second language. It is not uncommon for speakers of an endangered language to overgeneralize marked features in an effort to sound more exotic; Campbell and Muntzel note this

exaggeration of glottalized consonants in Jumaytepeque Xinka, an endangered language indigenous to Guatemala, where a speaker was reported to have “glottalized nearly every possible consonant,” failing to abide by the morphological rule which required glottalization only in specific morphological environments (Campbell & Muntzel 1989:189). The overgeneralization of glottalic phonemes has also been reported among Guazacapan Xinka speakers, a few of whom use “an excessive amount of otherwise inappropriate glottalization of consonants” (Campbell & Muntzel 1989:189). It would sound bizarre for a Southern Tutchone speaker to produce an ejective when speaking English, as it has none of these phonemes. It makes perfect sense, however, for those who are picking up Southern Tutchone as an L2 or heritage language would overuse the ejective series or over-glottalize an ejective to exaggerate the marked features of the language in order to sound more exotic and affirm an identity as an authentic Southern Tutchone speaker.

5.3. Methodology

There are two components to the proposed experiment: an AX phoneme monitoring task, which will measure perception (discussed in Section 5.3.1), and a picture naming task, which will test production of ejective phonemes in Southern Tutchone (Section 5.3.2). Both tasks will be administered to all age groups and the results will be evaluated by myself and an outside panel of native-speaker Southern Tutchone consultants.

5.3.1. Perception

To gauge speaker perception of ejective phonemes in Southern Tutchone, an AX phoneme monitoring task will be administered to all groups. Each participant will be presented with two consecutive speech segments, pre-recorded by a fluent Southern Tutchone language consultant, and will need to decide whether the two segments are alike or different. The segments are all nonsense words, simply the target consonant flanked by one or more vowels. Each segment will contain a different consonant, while the vowel will remain identical in both sets and the position of the target consonant will be alternated (see Table 2 below). To further obscure the target of the investigation, the entire Southern Tutchone consonant series, as well as most of the vowels, will be represented in this task.

Table 2. Sample AX Phoneme Monitoring Task with Ejective Consonants.

Ejective phoneme	Example sequence
tl'	tl'u ~ tlu
t'	tu ~ t'u
tth'	tth'e ~ the
ts'	tse ~ ts'e
ch'	ch'a ~ cha
k'	ka ~ k'a
k'w	k'wu ~ kwu

All ejective phonemes in Southern Tutchone are voiceless stops or affricates; therefore, their voiced and voiceless plain and aspirated counterparts will be included in filler sequences. Two different kinds of fillers will be used in this task: those whose sounds are the same (e.g. comparing *k'u* with *k'u*) and those sounds which compare plain and aspirated consonants with ejective ones. Consonants in comparative segments will keep relatively the same place of articulation to maintain consistency throughout. All ejective phonemes will be tested in all positions within the nonsense word (i.e. *k'u*, *uk'u*, *uk'*).

While I have chosen this AX phoneme monitoring task to gauge perception of ejective phonemes in Southern Tutchone, this may not prove to be the most useful method of measuring perception. For example, when presented with the sequence *ka ~ k'a*, it could be quite easy for those with an L1 English phonology to pick out the non-English sound, especially when it is compared to *k*, a sound which is present in English. Sequences like *tthe ~ tth'e* may prove to be the most useful to test via the AX phoneme monitoring task, as both *tth* and *tth'* are strange to the English phonemic inventory. An alternate task may need to be designed to effectively test perception of the ejective sounds which also have plain and aspirated counterparts in English.

5.3.2. Production

Production of ejective consonants will be tested by administering a picture naming task to all age groups. Each speaker participant will be presented with a series of picture cards and will be tasked with producing the correct corresponding vocabulary word. Results will be measured by recording the number of tokens with correct productions for all ejective phonemes and comparing the data across age groups.

This version of the proposed experiment includes 10 pictures which are designed to elicit an item which demonstrates an ejective consonant, as exhibited by sample pictures in Figure 3 below (all vocabulary items in this section are from Luke Campbell, p.c.). In order to obscure the target of the experiment, 20 pictures with items which will not elicit the production of ejective phonemes will also be included as fillers. In the interest of space, I am not including sample task materials for these items here; they are listed instead in Table 3.



Figure 3. Sample Picture Naming Task Materials²

Table 3. Filler Items for Picture Naming Task

Southern Tutchone	English	Southern Tutchone	English
dathāw	‘yellow’	mbūr	‘knife’
dhāl	‘mountain’	tsuq	‘bird’
tthāw	‘carrot’	dzana	‘muskrat’
maddhj	‘owl’	gaw	‘drum’
dāgay	‘swan’	’a	‘snowshoe’
naw	‘wine’	thēn	‘star’
hāus	‘elk’	zhūr	‘berry’
lālēla	‘butterfly’	chat	‘duck’
dluq	‘mouse’	kwān tsūr	‘firewood’
kū	‘house’	kha	‘goose’

Most of the items included in the picture naming task are nouns. This will not only facilitate the creation of task materials but will better stimulate the speaker to provide the desired vocabulary items; surely, it is easier to elicit the name of an object than it is to get the speaker to accurately describe the actions depicted in a still drawing. Ideally, this task would include picture cards representing far more than the 30 items listed above. A flashcard arsenal of at least 100 vocabulary items would provide necessary diversity to the task and provide alternate options for speakers who are unable to recall certain words.

6.0. IMPLICATIONS OF RESULTS

As stated in Section 5, ejective phonemes are a signature trait of Northern Athapaskan, found in all languages throughout the subfamily. The implications of the results of this experiment could be applicable to all Athapaskan languages, as well as to other non-English sounds in Southern Tutchone, such as affricates *tth* and *ddh*, nasal-stop sequences *nd* and *mb*, and the lateral *l*. Conducting this and similar experiments could provide valuable data which would benefit language revitalization efforts already in place; if the results of this experiment show that younger speakers are not perceiving and producing ejectives correctly, language instructors can take steps to remedy this deficiency in their curricula and teaching styles.

However, there are complications which arise in considering the reality of implementing an experiment like the one posed previously. Regardless of how beneficial the resulting data may be in providing insight to language shift, comparing the speech of younger speakers against older ones is always a thorny issue. A common practice in revitalization projects is to rely upon the elders of a community, automatically elevating their social status by deferring to them as the linguistic authority. While it may seem intuitive to rely upon this aging population of native speakers to provide valuable language data before it is lost, giving elders this elevated status can lead to the alienation of younger speakers, especially those acquiring the language as an L2. The speech of the elder population is regarded as the standard, and to younger speakers, using their L2 version of the language may feel inappropriate. Those L2 speakers who do use the language are often corrected, or even worse, ridiculed, by their older L1 counterparts, discouraging them further from using the language. It has been my prediction that the younger speakers will not perceive and produce ejective phonemes with the same level of accuracy that older speakers do; to validate this concern with empirical data may prove disastrous to the already fragile language attitudes of younger Southern Tutchone speakers.

The results of this experiment could also potentially have a negative effect on the budding Southern Tutchone revitalization efforts. Though there have been literacy programs in place for over thirty years now, the revitalization movement in the Southern Tutchone community is still developing, and unfavorable results could further demoralize an already vulnerable speaker population. This is a delicate position to be in as a researcher. The proposed experiment is intended to provide qualitative data for effective language learning, but concrete proof of language change and failed phonemic acquisition may discourage already overtaxed language teachers. For this reason, I would attempt to discuss these issues at length with the Southern Tutchone community at Aishihik and Haines Junction before conducting an experiment of this kind.

7.0. FURTHER RESEARCH

Because this experiment is still in its initial stages, I have proposed to enlist a panel of native-speaker consultants to assess the results of the perception and production tasks, to make judgments based on their intuitions as native speaker. However, it may also prove useful to analyze the qualitative acoustic properties of the data in order to measure the duration and clarity of glottalization produced by ejective phonemes. This method would be especially useful in comparing the ejectives produced by younger versus that of older speakers; spectrograms produced through linguistic software like Praat would provide concrete, measurable levels of glottalization through a visual, rather than strictly aural, medium.

As mentioned in Section 6, it may also be beneficial to expand the experiment to test the perception and production of ejective phonemes in other Northern Athapaskan languages. There are phonemic ejectives in other related languages which are not present in Southern Tutchone; Northern Tutchone, for example has *tl'r*, a sequence that places the *r* phoneme directly following the ejective. In Gwich'in, a language to the northwest, there exists the *tr'* ejective which includes the *r* before the glottalization instead. Other ejective phonemes include *tsh'* in Gwich'in and the palatal ejective *c'* in Ahtna. If the results of this experiment indicate that Southern Tutchone speakers are not acquiring the ejective series, it is possible that the same phenomenon is happening to the ejectives in other Northern Athapaskan languages as well.

At this time, I will only be examining the phonetic qualities of a specific group of consonants; however, in conducting further research, I would also expect to see generous English influence on the grammatical structure of the variety of Southern Tutchone which is emerging as a result of revitalization efforts. This would not be unprecedented; Nicholas Thieberger (2002) discusses the structural changes in Nyungar as a result of revitalization efforts, noting that the relearning of Nyungar has reduced the overall morphological complexity of the language and that the end result was a language closer to English than to Old Nyungar (Thieberger 2002). Keao NeSmith has made similar assertions about the 'Neo-Hawaiian' variety of Hawaiian that has developed as a result of institutional language programs, describing the products of revitalization as an L2 variety which stems from the English paradigm but is informed by traditional Hawaiian (NeSmith to appear:4). It is difficult to predict which aspects of Southern Tutchone grammar will have been most affected by revitalization efforts, but it is important to consider the possibility of structural change and reexamine this topic in the future.

8.0. CONCLUSION

The more that speaker numbers continue to decline, the more crucial revitalization efforts become in preserving and maintaining the continuity of a language. The experiment posed in this paper provides an opportunity to assess the perception and production of a unique phonemic series among speakers who have learned the language as a result of revitalization efforts. Documenting and examining the actual speech patterns of those who have participated in revitalization programs will provide a better perspective of how these languages are actually used among new speakers and will help to provide communities with concrete results which can help to guide the development of current and future revitalization efforts.

NOTES

1. There exist several versions of the word 'Athapaskan,' and geographical location determines which is used. In this paper, I will refer to this language family as 'Athapaskan,' the spelling which is standard in Canada.
2. In the final version of this task, the labels will be removed from all cards, leaving only the pictures in the red boxes. I have left them in for this paper in order to demonstrate the inclusion of all ejective phonemes and their positions within the Southern Tutchone word.

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INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES WITH FLOATING QUANTIFIERS IN CHILD JAPANESE

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates English-Japanese bilingual children's knowledge of Floating Quantifiers (FQs) in Japanese. FQs in Japanese are subject to a few grammatical constraints, one of which prohibits FQs from modifying the subject of unergative sentences. The Felicity Judgment experiment conducted in this study shows that English-Japanese bilingual children are yet to acquire the particular constraint, although they do seem to be aware of the other constraints on FQs. Their lack of relevant knowledge is either attributed to their linguistic background, or the experiment not being sensitive enough to detect the knowledge.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The way in which children acquire the grammatical rules of their native language has been highly debated for decades. Chomsky (1980), among others, argues that children are able to apply their innate knowledge of grammar, which is universal to all languages. According to Chomsky, this innate grammatical knowledge is based on structure, meaning that children apply structure-dependent rules to the language that they are exposed to. In other words, children do not simply look at the superficial aspects of language, such as the linear order of words. A large number of studies on child language acquisition have investigated if Chomsky's theory of structure-dependent rules is empirically supported. For instance, Crain and Nakayama's (1987) experiment on English-speaking children elicited an interrogative sentence based on a declarative sentence with two identical verbal elements, which is exemplified below.

- (1) a. [The man who is tall] is in the other room.
 b. *Is [the man who __ tall] is in the other room?
 c. Is [the man who is tall] __ in the other room? (Crain and Nakayama 1987)

(1a) is a declarative sentence in which there is a verb *is* in both matrix and embedded clauses. If children's grammar is based on linear proximity, they would derive (1b) as the yes/no question because *is* in the embedded clause is linearly closer to the sentence-initial position than the one in the matrix clause. In contrast, if children are equipped with structure-dependent rules, as Chomsky argues, they would produce (1c) in which *is* in the matrix clause is preposed. Crain and Nakayama found that English-speaking children never produced ungrammatical yes/no questions like (1b), confirming Chomsky's theory.

The findings of Crain and Nakayama (1987) also support another important aspect of Chomsky's theory of language acquisition, which is known as *the poverty of stimulus*. Sentences like (1a), in which the subject is clausal, almost never occur in children's input. Thus, the fact that the children in Crain and Nakayama's experiment correctly produced sentences like (1c) suggests that their grammatical knowledge is not simply based on the input. Instead, they have access to the innate knowledge of grammar, which is dominated by structure-dependent rules.

The goal of the present study is to test the cross-linguistic validity of Chomsky's theory, by investigating children's knowledge of a certain type of sentence that is both dependent on hierarchical structure and scarce in input. This study focuses on intransitive sentences with Floating Quantifiers in Japanese, because the grammatical rules about such sentences cannot be obtained if children pay attention to only linear order of words, or if they construct their grammatical knowledge solely based on input. This is a preliminary study that conducts an experiment on English-Japanese bilingual or heritage children, although it was originally intended for monolingual children. The results of the experiment show that they are yet to acquire the constraint on Floating Quantifiers in intransitive sentences, possibly because of their lack of distinction between different types of intransitive verbs. Another possible explanation is that the experimental design adopted in this study is not sensitive enough to detect the children's relevant grammatical knowledge. With these results and discussions in mind, this study proposes what needs to be modified in conducting the same line of research towards monolingual Japanese-speaking children in the future. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 explains the grammatical constraints on Floating Quantifiers, as well as different types of intransitive sentences. Section 3 introduces previous studies that examined Japanese-speaking children's knowledge of the use of Floating Quantifiers. Section 4 describes the details

about the experiment of the present study, and Section 5 shows its results. Section 6 discusses the results and concludes this paper, with a suggestion for future research.

2.0. FLOATING QUANTIFIERS AND THE UNACCUSATIVE HYPOTHESIS

Numeral quantifier in Japanese is composed of a numeral and a classifier that corresponds to the noun that it modifies. For instance, in *inu san-biki* ‘three dogs,’ *san-biki* is a quantifier that consists of the numeral *san* ‘three’ and the classifier *biki* that is used for counting animals¹. Importantly, a quantifier does not always have to occur immediately next to the noun that it modifies. The type of quantifiers that is not adjacent to its associated noun as if it has “floated” away is called Floating Quantifiers (henceforth, FQs).

Miyagawa (1989) argues that FQs are subject to the so-called mutual c-command, which dictates that sentences with FQs are grammatical as long as an FQ c-commands, and is c-commanded by, its associated noun or its trace. Miyagawa’s notion of mutual c-command gives an elegant account for a few cases in which FQs are not allowed. Firstly, FQs may be associated with arguments, but not with adjuncts. The following example illustrates this contrast:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | a. | Gakusei-ga | kuruma-ni | san-nin | not-ta ² . |
| | | students-Nom | car(s)-on | three-CL | ride-Pst |
| | | ‘Three students got on the car(s).’ | | | |
| | b. | *Gakusei-ga | kuruma-ni | san-dai | not-ta. |
| | | students-Nom | cars-on | three-CL | ride-Pst |
| | | ‘Students got on three cars.’ | | | |

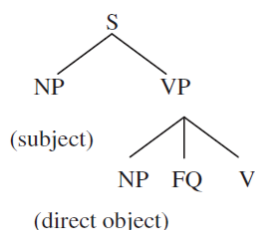
Note that the two sentences have different classifiers. The classifier *-nin* in (2a) is used for counting humans, indicating that the FQ *san-nin* is associated with the subject *gakusei* ‘students.’ In contrast, the classifier *-dai* in (2b) is for counting vehicles, and the FQ *san-dai* is associated with the adjunct *kuruma-ni* ‘on the cars.’ Only (2a) is grammatical, suggesting that adjuncts cannot be a host of FQs. According to Miyagawa (1989), the ungrammaticality of sentences like (2b) follows from the violation of mutual c-command; the noun within the Prepositional Phrase (i.e. adjunct) cannot c-command its FQ, which is in VP, because of the intervening maximal projection PP.

Secondly, FQs are compatible with the direct object, but not the subject, of transitive sentences. An example is shown below.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
| (3) | a. | Pen-o | gakusei-ga | san-bon | otosi-ta. |
| | | pens-Acc | student(s)-Nom | three-CL | drop-Pst |
| | | ‘Student(s) dropped three pens.’ | | | |
| | b. | *Gakusei-ga | pen-o | san-nin | otosi-ta. |
| | | students-Nom | pen-Acc | three-CL | drop-Pst |
| | | ‘Three students dropped a pen.’ | | | |

Note that the direct object *pen* has been moved to the sentence-initial position in (3a), an operation known as *scrambling*. The FQ with the classifier *-bon* in the sentence, which is used for counting stick-shaped objects, indicates that it modifies the scrambled direct object. On the other hand, the FQ *san-nin* in (3b) is associated with the subject *gakusei* ‘students,’ which results in an ungrammatical sentence. The ungrammaticality of sentences like (3b) can also be explained by mutual c-command. The following diagram shows the underlying structure of a transitive sentence with an FQ:

(4)



(Suzuki and Yoshinaga 2013)

As can be seen above, the direct object NP and the FQ are in a sister relationship under the same VP node, c-commanding each other. This mutual c-command holds even when the direct object has been scrambled like in (3a), since its trace is still c-commanded by the FQ. In contrast, the subject NP in (4) originates in a higher node, which makes it impossible for the FQ to c-command it. Hence, FQs in transitive sentences can only modify the direct object.

Lastly, FQs cannot modify the subject of a certain type of intransitive sentences. According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986), intransitive verbs are divided into two subclasses: *unaccusative* verbs that take a subject base-generated within VP, and *unergative* verbs with a subject that originates in the canonical subject position (e.g. spec-TP). The two types of intransitive verbs can also be distinguished semantically. Sorace (2000) has defined a hierarchy of intransitive verbs, in which the meaning of a verb becomes more characteristic of either unaccusative or unergative verbs, as the verb occurs closer to the top or the bottom of the hierarchy. According to this hierarchy, verbs that denote the change of location (e.g. *fall*, *come*) and the change of state (e.g. *die*, *be born*) are the most typical unaccusative verbs, while verbs that denote controlled non-motional process (e.g. *play*, *talk*) and controlled motional process (e.g. *swim*, *dance*) are the most likely to be unergative. The difference between unaccusative and unergative sentences is manifested in various syntactic structures, including sentences with FQs. As the following example shows, FQs can modify the subject of unaccusative sentences, but not that of unergative sentences:

- (5)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------|----------------|----------|
| a. | Gakusei-ga | kyousitu-ni | san-nin | ki-ta. |
| | students-Nom | classroom-to | three-CL | come-Pst |
| | 'Three students came to the classroom.' | | | |
| b. | *Gakusei-ga | kyousitu-de | san-nin | ason-da. |
| | students-Nom | classroom-in | three-CL | play-Pst |
| | 'Three students played in the classroom.' | | | |

The combination of mutual c-command and the Unaccusative Hypothesis can explain this contrast. Since the subject of unergative sentences is base-generated in a node higher than that of an FQ, mutual c-command cannot be established between the unergative subject and the FQ. In contrast, the subject of unaccusative sentences originates within VP, where an FQ is also located. Even after the unaccusative subject moves to the subject position, its trace is still c-commanded by the FQ. Therefore, FQs can be associated with only the unaccusative subject.

Crucially, the constraints on FQs cannot be learned from linear order, since grammatical and ungrammatical sentences with FQs can have the identical word order (e.g. (5a,b)). Therefore, if Japanese-speaking children's grammatical knowledge is solely based on linear order, they should not be able to rule out ungrammatical sentences with FQs. In addition, it would be almost impossible to acquire the grammatical constraints on FQs from input, because FQs rarely occur in the interaction between children and their caretakers (Sugisaki 2016). The question is, then, whether Japanese-speaking children are aware of the constraints on FQs that are dominated by structure and independent from input, as Chomsky's theory of language acquisition suggests. The next section introduces previous studies that have addressed this question.

3.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON FLOATING QUANTIFIERS IN CHILD JAPANESE

The grammatical constraints on Japanese FQs described in the last section are summarized below.

- (6)
- FQs may be associated with arguments, but not adjuncts.
 - FQs are compatible with the direct object, but not the subject, of transitive sentences.
 - FQs can modify the subject of unaccusative sentences, but not that of unergative sentences.

Regarding (6a), Otsu (1994) assigned an act-out task to Japanese-speaking children (5 three-year-olds and 5 four-year-olds), in which they were told to act out the sentences that they heard using toy animals. The sentences contain FQs, such as the ones below.

- (7)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|
| Kirinsan-kara | san-biki | tyuu-o | moratte-imasu. |
| giraffe-from | three-CL | kiss-Acc | receive-Prog |

 ‘Three (unspecified animals) is receiving a kiss from a/the giraffe(s).’
 - | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Raionsan-no-mae-ni | san-biki | tatte-imasu. |
| lion-Gen-front-at | three-CL | stand-Prog |

 ‘Three (unspecified animals) are standing in front of a/the lion(s).’
- (Otsu 1994)

Notice that the FQs in (7) should not be interpreted as modifying the adjuncts *kirinsan-kara* ‘from giraffe’ and *raionsan-no-mae-ni* ‘in front of lion,’ which would violate (6a). Participants in Otsu’s study never made such interpretations, which led him to conclude that Japanese-speaking children know that adjuncts cannot host FQs. Sugisaki (2016) is an extension of Otsu’s study, in which the participants (31 Japanese children, ranging in age from 3 to 5) were asked to choose the picture that correctly describes the sentence they heard. Unlike Otsu, Sugisaki designed his experiment in the way that the suffix of adjuncts (i.e. postposition) has the same number of syllables as that of arguments (i.e. case marker), in order to avoid any confounding effects. The following is an example of the stimuli in Sugisaki’s experiment:

- (8)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Usagisan-ga | san-biki | nokkatte-iru | syasin-wa | dotti | kana? |
| rabbit-Nom | three-CL | on.top.of-be | picture-Top | which | Q |

 ‘Which is the picture in which three rabbits are on top of (unspecified animals)?’
 - | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Kamesan-ni | ni-hiki | nokkatte-iru | syasin-wa | dotti | kana? |
| turtle-on | two-CL | on.top.of-be | picture-Top | which | Q |

 ‘Which is the picture in which two are on top of the turtles?’
- (Sugisaki 2016)

It turned out that the participants rarely associated the FQ in (8b) with the adjunct *kamesan-ni* ‘on the turtles,’ and instead did so with the subject left unmentioned in the sentence. Hence, Sugisaki’s study confirms Otsu’s conclusion that Japanese-speaking children are aware of the constraint (6a).

The constraint (6b) has been investigated by Suzuki and Yoshinaga (2013). They assigned a picture-selection task to 33 Japanese-speaking children (ranging in age from 4 to 6). As is the case in Sugisaki (2016), participants were asked to choose a picture that matches the sentence that they heard. An example stimulus of Suzuki and Yoshinaga’s experiment is shown below.

- (9)
- | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| Inu-ga | [_{VP} maeasi-de | hebi-o | ni-hiki | tataki-masita]. |
| dog-Nom | forepaw-with | snake-Acc | two-CL | hit-Pst |
 - | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Hebi-o _i | inu-ga | [_{VP} maeasi-de | <i>t_i</i> | ni-hiki | tataki-masita]. |
| snake-Acc | dog-Nom | forepaw-with | | two-CL | hit-Pst |

 ‘A dog hit two snakes with its forepaw.’
- (Suzuki and Yoshinaga 2013)

As a result of the scrambling of the direct object *hebi* ‘snake,’ the FQ *ni-hiki* in (9b) is closer to the subject *inu* ‘dog’ than the direct object. Suzuki and Yoshinaga predicted that if Japanese-speaking children’s grammatical knowledge is based on linear proximity, they would wrongly associate the FQ in sentences like (9b) with the subject. This prediction, however, was not borne out; the participants associated FQ with the direct object significantly more frequently than the subject. Suzuki and Yoshinaga thus concluded that Japanese-speaking children are equipped with the structure-dependent rule (6b) in parsing transitive sentences with FQs.

With regard to (6c), no one to this date has investigated if this constraint is at work among Japanese-speaking children. It has been shown that adult speakers of Japanese rule out unergative sentences with FQs modifying the subject. Sorace and Shomura (2001) conducted an acceptability judgment experiment on native Japanese speakers, in which the participants rated the acceptability of sentences that vary in two factors: verb type (unaccusative vs. unergative) and the presence of FQs ([+FQ] vs. [-FQ]). Overall, the participants gave lower ratings to unergative sentences with FQs, especially when a sentence includes one of the ‘core’ unergative verbs (i.e. verbs that denote controlled non-motional process and controlled motional process). Likewise, Fukuda (2009) tested native Japanese speakers on the acceptability of intransitive sentences with or without FQs, but this time using a smaller number of verbs that have been independently identified as ‘core’ unaccusatives or unergatives. The result of Fukuda’s experiment replicated that of Sorace and Shomura (2001), with the acceptability of [+FQ] and [-FQ] sentences significantly different only under the unergative condition.

In summary, while previous research has shown that Japanese-speaking children are conscious of some of the constraints on FQs, it is still not clear whether they also perform like adult speakers in judging intransitive sentences with FQs. The present study has conducted an experiment to address this gap, which is described in detail in the next section.

4.0. EXPERIMENT

4.1. Methodology

The goal of this study is to address the following question: Do Japanese-speaking children have an adult-like knowledge of FQs, which enables them to rule out FQs modifying subjects in unergative sentences? To this end, this study conducts an experiment in which Japanese-speaking children are tested on the acceptability of intransitive sentences with and without FQs. Note that none of the methodologies implemented in previous research are suitable to address the research question of the present study. The act-out task adopted by Otsu (1994) is not appropriate, because unergative sentences with FQs, though syntactically ungrammatical, can still convey the correct meaning. Rating the acceptability of sentences, which is what the participants in Sorace and Shomura (2001) and Fukuda (2009) did, is too complicated for younger participants. The picture-selection task adopted by Sugisaki (2016) and Suzuki and Yoshinaga (2013) is practically impossible, because intransitive sentences rarely have more than one NP with the same classifier, which makes it impossible to create a pair of pictures in which an FQ modifies different NPs. Therefore, instead of sticking to the same methodology as previous research, the present study adopts the so-called Felicity Judgment test (e.g. Chierchia et al. 2001). Felicity Judgment test is a simplified version of the acceptability judgment test, in which participants are presented with a pair of sentences and decide which sentence “sounds better” than the other. Since participants do not have to rate each sentence on a numerical scale, Felicity Judgment test is suitable for the target population of this study. On each trial of this experiment, participants are presented with a picture and a pair of Japanese sentences produced by puppets. While both of the puppets correctly describe what is happening in the picture, one of them produces a sentence with an FQ. The participants then decide which puppet said the sentence better.

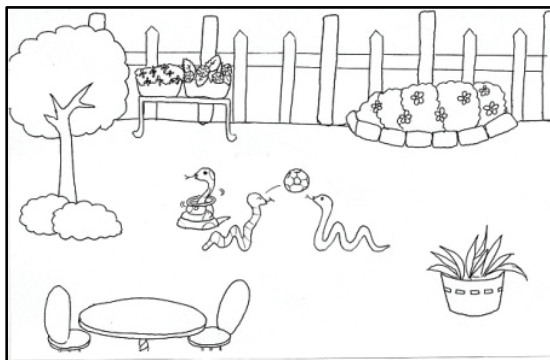
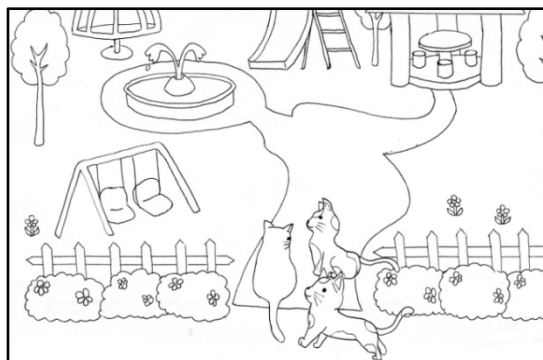
As has been mentioned in the Introduction, this study has tested English-Japanese bilingual or heritage children, because of the difficulty of recruiting monolingual children outside Japan. Fukuda (to appear) examined the acceptability of FQs in unaccusative and unergative sentences among native Japanese speakers, heritage speakers and L2 learners. Fukuda found that the heritage speakers’ knowledge of the unaccusative/unergative asymmetry with regard to FQs was comparable to that of native speakers. Although the participants in Fukuda’s study are adults, the finding that heritage speakers have a native-like knowledge of FQs suggests that the results of this study can provide an insight into how well monolingual Japanese-speaking children would perform.

4.2. Experimental Stimuli

12 pairs of critical sentences (6 unaccusative pairs, 6 unergative pairs) were created for the experiment. Each pair consists of sentences with and without an FQ, and it is accompanied by a picture. Under the unaccusative condition, sentences with FQs are as acceptable as the ones without FQs. Thus, it is predicted that the participants will choose the latter only at the chance level. In contrast, if the participants are aware of the constraint that

unergative sentences are incompatible with FQs, they would choose the sentences without FQs significantly more frequently than the ones with FQs. An example of the critical stimuli is as follows:

- (10) Unaccusative pair
- | | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| a. | Nekosan-ga | san-biki | kooen-ni | ki-ta-yo. |
| | cats-Nom | three-CL | park-to | come-Pst-SFP |
| b. | Nekosan-ga | kooen-ni | san-biki | ki-ta-yo. |
| | cats-Nom | park-to | three-CL | come-Pst-SFP |
- ‘Three cats came to the park.’
- (11) Unergative pair
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| a. | Hebisan-ga | san-biki | niwa-de | ason-da-yo. |
| | snake-Nom | three-CL | yard-in | play-Pst-SFP |
| b. | *Hebisan-ga | niwa-de | san-biki | ason-da-yo. |
| | snake-Nom | yard-in | three-CL | play-Pst-SFP |
- ‘Three snakes played in the yard.’

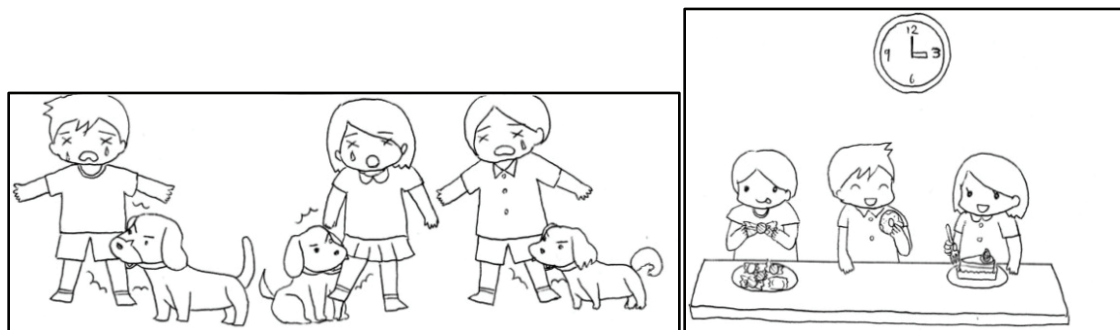


All the unaccusative and unergative verbs used in the stimuli belong to either end of Sorace's (2000) hierarchy, and they have been identified as such in previous studies (Sorace and Shomura 2001; Fukuda to appear).

In addition to the critical sentences, two types of fillers are included in this study (6 pairs for each type): First, half of the fillers are pairs of sentences in which one of them has an FQ modifying an argument, and the other has an FQ modifying an adjunct. As was shown in previous sections, FQs can be associated with arguments, but not with adjuncts. Hence, including the argument/adjunct asymmetry as a filler would confirm if the participants of the present study know that FQs are subject to certain constraints. The second type of fillers are pairs in which an adverb occurs in different positions. An adverb in one sentence of each pair occurs at the left periphery, while an adverb in the other sentence immediately precedes the verb. Since adverbs in Japanese can occur in various positions, sentences with a sentence-initial adverb and the ones with a sentence-internal adverb are equally acceptable. Recall that, in the unaccusative condition, sentences with and without FQs are both acceptable as well. Therefore, the second type of fillers makes the critical sentences match the fillers in terms of an overall acceptability. An example of the two types of fillers is shown below.

- (12) Filler 1: FQs associated with arguments vs. adjuncts
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--------|-----------------|----------------|
| a. | Inu-ga | asi-ni | san-biki | kamitui-ta-yo. |
| | dog-Nom | leg-at | three-CL | bite-Pst-SFP |
| | ‘Three dogs bit at legs.’ | | | |
| b. | *Inu-ga | asi-ni | san-bon | kamitui-ta-yo. |
| | dog-Nom | leg-to | three-CL | bite-Pst-SFP |
| | ‘Dogs bit at three legs.’ | | | |

- (13) Filler 2: Sentence-initial and sentence-internal
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| a. | Kodomo-ga | oyatsu-o | sanji-ni | tabe-ta-yo. |
| | child-Nom | snack-Acc | three-at | eat-Pst-SFP |
| b. | Sanji-ni | kodomo-ga | oyatsu-o | tabe-ta-yo. |
| | three-at | child-Nom | snack-Acc | eat-Pst-SFP |
- ‘The children had snacks at three.’



Mixing critical sentences with fillers resulted in 24 pairs of sentences in total. The sentence pairs were counterbalanced so that one puppet produces sentences with FQs on half of the trials, and the other puppet produces such sentences on the other half. Two lists of stimuli were then created with the same items but different orders; one puppet says a sentence first in List 1, and the other puppet does so in List 2. Recording of the stimuli was conducted by a native speaker of Japanese, with the standard Tokyo accent and normal prosody.

4.3. Participants

13 children (age range: 5;5-11;10) participated in the experiment. Prior to the experiment, parents of the participants filled out the language background questionnaire that asks how fluent their children are in English and Japanese. The questionnaire also asks how often the children use the two languages in different circumstances.

Adult native speakers of Japanese ($n=11$, age range: 18-45) also participated in the experiment as the control group. Instead of the Felicity Judgment test with pictures, adult participants were asked to rate the acceptability of written sentences on a scale of 1 (most unnatural) to 7 (most natural). Sentences were presented individually, instead of as pairs. The experiment was created online, using the free experiment hosting website Ibexfarm. Participants were given a link to the experiment, where they completed the survey at their convenience.

4.4. Procedures

Participants were tested individually. After obtaining a consent from the parents, the experimenter introduces two puppets to the participant. The context of the experiment is as follows: The two puppets are learning Japanese, and they are in a competition of which one can produce a better Japanese sentence to describe what is happening in the picture. The participant is told that their task is to listen to Japanese sentences produced by the puppets, and decide which one said them better. The participant then awards a prize (stickers or sweets) to the winner, and moves on to the next trial. Recorded sentences were played only once. The entire session, including giving an instruction, took 15-20 minutes.

5.0. RESULTS

5.1. Acceptability Judgments by Adult Japanese Speakers

The raw ratings from the acceptability judgment test were transformed into z-scores. The figure below shows the mean acceptability of intransitive sentences with and without FQs.

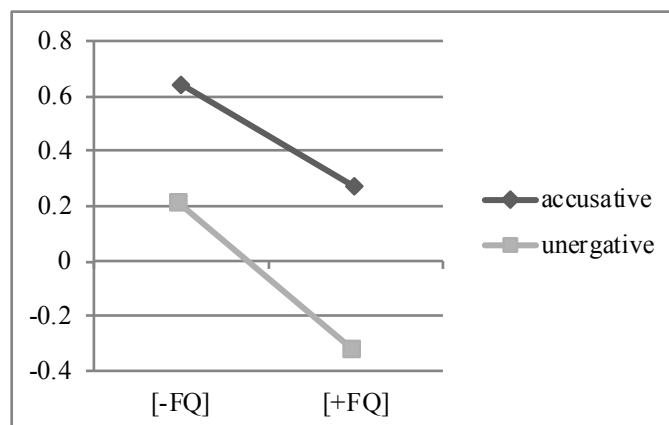


Figure 1. Acceptability of Sentences with/without FQs.

As can be seen above, unergative sentences with FQs received the lowest ratings among all. While this result confirms the findings of previous studies on intransitive sentences with FQs (Sorace and Shomura 2001; Fukuda 2009), there are a couple of issues about the result that are worth addressing; First, sentences with FQs are rated lower than the ones without FQs even in the unaccusative condition. A slightly degraded acceptability of unaccusative sentences with FQs would be understandable, considering that sentences with infrequent structures often lead to a lower acceptability (Jäger et al. 2015). However, the difference in acceptability between the unaccusative [+FQ] and [-FQ] sentences in the figure above seems quite significant. Analyzing the acceptability of each item reveals that a [+FQ] sentence with an unaccusative verb *korobu* ‘to fall down’ received a very low rating (3 in raw score, -0.568 in z-transformed score on average). Note that, although the verb *korobu* is telic (i.e. the action denoted by the verb has a certain endpoint), which is characteristic of unaccusative verbs, other diagnostics of unaccusativity fail to identify *korobu* as such. For instance, the aspectual marker *te-iru* denotes both resultative and progressive readings when it is attached to an unaccusative verb, while it denotes only the latter when it follows an unergative verb (Hirakawa 2001). Crucially, *korobu* attached by *te-iru*, *koron-de-iru*, can only mean ‘(unspecified subject) is falling down,’ which is the progressive reading. Therefore, a future study should avoid treating *korobu* as an unaccusative verb, for it does not always behave like one.

Second, it is not clear why unergative [-FQ] sentences are rated lower than unaccusative [-FQ] sentences. Since there are no specific unergative items that received extremely low ratings, this finding may be attributed to the small number of participants in the present experiment. It is necessary to test a larger number of Japanese speakers and investigate if a similar pattern would emerge.

5.2. Language Backgrounds of Japanese-speaking Children

The results of the language background questionnaire filled out by the parents of Japanese-speaking children are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. The Summary of the Language Background Questionnaire

Questions	Answers
First exposure to Japanese (mean)	0;0 (since birth)
First exposure to English (mean)	2;2
How much does s/he hear Japanese in a day?	rarely:1, sometimes:6, very often:6
How much does s/he speak Japanese in a day?	rarely:2, sometimes:4, often:1, very often:6
How fluent is s/he in Japanese?	less dominant than English:3, as fluent as English:2, near-native:3, native:5
How much does s/he hear English in a day?	sometimes:6, very often:7
How much does s/he speak English in a day?	rarely:1, sometimes:2, often:4, very often:6
How fluent is s/he in English?	less dominant than Japanese:4, as fluent as Japanese:2, native:7

In addition to the results above, the questionnaire also shows that while all of the participants communicate with their parents in Japanese at home, most of them switch to English when they talk with their siblings and when they are at school. Overall, the responses suggest that although the participants of the present study have been exposed to Japanese since they were born, English seems to be more dominant than Japanese in their current input.

5.3. Felicity Judgment

The results of the Felicity Judgment test are as follows:

Table 2. Mean Choice between [-FQ] and [+FQ] ($n=13$).

Verb Type	[-FQ]	[+FQ]
Unaccusative	7.83	5.17
Unergative	6.67	6.33

Table 3. Mean Choice between FQ Modifying Arguments and FQ Modifying Adjuncts ($n=13$).

FQ with Arguments	FQ with Adjuncts
9.5	3.5

Table 4. Mean Choice between Sentence-internal Adverbs and Sentence-initial Adverbs ($n=13$).

FQ with Arguments	FQ with Adjuncts
7.5	5.5

Scores on the tables above indicate how many of the 13 participants, on average, chose either one of the sentence pairs. Table 2 shows that [+FQ] sentences were chosen as frequently as [-FQ] sentences even in the unergative condition, contrary to the prediction. In other words, Japanese-speaking children of the present study do not seem to distinguish between unaccusative and unergative sentences in terms of the acceptability of FQs. This does not mean, however, that they are not aware of the fact that FQs are subject to certain constraints; as Table 3 shows, sentences with FQs modifying adjuncts were chosen much less frequently than the ones with FQs modifying arguments. This result thus indicates that Japanese-speaking children of the present study do know that adjuncts cannot host FQs, replicating the findings of Otsu (1994) and Sugisaki (2016). Table 4 shows that sentences with in-situ adverbs and preposed adverbs were chosen almost equally, in line with the prediction.

In summary, this study failed to detect Japanese-speaking children's knowledge of the constraint on FQs in intransitive sentences. The next section discusses some possible reasons why this was the case, along with some suggestions for future research.

6.0. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

There are a couple of factors that might have contributed to the results of the present study, which shows that Japanese-speaking children are not aware of the ungrammaticality of FQs in unergative sentences.

Firstly, it is possible that the participants of this study, being bilingual speakers, are not sensitive to the structural difference between unaccusative and unergative sentences. This possibility could have been tested by including other manifestations of the unaccusative/unergative asymmetry in the experiment. Shimada and Sano (2007) demonstrated that Japanese-speaking children can structurally distinguish unaccusative and unergative sentences, by testing them on the interpretation of the aspectual marker *te-iru*. As mentioned briefly in the last section, *te-iru* can be interpreted in two ways, which are named *progressive* and *resultative* readings. While *te-iru* can denote both readings when it is attached to an unaccusative verb, only progressive reading is possible when it follows an unergative verb. The following sentences illustrate this contrast:

- (14) a. Kaerusan-ga ima umat-te-iru-yo (^{OK} progressive / ^{OK} resultative)
frog-Nom now bury-te-iru-SFP
‘The frog is (has been) buried now.’
b. Butasan-ga ima hasit-teiru-yo (^{OK} progressive / * resultative)
pig-Nom now run-te-iru-SFP
‘The pig is now running.’ (Shimada and Sano 2007)

As (14) shows, the unergative verb *hasi-ru* ‘to run’ is not compatible with *te-iru* with the resultative reading. Shimada and Sano conducted a Truth-Value Judgment Test on 29 Japanese-speaking children, and found out that children as young as 3 years old rejected unergative sentences with the resultative *te-iru*. Therefore, a future experiment on intransitive sentences with FQs should consider testing the interpretations of *te-iru* as well, in order to make sure that participants know that unaccusative and unergative sentences can behave differently.

Secondly, the experimental design implemented in this study might not be sensitive enough to identify Japanese-speaking children’s knowledge of intransitive sentences with FQs. The result of the acceptability judgment test by the adult participants indicates that the unaccusative/unergative asymmetry is subtler than the argument/adjunct asymmetry; while unergative sentences with FQs received a mean acceptability of 3.52 (z-score transformed=-0.33), the mean acceptability of sentences with FQs modifying adjuncts was much lower (1.53; z-score transformed=-1.26). Since the Felicity Judgment test consists of simple, binary choices, it might have failed to detect the subtle unacceptability of unergative sentences with FQs. Although the present study adopted the Felicity Judgment test because it is simple and thus suitable for children, a future study should modify the experimental design in order to obtain a clearer result. One of the possible solutions would be to adopt the formal acceptability judgment test, but with a non-numerical scale to make the task more child-friendly (e.g. a series of faces with a smiley face for a natural sentence, and a sad face for an unnatural sentence).

In conclusion, the Felicity Judgment test in this study shows that although bilingual Japanese-speaking children rule out FQs modifying adjuncts, they do not make a distinction between FQs in unaccusative sentences and unergative sentences in terms of their acceptability. At this point, it is not clear whether they do not know the structural difference between unaccusative and unergative sentences, or the methodology of this study was not suitable to test their relevant knowledge. Although this study was unable to detect Japanese-speaking children’s knowledge of the constraint on FQs in intransitive sentences, it has provided an insight into what needs to be done for future research towards monolingual children; a future study should make sure that participants are aware of other manifestations of the unaccusative/unergative asymmetry, and explore other methodologies that are simple yet sensitive enough to identify the asymmetry.

NOTES

1. The classifier *-biki* is a voiced counterpart of *-hiki*, which is the canonical form. The voicing of *-hiki* is a result of *Rendaku* (sequential voicing), a common phonological phenomenon in Japanese in which the initial sound of a non-initial morpheme gets voiced (Tsujimura 1993).
2. The list of abbreviations used in this paper is as follows: Nom (Nominative), CL (classifier), Pst (past tense), ACC (Accusative), Prog (progressive aspect), Gen (Genitive), Top (Topic), Q (question marker), and SFP (sentence-final particle).

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STANCE AND ENGAGEMENT FEATURES IN ACADEMIC WRITING IN KOREAN: A CORPUS-BASED COMPARISON

Lee Seunghye Yu, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*

ABSTRACT

Based on Hyland's interactional model, this study presents a corpus-based investigation of academic writings to investigate ways in which first language (L1) writers of Korean construct their authorial stance and engagement with readers. Comparing 20 articles from Korean linguistics and Korean language education with 20 from electronic and electrical engineering in terms of stance and engagement, this contrastive analysis shed light on insights into the Korean academic discourse community and into the disciplinary discourse community.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

This study quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes ways in which writers construct an authorial stance toward the proposition and the reader, and build engagement with readers, drawing on a corpus of published journal papers written by first language (L1) writers of Korean. In recent decades, English academic writing has increasingly attracted researchers' attention. Establishing an authorial identity in academic writing (Ivanic, 1998; Biber et al., 1999; Hyland, 2005a) and academic writing as a social practice has been discussed widely (Thompson, 2001; Martin & White, 2005; Hyland, 2005b). The academic writing as a discourse community has been considered important (Swales, 1990) in that, while the writers present the new research findings, they engage and connect with readers in accordance with the rhetorical and ritualized conventions of academic discourse. In doing so, writers reveal not only their authorial identities (Ivanic, 1998) but also the culture in which the writers have been engaged (Dahl, 2004).

The genre of academic writing in Korean has also attracted a great deal of research attention; however, not many studies have been carried out on a rhetorical device for authorial stance-taking—mostly focusing on hedges (Sin, 2006; Shin, 2011; Lee, 2012)—and for a writer's interaction with readers through texts. This study investigated interpersonal metadiscourse, comparing 20 articles from Korean linguistics and Korean language education with 20 from electronic and electrical engineering in terms of stance and engagement. This contrastive analysis revealed insights into the Korean academic discourse community and into the disciplinary discourse community.

1.2. Framework

As academic writing has attracted increasing attention and interest from researchers and educators, both the writer's identity and voice and the writer's interaction with the readers within the text have arisen as important aspects to consider. The concept of *Stance* is defined as a speaker/writer's self-positioning toward what is being talked about or being realized, whereas *engagement* describes the way a speaker/writer aligns and connects with a listener/reader (Hyland, 2005b).

The interactional model in academic discourse proposed by Hyland (2005b), shown in Figure 1, introduced nine interactional features. There are four sub-categories of stance: Hedges, Boosters, Attitude markers, and Self-mentions. Hedges are linguistic devices, such as *might*, *possible*, and *almost*, that allow writers to mitigate the degree of commitment and certainty toward the proposition and to anticipate possible negative responses from readers.

Boosters are expressions such as *must*, *prove*, and *clearly*, which strengthen the writer's argument by emphasizing the authorial certainty and assertiveness of the claims.

Attitude markers carry the writer's affective position rather than certainty, expressing the writer's surprise, agreement, or value (important or insignificant) toward the proposition. According to Hyland (2005b), there are three types of attitude markers: attitude verbs (agree, prefer), sentence adverbs (surprisingly, appropriately), and adjectives (important, amazing).

Self-mentions refer to the explicit presence of the writer in the text, as in the first person pronouns *I*, *my*, and the inclusive *we* and *us*.

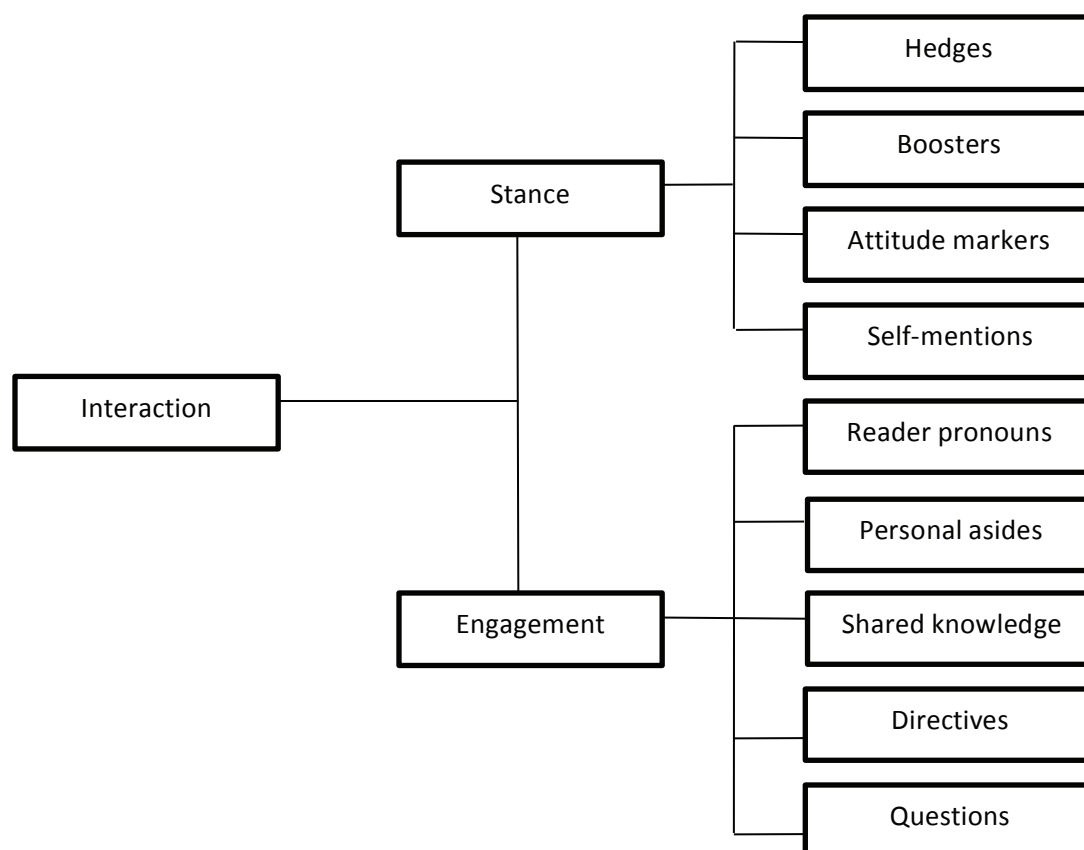


Figure 1. An Interactional Model in Academic Writing (Hyland, 2005, p. 177)

Engagement consists of five elements: Reader pronouns, Personal asides, Appeals to shared knowledge, Directives and Questions. Reader pronouns include second-person pronouns like *you*, *your*, and the inclusive *we* and *us*, and they are the explicit signal to acknowledge the presence of the reader in the text. Personal asides indicate the reader-oriented strategy in which the writer speaks to the reader, commenting on what is being said. Appeal to shared knowledge refers to the linguistic devices that appeal to “shared knowledge” and “disciplinary membership” (Hyland, 2016, p. 35), as in *of course* or *it is known*. Directives are devices that give the reader instructions to perform an action or to consider things from the writer’s perspective. Questions are dialogic strategies in which the writer invites the reader into the text, attracting the reader’s attention, curiosity, and interest. Based on Hyland’s interactional model, this study presents a corpus-based investigation of academic writings to explore ways in which L1 writers of Korean express their authorial stance and engagement with readers.

1.3. Research Questions

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do L1 writers in academic writing in Korean construct their authorial stance and engage with readers?
2. Are there any disciplinary differences between Korean linguistics and Korean language education (hereafter KL) and Electronic and Electrical engineering (hereafter EE) in terms of stance and engagement?

2.0. METHOD

2.1. Corpus

The corpus for this study consists of 40 research journal articles, with 20 articles per discipline in KL, and in electronic and EE. A total of 40 journal articles were selected from the period 2012-2017, from refereed, leading, and prestigious journals written in Korean, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Corpora of Korean Academic Writing in KL and EE

Disciplines	Names of Research Journals	Numbers of Research Journals	Numbers of Words
KL	Korean Journal of Applied Linguistics	5	23,844
	Discourse and Cognition	5	22,447
	Bilingual Research	5	17,627
	Teaching Korean as a Foreign Language	5	24,371
	Total	20	88,289
EE	Korean Institute of Electrical Engineers	5	10,728
	Korean institute of power electronics	5	11,415
	Institute of electronics engineers of Korea	5	13,690
	Korea Electromagnetic Engineering Society	5	14,303
	Total	20	50,136

2.2. Procedure

Ten articles from each disciplinary area were randomly preselected to identify the linguistic devices. I searched for identified items using the concordance software AntConc 3.4.4 (Anthony, 2016).

The pre-selected items were manually examined due to the “multifunctionality” of some items, in that a linguistic device used as a certain feature can serve another function somewhere else, even across subcategories (Halliday, 1985; Crismore, 1990; Salager-Meyer, 1994; Crompton, 1997; Abdollahzadeh, 2011).

3.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Transaction or introduction?

Table 2. Frequency of Stance and Engagement per 1,000 words

Frequency of Items per 1,000 words		KL	EE
Stance	Hedges	26.03	17.30
	Boosters	12.27	14.18
	Attitude markers	17.80	9.00
	Self-mention	0	0
Engagement	Reader pronouns	0.24	0.33
	Directives	0.42	0.33
	Questions	0.60	0.04
	Shared knowledge	1.90	1.67
	Personal asides	0	0
Total		59.26	42.85

As seen in Table 2, overall frequencies of the use of interpersonal metadiscourse in KL and EE were 59.26 and 42.85 (per 1,000 words), respectively. These results demonstrate that the metadiscourse devices were employed more frequently by researchers in KL than by those in EE.

Table 3. Raw Frequency of Stance and Engagement Items

Raw Frequency of Items (% of total)		KL	EE
Stance	Hedges	2298(43.92%)	954(40.39%)
	Boosters	1069(20.70%)	865(33.11%)
	Attitude markers	1572(30.05%)	496(21.00%)
	Self-mention	0	0
Engagement	Reader pronouns	21(0.40%)	18(0.76%)
	Directives	37(0.71%)	18(0.76%)
	Questions	53(1.01%)	2(0.08%)
	Shared knowledge	168(3.21%)	92(3.90%)
	Personal asides	0	0
Total	5232(100%)	2362(100%)	

The use of hedges was not found to be significantly different between KL and EE writers as Table 3 shows. Hedges turned out to be the most popular device between both KL and EE writers of Korean. In both fields, over 40 percent of interpersonal linguistic sources in the corpus were hedging devices. The high frequency of hedges in KL supports other research in which heavy use of hedging was found in the “soft sciences” (Hyland, 2004; Abdi, 2002; Abdollahzadeh, 2011). In both corpora, the most frequently occurring hedging device was *-ul/l swu iss* ‘it is possible, might,’ whose function is to decrease the writer’s epistemic commitment toward what is being said by adding the meaning of possibility and bringing indirectness into the proposition, as in Example 1 and 2.

- (1) a. Example 1
yenkwu nonmwunkwa yenkwu palphyonun tayhak isanguy hakswulcek hwaltonguy cengcemila hal swu issumye
 ‘(I/We) **could** say that research papers and presentations are the culmination of academic activities in higher education’ (KL)
- b. Example 2
pota hyensilcekin mouy silhemul wihay phyenghwalhwa kwacengey tayhan kolyeka phohamtoneya hal kesita.
 ‘For more realistic simulations, consideration **should** be given to the smoothing process’ (EE)

Whereas attitude markers were the second most employed devices by KL writers, boosters were preferred over attitude markers by EE writers. In both areas, obligation modal expressions such as *-eya hata* ‘should, must’ and *philyo* ‘need, require’, accounted for over 30 percent of boosters. A greater variety of attitude markers were found in KL. The closer qualitative analysis revealed that attitude markers were employed to express the writer’s perspective and evaluation of the proposition rather than their affection or feelings toward the proposition. Example 3 and 4 show how writers employed attitude markers to convey the writer’s assessment of his/her own proposition and to express a skeptical or negative attitude toward the existing arguments by using the attitude adjectives, *cwungyohata* ‘important, significant’, and *elyepta* ‘difficult’.

- (2) a. Example 3
kichoka toynun yenkyelemilul cal sayonghanun kesi thukhi te cwungyohatanun kesul ttushanta.
 ‘This means that it is especially **important** to use the underlying connection ending well’ (KL)

b. Example 4

*silcilcekulo caynantayungkikwantuluy thonghwa kayongsengul pocanghaki **elyepta**.*

'In practice, it is **difficult** to ensure the availability of calls by disaster response agencies' (EE)

Interestingly, it is not difficult to find combinations of two or even three metadiscoursal devices, as in Example 5 The obligation modal marker *-eya ha-* 'should, must' was employed to express the necessity of the claim and to add the writer's certainty toward the argument. By adding the underlined hedge item *-ul/ l kes* 'would, possible' to the proposition, furthermore, the writer mitigates the argument with the degree of confidence, in that the hedging device allows writers to open a discursive space for potential disagreement between writers and readers (Hyland, 2005b).

(3) a. Example 5

*uymi kwankyeyey ttala yenkyelemilo pakkwulyenun yensupi hamkkey ilwuecy **eya ha-l kesita**.*

'It is said that it **should be** done together with the practice of replacing it with a connection ending according to semantic relation' (KL)

Regarding the way in which writers engage with readers, there is not much of a difference between the disciplines, and overall frequency was low in the corpus. The lack or absence of pronouns can be attributed to the culture of academic writing in Korean as a discourse community, in which the writer's explicit presence and direct references to readers with pronouns are conventionally avoided. One other possible reason for that absence is a characteristic of Korean language. The characteristic of "ellipsis", which often omits the constituents of a sentence, even major constituents (Sohn, 1999), allows this "faceless" (Hyland & Jiang, 2016) in academic writing in Korean. Since Korean is a situation-oriented language, the ellipsis is very common, as long as it does not cause confusion or a difference in meaning. This characteristic of Korean in academic writing suggests a "face-hidden" approach in Korean academic writing, rather than "faceless," in that a lack of explicit presence of the writer does not necessarily mean that there is no face or identity as a writer.

The absence of *Personal asides* can also be explained by the foregoing discussion. Korean writers prefer not to expose their identities within the text. That preference for indirectness was also found in Directives. Most instances of directives (over 70%) in both corpora were indirect directives, instead of direct directives or direct proposals.

(4) a. Example 6

(7)uy yeyeyse pol swu isstusi

'**As** (you/we) can see in example (7)' (KL)

Among engagement features, the most distinct interdisciplinary difference was found in the practice of Questions. Over 70 percent of questions, however, were practiced as research questions. Research questions are the road map for the research papers, providing readers an opportunity to think in advance about what and why the researcher is investigating. This dialogic strategy was employed often by KL writers but not by EE writers. The most explicit strategy is Shared knowledge, in which the writer appeals to shared knowledge and disciplinary understanding, as seen in Example 6.

(5) a. Example 7

*cencaka 'ciksi(deixis)' hokun 'hwasi'uy cisiiko hwucanun 'coung(anaphora)'uy cisiimun **ilpancekulo allyecye issnun sasilita**. 'It is a **generally known** fact that the former is a directive of "deixis" or "Hashish" and the latter is an "anaphora"'* (KL)

4.0. IMPLICATION

Analysis of research articles reveals that L1 writers in Korean prefer to position and express themselves in a discreet way and to engage readers implicitly, mostly through hedges, boosters, and attitude markers, in that over 90% of the interactional device was these three devices in the corpora. Hedges were the devices that occurred most frequently in both areas. Whereas the second most used device of stance markers was the attitude markers in KL, booster items were used more frequently than attitude markers in EE.

Not much difference was found in the use of engagement devices between KL and EE journal articles. The lack of an explicit presence of the writer in the Korean academic writing corpus was attributed to the culture of academic writing in Korean and to the linguistic features of Korean.

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AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO AN ONLINE SECOND LANGUAGE WRITING COURSE

Lin Zhou, *Second Language Studies*

ABSTRACT

This study entails one case study of ten Chinese high-school students as a group in an online course of English Writing that was designed based on the ecological (van Lier, 2000), dialogical and distributed framework (Linell, 2015). The synchronous sessions were coded to investigate how multi-modal synchronous communication affords students' learning of second language writing. The results show this online platform offers students more communication opportunities, which make the large-group peer response feasible, and the multimodal analysis demonstrates this online platform helps students build a community of practice in which each member serves as a reservoir of resources for others.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

There have been a great number of research about applications of online technologies (Bañados, 2006; Hsu, 2007; Wible, Kuo, Chien, Liu, & Tsao, 2001; Zhang, 2009) in the EFL context, but so far not much research has been conducted about EFL English writing in a pure online context to investigate how an online course environment could afford students' understandings and practices of English writing by evaluating the ecology of the online course. The reason might be that pure online English courses have not been common or even well accepted in the EFL context. Currently, compared with research on pure online contexts, there are more studies about synchronous communication in a face-to-face context (Cox, Carr & Hall, 2004; Lee, 2002; Liang, 2010; Miyazoe & Anderson, 2010). Informed by the merits of virtual spaces (McBrien, Cheng & Jones, 2009) and online writing lab (Kovach, Miley, & Ramos, 2012), this research fills in the research gap and specifically studies the context of online English writing course and studies the synchronous communication in a pure online English course.

The current English education in China is still focused on metalinguistic knowledge, *second-order language* in Thibault (2011)'s terms, and students lag behind when it comes to writing and speaking (Hu, 2005). This study sheds some light on how technology could help students produce and use the language or first-order languaging (Thibault, 2011). Here, in the English writing training course, students' writing based on a given prompt is considered *first-order languaging*. The fundamental theoretical framework for the online synchronous sessions is EDD—ecological, dialogical, and distributed theory (Newgarden & Zheng, 2016). An Ecological approach emphasizes the fact that language learning is positioned in a larger system in which people, artefacts and relationships among them together constitute a reservoir of resources which students can pick up and turn into affordances (van Lier, 2000). According to Linell (2009), the dialogical perspective is acknowledging the role that dialogues play in human thinking when they engage in talking to others, reading texts, working with computers and artefacts as well as making sense of the environment. The distributed view highlights that language is dispersed across the spatiotemporal scales (Thibault, 2011). The EDD framework is focusing on the interconnectivity of the ecological, dialogical, and distributed views: the communicative actions achieved through dialogue between agents are distributed across the ecology that consists of the agents, artifacts, context, and the environment. This online writing course is designed using the EDD framework, and it aims to study how students communicate synchronously in an online course whose underlying designing theories were from the EDD framework.

This research records and studies my online class using the QQ synchronous conferencing tool (download the software at www.qq.com) with 10 Chinese high school students from No. 1 High School in preparation for the upcoming National Chuangxin (meaning innovation and creativity) English Competition whose focus is on English Essay Writing. The researcher/instructor was in the US and students were in China for the duration of the course. Fifteen two-hour online sessions involved genre analysis (Swales, 1990): reading sample writings together and discussing students' opinions of sample writings, conducting synchronous peer response online (Liang, 2010), and reading newspaper articles about current topics. The focus of the study is how students interact in the online class and how an online environment cultivates communities of practice (Wenger, 2011) and affords students understandings of L2 writing. This research also studies how new literacies (Lankshear & Knobel, 2011; Leu, Kinzer, Coiro & Cammack, 2004) inform pedagogical approaches to second language literacy. The New London Group's (1996) call for new pedagogies toward literacies facing the new age and technological advancement has been going on for two decades but is not yet seen in the language pedagogies in the EFL context. The multiliteracies approach emphasizes linguistic diversity and multimodal forms of linguistic expression and representation. The

online course in this research study adopts a bilingual pedagogical approach in instruction, as students in the class were encouraged to use their L1 and all available online sources for information.

2.0. METHODS AND CONTEXTS

2.1. Participants

The participants study were 10 high school students in No. 1 High School (Pseudonym), which was ranked as the best high school in the city. The city is located in one of the most economically developed areas in China, so the city has access to readily available educational resources. Among the 10 students, five were first-year high school students and five were second-year students. They were in this online English writing course because they had passed the first round of the competition and were preparing for the second phase of the competition for the duration of this online course.

2.2. Description of the Competition

The name of the competition that these students are preparing for is the Chuangxin English Competition. “Chuangxin” means innovation and creativity. The previous award-winning essays were innovative and creative either in the design of the essay or the perspective of the topic.

The competition has three phases: the first phase requires the participants to write an essay with no fewer than 300 words based on a given topic. This is not timed writing, and students can make use of all the available resources including consulting their teachers and peers, checking information online, and discussing their ideas with writing experts in their schools. Once students finish their writing, they submit their essays to the competition committee before the deadline. The competition committee chooses the top 30% of the essays submitted and all the chosen students go to a specific competition venue for the second phase of the competition which involves the students writing an essay in 60 minutes on their own without access to the Internet or any other form of help. The second phase also includes a listening and speaking section. The final score of the second phase is the total of writing (60%), listening (20%), and speaking (30%). The top 30% of the second phase are chosen to attend a summer English camp, which is the third phase of the competition; awards are given to the students based on their performance in the summer English camp.

2.3. Description of the Online Course Platform

The QQ communication tool was chosen as the platform for the online course because every student and teacher in this school has been using it for their personal use outside of school and there is no need to have an extra training session about the learning platform as students are already familiar with the platform. Furthermore, this online software is compatible with many different systems including iOS and Android, and students can access it using computers as well as mobile devices. With the further development of the software since 2014, the software now has an additional function called “group video” which allows for synchronous online class sessions. In this platform, the instructor could choose among three modes: the president mode (in which only the instructor is speaking), the free mode (everyone could speak at the same time), and the order mode (in which the student volunteers him/herself). On the course platform, students could listen to the instructor’s lecture, the instructor could share his or her screen with the students, and students could freely voice their opinions at any point in the class through chatbox for everybody in the class to see. Therefore, there are audio and textual communication exchanges going on simultaneously. When the students are not having a synchronous session, this platform can be used as a platform for offline discussions. For example, before the first class, the teacher in China who organized this online course used this platform to communicate with the students as well as the instructor in the US. Students uploaded their writing samples and self-introductions to the group and the instructor uploaded a self-introductory video. This platform is an all-in-one package in which students could have both synchronous and asynchronous discussions and all the communications and files can be saved.

2.4. Description of the Online Course

This was an online training course initiated by the Department of English of No. 1 High School, and the 10 students were from the 100 students chosen by the department to take part in the English Competition and they are the ones who have successfully passed the first round of the competition and chosen by the competition committee

to go into the second phase of the competition. The instructional design of the course was based on the nature of the timed writing students were expected to do. Since this is a competition that focuses on innovation and creativity, there is no rubric provided, as the term “innovation” itself indicates that the writing in this competition should not be contained by any specific conventions. The writings are rated by a committee and the final score is the average of the committee. Based on how the timed writing is rated, this online course adopted a large-group peer response activity to simulate the committee rating process. For each online session, the class conducted three big-group peer responses on three essays written by three students. The peer response was less controlled and students were not provided a peer review worksheet asking them to look for specific features in the writing, but rather they were guided to implement a comparatively more open-ended peer response as modeled by the instructor during the first online session.

2.5. Needs Analysis

The teachers in charge of the English Competition training courses of the school reported three typical problems in the students’: firstly, their writing lacks specific examples and evidence for their points; secondly, because they did not have the opportunity to read and talk about different topics, they tend to write Chinese English; thirdly, because the national English exams only test students’ metalinguistic knowledge, students were not trained in terms of critical thinking.

Based on the needs analysis, the purpose of this competition preparation course is to, first of all, help students see that the writing in the English competition is different from the simple English writing section in the National University Entrance Exam (Gaokao), which focuses solely on English grammar and comprehension, and prompt students to think “outside the box” so as to be creative in the writing. Secondly, the course aims at helping students identify some features of a typical award-winning competition essay from previous writing samples. Thirdly, from the group peer response sessions, the course is designed to assist students in identifying their own writing weaknesses they were not aware of, such as lack of a clear main point, a lack of solid evidence, or poor organization. Fourth, the course trains students to be able to finish their planning and writing of an essay within 60 minutes. Students later have to write a timed essay for the second phase of the competition.

2.6. Design of the Curriculum

For the first three sessions, the instructor led the students in genre analysis and modeled how to conduct peer response activities by reading each and every student’s writing with the class. Genre analysis aims to help students identify the organization and language features of a successful writing, peer response aims at helping students think from a reader’s perspective, and the newspaper article reading activity helps students understand what kind of articles they could search for while accumulating evidence for their timed writing in the second phase of the competition (since they could not access the Internet, in order to include solid evidence in their writing, they are encouraged to read more so that they have some stories/examples ready to use for their timed writing). At the end of each class, students are assigned an essay to write based on a given topic, which includes narrative, argumentative and expository essays.

2.7. Research Procedure

This is an ethnographic study with a focus on ten Chinese high-school students’ learning experience of English writing through the online platform. The online class sessions including their conversations in the chat box and their answers to the whole-class discussions were screen recorded. Students were interviewed at different intervals of the class to track their progress, their attitudes toward online learning, and their struggles with the course content.

2.8. Research Questions

This research connects the ecological, dialogical and distributed theory to an online writing course to demonstrate how an online course can be designed and executed to maximize its affordances by exploring the following research questions:

1. How do students communicate with each other and the instructor in the online class?
2. How do students' perceptions of English writing change throughout the class?
3. How does an online class or course afford students' learning?

3.0. DATA ANALYSIS

The main data collected for analysis include recordings of the online synchronous sessions as well as students' writing samples. The online synchronous sessions entailed students' textual communications, instructor's audio communications as well as the whiteboard (Microsoft Word) used. Since the textual communication is mainly focused on the large-group peer response activity, the discussion/communication is always in relation to students' writing samples they are discussing at hand. For the purpose of demonstrating how an online large-group peer response activity is conducted, this paper selected one typical online large-group activity and analyzed the multimodal communication during this session. The multimodal analysis (Baldry & Thibault, 2006) was conducted using the transcription tool—Transana and the multimodal communication was analyzed based on communicative projects, which studies the fundamental question of the “what's going on” (p.211) for the participants involved in the interaction (Linell, 2009). The overarching communicative project for this section of online communication was to engage all the students in a large-group peer response group and the embedded communicative projects were defined based on the goal these participants achieved through their communication and the nature of their communication such as the topic of their conversation and the tone they adopted for the conversation. The coding process of the transcription started with the assignments of time stamps and then the keywording procedure: time stamp was assigned to dissect the overall communicative project into individual embedded communicative project based on the specificity of the interaction and each embedded communicative project was assigned a key word. Then each embedded communicative project was analyzed in details including the goal of the communication, interlocutors and the relationships as well as the overall online ecology at the time of the communication.

4.0. FINDINGS

4.1. Affordances of an Online Platform

All online platforms have some common features and unique functions. When educators decide to use a particular kind of online platform for educational purposes, these features and functions have potentials to afford the students and teachers involved different kinds of learning, communicating and exploring opportunities. This section demonstrates how this particular QQ group synchronous online session, as shown in Figure 1, affords students' communication as a group and learning through critiquing.

The instructor started with asking students what they thought a typical body paragraph should include based on their writings and their peer response for the past few sessions and each student was expected to free-write for a minute in the text communication area. The emergent themes of students' textual responses can be summarized into: point of view, examples, and famous quotes and examples. Then, the instructor summarized this small activity and explained the structure of a typical body paragraph based on students' feedback in the textual communication using audio. Using the ecological framework, we can see that the online platform provides more interaction here compared to a typical question and answer session in a face-to-face session. When the instructor asked a question, every student's answer could be seen in the textual communication and everyone is given the opportunity to voice their opinions. At the same time, because the instructor could see everyone's answers, it gives the instructor the opportunity to assess students' understanding of a discussed topic.

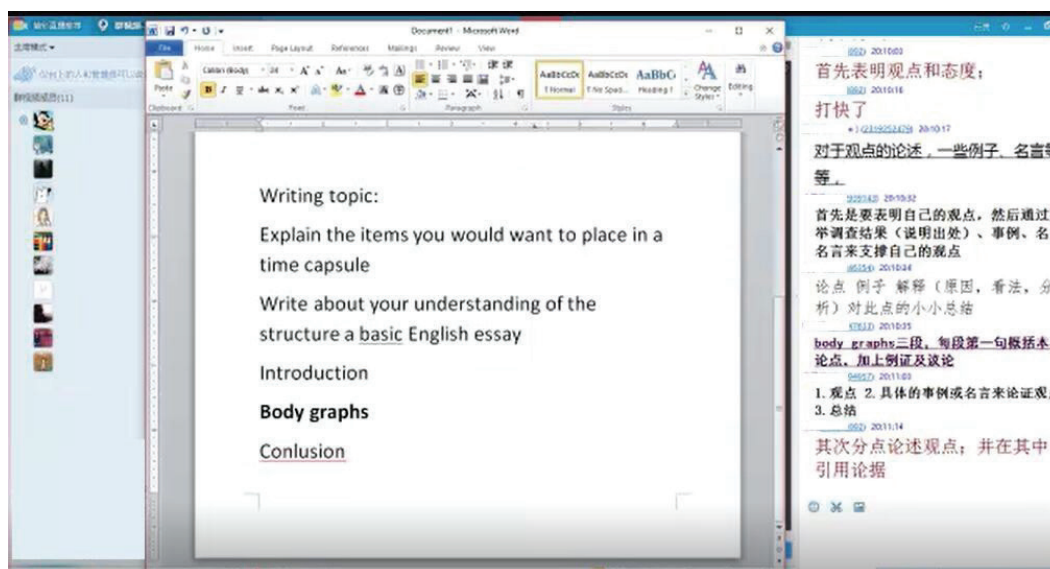


Figure 1. Screenshot of the Online Platform

Figure 1 demonstrates a typical screen that both the instructor and the student see during their synchronous online sessions. The middle part is the Word document that the instructor uses as the whiteboard when the class is having whole class discussions and as the reading board when the class is conducting a peer response activity. The left column showing the virtual profile pictures of each participant in the online session performs the automatic attendance taking. The right column is the textual communication area. All the participants' textual communication in this online session is shown here. In order to ensure communication efficiency, the instructor chose to use audio communication while the students generally communicate textually. In a typical face-to-face classroom, we can see that the communication at any particular point is always between two parties: the lecturer vs the whole class during the lecture, one speaker vs the whole group during the discussion, one interlocutor vs. the other during the pair work. In comparison, this multimodal online platform allows for multi-directional communication at any point: when one student shares his or her ideas in the textual communication area, s/he is sharing his/her ideas to everyone in this platform and at the same time, s/he can read information sent by everyone else at the same time and the same applies to the communication with the instructor, who can access ideas from all the students in the online class platform.

In summary, this online platform generates a multi-directional communication pattern in which the instructor and each student are producing and receiving information from ten other agents at the same time. Students receive both textual and audio information and the instructor delivers information through audio. There is a hierarchy in terms of audio and textual communication here in this online platform: the audio communication represents the instructor and can catch all the students' attention at the same time, and the textual communication represents students' responses to the instructor's questions or tasks and conversations occurred during the large-group peer response activities. In addition, it is important to note that for a synchronous online course, there are other activities happening outside this screen: for example, if students encounter a new word, they can find out the meaning of the word; they can also start small-group conversation groups outside the class synchronous session. This online course also allows for asynchronous communication: one student tried negotiating a deadline extension for one writing assignment with the instructor after the class through the initiation of one-on-one chat box with the instructor. Students were the experts of this platform. When a student encountered a computer hardware problem during the synchronous session, instead of interrupting the class, he chose to continue the session with his mobile device, and the class did not notice this until after the class when he shared the story.

4.2. Online Large-Group Peer Response Group

In an ESL/EFL class, a typical peer response/peer review group consists of two to three people. In this online course, for the purpose of simulating the context of a committee rating one essay, the instructor manages a large-group peer response group in which nine students give peer responses to one student's essay. During the peer response, each student can read the author's essay on their own computer while the author reads the essay out loud

for the whole class. After that, each student was asked to write his or her feedback in the textual communication area. This was not a controlled peer response in which students are asked to find specific features in the writing but rather each and every student was free to write about anything that impressed him or her or any parts of the essay that s/he thought could be improved.

Appendix B shows an excerpt of the textual communication from one session of large-group peer response groups as well as a structured whole-class discussion activity. For the peer-response activity, the author read through audio her essay about the topic *Explain the items you would want to put in a time capsule* (See Appendix A):

The reading-aloud process gives the author the opportunity to re-read his or her own essay again and it is interesting to note that the author often times corrected certain grammatical errors of his or her writing while reading the essay. When s/he corrected the error while reading, other students would no longer address such issues during the peer-review section.

4.3. Analysis of the Multimodal Communication

There are three main communicative projects happening during the thirty minutes, as can be seen in Table 1 (See Appendix B): response to a very specific question raised by the instructor from 20:09:01 to 20:11:33; peer response from 20:14:30 to 20:22:26 and small talk from 20:22:44 to 20:40:26. The small talk happened when the instructor read through the comments written by the students through audio and one student started to comment on the instructor's Chinese accent and another student followed up on this topic. The instructor also addressed the issue of English speaking speed and emphasized the importance of clear articulation by using the example of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton speaking not too fast in their speeches. This was when Hui at 20:39:40 said that NBA Top 5 spoke really fast and another student followed up on this by saying that if the host for NBA Top 5 did not speak fast enough, there was no game atmosphere. Ni at 20:40:20 sent an emoji acknowledging that she understood the instructor's feedback regarding the language issues. The response to a very specific question as well as the peer response involved everyone from the class as the instructor directs it and it is expected that everyone participate in these two sessions. In other words, the instructor initiated these two communicative projects while the students initiated the small talk and not everyone participated in the small talk since it occurred spontaneously.

There were several embedded communicative projects in the overarching communicative project such as small talk: they talk about the writing prompt-induced topic which is to bury iPhone; the issue about word memorization; talk about the instructor's Chinese accent and the discussion of English speaking speed. For all this student-initiated small talk, only a number of students participated which is similar to a face-to-face whole class discussion, where some students initiate a new topic and a few follow up. Small talk can be related or not related to the academic tasks students are doing because the function of small talks is that they allow students to better know each other personally and this help builds rapport. In the post-survey, students said that in this online course, they felt comfortable expressing their thoughts directly without hesitation but they did not dare to interrupt during class at their school, fearing that they might be disrupting the smooth progress of the lesson. This finding is in contrary to Carson and Nelson (1996) who studied Chinese students' perceptions of peer response groups and found that they were unwilling to initiate comments and even if they did, they would be very careful to avoid conflicts. In this online large-group peer response, because they understood that each person will be reviewed by nine other students, they sensed the equal positioning in this community. Due to the time limit, for each lesson, the whole class could only conduct three to four large-group peer responses, and when the class had some extra time after three peer responses, there were always volunteers hoping to read their essays for the students.

This analysis of multimodal communication shows that the online platform is able to emulate a face-to-face whole-class discussion and offer more than a face-to-face peer-response group in that there are more communication opportunities for every single student. In addition, since this is an online platform, all the textual and audio communications can be stored and students can refer back to them for references when they want/need to. One unique feature about a large-group peer response activity is that due to the comparatively larger number of reviewers, it is easy for the reviewee to see some emergent theme from the comments. For a typical peer-response activity, the reviewee will have to make his or her own decision regarding what kind of revisions to make based on the comments. With this online large-group peer response activity, it will be easier for the reviewee to make revision decisions.

This online platform changes the role of the instructor. As can be seen from the transcription, the instructor was no longer the knowledgeable guru but rather became the manager and director of the online platform; she only filled in when there was a demonstrated need for expert knowledge. She monitored the peer response activities and summarized students' ideas and thoughts at the end of this particular communication project. Using the ecological, dialogical and distributed framework (Newgarden & Zheng, 2016), we can conclude here that this online platform is providing more communication opportunities to students in this class, and students demonstrated their agency in the online communication. Students also expressed in their feedback that they felt that this online peer-response feedback is allowing them to have more communications among the students as well as with the instructor.

4.4. Absence of Language-Related Comments

One theme that emerged from these large-group peer-response activities is that students did not address language-related issues or they did not comment on language issues in their comments and feedback. One student addressed the language issue in the post-survey saying that she started to become more aware of accurate use for some words by reading the passages recommended by the instructor. According to their post-survey responses, the reason was that they did not think they were the language experts and they were not in a position to give feedback on their peers' language issues. In addition, they still considered the instructor as the language expert in the class and they were afraid that they would say something wrong. Therefore, after each large-group peer-response activity, the instructor went through the comments with the whole class through audio and then read the essay reviewed together sentence by sentence and gave immediate local (language-related) and global (organizational) feedback. This phenomenon in the online class arose as a future research topic: how to engage students in more discussions and comments about language-related issue in their writing. Based on the current data, it seemed that different from the feedback regarding global concerns which benefit from more open-ended peer response activities, the language-related issue might need more specific guidance since students did not know where to start. Before the peer response activities, the instructor demonstrated how to conduct genre analysis and this worked as a model for students to do more open-ended peer responses; for example, students learned where to look for the thesis statement, the evidence and argument. In order to generate more discussions about language-related issues, the instructor might need to include lessons on how to make online sources such as corpora to confirm word choices or use of phrases.

4.5. The Role of Translanguaging

The communication in this online platform demonstrates how translanguaging assists students in a second language writing online course. This online course adopts the bilingual pedagogical approach based on the advocates from Creese & Blackledge (2010) which recognizes the interdependence of skills and knowledge across languages. Students started the peer response using Chinese, and it is interesting to see that they used some words that cannot be translated into English due to its underlying cultural meanings. For example, Yue at 20:22:05 in Table 1 (See Appendix B) described Ni's essay as “走心”, which means that Ni has put in great efforts in thinking and planning, will lose the personal touch if it is translated into English. For this open-ended large-group peer response activity, students expressed their personal feelings and the impressions of the essay under the command of the instructor, who said: “I will give you one minute or so to write down your feelings and impressions of this essay and provide any comments you have to the author.” In this peer-response activity, students were given enough freedom to express their thoughts and share comments with each other using Chinese. In an EFL context, these students did not have experience communicating with each other in English in daily life and it is their first time engaging in a peer response activity. In order to encourage them to feel more comfortable sharing their thoughts and comments in their first language, the instructor used Chinese and gave students the option of using their native language for discussions. Here the role of students' first language in the EFL context is acknowledged: when students are not familiar with the concept of peer response/peer reviews, from this particular multimodal communication, we can see that the use of students' native language allows them to avoid misunderstandings and helps them better convey their ideas.

4.6. Students' Change of Attitude

From the pre-surveys, it was seen that all ten students in this online course had zero online learning experience and yet they all had very negative impressions of online learning. They thought that online learning was “a total waste of money”, “zero interaction and only involves the teacher giving a lecture, not reliable”. After the course finished, students stated in their surveys that this online course gave them a new perspective on online

learning in that they had more communication opportunities compared to their traditional face-to-face English classes at their schools. Students started to see the value of others from the online peer-response group and this can be seen from their feedback: “firstly we can find out the merits of others and try to learn from them; secondly, through the discussions we can listen to others’ opinions and by comparing those with our own, we can be more open-minded; thirdly, we can improve our writing skills by considering their suggestions” (from Yi).

4.7. Multilingual Literacies & New Literacies

At the beginning of the course, students were asked what they thought writing was and what the purpose of writing was. Although the writing they had been practicing in English classes was more grammar-oriented, these students agree on their understandings of writing: “expressing your inner thoughts to the outside world with words. People can understand your thoughts and who you are through your writing. It is a wonderful way to connect you with others” (Yue). Their answers did not reflect their lack of confidence in English writing because when they were responding to this question, they were not thinking about the language issue--they were thinking about writing in general. These bilingual writers have access to many literary sources: their reading of Chinese texts can become useful sources to support their points in their English writing and their interaction with English texts will also be able to give them a different perspective on the same issue. Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009) found that youths used multiple languages to seek out information from different sources in their home and host contexts. In this online writing course, students formed a community of practice (Wenger, 2011) based on their common goal in this English competition and the online platform gave them the opportunities to see that their mother tongue is also a valuable source of information. For example, when the students were given a writing prompt “Do parents have different standards for sons and daughters?”, Yu conducted a small-scale survey in Chinese on his Chinese QQ space (blog in the system of QQ software) and used the findings in his writing as evidence to support his main point.

Online reading as a form of new literacies was an integral part of this online writing course: since the beginning of the course, the instructor introduced students to the importance of reading outside the classroom. Students also shared that they had been using various online platforms for English readings materials such as TED talk, VOA English and major English language newspaper websites including BBC, Time and etc. On top of these online reading, students have been engaging in other “informal” readings such as short readings shared through social media sites. As the example indicated earlier, Yu used his social media account for his small-scale survey, which is also an example of him practicing new literacies. Interestingly, his interaction with new literacies was not taught by the existing education system; his practice with new literacies was a part of his daily life and through this online course he connected his daily practice of new literacies with the learning of second language writing.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This research project studied an online writing course, which was designed to prepare the students/participants for a timed English writing competition. Due to the fact that the competition does not have a rubric and the needs analysis from their English teachers, which indicated that students need more training in critical analysis, the instructor designed a curriculum that engaged students in large-group peer response activities hoping that they would be able to see different perspectives and learn from each other. By analyzing their multimodal communications in the online synchronous sessions, this paper concludes that with the development of technologies and students’ familiarity with new literacies, a pure online course is offering students more opportunities to communicate and help them discover available resources online that could help them with their second language writing.

This study focused more on the overall application of ecological, dialogical and distributed frameworks in an online second language writing course and investigated how the online course and this particular platform affords students more multimodal communication opportunities as well as the discovery of various learning resources. As explained in the findings section, students, although highly engaged in the peer response activities, focused more on the global aspects and very few dialogs were seen regarding the language issue. During the first two classes, the instructor led several genre analysis and newspaper reading sessions and these sessions work as a model for students to conduct the open-ended peer response activities and this might be the reason why students initiate more comments on the global aspect of the paper.

Often times, we find that ESL research discoveries could not be applied to EFL context due to the stark differences of the two ecologies. For one, EFL students lack the abundant exposure to authentic language. This research studied how this particular online platform, which is available in our daily life, could help students develop their new literacies and learn to search for language resources online and also suggested possible future collaborations between the EFL and the ESL context. With the advances in technology and software, educators no longer need to be experts in programming to be able to make full use of the available technologies. In this research, the instructor simply used a communication tool that more than 1 billion Chinese people are using in their daily life for educational activities and engaged students in a large peer-response group. From a pedagogical standpoint, this research demonstrated how an online English writing course was conducted with the instructor in the US and students in China and how this online platform afforded students more communication opportunities among the students and hence more opportunities to learn from each other. In terms of educational theories, this pedagogical research demonstrated how an online course can be designed and executed using an ecological, dialogical and distributed approach. From the perspective of technology, despite decades of technological advancement, educators are still skeptical about the use of technology in teaching English in China; this research analyzed the multimodal conversations that this online platform affords and presented the potential these simple technologies have in language teaching and learning.

It is understandable that the current commercial use of online platform in education might have presented a negative picture of online learning, but educators in the EFL context should not simply dismiss the potential of online platforms based on the observations of these ill practices in online education. This study showed that once we involve students in the experience of online learning and online discoveries, not only will we change their attitudes of online learning, but we can also help them make the connections between online technologies and new literacies. This online course shows that with a familiar online communication platform and a clear educational objective, students could easily pick up the affordances (van Lier, 2000) of the online platform and make use of the resources as well as tapping the multi-directional relations created by the online platform for their own learning.

This online platform is only one of many that can be seen or have been used by people across the world and the underlying technological programming of these online platforms are similar. This research is not interested in showing how this particular platform can assist students' experiencing and understanding of second language literacy, but rather it hopes to showcase how similar online platforms can be used in the education of second language literacies for the potentials and flexibilities these online platforms offer.

5.1. Future Research

Based on the current findings, one future research based on the current design is how this online large-group peer response group and the online course could be integrated with corpora so that students could learn to make use of the online corpora (Gilmore, 2009) to find problematic language issues and help each other fix these language issues.

5.2. Implications

From the observation of how students make use of new social media to conduct a small-scale survey, we educators need to recognize that students are constantly interacting with the new literacies and our pedagogies should take into consideration their understanding and experience with new literacies. This is in accordance with Coiro (2003), who suggests educators help students understand new literacies and assist them in interacting with the new literacies.

What we educators need to understand is not the coding or programming behind these technologies, but instead how to apply these technologies in such a way that our pedagogical approach is better enacted using the technologies. This research study aimed to present educators and pedagogical researchers an example of online teaching that was carefully designed based on theories derived from educational psychology and second language learning and through the analysis of students' multimodal interaction, it proved how this online platform supports and assists the pedagogies.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

I bought a time capsule a few days ago and I wondered which memories I should put into it. Suddenly, I glanced at those letters you wrote to me and photographs we took together. All the sweet memories jumps into my head and is still vivid in my mind...

Last Christmas, I heard from you. Excited, touched, painful --- all these adjectives could not express my mixing feelings. It has been 2 months we separated from each other. "We have known one another for 3 years!" you said, "The most innocent and beautiful time of mine has been presented to you, do you feel moved?" I nodded and tears around my eyes. "There is still a little pink princess in your mind even if you act like a boy in the daily life. You always smile no matter what happened, but when you cry, I felt sorrowful, too." when I read this line, I smiled. At the same time, I felt some warm liquid on my face. I seldom cry in the public and if something terrible occurred to me, I would just say "Everything is gonna be OK." and smiled. Most of people around me thought I cared about nothing at all and often ignore my feelings. But she, my friend, she found and called that little sensitive girl who hided in my mind out. "Now, we cannot go out as we used to be easily. Every moment that I want to tell you something fresh, you are not by my side any more. I have no choice but close my mouth. I miss you so much." it is blessed to have a friend who always have something interesting to share with you. Luckily, I got one already.

Without hesitation, I put this postcard into my time capsule. I decided to buried it in a beautiful place which surround with fragrant flowers. And when we old, we held each other's hands to go there and let us grandsons to dig it out. Then we read it together with smiling and tears and then watched the sunset on the green grass along with blossoms fluttered about in the wind.

Appendix B

Table 1. Transcription of Part of Online Synchronous Session.

Original Transcription Name (hour:minute:second)	Translated Transcription
Si 20:09:01 中文可以吗?	Si 20:09:01 Can we use Chinese?
Zhu 20:10:03 首先表明观点和态度 ;	Zhu(940653892) 20:10:03 First of all, state point of view and opinions
Zhu 20:10:16 打快了	Zhu 20:10:16 I typed too fast
Yu 20:10:17 对于观点的论述, 一些例子、名言等等	Yu 20:10:17 Elaboration of the point, some examples and quotes etc.
Si 20:10:32 首先是要表明自己的观点, 然后通过列举调查结果 (说明出处)、事例、名人名言来支撑自己的观点	Si 20:10:32 First of all you need to state your point of view, and then you use some survey results (specify the source), examples and quotes from famous people to support your point
Zi 20:10:34 论点 例子 解释 (原因, 看法, 分析) 对此点的小小总结	Zi 20:10:34 Point, examples, explanation (reasons, opinions, analysis) and a little summary of this point

Han 20:10:35 body graphs 三段，每段第一句概括本段论点，加上例证及议论	Han 20:10:35 Three body paragraphs and the first sentence of each point summarizes the main point of this paragraph, then add evidence and illustrations
Yue 20:11:03 1.观点 2.具体的事例或名言来论证观点 3.总结	Yue(876094957) 20:11:03 1.Point of view 2. Specific example or famous quotes to support your point 3. Summary
Zhu 20:11:14 其次分点论述观点；并在其中引用论据	Zhu 20:11:14 And then you support your main point using sub-points and use evidence in each sub-points
Ran 20:11:20 分论点，解释分论点，具体事例论证，总结	Ran 20:11:20 Sub-points, explain sub-points, specific evidence and examples, summarize
Ni 20:11:27 Introduction：主要阐述的观点的概括 Body：分点论证，举例子 Conclusion: 总结观点	Ni 20:11:27 Introduction: mainly state the general point Body: sub-points, give examples Conclusion: summarize point
Hao 20:11:29 可以分几段 每段首有论证主题的观点 具体的例子 深入的论述分析，配上名言 总结拔高	Hao 20:11:29 We can have several paragraphs Each paragraph should have a main sub-point at the beginning Solid examples In-depth analysis of the argument, with famous quotes
Hui 20:11:33 完整的故事情节，也就是开始-发展-高潮-结尾	Hui 20:11:33 A complete story would include a structure of beginning-development-climax-ending.
Hui 20:14:11 我还没写完。。	Hui 20:14:11 I haven't finished...
Yu 20:14:30 其实都一样，最初版的 Mac 现在值几十个新款 Mac book Pro 嘿嘿嘿	Yu 20:14:30 It's actually all the same. The very first Mac is worth several Mac book pro now. Hehhehheh
Yu 20:14:39 放啥都升值	Yu 20:14:39 Whatever you put (in the time capsule) is going to worth more
Yue 20:15:22 我掉线了。。。	Yue 20:15:22 I lost connection (earlier)...
Ivy 20:15:47 wait a minute	Ivy 20:15:47 wait a minute
Yu 20:17:56 还好其实	Yu 20:17:56 It's alright actually

Han 20:20:45

细腻的情感和美好的场景描写。。。感到ing。。。不过我有个问题：既然是等老了以后一起挖出来看那还要时间胶囊干嘛？？！！

Han 20:20:45

I can sense the delicate emotions and beautiful description of the context. But I have a question, since you will be digging them (the letters) up when you are old, what's the point of putting them in the time capsule?

Zhu 20:20:51

我觉得采用边读信的内容边抒情的方式挺好的，有故事性

Zhu 20:20:51

I think it is really good to use this style of reading a letter while expressing emotions. (this essay) is telling a story.

Ran 20:21:00

有较强的故事性\但是分段会不会有点问题\第一段最后一句有点俗【并不

Ran 20:21:00

Very strong narrative. But is there some problem with the paragraphing? The last sentence of the first paragraph is a little cliché [not really]

Zi 20:21:05

重点在思考过程

Zi 20:21:05

The importance point is the thinking process

Ni 20:21:27

发现了逻辑错误 OMG

Ni 20:21:27

Found a logic error OMG

Si 20:21:40

嗯，感觉挺有真情实感的，把卡片放到时间胶囊里老了再挖出来也是蛮有特色的

Si 20:21:40

Hmm. I feel (this essay) has some real emotions. Putting cards in a time capsule and digging them up when you are old is very unique.

Hao 20:21:54

文章具有真情实感
描述的例子具体生动
用到了新背的单词？
读的略快

Hao 20:21:54

This essay demonstrates real emotions.
The depicted examples are concrete and vivid.
Used the recently memorized words?
(Ni) read a little too fast.

Yue 20:22:05

感觉在写信的内容的同时插入了自己的感受，避免了大面积的引用信件内容，很走心的作文

Yue 20:22:05

I feel that (the author) infused her own feelings while writing the content of the letter and hence avoided citing too much content from the letter. A very “zouxin” (put in a lot of thinking and planning) essay

Yu 20:22:15

文章写得挺美的，估计写的时候也是很流畅，有一些表达我觉得有点奇怪，什么 close my mouth。。。。。。是不是太中式了一点。友谊（或者是爱情嘿嘿嘿）在这里是不是显得有点小？总觉得既然是时空胶囊，怎么着也得埋一点划时代的对于现在这个时代有回忆深思作用的东西，比如说什么埋个 iPhone4 等苹果倒了的时候挖出来回忆一下曾经的荣耀？

Yu 20:22:15

The essay is very beautiful and I guess the writing process is very smooth. I found some expressions a little weird such as “close my mouth”...isn't it a little too Chinese. Friendship (or romantic love hehehe) might seem a little small here? I always feel that since we are talking about time capsule, we should bury something that is very representative of this day and age, such as an iPhone4 so that we could reminisce its glory?

Hui 20:22:26 很温馨，在自言自语的过程中表达了自己的思考，以及对于过去和未来的思考	Hui 20:22:26 Very heart-warming, (the essay) is expressing its thinking and the thinking about the past and future through talking to herself
Ran 20:22:44 埋个 iphone4 很强	Ran 20:22:44 Bury an iphone4, powerful
Ran 20:22:55 你怎么不埋个 kindle 呢	Ran 20:22:55 Why don't you bury a kindle?
Hui 20:23:15 乔布斯 1983 年就埋了	Hui 20:23:15 Steve Jobs already buried one in 1983.
Zi 20:23:34 然而 201 几年就被挖出来了	Zi 20:23:34 And it was already dug out in 201-something
Hui 20:23:42 最早是在 expo 吧？	Hui 20:23:42 The earliest was in Expo?
Hao 20:24:15 我们天天背单词	Hao 20:24:15 We memorize words every single day
Hao 20:24:29 寒假欠债太多	Hao 20:24:29 Owe too much debt after Winter Vacation
Yu 20:25:02 唐宁的口音感觉，像是个发育不良的英式英语……一开始还能憋得住，后来就不行了……—Ni 别词汇的发音有明显问题比如 bury	Yu 20:25:02 Ni's accent feels like a not well-developed British English...You can hold it at the very beginning, but then you cannot..there are some problematic words such as bury
Ni 20:25:46 在我亲爱的同桌的熏陶下我莫名转向了英式口音	Ni(408404230) 20:25:46 Under the influence of my beloved deskmate, I randomly gravitate towards British English
Yu 20:25:48 可惜我的词汇啊啊啊	Yu(2319252479) 20:25:48 My poor vocabulary ahahah
Yue 20:26:01 哈哈	Yue(876094957) 20:26:01 Hahaha
	Ran(601154898) 20:26:08 It's nice to be Year One
Hao 20:28:00 那开头提一下 time capsule 是干啥的可以吗	Hao(1735941909) 20:28:00 Is it okay to mention what time capsule is at the beginning?
Ni 20:29:05 前面有一个 call...	Ni(408404230) 20:29:05 There was a call...
The instructor read all the comments written by the students and read with the class the essay reviewed sentence by sentence and gave local feedback regarding the language.	

Yu 20:37:30 老师你一个 xx ¹ 人现在讲话听起来有很强的港台腔	Yu(2319252479) 20:37:30 Teacher you are a xx person and now you have a very strong Tawainese accent
Ran 20:39:20 对哈哈哈哈哈	Ran(601154898) 20:39:20 Yes hahahah
Ran 20:39:38 老师还能说 xx 方言吗	Ran(601154898) 20:39:38 Teacher, can you speak xx dialect?
Hui 20:39:40 NBA TOP5 的语速吓死人	Hui 20:39:40 NBA Top 5 has a really scary speaking speed.
Ni 20:40:20 ♢(ㄗ ∪ ㄗ♢) get√	Ni 20:40:20 ♢(ㄗ ∪ ㄗ♢) get√
Hao 20:40:26 top5 慢悠悠的来没气氛啊	Hao 20:40:26 For Top 5, speaking slowly does not bring out the atmosphere.

NOTES

1. The original text here was changed to mask the identity of the school.

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