

Voices and Visions in Global Perspective

Selected Papers from the
Second College-Wide Conference
for Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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CONFERENCE DEDICATION TO CAROL EASTMAN IN MEMORIAM

Marilyn Plumlee, Department of Linguistics

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity to say a few words about Carol Eastman and her impact on the study of languages, linguistics and literature at the University of Hawai'i and to acknowledge her important mentoring role to me and to a number of other graduate students within the College of LLL as well as in other departments.

For those who did not know her personally, I hope this dedication will serve as a brief introduction to Dr. Eastman's accomplishments. For those who knew her and whose lives were touched by her, I hope my remarks will evoke fond memories. And for all of us, Carol Eastman's life serves to remind us of the impact one person can make when we invest ourselves passionately in our scholarly pursuits.

Carol Eastman earned a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Wisconsin. She wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on features of Swahili syntax based on field work in Kenya. She taught linguistics and linguistic anthropology at the University of Washington as well as occasional classes in Ethnomusicology and Women's Studies. Living in the Pacific Northwest, she was drawn to do research on the Haida language, which resulted in the publication of a collection of Haida oral narratives and scholarly papers in sociolinguistics.

Even after assuming her demanding duties as Executive Vice-Chancellor and Senior Vice-President of the University of Hawai'i in 1994, Carol maintained her academic activities, continuing to write and to serve on the editorial boards of several scholarly publications. Here on campus, she taught a graduate seminar on Language and Ideology in the Department of Speech; she taught a Freshman Seminar; she served on dissertation committees; she gave guest lectures to both undergraduate and graduate classes in the Department of Linguistics; she was a participating faculty member at an East-West Center seminar studying the language of leadership. At the time of her death, she was co-teaching an anthropology field methods class.

Carol was a quintessential interdisciplinarian who constantly saw connections between fields often regarded by others as separate entities. It is most appropriate that this graduate student conference, with its focus on inter-disciplinary and inter-departmental relationships, be dedicated to Carol Eastman and her memory.

I feel privileged to have been her research assistant for three years and to have benefited from her academic mentoring. But most of all, I feel privileged to have known her as a friend. Her zest for life, her ability to communicate enthusiasm, and her standards of excellence were an inspiration to me. Her ability to be "real," to react as a friend despite her "lofty" position in the university administration, exemplified qualities of humility and genuineness which I hope to emulate for the rest of my life.

CONTENTS

Preface

I. LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

DISCOURSE

- Keiko Kitade*
IMPOLITE OR POLITE?: THE FUNCTION OF RISING INTONATION IN
THE SPEECH OF YOUNG JAPANESE WOMEN 5
- Ken Lacy*
WHO'S PLAYING THE EVIL HALF-ELVEN WIZARD?: THE
CONSTRUCTION OF FICTIVE IDENTITY IN FANTASY ROLE-PLAYING
GAMES 15
- Reiko Nishikawa*
SHAPING NARRATIVE IN JAPANESE: EVALUATION AND THE NON-
DEICTIC USE OF TENSE FORMS 24
- Yumiko Ohara*
LANGUAGE AS IDEOLOGY: WHAT JAPANESE SAYS ABOUT WOMEN, MEN,
AND PEOPLE 32
- Minako Takahashi*
CODESWITCHING TO FACILITATE INTERACTION IN GROUP
CONVERSATION 41
- Miwako Yanagisawa*
THE SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLE NO AS AN INTERNAL EVALUATION
DEVICE IN A JAPANESE LISTENER-DEPENDENT CONVERSATIONAL
NARRATIVE 51

FORMAL LINGUISTICS

- Katsura Aoyama*
AN OT ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE CODA NASAL 60
- Sukenari Hino*
DISTRIBUTIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN [GA] AND [ŋA] IN THE
JAPANESE NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER /GA/: LINGUISTIC AND
SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES 67
- Hiro Justin Ota*
A BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS OF THE BÈI CONSTRUCTION IN MANDARIN
CHINESE 81
- Lawrence "Kenji" Rutter*
THE CASE OF THE MISSING GLOTTAL STOP IN HAWAIIAN 94

<i>Haidan Wang</i>	SYNTAX-SEMANTICS MISMATCHES: A VIEW FROM COMPOSITIONAL COGNITIVE GRAMMAR	99
<i>Richard Xinhua Wu</i>	THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YU IN CHINESE AND THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND IT	108
LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY		
<i>Ranee Cervoania</i>	STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GROUP WORK: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION	124
<i>Anthony Silva</i>	THE ESL/EFL DICHOTOMY AND WHAT THE CLASSROOM ENGLISH TEACHER CAN DO ABOUT IT	131
<i>Hiromi Uchida</i>	COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN NEGOTIATION OF MEANING	137
<i>Yuichi Watanabe and Tao-chung Yao</i>	VALIDATION OF CATRC: THE COMPUTER-ADAPTIVE TEST FOR READING CHINESE	147

II. LITERATURE

CREATIVE WRITING

<i>Kristin Kelley Lau</i>	REFLECTIONS ON BECOMING A STEPMOTHER	157
<i>Kristin Kelley Lau</i>	POEMS	160
<i>Debra Nauyokas</i>	ELEVEN MILLION DOLLAR LADY	163

CRITICAL ESSAYS

<i>Kathleen Cassity</i>	BEYOND OUTLAW: EXPLORATIONS OF GENRE IN JEANETTE WINTERSON'S "ORANGES ARE NOT THE ONLY FRUIT"	171
<i>Kristen Kelley Lau</i>	ARTISTIC AND BIOLOGICAL MOTHERING IN COMFORT WOMAN: THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY THROUGH RACE, GENDER, AND NATIONALITY	176
<i>Leora Horwitz McCloskey</i>	WHOSE STORY IS IT?: WRITING A MULTI-GENERATIONAL SURVIVOR NARRATIVE	185

<i>Jon McFarland</i> LES ÉLÉMENTS DE DÉSIR AU MOYEN AGE	190
<i>Diana Solomon</i> GETTING AWAY WITH LAUGHTER: APPROACHES TO THE COMEDY OF FRANCES BURNEY AND JANE AUSTEN	199
<i>Gabrielle Welford</i> DAVID ANTIN, LUDWIG WITGENSTEIN, GERTRUDE STEIN: THE POET-PHILOSOPHER AND A MODEL OF THINKING	207

Preface

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The papers in this volume represent a refereed selection of those presented at the second annual Conference for Graduate Students in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The goal of these annual conferences is to create a forum for scholarly interaction among the students and faculty in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, as well as members of the university at large, and interested members of the local community. The second annual conference was held on March 7, 1998, on the theme "Languages and Literatures in the Age of Globalization." The keynote address was by Dr. Peter Elbow, noted authority on writing and pedagogy, and the 1995-96 holder of the Citizen's Chair of the Department of English at the University of Hawai'i.

Graduate students Katsura Aoyama of the Department of Linguistics and Jeffrey Hatcher of the Department of English as a Second Language co-chaired the 1998 conference committee. Other committee members represented all constituent departments: graduate students Haejin E. Koh from the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, Kathleen Cassity and Debra Nauyokas from the Department of English, Chad Green and Dana K. Petteys from the Department of English as a Second Language, and Jung Hsing Chang, Lan-Hsin Chang, Ruth Horie, Marilyn K. Plumlee, Lawrence Rutter, and Peter Tovey from the Department of Linguistics; and Elizabeth Baez and Christopher Court, faculty of the Department of European Languages and Literature and Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures respectively.

The editors, on behalf of conference organizers and participants, wish to thank the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, and in particular Dean Cornelia N. Moore, for supporting this opportunity for intellectual exchange. College support included both funding—for the keynote speaker, for refreshments at the conference, and for publication of these Proceedings—and significant moral support. Several dozen graduate students assisted in the review of the papers submitted for publication, and their insights are deeply appreciated by contributors and editors alike. And finally, we wish to express our congratulations and gratitude to the more than seventy presenters and to the faculty and graduate students who volunteered as moderators and in other capacities, for a stimulating and successful conference.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Carol M.K. Eastman, Senior Vice President of the University of Hawai'i and Executive Vice Chancellor of the Mānoa Campus until her death in October 1997, whose energy and high standards as a scholar and administrator, and whose commitment to supporting student achievement, were an inspiration to us all.



I. LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS



DISCOURSE

IMPOLITE OR POLITE?: THE FUNCTION OF RISING INTONATION IN THE SPEECH OF YOUNG JAPANESE WOMEN

Keiko Kitade, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

Ethnographically oriented research has suggested languages index affective stance in interactions as well as epistemic stance, social identities and activities (Ochs 1996). The research on Japanese has focused primarily on affective markers in lexical items and grammatical structures as evidence of affective meaning (e.g., McGloin 1980, Cook 1990, Ohta 1991, Suzuki 1995). Little research, however, has considered contextual significance in the study of affective markers. My research supports previous claims of affective meaning in Japanese, and furthermore, demonstrates that the intonational patterns provide evidence of the importance of affective meaning equal to that of lexical items and grammatical structures. Moreover, this study suggests that such affective markers convey multiple meanings depending on the relationships of the interlocutors (in-/out-group dimensions).

Studies of intonation in Japanese (Inoue 1994) demonstrate that hearers' perceive the high rising terminal (HRT) as 'impolite'. But the context and the actual functions of HRTs are not discussed in his study. Identifying the meaning of HRT in recent use requires careful attention to the contextual factors in which it is uttered. In data drawn from casual conversations between close friends rather than from an interview, HRT primarily functions as:

1) a positive politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987) marker to establish the solidarity or common ground between the interlocutors and 2) a negative politeness marker to avoid negative impact in cooperative interaction. These pragmatic functions originated in the modal meaning of HRT as an epistemic marker to show the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. These studies' results suggest that a linguistic variable reflected in the young people's interactional norm may be misperceived as impolite by out-group members.

1. INTRODUCTION

The functionalist approach that has grown out of studies in the ethnography of communication (e.g., Hymes 1972, Briggs 1986, Ochs 1996) suggests that certain properties of language index social identity, social act, activity, and affective and epistemic stance which conceptualize communicative situations. Ethnographic research in Japanese has suggested that affective and epistemic stance are constantly expressed through interaction (Ohta 1991). Such research has primarily focused on affective markers in lexical items and grammatical structures represented by sentence- and clause-final particles as evidence of such a code in interaction in Japanese (e.g., Cook 1990, Ohta 1991, Suzuki 1995). These studies, however, pay little attention to the contextual significance of affective markers. Moreover, little research has been done about the intonational patterns of the Japanese language. This study supports previous claims of affective meaning in Japanese, and furthermore demonstrates that it is the intonational patterns as well as lexical items and grammatical structures that provide evidence of the importance of affective meaning to achieve interactional goals. Furthermore, this study suggests that such affective markers are valid only in restricted contexts, namely, in-group interaction.

This study focuses on a particularly salient intonation contour used in Japanese: a questioning intonation which is phonetically a high rising terminal (HRT)¹ contour in a declarative sentence. HRT is also found in Australia (Guy et al. 1986), Canada (qtd. in Guy et al.), the United States (Ching 1982), and New Zealand (Britain 1992). The HRTs of this study are currently spreading in Japanese (Inoue 9 and Kitade 8) and do not function primarily as polar questions².

Studies of Australian English (Guy et al. 30) and New Zealand English (Britain 91) have pointed to the HRT in declarative clauses as an innovative variable. Both studies point out that the rising intonation expresses interactional meaning and acts as an indicator of polar questions. A study of HRT in Japanese (Inoue 3) points out the frequent use of rising intonation in Japanese as a current phenomenon. His study focuses on the listener's impression of HRT and he concludes that HRT is 'impolite', 'frivolous', and 'childish'³. The functions of HRT, both interactionally and pragmatically,

however, are left unclear. Identifying the meaning of HRT in recent use requires careful attention to the specific situational context and discourse location in which it was uttered.

The goal of this study is to examine the pragmatic functions of rising intonation in Japanese discourse. Previous quantitative studies of HRT (Edelsky 1979, Kitade 1996) suggest that HRTs which do not have the polar question meaning are most frequently observed in young female interaction⁴. Therefore, this study examines young women's casual conversation and interviews with young women. The results of this study will show the politeness function of HRT in an intimate relationship; HRT is used as a politeness marker to establish solidarity or common ground between the interactors and to avoid negative affect in interaction. HRT, a particular pattern of intonation in the non-final location, also contributes to achieving the interactional goal of conversation among females and in-group interaction among young people. Furthermore, the results of this study, in contradiction to Inoue's claim, suggest that a politeness marker identified in an intimate relationship may be perceived as impolite by out-group members.

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES

To examine the meaning conveyed by HRT in context, that is, rising intonation in declarative sentences, the meaning conveyed with the rising intonation should be considered. Studies suggest that the meanings conveyed with rising intonation are *uncertainty* (Lakoff 17), *incompleteness* (Geluykens 483-4), and *a demand for response* (Brown, Currie and Kentworthy 35, Stenstrom 29).

Uncertainty, which is considered to be a question, is divided into two categories in terms of the epistemic state of the speaker; 1) epistemic uncertainty: the speaker's uncertainty about the truth of his/her own utterance; 2) interpersonal uncertainty: the speaker's uncertainty about the listener's comprehension (Guy et al. 44). Lakoff (17) states that women use rising intonation as a hedge to show uncertainty about the adequacy of a contribution to a conversation due to the insecure status of women in society. This study's data concerning females, however, shows rising intonations are also used even when the speaker can be assumed to be certain of the information that she is presenting to the hearer. In such cases, rising intonations in Japanese female-female conversations indicate not simple epistemic uncertainty but rather interpersonal uncertainty. Other epistemic markers in Japanese, such as final particles, mark a polite attitude towards the addressee (Cook and Ohta 211). In the 'Results' section, the pragmatic function of HRT is analyzed.

Referring to the place of occurrence of rising intonation within a system of turn-taking, Bolinger and Cruttenden (162) claim that the rising intonation serves as a 'non-finality marker'. In another study of the location of HRTs in the turn-taking system of conversation, Geluykens (483-484) suggests that rising intonation is used as a cue to the hearer that the turn is not complete, and that the speaker does not wish to be interrupted. Geluykens—with his data showing that the most common discourse locations for rising tones are either non-finally in a clause, or non-finally in a turn (484)—suggests that the signaling of 'non-finality' in the turn-taking system in conversation is much more likely a universal feature of rising intonation. His study, however, did not consider another function of HRT, 'demand for response,' and whether or not utterances were followed by the listener's back-channeling was not clear. Whether the non-final clause/turn locations themselves indicate a meaning of non-finality or the rising intonations indicate incompleteness is unclear. Regardless of intonation, the grammatically incomplete locations could indicate that the speaker will continue his/her turn right after a minimal response. Thus, the other function of rising intonation, 'demand for response,' should be considered.

Brown, Currie and Kentworthy (35) and Stenstrom (29) suggest that the function of HRT in the structural pattern of interactions is *demand for a response*. In his study with videotaped interviews, Bryant shows that the rising intonation is almost always responded to by interlocutors, verbally or nonverbally. In the case of Australian English (Guy et al. 26) and New Zealand English (Britain 79), it is claimed that the rising intonation allows only a minimal response and can be followed only by additional new information and only from the same speaker. A HRT followed by back-channeling simultaneously conveys a request for response, and the syntactically incomplete location of HRT may let the speaker keep his/her turn.

Regarding the pragmatic function of HRT, Britain (80-100) claims that the function of the rising intonation among the New Zealand Maori is positive politeness toward the addressee (Brown & Levinson 101-123), inviting him/her to participate vicariously and empathetically in the production of the talk. Studies of other positive politeness markers in New Zealand English such as 'eh' (Meyerhoff 36) and 'you know' (Holmes, *Politeness* 113) point out that the primal functions of these positive politeness markers are different depending on gender and ethnicity. Therefore, the reasons and functions of HRT in Japanese could also vary depending on the interactors' relationship as well as the context types and their individual interactional goals.

3. METHOD

The data in this study consists of interview and conversation between female native speakers of Japanese. The first source of data is a 30-minute interview between two graduate students, ages 25 and 31, from Tokyo, recorded on September 13, 1996. These subjects had never met before the interview. The second source of data is a 40-minute conversation recorded on November 9, 1996. The two native speakers selected for the second portion are females from Tokyo and, at the time of the study, were both students studying English in Hawai'i. Both are age 24 and had been in Hawai'i for half a year at the time. These subjects in the conversation identified each other as close friends, and the recording was a casual conversation held around a table in one of the participant's apartment. Informants were unaware of the purpose of the study. Determination of a rising intonation in each sentence/clause was made by professional examiners in the field of phonology.

4. RESULTS

The pragmatic functions of HRT in the non-clause-final location

This section examines the pragmatic functions of HRTs in the non-clause-final location, which are frequently followed by back-channeling from the listener. Back-channeling includes short responses and also shows the hearer's affective stance toward the speaker. The following functions of rising intonation are identified in the data. 1) Modal meaning: speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed. 2) Affective meaning: an addressee-oriented signal, expressing the speaker's solidarity, positive attitude, or concern for the addressee's feeling.

1) Modal meaning (epistemic marker).

The first function of the HRT is based on an uncertainty meaning conveyed by a rising intonation. By using the rising intonation to show an epistemic stance, the speaker indicates uncertainty about the speaker's own information or the hearer's understanding. The following example from the conversation data illustrates this usage.

(1) T is talking about her little host brothers who were wearing Ghost Busters costumes and were Trick-or-Treating on Halloween.

—> 1T: ano kyandi morai ni hashiri mawatte kusogaki ga, kusogaki wa nan dakke Goosuto basutaa HRT

'Well, the kids were running around to get some candy. The kids were, what was it?
Ghost busters HRT'

2A: natsukashii ne. Goosuto basutaa tte.

'It makes you nostalgic, doesn't it, 'Ghost Busters'.'

3T: natsukashii ne.

'It makes you nostalgic.'

In (1), a rising intonation is used because the speaker is uncertain about her information. For example, in (1), 'nandakke', 'what is it?', in 1T shows that, in trying to remember the name 'Goosutobasutaa,' T is uncertain about her memory. Then, A is confirming 1T's utterance in 2A.

(2) K is giving directions to a Japanese store in San Francisco.

1K: son de koko o totte n no gaa,=
'And then (the one that) goes here is,='

2J: un.
'Aha.'

3K: nan tsutte ka na nantoka tte yuu okkii toori de=
'What was it called (it called) something or other which is the big street and='

4J: un.
'Aha.'

→ 5K: sore o tate ni koo tootten no ga Paueru HRT
'(the street) across it vertically is Powell HRT'

→ 6J: tate ni toote n no ga Paueru HRT Huun.
'(the street) across it vertically is Powell HRT Huh.'

7K: [un. Tate tte yuu ka hon de kocchi gawa no hoo ni baa tto
'Aha. Vertically shall I say then if (you) go straight this way.
]]
iku too,
way,'

8J: un.
'Aha.'

9K: Fisshaamanzuwaafu ni (),
'to Fisherman's wharf (),'

10J: [hai hai hai hai.]
'Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.'

In example (2) from the interview data, K uses rising intonation to check whether the hearer understands or knows the street she mentioned in 5K. In 6J, J repeats K's utterance with rising intonation and 'huun', or 'huh,' showing that J does not know which street K is indicating in 5K. Then, in 7K and 9K, K gives additional explanation to make J understand. Finally, in 10J, J shows that it has become clear.

2) Affective meaning

The data in this study demonstrates two pragmatic functions of HRT for conveying affective meaning: *to soften the force of opposite opinion and as an addressee-oriented signal to enforce solidarity or convey a positive attitude to addressee.*

The following is an example showing the HRT as a discourse strategy used to soften the speaker's statement in order to negotiate with the hearer who has a different opinion.

(3) They are talking about diets. T told A that she has no time to eat during the day.

1T: de yoru taberu no yo. Ippai.
'Then (I) eat a lot at night.'

2A: gyaku ni futoru, niku tsuichau, niku tte yuu ka enerugii ga ne, hassan suru basho ga nakunacchau neru dake ni nacchau kara.

'Despite that, (you) gain more weight, get fatter, fatter, in other words, the energy has no way to get burned off because (you) just go to sleep (afterwards).'

→ 3T: maa soo yuu koto mo aru wa ne ((pause)) neru no ga osoi kara ma ii ka na tto omotte niji gurai toka HRT =
'Well, that happens too ((pause)) (but) because I go to bed late, well, I think it is all right. Around two o'clock or so HRT ='

4A: =att jaa=
'=Oh, then='

[]

5T: nechau kara.
'I go to bed.'

6A: =heiki da ne.
'=It is all right for you.'

In 3T, T shows some agreement with A's idea at first in '*maa soo yuu koto mo aru wa ne*', well, that happens too, even as she continues with her different opinion using HRT. The hedge in 3T, '*maa*' or 'well', and the tentative agreement '*soo yuu koto mo aru wa ne*' indicate that T is avoiding conflict and attempting to state softly that her case is different from A's case. '*Gurai*' or 'around' and '*toka*' or 'or so' also dispute A's utterance. In 4A, A shows that she did not know T goes to bed late and A is admitting that T's case is different from the ordinary scenario A was talking about in which one eats late at night and goes to sleep shortly after.

Like those in English (Brown & Levinson, Holmes, and Thomas), Japanese epistemic markers play a role in politeness (Ohta 217-218). By keeping the speaker's stance toward the content of his/her utterance uncertain, Brown & Levinson suggest the epistemic marker serves as a device to soften the impact on the speaker's negative face want. The uncertainty meaning of HRT is helping HRT to be applied as a negative politeness device to soften the force of an opposite opinion in order to have a harmonious interaction.

The *addressee-inviting signal of HRT* is used to show the speaker's positive attitude toward the hearer and that the hearer is welcome to participate in the speaker's narrative. Therefore, most HRTs located non-clause-finally in the interview data are followed by back-channeling or nodding. The following example shows this system.

(4) K is talking about the schedule of her school year in California.

- 1J: mijikai tte dore kurai de kaeru no ?
'(you say) a short time, how long did you stay ?'
→ 2K: warito sono atashi ga itta no ga nigatsu HRT
'Relatively short when I went (there) it was February HRT'
3J: un.=
'Aha.='
4K: =kara sangatsu no hajimerehen datta karaa,
'=and around March it was,'
5J: [Un.]
'Aha.'
→ 6K: minna moo ichigatsu gurai toka HRT
'Others were already from around January or so HRT'
7J: un.
'Aha.'
→ 8K: de daigaku yasumi ni naru toki tte, nigatsu no owari gurai toka de kaecchattari HRT
'Then when the college vacation comes, they go back around the end of February HRT'
9J: (sore)
'(That's)'
10K: gyaku ni hora sangatsu kara kitari toka =
'or they come from March or so ='
11J: =un.un.
'=Aha. aha.'

It is clear that HRT used by K is frequently followed by the hearer's back-channeling, '*un*', 'yes, or 'aha'. The speaker is not uncertain about her own information because she is talking about her own experience. The HRT in this discourse functions as reinforcement to encourage and facilitate the hearer's participation. The rising intonation invites the hearer while the speaker still continues her turn, finishing the main clause and following with co-ordinate clauses. Ohta suggests that, in Japanese conversation, the act of keeping the floor to talk about one's own experiences may be

perceived as an imposition on the listener. If so, encouraging the addressee's participation by a back-channeling initiated signal is a strategy to express the speaker's politeness to the hearer.

The HRT as an addressee-oriented signal reinforces the speaker's solidarity with the hearer. In such cases, the hearer showed her agreement or even co-constructed the speaker's utterance, indicating that rising intonation greatly encourages the hearer to participate in the conversation. Observe the following example from the casual conversation data.

(5) T and A are talking about cockroaches. T starts talking about her experience of killing a cockroach.

1T: kore gurai chicchai no ga watashi no heya ni ita no ne.
'There was this very small one in my room.'

2A: un.
'Yeah.'

3T: kowai. !Shuuu! Koroshita mon ne. Nani mo kinisezu ni !Kyaa! Mo
iwanai de sono mamma sesse-sassa to=
'Scary. !Fzzt! I killed (it) without getting alarmed without saying !kyaa! And just like
that hurried off ='

4A: [((laugh))]

→ 5T: = sono mama Gokizetto tori ni itte HRT =
'= I hurried off to get the Roach Killer Z and HRT ='

6A: = !Shuu! Tte.
'= !Spray! it.'

7T: !Shuu! Tte yatte !Att shinda na! Mitai na, tte de toru, mitai na. Kowai yoo.
'!Spray! I sprayed it and !Oh, it's dead! It seemed to be, and (I) pick it up, it seemed to be.
Scary.'

8A: [((laugh))]

9A: tsuyoku natta ne.
'You are getting tough, aren't you.'

10T: tsuyoku natta wa, okage de.
'(I) am getting tough, thanks (to that).'

The utterance in 5T with rising intonation at the end prompts the hearer's participation. In 6A, A completes T's utterance by continuing 5T's utterance with "*!Shuu! tte*" with no overlapping, guessing what T did after T got the cockroach spray. This HRT in 5T, with the incompleteness verbal suffix '*-tte*', or '*-and*,' highly motivates addressee A to participate in the interaction, and so addressee A co-constructs the statement with T. T also repeats A's statement of 6A in 7A. This repetition shows T's confirmation that what A added for T in 6A was exactly what T wanted to say. In conversation between women, this co-constructive pattern frequently occurs, and Thorne and Henly (1975) claim that it becomes more frequent among women who have a close relationship to show a supportive attitude and intimacy. It is an effective strategy for maintaining an in-group relationship between the interactors through conversation, and this HRT encourages such interaction.

Locations and contexts of rising intonations

The results of the locations of the rising intonations in the discourse can be found in Tables 1 and 2. First, clauses here are the utterances that contain tense indicators (predicates or verb phrases)⁵. The utterances ending in conjunctions (cf. *tari*, 'or'; *toki*, 'when', and *kara*, 'because')⁶ the verbal form (*te*-form), particles (Nominative, Accusative, and Dative) and postpositions contribute to this large non-clause-final category.

	Wh-Q	Polar-Q	Modal meaning	Affective meaning
Feedback	25 (7)	79 (8)	5 (37)	1 (47)
No Feedback	3 (0)	5 (1)	0 (14)	1 (19)
Total	28 (7)	84 (9)	5 (51)	2 (66)
Total %	50.79%		22.22%	26.98%

Table 1. The distribution of rising intonation in Clause-final and Non-clause-final (in parentheses) Location <Interview>

	Wh-Q	Polar-Q	Modal meaning	Affective meaning
Feedback	4 (2)	35 (10)	0 (12)	0 (38)
No Feedback	0 (0)	0 (1)	0 (1)	0 (38)
Total	4 (2)	35 (11)	0 (13)	0 (76)
Total %	36.87%		9.21%	53.90%

Table 2. The distribution of rising intonation in Clause final Non-clause-final (in parentheses) Location <Conversation>

It is clear that rising intonations in clause-final locations function as questions (polar⁷ and wh-questions). On the other hand, the rising intonations located in non-clause-final locations convey primarily non-question meanings⁸, either modal meaning or affective meaning⁹. Interestingly, the postpositional character of Japanese syntactic structure allows indication of incompleteness at the very end of the sentence just where most rising intonation occurs. The verbal suffix of conjugation form 'V-te' and the conjunctions come at the end of subordinate clauses in Japanese. Therefore, this study shows that non-final clause locations marked by HRTs indicate non-transition relevance places (TRP) (Sacks et al. 702) which allow only minimum responses (Reid 494-495).

In the case of HRT demanding a response, out of 206 tokens with HRT located in non-clause-final positions, 134 cases (or 65.0%) of the utterances with the HRT were immediately followed by a back-channel or continuer from the hearer. The number of responses would be higher if non-verbal responses, such as nodding, were also included. These results of HRT in Japanese suggests that HRT occurs in non-clause-final functions as an addressee-oriented signal which encourages the addressee's participation with minimum responses rather than simply meaning 'non-finality'. By marking the non-clause-final location, HRT demands minimal response and simultaneously keeps the speaker in control of the floor.

The function of HRT in non-final clause locations are distinguished in two broad categories; namely, modal meaning and affective meaning using contextual information as Holmes (Function of 'you know') has called it in her study of tag questions. In conversation data, the most frequent function of HRTs is not epistemic markers (14.6%), but politeness markers (85.3%). In contrast, this goal is not clearly significant in the interview context where the epistemic meaning of HRTs is 43.5% while the affective meaning of HRTs is 56.4%. This result is based on the assumption that the primary affective goal of interaction in an intimate relationship is to establish a common ground. The casual conversation data was between two Japanese students, studying in the same English program in Hawai'i, who had formed an intimate relationship. By means of sharing their experience abroad through conversation, they reinforce their intimate relationship. HRTs in such context function primarily as politeness markers.

Consideration of contextual factors is crucial in distinguishing between epistemic meanings and affective meanings. In this data, HRTs were counted as modal meaning when the speaker's uncertainty was identified in contexts. The data suggest, however, a multi-functional nature for HRT. Unless the speaker shows her uncertainty with other epistemic markers close to HRT, or HRT followed by confirming responses, the function of HRT—modal meaning or affective—is not always clear. This ambiguity restricts epistemic markers such as HRT to function as politeness markers only among those in intimate relationships.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper argues that HRT has two pragmatic functions which are related to the original meaning of rising intonation presented in previous studies (i.e., 'uncertainty', 'incompleteness', and 'demand for response'). First, HRT functions as an epistemic marker which represents the speaker's modal stance. This function is related to the 'uncertainty' meaning conveyed by rising intonation. With the HRT, the speaker expresses her/his uncertainty regarding her/his proposition.

Second, HRT functions to convey affective meanings, to soften the force of an opposite opinion and as an addressee-oriented signal to express the speaker's positive attitude toward or solidarity with the addressee. The softening function also has its basis in the 'uncertainty' meaning of the rising intonation. By representing the speaker's stance toward the content of his/her utterance as being uncertain, such HRTs soften the negative impact in interaction.

'Incompleteness' is similar to the function dubbed 'non-finality marker' (Bolinger, Cruttenden 162 and Geluykens 483-4), in that the speaker uses HRT to convey his/her intention to continue the turn. However, this study shows that the non-final locations of HRT as well as the rising intonations themselves signal incompleteness. These HRTs have the uncertainty meaning and occur in TRP (Sacks et al. 706) to elicit minimal responses. In other words, this HRT is used to involve the hearer or to encourage the hearer's participation when the speaker intends to show that she is avoiding the simple act of narrating or keeping the floor. In conversations between intimate participants, such a polite attitude of the speaker toward the hearer reinforces the feeling of solidarity as observed in agreement responses and co-constructions.

Whether a HRT indicates positive politeness attitudes or other meanings, however, is not clear without knowing the responses to the HRT. As Inoue's study of the impression of HRT shows, rising intonations are possibly perceived as impolite (22) when the relationship between the interactors is not appropriately intimate. Such levels of intimacy are measured by shared features between interactors such as gender, age and other social factors. This study suggests that positive politeness markers function only in interaction among in-group members, but not with out-group members. This paper has not only shown that a particular intonation pattern, HRT, plays a key role in establishing common ground in female Japanese interaction, but it has also suggested that contextual factors are crucial in examining the pragmatic function of epistemic markers. By examining a variation of intonation—one of the linguistic variables preferred among young women (Inoue 9 and Kitade 7)—this study asserts that the social norm of young Japanese females emphasizes in-group solidarity, as reflected in their language use.

NOTES

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- 1 The HRT in Japanese occurs on the last syllables of words regardless of a location of accent. The final syllable with HRT tend to be longer due to the immediate rising of tone.
- 2 Polar questions are identified with the question particles and addressee's response (yes/no) as well as contextual information.
- 3 In Inoue's study, the subjects listen to HRT recorded, but he does not explain whether the contents of the tape is interaction or a monologue.
- 4 My previous study of HRT and gender shows that HRTs most frequently occurred when both interviewer and addressee were female in an interview of a stranger at a shopping mall.
- 5 Clause-final in this study corresponds to what Kuno (12) has termed as "— all clauses in Japanese must end with verbs—". Also the units ending with 'no', 'koto', 'to', 'no/n desu' are considered as Nominal or Adjectival clauses (213-233). The copulas after nouns and nominal adjectives can indicate the tense of the clause.
- 6 Subordinate conjunctions are counted as non-cause-final locations because they indicate their main clauses continue right after them.

- 7 Fillers (items such as 'honto?' 'really?' and 'ee?' 'huh?') are included in non-clause-final polar questions.
- 8 HRTs counted as uncertainty in modal meaning convey the level of the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. The other epistemic markers and the confirmation responses identify HRTs as epistemic markers in this study.

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APPENDIX

Abbreviations and Transcription Notations

!XXX!	Increased volume of utterance between exclamation points
(())	Information for which a symbol is not available
()	Utterance in parentheses not clearly heard by transcriber
....	Ellipsis
=	Next turn begins without any pause
[Overlap with the previous speaker
?	Rising pitch as a question
.	Falling pitch
HRT	High Rising Terminal

WHO'S PLAYING THE EVIL HALF-ELVEN WIZARD? CONSTRUCTION OF FICTIVE IDENTITY IN FANTASY ROLE- PLAYING GAMES

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ABSTRACT

What defines the genre of Fantasy Role-Playing Games (FRPGs), and what makes this a relevant area of study? How do participants (or players) linguistically construct and adopt fictive identities in this genre, and how is switching between this fictive identity and a more conventional (real-world) identity accomplished during the course of interaction? Conversation Analysis is used to examine several transcribed excerpts from a single FRPG event, and to determine that language is used in deliberate and structured manners in order to accomplish all these tasks, much as in many other forms of conversational work collectively known as "institutional talk."

It is my intent in this paper to see how players in Fantasy Role-Playing Games (FRPGs) linguistically construct their "fictive identity," their imaginary character in the FRPG, and how they switch between this fictive identity and their more conventional (real-world) identities during play.

What are Fantasy Role-Playing Games? Fantasy Role-Playing Gaming can best be thought of as a "hobby," akin to model railroading, as opposed to a "game." Typically, there are several parts to FRPGs. First and foremost, they are non-scripted, impromptu, interactive storytelling events. Their players create and build stories by operating within a framework of established rules (the existence of rules, combined with the nature of FRPGs as a leisure activity, leads to the term "game") to describe and control the actions of a heroic alter ego (thus "role-playing") as they occur in an imaginary setting (thus "fantasy").

An FRPG is overseen by a single arbitrator or referee, known by a variety of titles but here referred to as the "Storyteller." It is the responsibility of the Storyteller to develop the initial seeds of a storyline, to describe both the background and various settings to the players, to encourage the continued creation and cohesive flow of the FRPG event, and to use his or her subjective judgment and knowledge of the rules, combined with the nominally "objective" and random judgments of dice rolls, to determine the outcome of any actions undertaken by player alter egos. Naturally, there are always a few variations to this,¹ but as a general description of FRPGs, it suffices. Two of the better-known FRPGs are *Dungeons and Dragons*TM (published by the TSR Group of Wizards of the Coast), and *Vampire: The Masquerade*TM (published by a British company, White Wolf).

My reasons for studying this phenomenon are several. First, FRPGs rely almost wholly on verbal interaction. A typical session can occupy several hours or more of interaction and talk. Since communication in FRPGs is essential, and since the sequence of play relies so heavily on language and conversation, I feel that they present a fabulous opportunity to study activity wherein talk plays a markedly central role.

Second, FRPGs typically involve interaction among in-group peers in leisure settings. Thus these games avoid many "power" asymmetries between interactants, although they certainly tend to bring into sharper relief those inherent to the group. Most notable is the artificial game hierarchy that exists between Storyteller and players. Though the role of the Storyteller is assumed only temporarily, and constrained by the limited real-world power s/he can bring to bear on disgruntled players, the arbitrator/world-creator role invests him/her with a final authority.² There are also pre-existing hierarchies among the peers themselves. This is most evident when a

new player is introduced to the group, requiring that s/he negotiate a place in that hierarchy, but also in the fact that group leaders gravitate toward leadership roles and non-leaders are discouraged from such roles, for example, even within the imaginary context of the FRPG world.³

Third, the nature of FRPGs ostensibly fosters interaction, rather than competition, at least as a social strategy. Since an FRPG is an interactive story-making and problem-solving event, it isn't about "winning" itself, but instead the satisfaction one gets from participating in the creation of the story, which is the primary goal. Ideally, this should encourage individuals to interact in the interest of coming up with a successful (i.e. fun, enjoyable) game. Granted, a struggle can be seen between the Storyteller (provides challenges) and the players (overcome challenges), and an activity that relies as heavily as it does on interaction creates another sort of competition—that for the conversational floor. Furthermore, what constitutes a "fun" or "enjoyable" game undoubtedly varies subjectively. However, the concept of a conversational activity with a jointly recognized goal (interaction as opposed to competition, for the purpose of "fun") allows me to argue that FRPGs may be seen as an institutional form of talk, possessed of certain constraints on contributions and of inferential frameworks vitally related to its goal-orientation.⁴ In other words, it provides FRPGs with a conceptual link to published works.

Finally, FRPGs are conveniently accessible—I have been a player for many years and am a member of a number of FRPG in-groups.

My data comes from three hours of recordings of an FRPG session one evening in December of 1997. The game is *Warhammer Fantasy Role Play*, a British⁵ game originally published by Games Workshop (now by Hogshead Publishing)—the setting is medieval/early-Renaissance, and fantastic elements are lifted almost wholesale from Tolkien.⁶ My transcription is broad⁷—any unusual markings are explained when they occur. There were six participants present: five players that I label F, H, K, R, and W in the transcriptions, and the storyteller S. All are students at the University of Hawai'i, with the exception of F, who works on campus. The interactants range in age from 19 to 22; all players have several years' experience in FRPGs and the game under discussion has been played on a weekly basis for almost three months. R is female, the others are male. Additional information for the identity construction portion of my paper comes from informal interviews with these and other players.

My methodology draws from the tradition of Conversation Analysis (CA), which itself borrows liberally from ethnomethodology, speech act theory, and the Gricean rules of pragmatics.

The methodological foundations of Conversation Analysis are the study of recordings of natural conversation and an attention to how members of society achieve the ordinary doings and appearances of everyday life.... Conversation Analysis provides a model for analysis that is *neither statistical nor intentional-motivational*. Instead, the analysis is structural, done by reference to contextual features, especially sequencing, and to conventional understandings and procedures. It looks for mechanisms that produce and explain behavior, but *for social rather than psychic mechanisms*. Its concern is with relevance, intelligibility, and systemic function (emphasis mine).⁸

The elements of CA which most appeal to me are its economy of terminology, and its focus on the sequencing of overlapping "adjacency pairs"—where any given utterance can usually be seen as a response (the second part of a pair) to an earlier bit of talk (the first part of a pair).⁹ This is quite dissimilar from the analytical methods of speech act theory, which tends to break apart conversation into individual "speech acts" with labels like "questions-and-answers" or "statement-response." Instead, CA captures the idea that interaction is occurring among participants, but it does not attempt to identify segments of interaction with pre-defined categories. Since a given interaction can have multiple meanings, and since CA holds that meanings are based on participant

interaction, it is instead the sequential relationship of pairs that is most important to the analyst—meaning is derived from the manner in which people respond to each other.

The concept of markedness (which relates to the concept of Preference in CA) is also important here. Role-playing persona are constructed linguistically, through what I feel is a discursive markedness of a very specific form. The assumption of a role-playing persona is linguistically marked by overt statements of the actions of one's alter ego, usually in the first person, present tense. This sort of vocal description of one's actions is typically quite marked, providing as it does a Gricean overabundance of information. Imagine, for example, the following read (and enacted) by a teacher in a class:

I stand at the front of the classroom, and look at my students one by one as I read my example, pausing occasionally for emphasis. Right in the middle, I punctuate my speech by waving one of my hands in the air, and then go back to looking over my notes and prepare to continue my line of thought as my example comes to a close.

When role-playing, precisely this sort of markedness is interpreted to mean that a speaker is referring not to his or her actions in the real world, but instead describing the actions of an FRPG persona in a fictive fantasy world. This is supported by discourse elements such as in-context coherency. Outside the role-playing context, for example, were I to say, "I swing my sword," it would be obvious to all present that I had no sword; then the statement would be both overly descriptive and overtly infelicitous (Grice). Were I involved in an FRPG session, however, the statement would be interpreted as my description of an action undertaken by my alter ego.

All this leads to my reduction of role-playing (at least in terms of appropriate linguistic markedness) into three simple guidelines. First, to do something "in character," to accomplish an action in the game through one's FRPG character, one must describe the action wished accomplished by one's persona, utilizing the present tense, first ("I do") or third person ("my character does").

Example A: Action

1 R: I smoothly dodge out of the way.

Second, to speak "in character," one must also include a marked descriptive action (such as "I say," "I explain," or "my character yells out"). This constructs the appropriate interpretive context or speech space¹⁰ for the talk it accompanies. Dialogue in italics indicates speech clearly "in character"—note that R's speech in line [3] could be interpreted as either in or out of character (see also the discussion below for Examples C, F, and G).

Example B: Speech

1 R: So, we gonna go farm?

2 K: I say *sure* 'Lois ((short for Reloralois, R's persona)), and I say *come on!*

3 R: A mule and two horses, [and whatever you're on and me.

4 W: [And if I were there, I'd be going ((lower tone)) *straange*

5 *folk. How'd I ever get mixed up with them?*

Third, should a conversation continue "in character," participants continuing rather than initiating "in character" speech need not continually supply a descriptive action ("I say") in every one of their turns. To continue to speak "in character," it is only necessary not to interrupt this context by describing an action ("I do"); the "in character" conversation from lines [1] to [6] of the following example thus begins with only one "in character" descriptive action (from R in [1]). Describing a speech action in such a fashion creates the space for "in character" speech, which temporarily returns to "in character" action in the midst of line [7] ("I hand him..."). The

interaction in lines [8] and [9] that follow are thus not clearly "in character" speech; it is only when another speech space is created (by S in [10]) that the "in character" talk clearly continues.

Example C: Speech & Action

- 1 R: Yeah, let's question the innkeeper about this. *Where exactly are the (*)...*
 2 *What happened to most of the town?*
 3 S: *They left?*
 4 R: *How long ago.*
 5 S: *Over a couple months. They saw what was coming, didn't wanna be in the*
 6 *middle of it.*
 7 K: *I say, they were smart people. (.) Goodnight. I hand him a silver piece and I leave.*
 8 R: *What are you paying him for?*
 9 K: *The whiskey that I snarfed ((exhaled from nose due to laughter)) all over his bar.*
 10 S: *...All right. He accepts it. Says (.) sure you don't wanna sleep? I got spare rooms*
 11 *upstairs, and ah don't think those two are gonna kill each other tonight.*
 12 R: *I don't know, the way they were accosting us in town, I'd rather not be in here.*

Naturally, these rules describe ideal situations. In practice, it seems, things get rather more complicated. For one, my three guidelines don't provide for a neat way to move between expressing different identities (for example, are [8] and [9] above spoken "in" or "out" of character?). While changes in persona, from fictive to real, are generally context-marked, the actual context can vary. This is where CA and the notion of "adjacency pairs" become immensely useful. I have found that clear persona changes appear to be marked by such pairs, as a response to another speaker or stimulus outside the game setting. The context provided by the adjacency pair makes it clear that the response is intended as a break.

Example D: Context-Marked Change In Persona (1)

- 1 K: *I say, perhaps town isn't the best place to be. I think I'm gonna go move I think*
 2 *we should leave town. Soon.*
 3 H: *Perhaps to the south*
 4 K: *Maybe even this even. Maybe even tonight. Duuh* not to the south. I mean, there's
 5 *(.) one (.) clan of (.) priests over here ((points to map)) and we're gonna go up (.) and*
 6 *kill the other clan of priests over here. TONIGHT.*

K responds here to H's comment somewhat after the point where a simple turn-by-turn sequence, such as used by speech act theory, might indicate. Yet, while the first two clauses of [4] merely continue the talk in [2], the "Duuh" in [4] is (fairly clearly) aimed at H. The action of K's physically pointing to a map present on the table clearly indicates that K has responded to H "out of character," which is to say, he is speaking with his voice, not his character's.¹¹ Without a notion of context-marked pairs, however, it would be difficult to determine exactly where talk "in character" became "out of character."

Example E: Context-Marked Change In Persona (2)

- 1 S: *...buddies from the east're (.) definitely gonna come on from the east road. (**)*
 2 F: *And the music will play ((whistles theme of "The Good, the Bad, and the*
 3 *Ugly"))*
 4 K: *Oh, that'll work. So they're definitely gonna meet in the middle of town,*
 5 *an' start killing people.*
 6 S: *That's if they all show up at once.*
 7 F: *((still whistling: reaches end of first stanza))*
 8 R: *((laughter))*
 9 K: *That's on tonight at nine.*
 10 F: *All righty. ((continues whistling))*
 11 S: *Actually, Sigmund just sent his last horse outta town with a rider, get some*

speaking over the conversation. The following case is less common, but that naturally makes it all the more interesting. (Double underlines mark the separate conversation between R & H.)

Example H: Overlapping Conversations

- 1 S: ...west of town is cleared up, and there's fields and stuff out there. No-no one
 2 tending it, tho.
 3 H: I don't wanna leave marks.
 4 R: Oh, there's already marks there.
 5 S: They just harvested it, put it [in storage and] left.
 6 R: [Had it (**) for a hundred years.]
 7 R: Well, two. ((laughs)) In my book that's many years.
 8 K: I suggest to (.) e[veryone an' the innkeep (.) to
 9 W: [What do the priests eat. Where do they get their food from.
 10 S: Pries[ts?] From th' storage, from the harvest.
 11 H: [Sick!]
 12 S: Got 'nuf here [ta last the winter, 'specially since they ain't no townspeople around.
 13 R: [Self-initiation and purification for (**) for some
 14 W: So, what are they going to do for food after?
 15 R: Let's just say I've been twisted since I did that.
 16 S: Well, I guess (.) they're sorta expecting that only one o'them's gonna be around,
 17 after.
 18 W: Ah.
 19 K: I say, let's [hurry (.) across]
 20 R: [I might have got my]self into trouble, so. (0.5)
 21 K: The fields.
 22 W: Are the Ulricans ((priests)) still up this [time of](night)?
 23 H: [Oh, so [we're asking questions, I assume?
 24 R: [Are we leaving now?

Here R and H are having a conversation about a Wiccan knife that R brought that evening. What is interesting is that K, W, and S allow R and H distinct and noticeable turns, actually pausing at times to allow R and H to speak or finish their statement. S pauses between lines [2] and [5], K waits until [8] to speak, as does S in [16]. K in [19] and [21] actually stops in the middle of his sentence to let R finish speaking [20]. This doesn't appear to be simply a desire not to overlap in speech, as W seems quite comfortable overlapping with conversational partner K in [9],²³ and the ultimate result of this tactic (as opposed to ignoring or speaking over a secondary conversation) is that H and R, granted turns on the conversational "floor," return to involvement with the group ([23], [24]).

While the cross-expression mechanics of how fictive identity is expressed in FRPGs is quite interesting, the next question is undoubtedly how fictive identity is constructed. It is hardly surprisingly that real world people have fantasy world identities in FRPGs—but on the other hand, a person cannot be expected to shed his or her real-world identity while role-playing. Furthermore, FRPG sessions are almost completely verbal, and non-physical,¹⁴ and therefore cannot rely on perceptual cues. So how else are fictive identities marked and constructed?

I have attempted to divide the different identity markers I have noted into three separate strategies. First, player alter egos could be described as "different," by overtly stating distinctive physical, racial, social, or occupational traits. Such traits are often mentioned and/or emphasized by players, to the point that they become the basis for the identification of a player's persona by other players. Thus, an alter ego may be described as "a sinister-looking half-elven wizard with silver hair and red robes," and subsequently referred to as "hapa" or "half-elf" or "wizard." As

with real-world identities, players possess stereotypes concerning these various traits (what a "sinister" person is like, or how "wizards" or "elves" act), and this serves as one method of developing the fictive identity. Members of the group I recorded had role-playing personas that I felt were "typically" distinctive among FRPG players—that is to say, they emphasized two or more physical, social, racial, or occupational traits.

A second method by which players marked their fictive identity was through the use of marked prosodic or phonological features. Of the six FRPG participants recorded, S, H, R, and W adopted different pitches, tones, or non-idiolectal dialect variants (of English) when speaking "in character." S, the Storyteller, regularly used a variety of dialects, differentiating among different supporting characters by using distinctive accents for each. H and W both lowered the pitch of their voice, with H especially using a great deal of laryngealization ("gravelly voice"). Finally, R enunciated very distinctly when speaking "in character."

Finally, players could create a distinctive fictive identity by assuming and consistently portraying a set of characteristic personality traits. Note that while this observation is highly subjective, it seemed that when players highlighted personality traits characteristic of their alter ego, these were traits typically non-distinctive (or lacking) in their own characters; traits that players (a) might have wished they possessed in the real-world, or (b) could not freely express in modern society. I will admit that I know these individuals largely in their in-group identities as FRPG players, and not outside an FRPG setting, but based on my own experiences and observations, and informal discussions with others, I feel this a plausible argument. H's role-playing persona, for example, would consistently seek violent conflict, and F's regularly engaged in outrageously illegal, unethical, and immoral acts. R's role-playing persona was presented as young and naive. Elements "unmarked" in the player identity could thus be "marked" to distinguish the alter ego.

My conclusion is twofold. First, it appears to be quite easy to describe the "physical appearance" of a role-playing persona. A person can easily describe a role-playing persona as "short and stout" even when the player is tall and thin, and a male player could easily describe his fictional character as "female."¹⁵ It is, perhaps, less simple to change prosodic or phonological speech features such as pitch, tone, or accent, as it requires a bit more conscious effort,¹⁶ but nonetheless this too is possible. These first two elements, however, serve largely as *markers* of the fictive identity—a description or a linguistic feature that serves only as a starting point for distinguishing the alter ego. Without more, the fictive identity is just the player with a bad accent, masquerading as a dwarf (for example).

An FRPG alter ego is shaped by the distinctive personality traits chosen by the player to represent the most characteristic aspects of that character. At the same time, the fact that a player possesses a real-world identity cannot be divorced from the process of realizing a fictive one for the FRPG. The fictive identity should therefore be seen as an alternate identity of the player, related to all other identities s/he possesses, but salient only in the context of the appropriate FRPG, expressed using a set of marked discursive formulae, and distinguished by a number of markedly idiosyncratic traits. In addition, an individual engaged in an FRPG rarely identifies solely with the alternate (FRPG) identity throughout the gaming session, resulting in a complex interplay of fictive and real-world identities. Yet, this interplay follows interactional guidelines which players closely adhere to. While it requires an awareness of the multiple identities, fictive and real, present during the FRPG session, this sort of conversational work can be demonstrated to be both deliberate and structured—and thus by no means unique or peculiar to FRPGs.

NOTES

- 1 FRPGs always involve the role-playing of fictive alter egos in an imaginary world, and include a set of rules designed to simulate the mechanics of various physical actions (combat being far and away the most popular). The differences arise in the importance placed by various published FRPGs on the nature of these alter egos (thus "heroic," while a

- typical description, may be replaced by words like "anti-heroic" or "angst-ridden"), on the flavor of the setting (which may be more or less fantastic in comparison to the "real world"), on the importance of an arbitrator, on the necessity of dice rolls, whether or not the game requires a board and miniatures, and several hundred other details.
- 2 Players possess a measure of democratic power, being able to vote with their presence. An unpopular Storyteller is unlikely to retain player interest (and thus attendance). A Storyteller's power may be compromised by a perceived abuse of power or lack of impartiality, known as "going on a power trip"; by favoring certain players over others with FRPG-based benefits, presenting opportunities for conflict too easily resolved to the players' benefit (called a "Monty Haul" Storyteller, a pun on the name of the famous game-show host Monty Hall who literally showered his guests with money and prizes) or too likely to end in a detrimental situation (a "character-killer" Storyteller); or by simply a perceived lack of narrative skills—being "boring."
- 3 C. & M.H. Goodwin have published a number of studies on in-group peers in leisure activities. See Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin, "Interstitial Argument," *Conflict Talk: Sociolinguistic Investigations of Arguments in Conversation*, ed. by Allen D. Grimshaw (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 85–117.
- 4 Drew, Paul and John Heritage, "Analyzing talk at work: an introduction," *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*, Ch. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- 5 It is widely agreed among FRPG players of my acquaintance (every one I have ever spoken to about the subject, or read the opinion of, including letters, e-mail, and newsgroups, which at rough estimate numbers over three score opinions) that British FRPGs are darker and grittier than American ones, possessed of fewer clear-cut distinctions between what is "good" and what is "bad," and having more and broader moral and ethical grey areas. American and British FRPGs are seen as tangibly different by FRPG players.
- 6 J.R.R. Tolkien is the father of modern Fantasy writing. Here I mean that the game includes dwarves and elves and orcs and goblins and magic and wizards and evil sorcerers which are similar in nature and demeanor to those described by Tolkien.
- 7 Modifications of Gail Jefferson's transcription notations seem to be the accepted standard:
- (2.0) indicates length of pause between utterances, timed in seconds
 - (.) indicates a short pause, less than 0.2 seconds in length
 - sa- a hyphen immediately following a letter indicates an abrupt cutoff in speaking
 - at a hyphen immediately preceding a letter indicates a strongly glottalized onset
 - () single parentheses enclose words that are not clearly audible
 - (*) an asterisk in parentheses indicates unintelligible speech—multiple asterisks mark longer lengths of it
 - (()) double parentheses enclose extralinguistic commentary
 - [] square brackets on successive lines indicates overlapping conversation
 - abc underlining indicates stress
 - ABC upper case indicates louder or shouted talk
 - .
 - ,
 - ?
 - ...
- 8 Cut and pasted from Bilmes, Jack, "Category and Rule in Conversation Analysis," *Papers in Pragmatics* vol. 2, no. 1/2 (December 1988), 25; and Bilmes, Jack, "The Concept of Preference in Conversation Analysis," *Language in Society* vol. 17 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 161.
- 9 Heritage offers a very nice summary of what is constituted by a conversation "adjacency pair" in *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology* (New York: Polity Press, 1984), 245–247. The important things to note are that (a) pair parts need not be immediately adjacent, (b) a

- single part is not exclusive to a single pair, (c) pairs might never be completed in the course of a conversation, and (d) their use is normative, but by no means required.
- 10 Fauconnier, Gilles, *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).
- 11 Note that it is difficult to determine whether H is speaking "in" or "out" of character, but K's response seems to indicate that he thinks H is speaking "out of character."
- 12 Players appear to identify with their fictive identities even out of the context of an FRPG session. When talking about "favorite characters" of theirs, descriptions of momentous gaming events are described in the first person ("I did X..."; "X happened to me..."; etc.).
- 13 It is readily apparent that W is speaking "in-character" in line [9] due to the lower pitch he uses. See later discussion of fictive character construction.
- 14 Thanks to a number of individuals, including K. Russell, who pointed out thatLARPs (Live-Action Role Playing), a specialized form of FRPGs, do involve costumes and physical enactment. My focus is on non-physical FRPGs, wherein players merely describe their characters and actions.
- 15 One player I questioned who avoided what he called "role-playing trans-sexualism" explained his reasons not so much as a difficulty generating the appropriate description, but rather in terms of his unease assuming a "female personality."
- 16 I noticed in a more recent session with the same group I study here that there appears to be a limit to how much prosodic or phonological variation other players will accept. H was attempting to portray a new character utilizing what he termed a "British accent" but was shouted down by the other players, trying in succession an "Australian accent," a "New Zealand accent," a "Canadian accent," and finally settling for what he sulkily called an "Oregon accent." H, it must be noted, hails from Wisconsin.

SHAPING NARRATIVE IN JAPANESE: EVALUATION AND THE NON-DEICTIC USE OF TENSE FORMS

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that a narrative is shaped in order to make the narrator's intended significance of narrative events salient to the recipient. The data examined in this study is obtained from a non-fiction book called *Andaaguraundo* or *Underground*, a collection of life-threatening experiences recounted by victims of the Tokyo subway sarin incident of 1996.

I employ Labov's (1972) structural model of narrative in order to examine how the points of narrative are depicted by the narrator. Labov (1972, 366) claimed evaluation, a component of the narrative structure, is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative." Therefore, evaluation is seen as the most important aspect with respect to examining the shape of a narrative.

I demonstrate how evaluation is conducted in Japanese narrative. Following Labov, both external and embedded evaluation are observed in the data in conjunction with the high points of the narrative. In addition, this paper reveals that the non-deictic use of tense forms also plays an important role in making the points of the narrative salient to the recipient.

1. INTRODUCTION

Normally, one tells a story if one thinks that it is worth telling to others. On the other hand, a listener is interested in hearing a story whose topic conflicts with ordinary expectations (Chafe 1994, 200). Taking these assumptions as a motivation for communication, this study will examine the use of a linguistic device, the non-deictic use of non-past tense forms, as one of the tools for shaping a story.

This type of storytelling is realized in the form of narrative activity, where narrative is defined as a fundamental means by which a sequence of actual or possible life events is depicted (Ochs & Capps 1996, 19). Assuming narrative as a method of communication, the narrator's task for successful communication is to make his/her narrative interesting to the recipient, that is, to implicitly or explicitly signal the points conflicting with ordinary expectations.

Labov (1972, 366) defines the portion of narrative in which these points are indicated as the "evaluation" of the narrative. He also suggests that evaluative devices may occur in various forms (e.g. intensifiers, adverbials, evaluative adjectives, etc.) throughout the narrative. In this study, I will demonstrate that the non-deictic use of tense forms also enhances the evaluative aspect of a narrative.

Researchers have acknowledged that the non-deictic use of tense forms has some effect in narrative. For example, Schiffrin (1981), Wolfson (1982) and others claim that switching between historical present and past tense forms in English marks event boundaries. In Japanese, Iwasaki (1993) and Takahashi (1996) note that tense forms can be used to establish the narrator's perspective. Makino (1983) argues that the non-past tense in Japanese narrative has a "pictorial" effect, which facilitates the display of the peak of action or emotion of a scene.

These effects of the non-deictic use of tense forms, however, have not been discussed much in conjunction with evaluative devices for shaping narrative. This study, therefore, will investigate the extent to which uses of non-past tense forms occur with the narrator's use of evaluative talk.

2. DATA

To investigate how narrative is shaped, data was obtained from narratives in a non-fiction book called *Andaaguraundo* or *Underground*, a collection of life-threatening experiences recounted by victims of the Tokyo subway sarin incident. The book consists of 62 monologic narratives mainly about what happened at the time of the incident. The written narratives in this book have a unique

property in terms of language style. According to the preface, each narrative was individually collected in an interview between a victim and the editor, Murakami Haruki. All narratives were then transcribed, edited and reorganized for publication. For the purpose of this non-fiction book, which is to convey the facts of the incident from victims to readers as directly as possible, the editor edited the interviewees' voices as little as possible. Therefore, the language used in the written narratives has features of spoken and conversational language. This property differs from "normal" written narrative, in which no interactional interlocutor is present when the narrative is written. In this sense, the data can be considered more representative of spoken language. However, the data cannot be regarded as "natural" spoken language either, because it is edited and reorganized, and there are very few interviewer turns.

Even though the narratives have this unique and artificial property, this data has some advantages. First, since all narratives were edited by the interviewer, who shared the interviewees' stories first hand, the edited narratives generally maintain the tone and voice of the original narratives. Second, since the editor is a professional writer, it can be assumed that the edited narratives are seen as carefully designed texts. To investigate how narrative is shaped, it is worth examining carefully designed and successful texts.

3. EVALUATION IN NARRATIVE

To examine the shape of the narratives, I will employ Labov's organizational view of narrative. According to Labov (1972, 363), a fully-formed narrative consists of several components: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Result or Resolution, and Coda. Among these components, complicating action, which is the most fundamental component of a narrative, functions as the skeleton of the narrative, while evaluation is like the flesh and blood that shapes the body of the narrative. In Chafe's definition, evaluation "covers all aspects of conscious experience that involve emotions, opinions, attitudes, desires and the like" (1994, 31). That is, it reflects the narrator's feelings about the complicating action. In addition, Labov (1972, 366) claims that evaluation is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative." In other words, evaluation demonstrates the reason why the story was told in the first place. Therefore, evaluation can be seen as the most important aspect with respect to examining the shape of a narrative.

Evaluation is realized through the use of evaluative devices in narrative. Labov (1972, 369) mentions that evaluative devices are distributed throughout the narrative. They may appear in independent clauses when the narrator suspends the telling of a sequence of complicating actions, turns to the listener, and tells him or her what the point is. This is called "external evaluation." Lines 4 and 5 in example 1 illustrate external evaluation.

Example 1 (data from Murakami 1997, 508)¹

	1	sorede chotto waki ni me o yaruto
	2	hodoo no tokoro ni uekomi ga aru n desu ga,
	3	soko no enseki ni onna no hito toka ga kooyatte suwari kondeiru.
—>	4	"ittai nan daroo, kono hito tachi wa?" to watashi wa omoimashita.
—>	5	kekko na kazu datta desu yo, sore wa.

	1	then, when I looked at the side,
	2	there were plants on the sidewalk,
	3	some women were sitting down on the concrete bricks between the sidewalk and the plants.
—>	4	I thought "what are these women doing here?"
—>	5	there were a lot of people there.

In line 4, the narrator expresses his surprise at seeing people sitting down. In line 5, he adds more evaluation about the same situation by emphasizing the number of people he saw. The scene the narrator saw is different from what is usually seen. In order to report this unusual situation to the listener, he expresses his evaluation in these two independent sentences.

As opposed to "external evaluation," which suspends the sequence of the complicating actions, there is another type of evaluation examined in Labov (1972). It is embedded in the description of the complicating actions or other components of narrative so that the narrator can preserve dramatic continuity. Quotation is one type of embedded evaluative devices. Without stepping out of the frame of the story, the narrator can state his/her evaluation in quotations. Line 3 in example 2 illustrates internal evaluation in a quotation.

Example 2 (data from Murakami 1997, 41)

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | 1 | sono kookee o Terebi Tookyoo no kamera ga zutto satsuee shite imashita. |
| | 2 | sono tonari ni yahari "Terebi Tookyoo" tte kaitearu ban ga tomatte imashita. |
| --- | 3 | sorede watashi wa "ima sonna koto o shite iru jitai ja nai deshoo. kono hito tachi o byooin e hakobu kuruma o kashite kudasai" tte itte |
| | 4 | akeatta n desu. |
| | 1 | TV Tokyo's camera had been shooting the scene (panic situation around a subway exit). |
| | 2 | Beside the camera, there was a minibus which had "TV Tokyo" written on the side. |
| --- | 3 | So, I said, "This is not a situation where you can shoot a scene, is it? Let us use your vehicle to carry these people (victims) to the hospital." |
| | 4 | I negotiated with them. |

The quotation in line 3 conveys the narrator's irritation towards TV crews who did not help them but instead shot the scene. By embedding her evaluation in the quotation, the narrator does not have to step out of the story frame to express her emotion to the listener.

Another example of an embedded evaluative device, which can be seen in lines 3 and 4 in example 3, is evaluation which is embedded in a character's actions.

Example 3 (data from Murakami 1997, 641)

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | 1 | demo baiten to iu no wa, shimeyoo to omottemo, suguni sassa to shimerareru mono ja nai n desu. |
| | 2 | ironna mono ga soto ni dete irushi, nan'ya kaya deppatte imasu kara ne. |
| --- | 3 | soo iu mono o watashi wa naka ni, katappashi kara ponpon nageirete ikimashita. |
| --- | 4 | shimbun toka zasshi toka, hotondo sonomama nagekomimashita. |
| | 1 | But it's not that easy to close the stand quickly even if you have to |
| | 2 | because there is a lot of stuff outside the stand and stuff hanging on the stand |
| --- | 3 | I just threw them one after another into the stand. |
| --- | 4 | Newspapers, magazines... I just threw them inside. |

Here, the narrator tried to close her newspaper stand when she realized that the situation was critical. While lines 3 & 4 describe what she did when being evacuated, the description also demonstrates how she was in a desperate rush.

In sum, evaluation can be conveyed in two different ways: external and embedded. In both cases, evaluation is used to indicate how the situation was significant to the narrator. If a single scene is peppered with many evaluative devices (i.e. extended evaluation), it can be assumed that the narrator is attempting to convey that the scene is one of the most important parts of the story.

4. EVALUATION AND THE POINT OF A NARRATIVE

Such extended evaluation is seen in the following example. In example 4, the narrator, a passenger on the contaminated train who had not been severely affected by the gas, describes the chaotic situation that she encountered when she came out of the subway station. Judging from its content, this passage describing her first realization of the seriousness of the incident can be assumed to be one of the highest points of the story. This assumption is supported by many extended evaluative clauses.

Example 4 (data from Murakami 1997, 40-41)

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | kaidan o agatte |
| 2 | deguchi o dete |
| 3 | gurutto mawari o mimawashite mita n desu ga, |
| 4 | soko wa nanto iu ka, moo "jigoku" to iu keeyooshi ga pittari no yoosu deshita. |
| 5 | san-nin no hito ga jimen ni yokotawatte ite, kuchi ni wa supuun ga sasatte iru <i>n desu</i> . |
| 6 | shita o nodo no oku ni nomikomanai yoo ni, dareka ga kuchi ni supuun o ireta yoo desu. |
| 7 | hoka no ekiin-san tachi mo roku-nin kurai soko ni ita n desu keredo, |
| 8 | minna atama o kakaete, kadan no tokoro ni suwatte naite iru <i>n desu</i> . |
| 9 | sorekara kaidan o deta tokoro de wa, onnanoko ga hitori wanwan naite imasu.
(Editor Murakami's note: this person is Ms. Nozaki who will be mentioned later) ² |
| 10 | soto ni deta shunkan, watashi wa kotoba o ushinatte shimaimashita. |
| 11 | ittai soko de nani ga okotte iru no ka, |
| 12 | sappari wake ga wakarimasen. |
-
- | | |
|------|---|
| 1 | When I went up the stairs |
| 2 | and went out the exit |
| 3 | and looked around me to see what was going on, |
| 4 | it was, what should I say, it was exactly the situation that can be described as "hell." |
| 5 | <i>there were three people lying down, and guess what, there "are" spoons stuck into their mouths.</i> |
| 6 | It seems that somebody stuck spoons into their mouths to prevent the tongue from obstructing the airway. |
| 7 | There were also about six station employees there, but |
| 8 | <i>all of them "are" holding their heads, sitting in a flower bed and crying.</i> |
| 9 | And near the stairs, a girl (Editor Murakami's note: this person is Ms. Nozaki who will be mentioned later) "is" crying loudly. |
| 10 | I was dumbstruck the moment I got outside. |
| 11,2 | I "have" absolutely no idea what "is" going on there. |

Lines 1, 2 and 3 describe the complicating actions of the scene. After this, the sequence of complicating actions is suspended, and extended evaluation of the scene is observed from line 4 to line 12. In the external evaluation in line 4, the narrator first describes the chaotic situation by using the analogy of "hell." In lines 10 to 12, she adds more external evaluation to the same scene by stating her speechless reaction.

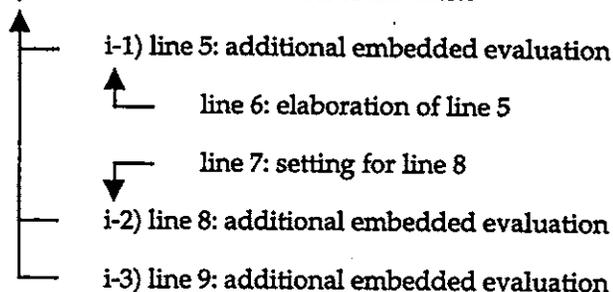
Between those external evaluations, there are descriptions of who was there and how those people were handling the situation. These descriptions can be regarded as embedded evaluation. Line 5 describes what the narrator saw on the ground, that is, three persons lying down with spoons stuck in their mouths. This, of course, is not a scene that is usually seen in everyday life. Line 8 reports that even on-duty station employees were so affected by the gas that they could not perform their duties. In addition, line 9 describes a woman crying loudly as if she were a child.³ These three lines are exemplifications of the hellish situation that the narrator first mentioned in line 4. Moreover, since the sentences in lines 5 and 8 end in "*n desu*," a marker that has a cohesive function (Iwasaki 1990)⁴, there is a linguistically supported cohesive tie between the external evaluation in line 4 and the additional descriptions produced in lines 5 and 8.⁵ Based on the use of this cohesive marker, the external evaluation in line 4 can be understood as extending to lines 5 and 8.⁶

A: Complicating action

line 1-3: complicating actions of the scene

B: Evaluation

i) line 4: external evaluation of the scene



ii) line 10-12: external evaluation of the same scene

In sum, this passage has extended evaluation from line 4 to line 8 and more external evaluation of the same scene in lines 10 to 12. The relationship among the lines in this passage is illustrated in the above chart.⁷ Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that this passage is one of the highest points of the story.

5. THE POINT OF THE NARRATIVE AND THE NON-DEICTIC USE OF NON-PAST TENSE

As mentioned earlier, the communicative goal of narrative is to relate a series of events that the narrator believes to be different from his/her expectations in a way that will help the recipient interpret the story from the same perspective as the narrator. One way to accomplish this goal is to state evaluations explicitly and a second is to extend evaluation into other story components. In addition, this study will argue for a third method, the use of non-past tense forms for past events.

Many researchers have noticed the use of the non-past tense in narrative. One of the most commonly accepted explanations for this use is its vividness effect. In this study, specifically, non-past tense forms are seen as markers to signal unexpected events in the highest point of the narrative.

In example 4 repeated below, non-past tense verbs in lines 5, 8, 9, 11 and 12 all describe events that the narrator absolutely did not expect.

Example 4 (data from Murakami 1997, 40-41)

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| | 1 | kaidan o agatte |
| | 2 | deguchi o dete |
| | 3 | gurutto mawari o mimawashite mita n desu ga, |
| | 4 | soko wa nanto iu ka, moo "jigoku" to iu keeyooshi ga pittari no yoosu deshita. |
| → | 5 | san-nin no hito ga jimen ni yokotawatte ite, kuchi ni wa supuun ga sasatte iru (non-past) n desu. |
| | 6 | shita o nodo no oku ni nomikomanai yoo ni, dareka ga kuchi ni supuun o ireta yoo desu. |
| | 7 | hoka no ekiin-san tachi mo roku-nin kurai soko ni ita n desu keredo, |
| → | 8 | minna atama o kakaete, kadan no tokoro ni suwatte naite iru (non-past) n desu. |
| → | 9 | sorekara kaidan o deta tokoro de wa, onnanoko ga hitori wanwan naite imasu (non-past). (editor's note: this person is Ms. Nozaki to be mentioned later) |
| | 10 | soto ni deta shunkan, watashi wa kotoba o ushinatte shimaimasita. |
| → | 11 | ittai soko de nani ga okotte iru (non-past) no ka, |
| → | 12 | sappari wake ga wakarimasen (non-past). |

- 1 When I went up the stairs
 2 and went out the exit
 3 and looked around me to see what was going on,
 4 it was, what should I say, it was exactly the situation that can be described as "hell."
 --> 5 there were three people lying down, and guess what, there "are" (non-past) spoons
 stuck into their mouths.
 6 It seems that somebody stuck spoons into their mouths to prevent the tongue from
 obstructing the airway.
 7 There were also about six station employees there, but
 --> 8 all of them "are" (non-past) holding their heads, sitting in a flower bed and crying.
 --> 9 And near the stairs, a girl (editor's note: this person is Ms. Nozaki to be mentioned
 later) "is" (non-past) crying loudly.
 10 I was dumbstruck the moment I got outside.
 --> 11,2 I "have" (non-past) absolutely no idea what "is" (non-past) going on there.

No one could possibly expect, in normal everyday life, that a number of people would be lying in the road with spoons stuck in their mouths. In line 5, however, this happened, and so it is marked by the non-past tense verb *sasatteiru* or to be stuck. The same "unexpectedness" can apply to the fact that the on-duty employees of the station did not do anything but cry and that a woman was also crying loudly. Therefore, *naiteiru* or crying in lines 8 and 9 is marked by non-past tense form. Even the narrator was not able to judge anything from what she was seeing. Thus, in lines 11 and 12, she said "I HAVE absolutely no idea what IS going on there" in non-past tense.

However, it is not always the case that unexpected situations are marked by non-past tense forms. Example 5 shows an unexpected situation marked by a past tense form.

Example 5 (data from Murakami 1997, 40)

- 1 sono tokini ekichoo jimushitsu no mae o toori kakattara,
 --> 2 naka de ekiin-san tachi ga san-nin kurai yokotawatte iru no ga *mieta* (*past*) n desu.
 3 shishoo jiko demo okotta no ka na to watashi wa omoimashita.
- 1 When I was passing by the station master's office,
 --> 2 I *saw* about three station employees lying down in the office.
 3 I wondered if somebody had gotten killed or injured in an accident or something.

This passage appears just before the description of the hellish situation reported in example 4. Seeing three station employees lying down in the office is not an everyday occurrence. It may be seen as an unexpected event. However, in terms of narrative shape, this scene is related during a transitional part of the narrative, a part in which the narrator reports walking out of the subway and up the stairs because she has begun to feel sick. It is only after she reaches the top of the stairs that she sees the hellish scene, the description of which becomes the high point of her story. In addition, at this stage (i.e., leaving the station), she has not actually noticed that something extraordinary is happening there. She even thinks that something happened due to a relatively more common accident that happens in the subway once in a while. In this description, it should be noticed that there is no extended evaluation by the narrator. Thus, the passage in example 5 cannot be considered a high point of the story.

From this discussion, it is observed that non-past tense verbs not only report unexpected events that the narrator experienced, but also convey the narrator's strong surprise at an unexpected event. These functions are clearly part of the act of evaluating. This is consistent with findings in previous narrative studies, such as Szatrowski (1985) and Iwasaki (1993). In these studies, non-past tense forms are commonly found in sentences with third person subjects. Since unexpected events usually entail action by someone other than the speaker, it is reasonable that these events are marked by non-past tense forms.

6. CONCLUSION

To make a narrative interesting to the recipient, the narrator has to shape his/her story, that is, build up evaluative talk around the basic beginning-middle-end plot. This study has demonstrated three ways to shape narrative. One is to state external evaluation explicitly and a second is to extend evaluation (mostly embedded evaluation) into complicating action or other narrative components. The principal argument of this paper is that a third way is the non-deictic use of non-past tense forms.

I have illustrated that non-past tense forms are used to signal a situation in which the narrator as an experiencer was surprised by an unexpected event. However, this use does not always occur in every unexpected situation. Non-past tense forms also indicate the high points of the story, which convey the narrator's primary motivation for the storytelling. Therefore, it can be concluded that the non-deictic use of non-past tense forms functions to highlight the peaks of the narrative by expressing the narrator's affective reaction (i.e., shock at its unexpectedness) to the situation.

NOTES

- 1 The original text is in Japanese. English translations are the work of this writer.
- 2 The portion in which the woman (Ms. Nozaki) is mentioned is not examined in this study.
- 3 The woman mentioned in line 9 is referred as "onnanoko" or girl. However, according to the editor's note, this woman was actually 21 years old at the time of the incident. Therefore, it can be conjectured that this sentence is related from the narrator's perspective when she was surprised at the woman crying loudly as if she were a child.
- 4 The cohesive function of "n desu" is the source of considerable discussion among scholars (see Takahashi 1996, 215).
- 5 Although "n desu" in line 7 also has a cohesive function, it locally connects the content in line 7 (before "n desu") to that in line 8.
- 6 Since line 9 does not end in "n desu," it has a linguistically weaker connection to the external evaluation stated in line 4. However, the absence of "n desu" can be explained by an external factor. According to the editor's note in line 9, the woman mentioned here also appears in a later narrative. Thus, it is reasonable that this sentence has a different quality from the evaluations in lines 5 and 8.
- 7 "N desu" in line 7 also functions as a cohesive marker. However, since lines 7 and 8 are conjoined by "keredo," the cohesive tie is used to locally connect the content in line 7 to that in line 8. Therefore, this "n desu" is not relevant to the discussion of the extended evaluation.

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LANGUAGE AS IDEOLOGY: WHAT JAPANESE SAYS ABOUT WOMEN, MEN, AND PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

Using the framework of critical discourse analysis advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1995) and van Dijk (1993), this paper analyzes linguistic social conventions used by speakers of Japanese to categorize people according to gender. By examining the use of "female articles," illuminating the implicit gender of some lexical items, and exploring differences in attributes and expectations assumed for each gender in Japanese society, this study demonstrates how discursal social conventions work ideologically, by becoming part of the naturalized, common sensical assumptions of the members of society, to sustain unequal power distributions. At the same time, the analysis also, because it highlights the importance of gender to speakers of Japanese, argues against the conceptions of ideology and Japanese women's language used in recent studies. Speaking directly to those studies that, in arguing against the concept of a "female language" in Japanese, have found Japanese women to be using many "male-marked" linguistic forms, this paper strongly suggests the importance of investigating not only speech but also the implicit assumptions behind language usage.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I will attempt to clarify the ways in which meanings of linguistic expressions are determined by social conventions, and at the same time, how social conventions are molded and continually reinforced by linguistic expressions. With this aim in mind, I will analyze social conventions as they are reflected in language usage and show how common sense assumptions implicitly underlie language usage, demonstrating that "discursal common sense is ideological to the extent that it contributes to sustain unequal power relations, directly or indirectly" (Fairclough 1989: 107). The main focus will be placed on uncovering the common sense assumptions about gender which implicitly underlie linguistic conventions in Japanese.

There have been numerous studies indicating that Japanese women and men have distinct ways of speaking (Ide 1990, Ehara et.al. 1984, Jugaku 1972, Ohara 1992, Reynolds 1985, Shibamoto 1985). However, in recent years, some studies have emerged which suggest that the distinction between women's and men's use of language has been blurred, especially among members of younger generations. In this regard, several studies have shown young females using what has been classified as men's language in some contexts (Inoue 1994, Kobayashi 1993, Okamoto and Sato 1992, Okamoto 1994, 1995, 1996). Claiming that gender alone cannot explain diversity in the way language is used in discourse, these studies have argued that, in order to explain their results, gender must be combined with other variables such as age. These latter works, then, resonate well with a recent development in gender studies that emphasizes that gender should not be seen as an isolated and dichotomized social factor (Bing and Bergvall 1996, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a, 1992b). Although it is important and necessary to look beyond gender and attempt to incorporate other social variables such as age and status, this paper intends to emphasize that any approach which immediately attempts to integrate gender with other variables risks overlooking the significance of gender to the common sensical ways of categorizing the social world actually used by members of a society. Using the framework of critical discourse analysis advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1995), I will, by exploring some of the implicit assumptions in social conventions seen in the Japanese language, highlight the importance of gender to speakers of Japanese and, at the same time, argue against the conceptions of ideology and Japanese women's language used in those recent studies just mentioned (i.e., Inoue 1994, Kobayashi 1993, Okamoto and Sato 1992, Okamoto 1994, 1995, 1996).

II. IDEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE

The studies referred to above, which have recently been suggesting that gender alone cannot be used to explain language usage, have, for the most part, been descriptive studies based on the appearance of certain linguistic forms in actual discourse. Documenting what actually occurs in discourse is of course an important dimension of the study of language, but explication of which

linguistic forms are used by whom and in what context is just one part of the study of the ways in which language is used. The study of language should also investigate the implicit, taken-for-granted assumptions which underlie speakers' use of language. One of the main theoretical objectives of critical discourse analysis is to explain, not merely to describe, implicit common sensical assumptions in linguistic conventions which assist in the maintenance and creation of unequal distribution of power (Fairclough 1989, 1995, van Dijk 1993). By adopting this perspective, it becomes possible to see that linguistic elements which have become unquestionably 'naturalized' (Fairclough 1989) aspects of a speaker's repertoire are actually loaded with ideologies. Indeed, I will now, in an effort to demonstrate the salience of gender to speakers of Japanese, show it to be one of those naturalized ideologies that underlies and guides the use of language by the Japanese.

Take, for instance, the Japanese nouns *onna* 'woman' and *otoko* 'man' which seem straightforward and unproblematic. One of the leading Japanese dictionaries, *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* (1979), gives the following definitions.¹

woman—one of the sexes in human which has the physical condition to bear children. Not a man. It also refers to kind, indecisive, and non-aggressive characteristics which are traits special to women.

man—one of the sexes which is not a woman. It also refers to strong, solid, and aggressive characteristics which are traits special to men.

It is apparent that dictionaries do not offer neutral definitions and what needs to be emphasized here is that this kind of definition is very typical of Japanese dictionaries (for further analysis of sexism in dictionaries see Endo 1980, 1984, 1985, 1993b). These non-neutral definitions are prime examples of ideologies, or common sensical assumptions, of the language. Endo (1993a) remarks that after the analysis of sexism in dictionaries by Endo (1980, 1984, 1985) and other similar works generated some media attention, the publisher of this particular dictionary was asked to provide an explanation for such definitions. The answer given was that "one of the roles for a dictionary is to establish how words have been used. In other words, those definitions are reflections of society." Responding to public and media criticism, the publisher of the dictionary made some changes in the definitions of these words in the 1986 edition. However, the only change made in the definitions for women and men was to modify their tense. The sentence "It also refers to kind, indecisive, and non-aggressive characteristics which are traits special to women" was changed to "It also *referred* to kind, indecisive, and non-aggressive characteristics which are traits special to women." (emphasis added by the author). Exactly the same change was made in the definition for men. I see the explanation offered by the publisher and their subsequent editings as representative of the pleonastic nature of such ideologies concerning gender. In other words, the differences in the definitions of women and men in Japanese dictionaries offer an initial glimpse of the saliency of gender in Japanese society.

Let us further investigate common sensical assumptions in the language. Note what happens to those words, that is, *onna* and *otoko*, when they are combined with other linguistic elements. The following examples are from Nakamura (1995).

- 1) *onna ni naru* 'to become a woman'
woman Dat become
- 2) *otoko ni naru* 'to become a man'
man Dat become

Both 1 and 2 can refer to a first sexual experience. 1 can also mean the onset of menstruation. However, only 2 can mean to come of age, i.e., to become a full-fledged, adult member of society. Both meanings attached to 1, to have a sexual experience and to begin menstruation, are of a sexual nature. However, while 2 can refer to something non-sexual, 1 cannot since, unlike 2, 1 does not mean to become full-fledged, adult member of society. Yet, despite this significant discrepancy, this kind of difference in meaning not only does not usually pose problems for speakers of the language, but also is the kind of discrepancy that speakers are hardly ever aware of. Why is this so? Fairclough (1989) explains that "One dimension of 'common sense' is the meaning of words. Most of the time,

we treat the meaning of a word (and other linguistic expressions) as a simple matter of fact, and if there is any question about 'the facts' we see the dictionary as the place where we can check up on them. For words we are all perfectly familiar with, it's a matter of mere common sense that they mean what they mean!" (93). The perceived orderliness of meanings depends upon common sensical assumptions and these common sensical assumptions subsume naturalized ideological representations. Speakers of the language do not question or even notice such discrepancy in meanings because of what Fairclough (1989) terms the naturalization process. According to Fairclough, naturalization is a process where members of a society will see dominant discourse as the natural way to see the world. Further, he claims one of the consequences of the naturalization process is that people come to see the learning of a common sensical assumption as a necessary skill or technique to be a member of the society. Thus, it can be asserted that to learn Japanese is to learn such assumptions: in this particular case, that women possess weak, indecisive, and non-aggressive characteristics and men possess strong, solid, and aggressive characteristics. In the next section, I will discuss previous studies of gender that have explored ideological effects in the Japanese language and then, using some lexical elements in the language, offer further examples of the connection between gender and language.

III. GENDERED LEXICAL ITEMS

A. PREVIOUS WORKS ON GENDERED LEXICAL ITEMS

There are several works which illuminate the fact that the meaning of a linguistic item varies ideologically. For instance, Tanaka (1993) analyzed expressions based on gender in the three major newspapers in Japan, namely, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri*. Concerning the language used in the newspapers, she contends that the idea that men are the standard gender can be seen in the use of what she calls "female articles." In the following examples, the underlined words, which mean woman and female respectively, are "female articles": *Onna-kyooshi* 'female teacher' *joshi-chuugakusei* 'female junior high school student'. She claims that they are used to distinguish females from males, and their male counterparts are never used when the referent is a male. This phenomenon can be seen as support for McConnell-Ginet's (1988) comment that "people are male unless proven otherwise." In other words, the linguistic assumption in Japanese, as well as in English to a certain extent, is that man is the unmarked category.

Not only does Tanaka's work (1993) support the notion that men are the unmarked category, it also reveals double standards of gender in discourses used in the newspapers. Stereotypically, women are expected to be beautiful and obedient while men are active and knowledgeable. In demonstrating this, she discusses the fact that articles in all three newspapers described a mayor who advocated gun-control as *bijin-shichoo* 'beautiful mayor.' Tanaka argues that if the mayor had been a male, they would not have written about his physical characteristics. If the mayor had been a male, it is more likely that they would have written about the gun-control issue and his abilities as a mayor rather than his physical appearance. Endo (1993a) has similarly addressed the recurrent appearance of this item *bijin* 'beautiful-person' in the media. In an analysis of language used in newspapers and magazines, she found that there are many words which describe men's superior ability such as *erito*- 'elite', *toppu*- 'top', and *suupaa* - 'super' whereas for women, *bijin* 'beauty-person' and compounds with *bijin* as prefix or suffix occur in almost one third of the samples. This finding not only indicates an emphasis in the Japanese media on physical beauty when describing women, but also strongly suggests that the gender of the referent serves as the deciding factor in the type of descriptor to be used. Women are described in terms of physical characteristics while men are described based on their abilities.

B. FURTHER ANALYSIS OF GENDERED LEXICAL ITEMS

In order to illuminate common sensical assumptions in the language concerning gender, I will further analyze some Japanese nouns, namely, *bijin* 'beautiful-person', *shachoo* 'company president,' and *gakusei* 'student.' First, I will return to *bijin*, the linguistic item used most often to describe women, according to Endo (1993b). The noun *bijin* is formed by combining two Chinese characters. The first character *bi* means beauty. The second character, which can be read *jin*, *nin*, or *hito*, means a person. The compound's literal meaning is "beauty-person" and thus its gender should

be neutral. However, in actual usage, it refers exclusively to a woman (Cherry 1987). Of all the dictionaries consulted (*Daily Concise English Dictionary* 1990, *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* 1986, *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* 1974), it is defined not as a beautiful person but as a beautiful woman. However, in *binan* 'beauty-man,' *bijin*'s counterpart, gender is specified and it refers only to a male.² Consider the following examples.

- 3) *bijin-gorufaa* 'beautiful person (woman) golfer'
 beauty person (woman)-golfer
- 4) **binan-gorufaa* 'beautiful male golfer'
 beauty man-golfer

It seems the awkwardness of the phrase *binan-gorufaa* is two-fold. Firstly, although there are many women who make their living playing professional golf in Japan, the sport is still seen as mainly a man's sport, as many golf courses still exclude women from becoming members. When presented with the term *golfer*, speakers of the language usually see it as male. Thus, a golfer's implicit gender is male and adding *binan* to specify gender becomes redundant. Secondly, it can be argued that even though the word *binan* exists and its two Chinese characters mean beauty and man, respectively, a man's occupation or what a man does and the description of his physical attributes, whether he is good-looking or not, are less likely to be put together in a Japanese phrase. It is interesting to note that in the case of *binan*, but not in *bijin*, the gender of the referent is specific. The assumption behind such a phenomenon is that a beautiful person is obviously female, undoubtedly a male point of view.

Like Tanaka (1993), Endo (1993b) contends that words such as *josei-fuku-chiji* 'female vice governor' and *josei-ekonomisuto* 'female economist' enforce the notion of men as the unmarked category. That the male gender is the unmarked category is further supported by the fact that descriptions such as *dansei-fuku-chiji* 'male vice governor' or *dansei-ekonomisuto* 'male economist' are never used. Similarly, *bijin-gorufaa* 'beautiful women golfer' and *onna-shachoo* 'female company president' are used but not *binan-gorufaa* 'good-looking male golfer' and *otoko-shachoo* 'male company president'. The question that needs to be asked is, why is this so. Why do *otoko-shachoo* and *binan-gorufaa* sound strange but not *onna-shachoo* and *bijin-gorufaa*? If we look closely at the noun phrases *otoko-shachoo* and *onna-shachoo*, we can see that the only difference is their gender.

- 5) **otoko-shachoo* 'man-company president'
- 6) *onna-shachoo* 'woman-company president'

Contributing to the awkwardness of *otoko-shachoo* is the stereotypical expectation and automatic assumption that company presidents are male. Therefore, when a company president is a male, specifying his gender, as in the term *dansei-shachoo*, becomes redundant. As Cherry (1987) remarks, the creation of an item such as *otoko-shachoo* by adding a redundant male prefix would only provoke laughter from native speakers. However, it should be noted that the expression *onna-shachoo* usually does not provoke any reaction from native speakers of the language. This is no doubt because referring to a company president who is a woman by specifying her gender using *onna-shachoo* is accepted as the natural way to do it. The accepted and natural way of categorizing the world using the Japanese language is to specify gender when the referent is female, unless the item being used, such as *bijin*, is already female-marked.

The next item *gakusei* can be said to be neutral in the sense that its referent can be either female or male. *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* (1986) offers 'a person who studies at a school, especially at the university level' as its definition. However, it should be emphasized that there is a tendency for the item *daigakusei* 'university student' to be more male-marked. Support for the male-marking of *daigakusei* can be found in the observation that its counterpart, *joshi-daisei* 'female university student' or 'women's college student,' is frequently used. *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* (1986) offers as a sample usage of the term *joshi* 'female,' the noun phrase *joshi-gakusei* 'female-student'. However, for a sample usage of the word *danshi* 'male,' it gives not *danshi-gakusei* but *danshi no honne* 'male's real feeling.' Further support for the claim that *gakusei*'s implicit gender is male can be seen in the titles of self-help books which are devoted to assisting university students in obtaining jobs by offering information on

the writing of resumes and proper interview conduct. For instance, in 1997, one co-ed university in Japan distributed a handout which listed titles of such self-help books to all fourth-year students. Of the twenty-two titles listed, eight were targeted especially at female students bearing "female articles" such as *joshi-gakusei* 'female-student,' *joshi-yoo* 'for female use,' *joshi-mensetsu* 'female interview,' etc. Thus, even though there is seemingly nothing inherent in the term *gakusei* that makes its referent a male, we once again see in the way gender articles are used to make a distinction between male students and female students the importance placed on gender categorization in Japanese society.

Based on the fact that the publishers of dictionaries, the writers of newspapers, and the editors of materials for university students are jobs predominately occupied by men, it is tempting to conclude that the marking of only the female gender "reflects perception of its producers and in Japan they are almost always men" (Suzuki 1993:206). However, what should be emphasized here is that women in general also use the Japanese language and view the world in a similar way to men concerning the matter in question. It is not that men have a particular view of gender and reinforce it because they are more likely to be in the position to do so; in the course of socialization in Japanese society, women and men alike acquire the dominant ideology, which in turn leads them both to view society in a way that serves to maintain unequal distribution of power. The ideology generally favors men, the dominant, unmarked gender, over women as a group.

IV. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF *BIJIN*, *TATSUJIN*, AND *MEIJIN*

The construction *-bijin/bijin-* has been discussed and its frequent usage has been noted. Its productivity will be discussed here. It can be attached to an occupation as in *bijin-anaunsaa* 'announcer,' to a thing as in *kotoba* 'words'-*bijin*, or to a phenomenon as in *hanashikata* 'a way of speaking'-*bijin*. When attached to an occupation or a social position, it means beautiful— as in *bijin-kyooshi* 'beautiful teacher' (which is, incidentally, the title of a popular TV drama in 1998)— and it refers to physical beauty and functions as a modifier to the main noun. Taking a text concerning prescriptive speech titles *Chitekisensu Osharekaiwa Nyuumon - hikitsukeru onna no bokyaburarii* 'Introduction to fashionable conversation - attractive women's vocabulary' (Kume 1980) as an example, it can be seen that there are several phrases with *bijin* even in its table of contents.³ We can see *kaiwa* 'conversation'-*bijin*, *denwa* 'telephone'-*bijin*, and *arigatoo* 'thank you' -*bijin*, among others. These types of construction where *bijin* is attached to something other than an occupation or a social position are also very productive; it can be combined with various linguistic items. Its meaning is 'a woman who is not necessarily physically beautiful but good at ----, so that despite her looks, she is classified as a beautiful woman' with whatever word is occupying the blank. The word *denwa-bijin* is contrasted with *denwa-busu* in a section heading in Kume (1980). The word *busu*, meaning ugly, refers almost exclusively to women, and "it is one of the worst Japanese insults that can be hurled at a female" (Cherry 1987). The particular combination, *denwa-busu*, means a woman who is not necessarily physically ugly but who has bad telephone manners. Thus, regardless of her looks, she is classified as an ugly woman. It can also be combined with an occupation or a social position as in the case of *bijin-* and *-bijin*. Both words, *busu* and *bijin*, behave similarly linguistically. In any case, we see that women are very frequently referred to and categorized, even if only metaphorically, by their physical appearance.

Next, I would like to compare *bijin* with *binan*, *tatsujin*, and *meijin*. As was noted earlier, *bijin* is written with two Chinese characters which mean 'beauty' and 'person' and thus, the word's literal meaning is 'beautiful person.' The word *tatsujin* is written with two characters meaning 'to achieve' and 'person' and means 'a person who has achieved a special status' or 'someone with a special ability.' The word *meijin* with characters meaning 'distinguished' and 'person' means 'distinguished person' or 'expert.' On the surface, their functions seem similar. However, under closer examination, a great difference in distribution becomes apparent.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 7) * <i>denwa-binan</i> | 'telephone-beauty man' |
| 8) <i>denwa-bijin</i> | 'telephone-beauty person (woman)' |

- 9) *denwa-(no)tatsujin* 'telephone-a person with a special ability'
 10) *denwa-(no)meijin* 'telephone-expert'

Concerning 7, as was noted earlier, *binan* means a good-looking man and is written with the characters 'beauty' and 'man.' The unacceptability of the phrase is due to the fact, as was discussed earlier, a man's occupation or what a man does and a description of his physical attributes are not usually put together in a Japanese phrase. Items 8, 9 and 10 use the same Chinese character *jin* 'person' and thus their literal meanings are sexually neutral. Items 8, 9 and 10 are all acceptable. However, their distribution differs drastically. Despite the meaning of the Chinese character used, 8 can refer only to a woman. *Tatsujin* and *meijin*, on the other hand, are most often used to refer to a male. For instance, one dictionary states *tatsujin's* meaning as "an expert, an adept; a man well versed in [skilled in, clever at] (something)" (*Daily Concise English Dictionary* 1990). The actual usage of these words can be seen as an instance of the double standard offered by Tanaka (1993). Men are more often categorized by their capability and women by their looks. It can also be asserted that the social categorization constructed is gender-differentiated. This point is reinforced by examining another pair of linguistic items.

- 11) *onna-(no)meijin* 'female-expert'
 Poss
 12) *otoko-(no)meijin* 'male-expert'
 Poss

Item 11 has two possible meanings. One is a) 'a person who has a distinguished skill and who is a woman' and the other is b) 'a person who has a distinguished skill with women', possibly a 'womanizer' whereas 12 only has the equivalent meaning of b but not a. Stated differently, 12 means 'a person who has a distinguished skill with men' but not 'a person who has a distinguished skill and who is a man'.⁴ Since the word *meijin* has maleness implicitly included, it would be odd to restate the sex of the referent. In trying to derive the meaning 'a person who has a distinguished skill,' the fact that it is acceptable to add *onna* 'woman' but not *otoko* 'man' to the word *meijin* shows the implied sex of the term *meijin*. The awkwardness of phrase 12 when its intended meaning is 'a person who has a distinguished skill and who is a man' is derived from the difference between the meaning of the characters and their actual usage. The character 'person' is neutral sexually but the actual referent of the word *meijin* is male and the actual referent of the word *bijin* is female. This kind of awkwardness that results from the redundancy of specifying sex was also seen previously in examples such as *otoko-shachoo* 'male company president' discussed above. Furthermore, it should be noted that the same outcome will result when using *tatsujin* in the same construction, that is, *onna-(no)tatsujin*, and *otoko-(no)tatsujin*.

V. DISCUSSION

Using a semantic analysis of the use of certain nouns and "female articles," this paper has attempted to show the importance of gender as a system of categorization to Japanese speakers. As I have argued, categorizing women according to their appearance, as well as the categorization of social positions such as *shachoo*, *shichoo*, *meijin*, *tatsujin*, etc., according to gender is part of the naturally accepted, unremarkable way of construing the social world in Japanese society. This male/female distinction is, I would argue, one of the strongest ideologies—that is, one of the strongest common sense assumptions—underlying Japanese language and society. What I would like to do now is juxtapose this ideology with the recent finding, mentioned in the introduction of this paper, that there is a blurring of the male/female distinction in terms of the way certain groups of Japanese are actually using language. These recent studies suggest that those linguistic forms previously thought of as being strictly in the domain of either "men's language" or "women's language" are actually resources which can be used, in certain situations, by either gender in order to form different and diverse speech styles and express a variety of cultural identities. I do not doubt that linguistic forms can serve as resources, but I do want to question the claim, often explicitly expressed in these types of studies, that Japanese women's language is merely the "native linguistic ideology" (Inoue 1994:322). What I think needs to be reassessed is the conception of both ideology

and Japanese women's language. Whereas these recent studies have seemed to interpret ideology as a belief system, held by the Japanese, that diverges from what actually occurs in discourse, I have in this paper, using Fairclough's conception of ideology, attempted to demonstrate that speakers' common sensical assumptions about gender are the ideological reality. These naturalized common sensical assumptions that women are to be categorized according to physical appearance and that women are not supposed to occupy positions such as company presidents, mayors, and athletes are what serve as the very foundations of Japanese society. Therefore, it may be true that some Japanese women are using so-called male linguistic forms, but, as I have tried to provide a glimpse of in the paper, the constraints on women in Japanese society—that they are expected to serve society with their physical beauty and not their skills and abilities—are both expressed and reinforced through language. To me, these constraints, which are still very much the reality for women in Japanese society, are the "real" components of a Japanese women's language. Japanese women and men may be using a variety of different forms and speech styles, but until publishers and newspaper writers stop referring to women as *bijin*- and until society as a whole accepts women in high-ranking positions without marking them as *onna*-, *josei*-, or *bijin*-, the constraints imposed by language on women must still be considered very real.

VI. CONCLUSION

I have in this paper used Fairclough's and van Dijk's ideas about language ideology as a framework for highlighting the influence of gender on the common sensical assumptions of the Japanese. By way of conclusion, I would like to say a few more words about this conception of ideology. As a way of uncovering the naturalized assumptions that underlie not only the use of language but also the very existence of our social world, this approach to language ideology has the potential to illuminate inequalities in the very foundation of society. This is not to say that other modes of analyses are incapable of disclosing inequalities in language use and our social world. However, where it might appear on the surface that a certain group, such as Japanese women, are making advances by employing linguistic forms previously thought to be unavailable to them, an analysis that illuminates the assumptions underlying the surface of the social world can reveal constraints that are embedded, if you will, deep in the psychology of the members of that society. In this paper, I have used the framework of ideology to try to illustrate that point. Despite the fact that the actual speech of Japanese women has been shown to include very fluid speech styles, employing a combination of what can be classified as female linguistic forms and male forms depending on the context, the assumption that women are objects of physical beauty who do not typically attain high-ranking work positions still appears to be deeply ingrained in the way the Japanese use language.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Dat: dative particle
 Poss: possessive particle

NOTES

- 1 All translations are by the author.
- 2 A further analysis of ideologies in prescriptive speech texts is found in Ohara (1998).
- 3 There is a word *bijo* which is comprised of the characters *bi* 'beauty' and *jo* 'woman.' If we consider the original meaning attached to a Chinese character, then, it might be more appropriate to say that *binan*'s counterpart is *bijo*. However, in terms of actual usage and meanings derived by native speakers from those terms, it is fair to say that *bijin* and *binan* are counterparts.
- 4 It is also interesting to note that there is the term "womanizer" in English but no such word as manizer; pointing toward a somewhat similar phenomenon in Japanese and English.

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CODESWITCHING TO FACILITATE INTERACTION IN GROUP CONVERSATION

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ABSTRACT

The markedness model is provided by Myers-Scotton (1993) as a compilation of previous studies of codeswitching (CS) from a socio-pragmatical aspect and, as a theoretical model, it is based on a speaker-oriented theory. Following this markedness model, this study examines two CS issues in naturally-occurring discourse by five English-Japanese bilingual people: (1) what bilingual speakers engaged in casual group conversation try to achieve by conducting a conversation in two languages (English and Japanese) through CS rather than simply using one language, and (2) what kind of CS succeeds in achieving the speaker's goal in group conversation. By qualitative microanalysis of each CS usage and retrospective interviews with each participant, the results suggest that, in a casual group conversation, 'a marked CS' can help to achieve a speaker's goal which is to decrease the social distance between participants, or to get the attention of other participants when the speaker shows consideration for the creation of interpersonal involvement or tries to facilitate interaction for all of participants.

INTRODUCTION

Codeswitching (hereafter CS) occurs when there are more than two codes, such as dialects or languages, in one speech community or in an individual speaker. Myers-Scotton (1993:1) defines CS as alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. In this sense, CS would include a change of dialect or style in the same language as well as a change between languages. However, in this paper, I will deal only with alternations between languages.

This paper is intended as an investigation of two issues: (1) what bilingual speakers engaged in casual group conversation try to achieve by conducting a conversation in two languages (English and Japanese) through CS rather than simply using one language, and (2) what kind of CS succeeds in achieving the speaker's goal in group conversation. As a framework for this microanalysis of group conversation, I refer to the markedness model for CS by Myers-Scotton (1993) because her model is a compilation of previous studies of CS from a socio-pragmatical aspect, and it is a theoretical model, based on a speaker-oriented theory. From a five-minute conversation, I chose parts of three sequences which contained CS from English to Japanese. I transcribed it according to the transcription notation of Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and examined it using the markedness model. In order to grasp what a speaker is trying to achieve or what a speaker's goal is when s/he codeswitches, and to enhance the validity and the reliability of this research, I conducted retrospective interviews with the speakers after making the transcription.

FRAMEWORK

According to Nishimura (1997:3-10), five types of CS have been identified in the literature: situational CS, metaphorical CS, conversational CS, rapid CS including many instances of intrasentential CS, and the markedness model. Prior to Blom and Gumperz (1972) taking some important steps by considering two types of CS, situational CS and metaphorical CS, as an outcome of skilled performance, CS was considered a performance error by an imperfect bilingual caused by an inability to carry on a conversation in one language for an extended period of time (Myers-Scotton 1993:47). However, variation in the historical background of a community created the different types of CS (Nishimura 1997:10-12). In all five types of CS, the markedness model by Myers-Scotton could cover and correspond to the other four types of CS. The markedness model is based on a speaker's language choice whether it is marked (unexpected) or unmarked (expected) in a particular situation. According to Myers-Scotton, in a multilingual society, the language choices index a speaker's identity. This identity has its own set of rights and obligations. Therefore, the interactants are expected to act within that rights and obligations set. The markedness model classifies the following four motivations for CS (all the following examples are cited from Myers-Scotton 1993:114-147):

- (1) CS as 'a sequential unmarked choice', which is caused by a change in the situational factors; e.g., When a Kenyan African realizes that a stranger is of the same ethnicity, the Kenyan African will switch from Swahili to Luyia, her/his ethnic language. This corresponds to situational CS.
- (2) CS as 'an unmarked choice', which is recognized as a pattern that conveys the communicative intention in a community; e.g., In certain communities, it is the 'overall pattern' to use two languages simultaneously in order to show two identities. This type of switching includes conversational CS and rapid CS.
- (3) CS as 'a marked choice', which is used to negotiate a change in the expected social distance between participants; e.g., At a political meeting in Liberia, Kru is marked in order to express the speaker's attribute even though Kru is the first language in that community.
- (4) CS as 'an exploratory choice', which is the 'safe choice' when speakers are not sure of the expected communicative intent (unmarked choice); e.g., When people do not know the social identity of a new acquaintance, they might use this CS.

In addition, Myers-Scotton (1993) mentions that while both 'a sequential unmarked CS' and 'an unmarked CS' are 'expected' by participants in an interaction, a speaker may elicit one of three effects with the use of 'a marked CS' which is the most universal use: (1) an increase or decrease in the social distance due to authority/anger; e.g., In Nairobi, a passenger switches from Swahili to English to show her/his annoyance toward a train conductor, (2) ethnically-based exclusion; e.g., In the University of Nairobi, female students who are of the same ethnicity switch from English to Kamba in order to imply to male students, who cannot understand Kamba, to get away, and (3) aesthetic effect; e.g., In Swahili, English is used to show one's authority when it is used at the climax of storytelling.

SUBJECTS AND METHODOLOGY

This is a group conversation among five English-Japanese bilingual people in a restaurant in New York. These five subjects consist of three Japanese women aged between 21 and 25 (the speakers N, A and M) who can also speak English, but not fluently, and two half Japanese and half American men (the speaker K age 21 and the speaker J age 25). Among all of the subjects, the speaker J is the most well-balanced in both Japanese and English, while the speaker K is the most English dominant and is the weakest in Japanese. All but speaker N are students at the University of Hawaii. However, they are not friends (except speakers K, A, and M who are close friends), but only acquainted with each other. Through a linguistics summer program in New York, all of them came to know each other.

I set a tape-recorder at the center of a round table around all the subjects. After I explained that I would use this naturally-occurring conversation for one of my classes, I recorded the conversation for about one hour, and I chose five minutes from the middle and transcribed it. There were two main topics in the transcribed portion of the taped conversation. At first, the subjects talked about why there was a choice in drink size even though refills were free, and then the topic changed to what an equivalent English word would be for the Japanese word, *furyo* 'a delinquent boy.' In the first half-hour, the subjects talked mostly in English, codeswitching to Japanese, because I had asked the participants to speak in English so that my professor would be able to understand. Towards the end, they were speaking only in Japanese. Therefore, the middle part of this conversation was analyzed in this research, because at that time, all of the participants seemed to have chosen a code for him/her/himself/herself, whether English or Japanese.

After I made the transcription, I showed it to each participant and asked her/him why s/he had switched from English to Japanese or from Japanese to English in a particular utterance. These retrospective probes were casual interviews in order to enhance the reliability of the speaker's intention and the hearer's perception on the use of CS.

ANALYSIS

In the first sequence, the speaker A asked the speakers K and J, who had spent a lot of time in the U.S., why there was a choice of drink size even though refills were free.

29. A: = What is that for.
30. M: YEAH.=
31. A: = ((Laughing)).
32. K: I:don't know, I think, it it's just having to wait for refills. *Mendokusai kara*. So it's *Benri*.
troublesome because convenient
'Because it is troublesome' 'convenient'
33. A, N and M: ((Laughing))
34. J: Somebody like for him that drinks a lot.
35. N: ((laughing)) *Mendokusai kara*. ((Laughing))
troublesome because
'Because it is troublesome.'
36. M: ((laughing)) ()
37. K: *Sake dewa nai kedo; sakenomi no youni nomu kara.* =
Alcohol Top Neg but, a heavy drinker Gen like drink because
'Although I don't drink alcohol, I drink (juice) like a heavy drinker.'
38. M: []
Un.
'Yes.'
39. M: = Ah: ((Back channeling))
40. N: = He: ((Back channeling))
41. A: E:, you don't drink?
well
'Well'
42. K: Not alcohol.

In line 31, the speaker A laughs because even though both the speakers K and J must know American culture well, they cannot answer immediately. After she laughed, the speaker K answered honestly that he did not know exactly why it was. However, he tries to answer, taking time by prolonging the initial vowel in 'I: don't know' and stuttering 'it it's just.' And then, without any phonological emphasis such as higher pitch or slower speed, he switches from English to Japanese to utter *Mendokusai kara* 'because it is troublesome.'

The content of this CS is also a repetition or a summary of the speaker K's previous phrase 'it it's just having to wait for refills.' According to Myers-Scotton (1993:132), the content of 'a marked choice' is often a repetition of what has already been said, because the 'real' message lies with the change in social distance. In this case, according to the speaker K's retrospective interview, his goal with the use of CS is to decrease the social distance between the speaker N and the other members as the speaker N is new to all the other members, is the youngest of the participants, and furthermore, is least proficient in English. The speaker K's utterance gives the speaker N a chance to speak in Japanese in line 35 even though this is a repetition of the speaker K's utterance. By the speaker N's utterance in line 35, it seems reasonable to suppose that the speaker K's goal was achieved because the speaker N paid attention to the speaker K's utterance, not the speaker J's utterance which was interrupted by the speaker N.

Given the situation and relative language ability, only the speaker K has a chance to codeswitch from English to Japanese, because in the retrospective interview, the Japanese native speakers say that CS from English to Japanese seems to show that they do not care much about the non-native Japanese speaker, K. On the other hand, according to the speaker K's retrospective interview, he not only wanted to give face to the other people and to give them a chance to speak, but he also used CS to show his Japanese language ability. This is because he thought that the native Japanese speakers considered his Japanese language ability low and also they were not sure about his Japanese fluency. The phrase *Mendokusai kara* 'because it is troublesome' is a really natural colloquial style for native Japanese speakers because it is a compound phrase of *Mendou* 'troublesome (noun)' and *kusai* 'stink or be suspicious (adjective)'. By using this phrase and continuing to use Japanese in line 37, the speaker K tries to show the native Japanese speakers that they do not have to be concerned with his Japanese language ability. These empirical considerations between the speaker K and the native Japanese speakers also correspond to the virtuosity maxim (Myers-Scotton 1993:147) which is to switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation when some participants do not have full linguistic ability in the unmarked choice. From this point of view, we can see that these people use CS to show consideration for each other in order to facilitate interaction in a group conversation.

In the second sequence, the topic is about whether the speaker K can drink alcohol or not. The speaker K answers that he can drink because he grew up in Japan where it is common for young people to drink alcohol.

53. M: You can?
54. K: I grew up in Japan, so of course ((laughing)) I could drink.=
55. M: = I:see. =
56. K: = I just don't like to.
57. A, N: *Ha::* ((Back channeling)).
58. M: *He::* ((Back channeling)).
59. J: He's a natural. I'm a born again ().
60. K: *Soune, Jyuunisai no toki kara.* ((laughing))
Yeah, 12 years old Gen time from
'Yeah, since (I was) 12 years old.'
61. N: *Nomu?*
drink
'Do you drink?'
62. M: *Nomu no?*
drink FP
'Do you drink?'
63. J: = Yeah, ()
64. K: = *No, Nomu hito mo ita kedo.*
Err, drink people also there was though
'There were people who drink like that, though'
65. M: *FURYO.*
a delinquent boy.
'A delinquent boy.'

In line 60, the speaker K switches to Japanese and overlaps with the speaker J's English utterance in which the speaker J intended to introduce a new topic about himself (line 59). This utterance of the

speaker K is used as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy (Myers-Scotton 1993:137-8) which is one of the effects of 'a marked CS.' By ignoring the speaker J's utterance, the speaker K regards the speaker J, who so far has talked a lot in English, as a person of a different ethnicity, because K's CS contributes to an increase in the social distance with the speaker J and a decrease with the other native Japanese speakers. As evidence, in the retrospective interview, the speaker K says that the speaker J would talk a lot without turn-taking, unless he interrupted the speaker J. As a result, his CS to Japanese allows the speaker N to get a chance to speak again and creates interpersonal involvement between the speaker K and the other native Japanese speakers in a group conversation.

In the third sequence, the speaker A asked both the speakers J and K whether there is an English word which means *furyo* 'a delinquent boy.' The speaker J offers some equivalent words such as 'punk' and 'gang' in English.

78. M: *Panku?* =
punk'
79. J: = Label. (1.0) A gang, a gang wanna, well, not really a gang wanna be, but a gang, that's =
80. M: []
Ha:: ((Back channeling))
81. J:= sort of a *furyou* in a sense.
82. A, M, N: *Ha::* ((Back channeling)) =
83. A: *gyangu ne::* =
gang FP
'Oh, it is a gang, I see.'
84. N: =↑ *GYANGU NE::*
gang FP
'It is a gang, I see.'
85. M: = *Fuun* ((Back channeling)) *Furyou?* =
86. J: =That's normal, you know. *Nihon de na, sake noma sareru tte iu ka, tukiai tte iuno wa*=
Japan Plc Err, alcohol drink Cause Cop say Que, association Cop say Top
'In Japan, I'm not sure if I'd say I'm forced to drink, but when you're [hangin
out] with people...'
87. A: =↑*E:?*, why do you know that.
[[
88. M: =↑*E::?*
(1.0)
89. M: ↑*BECAUSE* he's ((laughing))
90. A: [((laughing)) *E: Datte*, you are, you were a student, right? In Japan.
because,
'Because'
91. J: No, this is when I was small, when I was not even a teen.

The speaker J codeswitches from English to Japanese in line 86 with a change in topic. This is because he wanted to return to the topic about young people's drinking of alcohol in order to get the attention of the other members. Here, it seems that the speaker J is not sure which language would help to achieve his goal which is to supply a new topic acceptable to all members. In the retrospective interview, the speaker J also said that he was not sure why he had codeswitched from English to Japanese. Thus, I interpret that the speaker J, viewing the speaker K's CS as successful in the earlier example, used a particularly 'exploratory CS' which is the 'safe choice' in order to change the topic. However, his utterance is interrupted by both the speakers A and M with the doubting expression 'E:'. Even though his goal to change the topic might have been achieved, he is made a

laughingstock by both the speakers A and M in lines 89 and 90 and his switched utterance is also under attack by the speaker A's questions in lines 87 and 90. Therefore, we know that the speaker J's CS does not succeed as the 'safe choice.' As one of the reasons, I consider Myers-Scotton's (1993:141) qualification for the users of marked choices whose status should be sufficiently high to allow them to take a chance in the interaction. The speaker J might not be entitled to use marked choices in this sense, because his status does not seem to be high enough since his utterances are mostly ignored and even interrupted by other members three times (lines 34, 59 and 86) in this small portion of the conversation.

CONCLUSION

In parts of three sequences, subjects used CS as either 'a marked CS' or 'an exploratory CS' in the markedness model. As Myers-Scotton (1993:119) states, 'an unmarked CS' is usually expected by participants. Therefore it should be used in informal conversations by bilingual in-group members. However, in this case, all members were just acquaintances, and this occasion was the first time for some members to converse with the others. Because they were not sure about each other's language ability, all instances of CS constituted marked CS.

In terms of the success of the CS, the speaker K was more successful in achieving his goal, which is to change the social distance among certain members, than the speaker J, because the speaker K used 'a marked CS' to facilitate interaction in a group conversation. For example, his CS gave other members a chance to speak and quieted the member who had been monopolizing the conversation. On the other hand, the speaker J's CS was not successful even though he chose the 'safe switch' which was 'an exploratory CS' in the markedness model. The reason is that, when everyone was speaking English in the beginning, it is largely the speaker J talking. After that, interestingly, some of the speaker J's statements are totally ignored by other members (lines 34, 59 and 86). From the retrospective interview, I found out that this discourse showed other members' assumptions, in which the speaker J would dominate the conversation once he got a chance to talk. Therefore, his statements tend to be interrupted because his statements without turn-taking are felt by others to be too long for a five-person conversation. The experience of the other members show that he is probably an inappropriate user of CS, because he does not hold a sufficiently high status in the interaction.

In conclusion, my research shows that in a group conversation, 'a marked CS' can help to achieve a speaker's goal which is to decrease the social distance between participants or to get the attention of other participants when the speaker shows consideration for the creation of interpersonal involvement or tries to facilitate interaction for all of the participants.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION

1. M: I have a question. ((laughing)) =
2. J: =Yes?
(2.0)
3. M: I didn't know that ah: we can refill? (1.0) BUT do you know that she ordered a sma:ll?
4. A: {
You can drink=

5. A: = as much as you want, right? =
6. M: =Yeah, so she ordered a sma:ll.=
7. A: [Why (do you)?]
8. A: =Yeah.=
9. M: =And, ah, so if you ordered a small, it's MUCH BETTER.
(0.5)
10. N: Ah: =
11. M: =You know, what I'm saying? =
12. N: = CHEAPER.=
13. M: = Un.
Yes.'
(0.5)
14. K: I drink a lot anyway.=
15. A, N and M: =((Laughing))
16. J: [Actually, that is kind what I, (0.8) I sometimes think about =
[]]
17. M: ()
18. J: = that you like, ah, you go to K-mart, or somewhere, they have the Caesar's pizza inside.=
19. M: =Huhun. ((Back channeling)) =
20. J: = And usually there're refills, right? =
21. M: =Yeah.=
22. A: =Un. =
'Yes.'
23. J: =So, you know, I see people who's buying those big cups. (1.0) Why are they doing this.
[But, at that time, we =
24. M:]
25. M: = don't have any choice about that size?
26. J: No, they still have
27. M: [But, this time, she asked either small or large? =
[]]
28. J: (oh,oh)
29. A: = What is that for.
30. M: YEAH.=
31. A: =((Laughing)).
32. K: I:don't know, I think, it it's just having to wait for refills. *Mendokusai kara*. So it's *Benri*.
troublesome because convenient
'Because it is troublesome'
'convenient'
33. A, N and M: [((Laughing))]
34. J: Somebody like for him that drinks a lot.
35. N: [((laughing)) *Mendokusai kara*. ((Laughing))
troublesome because
'Because it is troublesome.'
36. M: ((laughing)) ()
37. K: [*Sake dewa nai kedo: sakenomi no youni nomu kara*. =
Alcohol Top Neg but, a heavy drinker Gen like drink because
'Although I don't drink alcohol, I drink (juice) like a heavy drinker.'

38. M: []
Un.
'Yes.'
39. M: = Ah: ((Back channeling))
40. N: [[
= He: ((Back channeling))
41. A: E:, you don't drink?
well
'Well'
42. K: Not alcohol.
43. M: Ha: ((Back channeling))
44. N: ↑ [[
Ha: ((Back channeling))
45. N: Ah: ((Back channeling)) =
46. A: = Ah: ↓ ((Back channeling))
47. M: Because you're young.
[]
48. A: (You, you)
49. A: You CAN'T drink. =
50. M: = You CAN'T drink. =
51. J: = He CAN drink.
[]
52. K: I can.
53. M: You can?
54. K: I grew up in Japan, so of course ((laughing)) I could drink. =
55. M: = I:see. =
56. K: = I just don't like to.
57. A, N: Ha:: ((Back channeling)).
[]
58. M: He:: ((Back channeling)).
[]
59. J: He's a natural. I'm a born again ().
[]
60. K: Soune, Jyūnisai no toki kara. ((laughing))
Yeah, 12 years old Gen time from
'Yeah, since (I was) 12 years old.'
61. N: *Nomu?*
drink
'Do you drink?'
62. M: *Nomu no?* =
drink FP
'Do you drink?'
63. J: = Yeah, ()
64. K: = *No, Nomu hito mo ita kedo.*
Err, drink people also there was though
'There were people who drink like that, though'
65. M: []
FURYO.
a delinquent boy.
'A delinquent boy.'
66. A: ((laughing)) Furyo.
a delinquent boy.

'A delinquent boy.

67. J: *Furyou ja naitte, furyou ja naitte.*
 a delinquent boy Cop Neg , a delinquent boy Cop Neg
 '(It is) not a delinquent, (it is) not a delinquent.'
68. A: *Furyou, sou sou sou, furyou tte eigo de =*
 a delinquent boy, so, so, so, a delinquent boy Cop English Int
69. A: =*nante iu no?*
 what call FP.
 'Speaking of Furyo, by the way, how do you say Furyo in English?'
70. M: How do you say that *Nano?*=
 FP
71. N: = *Furyou.*
 a delinquent boy
 'A delinquent boy.'
 (2.0)
72. K: (, yeah,)
73. J: There's not a real, there's not a one word, like well, you could say a drop-out is a =
74. J: = *Furyou.* (0.5) A punk is a *Furyou.*
75. M: *Un.* ((Back channeling))
 'Yes.'
76. M: *Ha::.* ((Back channeling)) =
77. N: = *Panku?*
 'punk'
78. M: *Panku?* =
 'punk'
79. J: = Label. (1.0) A gang, a gang wanna, well, not really a gang wanna be, but a gang, that's =
80. M: *Ha::.* ((Back channeling))
81. J: = sort of a *furyou* in a sense.
82. A, M, N: *Ha::.* ((Back channeling)) =
83. A: *gyangu ne::.* =
 gang FP
 'Oh, it is a gang, I see.'
84. N: = ↑ *GYANGU NE::.* =
 gang FP
 'It is a gang, I see.'
85. M: = *Fuun,* ((Back channeling)) *Furyou?*=
86. J: = That's normal, you know. *Nihon de na, sake noma sareru tt iu ka, tukiai tte iuno wa =*
 Japan Plc Err, alcohol drink Cause Cop say Que, association Cop say Top
 'In Japan, I'm not sure if I'd say I'm forced to drink, but when you're [hanging out]
 with people...'
87. A: = ↑ *E:?*, why do you know that.
88. M: = ↑ *E::?*
 (1.0)
89. M: ↑ *BECAUSE* he's ((laughing))
90. A: ((laughing)) *E: Datte,* you are, you were a student, right? In Japan.

because,
'Because'

91. J: No, this is when I was small, when I was not even a teen.

92. M:

[
Ha: ((Back channeling)) =

93. N: =Ha: ((Back channeling))

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[] = Over lapping.

[|] = Simultaneous utterances.

((Action)) = Nonverbal or Verbal action.

() = Uncertain phrase.

↓ = A falling intonation.

↑ = High pitch utterances (animated tone).

Cop = Copula.

Que = Question marker.

Plc = Placement marker.

Top = Topic marker.

: = Prolonged sound

Int = Instrumental marker.

Gen = Genitive marker.

FP = Final particle.

Neg = Negative marker.

Err = Error words.

Cause = Causative marker.

? = A rising intonation, not necessarily a question.

= = No interval utterances.

E: = Doubting expression.

Capital letters = Louder utterances than the surrounding talk.

(time in tenths of a second) = Time of pause, either within an utterance or between utterances.

THE SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLE *NO* AS AN INTERNAL EVALUATION DEVICE IN A JAPANESE LISTENER-DEPENDENT CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVE

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ABSTRACT

Hinds (1987) suggests that Japanese is a reader-responsible language; it is the readers' responsibility to understand the point of a written text. Okazaki (1993) suggests that Hinds' typology can be applied to spoken discourse as well. She claims that the Japanese way of stating opinions may be characterized as "listener-dependent." This paper will investigate the Japanese way of making the point of a story in such listener-dependent communication and how it affects the internal structure of a narrative through a microanalysis of a spontaneous conversational narrative.

I propose that the Japanese sentence-final particle (SFP) *no* functions as an internal evaluation device which communicates the point of the story, drawing on the listener's world knowledge which is assumed to be shared between interlocutors. The SFP *no* has been extensively studied as an evidential marker, which refers to "shared" information. When *no* presents information which is known only to the speaker but not to the hearer, *no* rhetorically creates a sense of "shared" information. I suggest that this rhetorical use of *no* helps the audience focus on the point of the story by rhetorically creating "shared" perspectives between interlocutors. At the same time, *no* indicates that the audience is ready for the next development of the story through their "shared" perspectives. This paper argues that *no* organizes the overall structure of the narrative by drawing on listener's commonsensically-shared knowledge.

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper will investigate the Japanese way of making the point of a story. Hinds (1987) suggests that Japanese is a reader-responsible language; it is the readers' responsibility to understand the point of a written text. Okazaki (1993) further suggests that Hinds' typology can be applied to spoken discourse as well. She claims that the Japanese way of stating opinions may be characterized as "listener-dependent," that is, Japanese communicative style is characterized by a preference for indirect discourse in which the listener or reader actively participates in what is called *sasshi*, or anticipatory guesswork (cf. Hall 1976 & 1983, Ishii 1984, Lebra 1976, Yamada 1997).

Labov (1972a) defines evaluation as devices used by a narrator to communicate the point of a story. Evaluation is of two types, internal and external. Internal evaluation is a linguistic device which deviates from the local norms of text so that the narrative itself can convey the point of the story. Thus, internal evaluation is integrated into the text and attracts the listener's attention to crucial narrative events through linguistic saliency. On the other hand, external evaluation is a more direct way of making a point. In external evaluation, the narrator steps out of the narrative in order to tell the listener the point of the story. In other words, the narrator comments on or interprets the narrative event for the audience from a vantage point outside the narrative.

I propose that the Japanese sentence final particle (henceforth, SFP) *no* functions as an internal evaluation device which communicates the point of the story. As a marker of "shared" information, *no* invites the audience to engage in *sasshi*, or anticipatory guesswork, in order to see what is "shared" between interlocutors. In the next section, I will briefly review previous studies on the SFP *no*.

1.0 THE SFP *NO*

The SFP *no* has been extensively studied as an evidential marker (cf. Alfonso 1966, Aoki 1986, Cook 1990, Kuno 1973, Kuroda 1973, McGloin 1980, Rudolph 1993). It refers to "shared"

information, which is deducible from context-based evidence and, thus, is available to both the speaker and the listener. The following example illustrates this point.

- (2) *Kare wa atsui no da.*
He is hot. (Aoki 1986: 228)

According to Aoki (1986), the person making this utterance is judging someone to be hot based on contextual evidence (e.g., by seeing someone sweating). Thus, *no* indicates that this contextual evidence (i.e., someone is sweating) is available to both speaker and hearer.

On the other hand, when *no* presents information which is known only to the speaker but not to the hearer, *no* rhetorically creates a sense of "shared" information (Rudolph 1993: 142). The following example is from McGloin (1980).

- (3) *Watashi wa kooyuu keeken ga aru n(o) desu yo. Itaria e iku deshoo.* 〃
I have had this kind of experience. I went to Italy.

Itaria no dokoe ittemo hoogen wo syabette iru n(o) desu yo.
Wherever I went, they were speaking various dialects.
(McGloin 1980: 131)

McGloin states that by presenting a piece of information which the listener does not know as if it were already known to him/her, the speaker is asking the listener to share the particular piece of information (132). This rhetorical use of *no*, therefore, creates a sense of shared information, which can create a sense of rapport between the speaker and the listener (Cook 1990, McGloin 1980, Rudolph 1993). I would suggest that this rhetorical use of *no* functions as an internal evaluation device in listener-dependent Japanese conversational narrative. It helps the audience focus on the point of the story by rhetorically creating "shared" perspectives between interlocutors and inviting the audience to engage in anticipatory guesswork in order to see what is "shared." In the following section, I will examine how the SFP *no* functions as an internal evaluation device in a listener-dependent Japanese narrative through a microanalysis of spontaneous conversational narrative.

2.0. DISCUSSION

2.1. DATA

I will examine a spontaneously-occurring narrative, which is part of an hour-long conversation between two women. The narrator is in her late 40's and the listener is in her early 50's. The narrator is a long-time Christian and the listener is a relatively new Christian. At my request, the narrator is telling the listener that she thanked God when she lost her wallet (and later her wallet was returned). I was not present during this conversation.

N and L in the transcript stand for narrator and listener, respectively. The occurrence of *no* is underlined in both the Japanese text and the English translations. Since *no* is normally attached to the predicate, in the English translation, the predicate to which *no* is attached is underlined along with *No* in square brackets [] (e.g., *kita n(o) desu yo* → *came [No]*). Also, capital letters (e.g., DE NE (=and)) indicate emphatic pronunciation.

2.2. ANALYSIS

I. Segment [1] (N= narrator, L= listener)

- 01 N: *Moo atama ga konna ni natte ta wake desu yo.*
I was so panicked.
- 02 *DEmo ne, ano seisho no naka ni ne,*
But it *is written [N(o)]* in the Bible
- 03 *subete no koto ni tsuite kansha shinasai tte aru n(o) desu yo.*
that (you should) be thankful for everything.

- 04 Dene (laugh), =
And,
- 05 L: = Dakara, sooiu baai ni ne, *hanashi no tochuu da kedo*,
So, in such a case, (I know it) *is in the middle of the story*, but
- 06 N: Hai, hai,
Yes, yes
- 07 L: Sugu ni kansha dekita? Yappari mayotta desho, saisho?=
could you be thankful right away? I bet you hesitated at first, didn't you?
- 08 N: = Soo desu yo.
That's right.
- 09 N: Sorede, omoidasasete kudasatta *Wake* desu.
And, God *reminded* me.
- 10 L: Un. Un.
Uh-huh. Uh-huh.
- 11 De, te iu no wa, mae ni watashi ne, shigoto,
And, because I kind of *made [No]* a mistake (at) my work,
- 12 L: Un.
Uh-huh.
- 13 atarashii shigoto ni haitta toki ni, nanka shippai shita *n(o)* desu.
when I first started at my new job.

After the narrator describes how terrible she felt at first, she refers to a verse from the Bible; “*DEmo ne, ano seisho no naka ni ne, subete no koto ni tsuite kansha shinasai tte aru n(o) desu yo*” (= but, the Scripture *says* that you should be thankful for everything)(02-03). The repeated use of another SFP *ne*, which licenses the listener to access the given information (Rudolph 1993), invites the listener to share this point, “*Subete no koto ni tsuite kansha shinasai tte aru n(o) desu yo*” (= the Scripture says that you should be thankful for everything) (03). When the narrator makes this point, *no* appears in the narrator's utterance (i.e., *aru n(o) desu yo*).

Iwasaki (1985) claims that *no* indicates that some justification will follow if it has not yet been offered (129). In other words, by rhetorically creating a sense of “shared” information, *no* indicates that the narrator is asking the listener to share this information with justification to follow. Here, the narrator refers to the Bible verse, but she has not yet mentioned how this verse is relevant to the story. Thus, the SFP *no* signals that some justification will follow. This sense of expectation leads the listener to anticipatory guesswork, which allows the listener to become involved in the storytelling.

The narrator's utterance where she quotes the Bible is followed by “*De ne*” meaning “And” (04). This Japanese “*De ne*” (= And) which marks continuation (Schiffrin 1987) indicates that the narrator is ready to continue. Also, laughter which follows this “*De ne*” (= And) (04) shows the narrator's self-involvement; she is already excited about an upcoming point she will make. But the listener cuts in when the narrator is ready to continue, “*Dakara, sooiu baai ni ne, hanashi no tochuu da kedo, sugu ni kansha dekita?*” (= so, in such a case, I'm sorry to interrupt you, but were you able to be thankful right away?) (05-07). It should be noted that the listener is guessing what the speaker is going to say before being told, that is, the speaker thanked God for losing her wallet.

By saying “*hanashi no tochuu da kedo*” (= I know it's in the middle of your story, but,) (05), the listener acknowledges that she is interrupting the narrator, but she cuts in anyway. And being able to guess what the narrator is going to say before being told indicates that the listener is actively engaged in anticipatory guesswork.

The narrator understands that the listener is showing interest; the narrator's backchannel "Hai, ... hai" (= Yes, ...yes) (06) indicates that the narrator takes up the listener's role for a moment, but by saying "Soo desu yo" (= That's right) (08), she comes back right away to take the floor. With another conjunction "Sorede" (= and then) (09), which also marks continuation, the narrator goes on with her story. "Sorede, omoidasasete kudasatta wake desu" (09)— "Then, God reminded me." The use of honorifics "kudasatta" attached to the verb *omoidasu* (= remind) indicates that the omitted subject is God. Here, *wake* appears instead of *no*. *Wake* is a virtual equivalent of *no* (Martin 1975) and like *no*, *wake* indicates that justification will follow, i.e., what God reminded her of has not yet been mentioned. The listener's active backchanneling (10, 12) indicates that she is becoming involved with the story, anticipating justification. Later in the conversation, the narrator then provides the justification, i.e., what God reminded her of, which comes up in the next utterance, "Mae ni ... atarashii shigoto ni haitta toki ni, nanka shippai shita n(o) desu" (= I kind of made a mistake when I first started at my new job) (13). The *no* again signals that some justification will follow this new piece of information. Otherwise the listener could not see the relevance of this utterance, that is, why the narrator brought up her experience of making a mistake at her new job at this point in the narrative. Making a mistake at work is an episode that supports the narrator's main point of thanking God when she lost her wallet. In the following section, I will examine the development of this episode.

II. Segment [2]

- 14 De, shippai shite kini natte kini natte,
And I regretted and regretted,
- 15 "Konna shippai shite, a soo da, kansha shinai to ikenai" to omotte,
"I made such a terrible mistake, Oh, I should be thankful for that," I thought,
- 16 "Kono shippai o kansha shimasu" tte koe ni dashita n(o) desu.
(so) I said [No] it aloud, "I'm thankful for this mistake."
- 17 Soshitara, fushigina heian ga kita n(o) desu yo, watashi ni.
Then, a miraculous peace came [No] over me.
- 18 "Shippai o arigatoogozaimasu" tte kamisama ni=
When (I said) to God, "I'm thankful for this mistake..."
- 19 L: = Minna soo iu no?
Does everybody say so?
- 20 N: Soshitara, hontto ni heian ga kita n(o) desu yo. Moo kore wa
Then, peace really came [No] over me. You cannot understand this,
- 21 L: Huh.
Uh-huh.
- 22 N: taiken shinai to wakaranai. Sore o omoidashita n(o) desu yo,
watashi. =
unless (you) experience it. I remembered [No] that.
- 23 L: = Dakara, saifu o otoshite arigatoogozaimasu tte iu no? =
So, (are you going) to say, "Thank you" when you lost your wallet?
- 24 N: = ITTA N(O) DESU, WATASHI!
I said [No] that!
- 25 L: O, haa.
Oh, my.

Providing more details, the narrator evaluates the story through the use of repetition ("Kini natte, kini natte" (= I regretted and regretted) (14)) and a direct quote ("Konna shippai shite..." (= Oh, I made such a terrible mistake)) (15), in order to drive her point home, "Kono shippai o kansha shimasu' tte koe ni dashita n(o) desu" (= actually I said it aloud, "I'm thankful

for this mistake") (16). This *no* also indicates that some justification will follow, because what happened then has not yet been mentioned. The justification comes in the next utterance, "*Soshitara fushigina heian ga kita n(o) desu yo, watashi ni*" (= Then, a miraculous peace came over me) (17). The reversing word order which deviates from the basic narrative syntax (i.e., *heian ga kita n(o) desu yo, watashi ni*) indicates that the narrator is conveying one of the main points of the story (Labov 1972a). 2)

Then, the listener interrupts again, "*Minna soo iu no?*" (= Does everybody say so?) (19). The latching on the transcription (i.e., a turn of exchange with no perceptible intervening) (Tannen 1989) shows that she is very curious—the listener is showing interest in the idea of thanking God for the loss of the wallet. The narrator, however, has no time to respond to this question, because she is eager to make her next point. Thus, instead of responding to this question, the narrator repeats the point "*heian ga kita n(o) desu yo*" (= a peace came over me) with the exact same words (20). Here, the narrator asks the listener to share this point through the rhetorical use of *no* which creates a sense of "shared" information. Moreover, the narrator reinforces the point through external evaluation in which the narrator tells the point of the story more directly by stepping outside of the narrative, "*Moo kore wa taiken shinai to wakaranai*" (= you cannot understand this unless you experience it) (20-22).

As I mentioned above, the story about making a mistake at work is supporting evidence to her main point of thanking God for the loss of her wallet. She closes this sub-plot by saying, "*Sore o omoidashita n(o) desu yo*" (= I remembered it) (22). Then, the listener interrupts again. "*Dakara, saifu o otoshite arigatoo gozaimasu tte iu no?*" (= Are we to be thankful when we lose our wallet?) (23). As mentioned above, this is the main point of the story, which the listener is able to anticipate even before the narrator overtly brings it up. The fact that the listener was able to infer the main point in advance without being told indicates that the listener has been actively participating in anticipatory guesswork. Seeing that the listener had guessed correctly, the narrator's immediate reaction is, "*ITTA N(O) DESU, watashi !*" (= I GAVE THANKS!) (24). By using *No*, which marks shared information, the narrator indicates that the listener had already guessed the point that she wanted to make.

In short, the SFP *no*, which rhetorically creates a sense of "shared" information between interlocutors, helps the audience predict the point of the story by inviting them to engage in anticipatory guesswork. As shown in the present data, the listener is able to guess the points of the story in advance through anticipatory guesswork before the narrator brings them up. In other words, a Japanese conversational narrative is built around this listener-dependent sequential organization, in which, through the rhetorical use of *no*, the narrator creates "shared" perspectives between interlocutors and asks the listener to guess what is "shared" through anticipatory guesswork.

3.0. SUMMARY

The present study has demonstrated that in a listener-dependent Japanese conversational narrative, the SFP *no* is a useful audience-centered internal evaluation device. The SFP *no*, which rhetorically creates "shared" perspectives between interlocutors, helps the listener focus on the point of the story by inviting him/her to engage in anticipatory guesswork. Thus, a Japanese conversational narrative is built around this listener-dependent sequential organization in which, through the rhetorical use of *no*, the narrator creates "shared" perspectives and asks the listener to guess what is "shared." For future study, more data should be examined in order to provide further evidence of this phenomenon to shed more light on cultural-specific narrative styles.

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KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- .. noticeable pause or break in rhythm (less than 0.5 second)
- ... half second pause, as measured by stop watch
an extra dot is added for each half second of pause, hence,
- full second pause
- /?/ indicates transcription impossible
- = indicates second utterance latched onto first, without perceptible pause
(Tannen 1984: xix)



FORMAL LINGUISTICS

AN OT ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE CODA NASAL

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ABSTRACT

Although Japanese allows coda consonants, they are more restricted when compared to a language such as English. The nasal is one of the consonants which occurs in the coda position, and many studies on Japanese phonology (Vance 1987, among others) analyze the coda nasal to constitute an archiphoneme /N/ which is distinct from the other nasal phonemes in the language, /m/ and /n/. Vance summarizes the two distinctive properties of this archiphoneme as follows: (1) /N/ has many allophones, and (2) /N/ constitutes a mora in itself, unlike /m/ and /n/ which are restricted to the onset position (1987:38).

This paper proposes an alternative view of the coda nasal: namely, that underlyingly it is the alveolar /n/, rather than a mora archiphoneme /N/. This analysis simplifies the phoneme inventory, and furthermore makes it unnecessary to differentiate phonemes which appear only as onset (/n/ and /m/) from those which appear as coda (/N/). This alternative analysis of the coda nasal, which will be presented within the framework of Optimality Theory and is based on the assumption that /n/ is the underlying phoneme, can account for both properties of the coda nasal.

Findings from experimental studies on Japanese speakers' performance in English seem to support this analysis. Japanese speakers most often pronounced English /n/ as a uvular nasal [N] in the utterance-final position, which is the phonetic realization of the coda nasal before a pause (Aoyama 1997). Significant difficulty in distinguishing /n/ from /ŋ/ was found in Japanese speakers' perception of English nasal phonemes (Aoyama 1998), which suggests that [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/.

INTRODUCTION

Japanese is generally considered to have a relatively simple syllable structure (Levelt 1989:329; Spencer 1996:81), and the coda consonants are more restricted when compared to a language such as English. The coda nasal, as in *hon* 'book', is one of the consonants which occurs in the coda position. Many studies on Japanese phonology (Amanuma et al. 1983; Vance 1987; Nakajo 1989) analyze this coda nasal to constitute an archiphoneme /N/¹ which is distinct from the other nasal phonemes in Japanese, /m/ and /n/. Vance summarizes the two distinctive properties of this phoneme: (1) the coda nasal can appear as many allophones due to place assimilation, and (2) the coda nasal constitutes a mora in itself, unlike /m/ and /n/ which are restricted to the onset position (1987:38).

This paper proposes an alternative view of the coda nasal: namely, the various nasal segments in the coda position are allophones of /n/ rather than a mora archiphoneme /N/. This analysis simplifies the phoneme inventory; it is not necessary to specify that phonemes appear only in the onset position (/n/ and /m/) or only in the coda position (/N/). This analysis of the coda nasal, which will be presented within the framework of Optimality Theory (OT) and is based on the assumption that /n/ is the underlying phoneme, can account for both properties of the coda nasal. A brief summary of the results of two experimental studies on Japanese speakers' performance in English will be offered as evidence.

TRADITIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE CODA NASAL

Various scholars claim that the Japanese coda nasal, as in *hon* 'book', is a mora archiphoneme which appears only in the coda position lexically (Amanuma et al. 1983; Vance 1987; Nakajo 1989; Shibatani 1990). It appears as a uvular nasal [N] before a pause (Vance 1987:34) which is articulated with the back of the tongue body against the rear of the soft palate/uvula (Nakano 1960:220). However, when the coda nasal is not followed by a pause, it is realized as a wide variety of sounds (Vance 1987:35). Some examples are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Some allophones of the coda nasal.

	Example	
Bilabial nasal	<i>hon mo</i> 'book too'	[hom:mo]
Alveolar nasal	<i>hon da</i> 'is book'	[hon:da]
Palatal nasal	<i>hon ni</i> 'in book'	[hoŋ:ɲi]
Velar nasal	<i>hon ka</i> 'book?'	[hoŋ:ka]

Note: [:] after a nasal means that the nasal is moraic.

There are many other nasal and nasalized segments reported to appear as allophones of this coda nasal. Amanuma et al., for example, lists 14 segments in addition to the four nasal segments in Table 1 (1983:78).

The following are the main properties of the coda nasal: (1) the coda nasal is phonetically realized as various sounds, (2) phonologically, the coda nasal, unlike /m/ and /n/, constitutes a mora (Vance 1987:38). It is important to note here that various allophones of this coda nasal are written with the same symbol in Japanese syllabary (kana). Vance calls this *the mora nasal*, and Japanese linguists call this *hatsuon* (literally, 'skipped sound'). It has been written as /N/ in the literature.

AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

In this paper, I propose that the alveolar nasal /n/, not an archiphoneme /N/, is the underlying phoneme of the coda nasal (see Table 2). The distinctive properties of the coda nasal can be explained if we assume that /n/ undergoes place assimilation and becomes moraic in the coda position. This analysis simplifies the phoneme inventory, and it is not necessary to limit phonemes to appear only in the onset position (/n/ and /m/ in the traditional analysis) or in the coda position (/N/ in the traditional analysis). In the following sections, I will reanalyze Japanese nasal phonemes within OT, and then I will briefly summarize other studies which offer support for this analysis.

Table 2. Alternative view of Japanese nasal phonemes.

Phoneme ²	Distribution and characteristics	Example
/m/	appears in the onset position only	<i>me</i> 'eye'
/n/	appears in the onset and coda positions constitutes a mora when it appears as coda	<i>neko</i> 'cat' <i>hon</i> 'book'

JAPANESE NASAL PHONEMES ANALYZED IN OPTIMALITY THEORY

The alternate view of Japanese nasal phonemes will be presented within the framework of OT. Prince and Smolensky (1993) claim that languages have a universal set of constraints, and that languages differ in their ranking of these constraints (1993:3). Although OT also proposes an input, an output, and a relation between the two, it differs from other derivational paradigms in the mechanism by which the output is mediated (Archangeli 1997:13). In this framework, there are no intermediate forms between the input and the output. Instead, all possible variants are produced in one step and then evaluated in parallel (Prince and Smolensky 1993:5).

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE IN JAPANESE.

According to Vance, all Japanese syllables conform to a shape proposed in the following schema (1987:64) (Note: N stands for the mora nasal, Q stands for the mora obstruent in his schema.):

(C)(y)V [V or N or Q]

Vance, however, mentions the exception of overlong syllables, for example, /tooQ-ta/ 'passed'. They are, in fact, not too uncommon, but we will follow Vance's schema here since it is beyond the scope of this paper to present counter-arguments.

This schema can be interpreted by the following constraints. The relevant constraints will be listed, and then their partial rankings will be discussed.

First, there is the constraint *Complex:

- (1) *Complex Syllables have at most one consonant at an edge.

Second, there is the Onset constraint, which requires all syllables to begin with at least one consonant:

- (2) Onset Syllables begin with a consonant.

Third, there is the Peak constraint which requires syllables to have a vowel as their peak:

- (3) Peak Syllables have a vowel.

Finally, there is the constraint No Coda, which bans consonants in the coda:

- (4) No Coda Syllables end with a vowel.

Since consonants are optional in the onset in Japanese, the constraint Onset is ranked lower than *Complex, Peak and No Coda:

*Complex, Peak, No Coda >> Onset

Table 3. Syllables in Japanese.

Syllable structure	Example	*Complex	Peak	No Coda (except the coda nasal)	Onset
CV	<i>me</i> 'eye'				
CVN	<i>sen</i> 'thousand'				
CVV	<i>koe</i> 'voice'				
VN	<i>en</i> 'yen'				*
CVc	---			*	
CCV	---	*			
CC	---		*		

Table 3 summarizes the possible syllable structures in Japanese. Note that syllables which contain the mora obstruent /Q/ are omitted since they are not relevant to this paper. Also, lower-case 'c' in the coda position does not include nasals.

THE ALVEOLAR NASAL /N/ IN THE CODA POSITION

Additional constraints are necessary to analyze the coda nasal. One of the distinctive properties of the coda nasal is that it can be phonetically realized as various nasal and nasalized segments. This property can be accounted for even if we assume that alveolar /n/ assimilates its place of articulation to the following segment. Some relevant constraints are given:

- (5) Identical Cluster Constraints (ICC):

Place: A sequence of consonants must be identical in *place of articulation*.

- (6) Faithfulness Constraints (Faith):

Nasality: A nasal segment/feature of the input has an identical correspondent in the output.

Place: The place of articulation of the input has an identical correspondent in the output.

FaithV: A vowel of the input has an identical correspondent in the output.

Since /n/ assimilates its place of articulation but retains its nasality, ICC [Place] must be ranked higher than Faith [Place].

ICC [Place] >> Faith [Place]

Tableaux 1 and 2 demonstrate place assimilation of the coda nasal.

Tableau 1 /n/ assimilation to /m/

/hon mo/ 'book too'	ICC [Place]	Faith [Nas]	Faith [Place]
[hɒm: mo]	*!		
☞ [hɒn: mo]			*

Tableau 2 /n/ assimilation to /k/

/hon ka/ 'book?'	ICC [Place]	Faith [Nas]	Faith [Place]
[hɒn: ka]	*!		
☞ [hɒŋ: ka]			*

The coda nasal loses its place of articulation before a pause, and it is phonetically realized as a uvular nasal [ŋ]. Pulleyblank notes that codas make poor hosts for a number of features, including place distinctions, and that it is common for phonemes to be neutralized in the coda position (1997:81). An example of this phenomenon is the neutralization of voicing distinctions in codas in Russian and other languages (ibid.:81). He proposes the following constraint, which requires that codas be minimally specified:

CONTRASTIVE CODA: A CODA DOES NOT BEAR CONTRASTIVE FEATURES.

In this paper, I interpret this constraint to mean that the alveolar nasal /n/ loses its point of articulation, i.e., /n/ becomes [ŋ]. Because the underlying /n/ loses its point of articulation in the coda position, I assume that this constraint is ranked higher than Faith [Place]. It is, however, ranked lower than Faith [Nas], since the underlying /n/ does not lose its nasality. Contrastive Coda is also ranked lower than ICC [Place] because /n/ assimilates its place and does not appear as a uvular nasal [ŋ] when it appears before another consonant. FaithV is ranked higher than Contrastive Coda, because an output with an inserted vowel (e.g., the candidate [hɒnVka] in Tableau 4) is not optimal.³

ICC [Place], FaithV, Faith [Nas] >> Contrastive Coda >> Faith [Place]

Now, with this constraint ranking, it is possible to explain the uvular [ŋ] before a pause as an allophone of the alveolar /n/ (see Tableau 3). Also Tableau 4 shows a revised version of Tableau 2 with a new candidate containing a uvular nasal.

Tableau 3 /n/ before a pause.

/hon/ 'book'	ICC [Place]	Faith [Nas]	Contrastive Coda	Faith [Place]
[hɒn:]			*!	
[hɒm:]			*!	
☞ [hɒN:]				*

Tableau 4 /n/ assimilation to /k/.

/hon ka/ 'book?'	ICC [Place]	FaithV	Faith [Nas]	Contrastive Coda	Faith [Place]
[hon: ka]	*!			*	
[hoN: ka]	*!				*
[hoka]			*!		
[honVka]		*!			
☞ [hoŋ: ka]				*	*

One of the properties of /N/ is that it constitutes a mora in its own right. Hammond introduces a constraint, (syllabic) Licensing, which requires all words to be composed of syllables (1997:35). For example, in English a hypothetical word such as *tkin* is not possible since *t* does not satisfy Licensing (ibid.:41). It is known that Japanese utilizes a phonological unit smaller than the syllable, called a *mora*, and that all syllable-final consonants must constitute a mora (Shibatani 1990:140). I propose a constraint, Mora Licensing, which requires the last segment in Vance's schema {V or N or Q} to constitute a mora:

- (9) Mora Licensing Each segment in the coda must constitute a mora.
Tableau 5 is a revision of Tableau 4, with more candidates and more constraints.

Tableau 5 /n/ assimilation to /k/.

/hon ka/ 'book?'	ICC [Place]	Faith [Nas]	Mora Licensing	Contrastive Coda	No Coda	Faith [Place]
[ho ka]		*!				*
[honka]	*!		*	*	*	
[hon: ka]	*!			*	*	
[hoNka]	*!		*		*	*
[hoN: ka]	*!				*	*
[hoŋka]			*!	*	*	*
☞ [hoŋ: ka]				*	*	*

Now let us reconsider the two main properties of /N/ in the traditional analysis:

- (1) Various nasal and nasalized segments appear as allophones of the archiphoneme /N/.
- (2) /N/ constitutes a mora in itself, unlike /m/ and /n/ in the onset position. As seen in Tableau 6, an analysis which assumes /n/ as the underlying phoneme can explain both properties; thus, it is not necessary to have a mora archiphoneme /N/, but we do need to reconsider the phoneme /n/.

SUMMARY: CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL ANALYSIS AND THE ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

The differences between the traditional analysis of the coda nasal and the alternate analysis proposed here are summarized in Table 4 (I excluded the velar nasal here). The main advantage of this alternative analysis is that the Japanese phoneme inventory becomes simpler. In the traditional analysis, /n/ and /N/ are in a complementary distribution; all nasal phonemes appear only as onsets (/m/ and /n/) or only as codas (/N/). By having /n/ as the underlying phoneme of the coda nasal, the phoneme inventory has simpler phoneme distributions without an archiphoneme /N/.

Table 4 Comparison of the traditional view and the alternative view

Traditional analysis		Alternative analysis	
<i>Phonemes and Archiphoneme</i>	<i>Distribution and Characteristics</i>	<i>Phonemes</i>	<i>Distribution and Characteristics</i>
Bilabial nasal /m/	Onset only	Bilabial nasal /m/	Onset only
Alveolar nasal /n/	Onset only	Alveolar nasal /n/	Onset and coda
Mora nasal /N/	Coda only ⁴ Moraic		Moraic in coda

EVIDENCE FROM JAPANESE SPEAKERS' PERFORMANCE IN ENGLISH

In other studies, Japanese speakers displayed significant difficulty in producing and distinguishing the English phoneme /n/ among three English nasal phonemes /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. Their production of the English /n/ was similar to that of the Japanese utterance-final coda nasal, i.e., a uvular [ŋ] (Aoyama 1997). Since the production task was to read a list of English words, all the coda nasals were pronounced before a pause. Many Japanese speakers succeeded in producing /m/, but produced /N/ as [ŋ]. The English /n/ was most often pronounced as a uvular nasal [ŋ] (13 out of 23 utterances, 56.5%), which is the phonetic realization of the Japanese coda nasal before a pause.

The Japanese speakers also had considerable difficulty in distinguishing the English /N/ from /n/ in a perception task (Aoyama 1998). In the perception study, other contrasts in the coda position (word-final /m/ vs. /ŋ/ and word-final /m/ vs. /n/) were as easy to distinguish as the contrast between /m/ and /n/ in the onset position, although there is no such nasal phoneme distinction in the coda position in Japanese. An anonymous reviewer pointed out that it remains unexplained why Japanese speakers could easily distinguish word-final /m/ from /n/ and /ŋ/ while they had difficulty distinguishing syllable-final /ŋ/ from /n/. Here, I tentatively hypothesize that a sound which is recognized as a phoneme in one position (for example, /m/, but not /ŋ/, in the onset position in Japanese) is easier to distinguish in other positions, even though the sound does not occur in that position in one's native language.

These results cannot be easily explained if one assumes /N/ to be a separate mora phoneme in Japanese. The traditional analysis of the coda nasal /N/, which has claimed to have [m], [n], [ŋ], [N] and others as allophones, would affect the production and perception of *all* English nasal phonemes in the coda position. The particular difficulty found in Japanese speakers' production and perception supports the alternate analysis of the Japanese coda nasal: it is underlyingly an /n/, not an archiphoneme /N/.

CONCLUSION

In traditional phonology, the Japanese coda nasal has been analyzed differently from the alveolar nasal /n/ as an archiphoneme /N/. This paper attempts to show that it is possible to analyze the coda nasal as an alveolar /n/ underlyingly. Studies on Japanese speakers' performance of English nasal phonemes seem to support this analysis. The phoneme inventory of Japanese becomes simpler with no phonemes in complementary distribution with this reanalysis of the coda nasal.

NOTES

- 1 It is not clear whether /N/ stands for a uvular /ʀ/ or an archiphoneme /N/ in the traditional analysis (for instance, Vance 1987). In either case, however, it is clearly differentiated from the alveolar /n/; thus, whether it is a uvular nasal or an archiphoneme is not crucial to the argument in this paper. Here, I take this as an archiphoneme /N/.
- 2 Whether /ŋ/ is a phoneme or not is another problem in the Japanese nasal phoneme inventory, but I will not discuss this in this paper. Also, I limit my argument of the coda nasal to utterance final ones. There is a possibility of /m/ appearing in the coda word-internally.
- 3 I thank an anonymous reviewer for indicating this constraint and the corresponding candidate.
- 4 Vance mentions some exceptions of /N/, which appear utterance-initially (1987:39); however, aside from marginal examples, he concedes that /N/ occurs only after a vowel.

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DISTRIBUTIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN [ga] AND [ŋa] IN THE JAPANESE NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER /ga/: LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

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ABSTRACT

Quantitative surveys [Kindaichi (1967), Hibiya (1995)] have investigated the change of word-internal [ŋ] to [g] in the Tokyo dialect in terms of age differences. My research, in contrast, is based solely on one informant and one word (the nominative case marker /ga/). I tape-recorded my informant's speech in three settings: Radio Ministry, Speech in Church, and Radio Talk Show. By analyzing the recorded speech in terms of a linguistic (phonological and syntactic) approach and a sociological (sociological and psychological) approach, I propose the phonological, syntactic, sociological, and psychological conditions under which [ŋa] and [ga] occur. [ŋa] tends to occur after nasals and after the low vowel /a/; in a subordinate clause; in a formal setting and situation; and in careful speech. [ga] tends to occur after obstruents; in a main clause; in an informal setting and situation; and in casual speech.

1. INTRODUCTION

The velar nasal [ŋ] in Japanese can be regarded as an allophone of /g/ in the Tokyo dialect since [g] and [ŋ] are in complementary distribution, i.e., [g] occurs word-initially whereas [ŋ] occurs word-internally as given in (1):

(1) word-initial [g]

/geki/	'drama'	[geki]
/gobo:/	'burdock'	[gobo:]

word-internal [ŋ]

/kagami/	'mirror'	[kaŋami]
/kaŋgaeru/	'think'	[kaŋŋaeru]
/uguisu/	'Japanese nightingale'	[uŋŋuisu]

Word-internal /g/ thus changes to [ŋ] either intervocalically (/kagami/ to [kaŋami], /uguisu/ to [uŋŋuisu]) or after the mora nasal /N/¹ (/kaŋgaeru/ to [kaŋŋaeru]) within a single word.

In compounds consisting of M₁ (First Morpheme) and M₂ (Second Morpheme), M₂-initial /g/ also changes to [ŋ] in the Tokyo dialect as given in (2):

(2) /migi-gawa/	right-side	'right side'	[miŋiŋawa]
/kai-gan/	sea-shore	'seashore'	[kaiŋan]
/haŋga/	board-picture	'woodcut'	[haŋŋa]

In these words, /g/ changes to [ŋ] either intervocalically (/migi-gawa/ to [miŋiŋawa], /kai-gan/ to [kaiŋan]) or after /N/ (/haŋga/ to [haŋŋa]). These changes can also be regarded as word-internal changes.

What about /g/ in the nominative marker /ga/? It also changes to [ŋ] in the Tokyo dialect, as shown in (3):

(3) /kore ga/	'this' + Nom	[koreŋa]
/hoN ga/	'book' + Nom	[hoŋŋa]

This change also occurs either intervocalically (/kore ga/ to [koreŋa]) or after /N/ (/hoN ga/ to [hoŋŋa]). This change, therefore, can also be regarded as a word-internal change.

Thus word-internal /g/ in single words, compounds, and the nominative marker /ga/ changes to [ŋ] in the Tokyo dialect².

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES

It is generally believed that word-internal [ŋ] is changing to [g] among the younger generation of Japanese speakers. Quantitative surveys by Kindaichi (1967) and Hibiya (1995) give evidence for this.

2.1. Kindaichi's survey

In 1941, Kindaichi asked his high school students to read thirteen words³ and immediately judged whether they produced [ŋ] or [g] for word-internal /g/. His data indicates that about 30% of the informants consistently used [g] word-internally and that about 30% consistently used [ŋ]. The others used [ŋ] sometimes and [g] at other times. He concluded that word-internal [ŋ] was undergoing a change because he assumed that native Tokyo speakers who were more than 30 years old at that time consistently used word-internal [ŋ].

2.2. Hibiya's survey

In 1986, Hibiya conducted spontaneous interviews with 88 speakers, and among them, 62 speakers were analyzed. Of these 62 speakers (31 male and 31 female), 48 were born in Nezu, Tokyo, while 14 grew up in other areas of the city. Their ages ranged from 14 to 81. All 5, 277 tokens in which word-internal /g/ occurs were coded for age, sex, and place of birth in Tokyo (*yamanote* 'uptown, the western part of Tokyo consisting of middle- and upper-class residential areas', Nezu, or *shitamachi* 'downtown, the eastern part of Tokyo where the lower middle-class and blue-collar workers live'). She states the results as follows:

1. The informants at the younger age levels definitely had more [g] realizations than those at the older age level.
2. The sex difference is not as striking as the age stratification.
3. *Yamanote* speakers have 71% [g] realization. *Shitamachi* speakers, on the other hand, disfavored [g] (42%). The informants born in Nezu, located on the border of the two subareas, fell in between (51%).
4. [+*yamanote*] (not only those who were born and brought up in the *yamanote* area, but also those who had daily contact with *yamanote* later in their lives) have 77% [g] realization ([-*yamanote*] have 45%).

From 3 and 4 above, she concluded that the change of word-internal [ŋ] to [g] in Tokyo Japanese originated in *yamanote* and spread to *shitamachi* by those who have been in close contact with *yamanote*. She also concluded that the *yamanote* version of Tokyo Japanese has served as the model or source for the speakers in the *shitamachi* area. That is, [g] is more prestigious than [ŋ].

3. MY APPROACH

Both Kindaichi and Hibiya conducted quantitative research. That is, they conducted interviews with many informants and collected data from many words that have internal /g/. Kindaichi's final goal was to describe the ongoing change from [ŋ] to [g] by focusing on age

difference. Hibiya also described the ongoing change from [ŋ] to [g] by focusing on age difference and contact.

My approach, in contrast, is based solely on one informant and one word in which internal /g/ occurs (the nominative marker /ga/). My goal is to describe the conditions under which [ŋa] and [ga] occur.

I chose only the nominative marker /ga/ since it frequently occurs in speech, and I can make phonological contrasts in detail (/ga/ that follows nasal versus obstruent, /ga/ that follows high vowels versus low vowels, and /ga/ that occurs with high-pitch accent versus low-pitch accent) and syntactic contrast (/ga/ that occurs in main clause versus subordinate clause). These conditions may be overlooked in quantitative surveys.

I chose only one informant (Pastor Watanabe) since I can easily make contact with him (I am a member of his church), and he speaks in three different settings (Radio Ministry, Speech in Church, and Radio Talk Show). I could thus contrast his speech in a formal setting (Radio Ministry) and a less formal setting (Radio Talk Show). Further, I could divide his Speech in Church (SC) into 'formal situation' and 'informal situation' based on his style of speech, and could compare the distribution between [ŋa] and [ga] in each situation in SC. The informant thus creates formal and informal situations by shifting back and forth between formal and informal styles. In Labov's (1972) quantitative survey, presupposed social factors (age, gender, social class, situation, and the like) were shown to influence speech. In formal situations, for example, formal speech occurs. That is, a formal situation (society) creates formal speech (language). This is what Labov calls 'socially realistic linguistics.' I will apply this to the Radio Ministry and the Radio Talk Show settings. Speakers, however, can also create social situations (formal and informal) by using formal and informal speech, as my informant did in SC. That is, speech (language) can create a social situation (society). Language and society thus interact with each other. This is what Hymes (1974) calls 'socially constituted linguistics.' I will apply this to Speech in Church.

4. THREE SETTINGS

My informant Pastor Watanabe speaks in the following three settings:

Radio Ministry (RM): The informant records speech about the Bible to the public for about eight minutes at a time at the Radio K-Japan Studio, Honolulu, Hawaii. Even though he has prepared brief written notes, he never uses the notes. He consistently uses polite forms *desu* and *masu*, and his speech speed is stable. I recorded his broadcasts seven times on February 22, March 1, 15, 22, 29, April 5, and 12, 1998.

Speech in Church (SC): The informant speaks to the members of the church at the Olivet Baptist Church, Honolulu, Hawaii for about 30 minutes every Sunday morning. He uses the formal speech style when preaching, whereas he uses the informal speech style when he digresses from the main topic and talks about his relatives or to one of the members. I divided his whole speech into 'formal situation' and 'informal situation.' I recorded his speech twice on March 1 and March 8, 1998.

Radio Talk Show (RTS): The title is *kono kata to koohii o moo ippai* 'another cup of coffee with this person.' This is talk between Ms. Tomita (interviewer) and the informant. They talk face-to-face, seated about seven feet apart. They consistently use polite forms. Two tapes of this forum of speech were broadcast on December 25, 1997 (25 minutes duration; main topic Christmas) and April 10, 1998 (20 minutes duration; main topic Easter).

I recorded RM and RTS with Sony CD Radio Cassette-Corder CFD-8, and SC with Sony Cassette-Corder TCM-929. I transcribed RM, SC, and RTS in Hiragana syllabary with [ga] and [ŋa].

5. INFORMANT

My informant, Kunihiro Watanabe, has been a pastor at the Olivet Baptist Church, Honolulu, Hawaii for 20 years. He is 68 years old. His brief personal history is as follows:

Born in Fukushima prefecture in 1929. After that, lived in Yodobashi, Tokyo for 20 years.
Left Aoyama Gakuin University (Department of English and American Literature) in 1950.
Graduated from Seinan Gakuin University (Department of Theology) in 1954. Served as an interpreter between American professors and Japanese students.
Served as a pastor in Japan from 1954 through 1978.
Has served as a pastor at the Olivet Baptist Church from 1978 to the present.

6. LINGUISTIC APPROACH

In this section, I will discuss phonological and syntactic conditions under which [ga] and [ŋa] occur.

6.1. Phonological Conditions

6.1.1. Progressive Assimilation

I will first examine the distribution between [ga] and [ŋa] according to the phonological environment preceding /ga/. Table 1 shows the numbers of [ga] and [ŋa] that occur immediately after /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /N/ (mora nasal) in the three settings (Tables 1.d and 1.e summarizes the total numbers):

Table 1

a. Radio Ministry

Date	Feb. 22	Mar. 1	Mar. 15	Mar. 22	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Apr. 12		
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]						
a_	12 0	0 0	4 0	1 0	4 0	5 0	8 0	34 0	100% 0%
i_	3 0	5 2	4 1	2 0	5 1	2 0	2 1	23 5	82% 18%
u_	0 0	1 0	2 0	2 0	5 6	3 0	4 1	17 7	71% 29%
e_	0 0	1 0	0 0	1 0	2 0	0 0	1 0	5 0	100% 0%
o_	2 1	3 0	5 0	5 0	5 1	1 1	5 1	26 4	87% 13%
N_	0 0	7 0	4 0	5 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	17 0	100% 0%
Sum	17 1	17 2	19 1	16 0	21 8	12 1	20 3	122 16	88% 12%

b. Speech in Church

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8		
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
a_	18 3	10 0	28 3	90% 10%
i_	18 10	9 6	27 16	63% 37%
u_	2 3	1 2	3 5	38% 62%
e_	11 4	1 2	12 6	67% 33%
o_	16 9	18 5	34 14	71% 29%
N_	7 0	13 0	20 0	100% 0%
Sum	72 29	52 15	124 44	74% 26%

c. Radio Talk Show

Date	Dec. 25	Apr. 10		
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
a_	10 0	6 0	16 0	100% 10%
i_	17 5	6 2	23 7	77% 23%
u_	10 5	3 0	13 5	72% 28%
e_	6 2	0 2	6 4	60% 40%
o_	16 3	10 2	26 3	90% 10%
N_	4 0	6 0	10 0	100% 0%
Sum	63 15	31 6	94 21	82% 18%

d. Total numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] in RM, SC, RTS

Environment	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
a_	78 3	96% 4%
i_	73 28	72% 28%
u_	33 17	66% 34%
e_	23 10	70% 30%
o_	86 21	80% 20%
N	47 0	100% 0%
Sum	340 79	81% 19%

e. Total numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] after low, mid, high vowels

Environment	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
after the low vowel /a/	78 3	96% 4%
after mid vowels /e/ /o/	109 31	78% 22%
after high vowels /i/ /u/	106 45	70% 30%

As Table 1.d indicates, after /N/, only [ŋa] occurs. This is clearly due to progressive nasal assimilation. Additionally, as Table 1.e indicates, [ŋa] occurs 96% after the low vowel [a], 78% of the time after mid vowels /e/ and /o/, and 70% of the time after high vowels /i/ and /u/. I consider this to be progressive sonorant assimilation since the low vowel /a/ is higher in sonority than the high vowels /i/ and /u/, and [ŋ] is higher in sonority than [g].

When the nasals ([m], [n], [ŋ]) precede vowels, [ŋa] tends to occur in the three settings, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2

a. Radio Ministry

Date	Feb. 22	Mar. 1	Mar. 15	Mar. 22	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Apr. 12	Total No. of	Ratio of
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]						
ma_	10		1		1	5	4	21	
mae_							1	1	
mi_			1	1				2	
na_					2			2	
no_		2					2	4	
ŋai_				1				1	
Sum	10	2	2	2	3	5	7	31 0	100% 0%

b. Speech in Church

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8	Total No. of	Ratio of
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]
ma_	5	2	7	
me_	1		1	
mi_		1	1	
moi_	1		1	
na_	1		1	
nai_	3 1		3 1	75% 25%
ne_	3 1		3 1	75% 25%
no_	2	2	4	
no_	2		2	
ŋai_		2	2	
Sum	18 2	7	25 2	93% 7%

c. Radio Talk Show

Date	Dec. 25	Apr. 10		
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
ma_	7		7	
mae_	1		1	
mi_	4	2	6	
ni_	1		1	
mo_	1		1	
no_	5	1	6	
yo_		2	2	
Sum	19	5	24 0	100% 0%

[ŋa] occurs 98% of the time after a nasal followed by a vowel. This is also due to progressive nasal assimilation.

[ga], on the other hand, occurs after obstruents and sonorants ([r] and [y] only, not nasal) followed by vowels. Table 3 shows [ŋa] and [ga] that occur in each environment in the three settings:

Table 3

a. Radio Ministry

Date	Feb. 22	Mar. 1	Mar. 15	Mar. 22	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Apr. 12	Sum	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
Environment	[ŋa] [ga]								
hi_	1				1			1 1	50% 50%
ki_		2 1						2 1	67% 33%
ji_	2		2		2		1 1	7 1	88% 12%
ti_		1 1	1 1			2		4 2	67% 33%
ju_					3 6		1	3 7	30% 70%
to_	2 1	1	5	5	3 1	1	2 1	18 4	82% 18%
Sum	5 1	4 2	8 1	5	8 8	2 1	3 3	35 16	69% 31%

b. Speech in Church

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8		
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
ra_	1 1		1 1	
ta_	1		1	
tja_	2 1		2 1	67% 33%
ki_	1 1		1 1	50% 50%
ji_	4 6	1 3	5 9	36% 64%
ti_	3 2	3 2	6 4	60% 40%
hai_	1		1	
pai_		1 1	1 1	50% 50%
ju_	3		3	
tsu_	1	2	1 2	33% 67%
re_	2 1	1 2	3 3	50% 50%
koe_	3		3	
jo_	1 1		1 1	50% 50%
to_	7 5	7 3	14 8	69% 31%
kyo_	1 1		1 1	50% 50%
jo_		1	1	
to_		1	1	
yo_	2 2		2 2	
Sum	25 29	13 15	38 44	46% 54%

c. Radio Talk Show

Date	Dec. 25	Apr. 10	Total No. of	Ratio of
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]
bi_	1		1	
gi_	1		1	
ki_	2	1	2	
ji_	1 1	1	2 1	67% 33%
tji_		1		
dʒu_	1 1		1 1	50% 50%
ku_	1 2		1 2	33% 67%
ru_	1		1	
tsu_	2 1	2	4 1	80% 20%
re_	2 1	2	2 3	40% 60%
te_	1 1		1 1	50% 50%
go_		1		
jo_	3 1		3 1	75% 25%
ho_	1		1	
lo_		1	1	
to_	1		1	
Sum	11 15	3 6	14 21	40% 60%

The following Table 3.d summarizes a, b, and c:

Table 3.d

Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
ra_	1 1	50% 50%
ta_	1	
tja_	2 1	67% 33%
bi_	1	
gi_	1	
hi_	1 1	50% 50%
ki_	3 5	38% 62%
ji_	14 11	56% 44%
tji_	10 7	59% 41%
hai_	1	
pai_	1 1	50% 50%
dʒu_	1 1	50% 50%
ku_	1 2	33% 67%
ru_	1	
ju_	3 10	23% 77%
tsu_	5 3	63% 37%
re_	5 6	45% 55%
te_	1 1	50% 50%
koe_	3	
go_	1	
jo_	4 2	67% 33%
to_	32 12	73% 27%
ho_	1	
kyo_	1 1	50% 50%
lo_	2	
to_	2	
yo_	2 2	50% 50%
Sum	87 81	52% 48%

[ga] occurs 77% of the time after [ʃu], 67% of the time after [ku], and 62% of the time after [ki]. This is because [ʃu] [ku], and [ki] are combinations of an obstruent and a high vowel both of which are lower in sonority than other segments.

Table 3.e shows [ga] that occurs after sonorants ([r] and [y]) and obstruents:

Table 3.e

Environment	No. of [ga]	Ratio
after sonorant [r] and [y]	10	12%
after obstruents	71	88%
Sum	81	100%

Thus [ga] occurs after obstruents followed by vowels 88% of the time. This is also due to progressive obstruent assimilation.

6.1.2.#Pitch Accent

The nominative /ga/ occurs either with high pitch or low pitch as given in (4):

(4) wataji ga 'I + Nom' karasu ga 'crow + Nom'
 L HH H H L L L

In which environment do [ŋa] and [ga] tend to occur? Table 4 shows the numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] that occur with high and low accent in the three settings:

Table 4

a. RM

Date	Feb. 22	Mar. 1	Mar. 15	Mar. 22	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Apr. 12	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] to
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ga] in each accent [ŋa] [ga]						
high accent	2 0	10 1	13 1	4 0	3 1	1 0	10 0	43 3	93% 7%
low accent	15 1	7 1	6 0	12 0	18 7	11 1	10 3	79 13	86% 14%
Sum	17 1	17 2	19 1	16 0	21 8	12 1	20 3	122 16	88% 12%

b. SC

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] to [ga]
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	in each accent [ŋa] [ga]
high accent	19 10	12 10	31 20	61% 39%
low accent	53 19	40 5	93 24	80% 20%
Sum	72 29	52 15	124 44	74% 26%

c. RTS

Date	Dec. 25	Apr. 10	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] to [ga]
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	in each accent [ŋa] [ga]
high accent	13 5	10 2	23 7	77% 23%
low accent	50 8	21 4	71 12	86% 14%
Sum	63 13	31 6	94 19	83% 17%

The following Table 4.d summarizes Table a, b, c:

Table 4.d

Environment	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga] in each accent [ŋa] [ga]
high accent	97 30	76% 24%
low accent	243 79	75% 25%
Sum	340 109	76% 24%

This results indicate that [ŋa] and [ga] occur equally in high accent and low accent.

6.2. Syntactic Condition

The nominative /ga/ occurs either in a main clause or a subordinate clause, as shown in (5):

(5) /ga/ in a main clause
 John ga hanaji o kii-ta.
 John Nom story Acc hear-Pst
 'John heard the story.'

/ga/ in a subordinate clause
 John ga kii-ta hanaʃi
 John Nom hear-Pst story
 'the story John heard'

Table 5 shows numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] that occur in main and subordinate clauses in the three settings:

Table 5

a. RM

Date	Feb. 22	Mar. 1	Mar. 15	Mar. 22	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Apr. 12	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] and [ga] in each clause
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]						
main clause	4 0	12 2	9 1	13 0	13 2	10 1	10 1	71 7	91% 9%
subordinate clause	13 1	5 0	10 0	3 0	8 6	2 0	10 2	51 9	85% 15%
Sum	17 1	17 2	19 1	16 0	21 8	12 1	20 3	122 16	88% 12%

b. SC

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] to [ga] in each clause
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]
main clause	56 24	31 11	87 35	71% 29%
subordinate clause	16 5	21 4	37 9	80% 20%
Sum	72 29	52 15	124 44	74% 26%

c. RTS

Date	Dec. 25	Apr. 10	Total No. of	Ratio of [ŋa] to [ga] in each clause
Environment	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	No. of [ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]
main clause	20 15	25 5	45 20	69% 31%
subordinate clause	43 0	6 1	49 1	98% 2%
Sum	63 15	31 6	94 21	82% 18%

Table 5.d below summarizes a, b, and c:

Table 5.d

Environment	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] to [ga] in each clause [ŋa] [ga]
main clause	203 62	77% 23%
subordinate clause	137 19	88% 12%
Sum	340 81	81% 19%

The results indicate that [ŋa] tends to occur more often in subordinate clauses than [ga], whereas [ga] tends to occur more often in main clauses than [ŋa].

7. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this section, I will discuss how sociological and psychological conditions affect the occurrence of [ŋa] and [ga].

7.1. Sociological Conditions

Table 1 showed the numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] that occurred in the three settings. I will repeat only numbers in Table 6:

Table 6

a. RM		b. SC		c. RTS	
Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]	Total No. of [ŋa] [ga]	Ratio of [ŋa] [ga]
122 16	88% 12%	124 44	74% 26%	94 21	82% 18%

[ŋa] occurs most frequently in RM (88%), next frequently in RTS (82%), and least frequently in SC (74%). I consider this difference to be due to the formality difference among the three settings.

I will apply the criteria in Table 7 to the three settings to define the degree of formality:

Table 7

Criteria Setting	1. publicity	2. centralization	3. speech speed	4. pitch/stress/vowel length	5. 1st sg <i>watakushi</i> (formal) and <i>watashi</i> (less formal)	6. utterance-final particles <i>ne, yo</i>	7. utterance-final polite forms <i>desu, masu</i>
RM	high, speak to public (formal)	centralized to Bible (formal)	stable (formal)	stable (formal)	consistently <i>watakushi</i> (formal)	less frequent (formal)	consistently used (formal)
SC	high, speak to members (formal) low, speak to individual (informal)	centralized to Bible (formal) decentralized: personal or digressive topic (informal)	stable (formal) sometimes fast (informal)	stable (formal) sometimes high/strong/long (informal)	consistently <i>watakushi</i> (formal) <i>watakushi</i> and <i>watashi</i> mixed (informal)	less frequent (formal) frequent (informal)	consistently used (formal) sometimes not used (informal)
RTS	high, speak to public (formal) low, speak to interviewer (informal)	centralized to church, Bible (formal) decentralized: Christmas present, making Easter eggs (informal)	stable (formal)	stable (formal)	<i>watakushi</i> and <i>watashi</i> mixed (informal)	frequent (informal)	consistently used (formal)

Criteria 3, 4, 5 and 7 are based on Code Consistency which Irvine (1979) proposed as one of the aspects of formality. *Watakushi* ('I,' formal) in criterion 5, for instance, is consistently used in RM, whereas *watakushi* and *watashi* ('I,' less formal) are both used in RTS. Criterion 2 is based on Emergence of a Central Situational Focus which was also proposed by Irvine. According to Irvine, 'the main or focal sequence' is 'centralized,' whereas the 'side sequence' is 'decentralized.' RM is centralized since the only topic is the Bible. SC is centralized, on the one hand, when the topic is the Bible, whereas it is decentralized, on the other, when the topic is something other than the Bible. The other criteria, 1 and 6, are my own.

RM and RTS both have the same degree of formality in terms of criteria 3, 4, and 7, whereas RM is more formal than RTS in terms of criteria 1, 2, 5, and 6. Hence, I consider that RM is higher in formality than RTS. As Table 6 indicates, [ŋa] occurs 88% of the time in RM, whereas it occurs 82% of the time in RTS. Therefore, I believe that the more formal the situation is, the more frequently [ŋa] occurs.

I divided SC into two parts, the formal situation in which the sermon occurs and the informal situation in which digressive topics occur based on the seven criteria. In determining the boundary between the two, I paid particular attention to the beginning of each part. When the informant returns to the main topic (e.g., Bible, church) from the digression, he uses the following phrases, for instance:

(6)

(3.0) *tsugi ni susumi masu ga* (2.0) *do:zo ni ju:issetsu o goran kudasai* (I will proceed to the next part. Please look at verse 21).

(2.5) *sate watakushi-tachi wa* (1.5) *kono: (1.0) mai nichiyō:bi kyo:kai ni kite-orimasu* (By the way, we go to church every Sunday).

The underlined phrases show that he returned to the main topic. Pauses before the two phrases (indicated in parentheses; 3.0 seconds and 2.5 seconds) also delineate the boundary between the informal situation and the formal situation.

When he digresses from the main topic, on the other hand, his speech speed sometimes becomes faster and his pitch becomes higher at other times as given in (7):

(7)

(He first explains that it is difficult for us to understand verse 18 of The First Letter from Peter, which says that we must obey any kind of master. Then, he explains that especially Japanese people who yielded in World War II may not understand the verse. After that, he states:

(1.0) *watakushi wa betsuni kokode* (0.5) *hangyaku se:shin o yashinai tsumori wa nai* (I do not mean here to instill a rebellious spirit).

After this, he states his submissiveness. The underlined part is uttered at a higher speed. This shows that he digressed from the main topic.

After dividing the whole SC into the two situations, I counted the numbers of [ŋa] and [ga] that occur in each situation as given in Table 8:

Table 8

Date	Mar. 1	Mar. 8		
situation	No. of	No. of	Total No. of	Ratio of
	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]	[ŋa] [ga]
formal situation	31 6	17 3	48 9	84% 16%
informal situation	41 23	35 12	76 35	68% 32%
Sum	72 29	52 15	124 44	74% 26%

[ŋa] occurs 84% of the time in the formal situation, whereas it occurs 68% of the time in the informal situation. This result indicates that [ŋa] tends to occur more frequently in formal situations than informal situations.

The reason why [ŋa] more often occurs in formal situations is that [ŋa] has official status in the Japanese speech community. This contrasts with Hibiya's conclusion that [g] is more prestigious than [ŋ]. I will mention some of the evidence that [ŋa] has official status:

1. Nakazawa (1955) states that the Japanese Ministry of Education made efforts to have medial [ŋ] taught as the standard in elementary schools before World War II.
2. Shishigai (1957) laments that the younger generation is losing the medial [ŋ] in their daily conversation.
3. Umegaki (1959) mentions that a famous professor asked Princess Michiko to use medial [ŋ] after her failure to use medial [ŋ] in a TV interview.
4. Yamamura (1973), who was a director at the announcer-training school sponsored by NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai, Japan Broadcasting Association), also states that instructors had students practice pronouncing word-internal [ŋ], using words such as [haŋaki] 'postcard' and [niŋŋyo:] 'doll.'

7.2. Psychological Conditions

My informant said that he is careful about not using derogatory words especially in RM and RTS since they are broadcast to the public. He said, however, that he is more careful in RM than RTS since he is the only person who is responsible for RM, whereas in RTS, he feels safe because the interviewer who is professional can cover for him if he fails. In SC, he does not have to be too careful since he speaks only to members of the church with whom he is familiar, he said.

He is also careful about what time he will finish RM since he has to finish in about eight minutes. On the other hand, he is not very careful about what time he will finish SC since he is allowed to speak in the church for 30 to 40 minutes. In RTS, he does not have to be careful about time since the interviewer is responsible for time.

It is only in RTS that he talks directly to an addressee, seated face-to-face with him. He said this situation is much different from that in daily conversation. He also said that he feels a little troubled in RTS because he cannot predict what his interviewer will ask since she is non-Christian.

In sum, the informant speaks most carefully in RM, next most carefully in RTS, and the least carefully in SC. As Table 6 indicates, [ŋa] occurs 88% of the time in RM, 82% of the time in RTS, and 74% of the time in SC. Therefore, I conclude that the more careful the speech is, the more frequently [ŋa] occurs.

8. CONCLUSION

I will restate the conditions under which [ŋa] and [ga] occur:

A. Phonological Conditions (progressive assimilation)

[ŋa] tends to occur after nasals (100% after /N/, 98% after nasals with vowels).

[ŋa] tends to occur after a low vowel /a/ (96%).

[ga] tends to occur after obstruents (88%).

B. Syntactic Conditions

[ŋa] tends to occur in a subordinate clause.

[ga] tends to occur in a main clause.

C. Sociological Conditions

[ŋa] tends to occur in a formal setting and situation.

[ga] tends to occur in an informal setting and situation.

D. Psychological Conditions

[ŋa] tends to occur in careful speech.

[ga] tends to occur in casual speech.

When I made a presentation at the Conference of the Linguistic Society of Japan (held on June 21, 1998), Professor Kadomichi at the Osaka Foreign Language University advised me to look at /ga/ occurring in prominence⁴ as well as those that occur in high and low accents. My intuition is that [ga] frequently occurs when a speaker emphasizes the subject of a sentence. If /ga/ that occurs in prominence is frequently pronounced as [ga], my intuition will be supported. This is a pragmatic condition. The reason [ga] tends to occur in a main clause is that the subject in a main clause tends to be more emphasized than that in a subordinate clause. I will reserve this issue for future study.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acc: accusative
 Nom: nominative
 Pst: past
 1st sg: first person singular

NOTES

- 1 The transcription /N/ is taken from Vance (1987). /N/ is a phoneme that represents [m], [n], [ŋ], and [ɲ]. Vance calls /N/ mora nasal since /N/ itself constitutes one mora.
- 2 There are some exceptions to this rule. Akinaga (1981) mentions the following:
 - (2) a. The repeated /g/ sound in onomatopoeic and mimetic words is pronounced as [g], although it is not word-initial.

[ga:ga:] 'quack-quack' (onomatopoeic word)
 [giragira] 'glaring' (mimetic word)

- b. The numeral go 'five' is pronounced as [g], even when it is not word-initial.

[dʒu:-go] ten-five 'fifteen'

- c. The /g/ directly following a prefix (honorific, negative) is pronounced as [g].

[o-genki] honorific prefix o + 'fine'
 [ɸu-go:kaku] negative prefix + 'pass' 'not passing'

- d. The M2-initial /g/ in compounds is often pronounced as [g] when M1 and M2 are not closely linked.

[nihon-giŋko:] Japan-bank 'Bank of Japan'

- e. The /g/ in a loanword is pronounced as [g].

[asuparagasu:] 'asparagus'

These exceptions are excluded by Hibiya (1995) since "their exceptional nature is well-established and we did not want these factors to interfere with our investigation of social factors."

3. The 13 words are as follows:

1. /kago/ 'basket' [kaŋo]~[kago]
2. /kagami/ 'mirror' [kaŋami]~[kagami]
1. /itigo/ 'strawberry' [itʃiŋo]~[itʃigo]
4. /oyogu/ 'swim' [oyoŋu]~[oyogu]
5. /ha-gaki/ leaf-writing 'postcard' [haŋaki]~[hagaki]
6. /uwa-gi/ upper-wearing 'outerwear' [urwaŋi]~[urwagi]
7. /ama-gasa/ rain-umbrella 'umbrella' [amaŋasa]~[amagasa]
8. /koma-geta/ horse-clogs 'clogs' [komaŋeta]~[komageta]
9. /tʃu:-gi/ faith-justice 'loyalty' [tʃu:ŋi]~[tʃu:gi]
10. /kai-gun/ sea-army 'navy' [kaiŋun]~[kaigun]
11. /kawa-goto/ peel – together with 'skin and all' [kawaŋoto]~[kawagoto]
12. /kore-ga/ this-Nom [koreŋa]~[korega]

13. /dʒu:-go/ ten-five 'fifteen' [dʒu:go]

1 through 4 are words consisting of a single morpheme. 5 through 11 are compounds consisting of two morphemes. 12 consists of a morpheme with nominative /ga/. In 1 through 12, /g/ occurs word-internally. Kindaichi (1967) excluded /dʒu:-go/ (No. 13) since all informants pronounced /g/ in /dʒu:-go/ as [g].

4. When /ga/ gets prominence in low pitch accent and high pitch accent, pitch becomes higher than usual low- and high pitch accent.

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A BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS OF THE *BÈI* CONSTRUCTION IN MANDARIN CHINESE¹

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ABSTRACT

The *bèi* construction refers to sentences containing the element *bèi* which have been traditionally called 'passive' sentences in Mandarin Chinese. So-called Mandarin passive sentences, the *bèi* construction, show some interesting properties: (i) The verb form in the *bèi* construction does not seem to have any overt passive morpheme, (ii) The logical object of the verb can still occur in the postverbal position in the *bèi* construction. Thus, it seems that a passive verb in Mandarin can retain the ability to assign Case to its object.

Li (1990) argues against the biclausal analyses of the *bèi* construction and claims that the *bèi* construction is a passive construction and has a monoclausal structure. I will attempt to show that the *bèi* construction has a biclausal structure and argue that the *bèi* construction is not a passive construction in the sense of Perlmutter and Postal (1983a), who claim that the passive construction involves 2-1 Advancements from a transitive stratum. I will show that *bèi* is an unaccusative predicate which subcategorizes for a clausal argument. I adopt the framework of Relational Grammar (RG) in analyzing this construction. I argue that the *bèi* construction involves Object-to-Subject Raising, and subsequent 2-1 Advancement in the matrix clause.

1. INTRODUCTION

The *bèi* construction refers to sentences containing the element *bèi* which have been traditionally called 'passive' sentences in Mandarin Chinese. The *bèi* construction takes two major shapes as in (2a) and (2b):

(1) The active construction:

NP1 V NP2

(2) The *bèi* construction:

- a. NP2 *bèi* NP1 V
b. NP2 *bèi* V

In (2a) *bèi* is followed by NP1, the logical subject, but in (2b) *bèi* is immediately followed by the verb.

So-called Mandarin passive sentences, the *bèi* construction, show some interesting properties.

(i) The verb form in the *bèi* construction does not seem to have any overt passive morpheme. Consider the following sentences:

(3) Wǒ piàn le tā.
I cheat ASP him²
'I cheated him.'

(4) Tā bèi wǒ piàn le.
he I cheat ASP³
'He was cheated by me.'

(ii) The logical object of the verb can still occur in the postverbal position in the *bèi* construction.

- (5) Tā de fùqīn bèi tǔfēi shā le.
 his father bandit kill ASP
 'His father was killed by the bandit.' (Li 1990:156, her (6) a)
- (6) Tā bèi tǔfēi shā le fùqīn.
 he bandit kill ASP father
 'He was killed father by the bandit. (His father was killed by the bandit and he was affected by the killing.)' (Li 1990:156, her (6) b)

Considering the above examples, it seems that the so-called passive verb *bèi* in Mandarin retains the ability to assign Case to its complement. Some other properties will be further considered in later sections.

Various analyses for the *bèi* construction have been argued. For example, M. Hashimoto (1969), A. Hashimoto (1971), and Chu (1973) have argued for a biclausal analysis. Li (1990) argues against these biclausal analyses and claims that the *bèi* construction is a passive construction and has a monoclausal structure. In this paper, I attempt to show that the *bèi* construction has a biclausal structure and argue that the *bèi* construction is not a passive construction in the sense of Perlmutter and Postal (1983a) who claim that the passive construction involves 2-1 Advancement from a transitive stratum.⁴

In this paper, I will show that *bèi* is an unaccusative predicate which subcategorizes for a clausal argument. I adopt the framework of Relational Grammar (RG) in analyzing this construction. I argue that the *bèi* construction involves Object-to-Subject Raising, and subsequent 2-1 Advancement in the matrix clause. Sentences like (6) are derived by means of Possessor Ascension (cf. Section 4.1.4.).

2. LI'S ANALYSIS (LI 1990)

2.1 MONOCLAUSAL VS. BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS

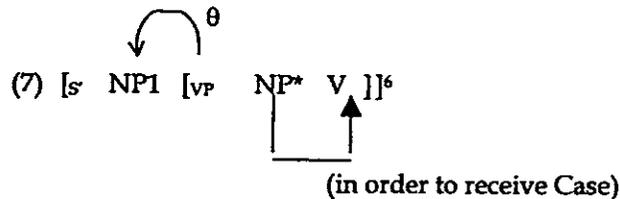
Li (1990) argues against biclausal analyses of the *bèi* construction and argues for a monoclausal analysis. She uses distributional properties of verbs to test whether the element *bèi* is a verb or not. *Bèi* fails all four tests that she provides for verb-hood; thus, she concludes that *bèi* cannot be a verb subcategorizing for a clausal complement. She also compares the *bèi* construction and a less controversial biclausal structure⁵ in terms of the scope and distribution of negation, adverbials, and lexical anaphors, and shows that these two constructions behave quite differently with regard to scope and distribution. She concludes that the *bèi* construction does not involve a biclausal structure, and so she proposes a monoclausal analysis.

2.2 THE *BÈI* CONSTRUCTION AS A PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Li analyzes the *bèi* construction as a passive construction. In her analysis, the D-structure object NP in the non-Case position is forced to move to the subject position, just as it does in English passives, to receive Case in order to avoid a violation of the Case Filter. She argues that "the passive morpheme does not play an important role in the analysis of [Mandarin] Chinese passive sentences...the passive morpheme in [Mandarin] Chinese, if there is one, does not play a role in the Case or theta-role assignment of passive sentences." (171) This claim, however, is distinctly different from some previous analyses of the passive construction. The analyses proposed by Jaeggli (1986) and Baker (1988), for instance, claim that the passive morpheme plays a significant role in the Case and theta-role assignment.

2.2.1 THETA-ROLE ASSIGNMENT

In Li's analysis, whether a clause has a passive or active structure is determined by the position where the external theta-role is assigned at the D-structure. She argues that a transitive verb can assign an external theta-role either to the subject position or to a position within some projection of V which lies outside of the lowest VP node. If the external theta-role is assigned to the subject position, it will result in an active sentence.

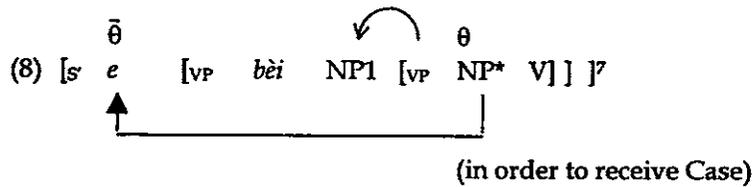


NP1 = subject

NP* = underlying position of the logical object

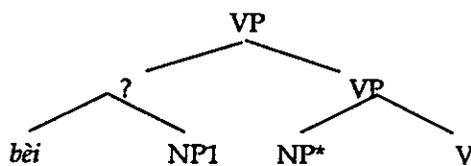
(Since NP* is in a non-Case position, it has to move to the postverbal position to receive Case.)

If the external theta-role is assigned by VP to the position outside of the theta-role assigning VP but within the projection of V, then it results in a passive sentence. At the same time, the element *bèi* has to appear before the NP which is assigned the external theta-role. Li claims that *bèi* is not a verb, but she does not suggest to which word category *bèi* does belong.



NP1 = logical subject

NP* = logical object



NP*, which is in a non-Case position, has to move to a Case position to satisfy the Case Filter. It can move either to the subject position or to the postverbal position since both positions are Case positions. However, NP* cannot move to the postverbal position because that would result in the subject being filled by an expletive, which is not allowed in Mandarin. Thus, the only option is for NP* to move to the subject position, thus, resulting in a passive sentence.

Li's analysis seems to work, but it is not clear how the *bèi* phrase emerges within the projection of V but outside of the theta-role assigning VP through a process of assigning the external theta-role. NP1 above must have been base generated by the assignment of the external theta-role obeying the projection principle. Does the assignment of theta-role create an adjunction structure? Or does she allow a triple-bar level? It seems that we need to modify either the projection principle or the X-bar theory in order to accommodate her analysis. In her analysis [*bèi* NP] is an argument and has to receive Case in order to satisfy the Case Filter. How [*bèi* NP] receives Case is not clear. The

verb should not be able to assign Case since the verb assigns Case to the right in Mandarin. If *bèi* is a Case assigner, what licenses the existence of this element is not clear. In the following sections we consider an alternative analysis.

3. BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS

M. Hashimoto (1969), A. Hashimoto (1971), and Chu (1973) argue for the biclausal analysis for the *bèi* construction. A. Hashimoto (1971:81), for example, derives (9) from (10) by identity NP-deletion of the object of the complement clause:

- (9) Zhāngsān *bèi* Līsi xiào.
 Zhangsan Lisi laugh-at
 'Zhangsan was laughed at by Lisi.'

- (10) [_{S1} Zhāngsān [_{VP1} [_V *bèi*] [_{S2} Līsi [_{VP} xiào [Zhāngsān]]]]]

Although I do not adopt the deletion analysis above, I argue for a biclausal analysis in the following sections. I argue that *bèi* is an unaccusative predicate and that the *bèi* construction involves Object-to-Subject Raising and 2-1 Advancement from an intransitive clause and does not involve syntactic passivization.

3.1.0. ADVERSITY

The usage of the *bèi* construction is generally restricted to signaling adversity:

The *bèi* passive in Mandarin, like those of Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai, and other Asian languages, is used essentially to express an adverse situation, one in which something unfortunate has happened. (Li and Thompson 1981:493)

Consider the following examples:

- (11) Wǒ mǔqīn xiě le zhèi běn xiǎoshuō.
 my mother write asp this-CL novel
 'My mother wrote this novel.'
- (12) *Zhèi běn xiǎoshuō *bèi* wǒ mǔqīn xiě le.
 this-CL novel my mother write ASP
 (Li and Thompson 1981:500)

(11) cannot be passivized because it does not describe an adverse event. As Li and Thompson (1981:499) explain, (12) is not acceptable since "writing a novel" normally does not have any pejorative implication.

Why is it the case that the *bèi* construction cannot be used more freely to derive passive sentences from active counterparts? It is because *bèi* is a matrix predicate having the meaning of adversity and the *bèi* construction is not a true passive in the sense of Perlmutter and Postal (1981). The claim that *bèi* is a predicate with the sense of adversity can be supported by diachronic evidence. *Bèi* is historically derived from the verb *bèi* which means 'to receive, to undergo, to suffer, to be affected' (Peyraube 1989:347-50, 1996:176-78). Consider the following example from pre-medieval Chinese (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.):

- (13) Zú bèi wǔ xíng
 finally suffer five punishment (Shījì): Qū Yuán Jià Shēng Lièzhuàn
 '(He) finally suffered the five punishments.' (Peyraube 1989:348)

Here *bei* is used as a main verb meaning 'to suffer'. Thus, the adversative meaning of *bèi* in Modern Mandarin is probably inherited from its earlier stages.

3.1.1. LI'S ANALYSIS ON ADVERSITY

Li recognizes the adversity connotations expressed by the Mandarin *bèi* construction. She suggests that this pejorative sense comes from an adjunct theta-role⁸ assigned by the *bèi* phrase, *bèi* followed by the logical subject NP, to the surface subject NP (the logical object):

An adjunct theta-role must be combined with an argument theta-role. . . . If an adjunct theta-role is assigned to the subject position, the object NP must move to the subject position so that there will be an argument theta-role for the subject position. (Li 1990:202)

3.2 THE MATRIX PREDICATE BÈI

In this section I argue that *bèi* is an unaccusative predicate which subcategorizes a complement clause. An unaccusative stratum can be defined as follows:

- (14) A stratum is unaccusative if and only if it contains a 2-arc and no 1-arc.⁹
 (Perlmutter 1973:151)

3.2.1 SO-CALLED ADVERSITY (INDIRECT) PASSIVES IN JAPANESE.

The analysis I adopt in this paper is similar to the one argued for in the Japanese adversity passive construction by Unetani (1986). Unetani argues that the so-called plain and adversity, or indirect, passives are derived from two distinctive structures. The plain passive involves 2-1 Advancement from a transitive stratum. The adversity passive, however, does not have 2-1 Advancement from a transitive stratum; therefore, the adversity passive is not a passive construction in the sense of Perlmutter and Postal (1983a). She argues that the adversity passive, which carries an adversity connotation, has a biclausal structure in which the matrix predicate is an unaccusative predicate which subcategorizes for a complement theme clause and an oblique NP.

3.2.2 LI'S TESTS FOR VERB-HOOD

Li argues against the biclausal analysis and claims *bèi* is not a verb. She provides three tests to show that *bèi* is not a verb (Li 1990:158-59):

- Test 1. A verb can take an aspect marker.
 Test 2. A verb can take the V-not-V form.
 Test 3. A verb can be a simple answer to a question.

Li applied these tests to *bèi* and *bèi* indeed failed all of them, and thus she concluded that *bèi* is not a verb. Her arguments seem to be logical, but as pointed out by Ross (1991), these three tests used by Li are defective and, as shown below, do not lead us to the conclusion that *bèi* is not a verb.

3.2.2.1 TEST 1: ASPECTUAL SUFFIXATION

It is true that *bèi* cannot take any aspectual suffixes, but neither can some uncontroversial verbs. Verbs like *xiàng* 'to resemble' and the copula *shì* cannot take aspect markers.

(15) *Tā xiàng-le/-guò/-zhe bàba.
he resemble-asp father
'(He resembl-ed/-ed/-ing his father.)'

(16) *Tā shì-le/-guò/-zhe xuésheng.
he was/was/is being student
'(He was/was/is being a student.)'

(15) and (16) show that these verbs cannot take aspect markers, but we should not conclude that they are not verbs. There is a class of words called coverbs in Mandarin, to which *bèi* may belong.¹⁰ Coverbs are not considered as verbs by Li. Thus, they should fail this test. However, there are some coverbs which can take aspect markers.

(17) Dìdi gēn-zhe māma zǒu.
kid brother with-asp mom go
'Kid brother follows after mom.' (Ross 1991:85)

(18) Tāmen wàng-zhe chuán shàng fàng qiāng.
they towards-asp boat on fire gun
'They fired at the boat.' (Li and Thompson 1981:361)

Since some verbs cannot take aspect markers and some coverbs, which should not take aspect markers, take aspect markers, we conclude that this test is not reliable in determining verb-hood. Therefore, as Tai (1982) notes, whether an element can take an aspect marker or not cannot serve as a test for verb-hood.

3.2.2.2 TEST 2: V-NOT-V NEGATION

Bèi does not occur in the V-not-V form in interrogatives. Even though coverbs normally do not occur in this form, its occurrence is possible:

(19) Nǐ dàodì gěi-bù-gěi tā xiě xìn?
you in-fact to-not-to him write letter
'Do you in fact write letters to him?' (Ross 1991:82)

Ross (1991:83) argues that the V-not-V form makes the reduplicated constituent the primary information focus of the sentence. She claims that the reason why coverbs do not normally occur in this form is that the coverb phrase does not normally carry primary information. She concludes that the permissibility of the V-not-V form reveals a semantic, not syntactic, property of the element in question; thus, this property may not be used to distinguish verbs from non-verbs.

3.2.2.3 TEST 3: A VERB CAN BE A SIMPLE ANSWER TO A QUESTION

Though most verbs can occur as a one-word answer to a yes/no question, some verbs cannot:

(20) Q: Nǐ ràng tā zǒu-le ma?
you make him go-asp Q

'Did you make him go?'

A: *Ràng (-le); Ràng tā zǒu le; Duì
make

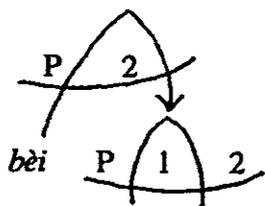
This property is not a correct generalization for all verbs, and therefore, is not a good test to check verb-hood.

In conclusion, the three tests utilized by Li do not reveal the categorical status of an element. Thus, it cannot be concluded that *bèi* is not a verb just because *bèi* fails these tests.

4. ANALYSIS

I propose that the *bèi* construction has the following set of initial grammatical relations (GRs):

(21)



The embedded 2 raises to the matrix clause. Since *bèi* conveys an adversity meaning, only the argument which is affected by the process of the embedded predicate can raise. Thus, only initial 2 or the possessor of initial 2 (see 4.1.4) can raise to the matrix clause in the *bèi* construction. Raising is subject to the following proposed laws (Perlmutter and Postal 1983b:53):

(22) Host Limitation Law

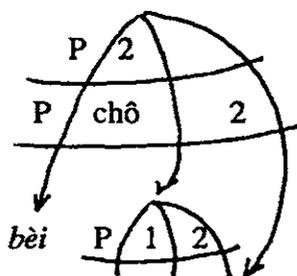
Only a term of a grammatical relation can be the host of an Ascension.
[terms = 1,2,3]

(23) Relational Succession Law

An NP promoted by an Ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it ascends.

The host of an Ascension in (21) is 2, so it satisfies the Host Limitation Law. By the Relational Succession Law, the ascende, the embedded 2, will bear the 2 grammatical relation to the matrix clause.

(24)



The Ascension changes the grammatical relation of the matrix initial 2 to 2-chômeur, consistent with the Chômeur Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983c:96) and the Motivated Chômage Law (P & P 1983c:99).

(25) Chômeur Law

If some nominal, N_a , bears the same relation in a stratum, C_i , and some other nominal, N_b , bears the same (term) relation in the following stratum (C_{i+1}), then N_a bears the chômeur relation in C_{i+1} .

(26) Motivated Chômage Law

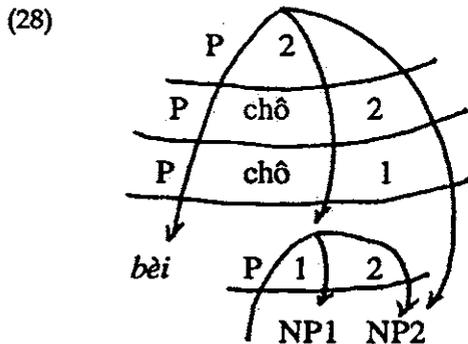
Chômeurs exist only under the conditions described in the Chômeur Law, that is, only when the antecedent of this law is met.

(24) is not well-formed since the Final stratum in the matrix clause does not contain the final 1 and thus violates the Final 1 Law.

(27) Final 1 Law

Every basic clause contains a final-stratum 1-arc, and thus every basic clause involves some nominal as final 1.

Thus, in order to satisfy the Final 1 Law, the ascendeo advances to 1. The basic *bèi* construction has the following surface structure:



The word order in Chinese is 1 P 2 (the numbers refer to the final relation); thus, (28) generates the word order NP2 *bèi* (matrix P) NP1 embedded P.

4.1 SOME UNIQUE PROPERTIES OF THE BÈI CONSTRUCTION

Li (1990) noted some unique properties of the *bèi* construction, and in the following sections, I attempt to account for these properties using the structure in (28).

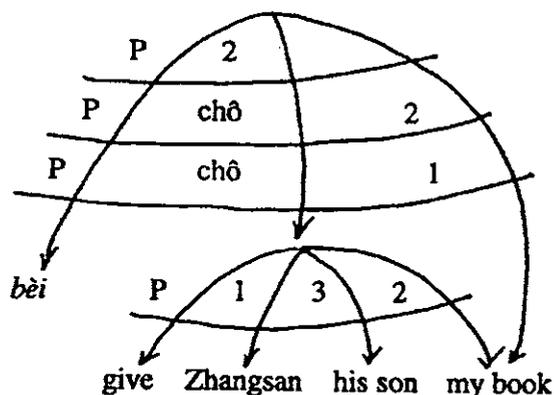
4.1.1 BÈI PHRASE DOES NOT FUNCTION LIKE AN ADJUNCT

Li (1990:162) treats the *bèi* NP sequence as a counterpart to the *by*-phrase in English, which is an adjunct. She observes that an argument can be referentially dependent on [*bèi* NP]. She concludes from the generalization that referential dependency is not possible between an argument and an adjunct of X, i.e., that [*bèi* NP] is not an adjunct.

- (29) Wǒ de shū bèi Zhāngsān_i sòng gěi tā de_i érzi_i le.
 my book send to give his son asp
 'My book was given to his_i son by Zhangsan_i.'

In my analysis, (29) has the following structure:

(30)



In this analysis, since both 'Zhangsan' and 'his son' are in the embedded clause and bear an argument (term) relation, the referential dependency is expected to be possible. The structure in (30) correctly predicts that the NP 'Zhangsan' does not behave like an adjunct (*chômeur*) since it is an argument (term).

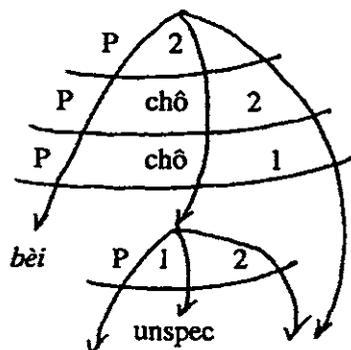
4.1.2 OBLIGATORINESS OF BÈI

Obligatoriness of *bèi* can easily be accounted for if we adopt the structure in (28). Since *bèi* is a matrix predicate in our analysis, it is obligatory even when the logical agent is not expressed in the sentence.

4.1.3 [BÈI V] AND [BÈI NP] ARE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE

In Li's analysis, *bèi* may correspond to English 'by' when it is followed by an NP and may correspond to a passive morpheme when it is immediately followed by a verb. Since *bèi* may have two different functions, there remains a possibility to have two *bèi* in a single sentence. In our analysis, however, we correctly predict that there cannot be two *bèi* in a single sentence because *bèi* is the matrix predicate and is neither the preposition 'by' nor a passive morpheme. Both sentences bearing the sequence [*bèi* V] and [*bèi* NP] have the same structure, as in (28). In the case of [*bèi* V], the embedded 1 is headed by an unspecified NP, as in (31).

(31)



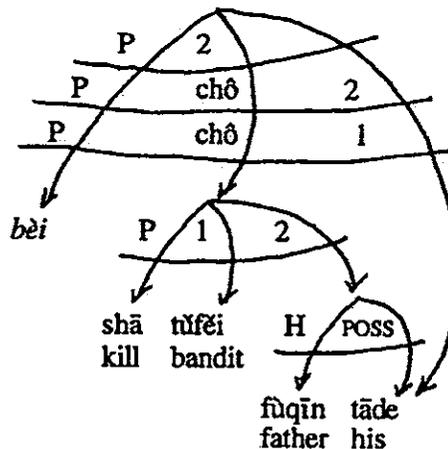
4.1.4 POSSESSOR ASCENSION

We have seen in the introduction the occurrence of NP in the postverbal position of the *bèi* construction. (5) and (6) are reiterated as (32) and (33):

(32) Tā de fùqīn bèi tǔfēi shā le.
 his father bandit kill asp
 'His father was killed by the bandit.'

(33) Tā bèi tǔfēi shā le fùqīn.
 he bandit kill asp father
 'He was killed father by the bandit.'
 (His father was killed by the bandit and he was affected by the killing.)

(34)



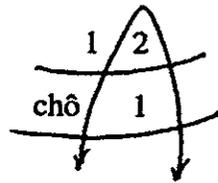
If the whole NP 'his father' raises, then it results in (32), and if only the possessor raises, then the head 'father' will be left behind and it results in (33). Under this analysis, we do not have to assume that some passive verbs are transitive and therefore retain the ability to assign objective Case. Unlike Li's analysis, Case assignment and word order facts can be explained simply in our analysis.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I argue for the biclausal analysis of the *bèi* construction. I argued that *bèi* is an unaccusative predicate having an adversity meaning which subcategorizes for a clausal complement. I have provided arguments against Li's claim that *bèi* is not a verb. The surface structure of the *bèi* construction is derived by Object-to-Subject Raising, Possessor Ascension, and subsequent 2-1 Advancement which is enforced by the Final 1 Law. Li claims that the *bèi* construction is a passive construction, but we have shown that it does not involve passivization. Perlmutter and Postal (1983a:19) provide the following universal characterization of passive clauses:

If (i) the RN for a clause Q has a nominal N_a that bears the 2-relation in a stratum in which some nominal N_b bears the 1-relation, and (ii) if N_a bears the 1-relation in the following stratum, then Q is a passive clause. Thus, any clause in any language whose relational network contains a subpart of the form (35) is a passive clause.

(35)

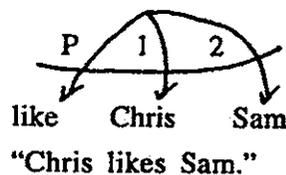


Since the *bèi* construction does not involve 2-1 Advancement from a transitive stratum in our analysis, the *bèi* construction is not a passive in the sense of Perlmutter and Postal. In the last sections, we have accounted for the peculiar properties of the *bèi* construction mentioned by Li. The biclausal analysis argued for in this paper provides a simpler account for Case assignment and word order by generating wellformed sentences.

NOTES

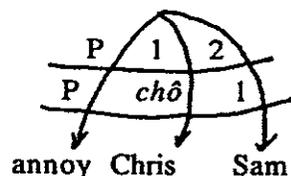
- 1 I am grateful to William O'Grady, Robert L. Cheng and Paul Gracie for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to thank two anonymous referees for comments and suggestions which helped in preparing this final draft. Any errors are, however, mine.
- 2 Asp denotes aspect marker.
- 3 *Bèi* will not be glossed here. The nature of this element will be discussed in the following sections.
- 4 A transitive stratum can be defined as follows (Perlmutter 1983:151): A stratum is transitive if and only if it contains both a 1-arc and a 2-arc. See also p. 9.
- 5 Li (1990) compares biclausal sentences with the verb 'say', which subcategorizes for a clausal complement, to the *bèi* construction.
- 6 Li (1990) assumes that object NPs are generated preverbally in the D-structure. She also assumes that only Case-receiving elements occur in the postverbal position.
- 7 Li's (40b) on p.177 slightly modified.
- 8 Li refers the readers to Zubizarreta (1987) for the Adjunct Theta Criterion.
- 9 In Relational Grammar, subject and object are treated as primitives. The syntactic structure of a sentence is represented by relational network (RN). The following is an example of a relational network:

(a)



Labels 1, 2, P correspond to subject, object, and predicate. Labeled arcs identify the grammatical function of the constituents. A RN may contain more than one level called stratum. For example, "Sam was annoyed by Chris" is represented as follows:

(b)



Chô refers to *chômeur*, which bears oblique relation. (b) indicates that 'Sam' is object in the first stratum and subject in the second stratum. This particular change in grammatical relation is called 2-1 advancement. A stratum containing both 1 and 2 is called transitive stratum.

- 10 The categorial status of coverbs is not clearly identified. Coverbs are claimed to be verbs, prepositions, or both. Ross (1991:107) claims that "the overlap between verbs and coverbs is so complete that it appears that the only feature that distinguishes them is the presence or absence of a subject. In this respect, the coverb *ba* emerges as a verb. But the lack of evidence linking the other coverbs with subjects makes their classification inconclusive." As Ross (1991) suggests, I claim that coverbs do not form a single class or grammatical category. Some coverbs are a subset of verbs and some are prepositions. Some coverbs may function as both verb and preposition. The words which can function as verb and preposition, however, should be listed in the lexicon as separate entries, e.g., wordX verb, and wordX preposition. Determining to what grammatical category each coverb should belong is beyond the scope of this paper. For more discussion of coverbs, please refer to Li and Thompson (1981:356-369) and Ross (1991).

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THE CASE OF THE MISSING GLOTTAL STOP IN HAWAIIAN

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ABSTRACT

In historical linguistics, we come across various irregular sound changes. Most often these irregularities are explained by sound changes plus some other factor such as analogy or metathesis. Social situations such as language contact may also contribute to these irregular sound changes. In this paper I will examine an irregular sound change in Hawaiian found only in function words.

I. Regular Sound Change

Here are the reflexes of the Proto-Polynesian *k in eight Polynesian languages:

(1)

Proto Polynesian (PPN)	*k
Tongan (TON)	k
Niuean (NIUE)	k
Maori (MAO)	k
Rarotongan (RAR)	k
Samoa (SAM)	ʔ
Tahitian (TAH)	ʔ
Hawaiian (HAW)	ʔ

As seen above, a ʔ is found in Hawaiian where a *k can be reconstructed in Proto-Polynesian. This is the regular sound change. However, I noticed that in a few words, a ʔ was missing where I would have expected it. It seemed very irregular at first, but as I looked carefully at a few more words, I discovered that in fact this "irregularity" is not irregular after all. I found out that the ʔ is missing only from function words word-initially.

The following are examples of regular sound change for reflexes of reconstructed Proto-Polynesian words:

(2)

PPN	*foki	'return, go home'
TON	foki	
NIUE	foki	
MAO	hoki	
RAR	ʔoki	
SAM	foʔi	
TAH	hoʔi	
HAW	hoʔi	

(3)

PPN	*raʔakau	'tree, wood'
TON	ʔakau	
NIUE	akau	
MAO	ra:kau	
RAR	ra:kau	
SAM	la:ʔau	
TAH	ra:ʔau	
HAW	la:ʔau	

(4)

PPN	*kumete	'wooden bowl'
TON	kumete	
NIUE	kumete	
MAO	kumete	
RAR	kumete	
SAM	?umete	
TAH	?umete	
HAW	?umeke	

As seen from the above examples, the Proto-Polynesian **k* has a regular reflex of either *k* or ? in all the daughter languages presented. This is the regular sound change and most words in Hawaiian show the same reflex as the PPN form.

II. Irregular Sound Change

However, in function words, there is a slight irregularity. In Polynesian languages other than Hawaiian, all reflexes are regular, i.e. **k* is reflected either as a *k* or a ?. In Hawaiian, this **k* corresponds to a ? word-initially. There are relatively few function words that can be reconstructed to the protolanguage that include a **k*. I was able to find only three that are reconstructable and include a **k*.

(5)

PPN	*kua	'common particle denoting completed action or established state'
TON	kuo	
NIUE	kua	
MAO	kua	
RAR	kua	
SAM	?ua	
TAH	?ua	
HAW	_ua	

(6)

PPN	*ki	'goal/instrumental marker for common nouns'
TON	ki	
NIUE	ki	
MAO	ki	
RAR	ki	
SAM	?i	
TAH	?i	
HAW	_i	

(7)

PPN	*kia	'goal/instrumental marker for pronouns and proper nouns'
TON	kia	
NIUE	kia	
MAO	kia	
RAR	kia:	
SAM	?ia:	
TAH	?ia:	
HAW	_ia:	

These are the three function words that have an irregular reflex in Hawaiian. In other reconstructable function words where the *k is found word-medially, the regular reflex is found in Hawaiian as well as in the following example:

(8)

PPN	*hake	'a directional term which gives a feeling of an upward movement'
TON	hake	
NIUE	hake	
MAO	ake	
RAR	ake	
SAM	a?e	
TAH	a?e	
HAW	a?e	

There is one problematic word in Hawaiian that shows a regular sound correspondence to the PPN form. Since my assumption was that the word-initial PPN *k is lost in Hawaiian function words, the ? in a word such as PPN *ko is predicted to be reflected as o in Hawaiian. However, instead of this irregular reflex, a regular reflex is found in Hawaiian.

(9)

PPN	*ko	'marker of a predicate component of a nominal phrase'
TON	ko	
NIUE	ko	
MAO	ko	
RAR	ko	
SAM	?o	
TAH	?o	
HAW	?o	

III. Alternative Solution

Another solution to this "irregularity" is a reanalysis of the ? in Hawaiian. In collecting data, linguists might have missed transcribing the word-initial ? in function words, since these sounds are not easily heard by native English speakers when found sentence-initially or when slurred together with a function word in the middle of a sentence. Thus, I propose that the ? was misanalyzed as being a \emptyset , and the three "irregular" function words made their way into the Hawaiian Dictionary compiled by Pukui and Elbert (1986) as *ua*, *i*, and *ia*.

IV. Evidence of No Ditransitivity in Hawaiian

The loss of the glottal stop in function words in Hawaiian leads us to another interesting point. Until now, due to the lack of data, it was impossible to tell whether Hawaiian has a ditransitive construction or not. In his *Syntax Files* (1996), O'Grady claims that Hawaiian has no ditransitive construction. I argue against that, since such sentences as in (10) and (11) have what seems to be a ditransitive construction.

(10)

Ua ha:ʔawi aku wau i iwi i ka ʔilio
 t/a give dir 1sg ? bone ? the dog
 'I gave a bone to the dog.'

(11)

Ua ha:ʔawi aku wau i ka ʔilio i iwi
 t/a give dir 1sg ʔ the dog ʔ bone
 'I gave the dog a bone.'

Due to the loss of the ʔ in Hawaiian, the distinction between the accusative marker and the dative marker 'to' has been lost, i.e., they have been collapsed together. Therefore, both sentences (10) and (11) are expressed with *i*, a marker with the same form, but with different functions. In translating these sentences, I have rendered them literally into English. That is, I translated them as an English speaker and not as a linguist. This literal translation then led me to think that Hawaiian must have a ditransitive construction. At any rate, it would be hard to prove that Hawaiian does not have a ditransitive construction. However, after realizing Hawaiian makes no distinction between accusative markers and dative markers due to the irregular loss of the ʔ, I have reanalyzed ditransitivity in Hawaiian by looking at the same type of constructions in other Polynesian languages. I assumed that if there was a ditransitive construction in other Polynesian languages, then there must also be one in Hawaiian, since these languages are similar in grammatical construction. The following data was collected from native speakers of each language.

(12) Tongan

naʔa ku ʔave ʔa e foʔi hui ki he kuli:
 t/a 1sg carry ʔ the cl bone to the dog
 'I gave a bone to the dog.'

(13)

naʔa ku ʔoaʔe ki he kuli: ʔa e foʔi hui
 t/a 1sg give to the dog ʔ the cl bone
 'I gave (to) the dog a bone.'

(14) Samoan

sa ʔou taʔo ʔave le ponaivi ʔi le maile
 t/a 1sg take give the bone to the dog
 'I gave a bone to the dog.'

(15)

sa ʔou taʔo vave ʔi le maile le ponaivi
 t/a 1sg take give to the dog the bone
 'I gave (to) the dog a bone.'

(16) Maori

kua ho:ake au ki te kuri he iwi
 t/a give 1sg to the dog a bone
 'I gave (to) the dog a bone.'

(17)

kua ho:ake au he iwi ki te kuri
 t/a give 1sg a bone to the dog
 'I gave a bone to the dog.'

Abbreviations

t/a	tense/aspect marker
1sg	first person singular
dir	directional
cl	classifier

All these are subgroups within the Polynesian family of languages. The accusative marker does not show up in Tongan and Samoan since they are ergative languages. This shows that there is no ditransitive construction in these languages. In Maori, an accusative language, the distinction between the accusative marker and the dative marker is clear. When we compare (16) and (17), the only difference is the change in position of the direct object and the indirect object. Thus, I must agree with O'Grady's conclusion that Hawaiian does not have a ditransitive construction, due to the evidence that the other Polynesian languages, all similar in their grammatical constructions, do not have ditransitive constructions either.

In summary, the loss of the ? in Hawaiian is neither a regular historical sound change nor a totally irregular one. The loss of this phoneme occurs only word-initially in function words. The phonetic loss of this phoneme in the three function words then led to the loss of distinction between accusative markers and dative markers. As a result of that loss, a transitive construction and a ditransitive construction show no difference. One of the few ways, then, to determine whether Hawaiian has a ditransitive construction or not is to look at other Polynesian languages which make a distinction between the accusative marker and the dative marker.

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SYNTAX-SEMANTICS MISMATCHES: A VIEW FROM COMPOSITIONAL COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

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ABSTRACT

Adopting Hsieh's (1994, 1995) Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG), which assumes that cognitively motivated Semantic Structure representations (SSrr) transform into formally constrained Constituent Structure representations (CSrr), this paper demonstrates that reconfigurations in SSrr are preserved as reshapings in CSrr. Due to this preservation, syntactic dislocations causing syntax-semantics mismatch have a cognitive as well as formal explanation. Striking patterns of CSrr relocations will be illustrated explicitly with the notion of gestalt shift adopted in CCG. The main goal of this paper is thus to show that normal and cognitive principles may converge, confirming Langacker's (1995) view that syntax has conceptual origins.

1. INTRODUCTION

The perennial debate between the formalists and the functionalists hinges mainly on whether syntactic rules are exclusively formal or purely cognitive. Advocating the view of the formalist, C.-T. Huang (1984), A. Li (1990), and Y. Li (1998) favor formal devices such as move α in GB. On the other hand, Tai (1985), Tsao (1990), and S. Huang (1996) prefer a contrasting functionalist perspective. However, compelling reasons for reconciliation accumulate. These two lines of research seem to have reached an encouraging middle ground, where formal and cognitive principles can share an operational domain in thematic structure.

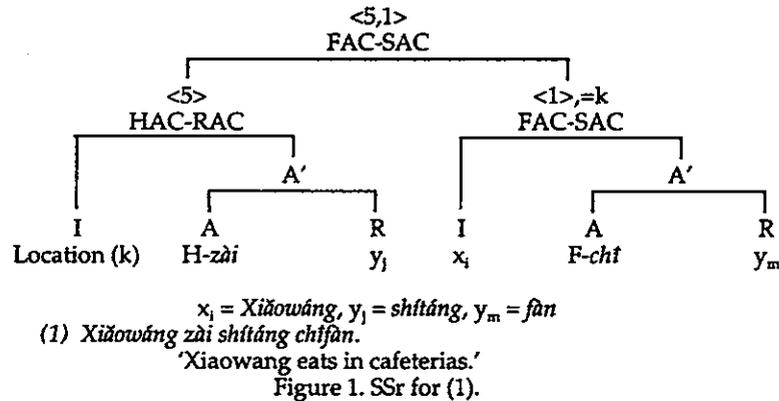
Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG) (Hsieh 1994, 1995) is a theory that attempts to fuse the contrasting insights systematically between these two schools to achieve harmony. It proposes that sentences in a language are compositionally generated and are constrained by syntactic rules motivated by cognitive principles. Five levels of grammatical representations are postulated in CCG. A chain of mappings connects five level representatives. It consecutively transforms the most cognitively motivated Image Structure representations (ISrr)¹ to Semantic Structure representations (SSrr), to Thematic Structure representations (TSrr), to Functional Structure representations (FSrr), and finally to Constituent Structure representations (CSrr), the most formal and superficial level of representation. In this way, sentences are cognitively initiated as ISrr and finally coarsely textured as CSrr, in which formal syntactic principles rule. Through the SSrr as a meaning-form mediation and through its transformation into the CSrr, CCG has the potential to reconcile functionalism and formalism.

In Mandarin, grammatical relations among the constituents within a syntactic expression sometimes may be obscure due to the lack of verbal inflection and other marking devices. Accordingly, word order plays an important role in the syntax and morphology. According to cognitive grammar, the meaning of a sentence, originating as an elaborate cognitive content, is easily rendered ambiguous in a simplified formal expression. The more simplified the form, the more ambiguous the meaning. Consequently, syntax-semantics mismatch (Huang 1994) or distorted semantic-reference (Lu 1985) sentences arise.

Using the SSrr and CSrr of CCG, this paper shows that a wide range of mismatch sentences can be accounted for comprehensively by the assumption of a 'forlorn' element moving to an 'empty' slot. According to this assumption, when a 'semantic' object in one clause loses its 'semantic' verb and becomes forlorn, it moves to the empty slot of a 'semantic' object in another clause. After a brief introduction of some important notions in CCG, we will analyze mismatch patterns and see how gestalt shifts take place in these patterns, causing consequential relocation and dislocation of constituents of an expression, resulting in an emphasis or nuance for a part or the whole of the expression.

2. SSRR, INSTANTIATION, AND GESTALT SHIFT IN CCG

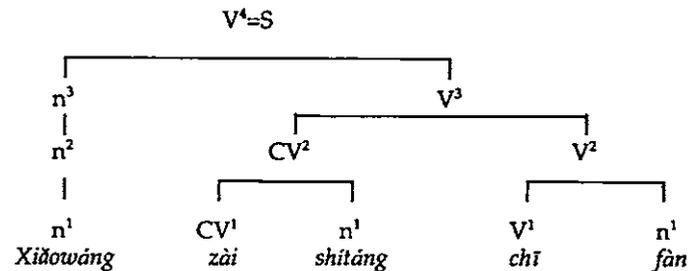
SSrr is a level component provided uniquely in CCG to bridge the purely cognitive force of grammar operating in ISrr and the purely formal force in CSrr. In CCG, an event is technically an Action (AC), which is an image in meaning and an SSrr in form. An image has rich and elaborate details, but may be drastically simplified to an SSrr as its form. CCG avoids the full image and focuses on the SSrr as its simplification. An AC is either simple or complex. A more complex AC (c-AC) is composed in a binary way from several less complex or simple ACs (s-ACs). An SSrr can be illustrated by the sentence (1) *Xiǎowáng zài shítáng chīfàn* in Figure 1:



In CCG, there are 28 Action Frames (ACFs). They are like simple image patterns expressed in abstract form. Each ACF, or each s-ACs, has the structure $AC = \langle \text{Initiator}^2, \text{Complex Act} = \langle \text{Act}, \text{Receiver} \rangle \rangle$, or, in short, $AC = \langle I, A' = \langle A, R \rangle \rangle$. The A is the position for an Abstract Verb (AV). An ACF $\langle m \rangle$ yields a Particularized Action Frame (PACF), which is based on each chosen AV, whose category may be Full (e.g. *F-chī*), Half (e.g. *H-zài*), or Grammatical (e.g. *G-de*). Each PACF has a composite type $\alpha\beta$. α indicates its verbal type based on the category of the AV, and β indicates its nominal type, depending on whether the I and R are represented by indexed variables x_i, y_j , etc., or by the constants, which are postulated for embedding, or for adverbial and other types of modifiers. The three α -types are FAC (Full AV), HAC (Half AV), GAC (Grammatical AV), and the three β -types are SAC (with indexed variables), RAC (with one constant) and WAC (with two constants), which stand for Solitary AC, Receptive AC, and Warm AC, respectively. The composite type of a c-AC is computed from those of its composing c-ACs or s-ACs. The composite identification of simple $\langle m, n \rangle$ of a c-AC is derived by pairing the numbers $\langle m \rangle$ and $\langle n \rangle$ of its immediate composing c-ACs or s-ACs. In Figure 1, the c-AC $\langle 5, 1 \rangle$ is composed of two s-ACs, $\langle 5 \rangle$ and $\langle 1 \rangle$. The s-AC $\langle 5 \rangle$ has the AV *H-zài* as its A, and y_j as its R, and the complex constant 'Location (k)' as its I because the whole AC $\langle \text{Xiǎowáng}, \text{chī}, \text{fàn} \rangle$ initiates the AC $\langle \text{zài}, \text{shítáng} \rangle$. The s-AC $\langle 1 \rangle$ has the AV *F-chī* as its A, x_i as its I, and y_m as its R. It is marked ', = k' to indicate that it is the same k as in the complex constant 'Location (k)'. In other words, $\langle 1 \rangle$ expresses the main event and $\langle 5 \rangle$ the secondary event specifying the location of the main event. The s-AC $\langle 5 \rangle$ has the composite type HAC-RAC, and $\langle 1 \rangle$ has the composite type FAC-SAC. By a computation based on rules explained below, these two composite types compose and compute into the more composite type FAC-SAC for $\langle 5, 1 \rangle$.

Instantiation is a key step in the process used to convert an SSrr into its corresponding CSrr. It turns each indexed variable w_k (x_k or y_k) representing an I or R into a properly indexed or co-indexed NP_k in the CSrr. It applies cyclically from the simplest to the most complex AC in an SSrr. The cyclical application depends on the notion of Minimal Domain. The Minimal Domain of w_k is the smallest tree within the SSrr that contains all copies of w_k . A w_k can be either (i) y_k such as the y_j within ACF $\langle 5 \rangle$ in Fig. 1, or (ii) x_k such as the x_i within ACF $\langle 1 \rangle$ in Fig. 1, or (iii) y_k and x_k (anticipating a so-called 'pivotal' construction such as *qǐng tā lái* 'invite him to come'). We right-attach an NP_k to the Minimal Domain of w_k in (i) to instantiate it. We left-attach an NP_k to the Minimal Domain of w_k in (ii) to instantiate it, provided that the Minimal Domain is enlarged by the inclusion

of the right-attached NP_h triggered earlier by a w_n , according to (i). We treat w_k in (iii) as just some y_k and proceed as in (ii). These are the three ways of instantiation in a straightforward setting, and more complex procedures of instantiation are required for more complex SSrr. The SSrr in Figure 1 will yield a derived CSrr in Figure 2 after instantiation and other operations have applied.



(1) *Xiǎowáng zài shítáng chī fàn.*
'Xiaowang eats in the cafeteria.'

Figure 2. CSr for (1).

By Head Projection, the entire sentence ' $V^4 = S$ ' derives its degree 4 verb category from the degree 1 verb category *chī*. CV^1 -*zài* is a degree 1 co-verb. n^1 -*xiǎowáng* is a degree 1 noun³. The rule of Head Projection for all categories is simply x^k (Head)/ y^k (Modifier) $\rightarrow x^{k+1}$, where '1' indicates either order between x^k and y^k .

3. PATTERNS OF MISMATCH

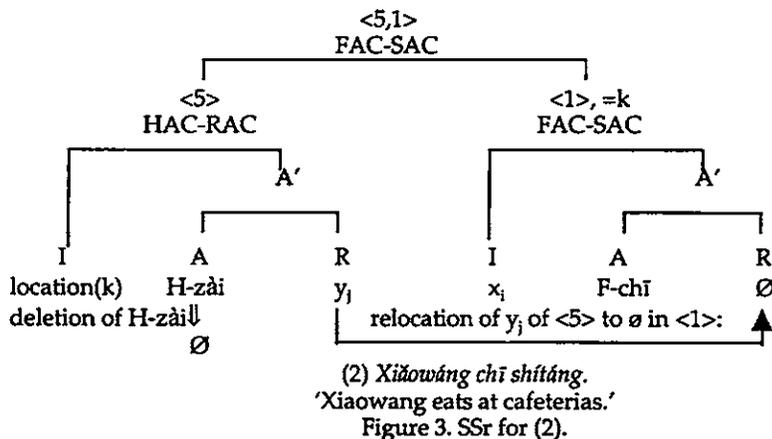
Image Gestalt Shift (IGS) equates an image with an AC. A Simple Image (SI) matches an s-AC and a Complex Image (CI) matches a c-AC. An Image Gestalt (IG) is a small set of intimately related images, often with one of them as the usual or normal image and the rest as its alternates. An IGS takes place if an image transforms into another related image in the IG or is reduced to a part or even deleted. This means that in an IG, an AC, whether a c-AC or s-AC, may be reduced to a part or even entirely eliminated. In a c-AC, if the A in one s-AC is deleted by choice, its R becomes 'forlorn' and often moves to another s-AC to occupy its empty R slot. As a consequence, an IGS takes place, shifting the original c-AC to a c-AC with a moved forlorn R. This type of IGS is the focus of our study here.

We identify four mismatch patterns A, B, C, and D, and give them a unified treatment by assuming that an IGS involves the move of a forlorn R in one SI into an empty R slot in another SI.

3.1 A sentence (2) containing Pattern A: *Xiǎowáng chī shítáng* 'Xiaowang eats at cafeterias' may sound quite natural to a native speaker but may seem illogical to most non-native speakers. It is obvious that *shítáng* 'cafeteria' is not edible, and yet apparently occupies the object position of the verb *chī* 'to eat.'

An analysis based on the semantic-reference approach (Lu 1985) can only assert that there exists an action-place relationship between *chī* and *shítáng*. A GB would assume the verb *chī* 'to eat' assigns a theta role 'agent' to *Xiǎowáng*, and an invisible preposition *zài* 'to be at' assigns a theta role 'location' and an object case to *shítáng* 'cafeteria.' However, neither theta theory nor Case theory can account for either the movement of "*shítáng*" or the movement of "*chī*" concerning the external theta role assignment. The surface relative order of *chī* and *shítáng* still violates the usual Mandarin word order, in which the place adverb precedes the action verb. Even by a V-V movement solution by Huang (1994), it may only account for some patterns with "gerundive nominalization." But sentence (2) is not the kind of nominalization mentioned in Huang (1994). It seems impossible to explain this word order violation in GB theory so far.

A solution in terms of CCG explicitly claims that sentence (2) has the same SSr as sentence (1), except that the R in the ACF <1> of the SSr for sentence (2) is empty (\emptyset) (see Figure 3). The transformation from the SSr for (1) into its CSr is a normal one. But the transformation from the SSr of (2) to the CSr of (2) involves deletion of the A 'H-zài' in <5>. But H-zài is the mainstay which enables <5> to be an HAC because it might not be necessary to mention when only the location *shítáng* 'cafeteria' is the focus. When H-zài is deleted, <5> is without an A, which makes its R, *shítáng*, unsupported. Since the R in <1> is empty, it attracts *shítáng* to fill its empty slot. When this altered SSr transforms into a CSr, *shítáng* is preserved as the object of *chī*, resulting in a sentence with syntax-semantics mismatch. Figure 3 indicates that the guest y_j moves from <5> into \emptyset in <1>.

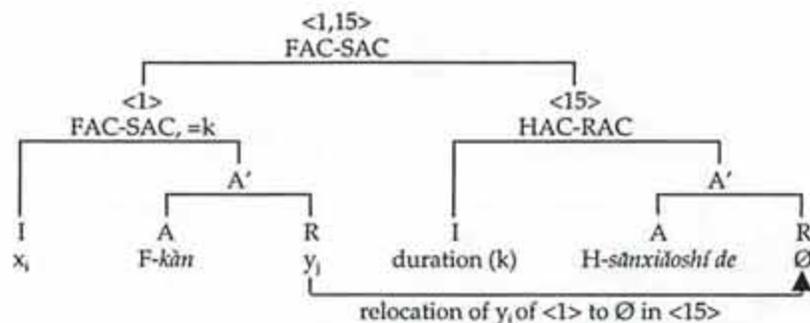


And now compare the following pairs:

- (2a)(i) *Xiǎowáng chī shítáng.* 'Xiaowang eats at cafeterias'.
- * (ii) *Xiǎowáng chī fàntīng.* 'Xiaowang eats at dining rooms'.
- (2b)(i) *Xiǎowáng chī dàwǎn.* 'Xiaowang eats with big bowls'.
- * (ii) *Xiǎowáng chī kuàizi.* 'Xiaowang eats with chopsticks'.
- (2c)(i) *Xiǎowáng chī gōngjiǎ / jǐtǐ.* 'Xiaowang lives off the company'.
- * (ii) *Xiǎowáng chī sīrén.* 'Xiaowang lives on individuals'.

In each of the above three pairs, interpretations (i) and (ii) share an NP of the same theta role. In 2(a) the role is 'location', in 2(b) 'instrument', and in 2(c) 'benefactor'. Although the shared NP has the same category in terms of its theta role, the difference in the NP's lexical shapes in (i) and (ii) determine their grammaticality status. Lexical diffusion theory (Wang 1969) can account for this phenomenon⁵. Not all but some words like *shítáng*, *dàwǎn*, and *gōngjiǎ* are able to relocate to an empty slot, and this suggests that these words precede others in the process of lexical diffusion affecting the relocation of the forlorn R in these patterns.

3.2. The second Pattern B (3) *Xiǎowáng gēbo kǎn téng le* relates to topic-comment sentences. Tsao (1990) proposes a 'topic chain' to explain sentences with more than one noun phrase in the beginning position. This idea of topic chain reveals that there exists in Mandarin a series of empty slots that are landing sites for topics to relocate to initial positions. In anticipation of these topics, a series of invisible empty ACs precede the CI or SI that forms the comment part of a topic-comment sentence. There are as many empty ACs as are needed. They are visible only when a certain number of topics are selected as the head of the topic chain (Tsao 1990). In sentence (3) *Xiǎowáng gēbo kǎn téng le*, there are two topics. In the first-rank division into topic and comment, 'Xiaowang' functions as the topic and *gēbo kǎn téng le* as the comment, and in the second-rank division, *gēbo* 'arm' serves as the topic and *kǎn téng le* the comment. This movement is illustrated in Figure 4.



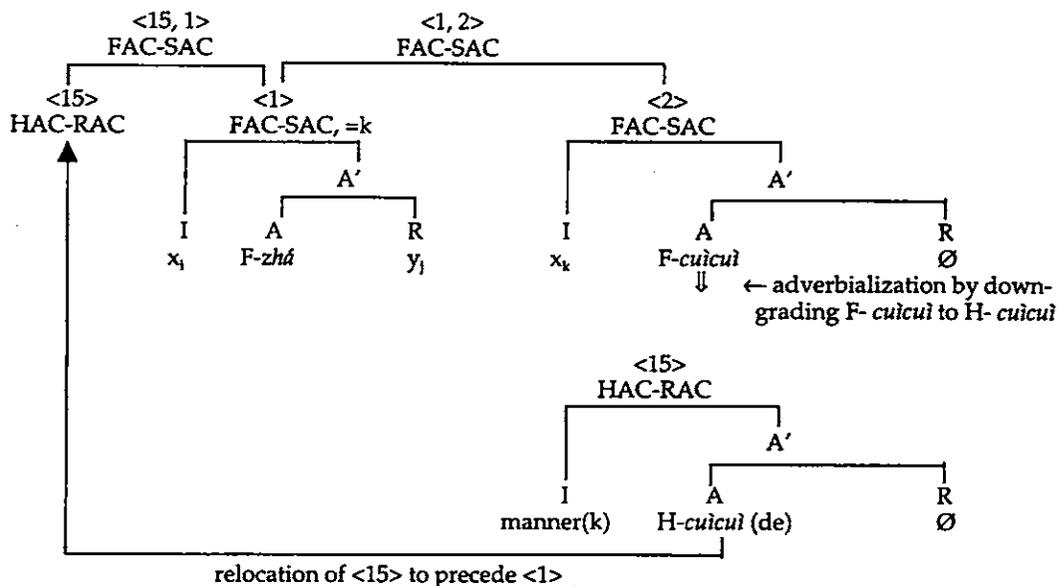
(4) *Xiǎowáng kàn le sānxiāoshí de shū.*
 'Xiaowang read books for three hours.'
 Figure 5. SSr for (4).

As Huang points out, there are two ways to ensure grammaticality. One is by means of verb-copying to produce (4b) *Xiǎowáng kàn shū kàn le sān xiāoshí*. A second is to produce (4) itself by moving the R (: y_j , *shū*) of <1> to the empty R position in <15>. As a result of this movement, instead of two NPs, one single NP, *sān xiāoshí de shū*, follows the verb *kàn*, conforming to Huang's constraint. Since this single NP has a modifying adjective, *sān xiāoshí de*, and a head noun, *shū*, either element can be a discourse focus (Huang 1996). If the time-duration adjectival expression is focused, the duration of the event is stressed, and if the object nominal expression is focused, the participating object in the event is stressed.

The IGS observed in sentence (4) shows the relocation of an element in one SI to an empty slot of the same category in another SI.

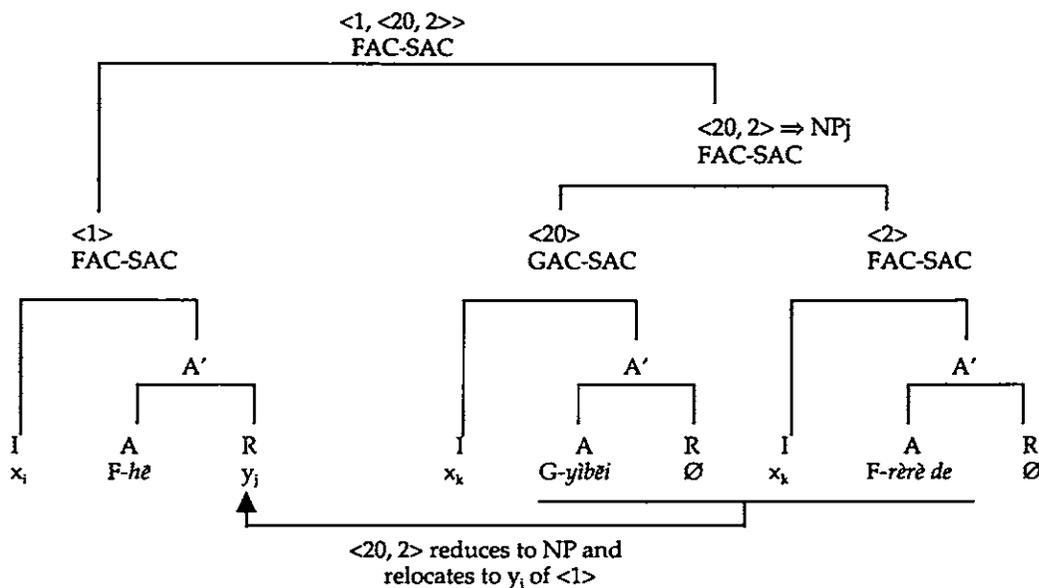
3.4. Pattern D in sentence (6) *Xiǎowáng cuìcuì de zhá le yípán huāshēng* 'Xiaowang crisply fried a dish of peanuts' depicts an event in which someone fried a dish of crispy peanuts. However, the modifying phrase *cuìcuì de* 'crispy' for *huāshēng* 'peanuts' does not occur before the head noun *huāshēng* as it should according to normal word order, in which modifiers precede head nouns. The modifying phrase *cuìcuì* is dislocated. Using a similar sentence (7) *Tā rèrè de hē le yìwǎn chá*, Wang (1997) has postulated three SSr to explain the three different interpretations of the same CSr having this pattern. Building on Lu (1985), Wang shows that one SSr yields the interpretation in which the phrase *rèrè de* 'warm' describes only the noun *chá* 'tea'; in a second SSr, *rèrè de* 'hotly' describes the action *hē chá* 'drink tea'; and in a third SSr, *rèrè de* 'hot' modifies the drinker *tā* 'he'. Postulating these three SSr makes it unnecessary to invoke movements and other formal operations in the GB style.

Normally a modifying s-AC follows a modified s-AC in the SSr. Moving a modifying s-AC to precede a modified s-AC in the SSr has the effect of emphasizing the modifier. This is partly because the usual Principle of Temporal Sequence (Tai 1988) is purposely violated for special emphasis. As we can see in Fig. 6, before <15> is reduced, it follows <1>, since *zhá* 'fry' takes place before *cuìcuì* 'crispy'. But after <2> is downgraded and relabelled as <15>, as shown in Fig. 6, it relocates to precede <1>. The usual temporal sequence is reversed. Reversal of temporal sequence seems to effect an emphasis on *cuìcuì* in <15>.



(6) *Xiǎowáng cuìcùi de zhá (le) yìpán huāshēng.*
 'Xiaowang fried a dish of crispy peanuts.'
 Figure 6. SSr for (6).

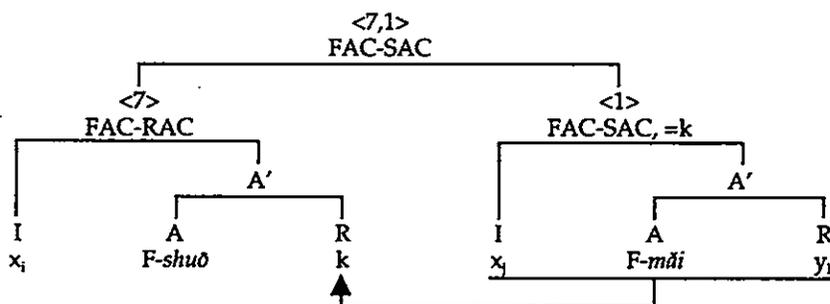
A Gestalt Shift need not be conspicuous with syntax-semantics mismatch, as in (6) and (7). It may take place subtly in a process by which a verb turns into an adjective or a full sentence is embedded in another sentence as a clause with the status of a nominal. In sentence (8) *Xiǎowáng hē le yìbēi rèrè de chá*, no syntax-semantics mismatch is discerned. Nevertheless, this sentence hides a Gestalt Shift. By examining its SSr in Figure 7, we can easily see that the FAC-SAC <20, 2> reshapes into an NP *yìbēi rèrè de chá* prior to the instantiation process by which this NP substitutes for the y_j in <1>. While y_j is not exactly an empty-symbol relocation host as in (2)-(4), it nevertheless is a host waiting for some NP from outside. This NP with the internal structure <*yìbēi*, <*rèrè de*, *chá*>> is achieved through instantiation and other procedures from <20, 2>.



(8) *Xiǎowáng hē (le) yìbēi rèrè de chá.*
 'Xiaowang drank a cup of hot tea.'
 Figure 7. SSr for (8).

The distinction between a true empty slot and a y_i as an open, pseudo-empty slot bears stressing. In the movement taking place in the SSr for (8), the relocation guest is an NP reduced from the composition of FAC-SAC<20, 2>, and the relocation host is an indexed variable (i.e., y_i) analogous to an empty SI. The subtle difference in the Gestalt Shift between sentences (6) and (8) is not determined by the true empty R in (6) and pseudo-empty R in (8) in their corresponding SSr. The more characteristic dissimilarity lies in the fact that the pseudo-empty R in <1> of (8) must be filled up by an equal component. The adverbialization and movement of *cuìcuì de* to the front empty position functions only as a stress in order for (6) to be distinguished from the normal (6b) *Xiǎowáng zhá le yìpán cuìcuì de huāshēng* 'Xiaowang fried a plate of crispy peanuts'. The former gestalt shift is essentially compulsory, whereas the latter is optional.

Like the adjectivalization process in (8), the reduction of a full clause to an NP in order for it to move into the 'open' constant-marked R slot is also a subtle form of IGS. Consider sentence (9) *Xiǎowáng shuō Lìsì mǎi le chē* 'Xiaowang said that Lisi bought a car' and its SSr:



(9) *Xiǎowáng shuō Lìsì mǎi (le) chē*
'Xiaowang said that Lisi bought a car.'
Figure 8. SSr for (9).

The relocation guest <1> within <7, 1> reduces to a lower grade AC having a nominal status. This 'nominal' AC relocates to its host, the constant k , which is 'open', to prepare the SSr for transformation into its CSr.

With these many examples, we have shown that image relocations are inevitably to an empty slot. This slot is either a true empty slot for an anticipating image or element of the same category, as Pattern A and Pattern C demonstrate, or a pseudo-empty slot which requires mandatory movement of an image or element matching its category, as sentences (8) and (9) display. Furthermore, there always exist empty slots preceding an SSr of every expression to accommodate miscellaneous expressive needs, such as topicalization and emphasis, as in sentences (4) and (6). In short, the desire to focus in communication is the motivation for these movements.

4. CONCLUSION

SSr in CCG illuminate the semantic opacity in the CSr of a sentence affected by syntax-semantics mismatch, by postulating a series of ACs whose semantic and syntactic relationships are nevertheless well-matched. The postulated movement of an image or element to an empty or pseudo-empty slot caused by a Gestalt Shift provides a revealing account for various syntax-semantics mismatch sentences, with extension to the treatment of topicalization, adjectivalization, and sentence embedding. Moreover, our approach explicates how, echoing image reconfigurations, various syntactic phrases are reshaped and relocated to their appropriate positions to maximize expressiveness. It seems that concepts such as SSr, CSr, instantiation, and relocation are useful in explaining some patterns as due to a relocation of syntactic elements caused by a deeper reconfiguration of semantic elements. Since CCG can be applied to achieve a reasonable solution to the syntax-semantics mismatches, for which a purely formal or purely functional approach seems unable to offer a satisfactory solution, our claims that CCG plays a viable role in integrating formalism and functionalism seems well justified. Also, we believe that CCG is of universal

applicability at least for IS_{rr} and partly for SS_r if we believe that grammar is abstract and arbitrary in superficialities, and tends to be cognitive in essence, while language-specific features need to be recognized individually in CS_r.

NOTES

- 1 IS_{rr} is the plural form of IS_r. Also, SS_{rr}, TS_{rr}, FS_{rr}, and CS_{rr} are the plural forms of SS_r, TS_r, FS_r, and CS_r respectively.
- 2 An initiator is a "semantic" subject in a simple AC.
- 3 The different degrees of nouns vary according to the verbs with which they combine. Nouns rise to a higher degree automatically after each ordered pair projects to a higher degree.
- 4 Some may think that the thematic role of "dàwǎn" 'big bowl' is not an instrument. We can compare (2bi) with (2biii): *"Xiǎowáng chī cíwǎn" 'Xiaowang eats with porcelain bowl.' If "dàwǎn" is a pronoun which stands for "dàwǎn fàn" 'meal in big bowl,' or "dàwǎn tāng" 'soup in big bowl,' and (2bi) is acceptable, *"Xiǎowáng chī cíwǎn" 'Xiaowang eats with a porcelain bowl' should also be acceptable since "cíwǎn" may be considered to stand for "cíwǎn fàn" 'meal in porcelain bowl.' Therefore, the thematic role of "dàwǎn" is 'instrument,' and it is not the short form of "dàwǎn fàn" or "dàwǎn cài."
- 5 An important claim in Wang (1969) is that as language change diffuses across the lexicon, it may not reach all the morphemes to which it is applicable, and residue may result. Therefore, lexical diffusion theory applies in words like 'dàwǎn,' 'shítáng,' 'gōngjiā,' and residue may be 'kuàizi,' 'cāntīng,' and 'sīrén,' etc.

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YU IN CHINESE AND THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the historical development of the Chinese function word *yu*. Previous studies were unable to agree on its semantics, functions and changes in the history of the Chinese language. This paper is an in-depth examination of *yu* as it occurs in a number of actual documents written throughout history.

The examination offers two conclusions: (1) *yu* was a preposition in *Yijing* 'The Book of Changes' (1100-770 BC), one of the earliest written documents. *Yu* has continued to be a preposition all the way through to the modern times. (2) The documents show two major patterns of development of *yu* in history, semantic expansion and substitution. *Yu*'s semantic expansion was completed before 221 BC. It started as a locative indicator and expanded to include about 20 different semantic indications and usages. Since 221 BC, *yu* has been in the process of being replaced by other function words in the language.

This paper explains the patterns of *yu*'s development. The semantic expansion is attributed to the economy principle, which gives rise to the polysemic status of a single morpheme. The trend toward substitution is attributed to the felicity principle, which requires accuracy of expression. The two patterns occur as the result of the need for communication. The order of occurrence of the two processes is fixed.

The survival of *yu* in Chinese today can be accounted for by the felicity principle.

1. INTRODUCTION

The preposition *yu*¹ in Chinese has been regarded as the most frequently used and most versatile preposition in the history of the Chinese language. Previous studies of this preposition by Pulleyblank, Edwin (1986, 1995), Yang, Bo Jun and He, Le Shi (1992), Li, Ying-che (1980), *Han Yu Da Zi Dian* 'Big Chinese Dictionary' (1988, Hubei Dictionary Publishing House), *Ci Hai* 'Word Sea' (1989, Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House), Shi, Cun Zhi (1986), and many others have drawn different conclusions in terms of the semantic indications and syntactic functions associated with this morpheme. The present paper focuses on how *yu* was actually used in a few well-known documents in the pre-Qin period and in some later and modern texts. The goals are (1) to examine the semantic indications and syntactic functions of *yu* in the actual documents; (2) to determine the patterns of development of this preposition in the selected documents; and (3) to provide an analysis of the patterns of its development.

The documents extensively examined for this paper include *Yi Jing* 'The Book of Changes' (dated around 1100-770 BC); *Lun Yu* 'Confucian Analects' (551-479 BC), *Da Xue* 'The Great Learning' (505-435 BC), *Zhong Yong* 'The Doctrine of the Mean' (475-233 BC), *Meng Zi* 'The Works of Mencius' (289 BC) which constitute *The Four Books*; *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* 'The New Speech of the World' (404-444 AD); and *Duzhe* 'Reader' (1996). Other documents partially examined include *Jin Ping Mei* 'Golden Vase Plum' (1567-73 AD), and *Hong Lou Meng* 'A Dream in a Red Mansion' (1754 AD).

The corpus sorting was done with the help of TIR, a Chinese data processing software which helps collect all the *yu*-sentences from the documents downloaded from the internet. The *yu*-sentences from the books and periodicals in the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library were collected and sorted manually.

The translations quoted below from *Lun Yu* 'Confucian Analects', *Da Xue* 'The Great Learning', *Zhong Yong* 'The Doctrine of the Mean', and *Meng Zi* 'The Works of Mencius', traditionally known as *The Four Books*, are partly by James Legge (1935) and partly the author's own. The translation of the *yu* sentences in *Yi Jing* 'The Book of Changes' are all the author's, done with the help of a few modern Chinese versions of this book, including *Bai Hua Yi Jing* 'Modern

Interpretation of the Book of Changes' by Nan, Huai Jin and Xu, Qin Ting (1988). The author is solely responsible for any errors.

The example sentences from the ancient texts are transcribed in the Pinyin system.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 examines the semantic indications and syntactic functions of *yu* in *Yi Jing* 'The Book of Changes' and in *The Four Books*. Section 3 describes the patterns of development of *yu*. Section 4 provides an account for the patterns of development of *yu*. Section 5 is the conclusion of this paper.

2. THE SEMANTIC INDICATIONS AND SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF YU IN YIJING 'THE BOOK OF CHANGES' AND IN THE FOUR BOOKS

2.1. YU IN YIJING

Yijing 'the Book of Changes' contains about 10,000 characters. The TIR sorting provides the following results. (1) There are altogether 113 appearances of *yu*. That is, for every one hundred characters, *yu* occurs 1.13 times. (2) 103 of them are post-verbal prepositions. None of them is a clear example of a full lexical verb. There is only one example of *yu* in the whole document that may be considered a copula verb (see classification 11 below). (3) The remaining 10 appearances of *yu* are preverbal prepositions. Over 50% of the occurrences of *yu* are associated with the meaning of locations—locative being the central meaning of the word. Altogether 11 semantic classes of *yu* can be distinguished. More than 99% of them are prepositions.

The complete semantic classifications and syntactic categorizations of *yu* in *Yi Jing* are represented below. Repeated instances of *yu* within these categories are not listed.

1) Indicating a location

Jiu er, yu zhu yu xiang wu jiu.
 nine two meet master in lane no misfortune
 Nine two: Meeting the master in a street lane means no bad luck.

2) Indicating direction (Extension of the locative sense)

Da ren yi ji ming zhao yu si fang.
 big man with continue brightness shine to four direction
 Noble men's moral characters are like the sun and the moon, and emit light in all directions.

3) Marking the goal or recipient or the beneficiary of the predicate verb

Liu si, guan guo zhi guang li yong bin yu wang.
 six four see country mp scenery good use guest to king
 Six four: Touring the upper country is good for the emperor to make use of the talented guests.

4) Object marking function

Zhen bu yu qi gong yu qi lin wu jiu.
 shake not yu his body yu his neighbor no bad luck
 If the thunder does not shake you but your neighbor, you will not have any bad luck.

- 5) **Indicating the source** (Could be a locative extension)
 Shou zi jie fu yu qi wangmu.
 receive this big fortune from his grandmother.
 Receive much good luck from his grandmother.
- 6) **Marking the agent or instrument** (Extension of the locative sense)
 Xiang yue, kun yu jiu shi zhong you qin ye.
 sign say troubled by wine food middle have happy SP
 The sign says: When one is stranded by food and wine, something happy is hidden in this situation.
- 7) **Marking the time for the predicate**
 Zhi yu bayue you xiong.
 arrive in August have ill omen
 There will be bad luck when it comes to August.
- 8) **Indicating the end-point of a process**
 Wu ren weiyu dajun,
 military person become emperor
 The military officer becomes the emperor.
- 9) **Indicating some circumstances with which the predicate occurs.** It can be translated as *in, with, with respect to, in terms of, as for, with regards to, ...* (related to the locative sense)
 Xiang yue zhuang yu zhi qi fu qiong ye
 sign say strong in toe it sincere finish sp
 Sign says: One that is strong in toes must be sincere to avoid ill luck.
- 10) **Indicating comparison or likeness**
 Liu er jie yu shi bu zhong ri zhen ji
 six two hard as rock not end day foretell auspicious
 Six two: hard as rock, and not finish during the day. Keep chaste, you will have good luck.
- 11) **As a verb** (like the copula verb "be")
 fu yu bo you li.
 pattern 5 is strip off (a divination pattern) have danger
 If divination pattern five is the strip-off pattern, it is a dangerous prophesy.

2.2. YU IN THE FOUR BOOKS

The Four Books—*Lunyu* 'Confucian Analects' (551-479 BC), *Daxue* 'Great Learning' (505-437 BC), *Zhongyong* 'The Doctrines of the Mean' (475-237 BC), and *Mengzi* 'The Works of Mencius' (289 BC)—altogether contain about 30,000 characters. There are 732 occurrences of *yu*, that is, *yu* occurs about 2.4% of the time. Compared with 1.13% of *yu* in *Yijing*, the frequency of occurrence of *yu* in *The Four Books* has more than doubled. The semantic indications of *yu* expand from 11 classes in *Yijing* to 19 classes in *The Four Books*. The semantic classifications of *yu* in *The Four Books* are exemplified below.

1) Indicating the location

- a. Zi yue dao bu xing cheng fu fu yu hai. *Lunyu* (5:6)
 Confucius say way not work take raft float on sea
 Confucius said: "If my doctrines make no way, I will get on a raft and float about on the sea."
- b. Yu yu xin you yiwei su. *Mengzi* (2:2:12:4)
 in me heart still consider speedy
 In my own mind I still consider it (my departure from Zhou) speedy.

2) Indicating the destination or direction of the predicate verb (locative extension)

Shun wang yu tian. *Mengzi* (5:1:1)
 shun went to field
 Shun went to the field.

3) Marking the goal or recipient or the beneficiary of the predicate verb

Lei yue dao er yu shang xia shen qi. *Lunyu* (7:34)
 eulogy say pray you to upper lower heavenly god earthly god
 In the Eulogy it is said, "Prayer has been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds."

4) Object marking function

Meng Xianzi yue xu masheng bu cha yu ji tun. *Daxue* (10:22)
 Meng Xianzi say keep horsecarriage not see *yu* chicks pig
 Meng Xianzi said: 'Those who keep horses and a carriage should not care too much about chicken and pigs.'

5) Indicating the source

Shou lu yu tian. *Zhongyong* (17:4)
 receive pay from heaven
 Receive benefit from heaven.

6) Marking the agent or instrument

- a. Ji guaren zhi shen dong bai yu qi zhang zi qi zhang zi
 to me mp body east lose to Qi older son Qi older son
 qi, zhang zi si yan. *Mengzi* (1:1:5)
 Qi older son die AUX

When the empire descended to me, on the east we had been defeated by Qi, and my eldest son died.

- b. Lao xin zhe zhi ren, lao li zhe zhi
 labor mind men govern people labor strength men govern
 yu ren; zhi yu ren zhe shi ren, zhi ren zhe
 by people govern by people men feed people govern people men
 shi yu ren. *Mengzi* (3:1:4:6)
 feed by people

Those who labor with their mind govern people; those who labor with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others feed people; those who govern are fed by people.

7) Marking the time for the predicate

- a. Min dao yu jin shou qi ci. *Lunyu* (14:18)
people to till today receive his gift
Down to the present day the people still enjoy the gifts he conferred.
- b. zi yu shi ri ku ze bu ge. *Lunyu* (7:9:2)
Confucius on this day weep however not sing
Confucius was weeping on that day and did not sing.

8) Indicating the end-point of a process

Zi yue Qi yi bian zhi yu Lu;
Confucius say Qi one change come to Lu
Lu yi bian zhi yu dao. *Lunyu* (6:22)
Lu one change come to Dao
Confucius said: "Qi, by one change, would become Lu; Lu, by one change, would become to Dao."

9) Indicating the circumstances with which the predicate occurs

Jun zi yu na yu yan er min yu xing. *Lunyu* (4:24)
good man want slow in speech but quick in action
The superior man would be slow in his speech but quick in his action.

10) Indicating comparison or likeness

Ji shi fu yu zhou gong. *Lunyu* (1:16)
Ji family rich than zhou duke
The head of the Ji family was richer than the duke of Zhou.

11) Functioning as a verb (like the verb "belong to" or the copula verb "be").

Zi yue ren zhi guo ye ge yu qi dang. *Lunyu* (4:7)
Confucius say man mp fault sp each be his class
Confucius said: "The faults each man has are from his class."

12) Indicating the cause for the event or state indicated by the verb

Sheng yu you huan er si yu an le. *Mengzi* (6:2:15:5)
alive from worry trouble but die from ease pleasure
Then we see that it is worry and misfortune that bring life and it is ease and pleasure that bring death.

13) Indicating the object complement. *Yu* is used with *bi* 'compare' in pre-object position

Qie bi yu wo Lao Peng. *Lunyu* (7:1)
private liken to me Lao Peng
I venture to liken myself to Old Peng (or consider myself as Old Peng).

14) Introducing the subject of a question sentence with *you* 'have' as the verb

...hui ren bu juan he you yu wo zai? *Lunyu* (7:2)
...teach others not tired which have to me QM
...instruct others without being wearied. Which of these do I have?

15) Indicating extent or degree that the predicate reaches

Da zhi yu qi suo ren ren ye. *Mengzi* (7:2:31:1)
reach it to their what bear kind sp
Extend to what they can bear, benevolence will be the result.

16) Indicating point of view

Bu yi er fu qie gui yu wo ru fu yun. *Lunyu* (7:15)
 not right but rich and honor to me like float cloud
 Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud.

17) Indicating certain relation between two noun phrases

Yao zhi yu Shun ye shi qi zi jiu nan shi zhi. *Mengzi* (5:2:6:6)
 Yao mp to Shun sp use his son nine male serve him
 Here is Yao's relation to Shun: he caused his nine sons to serve him.

18) Used as exclamation word

yuxi=ah! *Daxue* (3:5)

19) Idiomatic expressions

yujin = today. *Lunyu* (14:18:2);
 yusi = from this. *Lunyu* (12:7:2);
 yugui = (for a girl) to be married to. *Daxue* (9:6);
 zhiyu = to. *Zhongyong* (33);
 kuang yu = let alone. *Mengzi* (2:2:9:2)
 mian yu = avoid *Mengzi* (1:1:4:5).

2.3. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF YU IN YIJING AND IN THE FOUR BOOKS

The above classifications of *yu* show a few prominent lexico-syntactic properties of this morpheme in the documents of pre-Qin time (1100-221 BC). First, in both *Yijing* and *The Four Books*, *yu* is primarily a preposition and it occurs in postverbal positions most of the time. When it does function as a verb, it is stative and resembles a copula (see example 11 in 2.1. and 2.2.) *Yu* occupies preverbal positions when it indicates the time, the point of view of the subject, and a certain relationship expressed by two noun phrases in the subject position. Preverbal *yu* can also be locative as shown by the second example in class 1) from *Mengzi*.

The primary semantic function of *yu* shown in the classifications is to mark location. The data in *Yijing* show that more than 50% of *yu* phrases express the meaning of location or location-derived meanings. In *The Four Books* about 30% of *yu* phrases are of direct or indirect locative meaning. This is illustrated by the examples in the above classifications. In both *Yijing* and *The Four Books*, *yu* in class 1) and class 2) is the most direct locative, while in classes 5), 8), 9), and 11) it is obviously a derived locative. In *The Four Books* class 12) and class 15) are also apparently locative in its derived senses. The rest of the classes are not related to the locative meaning in obvious ways but they are believed to have been related to *yu*'s locative sense at an earlier time (see Section 3 for further discussion).

The most noticeable difference between *yu* in *Yijing* and *yu* in *The Four Books* is that *yu* in *The Four Books* carries more semantic indications than it does in *Yijing*. In addition to its 11 classes of meanings in *Yijing*, *yu* in *The Four Books* acquires 8 more meanings. This change took place in a matter of about 300-500 years: *Yijing*, an earlier document, was completed some time before 770 BC, and *The Four Books* were written around 479 BC- 289 BC.

3. THE PATTERNS OF YU'S DEVELOPMENT

3.1. THE PATTERN OF CONTINUOUS SEMANTIC EXPANSION

In a recent article on the origin and development of *yu*, Yiliang Guo, having studied the complete collection of bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (1600-1100 BC), came up with the following findings: *Yu* appears primarily as a preposition in the earliest documents. Among the

5,000 or more recognizable appearances of *yu* in the bone inscriptions, only 5% are verbs. 18% are prepositions used to indicate location; 9% are prepositions indicating time, and about 68% are prepositions indicating objects of sacrifice, which is considered to be an extension of the location marking function of *yu*. The reason *yu* is so frequently used to indicate objects of sacrifice is that the inscriptions are scriptures of divination and religious ceremonies. Guo believes that the original prepositional meaning of *yu* is derived from *yu*'s verbal meaning, which means 'to go toward' in the bone inscriptions. So *yu*, having gone through grammaticalization, became a preposition to indicate location. If *yu*'s original meaning as a preposition is locative only, then we see a pattern of development of *yu* from earliest times to the time of *The Four Books*.

The preposition *yu* probably started as a locative indicator, and this locative indication is extended to include the temporal sense and the object marking function. This extension occurred before 1100 BC. Now our data show that by the time *Yijing* was written (at least three hundred years later than the Shang bone inscriptions), *yu* has acquired many more meanings. Though locative and temporal senses are still its central meanings, *yu* has acquired at least eight more semantic indications, as shown in *Yijing*. These extended senses are listed below (The locative and temporal indications, and the object marking function of *yu* are not repeated):

- 1) Indicating the direction or destination.
- 2) Indicating the goal or recipient or the beneficiary of the predicate verb.
- 3) Indicating the source.
- 4) Indicating agent or instrument.
- 5) Indicating the end-point of a process.
- 6) Indicating some circumstances to which the predicate is attributed.
- 7) Indicating comparison or likeness.
- 8) Used as a copula verb 'be'.

Further semantic and functional extension of *yu* is found in *The Four Books* 300-500 years later. As we have shown in Section 2.2., there are at least eight more extended meanings and usage of *yu* in *The Four Books*. They are:

- 1) Indicating the cause.
- 2) Indicating the object complement.
- 3) Introducing the subject of a question sentence.
- 4) Indicating extent or degree.
- 5) Indicating point of view.
- 6) Indicating certain relation between two noun phrases.
- 7) Used as exclamation word.
- 8) Idiomatic usage.

By the time *Meng Zi* 'The Works of Mencius,' the last book in *The Four Books*, was written (289 BC), *yu* has acquired at least 19 meanings and usages, a tremendous expansion from its original location indication. According to Guo, *yu* reached its broadest range of usage in the Warring States period (475 BC-221 BC), the period when *The Four Books* were composed. We may call the pattern of *yu*'s development from the bone inscription time to the end of Warring States period semantic expansion.

3.2. THE PATTERN OF SUBSTITUTION

After the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) *yu* is on the decline, being gradually replaced by other prepositions newly formed in the language. According to Guo (1997), *yu* started to be replaced mainly by *zai*, a new preposition evolved from the verb *zai*. Y. C. Li (1980) notes that a number of other semantically more specific coverbs started to replace *yu* at different times in history. Both of

these researchers' observations are correct and can be substantiated by the data from ancient documents.

In *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* 'New Speech of the World' (404-444 AD), for example, *yu* as a locative preposition occurs 222 times. *Zai* as a locative preposition occurs 77 times, evidence of the process of *yu* replacement underway. Prepositions such as *xiang* 'toward' and *cong* 'from' also start to replace some of the functions of *yu*. A few selected examples from *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* are given here to demonstrate the replacement of *yu* by other newer prepositions.

- 1) Zhang Xuanzhi, Gu Fu shi zhong waisun, nian bing qi sui
Zhang Xuanzhi Gu Fu are middle grandson age both seven year
zai chuang bian xi. (2: Su Hui 12: 4)
at bed side play
Zhang Xuanzhi and Gu Fu were middle grandsons. Both were seven years old. They were playing by the bedside.
- 2) Wu Daozhu, fu zi xiongdi ju zai Danyang jun. (1:Yaliang 6:47)
Wu Daozhu and son brother live in Danyang county
Wu Daozhu, his son and his brothers lived in Danyang County.
- 3) Dong Ting xiang bi wo. (2: Pinzao 9:83)
Dong Ting toward wall sleep
Dong Ting was lying with her face toward the wall.
- 4) You ren cong Changan lai. (2:Suhui 12:4)
have people from Changan come
There are people who came from Changan.

Example 1) and 2) contain the locative *zai*; example 3) contains the locative *xiang*, and example 4) contains the locative *cong*. Another change visible in these newer locative expressions is that they tend to occur in preverbal positions.

The Tang (618 AD-907 AD) and Song (960 AD-1279 AD) Dynasties marked the end of the process of *yu* replacement. The Chinese language entered a period of proliferation of prepositions. According to Li (1997) there were only about 20 phonologically distinct prepositions in the Old Chinese days. By the time of the Tang dynasty, the number of prepositions had increased to more than 60. According to Yang and He (1992: 447), a total of 144 prepositions, including 108 monosyllabic and 36 polysyllabic ones, have been created in Mandarin over time. Different meanings of *yu* have been replaced by different prepositions with more specific meanings at different times. Li (1997) gives some examples of this replacement: the agentive meaning of *yu* in passive sentences has been replaced at different times in history by *wei* 'by', *jian* 'see, by', *bei* 'by', *ai* 'receive', *zao* 'suffer', *meng* 'cover', *shou* 'receive or suffer', *gei* 'give', and *rang* 'let'. These different prepositions all function as the agent marker but each has its specific shade of meaning.

The process by which *yu* has been replaced after the Han Dynasty shows a clear pattern of partial *substitution*. Li (1980) describes it by using the concept of refinement. Refinement means that the replacement is not simply a process of random or accidental substitution. Li observes that *yu* was used in Old Chinese to indicate universal case relations between a verb and its following noun. The use of other prepositions such as *zai* 'at', *zi* 'from', *yong* 'use', *you* 'by or from', *yi* 'by or use' and many others in place of *yu* reflects a need to refine the indication of the verb-noun relations. Semantically, these prepositions are more specific and thus describe these relations more accurately. Refinement clearly explains why the replacement took place. But refinement is only a partial explanation of *yu*'s change. It does not explain why, with all these specific prepositions in the language, *yu* survives after the Tang and Song Dynasties and is still quite frequently used today

in written Chinese to indicate location, time, goal and comparison. The occurrence of *yu* in some later and modern texts can be exemplified in the following:

In *Jin Ping Mei* 'Golden Bottle Plum' (1567-73) and *Hong Lou Meng* 'A Dream in a Red Mansion' (1754), *yu* is still seen to occur abundantly in idioms and also in locative, temporal, and some other expressions:

- 1) Xi Men Qing *ju yu xi shou.* *Jin Ping Mei* (chapter 1)
Xi Men Qing sit at dinner table head
Xi Men Qing sat at the upper end of the dinner table
- 2) guilai jiu *yu WuDa lin qian dian qi*
return then in WuDa coffin front light up
yi zhan sui shen deng *Jin Ping Mei* (chapter 6)
one cl carry body lamp
Returning home, he immediately lit up a lamp he carried with him in front of Wu Da's coffin.
- 3) QingWen *du wo yu kang shang.* *Hong Lou Meng* (chapter)
QingWen alone lie on bed top
Qing Wen lay in bed alone,....
- 4) jiang *ziji zhe yi xi she yu ta pang.* (chapter 9)
cause self this one table setup by bed side
She set up this table of dinner by the side of her bed.

The August, 1996 issue of *Duzhe* (Reader), a contemporary magazine was thoroughly examined for this paper. It contains a total of about 50,000 characters. *Yu* is used 78 times, among which 54 times are in fossilized idioms such as: *yushi* 'then', *zhongyu* 'finally', *youyu* 'owing to', *duiyu* 'to', *shuyu* 'belong to', *guanyu* 'about', *wudongyuzhong* 'indifferent', *zhiyi* 'as to', *zhongyu* 'loyal', *chuyu* 'out of'. Of the remaining 24 occurrences of *yu*, 13 are locative markers, 5 are goal markers, 4 are time markers, and 2 are comparative markers.

Thus the co-existence of *yu* today with other prepositions capable of replacing it is a problem.

4. ECONOMY, FELICITY AND THE PATTERNS OF YU DEVELOPMENT

4.1. THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMY

The semantic expansion pattern of *yu* early in its history involves a general principle of language use which I call the principle of economy. This concept of economy is different from the Chomskian minimalist concept of computation. It is, in fact, a quite basic notion of language use. It can be derived from the theory of the 17th century European scholar Wilhelm Von Humbolt. Humbolt viewed language evolution as a fusion of human thought and the linguistic convention of human races. Language is limited in its inventory and may not be sufficient to express human thoughts. In order to express thoughts and achieve their communicative ends, humans have to use whatever means are available in their linguistic inventory. This principle is explicitly expressed in Goldberg (1995): 'The number of distinct constructions is minimized as much as possible...' (p.60). Goldberg calls it 'the Principle of Maximized Economy'. The function of *yu* is illustrated in Fillmorean frame semantics. Fillmore (1977) considers the semantic relation between a verb and its following noun to be conceptual in nature, linked to human perception, memory and experience, independent of linguistic signaling. This relationship may or may not be marked by linguistic means. Languages differ with this marking. *Yu* is obviously this type of marker in Chinese. We

know that, in its earlier history Chinese had few functional categories, and prepositions were notably sparse. The task of marking the various relationships between verbs and their following nouns fell to the single preposition *yu*, resulting in an economical situation wherein a single preposition performed various roles. The economy principle became operational, allowing *yu* to perform multiple functions. Therefore, this principle of economy may be defined as expanding the expressive power of language without creating new forms, or, simply, expressing as many meanings as possible with as few forms as possible. The result of the operation of this principle is that *yu* became the universal preposition with polysemic senses in Old Chinese.

4.2. THE PRINCIPLE OF FELICITY

The felicity principle is the principle that works in the opposite direction to the economy principle. While the economy principle maximizes the expressive power of existing linguistic resources, the principle of felicity minimizes it. The felicity principle functions to maximize the inventory of linguistic forms. The felicity principle finds support in Ferdinand de Saussure's philosophy of the correspondence between the signifier and the signified. Form and meaning correspondence forms the basis of the felicity principle. The felicity principle also finds strong support in Construction Grammar advocated by Fillmore and Kay (1988) and Goldberg (1995) who consider constructions to be form and meaning pairings. The felicity principle in its extreme form may be defined as a one-to-one correspondence relationship between a linguistic form and its indicated meaning. It requires that one meaning be represented by one specific form or that one form indicate one specific sense ("central sense" in Goldberg 1995). Naturally, the felicity principle is the force behind the proliferation of linguistic forms for accurate expression, since every meaning requires a distinct linguistic form. *Yu*'s replacement evidently occurred because of the operation of this principle. Our data show that, in *The Four Books*, *yu* is used so generally that its expressive power may have been reduced. A few examples from the Four Books are given below to illustrate this.

- 1) Zhi yu ren zhe shi ren, zhi ren zhe shi yu ren. *Mengzi* (3:1:4:6)
rule by man NM eat man rule man NM eat by people
Those who are governed by others feed other people; those who govern are fed by others.
- 2) Zi, jiang, lun, yu jie de shi yu zi.
carpenters of all ranks all get food from you
Carpenters all get food from you.
- 3) Zi shi yu yousang zhe zhi ce weichang bao ye. *Lunyu* (7:9)
Confucius eat by have death NM MP side never full sp
When Confucius eats by the side of a person who has death in his family, he never eats his fill.
- 4) Dai shi yu jun, jun ji, xian fan. *Lunyu* (10:13)
Serve food for monarch monarch sacrifice first taste
When you serve food to the monarch, to save the monarch from risk, taste the food first.

All these four sentences from *The Four Books* contain the word *shi*, which can be interpreted as a verb meaning 'eat', 'feed', or 'be fed'. It can also be interpreted as a noun meaning 'food'. The different readings of this word are contextually determined. This lends difficulty to interpreting the preposition *yu* adjacent to *shi* because the usage and interpretation of *shi* and *yu* rely on each other's meaning and function. In 1) *shi* is a verb meaning 'to be fed' and *yu* is interpreted as an agentive preposition. A syntactically identical situation occurs in 3) where *shi* is interpreted as 'to eat' and *yu* is interpreted as a locative preposition 'by the side of'. How does the reader know which semantic indication is intended? When syntactic recourse is not present, which is often the

case (compare examples 2) and 4)), the reader has to rely mainly on his world knowledge. We have seen in section 2 that *yu* can be a pure object marker. But serious confusion will occur if *yu* is understood to be a pure object marker in 1): *shi yu ren* would mean 'eat men' instead of 'fed by men'. In 2) and 4) *shi* is a noun and the two sentences share the same syntactic structure, yet *yu* in 2) indicates source while in 4) it indicates goal.

The consequence of the polysemic interpretation of *yu* is that *yu* becomes an almost empty preposition. Its capacity to indicate the specific relationship between words is reduced. Its meaning is given by invoking discourse and world knowledge. This is when the felicity principle is needed for clarification of expression and demands substitution of general expressions with more specific ones. This is why the agentive *yu* is replaced by *bei* 'by', *you* 'by', etc., the source *yu* by *cong* 'from', and the goal *yu* by *wei* 'for'.

4.3. WHY DOES YU LIVE ON IN CHINESE?

The last problem to be addressed is the survival of *yu* in modern Chinese. The pertinent question at this point is: how do the principle of economy and the principle of felicity work to retain *yu* in modern Chinese? The data show that in modern Chinese *yu* survives as an indicator of location, time, goal, and comparison. All the other semantic indications of *yu* in pre-Qin time have been eliminated. The data also show that *yu* co-exists with other prepositions capable of replacing *yu*. The principle of economy does not seem to be the cause for the present situation because the principle of economy does not encourage proliferation of forms to express the same meaning. The felicity principle seems to be responsible. This principle rules that meanings should be represented accurately by linguistic forms. It disallows rampant polysemic extension of the same form but it does not eliminate the semantic possibilities associated with *yu* today and *yu*'s co-existence with other prepositions in Chinese. Why does the felicity principle prohibit *yu* from completely disappearing since so many specific prepositions have come to replace it? The question can be answered simply: because *yu* has only the central meanings left. *Yu* is no longer the general preposition it used to be. It has become a preposition with specific semantics and pragmatics. Its locative and temporal indications as well as its indications of goal and comparison are its only remaining semantic indications. These semantic indications are not likely to create any meaning confusion because location, time, goal, and comparison are easily recognizable in the noun phrase that follows *yu*. In addition, *yu* is pragmatically different from other sub-prepositions in that *yu* is more formal and more felicitous with certain forms of written Chinese than those colloquial substitutes (especially the archaic style of formal documents). These may be the main reasons why *yu* survives today.

5. CONCLUSION

Three important conclusions can be drawn from this document-based study. First, the data from the ancient documents clearly show that very early in the history of Chinese, *yu* was primarily a preposition. If Guo (1997) is correct that only 5% of *yus* found in the bone inscriptions from the Shang Dynasty are verbs, and if we combine Guo's findings with our findings, we realize that *yu* has never been used primarily as a verb in Chinese recorded history. The belief of many scholars that the preposition *yu* evolved from the verb *yu* is not supported by this study. Second, the data have shown that there are two major developmental patterns of *yu*: semantic expansion until about 200 BC and substitution thereafter. These patterns of development are governed by two general principles of language use: the principle of economy and the principle of felicity. The principle of economy may have operated due to the shortage of linguistic expressions in Old Chinese. The principle of felicity seems to have resulted from the pressure for communicative clarity. One important feature of the operation of these two implied in this paper is that the two principles are chronologically ordered, viz., the felicity principle cannot operate until after the operation of the economy principle. Third, the survival of *yu* in Modern Chinese is allowed by the

felicity principle because *yu* has been left with only a few specific semantics and pragmatics. Its historical polysemic extensions have been eliminated today.

NOTES

- 1 *Yu* in Chinese is sometimes called a coverb rather than a preposition. We regard it as a preposition on the basis of its syntactic function found in this study. *Yu* in written form is represented by two characters. It has been found that the two characters are polygraphs, that is, two different written characters with the same meaning and function. A more accurate description of the two characters is given by Guo (1997). Guo describes them as the same morpheme, different only graphically. One difference between the two is historical occurrence, because one appeared later in Chinese written language than the other. There are linguists who consider the two to differ in their semantic indications and syntactic functions but to maintain much in common. See Li (1980), Shi (1986), Pulleyblank (1995), and Yang and He (1992) for further discussions.

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LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GROUP WORK: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

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ABSTRACT

This study looks into students' perceptions of the use of group work in learning beginning Tagalog at a four-year university and a community college in Hawai'i. Participants of the study are both male and female adults, the majority of whom are of Filipino ethnicity. The study will attempt to answer the following research questions: (1) How do beginning Tagalog students at these two institutions perceive group work, in general? (2) What do beginning Tagalog students like and dislike about the group work activities in beginning Tagalog? (3) What are the students' perceptions of the effects group work has on their learning of Tagalog? The results of the study show positive student perceptions on the use of group work in language learning. Much of the evidence supported claims made in the literature for the use of group work in the classroom. The students overall feel that group work should continue to be a part of language learning.

Research has shown small-group language activities give students more exposure to the target language and more opportunities to practice the language naturally and realistically compared to whole group instruction (Davidson and Worsham, 1992; Sharan and Sharan, 1992; see also Chaudron, 1988, and van Lier, 1988, for a comprehensive discussion). The goal of this paper is to investigate students' perceptions of the use of group work in beginning Tagalog as a Foreign Language (TFL) as an alternative teaching tool and learning strategy. There will be two parts to this paper. The first part reviews the literature on the use of group work and delineates the arguments in support of its application in the language classroom. The second part presents a pilot study investigating the perceptions of group work by two groups of beginning Tagalog students (university and community college students) and its influence on their language learning. This small research project will attempt to answer the following research questions: (1) How do beginning Tagalog students perceive group work, in general? (2) What do beginning Tagalog students like and/or dislike about the group work activities in beginning Tagalog? (3) What are the students' perceptions of the effects group work has on their learning of Tagalog?

For the purposes of this paper, Brown's (1988) definition of group will be adopted: 'a group exists when two or more people define themselves as members of it and when its existence is recognized by at least one another' (reported in Galton and Williamson, 1992:11).

TYPES OF GROUP WORK—COOPERATIVE, COLLABORATIVE, AND INTERACTIVE

A group can be *cooperative*, *collaborative*, or *interactive* (Oxford, 1997), depending on the purpose and demands of the task. Bennett and Dunne (1989) describe group work as *cooperative* when each member works on different but related assignments towards a common goal and as *collaborative* when each member works on the same task towards a common goal. Oxford (1997) describes group work as *cooperative* when students follow a prescribed structure, (i.e., "positive interdependence, accountability, team formation, team size, cognitive development and social development") in the enhancement of their cognitive and social skills (p. 445). Group work is *collaborative* when students construct knowledge within a social milieu with the assistance of "more capable others." In the process, learners are acculturated into a new learning community. Group work is *interactive* when it involves 'interpersonal communication.' The learners communicate with each other in various meaningful ways. "Interaction involves meaning, but it might or might not involve learning new concepts" (p. 444). In the Second/Foreign (S/F) language classroom, interaction relates to: (a) types of language tasks, (b) learners' willingness to communicate with each other, (c) learning style dimensions affecting interaction, and (d) group dynamics (p. 449). The group work language activities in the beginning Tagalog classes may be cooperative, collaborative, or interactive.

PART ONE - LITERATURE REVIEW

Group work has now become one of the most promising educational practices (Holt, 1993). Research studies on group work have documented its effectiveness, and one of the earliest studies on cooperation and competition by Deutsch (1949) has served as the primary foundation for subsequent research on cooperative learning. In his study, he compared two groups: (1) 'negatively independent,' where the members of the group compete with each other for success and that the success of one means the failure of the others and (2) 'positively interdependent,' in which the members of the group help each other to succeed and the success of one means the success of the others (reported in Galton and Williamson, 1992). He found conclusively that students who were working cooperatively, rather than independently, were more successful in their learning experience.

Researchers from all over the world have looked into the relative effects of cooperation, competition, and individualistic interdependence on academic achievement, social and personal development, and language learning. Olsen and Kagan (1992) report that cooperation is more effective than competition and individualistic learning in promoting higher achievement. They also report evidence showing improvement in social development (Johnson and Johnson, 1986) and prosocial behaviors (Kagan, 1977), an increase in students' self-esteem and favorable feelings towards the class and their peers (Slavin, 1983a), and a decrease in racial stereotyping and discrimination (Allport, 1954; Cohen, 1980). Other researchers in the field of S/F language acquisition have, likewise, studied the benefits of cooperative learning. Their studies describe the value of group work for S/F language learners and validate the positive effects group work has on language learning and academic achievement (Holt, 1993; Kessler, 1992; Deen, 1987; Pica, 1987; Pica, Young, and Doughty, 1987; Gass and Varonis, 1985; Long and Porter, 1985; see McGroarty, 1995 for a summary of these benefits).

Compared to competitive and individualistic language learning experiences, there is strong evidence that cooperative learning provides learners more opportunities to hear and understand, not only more language but also more complex language (comprehensible input) from their peers, and to produce the language (comprehensible output) through negotiation. Comprehensible input, as Krashen (1982) explains, refers to language that contains linguistic structure a bit beyond the learner's current level of competence ($i + 1$). Comprehensible output (Swain, 1985) refers to the 'new' language that learners have to produce (oral or written) when they attempt to modify the input to their level of understanding. Oxford (1997) reports that cooperative learning is more effective in "promoting intrinsic motivation and task achievement, generating higher-order thinking skills, improving attitudes toward the subject, developing academic peer norms, heightening self-esteem, increasing time on task, creating caring and altruistic relationships, and lowering anxiety and prejudice" (p. 445). Long and Porter (1985) argue that group work increases the number of language practice opportunities, improves the quality of student talk, helps individualize instruction, promotes a positive affective climate, and motivates learners. There is surmounting evidence that group work is beneficial to students and enhances language learning. However, these studies have not incorporated students' voices. Part Two presents a pilot study that looks at students' perceptions of the use of group work in learning Tagalog.

PART TWO - METHOD

PARTICIPANTS AND SETTING

There were two sets of participants for the study—30 university students and 20 community college students, 25 male and 25 female, in the second semester of Tagalog. All of the students are children of Filipino immigrants, except for two male students, one Caucasian and one African-American. The average age of the students in both classes is 20 years.

The two undergraduate classes of Beginning Tagalog are 4-credit courses. At the university the class meets every other day (MWF) for an hour and 20 minutes, while at the community college it meets daily for 50 minutes. Each class period begins with a review of the past lesson and formal instruction on linguistic structures. Further explanation and more examples are provided when students

request them. Then, students form groups of 2, 4 or 6 individuals. Group formation, which varies depending on the type of activity that will give them practice in applying the newly learned concept, is random, self-selected by students, or assigned by the instructor. Group activities vary (e.g., completing crossword puzzles, filling in cartoon strip bubbles, matching health tips and first aid do's and don't's with pictures, telling stories from pictures, finding the differences between picture A and picture B, giving directions and drawing maps, writing skits, reading short stories and answering comprehension questions, role-playing).

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Twice during the semester, students were provided with open-ended questions as guidelines in writing their reaction to the use of small-group work (see Appendix). They were told that the purpose of the assignment was to get feedback in order to improve the teaching and learning of Tagalog, and therefore their honesty was important. Students' responses were then ethnographically analyzed for patterns and themes and subsequently categorized and summarized.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The majority of the students (94%) favor the use of group work in the classroom. Their responses have been interpreted below.

1. Students' Positive Perceptions of Group Work

1.1 **Group work is fun.** This is the most common response from the students. To them, group work provides "a chance to break away from the old lecture routine." Furthermore, it adds "flavor to the subject being learned" and "reinforces the subject that is being discussed." "I am learning and [at] the same time enjoying the language." It seems that "enjoyableness enhances (the) effectiveness" of group work (Green, 1993, p.8).

1.2 **Group work is an easier way of learning.** It takes away the pressure of having to complete a task alone. Through collaboration, ("two or more heads are better than one") students "generate and share ideas and opinions" to find solutions to problems. This suggests that positive interdependence (Oxford, 1997) is present in the group activities.

1.3 **Group work provides opportunities to develop friendship, trust, and self-confidence.** "Friendship" or camaraderie is another common response for favoring group work. Working in a friendly learning environment encourages trust, self-confidence and more active participation of group members. "I am not ashamed to speak up because I am talking among friends and people I am familiar with." "Everyone works best when they can be themselves and ...[be] around people they know." This evidence tends to support Long and Porter's (1985) argument that group work promotes a positive affective climate and motivates learners.

1.4 **Group work promotes peer responsibility.** Students realize that group success or failure depends on the contribution of all members. "... [I] made me try to study the chapter more because I didn't want to let the group down by not doing my share ..." "You do not want to disappoint your group members so you are obligated to do the work. So because of group work, I am actually doing the work." The sense of responsibility towards their peers is a motivating factor for their active learning and group participation. This supports the notion that group work motivates learners (Long and Porter, 1985) and increases self-expectations (Kagan, 1988; reported in Olsen and Kagan, 1992).

1.5 Group work promotes peer support. "Although I made mistakes in our group role-playing activities, my group members would still support me..." claims a student. In addition to moral support, students also support each other by peer tutoring. "By helping others to learn the material, I also learn." This evidence suggests that group work helps students learn from each other through peer tutoring (Cohen and Kulik, 1981; reported in Olsen and Kagan, 1992). Sometimes explaining a certain concept requires elaboration. The students' understanding of the concept is enhanced in the process of explaining it to someone else (Dansereau, 1985; Webb, 1982; reported in Olsen and Kagan, 1992).

1.6 Group work enhances social skills. Not everybody is comfortable working or interacting with others because of differences in personality and learning style (Oxford, 1997). Some would rather work individually; others enjoy the social interaction. The type of society we live in requires that individuals learn to work harmoniously with others towards a common goal. "Teamwork in the real world is real" (Foyle and Shafto, 1995, p.16) and through group work, students learn team work. "Group work makes students team players."

1.7 Group work promotes creativity and cognitive development. In order to achieve team success, it is important for the team members to be open to others' ideas and opinions, allowing themselves to grow and develop cognitively. Through experimentation with new and different ideas, they can create a better perspective or understanding of the concept. "Projects that require creativity are done best in groups."

The ethnographic analysis of the data so far suggests that use of group work in the classroom is perceived by the students as favorable and beneficial to their language learning. Five students (10%), however, expressed negative comments about group work. (Despite this, two of these students still favor the use of group work in the classroom.) The remaining 90% made only positive comments.

2. Students' Negative Perceptions of Group Work

The two most salient complaints about group work in general are lack of cooperation among group members and lack of sensitivity towards group members. In the Tagalog class, the four common complaints were inadequate time, unclear instructions, inconsistent scheduling and too much time spent on group work activities. "We spend too much time doing group work when we learn more by having the teacher lecture more." These negative perceptions indicate that there is a need for better preparation and organization on the part of both the teacher and the students. Poorly planned group work activities are as ineffective as badly run lockstep instruction (Long and Porter, 1985). Therefore, group activities should be carefully planned with the instructor making sure that instructions are clear and the time allotted for completion is well-estimated, taking into consideration learners' level of proficiency. Furthermore, teachers must keep in mind that these group activities are in a foreign language and that students are beginners. They need to have more time to think in the target language. A consistent schedule may also help students keep a routine. When students know what activity to expect and when, they can focus better on learning the target language.

Students, especially those who are opposed to group activities for whatever reason, should have the freedom to choose to work individually when the activity allows. However, if social interaction is imperative, then they should be open to change and be willing to cooperate. Perhaps they should be given specific instructions, guidelines and/or practice on social skills (e.g., listening actively to what others are saying, taking turns in expressing opinions, being non-judgmental) and giving others opportunity to and some period of time to adjust to the new learning strategy. It is possible that they are simply not accustomed to group interaction and do not have the necessary social skills to make it work for them. Once they become comfortable working with others, they may change their attitude.

3. Students' Perceptions of the Effects of Group work on Learning Tagalog

Further analysis of students' responses reveal both positive and negative effects group work has on their language learning. The positive effects focus on two aspects: (1) what the students learned and gained and (2) what influenced their learning. Students claim that the Tagalog group activities gave them providing them greater, more varied language practice opportunities (Long and Porter, 1985) and a better grasp of the language structure. The use of the target language in a social context has also increased their exposure to and acquisition of the language. Skit presentations forced them to recycle newly learned words and experiment with the language. Humorous students in particular "come up with the most outrageous things possible, which take extra thought," and in the process, "are forced... to use new words and grammar." The humor helps students "remember those outrageous sentences." It seems that social interaction, with a dash of humor, is a good recipe for language learning.

Through regular social interaction, students bonded and discovered that peer tutoring is an effective learning strategy. Through elaboration and clarification, student comprehension improves because ideas are rephrased and words are repeated (Pica, Young and Doughty, 1987; reported in McGroarty, 1995). Both speaker and listener benefit from the experience. "By helping others to learn the material, I also learn."

On the other hand, peer tutoring is perceived by two students (4%) as a hindrance to language learning. "I personally don't learn anything if I'm having to explain to other group members the activity." "I like working in groups for dialogs but when it comes to explaining how to form words, I don't understand what people are telling me." This suggests that students' personality and learning styles should be considered when planning group activities (Oxford, 1997). Furthermore, they should be allowed to give their input as to which individuals they choose to work or not work with. When students have a negative attitude towards their peers, group work is more likely to fail. "I don't like to work with individuals that are so lost in class that they are no help to me in learning the language."

CONCLUSION

The results of this study show positive student perceptions on the use of group work in language learning. Much of the evidence supports claims favoring the use of group work in the classroom. Overall, the students feel that group work should continue to be a part of the language learning experience. Their positive feelings towards group work indicate that language learning through social interaction and meaningful "real life" situations do positively influence their language acquisition. However, there are students who would like to see a balance between group work and lecture. Teachers need to be flexible and cautious about over-using group work in the classroom. Perhaps, they should consider regular student feedback on group work activities to provide them with valuable "inside information" that they can use in their evaluation of their use of group work activities. Knowledge of "what works" or "does not work" based on students' perspectives will enable them to maximize the effectiveness of group work activities in the classroom. And for teachers who are considering whether or not to use group work in class, hopefully the results of this study will encourage them to go ahead and discover for themselves the benefits the students get from this style of learning. They need to always keep in mind that effective group work activities depend a great deal on careful planning and execution on the part of the teacher as well as cooperation and participation of students.

FURTHER RESEARCH

There is strong evidence that students benefit from group work in the classroom and that it enhances their language learning. Research studies have shown evidence to support its effectiveness. However, further research is needed to look at the effects of group work "outside" the classroom. Bassano and Christison (1995) believe that students will acquire the target language more easily, in or out of the classroom, when they see its importance and when the interaction is meaningful in realistic social settings. One student claims that in-class group work was not the primary reason for his/her learning. "What has really helped me with learning Tagalog is not the group work in class, but the outside exposure to the language. When you practice what you've learned outside of class it's more

natural. Natural in the sense that the setting is real. You aren't making up sentences of a particular type and pattern. You have to learn how to apply all that you've learned. It's not like a dialog where you're given certain lines to read out—your answers are spontaneous, responding to the question or statement made by the other person you are conversing with."

Several students also reported that they meet outside of class to study together for tests. "We usually see what we don't know then we go over the whole lesson and do the exercises, plus we make up our own to practice to see if we understand." "We make exercises for each other... then we do it in front of the group and explain why and how we did it." It would be interesting to find out what kind of "out-of-class" group activities students design to help themselves enhance their language learning, how these activities affect their learning, and how they compare to the effects of in-class group work on students' learning.

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APPENDIX

Student Questionnaire on the Use of Group Work in Class

You are requested to submit a *comprehensive* and *honest* reaction/self-evaluation (in English) reflecting on the effects group work has on your learning and use of Tagalog. Please type your answers to the questions listed below (12-font, double-space). **DO NOT PUT YOUR REAL NAMES.**

1. Do you enjoy working in groups, in general? Why or why not?
2. Do you enjoy working in groups in the Tagalog class? Why or why not?
3. How does group work in class affect your learning of Tagalog? Do you feel you are successful in learning Tagalog through group work? How do you know? Please explain in detail.
4. How can we improve the group work activities in teaching/learning of Tagalog 102? Please give specific suggestions.
5. Other comments:

THE ESL/EFL DICHOTOMY AND WHAT THE CLASSROOM ENGLISH TEACHER CAN DO ABOUT IT

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ABSTRACT

The division between teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) has been with us for at least fifty years. This dichotomy of terms fails to adequately describe both the current state of the English language teaching field and the large segment of English learners and speakers who differ fundamentally from the accepted concepts marked by these two terms. Clinging to this outdated one-or-the-other system fails to account for a large part of the English-speaking world, which in turn leads to a failure to serve it adequately both in research and pedagogy. This state of affairs has repercussions both inside and outside the classroom. However, despite numerous proposals, acceptance of new terms has failed to take hold due to political, economic, and pedagogic resistance. The classroom English teacher has an important role to play in helping to bring about a change in this situation and the concomitant improvements in English language teaching.

The terms English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) have been with us for some time now (Nayar, 1997), and are increasingly being used to mean the same thing or, at the other extreme, completely different things to different people. Thinking in this binary fashion has created a chasm between the two terms and has failed to adequately describe a large segment of English speakers who differ fundamentally from the accepted concepts marked by these terms. This confusion has broad implications for English language teaching (ELT) and has affected learners, teachers, and researchers to varying degrees. While there has been no lack of new terminology proposals, widespread acceptance of anything other than the terms ESL and EFL has failed to take hold due to political, economic and pedagogic resistance, and I believe teachers can play a role in bringing about a change in this situation.

THE TERMS

Situational differences in the nature of ELT and English language learning have been recognized since the 1940s (Nayar, 1997). Nayar cites Morris (1945) as first to bring the distinction between ESL and EFL to light. Generally, the two could be described as being "learned in an English-speaking milieu for the purpose of day-to-day communication or...in a non-English-speaking milieu for more restrictive purposes," respectively (Ashworth, 1985). Since Morris' distinction, terms have proliferated which seek to define more precisely just what it is that learners are learning and teachers are teaching when these groups undertake English language instruction around the globe. A sampling of terms, in no particular order, includes the following: *teaching English, the teaching of English as foreign language, language teaching, English as a native language (ENL), English as a basal language (EBL), English as an additional (or associate) language (EAL), English as a language of wider communication (ELWC), English as an international language (EIL), English as an international auxiliary language (EIAL), English as an international/intranational language (EIIL), English as a language of international communication (ELIC), English as a world language (EWL), indigenized (or institutionalized) varieties of English (IVEs), and new varieties of English (NVEs)*. Generally speaking, the numerous classification models seek to define more clearly the boundaries among the terms with respect to historical, political, cultural, social, and linguistic factors. The current settlement on the ESL/EFL dichotomy no longer reflects the true situation in the field, and clear boundaries are no longer delineated by these two terms, given the changing role of the English language throughout the world today.

REVISION PROPOSALS

Although other proposals for revision certainly exist (Judd, 1987; Moag, 1982a; Smith, 1983), a recent proposal by Nayar (1997) will help to illustrate the issues involved in addressing changes to the current nomenclature. Nayar (1997) has proposed a taxonomy which he claims has "...a more realistic sociolinguistic base and a more appropriate applied linguistic motivation" (p.9). He

delineates ESL—English taught in the native environment, learned in order to interact competently with native speakers [NSs] and to integrate into the NS community, as well as for socioeconomic respectability and upward mobility (e.g., the U.S., Great Britain, Australia); EAL (where 'A' stands for *associate*)—English not native to the environment, used in influential circles, receiving some environmental support, having some officially approved national status, and not (necessarily) learned for communication with native speakers (e.g., India, Singapore, Philippines); and EFL—situations where "...there is no history of prolonged British or U.S. political presence, ... English has no special status or internal function, and ... its communicative use is of low priority" (p.29; e.g., Japan, China, Germany). As can be seen here, the default view of ESL as that which is learned and taught in a native English speaking country, and EFL, as that which is learned and taught in a non-native English speaking country, is no longer a viable alternative.

TEACHING DIFFERENCES

Putting aside the political and economic intricacies involved in the spread of English (which have been dealt with in depth in Kachru, 1986; Moag, 1982b; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992), we can see that one other main focus in the above proposed taxonomy involves linguistic environment. As the environment in which one learns a language changes, so too does the amount of input that can be expected as well as the quality of that input (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986). In an ESL situation, say, in the U.S., we would expect the learner to encounter a fair amount of quality input just by stepping outside of the classroom and going about his or her daily business. Furthermore, much of that contact would be with NSs and therefore production (and hence instruction) would need to suit the intelligibility needs of NSs. The areas of pragmatics, semantics, phonology, and syntax, to varying degrees, must all be considered within the specific environment where language learning takes place. Contrast this with an EFL situation, where the majority of the target language (TL) input would probably be restricted to the classroom itself, contact with NSs would be minimal, and the purpose for learning very different. Obviously, the role of the teacher and the instruction itself must shift to match the context at hand. It is in the EAL situation, though, where the teacher of English (particularly a transplanted, monolingual, native speaker) will probably be the most challenged. For it is here that the teacher will encounter what Kachru (1985) has referred to as *institutionalized* varieties of English (also referred to as *indigenized* or *nativized* varieties):

The institutionalized second-language varieties have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts; they have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems. The result of such uses is that such varieties have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages [registers]... (p.211)

In other words, these are new Englishes that can differ from "standard" English in phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. (It is in response to these marginalized groups of English speakers that new taxonomy proposals have emerged.) For example, in the area of phonology, native speaker norms may not be the goal or may even be frowned upon (Gill, 1993; Jibril, 1982; Kachru, 1985; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986; Tay, 1982; Wong, 1982). In the area of syntax, home-grown, perfectly acceptable norms have evolved in response to some of the eccentricities of English, such as the generalized "is it" tag question ("He's eating, is it?"; Tay, 1982). In the area of semantics, over-used words are given extensions of meaning, such as *open* and *close* replacing *switch on* and *switch off*, *turn on* and *turn off* ("open the light"; "close the TV"; Wong, 1982). Pragmatics, too, often fit the institutionalized setting rather than native English-culture norms (use of imperatives as request forms; Sridhar, 1988).

I mention these aspects of institutionalized varieties neither as criticism nor as praise, but rather to draw attention to the vicissitudes of the EAL situation. These areas and many more like them may be impossible to change and *may not need to be changed*, and this is something which the individual teacher must decide for himself or herself based on the social, political, and cultural context, and on the needs and goals of the learners. Rather than striving for some fuzzy "standard English" in these situations, it may be more useful to think in terms of some kind of general understanding, which may consist of intelligibility (word-level understanding), comprehensibility (meaning-level understanding), and interpretability (intention-level understanding) as proposed by

Smith (1988). Naturally, just what this consists of will depend on the context and the participants; intranational communicative needs would be different from international ones on all three levels. And, as Smith (1983) says, "...the responsibility for effective communication is shared by both the speaker *and* the listener" [emphasis added] (p. 8). This kind of thinking can lead to a more enlightened view of all "Englishes."

Knowledge of the existence of institutionalized varieties is necessary not only for native-speaker English teachers abroad, but for those in ESL countries as well. Kenkel and Tucker (1989) posit that failure to recognize deviations reflecting nativized norms can result in misplacement of international students at U.S. universities. They found that interpreting "errors" as "deviations" from native speaker norms (but which are allowed in nativized versions) in the composition component of a university entrance examination resulted in different entrance placements of 14% of the Sri Lankan students and 55% of the Nigerian students studied. Further complicating the ELT issue is the observed transition from EFL to ESL in some countries, e.g., Ethiopia (Nayar, 1997) and from ESL to EFL in others, e.g., India, Malaysia, Philippines (Judd, 1987; Moag, 1982a). While strides have been made in the knowledge of some indigenized varieties, Gollach (1991) states:

Much *descriptive* work is still necessary if it is to be possible to make reliable statements (based on solid data rather than clever hunches) on the local distributions of English (competence of individual speakers and speech communities) and particularly its regional characteristics on individual levels of grammar ranging from pronunciation through lexis and syntax to pragmatics. (p. 31)

The current dichotomy of terms has also had implications for second language acquisition (SLA) research (Nayar, 1994; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986). Nayar (1994) states that many SLA theories are based on observations in NS (monolingual) countries. Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) argue that SLA research has missed the mark on institutionalized varieties of English in a number of areas, including target (NS-NNS v. NNS-NNS interaction), input (quality, nature, amount), role (not 'replacive,' but 'additive'), motivation (integrative v. instrumental), and lexicon, as well as pragmatic aspects. With so much seemingly awry in the ELT world, with such diverse effects resulting from the dichotomy of terms, and with so many calls for revision of the taxonomy over the years, one has to ask why things have yet to change.

OBSTACLES TO CHANGE

In order to answer that question, perhaps we should first ask, "Who 'owns' the English language?" The current situation is at least in part an outgrowth of the debate over this question. Phillipson (1992) cites its dominance in science, technology, medicine, computers, research, books, periodicals, software, business, trade, shipping, aviation, diplomacy, mass media entertainment, news agencies, and other realms, and states English has "become the international language *par excellence*" (p.6). "Ownership" of the medium of communication of such a large part of global society brings with it the power to dominate and control these realms. This kind of power and control is not easily given up. The two most influential native English speaking countries in the world today, the U.S. and England, have a stake in maintaining control over the language and the native speaker "standard." Implicit in the reluctance to give up "ownership" of English is the right to claim authority in the teaching, materials development, and training of teachers of English. With native speakers as the "standard" to which all learners should aspire, it follows that they would therefore make the best teachers, curriculum developers, and textbook writers. The entrenchment of these multibillion dollar enterprises contributes to the difficulty in effecting any change of direction, any rethinking of the actual status of English in the world today (Nayar, 1994, 1997). However, the very idea of an English "standard" implies stability, and the English language is nothing if not protean in nature, the very fact of which gives it communicative value and hence has allowed it to become the international language it is today (Widdowson, 1994). If we instead look at the users and uses of English, we see that English "is acquiring various international identities and thus acquiring multiple ownerships" (Kachru, 1985, p.223).

EFFECTING CHANGE

Nayar's (1997) proposals are the latest in a long line of suggested nomenclature revisions. Unfortunately, they too will probably fall by the wayside as the ELT machine continues to plow ahead. Since no new taxonomy seems to be gaining acceptance, it is probably best to view the English language as spanning a continuum rather than constituting a dichotomy and to adjust our teaching to fit the particular situation at hand. However, I feel teachers have a role to play (indeed, a responsibility to take a role) in improving the quality of teaching we provide our students, in bringing more balance to the power structures in ELT, and in contributing to the recognition of English as the exclusive possession of no single group. And I feel that we can do this no matter what the teaching situation.

A GRASS-ROOTS, BOTTOM-UP APPROACH

It all starts with awareness—awareness of, first, the existence of other Englishes and second, their nature. Individual teachers, whether teaching English at a university in Germany, a college in Nigeria, a conversation school in Japan, or a high school in the U.S., have a wealth of knowledge about their students and their learning styles, needs, motivations, fears, and, especially, language use. This knowledge, harnessed and disseminated to other teachers with similar concerns, can substantially add to the knowledge base of ELT, bring about awareness, and as a result, lead to improvement in language learning and teaching. One method by which this can be achieved is action research.

Action research has been defined as "the study of a social situation with a view to improving the quality of action within it" (Elliot, 1991, p.69, cited in Altrichter, Posch, and Somekh, 1993). Teachers have been advised to start action research projects by looking at their own classes, identifying areas which are of special interest or in need of special attention, clarifying them, developing action strategies, and putting them into practice (Altrichter, Posch, and Somekh, 1993). Often, the starting point is a basic desire to do something better in the classroom. This is an important part of the action research movement and should continue to be nurtured and developed. However, as much of an experienced teacher's knowledge is tacit in nature, it represents a fount that can be tapped into in the area of language variation, as well. The local classroom teacher in EAL areas is in an ideal situation from which to expand the knowledge base of particular varieties of English and their unique characteristics; he or she is usually (though not always) acquainted with both the indigenized variety and a "standard" variety. Identifying differences between the two on phonological, syntactic, semantic, lexical, or pragmatic levels could be a good place to start an action research project. This situation also lends itself nicely to collaborative work between individual teachers, one knowledgeable in an indigenized variety, one in a "standard" variety (whether teaching in the same school or on different continents), or between a teacher and a researcher who are both interested in contributing to the field in these areas. Teachers in ESL countries working with populations from EAL countries can contribute much to the understanding of variations in the different varieties of English as well. Much work remains to be done:

"...with few exceptions...not much attention has been paid to what may be called the pragmatic aspects of variation." (Sridhar, 1988, p.326)

"...(test) evaluators must educate themselves (in IVEs) to improve their criteria for judgement." (Kenkel and Tucker, 1989, p. 207)

"Uncertainty about forms that do exist in (British English) or (American English) and are not restricted to the local...variety at all, however, is widespread." (Gorlach, 1991, p. 27)

"...to date, not one NVE has been described in any serious sense." (D'souza, 1997, p. 95)

Surely there is a place for the classroom teacher in this effort.

GETTING STARTED

Of course, none of this will be easy, and teachers may not have the time, let alone the desire, to attempt such an undertaking. However, the power of individuals banded together for a common cause can be a factor in effecting change, and even a group of one is a start. Oliphant (1995) gives a

succinct account of how to get a teacher group started—from recruiting members, to organization, to potential problems; and Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) provide a clear introduction to starting an action research project. Dissemination of information to others in the field is, of course, an essential element of the process. The tried and true approach of submission to ELT journals with the widest circulations can be a first step, but one need not stop there. Local TESOL-affiliated organs and their media, self-publication on the World Wide Web, or a school- or district-wide newsletter (create one if one doesn't exist) are also viable outlets.

THE BENEFITS OF CHANGE

The benefits of a revision of the current ESL/EFL taxonomy effected at least in part through the efforts of teachers working together on action research would be felt throughout the ELT community. First and foremost, proper description of the situation can bring about awareness and lead to better understanding, which can lead to better teaching. Hence, learners are the ultimate beneficiaries. A second benefit would be the enhanced esteem and empowerment of teachers brought about by their investigations into their own practice, and the related issue of lessening the divide between teachers and researchers (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1990; Crookes, 1997; Johnson and Chen, 1992). Furthermore, the effects might even trickle up to the level of teacher-training courses with specific focuses on ESL, EAL, or EFL, on both the theoretical and practical levels.

Change in the current ESL/EFL taxonomy has been slow in coming and shows no sign of taking hold any time soon. What is perhaps more important than assigning terminology is realizing that by clinging to this outdated one-or-the-other system we fail to adequately account for a significant portion of the English-speaking world, which in turn leads to a failure to serve it adequately in both research and pedagogy. While not a cure-all, teacher research can have an effect in giving momentum to a more enlightened and informed approach to the issues, and may lead to real change from the bottom up. Given that students will be the ultimate beneficiaries, isn't it worth the effort?

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COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN NEGOTIATION OF MEANING

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ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades, researchers (Tarone, 1981; Faerch and Kasper, 1983; Yule and Tarone, 1991) have investigated learners' use of communication strategies (CSs) for solving lexical problems which hinder them from reaching their communicative goals. Since there have been few empirical studies which investigated the benefits of CS use to second language (L2) learning, as the first step in finding out the benefits of the use of CSs, this study examines learners' output in the form of CSs in learner-learner negotiated interaction.¹

Twelve native speakers of English in a second-year Japanese class at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa were organized into pairs and tasked with explaining Japanese words outside of the curriculum to their partners and with negotiating their meanings. This study found that the learners mostly used CSs which did not require them to make full use of their interlanguage (IL) resources. Specifically, they tended to produce fragmented utterances and heavily relied on their partners' ability to guess the words. This strategy was largely successful.

Swain (1985) argues that learners may need to produce output by making full use of their IL resources for facilitating L2 learning, and that negotiated interaction may push them to produce such output. However, in this study, negotiated interaction did not push the learners to produce such output. In order to realize a learning benefit from the use of CSs, we need to explore how to facilitate learners' use of CSs for the purpose of learning.

NEGOTIATION OF MEANING

One of the main interests in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) has been to find out what facilitates it. One of the first assertions about this issue was Krashen's input hypothesis (1982 and 1983). Krashen argued that exposure to target language (TL) comprehensible input which is slightly beyond the learner's current proficiency level facilitates SLA. Krashen's input hypothesis became very influential, and many subsequent researchers focused on examining exactly what it is that makes input comprehensible to learners. Long (1983, 1985), for instance, found that when the learners had comprehension problems in interactions with native speakers (NSs), they modified their interactions by using interactional modifications. That is, they engaged in negotiation of meaning and this modified interaction, in turn, made the NSs produce input comprehensible to the learners.² Long went on to identify three main interactional modifications: comprehension checks, confirmation checks (CCs), and clarification requests (CRs). According to Long (1983), while comprehension checks are used by the speaker to assess an interlocutor's understanding, CRs and CCs are used by the listener. Long defined CRs as any expression designed to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance(s) such as "What do you mean?" He defined CCs as any expression designed to elicit confirmation that the speaker's previous utterance has been correctly heard or understood.

Negotiation of meaning also provides learners with opportunities to produce output. What is significant about this is that Swain (1985, 1993) claims that producing output may be necessary for SLA in order for a learner to become a native-like speaker. Simply producing output, however, is not enough. According to Swain, learners need to make full use of their IL resources to produce comprehensible output which conveys a message precisely, coherently, and appropriately. Following this assertion by Swain (1985), researchers strove to determine what it is that pushes learners to produce comprehensible output. Pica (1988), Pica et al. (1989), and Pica et al. (1996) found that the kinds of interactional modifications that the interlocutors used determined whether or not the learners produced comprehensible output, and that the learners tended to modify their output when their interlocutors used CRs. However, since these studies did not analyze the learners' modifications

of output, it is still unclear whether or not they actually produced comprehensible output when their interlocutors required them to modify their output. In order to find out whether or not negotiation of meaning is an optimal condition for learners to produce comprehensible output, it is necessary to investigate whether or not learners actually produce comprehensible output when they are asked to modify their output.

INTERACTIONAL APPROACH OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

The term CS was first coined by Selinker in 1972. Since then, scholars have been interested in how L2 learners use CSs to solve linguistic problems which hinder them from reaching their communicative goals. Although no definition of CSs limits the concept to any particular type of linguistic problem, many researchers have investigated learners' use of CSs for overcoming lexical difficulties, and thus, the majority of taxonomies are for lexical CSs. Since scholars have different research interests, they have used different definitions of CSs, approaches, and taxonomies in their research. Tarone (1980, p. 420), for instance, defined a CS as "a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared." This approach has come to be known as the "interactional approach" (IA).

Researchers who prefer the IA are interested in how learners use CSs to solve their interlocutors' comprehension problems in negotiation of meaning. They have argued that both interlocutors contribute to solving comprehension problems caused by either the speaker's or the listener's developing IL; the listener's contribution is to use interactional modifications to prompt negotiation of meaning and elicit CSs from the speaker, and the speaker's contribution is to solve the listener's comprehension problem by using CSs. As mentioned before, few studies have examined learners' output when they are asked to modify it. Yule and Tarone (1991) have, however, suggested that we can analyze learners' output by making use of the framework of CSs. They illustrated how this works by providing an example from Pica's study (1987).

Non-native speaker (NNS)	English NS
1 and they have the chwach there	
2	The what? (clarification request)
3 the chwach—I know someone that—	
4	What does it mean? (clarification request)
5 like um like American people they always go there every Sunday	
6	Yes?
7 you know—every morning that there pr- that—the American people get dressed up to go to um chwach	
8	Oh to church—I see

Pica focused only on the NS's clarification requests which prompted negotiation in lines 2 and 4 and ignored the NNS's utterances, which actually contributed to achieving comprehension. Yule and Tarone claimed that since the NNS's utterances in lines 5 and 7 were CSs, the learners' utterances can be analyzed within the framework of CSs. Thus, we are able to find out whether or not learners produce comprehensible output in negotiation of meaning by making use of the framework of CSs. By investigating both conversational exchanges in negotiation of meaning, we may be able to find out whether or not negotiation of meaning pushes learners to use CSs which may be beneficial for L2 learning.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The benefits of using CSs for L2 learning has not received much attention from researchers as most scholars have seen CSs as useful for communication but not necessarily for learning. Some researchers, such as Bialystok (1983), however, have considered that using CSs might be beneficial for L2 learning. As the first step in finding out the benefits of the use of CSs, this study investigated learners' use of CSs in learner-learner negotiated interaction by adopting the IA. I focused on the following two research questions in this study: (1) Which kinds of interactional modification do learners prefer? and (2) What kinds of CSs do learners use when they are pushed to use CSs?

METHOD

Twelve students (six female, six male) in the second year of Japanese (JPN 201) at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM) were the participants of this study. Eight were Japanese-Americans, two were Caucasians, and two were Chinese-Americans. Their ages ranged from nineteen to twenty-two and they were all undergraduates. The first language (L1) of all these students was a variety of American English known as Hawai'i Creole English. Asked whether they spoke Japanese outside of the classroom, they answered that they rarely did so.

In order to engage the students in a communication activity as similar as possible to free conversation, this study used a role-play activity carried out during regular class time. In order to elicit CSs at the lexical level, this role-play entailed a lexical information gap task; that is, the task contained something that the students had not yet learned in the classroom. The role-play that the students engaged in was called "Talking on the phone." They were divided into pairs, A and B. B was invited to A's birthday party and called A to ask where A's house was. A had to explain to B where A's house was by giving landmarks which were written in both English and Japanese on a map which was given only to A. The words of these landmarks were unfamiliar to the participants; therefore, A's task was to explain to B what the landmarks were and where A's house was by using the landmarks, and B's task was to write down the route and the landmarks in English on an answer sheet.

In order to provide all participants with an opportunity to explain new words in Japanese, the students performed the task twice. After finishing the first role-play, they changed roles and did the same task again. However, the words that the participants were supposed to explain in the second role-play were different from those that had been explained in the first performance. While the landmarks in the first role-play were: 1. *keisatsusyo* (police station), 2. *denryoku gaisya* (electric power company), 3. *iminkyoku* (immigration office), and 4. *syokubutsuen* (botanical garden), the landmarks in the second role-play were: 1. *syoboosyo* (fire station), 2. *keimusyo* (jail), 3. *saibansyoo* (court house), and 4. *tokoya* (barber shop). The researcher and the instructor were in the classroom and observed the role-plays; however, they did not interfere with the students in any way. All of the role-plays were recorded and later transcribed.

ANALYSIS

INTERACTIONAL MODIFICATIONS

In order to answer research question 1, I counted and classified listeners' utterances as either CRs or CCs as defined by Long (1983) to find out which interactional modifications the students preferred. In Long's definition, a listener's intention determines whether the listener's utterance works as a CR or a CC. As for repetition with rising intonation, in this case, the speaker's response to the listener's repetition determines whether it works as a CR or a CC, regardless of the listener's intention. If the speaker did not provide any clarification after the listener's repetition of the speaker's word(s), this means that the speaker considered repetition as a CC even though the listener wanted to elicit clarification from the speaker. If, however, the speaker did provide clarification after the

listener's repetition, this indicates that the speaker considered the repetition as a CR even though the listener intended to confirm that s/he correctly heard or understood the speaker's word(s).

Furthermore, the students in this study used two types of CRs, "explicit CRs" and "implicit CRs." While an explicit CR is an utterance by which the student explicitly asks for clarification, such as "*~tte nan desu ka*" (what is ~?) or "*~ wa wakarimasen*" (I don't know ~), an implicit CR is a repetition of the word(s) which the student wants the interlocutor to clarify. There are also two types of CCs. The first type of CC consists of repetition of the word that the interlocutor said with rising intonation to confirm that the student either correctly understood or heard it. I call this repetition "repetition for confirmation" (RC). The second type of CC is used to confirm only whether or not the student correctly understood the word that the interlocutor was explaining. I call this type of CC "CC for comprehension."

THE CLASSIFICATION OF CSs

In order to answer research question 2, I analyzed the students' CSs in terms of their types and linguistic realizations. I first classified the students' CSs into two types of linguistic realizations, "a fragment," or "a clause." A fragment refers to a Japanese word or phrase which the students thought was associated with the Japanese words that they were explaining.

Example 1:³ Student 3 (A) (For explaining the word, "fire station.")

A: *Ka sore to, atsui un to mizu.* (*Ka* (the Chinese reading of the Chinese character "fire") and hot and water.) >> 3 fragments (3 words)

It was very difficult to classify such a fragmentary response; as a type of CS as it is lacking indispensable elements, such as verb phrase. Therefore, a fragment itself is considered here as a category of CSs.

Only CSs in which linguistic realization took the form of a clause were classified into the types of CSs found in the taxonomies of Faerch and Kasper (1983) and Tarone (1980). A clause is usually defined as a structure consisting of a noun phrase (a subject) and a verb phrase (a predicate) (O'Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Aronoff, 1991). However, in the conversational Japanese of NSs, frequent ellipses of words and phrases occur when they are transparent from the context, and so I defined a clause in this study as a complete or incomplete syntactical unit which contains at least one predicate, that is, a verb phrase, an adjective phrase, or a noun phrase with a copula. However, when a clear ellipsis of a predicate or a copula was observed, I also considered such fragments as clauses.

Example 2: Student 2 (A) (For explaining the word "electric power company.")

A: *Denki no denki no kaisya.* (A company of electricity.) >> Clause

Example 3: Student 5 (A) (For explaining the word "barber shop.")

A: *Kami ga nagai toki ni ittee.* (When [your] hair is long, [you] go and.) >> Clause

Although I used mainly the types of CSs in the taxonomies of Tarone and Faerch and Kasper, I also used other scholars' definitions of types of CSs. The students used a total of six types of CSs.

1. L1-BASED CSs

Code switching and paraphrasing with L1 are considered as L1 based CSs since the students relied on their L1.

A. CODE SWITCHING

Code switching refers to "the insertion of a word or phrase in a language other than the target language, usually the learners' native language" (Bialystock and Frohlich, 1983, p.10). In this study, if the student said an English equivalent of the Japanese word, I considered it as code switching. For instance, if a speaker had to explain the word *iminkyoku* and said "immigration office," this was an instance of code switching.

B. PARAPHRASING WITH THE L1

Paraphrasing by using L2 structures and inserting L1 words is called "paraphrasing with the L1."

Example 4: Student 1 (A) (For explaining the word "court house.")

A: *Etto, tokoro, Judge ga shigoto o shimasu* *.⁴ (A place, judges work)

>> Paraphrasing with L1

2. IL-BASED CSs

Paraphrasing in L2, generalization, and word coinage are considered as IL based CSs since the students relied on their IL.

C. PARAPHRASING IN L2

Paraphrasing is a strategy in which "the learner describes the characteristics or elements of the object or action instead of using the appropriate TL item or structure" (Tarone, 1981). Paraphrasing in this study refers to paraphrasing done completely in the L2, Japanese. If the student used one clause to explain the Japanese word, I called this a "paraphrase 1 in L2." If the student used 2 clauses either in one sentence or two sentences, I labeled this a "paraphrase 2 in L2." However, if a student repeated the same clause twice, I did not consider this as two clauses, and hence classified it as "paraphrase 1 in L2."

Example 5: Student 2 (A) (For explaining the word "jail.")

A: *Keimusyo wa warui hito ga takusan aru** (As for jail, there are many bad people.)

>> Paraphrase 1 in L2

Example 6: Student 12 (A) (For explaining the word "immigration office.")

A: *Gaijin wa kimasu. Gaijin wa imasu.* (Foreigners come. There are foreigners.)

>> Paraphrase 2 in L2

(2 clauses in 2 sentences)

Example 7: Student 5 (A) (For explaining the word "immigration office.")

A: *Gaikokujin wa haittara iminkyoku e iku.* (When foreigners enter, they go to the immigration office.)

>> Paraphrase 2 in L2

(2 clauses in 1 sentence)

If the student used 3 clauses in either one sentence or two sentences, I labeled this a "paraphrase 3 in L2."

D. APPROXIMATION

Tarone (1981) defined approximation as "the use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the speaker" (p 429).

Example 8: Student 5 (A) (For explaining the word "botanical garden.")
 A: (Continuing) *Kooen dee.* ((It's) a park.) (Continuing) >> Approximation

E. WORD COINAGE

Word coinage involves the learner in the creative construction of a new IL word (Faerch and Kasper, 1983).

Example 9: Student 12 (A) (For explaining the word "immigration office.")
 A: *Gaijin kyoku.* (Foreigner office/bureau.) >> Word coinage

3. NON-LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES

Non-linguistic strategies refer to mime, gesture, sound imitation and drawing. Since the students' performances were recorded on audio tapes, it was difficult to determine whether or not the students used gestures. Therefore, I asked the students what kind of CSs they used for each word, and made use of their answers in counting the number of non-linguistic strategies.

RESULTS

1. Which interactional modifications do learners use?

The students used various kinds of interactional modifications. Table 1 shows the number of CRs and CCs that the students used.

Table 1
 Numbers of interactional modifications

Confirmation checks			Clarification requests		Total
Repetition	In English	In Japanese	Explicit CRs	Implicit CRs	
29(39.73%)	5(6.85%)	4(5.48%)	32(43.83%)	3(4.11%)	
29(39.73%)	9(12.33%)		35(47.94%)		73(100%)

According to the results, although the students preferred to use explicit CRs to clarify the meanings of unknown Japanese words, they did not use explicit CRs to clarify their interlocutors' explanations. Thus, it appears that the students had little difficulty in comprehending each other's explanations. However, when the students encountered unknown Japanese words in the explanations, they did often ask for clarification.

Example 10: Student 5 (A) and 6 (B)

1 A: *Gaijin? Iminkyoku wa gaijin ga tokoro e ikimasu*.* (The immigration office is the place where foreigners go.)

2 B: *Wakarimasen.* (I don't understand.) >> CR

3 A: *Wakarimasen? Gaijin?* (You don't understand? Foreigners?) *Gaikoku jin. Iie Nihon jin.* (Foreigners. No, Japanese.) (The interaction continued.)

In the above example, in line 2, student B said "*Wakarimasen*" to student A's explanation in line 1. A thought that B did not understand the word *gaijin* (foreigners), therefore, she explained its meaning in line 3. Thus, negotiation of meaning of the word *gaijin* occurred and made A explain the word *gaijin*.

Repetition did not often elicit clarification, as only nine repetitions worked as CRs. When the listener repeated a word that the speaker had said, the speaker tended not to provide any clarification, but only repeated the word that the listener repeated.

Example 11: Student 4 (A) and 2 (B)

1 A: *Hidari ni wa, syooboosyo no hidari ni wa keimusyo desu.* (There is a prison on the left of a fire station.)

2 B: *Keimusyo?* (A prison?)

>> RC

3 A: *Keimusyo.* (A prison.)

The students did not often confirm that they correctly understood the words that their interlocutors were explaining. When the students confirmed their comprehension, they tended to confirm by saying English words which they thought were the English equivalents of the Japanese words that their interlocutors were explaining.

Example 12: Student 8 (A) and 5 (B)

1 B: *Keimusyo wa nan desu ka?* (What is *keimusyo*?)

2 A: *Keimusyo wa ano warui hito ga takusan aru?* *Warui hito.* (As for the jail, there are many bad people, bad people.)

3 B: *Prison?*

Only in four instances did the students confirm comprehension in Japanese. One instance was when student A explained the word "botanical garden." Her interlocutor B thought that the word that A was explaining was the word *yaoya* (vegetable shop), so he said "*Yaoya desu ka?*" (Is it vegetable shop?). However, A did not understand the word so A asked B to clarify the meaning of *yaoya*. Thus, confirming comprehension in Japanese triggered another negotiation and made B, who did not initially have to use CSs, use CSs.

In sum, I found that (1) the students used explicit CRs the most, (2) repetition did not tend to elicit CSs, and (3) the students did not often confirm whether or not they had correctly comprehended the word that their interlocutors were explaining

(2) What kinds of CSs do learners use when they are pushed to use CSs?

The students used various kinds of CSs. Table 2 shows the numbers of CSs used in this study.

Table 2
Learners' use of CSs

Frag	L1-based		IL-based					Non-ling Ges	Total
	Code switch	Para w/L1	Para 1 in L2	Para 2 in L2	Para 3 in L2	Approx	Word coin		
28(35)	16(20)	1(1.25)	20(25)	6(7.5)	1(1.25)	5(1.25)	1(1.25)	2(2.5)	80
28(35)	21(26.25)		29(34.61)					2(2.5)	80(100)

The most frequently used type of CSs was fragment. Although to NSs of Japanese the fragments that the students employed did not appear to be sufficient explanations for the Japanese target words, the students usually succeeded in helping their interlocutors to comprehend the words by using fragments. When the students used fragments, they often made use of the shared knowledge that they had acquired in the process of learning Japanese.

Example 13: Student 10 (A) and 12 (B) (For explaining the word "fire station.")

A: *Ka kayoobi no ka no kanji.* (Pause) (Ka, the Chinese character "ka" in Tuesday.)

>> Fragment

Matchi. (Match)

>> Fragment

In the above example, to explain the word "fire station," the student tried to explain the word "fire" by saying the Chinese reading, "ka," of "fire," the reading most familiar to the students since

they had only come across the Chinese character for fire as used in the word for Tuesday ("ka"yoobi). Although their interlocutors could associate this strategy with the word "fire," and correctly guessed the word "fire station," it does not work for NSs of Japanese since they would undoubtedly use the Japanese reading, "hi," to explain the word "fire."

The second most frequently used type of CSs was paraphrase 1 in L2. The students used this strategy for explaining the words "jail," "immigration office," "barber shop," and "botanical garden."

Example 14: Student 1 (A) and 9 (B)

1 A: *Koosaten de* keimusho ga arimasu. Keimusho no kado o migi ni magaru too.* (There is a jail at the intersection. If you turn right at the corner of the jail,)

2 B: *Keimusho wa nan desu ka?* (What is keimusho?)

3 A: *Keimusho wa warui no* hito ga sunde imasu.* (As for jail, it is the place where bad people live.) >> Paraphrase 1 in L2

While the students often used paraphrase 1 in L2, they rarely used paraphrase 2 or 3 in L2. Although the students often successfully explained the Japanese words by a single clause as in the above example, some words required them to use elaborate explanations with several clauses. For instance, when the students had to explain the word "botanical garden," most explained only that there were many flowers and trees there and as a result, all of their interlocutors thought that it was a park. To successfully explain the word "botanical garden," a student would thus have to explain special characteristics that distinguish a botanical garden from a park, such as "*Koko ni wa sekai jyu no hana ya ki ga arimasu*" (There are many trees and flowers from all over the world here). Hence, elaborate explanations are necessary for explaining some words.

Although the students tried to make their interlocutors comprehend by making use of their IL resources, they also relied on their L1 knowledge. While the student used paraphrase with L1 for explaining the word "court house," they often used code switching to explain the words "police station," "fire station," and "court house." While paraphrase with L1 required the students to partly produce L2 output even though the students made use of their L1 knowledge, code switching did not. Thus, using paraphrase with L1 might be more beneficial for L2 learning than code switching in terms of output.

According to my findings, although the students tried to explain Japanese words by making use of their IL knowledge, rather than their L1 knowledge, they did tend to produce fragmented utterances.

DISCUSSION

In this study, the students successfully solved their interlocutors' comprehension problems by using CSs. However, it seems that there are two factors which may not facilitate L2 learning. The first factor is that students tended to use fragmented utterances which did not require them to make full use of their IL resources, thereby relying on their interlocutors' ability to guess the unknown Japanese words. According to Swain (1985), producing only fragmented utterances may not be beneficial for L2 learning. Why is it that students tended to produce fragmented utterances? It may be because the students had difficulty in making full use of their IL resources in spontaneous speech since the main activities in which they were engaged during usual classtime were structure drills. Hence, if they had had more opportunities to use Japanese to express what they wanted to say, perhaps their performances would have been different than in this study.

The students' preference for fragmented utterances may also be because, as Tarone and Yule (1984) pointed out, the students knew their interlocutors' linguistic and world knowledge. Since the students used CSs with their classmates with whom they shared insufficient IL and learning experiences, they might have expected that their interlocutors would understand the Japanese words

even by fragmented utterances. This expectation might have led them to use such CSs and to rely on their interlocutors' ability to guess the meanings of the Japanese words. What is more, since these CSs were largely successful, the students continued to use them. Thus, the context where the students used CSs with their classmates might not have encouraged them to use CSs which would require them to make full use of their IL resources.

The second factor that may hinder L2 learning was that the students did not push their classmates to produce comprehensible output even when their classmates produced fragmented utterances. There are only four examples in which the students were asked by their interlocutors to provide more informative explanation. Since the students could understand the Japanese words even by their classmates' fragmented utterances, they did not have to push their classmates to provide more explanations. Although Swain (1985) argues that negotiation of meaning may push learners to make full use of their IL resources, in this study, negotiation of meaning did not push the students to make full use of their IL resources. Thus, although negotiation of meaning required the students to solve comprehension problems, it did not require them to produce comprehensible output. Hall (1997) pointed out that the context where learners use L2 determines their performances and may affect L2 learning. According to my findings, the context where students use CSs with their classmates may make them efficient users of CSs with their classmates. However, it may or may not make them efficient users of CSs with NSs or be an optimal condition for L2 learning since it makes them focus, not on L2 learning, but on communication with classmates. In turn, this may make students use CSs which are effective for their classmates but which may not facilitate L2 learning.

CONCLUSION

Few empirical studies have investigated whether or not using CSs in negotiation of meaning is beneficial for L2 learning; this study attempted to do so by investigating how learners use CSs in negotiation of meaning with their classmates. This study found that, while the students successfully solved comprehension problems by using CSs, they tended to produce fragmented utterances. That is, they solved comprehension problems without producing comprehensible output. For L2 learning, the context where students use CSs with classmates might not be an optimal one since, as many researchers argue, learners may use CSs for communication, not for learning. In order to realize a learning benefit from the use of CSs in learner-learner interaction, we need to explore ways to facilitate learners' use of CSs for the purpose of learning.

NOTES

- 1 In this paper, second language acquisition (SLA) and L2 learning are used as synonyms, both referring to the development of L2 performance.
- 2 Pica (1994) characterized negotiation as the modification and restructuring of interaction that occurs when learners and their interlocutors anticipate, perceive, or experience difficulties in message comprehensibility.
- 3 The key transcription methods are provided below:
 1. Japanese transliteration is given in Hepburn style.
 2. All 12 students have identification numbers (1-12).
 3. Paralinguistic and other interactional symbols are:
 - (pause) indicate pause longer than 5 seconds
 - / indicates shorter but discernible pause
 - . indicates utterance-final contour
 - ? indicates rising interrogative contour
 4. Although the students used English words, they tried to make the pronunciations of the words sound Japanese. The words are written in Roman letters to indicate this.
- 4 * indicates a grammatical error.

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VALIDATION OF CATRC: A COMPUTER-ADAPTIVE TEST FOR READING CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

The CATRC is a computer adaptive test that measures reading proficiency in Chinese. It adjusts the difficulty level of items given to the test taker based on the success or failure in previously answered items. This article reports the results of two studies by which the validity of this new test was examined. To investigate the validity of the difficulty level assigned to each item by the CATRC, 138 items used in the test were sent to three ACTFL-certified Chinese raters. To examine the degree to which the CATRC measures the same construct as a well-established measure of Chinese reading proficiency does, scores from the CATRC and scores from the reading section of the Pre-Chinese Proficiency Test (Pre-CPT) by the Center for Applied Linguistics were compared. Fifty students took both tests. The results of the two studies indicated that (1) the CATRC's assignments of difficulty levels to its items were in high agreement with those judged by the three ACTFL-certified raters, and (2) the CATRC scores were highly correlated with the Pre-CPT scores.

WHAT IS A COMPUTER-ADAPTIVE TEST?

A computer-adaptive test is sensitive to the learner's response pattern. That is, it adjusts the difficulty level of items given to the learner based on the success or failure in previously answered items. If the learner keeps answering items from a certain level correctly, she will be given items from higher levels. On the other hand, if she keeps making wrong choices for these items, she will be given items from lower levels. This brings two advantages over paper-and-pencil tests for both test takers and test users. First, it can reduce the time spent on the test because only the items around the test taker's level of competence are given. In paper-and-pencil tests, on the other hand, the learner has to answer all items, some of which might be too advanced or too easy for her level. Second, it can increase the confidence of the test user in interpreting the result of the test because a greater number of items around the test taker's competence level are given and answered. In paper-and-pencil tests, due to the need to include items from many levels, the number of items for each level is limited. In sum, computer-adaptive tests can give the learner more items at the appropriate level in a relatively short time (see Brown 1997 for a review of computer-adaptive language testing).

WHAT IS THE CATRC?

The CATRC is a computer-adaptive test of Chinese reading proficiency developed by the second author in cooperation with Cynthia Ning and Richard Chi (Yao 1995). It measures the learner's proficiency level in reading Chinese and assigns a rating. The test is delivered on a Macintosh computer using HyperCard (version 2.0 or higher). All the items are presented with a Chinese prompt in the upper half of the computer screen followed by a four-option multiple-choice question in English in the lower half of the screen (see Appendix for a sample item). For prompts with a longer text, two screens are sometimes used. All the items were created based on authentic reading materials such as "signs, notices, brochures, and newspaper and magazine articles" (Yao 1995:77).

The rating is based on the nine proficiency levels defined in the ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) Proficiency Guidelines and the ACTFL Chinese Proficiency Guidelines (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The nine ACTFL proficiency levels in reading Chinese

A Novice-Low reader can only recognize numbers and some simple characters.
A Novice-Mid reader can recognize a small number of compounds and isolated characters frequently seen in public writing.
A Novice-High reader can read for instructions and directions, including standardized messages, phrases, or expressions.
An Intermediate-Low reader can understand simple language with high-frequency oral vocabulary and structure—such as certain public announcements and short personal notes.
An Intermediate-Mid reader can read simple texts dealing with a variety of basic needs and common social situations.
An Intermediate-High reader can comprehend a simple discourse of paragraph length, and can decode authentic materials for key points.
An Advanced reader is able to understand prose several paragraphs in length, dealing primarily with factual information and intended for the general reader. Texts at this level include descriptions and narrations such as news items, personal correspondence, bibliographical information, social notices, routine business letters and simple technical material written for the general reader.
An Advanced Plus reader is able to follow essential points of written discourse at the Superior level in areas of special interest or knowledge, and can comprehend edited material of a more general nature where structure, though simple and constrained, truly mirrors the essential features of authentic expository prose.
A Superior reader is able to read expository prose on unfamiliar subjects and a variety of literary texts. Reading matter includes standard newspaper items addressed to the general public, and reports and technical material in any fields of interest.

(adapted from Yao 1995)

The current version of the CATRC has an item bank of 442 items representing all nine levels. The Superior items are further divided into seven categories according to the topic. They are (1) general, (2) Chinese history, culture, and education, (3) science and medicine, (4) politics, world affairs, and military news, (5) business and economics, (6) arts, literature, philosophy of life, and (7) social and legal issues.

VALIDATION OF THE CATRC

We believe that the CATRC is a reliable, valid, and useful test to measure reading proficiency in Chinese. However, this needs to be empirically tested and demonstrated. This paper reports the results of two studies in which we examined the validity of this test (for reliability see Yao 1995, which reports a person separation reliability coefficient, equivalent to Kuder-Richardson 20, of .94).

STUDY 1: CONTENT VALIDITY

The algorithm used in the CATRC determines the proficiency level of the test taker based on her success or failure in answering items from its item bank. One important assumption for the accuracy of the level assigned to the test taker is that the difficulty level of each item in the item bank has been correctly identified. That is, Novice-Low items should be truly Novice-Low items. They should fit the descriptor for items at this level and be easier than Intermediate-Low items, for example. The difficulty level for each item was originally determined by the test developers. In this study we tested the validity of the assignment of difficulty levels. From the item bank, 138 items were randomly selected and sent to three ACTFL-certified Chinese raters in 1997. All the items were randomly mixed without any marks to indicate their assigned levels. Each rater was asked to rate the level of difficulty of each item according to the nine levels mentioned above,

Novice Low to Superior. Judgments on five items were missing from two raters. Therefore, the following analyses were based on the judgments of 138 items for the first rater and 133 items for the second and third raters.

Two methods were adopted to measure inter-rater reliability among the three raters, and also between the CATRC rating and each of the three raters. The first method adopted Spearman correlation and the second method utilized percentage agreements.

Spearman correlation coefficients among the three raters ranged from .88 to .93 (Table 1). Correlation coefficients between the CATRC and each of the three raters ranged from .90 to .96. Thus, correlations between the CATRC and each of the three raters were about the same or higher than correlations among the three raters.

Table 1. Spearman correlations among raters and CATRC

	<i>Rater1</i>	<i>Rater2</i>	<i>Rater 3</i>	<i>CATRC</i>
Rater 1	—			
Rater 2	.88	—		
Rater 3	.93	.91	—	
CATRC	.94	.90	.96	—

A correlation coefficient as an indicator of inter-rater reliability can be misleading. For example correlation between two sets of ratings becomes high if one rater consistently rates items higher, say by two levels, than the other rater. Therefore, percentage agreements were also calculated.

Table 2. Percentage agreements among raters and CATRC

	<i>Rater 1</i>	<i>Rater 2</i>	<i>Rater 3</i>	<i>CATRC</i>
Rater 1	100	40	53	59
Rater 2	85	100	30	44
Rater 3	80	83	100	58
CATRC	94	92	84	100

The upper right triangle of Table 2 represents exact agreements, which ranged from 30% to 53% between any two of the three raters, and from 44% to 59% between the CATRC and each of the three raters. The lower left triangle in the table (bolded) represents close agreements, which include not only exact agreements but also two ratings that are different by only one level, whether higher or lower. They ranged from 80% to 85% between any two of the three raters, and from 84% to 94% between the CATRC and each of the three raters. Thus, it seems clear that the percentage agreement between the CATRC and each of the three raters was at least equivalent to or higher than the agreement among the three raters. In fact, the percentage agreement between the CATRC and each rater was consistently higher than the agreement between any two of the raters; it was either in exact agreement or in close agreement.

Both Spearman correlation coefficients and percentage agreements indicate that the CATRC's assignment of difficulty levels to its items was in high agreement with that judged by three ACTFL-certified raters.

STUDY 2: CONCURRENT VALIDITY

One commonly used method for demonstrating the validity of a new test is to compare its results to the results from a well-established test that measures the same construct, in this case 'Chinese reading proficiency.' To the degree that the two tests rank students or assign proficiency levels to them in the same way, the new test can be trusted to measure the same construct as the well-established test. To examine the degree to which the CATRC measures the same construct as a well-established measure of Chinese reading proficiency does, scores from the CATRC and scores from the reading section of the Preliminary Chinese Proficiency Test (Pre-CPT) of the Center for Applied Linguistics were compared. The Pre-CPT was developed in 1991 in response to the needs of many users of the Chinese Proficiency Test (CPT) for a similar test at a lower level. Whereas the CPT is appropriate for "students who have completed or are completing at least two years of regular college-level instruction in Chinese," the Pre-CPT is targeted to "students finishing their first year of college-level instruction" (Center for Applied Linguistics 1992, p. 2). It includes 50 reading comprehension questions, all four-option multiple-choice items.

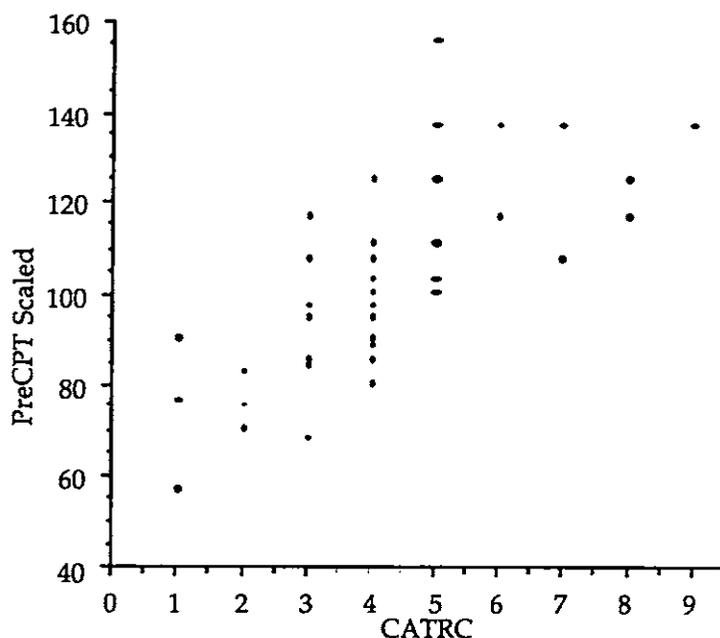
Fifty students enrolled in Chinese language courses at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa took both tests in spring 1997. First, the CATRC's nine levels were converted to ranks, 1 for Novice Low through 9 for Superior as below.

Novice Low	1
Novice Mid	2
Novice High	3
Intermediate Low	4
Intermediate Mid	5
Intermediate High	6
Advanced	7
Advanced Plus	8
Superior	9

Then, these rank scores were correlated with scaled scores of the Pre-CPT Reading section and a Spearman correlation coefficient of .75 ($p < .0001$) was obtained. The correlation coefficient of .75 indicates a strong linear relationship between the two sets of scores. Considering the fact that these two tests have been independently developed and are not intended to be equivalent forms, the concurrent validity seems high.

It is possible that there were not enough items in the Pre-CPT for higher proficiency level students in the sample. According to the CATRC results, two students were identified as Advanced, another two as Advanced Plus, and four as Superior. In the Pre-CPT, out of the maximum raw score of 50, one student scored 50, six scored 47, and four scored 48. This seems to indicate a ceiling effect for the Pre-CPT scores. The scatter plot in Figure 2 also indicates this is a possibility. If this speculation is correct, the correlation would have been even higher had students taken both the Pre-CPT and the CPT.

Figure 2. Correlation between CATRC and Pre-CPT



CONCLUSION

The two studies reported in this paper demonstrate that (1) the items in the CATRC correctly represent the proficiency levels assigned by the developers, and (2) the CATRC measures the same construct as a well-established measure of Chinese reading proficiency. These studies give us confidence in using the CATRC as a valid and useful measure of reading proficiency in Chinese.

Currently, a series of new studies are underway to calibrate new items and validate a revised version of the CATRC. We will continue to expand, update, and validate the CATRC to make it an even more useful tool for learners, teachers, program administrators, and others involved in the measurement of Chinese reading proficiency.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We thank Thom Hudson for his help with the design of the studies, and the National Foreign Language Resource Center at the University of Hawai'i for its financial support.

APPENDIX

<p>冷饮</p> <p>(A sign on a street)</p>	
<p>What can you buy here?</p> <p>1. food</p> <p>2. drinks</p> <p>3. films</p> <p>4. newspapers</p>	
	



II. LITERATURE



CREATIVE WRITING

REFLECTIONS ON BECOMING A STEPMOTHER

Kristen Kelley Lau, Department of English

ABSTRACT

This essay and the poems that follow are taken from a work in progress, which will be my M.A. thesis. In the thesis I am exploring ways of combining various forms of poetry (sonnets, free verse, prose poems) with writing from other genres (creative nonfiction and short fiction). I am also exploring ways of interweaving themes through a book-length collection of writing. The themes included in the thesis, and in this collection, are of homeland, sense of place, women's experience, and relationships, particularly between mothers and daughters.

In Cinderella, the wicked stepmother ruins the true daughter's life, bringing cruelty into the house with her and her own daughters. Cinderella's mother, the only human capable of, or interested in, watching over Cinderella, has died. The wicked stepmother is free to enslave her stepdaughter, holding complete sovereignty over the house. In one of Angela Carter's versions of this story, which she calls "Ashputtle, or the Mother's Ghost," she puts it this way: "After [Ashputtle's] mother died and was buried, her father forgot the mother and forgot the child and married the woman who used to rake the ashes" (*Burning Your Boats*, 394-395). Without the mother's protection, the daughter is the one who becomes the ash-raker. But there is a twist; the mother's ghost takes on various forms, advising and nurturing her daughter until she is beautiful and takes the handsome man away herself. This idea that only the mother will love and care for the daughter, that other women will do the opposite in their own best interests, is part of what I studied in my folklore class this semester, right before I am about to be married to a man with three children.

The stereotype of the wicked stepmother has survived in good health into our time, although slightly altered. Although today the stepmother is merely lacking in compassion and devoid of parenting skills, or of the correct ones, anyway, she is also all the more evil, or at least insidious, because it no longer takes the death of the mother, but merely divorce to allow her entrance into the family. And in divorce there is of course always the possibility of reconciliation between the parents (especially, perhaps, in the children's eyes). Thus the stepmother is an intruder, an object of resentment, and must always be mediated by the father on behalf of the children. Or the children resent their father, who betrays their true mother by mediating on behalf of the stepmother who replaces her. They close themselves off emotionally and physically while they are forced to spend half the week in that house. They roll their eyes: she doesn't know the right way to do anything.

My upcoming marriage has caused considerable reflection on my part, augmented slightly by my recent Brothers Grimm readings. I have been preparing to enter this long tradition for over two and a half years, and much of the path has been uphill. But lest you begin to feel sorry for me, I am completely aware it is my problem, not the kids'. Unlike every stepmother stereotype I have ever encountered (which are all, as I have described above, basically variations on the same theme), my experience has been fortunate; while I have not been wicked, the children also have not been bitter. Quite the opposite, they welcomed me from the beginning. Even though they wanted their parents to get back together. Even though I am ten years younger than their father, only sixteen years older than Lyndsay, the eldest. Even though I am a newcomer to their home, not even a little bit the same race they are, not even local—all mainland haole. Even though, in my heart, I did not welcome them. That is why it is my problem.

It was never simple, though. I did not wish away their existence, and I am not jealous of the time Matt spent with his former wife, almost eight years, nor am I concerned that part of his heart remains with her, through them. It doesn't. *His* problem is that he tries to dispel everything in them that recalls her, much in the way my mother did with me, in a combination of panic and anger whenever she saw one of my father's traits come out in my behavior. She was beside herself if I didn't understand my math homework, which I rarely did, didn't have the drive to practice piano for even half an hour without getting bored or frustrated, didn't show common sense. These recalled my father's much larger failings, and such was her regard for him that these things in me terrified her. In

the same way, though more mildly, Matt favors his eldest daughter's wide lips, like his own, and mourns in secret how much she resembles his ex-wife's side of the family physically and in almost every other way as well. He is delighted with Ali's lithe body, her tininess which comes from his parents, her eyes and hair, curly-frizzy like his, her off-beat and affectionate personality. And his greatest joy is in his son's almost incredible resemblance to himself; the same small size for his age, the same sleek black hair Matt had when he was five, the small nose, dark big eyes, stubbornness over vegetables and tasks.

I loved Matt's kids immediately, because they are beautiful and small, and good. This only complicated things, because what I am jealous of, instead of them or of his ex-wife and the life they all had as a family, is a way of life I always knew I would have. I told my friends in college that I would get married at twenty-five, spend five years alone with my husband, and then have children, a boy first and then a girl (because I always wished I had an older brother), beginning when I was thirty. This is what my mother did, and besides, I am a big believer in my plans. I just know things, as I have always known where I would live: the coast of Maine. I was convinced for a long time that the whole thing was wrong because we're not anywhere near Maine, and I'm not getting five years.

Matt told me the other day that he will not expect me to have the same feelings for his children that I have for our own, that he knows there is something about having your own kids that nothing can approach. "I'll always feel exactly the same about our children as I do about the ones I have now, though," he said. "There won't be any difference." Something hurts me. He'll feel the same about children who are half a woman he can't stand as he will about ours, half me. But I know he's right. I console him as we pull out of his ex-wife's driveway while his children brush their teeth and put on their pajamas, but part of me far inside pulls away; I am torn, knowing what I would feel like if I were the one with the kids, how adamant I would be, how little notice and time I would give to his concerns, and knowing too that I am content to drop them off, go home, read, eat ice cream, watch a movie. Freedom used to mean something else.

There are degrees of selfishness I can trace in this journey, my own version of wickedness. I have discovered parts of myself that I hate, especially when I see them in writing, expressed in whiny attempts to convey my real thoughts, my experience as I see it. A stepmother should be as a mother is: entirely self-effacing, completely concerned with what is best for the children. She should not be annoyed when they pick at the food on her plate, pulling off bits of her pizza crust with their fingers. She shouldn't think twice about giving them her sweater when she's cold because they're cold too, and they forgot again to bring anything else to wear. She should not mind their constant vigilance: if she gets a cookie, they get one. If she eats two, they will expect the same amount, and won't let up until justice is done. The fact that "I didn't choose to have these children" goes through my mind more than I would like to admit only makes me more ashamed of myself in this role. I am an only child, and I have never had to share myself in this way. When I am angry at Matt and walk away to calm down, they follow me, want to know where I'm going. When I am on the phone with a friend they talk to me, listen to my conversation. They read poems I am writing over my shoulder, as I write them. The middle daughter, Ali, read parts of my journal once, which I had left in stupid trust on the coffee table. She's nine, and I was furious, but she was very frank about it. At least when my college roommate read my diary she was aware that I would be angry; she admitted her crime in an anger about what I had written that was decidedly sheepish in tone.

This incident with Ali, which wasn't an incident to her, confirmed something that teaching seventh and eighth graders has also pounded into my head: kids do not operate according to the same logic as adults. Probably all the better for them, but it is hard to bridge that gap, hard to get used to not expecting. And I haven't grown up with them. I am growing up now, in their presence (and a big part of me doesn't want to), but I wasn't there eleven years ago, in the beginning. I missed a lot of lessons. In an e-mail note I received recently, a friend reacted to our decision to take the kids with us to my home in New Hampshire over Christmas: "my God—what were the logistics of transporting three children across the country? I admire you." This is a typically distanced, I-would-never-want-to-be-in-your-shoes, you're-crazy response, one that I would have given to any friend of mine as well. Up until a couple of years ago. *Do you know what you're giving up? Are you really willing to trade this, for that?* It is kind of unbelievable.

Even though they clapped when Matt told them we were engaged, there are parts of me that hang back; I am afraid to hug them, wary of imposing myself on them in any way, unwilling to seem as though I'm trying to take their mother's place. I can't discipline Lyndsay, the eleven-year-old, even when she deserves it. I can't make myself do it. In this way I am guilty of paying more attention to wicked stepmother stereotypes than to my real feelings for the children. My father is remarried to a woman named Michele. She is delightfully nice, entirely too supportive. He married her when I was in college, and I was glad, for the same reason I was glad when my parents finally separated. Both instances were a weight off my shoulders; in the latter, she took over part of his too-complete attention for me, part of my responsibility to make sure he was okay. Paradoxically, now, I don't even call her my stepmother. "Step" is not enough of a modifier, does not provide enough space. I call her "my father's wife," "Michele" when I address her. I don't know what I want Matt's kids to call me.

My real feelings about them transcend everything else; they don't change with moods, slight irritations, any of the many facets of my selfishness that emerge when I least want them. My real feelings are best described through moments, I think. As when Kamuela, the five-year-old, suddenly internalized the spelling of my name, wrote it down on a paper, drew stars around it, and handed it to me. Or when they sleep over on the sofa bed, stay up late talking to me, waiting for their father to come home from serving dinners at his restaurant. Or when Kamuela crawls into my lap while we watch TV, even though Matt is sitting there too. One night, as I drove them home from Manoa to Hawaii Kai, while Kamuela was sleeping, Lyndsay and Ali told me all the gossip they couldn't contain, who they had crushes on, why. They teased me about falling in love with someone who is ten years older than me: "when he was in fourth grade you weren't even alive;" "when he was twenty, you were only ten," I teased them about the names of their chosen loves, they trusted me not to tell their secrets. He would tease them mercilessly, after all, so I contained myself, kept my promise, although it was hard: I felt so honored as I drove back home that night. At my birthday party in New Hampshire this year (which happens a week after Christmas), Matt handed me the first present, saying "this is the best gift in this whole pile. It's the best gift ever." I recognized the package immediately; Ali had wrapped it at home before Christmas, and asked me every day of the vacation to open it early. I refused, saying I wanted to wait for my birthday. She had added more wrapping paper, but it was still the same shape. I opened it with her standing next to me, wiggling. It was a lumpy clay pot she had made in art class at school. She glazed it yellow, her favorite color, and she had carved the hieroglyphic symbols for her initials and mine on the side. The best part is that she thought about me, about my birthday, far enough in advance to make the pot with my initials and hers, fire it, glaze it, and fire it again. That still makes me cry now, and it was a couple of months ago already. Even though Matt gave me a leather bag and cool shoes, and my mother gave me lots of framed pictures including a photo collage of scenes of my home, New England, in every season, Ali's pot was the best present I got. Does that mean I have crossed the line, become a parent, lost my youth by preferring a lumpy clay pot over Nine West clogs?

I have noticed lately that sometimes, if I'm angry with Matt, it feels like the worst thing about ending the relationship with him would be losing his kids. This is fleeting, and I think it's pretty clear that I'm not marrying him for his children (that would be a little too much a reversal to ask of the stepmother myth), but there is something about them. I guess that will be a good measure of my accomplishments as a writer; I'll believe I have fully arrived when I can describe the power of that something without sentimentality—when I can convey my feeling for those three who have embedded themselves in every cell of my body, so that although they are not "mine," they have become pieces of me without which I can no longer imagine myself. Cinderella's stepmother never felt this way, I'm pretty sure. She missed out.

POEMS

Kristin Kelley Lau, Department of English

WORK

I

My mind quiet for a moment,
enough for birds, buzzing sounds, trickling,
days spent reading — cramming thoughts in,
writing — pushing thoughts out,
are fruitful, tense days.

Productive, my mother might say,
always her voice:
she favors acts, although she
complains her father favors acts.
Reading, writing are
not acts. Stack wood; that is an act, garden
weed, plant, pick
cook soup, vegetables and healing herbs
stuffed overflowing into slow bubbling broth,
build a stone wall,
rebuild a house
concrete foundation, wood piled on
wood, insulate, paint,
improve

These are my mother's acts. Accomplishments.
Tired muscles soak in a warm bath.
The moon finally rises.

I have papers, written, typed, books, magazines,
photographs in envelopes unlabeled, uncategorized, catalogs:
wool sweaters, flannel lined jeans, brown leather boots
durable parts of former life,
pieces that no longer fit

sit on the coffee table, desk,
end table, dining room table where we
never dine.
They rest, stagnant, while I slouch over books, type,
muscles sore, not
from bending to plant,
lifting stones, carting wood—

from frustration:
dead flowers from last Wednesday
left to themselves dry
in a green vase

My mother praises my
poems, my papers and books, but
Do something constructive
is what I hear, what I heard when I was five, nine,
twelve years old
a line to express dissatisfaction

II

with me,
anxiety my father would have too much
impact on my life, *do something*
constructive was her way of intercepting.
Stopping me short from inactivity, cutting me
off from his absence.

He didn't abandon us,
didn't leave my mother to raise me
alone: he exuded absence.
He did not want to engage
in her activity.

He stayed indoors while her arms
tensed under each rock, lifted,
stacked to form a wall she always wanted
between our house and the woods,
encircled the garden with stones,
made a new garden with herbs.
She planted stone walkways through the mud of the
March backyard, saturated with melted snow.

My grandfather moved into our house:
my mother, my grandfather, the builders,
mason, electrician, plumber
broke walls, pushed foundation out,
added an L, put barnboards on the
wall by the woodstove.
Change is hard for me, my father said
from the living room chair.

My mother's rage swelled joints in her
fingers, knees, feet with fire of arthritis,
forced her outside.
In the front yard she planted grass,
changed little white pebbles for
big rocks, set cobblestones from Boston
leading to the front door.
My father said, *Everyone has a lawn.*
No more lawn. It's unoriginal.
My mother mowed.

She refused his anger, and mine,
escaped into work.
She is thin, even frail now; I can't see past
her strength. Maybe she can't either.

III

I remember her brushing my long hair,
grown past my waist (she told me I looked
sophisticated, distinctive even though
it was parted down the middle and frayed
at the ends. I kept it that way for years)
after the shower, ripping through tangles,
impatient with my "sensitive head."

The first time I used conditioner was at Sarah's
house. I thought I should go back in the shower,
rinse again. This was not cruelty but struggle,
sparse and practical living.

She did have a spray for tangles. I can still smell it.
It didn't work, though.

Softness came late for us.

And who wants to look distinctive
in seventh grade?

ELEVEN MILLION DOLLAR LADY

Debra Nauyokas, Department of English

ABSTRACT

The following story is part of a mixed genre work-in-progress which alternates the oral history of a local Portuguese-Puerto Rican resident of Kalakaua Homes with stories and biographies of other low-income local elderly persons.

There are old women—little old ladies as people always say, little bits, fragments of the great dummy statue goddess. A woman. Nobody hears if old women say yes or no . . . Old men run things . . . But old women live in the cracks, between the walls, like roaches, like mice, a rustling sound, a squeaking. Better lock up the cheese, boys. It's terrible, you turn up a corner of civilization and there are all these old women running around on the wrong side.

Ursula K. LeGuin, "Bryn Mawr Commencement Address"

I had been living at Kalakaua Homes for about a year when a new resident, Mrs. Ishikawa, moved in around the corner from us. My husband and I had been hired to take care of the elderly residents while we completed our respective degrees at the university. Mrs. I. kept mostly to herself, only venturing out of the neighborhood to make twice-weekly visits to Holiday Mart with her red shopping cart, which she, like many other residents (in violation of "house rules"), kept parked outside her front door.

Mrs. Ishikawa stood about five feet tall, and had short wiry hair which she kept dyed jet black; she was somewhat pigeon-toed, though she stood ramrod-straight in her slippers. She wore gold wire-rimmed bifocals which were always sliding down the short slope of her shiny nose. She had a habit of peering up at folks from underneath those bifocals as though they were not to be trusted.

One place a lot of residents would gather daily, exchange greetings, then go on with their business, was the mailroom in our lobby. Our mail carrier, Troy Ogawa, though only in his mid-forties, was nearing retirement and he was training a new employee to take his place. He was always very nice to the old folks, asking them about their families and memorizing their various aches and pains so he could inquire after their health. But when he inquired after her health, Mrs. I. would just glare at him with her dark eyes from behind her gold bifocals, snatch her mail, turn her back on him and walk away.

One day an envelope with a plastic window and black lettering on a blue background arrived in Mrs. Ishikawa's mailbox. I watched her as she turned it over and over, eyed it suspiciously, then disappeared into the elevator with it and the *Mid-Week*. Shortly after I returned home from school that day I heard something at the living room window and turned around to see Mrs. Ishikawa's wiry hair just barely peeking over the top of the windowsill. "Debbie?" she asked tentatively.

"Yes?" I answered.

"Can you tell me what to do with this?"

I opened the door. She was standing outside with the envelope in her hand, shifting nervously from one foot to the other and pushing the bifocals back up her nose, though she couldn't keep them in place, try as she might.

I took the proffered envelope and looked at it. It was from Publisher's Clearing House Sweepstakes, and the letter inside, signed by Ed McMahon, declared that she was one of a select group of Honolulu and other U.S. residents who had possibly won Eleven Million Dollars if she would only fill out the enclosed form and return it within ten days.

"You need to fill this form out, sign it here and return it within ten days from today. And they'd like it if you purchased a few magazine subscriptions in the meantime."

"I've won eleven million dollars?" she asked me, a hopeful look on her face.

"It's a way these companies have of getting you to buy magazines. Your name has been entered in a drawing. It doesn't mean you've won."

"I've won eleven million dollars?" she asked again, flashing that hopeful look, which was slowly being replaced by the look she usually gave the mailman.

"I don't think so."

"I'll fill it out, mail it in and see what happens," she perked up, pushing her glasses up again, and turning back towards her apartment, shuffled off.

Exasperated, I pursed my lips and shook my head. But then I realized the futility of my anger. So I just shrugged my shoulders and went back inside to complete an assignment due the next day.

About two weeks passed. I observed Mrs. Ishikawa come and go on her weekly trips to Holiday Mart, but other than that I saw nothing unusual occurring in her corner of the fourth floor.

My husband and I had just gone to bed one weeknight. I was listening to the squeakings and clickings of our resident gecko and wondering if he would catch his nightly cockroach quota when I heard a shrill voice coming from the direction of Mrs. Ishikawa's apartment.

"Burn, burn, burn," a woman was yelling out her living room window. The sound reverberated in the courtyard below.

I listened a minute or so, then it came again: "Burn, burn, burn. Burn in hell!" I wondered, with interest, whom she was assigning to eternal damnation. This time the woman's voice was more strident, insistent. I got out of bed, slipped on a long T-shirt, padded into the living room and poked my head around the corner of the front door. I was just able to make out the outline of Mrs. I's head, her black hair, her raised fists. She was pacing back and forth in front of her living room window, her tiny, straight form backlit with warm yellow light. I could hear the nightly news on her TV set in the background.

"Leven million dollars," Mrs. Ishikawa screamed at the top of her lungs this time. "Where's my eleven million dollars? I wait one long time, and it no come. . . Where's my eleven million dollars?"

Mrs. Ishikawa kept pacing back and forth in front of her living room window, looking more and more like a tiger pacing inside its cage. Lights started coming on in my neighbors' living rooms. Elvida Pacheco peered out from across the hall, then Cecilia Timas. I could see lights coming on on other floors, too. Mrs. Ishikawa would not quiet down, and though I called her number and let it ring twenty times, she wouldn't pick up the phone. I was sure I'd dialed the right number because I could hear her phone ringing. I pulled some shorts and slippers on, slipping out the front door of my apartment. She wouldn't open her door, though I banged on it about ten times. I finally had to call the police. I went downstairs to wait so that I could let them in. After about five minutes I could hear Mrs. Ishikawa's voice still echoing in the courtyard, shrill, insistent. Then three black police cars with blue lights pulled up to the curb outside. Only one police officer got out, however. He was local, about six feet tall and well built; his badge carried his name: "Kotani."

"Where is she?" he asked me.

"I'll show you."

I headed for the elevator; he followed me.

We got off the elevator at the fourth floor and turned to the right. I pointed out Mrs. Ishikawa's apartment and wished him luck.

I then returned to my apartment, waiting at the living room window to see what would happen next. Neighbors on the third and fifth floors now lined their lanais, watching the policeman as he knocked manfully on Mrs. Ishikawa's door. His diminutive ramrod-straight opponent peered out between the louvers of her living room window.

"What do you want?" Mrs. Ishikawa cackled.

Mr. Kotani stepped closer to the window and said, "One of your neighbors called. You are disturbing the peace of other residents in the building."

She peered suspiciously at him from between the louvers, then started pacing back and forth in front of the window again.

"Eleven million dollars. Who has it? Why it no come?"

"Mrs. Ishikawa."

"Yes?"

"Why not go to bed now and worry about it in the morning?" the police officer politely requested.

Mrs. Ishikawa stopped in front of the window a moment and eyed Mr. Kotani, considering.

"Okay."

I gasped in shock. I never imagined she would give up that easily.

The police officer waited a few minutes. The lights were turned off inside the apartment. He waited a few more minutes. The neighbors started yawning and going back inside their apartments. Mr. Kotani left. I heard police cars leaving a few minutes later. I returned to bed for some much-needed sleep, since exam week began the next morning.

One afternoon about a week later I came home from class and noticed two green government cars parked in the 10-minute parking zone in front of the building. Two uniformed guards carrying walkie-talkies waited in front of the double doors of the social hall. I was curious, of course, but was running late and had another class that night, so I went up and started fixing dinner. Soon the telephone rang. It was my boss downstairs in the Housing Authority office.

"Do you know anything about Mrs. Ishikawa?" he asked me.

"That depends."

"On what?"

"What do you need to know?"

"You'd better get down here right away. Federal agents have her in custody."

Concerned now about Mrs. Ishikawa, I turned off the burner on the stove and rushed downstairs to see what had happened. I turned right off the elevator, went through the lobby doors and turned left. The guards still blocked the doors to the social hall. I told them who I was and that my boss had asked me to come and they let me through. Then I saw Mrs. Ishikawa. She looked so small, and she wasn't standing ramrod-straight any more. She just hung her black-bristled head in confusion; she looked a lot like a rag doll. Then she saw me and she perked up momentarily, excitedly pushing her glasses up on her nose. She shifted from one beige-slippered foot to the other. I noticed she had stubbed her left big toe and it was bleeding.

"Where's my eleven million dollars?" she asked me. Then she paused, looked down, looked up at me again. "They said they'd send it. But it no come yet . . ." Her voice trailed off. One of the federal agents stepped aside and motioned with his hand that I should follow him.

"What do you know about the suspect? What is her name?"

"Linda Ishikawa."

"Apartment number?"

"403."

"You her neighbor?"

"Yes."

"Noticed anything unusual lately?"

I told him about the two incidents. He nodded, writing in a notepad he took out of his shirt pocket.

"Anything else you think you should tell me?"

I couldn't think of anything. I asked him, "What did she do? Where are you taking her?"

"I can't tell you right now. Ask your boss."

I walked back inside to the Authority office, but the lights had been turned off and my boss was gone. I went back, walked to where Mrs. Ishikawa stood, shifting back and forth on her feet. I took a Kleenex out of my shorts pocket and handed it to her, telling her she should wipe her toe with it. She just stood there, looking confused. I looked around the social hall. Mrs. Ishikawa's belongings had been hastily gathered together and stuffed into paper and plastic bags, boxes, anything that could be found, and brought to this room along with their owner, to meet who knows what fate. I nodded to the agent and left, still with no clear idea of what had happened. I wondered where Mrs. Ishikawa would go now, what was going to happen to her.

When I got back to the fourth floor and rounded the corner a few doors down from my apartment, I noticed Elvida, my neighbor, hanging halfway out her front door excitedly talking to another neighbor. The neighbor left and Elvida motioned me in and started excitedly relating the story to me.

"You see that lady downstairs?"

I assured her I had.

"Well," she began, settling her bulk down into a living room chair and motioning to me to sit on the sofa.

"This morning, about eleven o'clock, we standing 'round waiting for Mr. Ogawa to finish sorting the mail, put it in all the boxes. He kind of slow, because he training new mail carrier."

Elvida paused. I raised my eyebrows, nodded my head, and encouraged her to continue.

"Mrs. Ishikawa been acting kind of strange for the last couple weeks. Guess she expecting somethin' big in the mail, but it never seem to come. Anyway, this morning she look like she had it up to here." Elvida drew her right index finger across her throat. Then she went on.

"While Mr. Ogawa finish sorting mail, Mrs. Ishikawa leave. After about ten minutes she come back in. Mr. Ogawa finished now. Mrs. Ishikawa look at him funny kind and say, 'Where is it? Where is my eleven million dollars?'"

"Mr. Ogawa look at her and say, 'I'm not sure what you talkin' about. I done give you everything I have for you today.'"

"Then Mrs. Ishikawa pull out a gun and point it at Mr. Ogawa and shoot him in the neck. He stagger back, bleeding. Someone call ambulance and we help him into lobby, set him down on the couch. Pretty soon ambulance come, but Mrs. Ishikawa is gone."

"Where did she go?"

"She ran off to Holiday Mart. Mr. Kawashige followed her there, brought her back."

"What will happen to her now?"

"I don't know."

Elvida took a handkerchief from inside her housecoat and started mopping her brow with it.

"Well, I'd better finish making dinner."

"I'll let you know if I hear anything more."

"Okay."

I finished making my spaghetti sauce and put the water on to boil for the pasta. I wondered what would happen to poor Mrs. Ishikawa.

Life continued as usual in "the projects." Mr. Ogawa recovered from his wound, which was superficial; the gun was an air gun and he had received more of a shock than a wound. But he was not as friendly now as before, and he was not as inclined to linger, laughing and joking, with the elderly residents. Soon he stopped coming altogether. He had fully trained the new carrier and had slipped into the oblivion of early retirement.

They took Mrs. Ishikawa away, impounding her possessions until her relatives could be contacted. The \$11,000,000 lady has not been seen or heard of again at the Hawaii Housing Authority since she shot the mailman. Some residents heard she later died at the State home. Perhaps she couldn't stand it, not being able to go to Holiday Mart on her own. Strangely enough, people kind of missed Mrs. Ishikawa around here after that.

But even now, if I think about Mrs. Ishikawa long enough, listen hard enough, I can almost make out that strident, "Burn, burn, burn," and see Mrs. Ishikawa's little bristling head and angry arms waving, her hopeful eyes bright, as she demands to know why her eleven million dollars "never come."



CRITICAL ESSAYS

BEYOND "OUTLAW": EXPLORATIONS OF GENRE IN JEANETTE WINTERSON'S *ORANGES ARE NOT THE ONLY FRUIT*

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, one of the debates to arise in the field of autobiography, its theory and criticism, concerns issues of boundaries and definition. Feminist critic Caren Kaplan argues that many women's autobiographical writings "break most obvious rules of genre" (Kaplan 119) in order to make specific feminist and political statements, and she proposes a theory of autobiographical "outlaw" genres which provide alternatives for marginalized voices. Jeanette Winterson's autobiographical lesbian coming-out novel, *Oranges are not the only fruit*, provides an instance of the "outlaw genre" Kaplan terms biomythography, "a writing down of our meanings of identity . . . with the materials of our lives" (Kaplan 129). The screenplay adaptation of the same novel, however, is more difficult to classify according to Kaplan's theory of "outlaw genres." The screenplay is presented in a more fictional framework than the autobiographical novel from which it was adapted, making it difficult to call the film "autobiography" at all; because the film is also more polemical and overtly political than the novel, it also shares certain characteristics with other subgenres identified by Kaplan, yet it finally fails to meet fully the criteria for any of them. This paper explores some of the ways in which Winterson uses the "materials of her own life" to create both the novel and screenplay versions of her narrative, as well as the ways in which Winterson orchestrates audience perceptions of autobiographical referentiality to her life in order to achieve specific feminist goals. The problem of locating an autobiographical genre for *Oranges*, the screenplay, illustrates why any theory of genre, even an "outlaw" theory, is necessarily provisional rather than regulative.

In recent years, one of the debates to arise in the field of autobiography, its theory and criticism, concerns issues of boundaries and definition: What exactly is autobiography? Does an autobiographically based novel, for example, constitute an autobiography, or a novel? Are the boundaries between autobiography and other genres so porous that a category of "autobiography" is essentially meaningless? Moreover, what is the point of asking such questions about genre? Many feminist critics, such as Caren Kaplan, argue that questions of genre definition *do* matter; Kaplan points out that a great many women's autobiographical writings "break most obvious rules of genre" (Kaplan 119) in order to make specific feminist and political statements. Jeanette Winterson's autobiographical lesbian coming-out novel, *Oranges are not the only fruit*, together with its (BBC) screenplay adaptation, provides an instance of an autobiographical narrative produced in two different media which complicates questions of genre in order to illuminate questions of gender, sexuality and representation. This paper explores some ways in which Winterson uses the materials of her own life to create both versions of her narrative, as well as the ways in which she orchestrates audience perceptions of direct reference to her life in each rendition in order to achieve specific feminist goals.

Before exploring the novel and screenplay, it is helpful to consider some recent developments in autobiographical theory. Philippe LeJeune proposes a relatively straightforward definition of autobiography that relies on a "pact" or contract between reader and author. To summarize briefly, if the author of the signature writes his or her narrative in the first person, and the name of the narrative "I," the protagonist, corresponds to the name of the author, the writer has entered into an autobiographical "pact" with the reader, who will assume the narrative holds a certain "truth value"—that is, correspondence to actual events. If the story is narrated in the third person, or if the name of the narrating "I" does not correspond with that of the author, there is no autobiographical pact and the reader will approach the narrative as fiction. On its face, such a definition sounds simple enough. But some critics, such as Kaplan, assert that until recently the autobiographical tradition was primarily Western, male, and limited to those at the cultural center, while texts of less privileged writers, such as women, may not fit so comfortably into such a definition. Texts which challenge standard assumptions are often trivialized because they fail to conform to traditional genre expectations. Kaplan's assertion may be arguable and may itself reflect a Western cultural bias, since autobiographical traditions do exist in other cultures; nevertheless, her observation does point out that the question of how genres are defined and understood may be more than purely academic,

as alternative theories of autobiography have the potential to create space for more diverse autobiographical voices.

Quoting from Derrida's "The Law of Genre," Kaplan states: "The possibility of genre limits is always already undermined by the impossibility of maintaining those very limits" (Kaplan 119). Kaplan then posits a constellation of subgenres which she terms "outlaw genres" making possible "a deconstruction of the 'master' genres" (Kaplan 119). Among the "outlaw genres" Kaplan identifies are resistance literature, testimonial literature, ethnography, cultural autobiography, and "biomythography," or the self-mythologizing of one's own life, "a writing down of our meanings of identity . . . with the materials of our lives" (Kaplan 129). Biomythography, Kaplan observes, is an approach often used by lesbian writers.

The novel *Oranges are not the only fruit* provides a strong example of biomythography, as Winterson clearly draws upon "the materials of her own life" in order to create her tale of a young lesbian woman in northern England who experiences intractable conflict with her fundamentalist, Pentecostal Christian family and church as she comes to terms with her sexuality. Winterson, who is herself lesbian, was adopted and raised by Pentecostal Christians in northern England. (Throughout this paper, I use "Jeanette" to refer to the novel's protagonist and "Winterson" to refer to Jeanette Winterson, the author. "Jessica" is the name of the protagonist in the screenplay version.) The plot closely parallels Winterson's own life story as revealed in her non-fictional essays and interviews. Like Winterson herself, the novelistic Jeanette is raised to be a Pentecostal missionary, but comes to realize her desire is for women rather than men. Jeanette has her first love affair with Melanie, who has joined the church as a result of Jeanette's own evangelistic efforts. When Mother and the Pastor learn of the affair, the girls are separated and publicly humiliated. Though Jeanette returns to the church briefly, she soon falls in love with Katy, another of her own converts, leading to her banishment from both home and congregation.

Winterson reveals in interviews that she was in fact raised to be a fundamentalist Christian missionary. This training forms another source of "life materials" which are woven into the narrative, as the text both alludes to and reconfigures numerous Biblical stories. The novel's eight chapters are named after the first eight books of the Bible, and each chapter teems with imagery drawn directly from its Biblical counterpart. In "Exodus," for example, Jeanette experiences her first glimpse of a world outside her church when the authorities demand that she attend school; Mother discovers Jeanette's affair in "Joshua," on which the narrator comments: "It is in the nature of walls that they should fall" (112). The concluding chapter, "Ruth," refers directly to the Biblical tale of Ruth and Naomi, one of the few Bible stories in which women are primary and female loyalty is emphasized. The novel closes with Jeanette having returned to visit her mother for Christmas despite the tremendous suffering she has endured at her mother's hands.

While *Oranges* fits Kaplan's definition of biomythography quite comfortably, the novel may also be classified as autobiography in LeJeune's more conventional sense, in that the author of the signature is Jeanette Winterson and the story is told by a narrator/protagonist named "Jeanette." The terms of LeJeune's "autobiographical pact" are met; Winterson appears to want readers to approach this text with some sense that it refers to her actual life. Why might this be desirable? One possibility is that if the novel is read as purely fictive, the pull toward home and the potentially ambivalent conclusion may be vulnerable to interpretation as a compromise or apology for Christian fundamentalism. *Oranges* was published by the feminist press Pandora in 1985, aimed toward educated feminist readers favorably disposed toward feminism and affirmation of lesbian identity, equally disinclined to feel any kind of sympathy towards fundamentalism. Indeed, at least some feminist readers have interpreted Jeanette's return home in a negative light. In a footnote to her essay, Laurel Bollinger says that when she taught *Oranges* in a graduate seminar, most class members expressed "anger and dismay that Jeanette chose to return to her mother" (Bollinger 379). If understood as the actual experience of an actual person, however—particularly one who publicly identifies herself as lesbian—readers may be more likely to accept Jeanette's ambivalence, without necessarily interpreting the pull she feels toward home as a "sellout."

Why then was *Oranges* not simply published as a straightforward autobiography? One possibility is that the market for autobiographies by unknown "persons on the street" is small when

compared to the market for autobiographies by those already well-known. Most likely, with Winterson unknown at the time of publication, this text was best marketed as a novel. At the same time, its suggestion of autobiographical referentiality helped to minimize the likelihood of its being read as an apology for fundamentalist Christianity.

Even when the novel veers from reality by delving into allegory, myth and fairy tale, it continues to suggest autobiography by only thinly disguising its allegorical referents. In one allegory about the broken relationship between a wizard and his young adopted apprentice, for example, the apprentice is named Winnet Stonejar, three letters short of constituting an anagram for "Jeanette Winterson." Winnet ultimately "disgraces" the sorcerer who has adopted and trained her, and she must leave home. She escapes to a beautiful city "with buildings that ran up to the sky"—a mythical counterpart for Oxford, where Winterson herself was educated: "No one in her village had been there, but all of them knew about it, and most held it in awe" (153). A part of Winnet still wishes to stay behind, fearing her life's training has been in vain, until a raven tells her, "You won't lose your power you know, you'll use it differently" (147). The source of Winnet/Jeanette/Winterson's power lies in her missionary training, or her powers of persuasion. The message of the raven suggests, further, that to use this power, she must find a new message and a different pulpit.

After leaving the church, the real-life Winterson did find a new avenue for her persuasive powers. Her new message was one of lesbian affirmation; her pulpit, the BBC screenplay adaptation of her autobiographical novel. In the course of being adapted to film, *Oranges* underwent the inevitable transformation characteristic of film adaptations. One such transformation occurred in the name of the protagonist: in the filmed version, the protagonist is named Jessica (I will consider some implications of this change shortly). Another transformation which took place with *Oranges* is less typical. Many screenplay adaptations of texts with lesbian content are less explicit than their novelistic counterparts (*The Color Purple* and *Fried Green Tomatoes* are two examples that come readily to mind). But in the case of *Oranges*, the screenplay is both more sexually frank and more positive in its affirmation of lesbian identity than the novel. While sexuality in the novel is never more graphic than "She stroked my head for a long time and then we hugged and it felt like drowning" (88), the screenplay includes full frontal nudity and shots of the female lovers kissing.

While the screenplay is more graphic than the novel, it also takes care to portray lesbian characters as unambiguously positive, giving the screenplay a message more overtly political and in some ways less complex. As one example, one of the novel's least attractive characters is Miss Jewsbury, a congregation member who is herself a closeted lesbian. After helping Jeanette escape from the congregation once her affair with Melanie is exposed, Miss Jewsbury makes love to Jeanette against her will: "We made love and I hated it and hated it" (106). This unsettling scene suggests a sexual act that is not fully consensual on Jeanette's part. The last we read of Miss Jewsbury in the novel, she invites Jeanette to her flat and Jeanette rejects her. In contrast, in the screenplay Miss Jewsbury is rewritten as a supportive figure who bonds with Jessica after the public humiliation. The problematic sex scene is removed and Miss Jewsbury emerges as a kind of mentor to Jessica, telling her: "Remember you have to fight for what you want" (Script, 80)—a line that does not appear in the novel.

Likewise, while some of the novel's fundamentalist characters are complex, in the screenplay the fundamentalists are unambiguously evil. In the novel, after discovering her affair with Melanie, Mother and the Pastor confine Jeanette to her bedroom for thirty-six hours and pray over her intensely. In the screenplay, this episode is elaborated into arguably the most disturbing scene in the production:

(PASTOR kneels over JESS's body, one leg either side, and gazes on her . . . PASTOR: She's so pretty. Sometimes the devil scars you as he comes free. You might be scarred, Jess. You might not be pretty anymore.

(He reaches down to stroke her face. She bites him very hard. He yelps. MOTHER hits Jess across the face. Immediately, PASTOR gags her. She is trussed up and helpless.) (Script, 58)

Unlike the novel, then, the screenplay does not meditate on Jeanette's ambiguity or the pull she feels toward home even as she knows she cannot stay. Unlike the novel, the screenplay does not linger on

the liminal space between oppositions that Jeanette occupies after leaving the church. If the screenplay were to do so, it might lend itself to an ambiguous interpretation, and Winterson appears to have had in mind a clearcut message for the screenplay version of the same story. In the screenplay, then, we see a chilling portrayal of intolerance gone mad. A lesbian identity is posited as not merely valid, but superior to the intolerance and rigid sexual roles characteristic of the fundamentalist church. In an introduction to the published screenplay, Winterson says such a portrayal was indeed her intention:

I know that *Oranges* challenges the virtues of the home, the power of the church and the supposed normality of heterosexuality. I was always clear that it would do. I would rather not have embarked on the project than see it toned down in any way. . . . Perhaps TV can have a moral as well as a social function. Perhaps it can help us to question what morality really means. (Script, xvii)

In the screenplay, then, Winterson has in mind not just "art for art's sake," but art with a clear social message. At the same time, she chooses art as her medium for delivering that message, in part because she believes that story has the potential to alter previously held conceptions. In a non-fictional essay, she writes: "Art succeeds where polemic fails" (Winterson 1996, 109). But with the broader audience promised by television, Winterson takes fewer artistic risks, leaning more toward polemic in order to make her stance perfectly clear. The screenplay achieves Winterson's goal that lesbian affirmation and reproach of fundamentalism not be "toned down"; if anything, in the screenplay the volume of that message is turned up.

Interestingly, as Winterson sought to present a story more explicitly lesbian and more overtly political, she also renegotiated the terms of LeJeune's "autobiographical pact" by changing the name of the protagonist/narrator from Jeanette to Jessica. According to LeJeune's definition, then, the screenplay clearly announces itself as *fiction*. In her introduction to the published version of the BBC script, Winterson attempts to distance the screenplay from perceived reference to her own life still further:

It was no longer my life we were dealing with except in the remotest sense, but it was my story. I had told a story to myself about myself and now other people were telling it back to me . . . by the filming stage, there were very few facts left . . . Of course it's true that I was brought up by Pentecostals but I have drawn on a wide number of influences and experiences in creating my story. And it is my story, not my life, in spite of the deafening cries of 'autobiography' and questions such as, 'Were you tied up and gagged?'" (Script, xiii-xvii)

Winterson's statement suggests she "doth protest" a little too much, since the original text giving rise to the screenplay is, quite clearly, drawn from the materials of her life. Phrases such as "*no longer my life*" or "*few facts left*" further suggest that despite some degree of transformation, Winterson's life did provide at least a starting point. All the same, what appears to matter to Winterson is that her audience perceive a certain distance between her story and her life. Why might it be desirable to construct a fictional frame for the screenplay?

Here it becomes helpful to consider the difference in expected audience, which was broader and included more mainstream viewers than the projected reading audience for a first novel published by a small feminist press. A mainstream television viewing audience is more likely to be implicated in the homophobia that the screenplay so harshly rebukes. If this story is presented within a fictional framework, however, viewers are granted the safety of distance. A nebulous "they" can be implicated in the destruction that lies in the wake of homophobia rather than a more threatening "we"; what's more, the victims of that destruction will be perceived as imaginary if the screenplay is, clearly, "just a story."

Winterson's strategy appears, by and large, to have succeeded. According to Hilary Hinds' study of published reviews and viewer responses, the initial reception when the screenplay was aired in Britain in 1990 was largely positive. Two years later, the program played on PBS in America, to excellent reviews. As Hinds puts it, *Oranges* is a kind of "success story" in a world where positive

mainstream representations of lesbian subjectivity are far from common—all the more so in that the filmed version is more, rather than less, explicitly lesbian than the novel from which it was adapted. But the genre of the screenplay is difficult to locate, especially since a question lingers as to whether the film is autobiographical at all. Though the screenplay is clearly the offspring of a biomythographical novel, it is self-consciously fictive as well as polemical, spilling over the boundaries of biomythography to share characteristics with some of the other "outlaw genres" Kaplan identifies, yet failing to fit fully the criteria for any of them. In terms of genre, *Oranges* the screenplay finally stands alone, an "outlaw" among "outlaw genres."

The problem of locating an autobiographical genre for *Oranges*, the screenplay, demonstrates that when it comes to delineating generic boundaries, Derrida's observation regarding the impossibility of maintaining limits applies to "counter" or "alternative" genres just as it applies to the "master genres" they attempt to deconstruct. But this observation does not negate the value of Kaplan's theory of "outlaw genres," nor does it detract from what they can accomplish in terms of enabling marginalized voices by offering alternative representational strategies. If anything, to note the difficulty of assigning genre to "outlaw" texts is to extend Kaplan's argument by pointing out that all boundaries, including those built around marginalized discourses, are continually in the process of being constructed, dismantled, and reassembled in new, imaginative and purposeful ways. Examining *Oranges are not the only fruit* in both its incarnations illustrates why any theory of genre is necessarily provisional rather than regulative. If one asserts that a hallmark of many women's autobiographically based narratives is the crossing of numerous borders, whether generic, cultural, political, or otherwise, it also becomes important to acknowledge the limitations of any theory which attempts either to locate those boundaries or to maintain them, even when they are provisionally useful and provisionally necessary.

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ARTISTIC AND BIOLOGICAL MOTHERING IN COMFORT WOMAN: THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY THROUGH RACE, GENDER, AND NATIONALITY

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ABSTRACT

Nora Keller's novel *Comfort Woman* is informed by influences from both feminism and nationality. In an essay, Keller discusses the split she had felt, prior to writing *Comfort Woman*, between these influences in her previous writing. It is in her novel that she is able to integrate feminist theory with her Korean ethnicity in powerful ways which largely define the relationships in the text.

I discuss the most important relationship in *Comfort Woman*, that between the mother and daughter, in terms of this combination of feminist theory and ethnicity, through an examination of Keller's theory of biological and artistic mothering. Outlined in her senior honors thesis, Keller's theory is that in the relationship with her biological mother, the daughter must go through a process of battling against and eventually separating from the mother in order to forge her own identity as an individual. Another woman, Keller's artistic mother, becomes important during this process of separation by providing a model for self-creation separate from that of her natural mother's. Through the artistic mother's guidance, the daughter is eventually able to trace a path back to her biological mother, returning to this relationship with enhanced understanding and acceptance of both her mother and herself.

In this paper I offer a reading of the relationship between the mother and daughter in *Comfort Woman* through the lens of Keller's theory of mothering. In conclusion, I explore the ways in which Keller has transcended her own theory in writing her novel, enriching it in terms of the role of the biological mother and her relationship with her daughter.

I would like to open with two quotations that describe the relationship with which Nora Okja Keller is most interested in both her senior honors thesis (University of Hawaii, 1988) and her novel *Comfort Woman*: that is, the relationship between mother and daughter. In Angela Carter's adaptation of the Cinderella story, called "Ashputtle or the Mother's Ghost," she describes Ashputtle, who has found the big toe her stepmother cut off her stepsister's foot in an attempt to force it into the all important shoe, as feeling "both awe and fear at the phenomenon of mother love. Mother love, which winds about these daughters like a shroud" (193). This takes on almost literal meaning at some points of *Comfort Woman*; for example, the moment in which Soon Hyo is wrapping Beccah's feet in sheets with her name written on them, to ground her in her body, and also when Beccah wishes the evil "sal" her mother always talks about had killed her at birth, so that she wouldn't have to deal with her mother. The other quotation is from Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*: "All women become like their mothers. That is their tragedy. No man does. That's his." I will discuss later the ways in which Beccah becomes like her mother, and the ways in which she moves beyond seeing her mother's love as a shroud wrapped around her, but first I feel that it is necessary in a paper like this, in which I have no inside authority in terms of race or culture, to situate myself and the position from which I write. The inside authority I do have is as a daughter, a woman who has, like many other women, grappled with the awe of my mother's love, as well as the "tragedy" of becoming like her. I also write from my position as a developing writer and literary critic, which includes the study of local writers and scholars such as Keller. In this way, my aim is to share what I have learned as an outsider; in doing so I hope to increase my own knowledge as well.

Keller informs her novel with ideas from feminist theory, specifically the French tradition of feminine *écriture*, and she draws on nationalist struggles as well in terms of the Korean and Korean-American aspects of the novel. I will look briefly at the ways in which these influences shape *Comfort Woman* and the relationship between mother and daughter before moving into the discussion of Keller's theory of artistic and biological mothering.

ESSENTIAL INSCRIPTION: WOMEN WRITING THE BODY, THE SELF

Simone de Beauvoir, one of the early French feminists, says in *The Second Sex* that "representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men: they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth" (161). Implied in this statement is what other feminists make explicit: women must write themselves and their experiences into the world; they must dismantle this notion of "absolute truth" by providing an alternate representation, which they can claim as their own. De Beauvoir also sets up the self/other dichotomy which is so apparent in *Comfort Woman*; men are the self, women are the other. Because Soon Hyo is not born a boy, she brings bad luck to her family; they are not able to participate in any of the traditional celebrations for boys. Her oldest sister, Soon Hyo understands in retrospect, was "old enough to realize I should have been a boy:"

If you were a boy, she used to tell me, we would have...made a feast, with special red-and-black bean cake sprinkled with honey to show how much we loved you, if you were a boy (119).

This oldest sister holds a grudge against her "until our parents died and she betrayed me, paying me back" (118). This revenge is the delivering of Soon Hyo into the hands of the Japanese soldiers, selling her to them for money for her own dowry. This phase of Soon Hyo's life, in which she says she died, in which she loses her name and her voice while acting as a sex slave for Japanese soldiers, is the most blatant of her experiences in terms of Korean woman being named as other in both gendered and racial ways. She exists in a world entirely defined by Japanese men, and without the power of speaking herself.

One woman does claim this power of self, and of speech, in this repressive world. She is the "Akiko" before Soon Hyo is given that name in the Japanese camp (the Japanese renamed the women, robbing them even of the right to hear their own names, a way of institutionalizing people), the woman who becomes Soon Hyo's guiding spirit, whose real name is Induk. One night Induk begins to yell and sing, telling her real name and her history, belting out the Korean national anthem over and over: "she talked loud and nonstop. In Korean and Japanese, she denounced the soldiers, yelling at them to stop their invasion of her country and her body.... She shouted: I am Korea, I am a woman, I am alive" (20). The soldiers must silence this woman because their whole system depends on it. A woman, foreign in her femaleness and in her ethnicity, who dares to speak is the biggest threat to the institution of using women, representing them as bodies, vessels for men and nothing more. Induk actively demonstrates their grave error; she is much more than this: she is a person with a voice. The only way the Japanese can silence her is to kill her and make of her "an example, a lesson" to the other women in the camp. Ironically, Induk is not killed in the sense that she lives on in Soon Hyo, who through her example learns the absolute necessity of speaking oneself, a necessity, in fact, which becomes more compelling than life itself.

Hélène Cixious, who in some senses takes up where de Beauvoir left off, makes just this claim, that "woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies" (245). Induk, even in being "driven...violently...from [her] body" claims her body as her own. She is the voice inside this text which brings other women to their voices, namely Soon Hyo and eventually Beccah. Keller is the voice in a sense outside of the text, calling other women to write their stories as well, giving them permission, acknowledging their validity. In the act of writing a text in which women find their voices and speak themselves in the face of incredible adversity, Keller joins Cixious in saying "write your self. Your body must be heard" (250).

In the camps, the women were "taught only what was necessary to service the soldiers.... Other than that," says Soon Hyo, "we were not expected to understand and were forbidden to speak, any language at all" (16). These women found ways of communicating despite the soldiers and the risks involved, however: "we taught ourselves to communicate through eye movements, body posture, tilts of the head, or—when we could not see each other—through rhythmic rustlings between our stalls; in this way we could speak, in this way we kept our sanity" (16). Thus they supersede the Japanese soldiers' wishes, establishing a power, however secretive, for themselves, and also find a way in which their bodies can be utilized for their own benefit, retaining their voices and,

to some extent, the use of their bodies for themselves while allowing the soldiers to think they have complete power.

Out of necessity, Soon Hyo marries an American missionary who participates in much the same tradition as the Japanese soldiers, that long-held male practice of attempting to silence women. At one point he begs her to "protect our daughter, with your silence" (196). That he wants her to protect him with her silence from his own hypocrisy and judgment—from himself—is unstated. Still, Soon Hyo, called Akiko throughout almost the entire book, manages to maintain her ethnicity and finally reclaim her name, her identity, Soon Hyo, "the true voice, the pure tongue" (195). The final chapter in which Soon Hyo speaks is entitled "Soon Hyo" instead of "Akiko" like all the others. She does not stop with reclaiming her name, however, but orally records her own history, her family history and all the family names she knows, her daughter's lineage. She also records the names of all the women she can remember from the camps as well as the correct traditional process for preparing the dead for the spirit's journey, so that her daughter will know what to do and will understand what Soon Hyo has done for her own mother. On the cassette she has left for Beccah, Soon Hyo chants, "I sing the names by which I have known you, all of you, so that you will remember. So that I will remember. So that those who come after me will know" (192). She claims her life, her voice, her power, giving this power back to her people:

the Japanese believe they have killed an entire generation of Koreans. That we are all dead and have taken the horrible truth with us, but I am alive. I feel you, knowing you wait by my side....I offer you this one small gesture each year...a bit of rice burned in your memories, and your names called over and over again" (193-194).

Thus in the end, this woman and her heritage prevail, having been reclaimed and (literally) recalled.

Soon Hyo participates in the process of women writing themselves and each other in her relationship with her daughter as well. Throughout the text, Soon Hyo writes her daughter's body in an adoring, loving way, marveling at this miraculous birth and equally miraculous love: "she laughs as she stretches her legs and I tickle the rolls of fat on her thighs. I love nothing more than this: the velvet of her body underneath my fingertips, her powder-and-milk smell, her laughter and her perfect nakedness" (90). Soon Hyo also uses writing as a mode of keeping her daughter safe, in her body. On a night when Soon Hyo feels Beccah is threatened by the "Red Death," she tears strips of sheets and writes on the strips in tiny black letters, "over and over again, ...[Beccah's] name, birth date, and genealogy," then wraps them tightly around Beccah's feet (78). Soon Hyo explains this to Beccah in the morning: "you needed to be tied into your body.... And in case you slipped out, these words would have led you back" (78). Later, when Beccah is listening to the cassette her mother has left her, she feels compelled to write her mother's stories down. She begins with a notebook, but "after filling several...pages with black scrawl, I stopped the recorder. The scraps of paper seemed inadequate, small and disjointed. Needing a bigger canvas, I stripped the sheet from my bed, laid it on the living room floor..., pressed Play on the recorder, and caught my mother's words" (192). Beccah carries these words with her when she goes to cleanse her mother's body. She tears the sheet into strips, soaks them in water perfumed with hibiscus, white ginger, 'uki 'uki, lily, and "one by one, drape[s] them over the length of her [mother's] body, wrap[s] her arms and legs" (208-209). This is the way in which Beccah performs the ritual of preparing her mother's body in death, and the way she lets her mother go: "her words, coiled tightly in my script, tied her spirit to her body and bound her to this life. When they burned, they would travel with her across the waters, free" (209). Thus words which once held Beccah into her body are used now to free her mother into the spirit world. They are signifiers of place, the right path; words are guides in life and death.

THE POWER OF MOTHERLAND: NATIONALISM AS AN ENABLING FORCE IN COMFORT WOMAN

Keller has written feminism into her text; she also felt at one time early in her writing that this very feminism meant an exclusion of ethnicity. It was a matter of priorities which of the two she would choose in her writing and her life. In her article, however, she calls this notion into question, asserting her realization that it is necessary to include both. In some senses, *Comfort Woman* seems to be the novel that came out of the writing process in Keller's life, beginning with her honors thesis

which contains the feminist theories she had been studying in college, moving on to her inklings of the importance of her own ethnicity in her life as a woman and as a writer, and culminating in a text that combines these aspects of herself into one story of a Korean woman and her Korean-American daughter. As a part of this realization/writing process, Keller brings up some crucial questions: "even in our own work as Asian American writers, who do we continue to silence and who do we give voice to? How much do we, even as we speak, continue to perpetuate images of our own silence, passivity, submission?" (232). These questions show a clear awareness of the need for women to write as expressed by women such as Cixious, and they show another kind of awareness—Keller's recognition that as an Asian American woman speaking herself, she cannot leave off the Asian aspect; that is, part of her responsibility in representing the world includes a representation of Asian women. Thus we will use Keller's questions as a way of examining her text: what representations of ethnicity are included in *Comfort Woman*? Are they empowering, or silencing? Do they represent this world in a positive way, or do they perpetuate negative stereotypes of Asian American women's "silence, passivity, submission?"

I have already outlined the process of delegitimization that Soon Hyo/Akiko endures, the silence she is forced into as a Korean woman by both the Japanese soldiers and her Christian missionary husband. The submission the comfort women are subjected to is clear. Akiko's husband also participates in this submission in a less violent but still insidious way; it allows him at once to preach to Akiko's mind and to use her body. He calls her by the name which the soldiers have given her, a Japanese name which symbolizes her death, as she sees it, as well as continuously recalling to her all the atrocities she has lived through in the camps. The missionary husband never learns this fact, however; and it may have been of small importance to him if he had. He never learns that Akiko is not his wife's name, and he never learns that her real name is Soon Hyo, pure tongue. This is a symbol of how little he knows of her, and of how little he attempts to know. It is also, however, a symbol of Soon Hyo's power.

Soon Hyo says that the only way she survives the camp is by not allowing her identity to be known by the soldiers. She tucks herself into herself, thus protecting her identity and her mental, physical, and spiritual life. And she doesn't come out for a long time, not for her husband, ever. Soon Hyo explains how she learned from her mother to protect herself in this way:

My mother's generation was the first in Korea to learn a new alphabet, and new words for everyday things. She had to learn to answer to a new name, to think of herself and her world in a new way. To hide her true self....Those are the same lessons my mother taught me, the morals of her stories, and because I learned them early, I was able to survive what eventually killed my mother. Hiding my true self...enabled me to survive in the recreation camp and in a new country (153).

Because she is able to hide herself when necessary, Soon Hyo retains that essential part of her that would have been killed as the life she knew was killed when she was twelve. This is partly what saves Soon Hyo, but there is another important aspect of the way in which she preserves her true self. She holds onto her motherland, her ethnicity, both physically and spiritually, refusing to give it up even though her husband baptizes her, begs for her silence, even though her daughter sometimes thinks she is crazy and often rejects her. She lives the life she has been taught by her mother in Korea, performing the traditional rituals, caring for Korean spirits, praying to them, allowing them to inhabit her body. In this way she lives her motherland, although she is removed from it forever early in her life.

Remembering the times when she was young and at home, "mother, oldest sister, and I would spend hours bent over the knee-deep silt, our fingers cradling the baby rice, laying them into the oozing earth" (39), she brings this rich earth with her to America. As she is baptized, as one of the missionary women is saying "You are born again.... As a Christian, as a wife, and as an American. Congratulations" (104), Soon Hyo "reache[s] down to touch the earth." She says, "I felt the mud under my hands, then quickly took a pinch into my mouth, and I ground it between my teeth. I wanted to taste the earth, metallic as blood, take it into my body so that my country would always be a part of me" (104). As Soon Hyo is forced into marriage, Christianity, and exile from her homeland, all of which are attempts at negating her power as a woman and meaning as a Korean, she creates a

powerful form of resistance. Overlooking the missionary woman's ironic congratulations, she takes in only what is important to her, the dirt of her motherland. She allows everything else to flow over and away from her like the water in which she is baptized.

Soon Hyo finds life-sustaining power in her motherland. She takes this to another level, however, when she finds that she is pregnant. She herself becomes the motherland, again ingesting the earth, this time in America: "I made tea with the black dirt from the garden outside our room at the Mission House for Boys. I drank the earth, nourishing [my baby] within the womb, so that she would never feel homeless, lost" (113). Soon Hyo knows how it feels to lose herself in losing her home; she wants to be sure her baby always feels a sense of home, and the way she chooses to do this is to become that home: "After her birth, I rubbed that same earth across my nipples and touched it to my daughter's lips, so that, with her first suck, with her first taste of the dirt and the salt and the milk that is me, she would know that I am, and will always be, her home" (113). This idea of mother as ultimate home for daughter leads us into the next section, where I will offer a reading of the mother/daughter relationship in the text based on Nora Keller's senior honors thesis and the later essay that came out of it.

First, however, I would like to offer another way of reading Keller's response to the need she feels for writing ethnicity into her text. This will involve stepping back from the text in a sense, or at least looking at it from another angle. I would like to examine Lisa Lowe's idea of the Asian American novel as rejecting the traditional western novel form, and particularly as this idea relates to *Comfort Woman*. In her article called "Decolonization, Displacement, Disidentification: Writing and the Question of History," Lowe analyzes three texts by Asian American writers, discussing ways in which the traditional western voice of authority is subverted by these texts. She looks at the ways in which history is told, what is privileged and what is marginalized, ignored, and even hidden. Lowe sees the novel in its traditional form as a colonizing force: "The imposition of the colonial language and its cultural institutions, among them the novel, demands the subject's internalization of the 'superiority' of the colonizer and the 'inferiority' of the colonized, even as it attempts to evacuate the subject of 'native' language, traditions, and practices" (97). Some of the aspects of the traditional novel that are particularly repressive are the linear telling of the story as fact, from the point of view of an authoritative narrator, the focus on this one voice, and the focus on plot and linear character development. Lowe looks at three novels, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's *Dictée*, Jessica Hagedorn's *Dogeaters*, and Fae Myenne Ng's *Bone*, that provide alternative ways of telling. She sees these alternatives as positive and effective, both in and of themselves, and also in that they can be read as opposing the traditional form.

In *Comfort Woman*, Keller also discovers new modes of storytelling. There is, as is sometimes the case in examples Lowe cites, no authoritative voice, no inherently trusted narrator. Keller thus engages us in examining the idea of alternate views of reality and the authority of the narrative voice by stretching the reader's ability to suspend expectations of linearity and authority. The reader questions where truth, history, reality can be located as Keller switches back and forth between two first-person narrators, emphasizing, instead of a linear telling of plot, the interaction between the mother and daughter, the ways in which they read and tell each other and themselves, the ways in which their stories create and recreate each other. Time is out of sequence, narrator-authority is constantly in question as one narrator is a child throughout much of the book, and a daughter, existing in the problematic role of self-definition regarding her mother. The other narrator is a woman who lives much of her time in another world, speaking to and dancing with spirits. We do not dismiss the text as unbelievable because of this, however; it leaves us with the impression not of lack of truth, but of other priorities. In fact, as Lowe might argue, truth is found more often in perceptions and stories that blend together and occur haphazardly than it is in a single story-line in which everything happens at the right and appropriate and sensible time. The epigraph to Lowe's article is a quotation from Walter Benjamin which supports this sense of truth and reality: "To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (in Lowe, 97).

Comfort Woman is almost entirely narrated through memories that "flash up." Reality in this text is often not what it seems, especially when Korean reality is juxtaposed against Japanese and then white American institutional reality. This juxtaposition is supported, consciously or not, by

Keller's non-traditional style of writing, countering traditional western modes of expression with nonlinear style and ethnic and feminist themes. In a statement that epitomizes the complex sense of "reality" in her life, Beccah says, "at Ala Wai Elementary,...I was taught that if I was ever in trouble I should tell my teachers or the police; I learned about 911. But in real life, I knew none of these people would understand....I was on my own" (5). Western ideology does not apply here; it is not sufficient for the scope of Beccah's experience. And although Beccah expresses a desire for a more traditional mother, the richness of this text stems from the complexities of their lives, and the portrayal of the complexities as a fabric, woven together by voices that find power in themselves and each other through their common heritage.

BIOLOGICAL AND ARTISTIC MOTHERING: STRUGGLE, ESCAPE, AND RETURN

The epigraph to Keller's essay entitled "Artistic and Cultural Mothering in the Poetics of Cathy Song" is also included in the title of her senior honors thesis. It is a quotation from Virginia Woolf, in *A Room of One's Own*: "For we think back through our mothers if we are women" (in Keller, 223). This view through the mother is an idea Keller has been interested in for a long time, at least since 1988 when she was writing her thesis, and one to which many daughters can relate. Keller's premise is that in the relationship with the biological mother, the daughter must go through a process of battling against and eventually separating from the mother in order to forge her own identity as an individual, but that the process is not complete until there is a return, with new sight and understanding based on the process of individuation the daughter has accomplished. In this complex and difficult relationship, Keller sees the mother as at once "a source of solace" and the "cause [of] the pain" (Cobb, 23). Thus the mother causes pain to the daughter, who feels the need to separate herself, create herself outside of her mother, but who also feels the strong and enduring need of her mother's comfort during this very process of individuation.

An integral aspect of Keller's theory of the relationship between mother and daughter is that in the time of separation from the biological mother, the daughter looks for other models, which Keller calls the artistic mother, in order to aid in attaining her voice and eventually lead her back to her own mother. It is this idea which brought about Keller's undergraduate thesis and her essay which combines the thesis with her newer sense of the importance of ethnicity. Keller's artistic mothers, Maxine Hong Kingston and Cathy Song, are both artists in their own right, but both have also taken on artistic mothers: Kingston, an ancient Chinese woman poet named T'sai Yen, and Song, the artist Georgia O'Keefe, in their processes of creating themselves as writers. They both also write about problematic mother/daughter relationships. Keller's undergraduate thesis is in part a reading of Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* and Cathy Song's *Picture Bride* in relation to this theory of mothering. Keller quotes the narrator in Hong Kingston's text, a daughter who feels the need to escape her mother and is almost unable to do so, her mother's voice is so pervasive in her life: "I did not listen voluntarily...she would begin telling me the story...and I'd overhear it before I had a chance to protect myself" (in Cobb, 13). This daughter has to block out her mother's storytelling voice, silence it, "protect" herself so that her own voice, and her own stories, have time and space to emerge.

Like the mother in *The Woman Warrior*, Beccah's mother uses stories to "protect" her daughter. And Soon Hyo's stories are also what Beccah feels the desire to escape. As Beccah sees them, the stories are what make her mother insane, what makes their relationship sick. She resents her mother's frequent departures into the land of spirits. Although this is part of the way that Soon Hyo attempts to protect Beccah, through her spirit guides, Beccah is far from appreciating this kind of help. While Soon Hyo is wrapping Beccah's feet in torn sheets with her name written on them to keep Beccah in her body, and explaining to Beccah what she has written ("Look here—this character means you. This is me, this is the Birth Grandmother, this is each of her sisters. I linked us all together, a chain to fight the Red Death" (78)), Beccah's reaction is: "I often wished the *sal* had killed me outright so that I would not have had to endure my mother's protection" (73). In this way, death is almost preferable to this relationship, but Beccah's statement tells us something else about the complexities of mother/daughter relationships. Beccah, while resisting the stories her mother tells, is affected by them; in fact, she takes them on to the extent of inherently accepting them as part of her life. The *sal*, the evil energy that Soon Hyo believes entered Beccah like arrows from the doctors at her birth, is real to Beccah, incorporated into the way she views the world. Thus it is not her mother's

beliefs that she rejects (although at times she questions the reality of certain stories and statements) so much as her mother's actions which she interprets as abandonment. Ironically, while the daughter is attempting to protect herself from her mother, the mother is simultaneously attempting to protect her daughter from experiences she herself has had. Soon Hyo, whose sense of loss and betrayal defines her ideas regarding her daughter's need for protection, stands over Beccah as a baby, playing with her, holding her finger close to Beccah's face. When her daughter does not blink, Soon Hyo wonders, "how many betrayals will she endure before she loses that trust, before she wants to close her eyes and never open them again?" (62)

This is how the relationship is complicated: Soon Hyo does abandon Beccah in the sense that she slips into her spirit world for hours, even days at a time. She is completely unreachable in this state; thus Beccah, the daughter, has to make sure she locks the doors so her mother doesn't escape into the streets, Beccah has to make sure she saves some of her lunch for dinner, she has to treat her mother's bruises, following her dancing twirling figure around the house, guiding her away from sharp edges, protecting her (4). "When the spirits called to her," Beccah recalls in the first chapter of the text, setting up the problematic nature of the relationship right away, "my mother would leave me and slip inside herself, to somewhere I could not and did not want to follow" (4). This abandonment is what makes Beccah sit at the Ala Wai Canal, "waiting for a fish to take me to an underwater kingdom where I would find my true mother, a mother who would make me dinner so I wouldn't have to buy Ho Hos and cheese nachos at the 7-Eleven" (127). This is not only a mother who failed to make her daughter dinner, however. Beccah's memories are telling:

forging my mother's signature on school report cards filled with E's for excellence that she never saw because she was looking into another world; rocking my mother, cradling her head and upper body in my lap, her legs dangling over the bed, when she cried out for my father, for Saja the Death Soldier, for the spirits that teased her with their cacklings, for anyone who cared, to kill her (127).

While Soon Hyo's intention is always to make her daughter feel a strong sense of home, what Beccah often feels is this lack of solid ground. Her mother is so focused on the spirits in her life that Beccah is left with an unsettling feeling of never really knowing her mother, and never being able to depend on her.

In addition to this sense of ambiguity regarding her mother's role as mother, Beccah also worries about her, knowing that if people found her in one of her trances they would think she was crazy. Beccah is protective; her first response to Reno's amazement when she shows up at their apartment looking for Soon Hyo is "Shut up!...She's not crazy!" (7). Beccah is aware of how the world will see Soon Hyo, of the difference between reality in the outside world and reality in the world she lives in with her mother. This awareness, complicated by the desire to separate herself from her mother, is what makes Beccah run away when her mother shows up at Ala Wai elementary school looking for her. As the kids in Beccah's class stand around her mother, mocking and chanting, Beccah reflects, "at the moment I was called upon to claim my mother, I couldn't. Instead I ran away, and the farther I ran from my mother, the smaller I seemed to shrink" (89). Here is the collision of the two worlds, and Beccah's understandable inability to bridge them.

Beccah's desire to escape is symbolized by a recurring dream in which she dives into pure blue water, swims for a short distance, and then feels a tug from behind. She is pulled down, sinking, ready to drown, when she wakes up (121). In subsequent tellings, the thing that pulls from behind is a shark, or a jellyfish, enveloping her until she is tangled completely within it. The last time she has the dream, however, is after her mother has died and Beccah has sprinkled the ashes into the stream behind their house. She has not only separated herself from her mother through the death, however; she has moved out, into her own apartment. While she still goes to see her mother daily (except on the day her mother dies, which she misses), she has in many senses claimed her own life. In fact, through the final transformation in Beccah's dream, Soon Hyo's death comes to symbolize more of a return to the mother than a separation from her.

Based on Keller's theory of the two kinds of mothers, we could read Akiko as Beccah's biological mother and Soon Hyo as her artistic mother. Beccah never hears Soon Hyo's history from

her, she never knows her name until Akiko is dead, and Soon Hyo's voice takes over, recording the family history and her own personal story. It is at this point that Beccah can take in the stories, writing them down on canvas, closing out all other voices and sounds. The volume of Soon Hyo's voice on the stereo fills the room, Beccah takes it in hungrily, gathering all the information she can: she is returning to her biological mother through the understanding of her artistic mother. In her last dream, as Beccah swims through the blue blue water, this time of a river, she feels the familiar pull from behind. "I struggled, flailing weak kicks, but when I turned and saw that it was my mother hanging on to me, I yielded. I opened my mouth to drown, expecting to suck in heavy water, but instead I breathed in air, clear and blue" (213). This letting go in the realization of the mother's presence, this absolute trust and its result, that Beccah is saved instead of drowning, carried to heaven by her mother, symbolizes Beccah's completion of the circle, her coming back to incorporate her mother's being into herself. Through death, her mother releases her from the pull of their relationship, so that Beccah can claim her independence and her heritage at once.

When she returns to her mother's house, she enacts the rituals her mother has performed for so many years: "I performed the actions of my mother, caring for the spirits of the house, in order to feel my mother once again" (169). And finally, when Beccah goes to the stream to scatter her mother's ashes, she takes her mother into herself: "I cupped a handful of my mother's river and held it over her box of ashes. 'Mommy,' I said as the water dribbled through my fingers. 'Omoni,'" she says, using for the first time in the novel the Korean word for mother, "'please drink. Share this meal with me, a sip to know how much I love you'" (212). Beccah puts some ashes to her lips: "'Your body in mine,' I told my mother, 'so you will always be with me, even when your spirit finds its way home'" (212).

This relationship, I have argued, is specifically informed by gender and nationality: Soon Hyo identifies so strongly with her Korean roots for both her spiritual life and her strength. For much of the novel, Beccah resists this Koreanness she sees in her mother; she wants her father to come and rescue her, move them to the mainland where she could live in a house with a dog. But in the end, Wilde's "tragedy" comes true for Beccah, beginning with the inscribing of her mother's words. Through translating her mother's story from Korean to English, Beccah bridges the gap between them, bringing her mother's truths into her own language. This culminates in the scene I have cited above; Beccah physically takes her mother in, recalling the scenes in which Soon Hyo ingests the earth of her homeland and her new home. She provides herself as a home for Beccah; now Beccah provides a space for her mother, inside herself. Through Soon Hyo, the artistic mother, Beccah finds a way back to her true mother, and thus to herself.

Even through what seems in some senses a damning testimony about Soon Hyo as a mother, Keller manages to provide insight beyond the way in which the mother is portrayed by the daughter. In her thesis, Keller privileges the daughter's experience in this process of individuation, saying in a personal note about her own writing that "I realized that though much of what I tried to do was inspired by Song and Kingston, the voice is my own. I can't suppress it, and don't want to, for the rhythm and breath of that voice speaks of independence, of my need to be artistically my own" (53). Keller's focus seems to have shifted subtly by the time she wrote *Comfort Woman*. Despite Keller's focus on the daughter and the daughter's struggle in the novel, she has managed to move beyond this oversimplification which leaves out the mother, not allowing us to rest there. Although in her review of *Comfort Woman*, Marie Hara writes, "how Beccah restores Akiko's real name and true identity after her death makes for compelling reading," I would argue that Soon Hyo restores her own voice progressively through the novel, beginning with the breaking of her silence in the camps and culminating in the recording of her history for Beccah. In this way, Soon Hyo has restored her voice and her daughter's out of their ancestry and their power as Korean women, not the other way around. Although Beccah writes her mother in significant ways throughout the text, she cannot contain her mother's voice. Soon Hyo's voice continues, after Beccah has announced that she is dead, to tell stories and to write her daughter. Soon Hyo does not need her voice restored by Beccah or anyone else. In giving Soon Hyo a voice throughout the novel, Keller allows us to see the history of mother as well as daughter, so that we understand the needs and motivations of both. In this way, Keller acknowledges the significance of mother and daughter in this difficult relationship, without privileging one over the other.

In the end of the novel, Beccah describes what happens in her final dream that begins with her being sucked underwater and ends rising into the air: "I swam through sky, higher and higher, until, dizzy with the freedom of light and air, I looked down to see a thin blue river of light spiraling down to earth, where I lay sleeping in bed, coiled tight around a small seed planted by my mother, waiting to be born" (213). We can read this seed in many ways, one of which is as a combining of mother and daughter into one, about to be given life.

In her thesis, Keller concludes about her two artistic mothers, Song and Hong Kingston, that they have

created individuality by building upon what was already established and by combining the voices and stories of their 'mothers' with their own. The pattern of artistic development is then perpetuated, the daughters becoming mothers for future writers in the continuous dance of separation and connection" (50).

Keller joins this dance; by writing *Comfort Woman*, "perpetuat[ing] the pattern of artistic development," she herself becomes a powerful artistic mother for others. Keller's voice, as a local woman, as a Korean-American woman, as a feminist, as a daughter, and as a mother, is an invitation for others to speak their own stories, to represent themselves, to write their lives.

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WHOSE STORY IS IT?: WRITING A MULTI-GENERATIONAL HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR NARRATIVE

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ABSTRACT

As the daughter and granddaughter of two women who survived the Holocaust, I have often asked myself the question: "Should I tell their story?" And if so, how do I tell it? In essence, how does one seek to retell or (re)historicize the story of a mother and grandmother who survived capture and internment in camps in Siberia? Are fictional or creative accounts a useful approach in the (re)telling of this narrative? What about "historical fiction," "historical biography," or "memoir"? What are the implications of these categories? The paper continues with a brief account of the capture, internment, and release of my mother and grandmother from labor camps during the Holocaust, and also addresses the problems I encountered during the interview process. In this sense the paper also seeks to pose critical questions about problems of authenticity and authorial control. Since my grandmother cannot write the narrative herself, and my mother is now deceased, how and to what extent should my voice be integrated with the actual story my grandmother tells? How do I write my grandmother's narrative so that she can emerge successfully as the subject of her own text?

Growing up in Southern California during the 1970s, I had what most people would call a typical childhood in a moderately conservative Jewish household. I went to Hebrew School at a local synagogue until I was bat-mitzvahed, and I traveled to Israel nearly every summer to visit my paternal grandparents, who were Orthodox Jews living in Petach-Tikva. I knew about the Holocaust from trips to Yad VaShem, the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem, and from films in Hebrew School. As for my own family connections to this period in history, I knew that my paternal grandparents had been living in Israel since before the war, and thus had been spared. In 1990 at the age of twenty-three, I was once again visiting my paternal grandparents in Israel. At some point during that visit, my grandmother, Malka, let me know that she was extremely angry because I had not been invited to a distant cousin's wedding in Tel Aviv given by relatives of my maternal grandfather. I barely knew the family Malka spoke about, and could not understand why she would be concerned that I was being excluded from members of my mother's family that I virtually had no communications with. When I responded as much, Malka said that she felt the responsibility to tell me about my maternal grandmother, Fela, and her experiences during World War II.

Shortly before the onset of World War II, Poland was subdivided, with some areas taken over by the Russian Red Army and others by Germany's Nazi regime. It was the intention of my then nineteen-year-old maternal grandmother, Fela, to leave Warsaw with her new husband Mordicai in order to search for her younger brother, who had been detained in Bialystok and could not get back home. Mordicai's one sister, Sarah, begged the newlyweds not to leave the city, understanding well that the situation in Poland was growing more volatile with each passing day. Sarah told them of reports of Jews being deported from the poorer suburbs surrounding Warsaw. Despite Sarah's appeals, however, Fela and Mordicai left. After a precarious journey, they found Fela's younger brother. But when the three of them tried to return to Warsaw, they were captured by the Russian Red Army and arrested for illegally trying to reenter the city. Fela was separated from her husband Mordicai and her brother, and detained in a crowded barn with other women who had been arrested. The guards confiscated her few belongings and her papers. For days she asked to see Mordicai and her brother, but was told they had been placed in a separate area and that she was not permitted to see them. Several days later, Fela was placed on a train with the other women prisoners and sent to a camp in Siberia. It was only upon arrival there that she learned she was pregnant with my mother.

Despite the long train ride to Siberia, the difficult birth of my mother, Miriam, in the labor camp, and the subsequent years of abuse and tedious labor in a coal mine and brick factory, Fela and her daughter Miriam survived. After the war, she tried to find out what had become of

her husband Mordicai, her brother, and the rest of her family in Warsaw. Fela learned that her parents and other siblings had all been killed in the fire that had ravaged the Warsaw Ghetto, but of her brother and husband Mordicai, she discovered nothing. During her last year in Siberia, she had met a man she had known as a young teenager in Warsaw. His name was Chaim, and shortly after the war, they married. Chaim adopted my mother Miriam, then only four years old, making Fela swear that Miriam would never learn that he wasn't her biological father. A couple of years later, Fela and Chaim had two more children. An active Zionist, Chaim took Fela and their children and went to live in Israel.

One afternoon about nine years later, my grandmother Fela sat on a crowded bus in Haifa. As the bus pulled forward after a long stop to let passengers on, Fela leaned her head out the half-open window to try to get some air while the bus crawled in the heavy traffic. Moments later, a woman could be heard shrieking a short distance away. Passengers on the right side of the bus looked out their windows and saw a middle-aged woman running frantically alongside the vehicle, shouting for the driver to stop. When he did, the lady begged the driver to let her on. He opened the doors for her, and she stepped into the front of the bus, scanning the many faces until her eyes landed on Fela. My grandmother remembers it getting very quiet, everyone understanding that something peculiar was taking place. The woman sensed Fela's confusion and finally shouted that she was Sarah, Mordicai's sister.

The scenes that followed that proclamation on the bus should perhaps only be described briefly here. Fela learned from Sarah that her first husband Mordicai was still alive and living in Poland, himself remarried and the father of several children. Several months after the reunion on the bus, Mordicai came to Israel to see Fela and the daughter that he never knew existed. But Chaim, Fela's second husband, set strict rules for the visitation, and so Mordicai came under the guise of a distant relative, careful not to betray too much emotion in front of his daughter Miriam because Chaim, her adoptive father, stood close by to make sure that Miriam learned nothing about the reality of the reunion. Photographs were taken, but the smiles were tight-lipped and strained with emotion. Mordicai returned to Poland, and Fela and Chaim, along with their children, moved to the United States in search of a better life.

The story Malka told me came as a shock, but I remember distinctly that when Malka finished talking several hours later, I too was very angry that I had not been invited to that distant cousin's wedding. When I finished listening to Malka's narrative, I did not realize then that I had taken every word she said as the complete and unerring "truth." That is, I had absorbed her story completely, never questioning any of the details she had described to me so beautifully. Malka also pointed out that no one knew this story except for her and Fela. My mother Miriam had found out from Fela when I was very young, but learning that she had been adopted by the man she had thought was her biological father greatly upset her, and she never repeated the story to me or anyone else. Malka kept the secret for many years, until I was twenty-three and my mother had already been deceased for seven years. I let Malka know that I was glad she had told me, but that I was going to confront Fela with the fact that I had learned "the truth" about her and my mother. When I returned home that summer I did go to Fela and let her know that I had learned the story. It's interesting to me now that I never bothered then to ask Fela her "version" of the story. I assumed I knew everything, that the biographical "sketch" Malka had provided was everything I needed to know. And because the story was so personal and painful to me, I felt content to leave it and move on.

Several years after I heard Malka's narrative, I entered graduate school and began to think about Fela's life and Malka's narrative as a possible dissertation project. Aside from wanting to pursue the project for personal reasons, I was also interested in how such a story could be situated within the discourse of feminist criticism and literary theory. I understood, however, that the blending of a personal project with a professional requirement could have its pitfalls. I also knew

that in order to pursue the project further I would have to hear Fela's side of the story too, and I was afraid it would hurt Fela to have to talk about it. Nevertheless, I went to Los Angeles and spent many hours interviewing and taping Fela.

Critic John Kucich points out that the word "repression" now has so broad a definition that its meaning is "treacherously unstable."¹ But he points out that the general attitude towards anything perceived as repression has been disparaging, whether it is understood as a refusal of conscious knowledge or a refusal of expression. It is this stigmatization that Kucich and many other critics would now like to challenge, suggesting that repression may in fact be a strategy for survival. Most often, to say that someone is repressed implies a certain powerlessness. To say, however, that someone has *secrets* implies a certain power. Several years ago I learned the compelling secrets of my maternal grandmother's life before, during, and after the Holocaust. The ramifications of those secrets, however, the repressions, her tactics of reticence and silence, are only now becoming clear to me.

As the daughter and granddaughter of two women who survived the Holocaust and Soviet prison camps, I have often asked myself the question: "Should I tell their story?" And if so, *how* do I tell it? In essence, how and in what genre does one seek to (re)tell the story of a mother and grandmother who survived capture and internment in camps in Siberia? How do I represent these women? And to what extent will I inevitably represent myself in these attempts? Are fictional or creative accounts a useful approach in the telling of this narrative? What about "historical fiction," "historical biography," "oral history," or "memoir"? What are the implications of these categories?

In order to explore the various ways I, and perhaps others, might choose to talk about their research on or experiences with Holocaust survivors, it is useful, I think, to theorize about how one's writing becomes an exercise in the politics of representation. As a woman affected by, but removed from, the experiences of these two women, how in my writing do I successfully represent various identities and cultural differences? This question became especially integral for me during the interview process. As I was taping Fela's own account of her life, I began to realize that her story had many gaps—gaps which I impatiently tried to "fill" during my interviews with her—and which led to periods of frustration and tension for both of us. It was not until after I finished the interview process and I replayed the tapes that I realized that not only did I not need to fill those gaps, but that those spaces, those problem moments that I felt weakened or disrupted the effects of the storyline, were really the center of the story. I began to see an enormous presence in those gaps, that the moments of her "not telling" were indeed a telling. I knew that in my writing I would have to honor those absences in a way which would reveal that her silences, her reticence, were strategies for survival. Her silence was a metaphor for herself.

In turn, these strategies bring up issues of authenticity and authorial control. Since Fela does not wish to write the story herself, and my mother is now deceased, how and to what extent should my voice become integrated with the actual narrative my grandmother tells? I think immediately of William Lloyd Garrison and Lydia Maria Child, white abolitionists of the nineteenth century who supplied appended documents to the slave narratives of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs in order to "authenticate" and "guarantee" their narratives as "historical evidence." When these appended documents become integrated into the text of the slave narratives, how does it change that text? How is the language of the slave subsumed under the language of the "guarantor"? These slave narratives are political documents, racially charged, and have their own unique agendas. However, certain issues of authorship and authenticity they raise bear resemblance to my particular project. In other words, how do I write my grandmother's story so that she can emerge successfully as the subject of her own text?

As I continue to try to tackle these questions I increasingly discover that the project itself is a question of ethics. I am in possession of this fragment of Holocaust history; what exactly am I going to do with it? What should I do with it? What do I want to do with it? More than half a century after the end of the Nazi regime, the world continues to be haunted by the events of World War II. The present generation of young scholars, however, had no direct experience of the Holocaust. As we all know, the actual perpetrators, victims, eye-witnesses, and participants are becoming an ever smaller portion of the population. In addition, new literature on the Holocaust is being written from a considerable temporal distance from the events. The tasks for the younger generation in dealing with the Holocaust clearly differ from those of previous times.

As I peruse the numerous texts *recently* published in the fields of biography and autobiography, and as I contend with the problematics of the public vs. the private nature of this project, I am finding that my various positions as student, writer, woman, biographer, and historian situate me within a widespread and ongoing debate. Barbara Foley points out that the "examination of authorial strategy and audience response in Holocaust literature is integral to a comprehension of the meaning of the Holocaust itself; the historical moment and its artistic mediation are mutually illuminating in a variety of ways."² In essence, Foley and other critics like Sarah Alpern are privileging the question of genre studies. Alpern points out that the "historical and literary academy tended to dismiss biography as a genre."³ Moreover, she points out that during the 1960s, a

long-dormant feminist movement revived, raising our consciousness as women and forcing us to ask new and disturbing questions about gender relations and the organizations of our private and public lives . . . [By] the 1980's, scholars began to find the profession more interested in and supportive of these efforts. (3-5)

Alpern also makes the important point that the revival of this feminist discourse has "allowed biographers to use life-cycle analysis or to address topics most biographies seldom touch on, such as how women's private and public lives intersect, [and] the impact of mother-daughter relationships" (5). She goes on to note that "In the 1990's, the writing of [biographies and especially women's biographies are assuming] still new directions . . . In addition to recently published biographies of women of color, other studies now in process or recently completed as doctoral dissertations point the way to more inclusive feminist biographical treatments" (6). We are seeing more blending of autobiography and biography, which is creating an important space from which to acknowledge and recognize that the "subjectivity of biography means that biographers can reveal their attachments and detachments even while maintaining a critical, scholarly stance" (Alpern, 11).

During my many years of graduate study of African-American women's slave narratives, I sensed a connection between their marginalized narratives and my own repressed narrative about loss and memory. But I displaced this connection, and now that I am ready to face my grandmother's narrative, I realize I will need to negotiate the personal investment I have in this project with the way I situate myself professionally as a graduate student. As I continue to work on the project, I realize that there are in essence three narratives interconnected here. The first narrative, which is Malka's, is huge and temporal in scope, and serves more as a story than biography because Malka hears the narrative from Fela and then Malka retells Fela's narrative to me. Both Malka and I thus rely solely on our memory of a previous telling. In that sense, Malka's voice in the project will most likely have the clarity of fiction.

The second narrative is Fela's narrative, taken from my taped interviews and ongoing dialogue with her, which acts as a combination of autobiography and oral history. My interviews with her and subsequent handling of her narrative text will inevitably bring up a series of ethical problems and questions. For example, I hear the story first from Malka and approach Fela in the

interview with a series of expectations (either conscious or unconscious) that I would like to see "fulfilled" in the taped narrative. Am I guiding Fela to tell the narrative I want to hear?

The third narrative is my own, which would entail a critical and theoretical response as to how I situate myself in regard to these narratives, as well as what it means to readers and writers to create and contextualize these kinds of narrative structures in the first place. I suppose my biggest challenge is to find the right socio-cultural context from which to speak and write. But I am optimistic, because in the recent outpouring of feminist criticism and women's autobiography, there is the recognition that the marginalized, the repressed, the absent, are worth exploring as a creative force, and there is less pressure to force stylistic and theoretical templates onto women's biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and oral histories. And for women such as my grandmother, whose voice has been threatened in many ways, and whose impulse is to remain both evasive and self-contained, a (re)presentation, a reinterpretation of her narrative, a submission if you will, to the sharing of secrets and stories, can create a narrative space both for her and for me, from which we can finally speak.

NOTES

- 1 John Kucich, *Repression in Victorian Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 23.
- 2 Barbara Foley, "Fact, Fiction, Fascism: Testimony and Mimesis in Holocaust Narratives," *Comparative Literature* 34 (4 Fall 1981): 330-360.
- 3 Sara Alpern, ed., *The Challenge of Feminist Biography* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992) 3-5.

LES ÉLÉMENTS DE DÉSIR AU MOYEN ÂGE

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ABSTRACT

Using textual support, the elements of desire in several medieval literary genres will be discussed through a reading based on the Girardian theory of triangular desire. The components of the love triangle are explored both within the framework of such medieval genres as the *aube*, the *pastourelle*, and the *ballette*, and in the ways they vary among the different genres. In the *aube*, we experience the power of a genderized natural order that indirectly controls the lovers' sexual rapport. The *pastourelle*, as well as the *aube*, allow us to explore the commercial value of sex and female virginity through poetry by looking at different forms of motivation within the triangular constructs of desire.

Some topics of discussion will include: how desire is fueled and maintained by a triangular framework; the obstacle as an entity, particularly in the *aube*, as an implied physical or non-physical being that may not be directly mentioned in the work; and the effeminization of the object of desire regardless of its gender. The theme of desire is universal throughout medieval French poetry, and continues to be one that spans the globe and time, reminding a valid and stimulating topic of discussion in relation to modern-day theory. (Written and presented in French.)

Qu'est-ce qu'on veut? De quoi a-t-on besoin? Qu'est-ce qu'on désire? Au Moyen Âge, l'élément du désir est de grande importance dans la littérature. Selon Larousse, le désir est "la force qui est le propre de l'ordre inconscient" (305). En fait, c'est une force qui conduit et dirige nos actions. Dans la littérature du Moyen Âge, le désir prend plusieurs formes, mais la plus connue est sexuelle. René Girard nous donne la théorie concernant le désir triangulaire qu'on peut très bien incorporer dans nos études sur le désir. La triangularité du désir girardien illustre une nature violente qui très souvent mène vers la vengeance dans la littérature du Moyen Âge. Le désir traditionnel est la base de beaucoup de genres littéraires au Moyen Âge, comme la *ballette*, l'*aube*, le roman d'aventure, etc. Cette étude considérera l'existence générale du désir triangulaire dans les genres variés du Moyen Âge et, en même temps, expliquera la condition humaine vis-à-vis des rapports triangulaires.

Normalement, il y a trois personnages qui sont impliqués directement ou indirectement dans le désir, mais cette structure du désir triangulaire change d'une histoire à l'autre. Pour garder la terminologie employée par ces théoristes du désir, les troubadours, la *dompna* est la femme désirée et aimée par l'*amant* qui est obsédé par elle. Dans les oeuvres de Bernart de Ventadorn et Gace Brulé, elle est représentée sans pitié et dépourvue de sentiments pour l'*amant* qu'elle tourmente parce qu'elle l'a oublié ou ne le connaît pas du tout. La *dompna* peut être plus respectée dans la société que l'*amant* et souvent elle est mariée et n'est pas accessible. L'*amant* est soumis et se consume pour cette dame, mais il souffre toujours parce qu'il ne peut jamais l'atteindre. Le *lausengier* est représenté par le mari jaloux de la *dompna*. Dans la poésie du Moyen Âge, il est le rival et l'ennemi du poète.

LA BALLETTTE

Dans l'exemple où les rapports entre les deux sont réciproques, le *lausengier*, qui est l'obstacle du triangle, les interrompt. La *ballette* est un très bon exemple de ce système de désir. C'est un genre de poésie où une femme raconte l'histoire d'un rapport qui ne va plus bien avec son mari à cause de son infidélité. Elle a un autre amant, son mari la maltraite et elle ne comprend pas pourquoi. Elle est naïve de penser qu'il doit accepter le fait qu'il est cocu sans réagir à l'infidélité. Dans "Pourquoi mon mari me bat-il?" (*Por cor me bait mes maris*), la femme chante les mauvais traitements de son mari, alors qu'elle embrasse seulement son ami. Pour le lecteur, c'est elle la narratrice qui nous raconte les problèmes qu'elle a avec son mari, le jaloux. C'est lui, le rival de ses désirs, qui est toujours l'obstacle. Il ne permet jamais la réalisation ou la continuation d'un tel rapport. Analysant le comportement du mari jaloux, on peut considérer ses actions de violence envers sa femme comme une réaction indirecte contre son amant. Selon Girard, c'est le rejet qui augmente la haine du jaloux:

But these bonds are stronger than ever, for the mediator's apparent hostility does not diminish his prestige but instead augments it. The subject is convinced that the model considers himself too superior to accept him as a disciple. The subject is torn between two opposite feelings toward his model—the most submissive reverence and the most intense malice. This is the passion we call *hatred* (10).

La haine est le dernier cri de l'amour. Le jaloux est bien troublé par des émotions contradictoires. Premièrement, il est plein de ressentiment pour l'amant qui se plaît avec sa femme. Il ne veut pas être traité "de cocu" (365), donc il essaie de se protéger d'une telle honte. Il pense aussi qu'il est remplacé par quelqu'un de nouveau et de plus beau et, en ripostant, il attaque sa femme, son modèle de pureté et de corruption en même temps. La réponse de sa femme à ses mauvais traitements est exactement le contraire de ce qu'il désire. Dans les vers suivants, il est évident que l'adultère est la source de violence domestique, mais pour la femme, c'est la solution:

Or sai bien que je ferai
Et coment m'an vangerai:
Avec mon amin geirai,
Nuëte (Baumgartner 364).

Je sais ce que je vais faire
et comment je vais me venger:
je coucherai avec mon ami,
toute nue (Baumgartner 365).

Le désir n'est pas toujours mené par l'amour comme dans cet exemple qui exprime traditionnellement le désir triangulaire au Moyen Âge. Dans un autre exemple d'une balthette qui s'appelle "Amour ne se donne pas, il se vend..." (*Amors ne se donne, mais elle se vant*), l'amour est traité comme une marchandise. L'écrivain sait bien que le désir sexuel peut se vendre et il exploite le désir des autres pour satisfaire son propre désir, l'argent:

Ceu puet on moult bien prover certainement,
Car il n'est nuns ki ainme loialment,
C'il n'ait pooir de doneir, ki puist niant
An amor monteplier de son talent.
Amors ne se donne, mais elle se vant:
Il n'est nuns ki soit ameis s'i n'ait argent
(Baumgartner 366).

Cela est bien facile à prouver:
qui aime loyalement
n'a aucune chance, s'il n'a rien à offrir
de venir à bout de son désir.
Amour ne se donne pas, il se vend:
nul n'est aimé s'il n'a pas d'argent
(Baumgartner 367).

L'écrivain nous révèle ses pensées sur cette exploitation comme un instituteur qui enseigne au lecteur la réalité cruelle de l'achèvement du désir. Rien n'est gratuit; tout a un prix. La prostitution de l'amour est basée sur l'échange entre ce qui est luxe et ce qui est nécessaire dans le commerce. Le commerce s'occupe du désir où le vendeur essaie de tenter l'acheteur avec de bons produits désirables qui lui plaisent. Le plaisir est un élément important qui joue un grand rôle dans le rapport de l'homme (ou de la femme) dans la société.

La Rochefoucauld dans "De la Société" (*Réflexions Diverses*), explique très bien le rapport que l'homme a avec la société quand il dit, "Chacun veut trouver son plaisir et ses avantages aux dépens des autres" (504). Ce qui est important chez La Rochefoucauld est que le plaisir soit trouvé à travers les autres soit qu'ils l'aiment, soit qu'ils l'acceptent. C'est à dire que les vœux des autres ne sont pas considérés dans l'équation du désir de quelqu'un. Ce que je propose est que le plaisir nous exprime la satisfaction du désir incomplet qu'on reçoit des autres. On n'a pas la chance de trouver notre propre plaisir parce que la société continue à nous imposer ce qu'elle considère désirable. Donc, il faut nous éloigner de la société pour découvrir notre vrai plaisir. Malheureusement, notre désir n'est jamais satisfait. Surtout avec le désir sexuel dans le monde commercial, on ne peut pas acheter assez pour satisfaire nos plaisirs corporels parce que le désir reviendra et on désirera plus.

LA PASTOURELLE

Un autre élément très important dans le commerce comme dans le désir triangulaire est la flatterie. L'action de flatter aide le vendeur à vendre son produit à travers la tentation. La flatterie peut vendre un produit de luxe à travers la persuasion de son besoin. Si le désir est assez fort, on l'achètera. La flatterie accomplit le désir du marchand et de l'acheteur en même temps. Le marchand tente l'acheteur avec des compliments en espérant qu'il achètera ce qu'on vend. On ne flatte jamais sans la possibilité de gagner quelque chose de réciproque. En même temps, l'acheteur voudrait en effet entendre la flatterie parce qu'elle lui plaît. On est convaincu d'acheter parce qu'on espère que les compliments continueront. Dans la littérature du Moyen Âge, l'amant flatte la dompna pour achever son désir. La pastourelle est le genre qui nous donne le meilleur exemple de la flatterie. Le thème typique du genre est un chevalier qui rencontre une bergère dans la forêt où il essaie de la séduire. De temps en temps, le chevalier reçoit le rapport qu'il cherche, et d'autres fois, il ne le reçoit pas. La dompna n'est pas toujours la victime dans ce genre parce qu'elle peut consentir ou refuser, mais ce qui est plus important est l'action de flatter. Dans le texte suivant, *L'Autrier Cavalcaava*, Gui d'Ussel nous montre les bons mots qui persuadent la femme à ouvrir son cœur:

Tosa de bon aire,
Dis eu, ses temer
Prèc que'm digatz ver,
Si'us ven a plazer,
Quenha chansós èra
Cela que disiatz èra,
Quant eu vinc aissi;
Quar anc mais, si vos affi,
Tan ben chantar pastora non auzí
(Bec 54).

Gracieuse jeune fille,
lui dis-je hardiment,
je vous prie de me dire en vérité,
si cela vous agrée,
le nom de la chanson
que vous chantiez toute à l'heure,
lorsque j'arrivai:
car jamais, je vous l'assure,
je n'entendis pastoure si bien chanter
(Bec 56).

Ces mots ouvrent la porte de la conversation qui les débouche sur un rapport sexuel. Dans ce poème, la flatterie remplit le vide dans le cœur de la femme qui manque de gentillesse. Elle nous expose sa naïveté quand elle lui parle de son ancienne trahison et lui offre son amour pour toute la vie. Dans les vers suivants, le lecteur peut voir les mensonges que le chevalier nourrit:

Franca res grazida,
Ma voluntat n'ai complida,
Si'm n'ètz en acòrt,
De vos que'm fatz a bon port
Venir joiós de tot perilh estòrt
(Bec 55).

Franche et chère créature,
mon désir est exaucé
si vous y consentez;
vous me faites arriver à bon port,
joyeux et à l'abri de tout danger
(Bec 57).

Ce qui est important chez le chevalier c'est l'accomplissement de son désir. Il sait bien ce qu'il désire et pour l'achever, il faut cacher la vérité. Malheureusement, la pucelle n'est pas si claire dans ses vœux, alors il faut considérer ce qui n'est pas dit. Au lecteur, le consentement de la femme est une promesse symbolique et n'est pas basée seulement sur l'amour physique. Tout ce qu'elle dit clarifie qu'elle cherche un amour réel, ce que le chevalier ne désire pas, mais son désespoir pour l'amour l'aveugle et lui cache la réalité de la situation.

Selon Jean Felman, c'est la parole qui détermine le résultat pour l'homme. La séduction de ses mots est ce qui attire. C'est un désir au-dessous d'un autre; le langage se désire:

The desire of a Don Juan is thus at once desire for desire and desire for language; a desire that desires *itself* and that desires its own language. Speech is the true realm of eroticism, and not simply a means of access to this realm. To seduce is to produce language that enjoys,

language that takes pleasure in having "no more to say." To seduce is thus to prolong, within desiring speech, the pleasure-taking performance of the very production of that speech (28).

On compare le chevalier dans la pastourelle avec Dom Juan, bien qu'il y ait des différences entre les deux. Notre chevalier séduit parce qu'il connaît le chemin du cœur de la femme. La séduction touche bien ses émotions qui mènent au rapport sexuel. Les deux hommes mentent parce qu'ils savent que la femme ne veut pas entendre la vérité. Le chevalier dépasse Dom Juan dans le jeu de séduire parce qu'il prend l'avantage d'un rapport sexuel quand il a la chance.¹ La séduction se désire, cela veut dire qu'elle produit un désir dans le cœur de la femme et réalise celui du chevalier en même temps.² La jouissance vient de l'acte physique, le produit de la parole.

La différence entre *un amour* et *un amant* doit être adressé dans la pastourelle. Cette différence que l'on fait entre les deux s'adresse spécifiquement à la pastourelle. Les deux sont basés sur le désir, mais leurs formes ne sont pas les mêmes. Le premier est un désir *duré*, c'est à dire qu'il est nourri et respecté à travers le temps. Le second est celui du *moment* qui arrive à cause de sa nouveauté et de l'instant. Il n'est pas de substance émotionnelle, mais de consistance sexuelle qui ne dure jamais. Pour cette raison, il faut qu'elle interroge ses vrais désirs pour un amour quand elle consent au rapport si vite.

Dans la pastourelle, la jeune femme est traitée comme une marchandise qu'on peut jeter. Normalement, le chevalier essaie d'amadouer la demoiselle pour achever son propre désir. C'est le mystère d'une si belle bergère qui tente son désir, lui laissant le choix de garder sa fidélité qui est toujours questionnée dans ce genre. Que ce soit sa fidélité pour un autre amant, ou sa virginité, elle risque toujours de perdre quelque chose quand elle consent au désir du chevalier. Comme on a déjà mentionné, de temps en temps, les avances du chevalier ne convainquent pas la pucelle à se donner comme on voit dans "Ce matin, au lever du jour..." (*Hui main par un ajornant*):

VII. - Chevalier, se Dex vos voie,
puis que prendre volez proie,
en plus haut lieu la pernez que ne seroie:
petit gaaigneriez et g'i perdroie.

—Chevalier, que Dieu vous garde!
Si vous voulez bien,
adressez-vous en plus haut lieu:
votre butin serait bien mince, moi j'y
perdrais beaucoup.

IX. - Pastorele, trop es sage
de garder ton pucelage:
se toutes tes conpaignetes fussent si,
plus en alast de puceles a mari
(Baumgartner 320).

—Bergère, tu as bien raison
de garder ton pucelage:
si toutes tes amies étaient ainsi,
un peu plus de filles se marieraient pucelles!
(Baumgartner 321)

Dans les premières strophes, le chevalier essayait d'acheter ses affections en disant, "...une ceinture avec cinquante clous d'or, tu l'aurais, si tu me laissais dévaster ton pré" [...a cinquante boutons d'or avroiz çainture, si me lessiez prender proie en vo pasture.] (Baugmartner 320). On voit qu'un désir est employé pour acheter un autre, et comme dans le commerce, c'est l'échange qui est important. Ici, le chevalier plaçait la valeur de la virginité de la femme au même niveau que sa ceinture d'or. Il est évident que la pucelle est assez intelligente pour reconnaître ce qu'elle perdrait si elle y consentait. Ce qui est intéressant est que le chevalier change de discours et qu'il lui fait des compliments pour qu'elle n'accepte pas ses avances. En effet, il admet indirectement qu'il trichait quand il s'est rendu compte de ce qu'il a dit. Dans ce cas-ci, la femme triomphe parce qu'elle garde son désir *duré* (sa virginité) au lieu d'embrasser le *moment*.

L'AUBE

En revenant au jaloux dans le triangle du désir, on voit que le portrait du jaloux change selon les genres au Moyen Âge. L'aube est un exemple d'un poème chanté par une femme sur la séparation

de son amant provoquée par l'apparition du soleil. Un genre qui était bien favori par les écrivains d'oc est l'isolement des amants et la dissimulation de leurs rapports qui vont être interrompus par un obstacle naturel. Dans l'aube appelée "En un verger..." (*En un vergier . . .*), c'est le jour qui est l'obstacle et qui sépare les deux amants. Ce genre nous montre que l'obstacle n'est pas toujours humain, comme l'objet de désir n'est pas toujours corporel:

En un vergièr sotz fòlha d'albespi
Tenc la dòmna son amic còsta si,
Tro la gaita crida que l'alba vi.

Oi dèus, oi dèus, de l'alba! tan tòst ve
(Bec 57).

En un verger, sous le feuillage d'une aubépine,
la dame a gardé son ami près d'elle,
jusqu'à ce que le veilleur ait crié qu'il a vu
poindre l'aube.

Oh! Dieu! oh! Dieu! cette aube! comme elle vient tôt!
(Bec 58)

Il est évident que la nuit est indirectement désirée et s'identifie au long du désir de l'amant parce qu'elle permet le rapport. Il y a presque toujours un désir au-dessous d'un autre. Cette théorie est aussi vraie pour l'obstacle ou le jaloux. Dans ce cas-ci, le réveil du jour est l'obstacle direct pour les deux amants, mais il ne serait pas considéré comme tel sauf s'il n'y avait pas déjà un autre obstacle indirect. Pour la femme, c'est peut-être son mari qui l'attend. L'écrivain en fait mention et c'est lui qui est la vraie raison pour laquelle elle ne veut pas que l'aube vienne; elle doit retourner à lui:

Bèls dous amics, baisem nos eu e vos
Aval els pratz on chanto'ls auzelós;
Tot o fassam en despèit del gilós:
Oi dèus, oi dèus, de l'alba! tan tòst ve
(Bec 58).

Beau doux ami, faisons un jeu nouveau
dans le jardin où chantent les oiseaux,
jusqu'à ce que le veilleur joue de son chalumeau.
Oh! Dieu!...
(Bec 59)

Dans le système naturel de l'ordre de l'univers, ce sont toujours des oppositions binaires qui travaillent ensemble pour régler la nature comme la nuit et le jour. Sans l'un, la conception de l'autre ne peut pas exister. Au-dessus de ce système, il y a Dieu qui dirige tout. Dieu est mentionné dans tous les refrains qui nous expliquent sa domination dans cet ordre et pour la femme, *Il* est le grand rival. Selon Girard, le rival est ce qui ne permet pas que le désir soit reconnu. Il nous explique que, "...the mediator here is a *rival*, brought into existence as a rival by vanity, and that same vanity demands his defeat..." (7) Dieu joue le rôle du médiateur omniprésent et du masculin qui contrôle tout: les désirs et les obstacles de la femme. Son pouvoir est validé par le ton désespéré du refrain. Le cri de pitié de la femme est plus prolongé que d'habitude mais toujours pas entendu.

L'aube nous fournit un exemple du désir à travers un système hiérarchique. Selon Hélène Cixous, on doit considérer la victoire du désir masculin et féminin dans ce système construit par des oppositions binaires:

We see that 'victory' always comes down to the same thing: things get hierarchical. Organization by hierarchy makes all conceptual organization subject to man. Male privilege, shown in the opposition between activity and passivity, which he uses to sustain himself. Traditionally, the question of sexual difference is treated by coupling it with the opposition: activity / passivity (Easthope 146).

A travers cette structure, Dieu reste le mâle actif qui supprime les désirs de la femme. L'aube symbolise la masculinité de Dieu qui termine et, éventuellement, domine la nuit, le symbole de la féminité. Bien que la femme ne puisse pas échapper à cet ordre symbolique dans l'aube, il y a d'autres exemples dans la littérature du Moyen Âge où les rôles sexuels et les oppositions traditionnelles du désir sont renversés.

LA CHANTEFABLE

Il n'est pas difficile de reconnaître des renversements entre les personnages dans la chantefable, *Aucassin et Nicolette*. Ce genre particulier est très rare au Moyen Âge et on peut le considérer comme "un jeu de société" où l'écrivain nous expose une histoire un peu comique d'un amour entre deux jeunes gens à travers des renversements de rôles sociaux. Ce jeu des sexes marche bien avec la parodie que l'auteur établit dès le titre. Aucassin a un nom Sarrasin, mais il vient de la France. Nicolette vient d'un pays étranger mais elle a un nom français. L'écrivain déconstruit les stéréotypes sexuels qui définissent l'homme et la femme en relation l'un avec l'autre:

Naie voir, tant n'atenderoie je mie; ains m'esquelderoie de si lonc que je verroie une maisiere u une bisse pierre, s'i hurterioie si durement me teste que j'en feroie les ex voler et que je m'escerveleroie tos. Encor ameroie je mix a morir de se faite mort que je seusse que vos euscies jut en lit a home, s'el mien non.

— A! fait ele, je ne quit mie que vous m'amés tant con vos dites; mais je vos aim plus que vos ne faciés mi (XIV vers 9-19).

Non, non, je n'attendrais pas tant, mais, d'aussi loin que je verrais un mur ou une pierre de granit, je m'élancerais et m'y heurterais la tête avec une telle violence que je me ferais sauter les yeux et jaillir toute la cervelle. Je préférerais mourir de cette horrible mort plutôt que d'apprendre que vous ayez couché dans le lit d'un autre homme que moi.

— Ah! fait-elle, je ne crois pas que vous m'aimiez autant que vous le dites; mais je vous aime plus que vous ne le faites de moi (Dufournet, trans. XIV vers 11-20).

Nicolette échappe de la chambre dans laquelle elle était captive pour chercher Aucassin. Elle le trouve en prison où il pleurait désespéré. Elle lui dit la vérité sur leur situation: les parents d'Aucassin la détestent et il vaut mieux qu'elle aille dans un autre pays. Entre ces deux amants, c'est elle qui est rationnelle et réaliste. Elle contrôle ses actions avec du calme. Aucassin continue de lui dire que l'amour de la femme n'est pas aussi fort que celui de l'homme parce que le sien "est en son oeil" (XIV vers 22) et que l'amour de la femme demeure dans le cœur. Cette déconstruction des sentiments d'amour contredit exactement ce qu'on voyait dans la pastourelle. Dans ce genre-là, l'amour de l'homme est basé sur ce qu'il voit alors que pour elle, l'amour est ce qu'elle ressent dans son cœur. Peut-être le meilleur exemple des renversements des rôles de sexe est dans le *Lai de Graelent*.

LE LAI

Le lai est une chanson d'amour qui est beaucoup plus longue que *le canso*.³ Dans cette histoire, la reine de Bretagne aimait un jeune et beau chevalier. Elle voulait bien coucher avec lui. Quand elle s'approchait de lui, il rejetait son amour. Graelent comprenait le vrai sens de l'amour et la différence entre un amour et un amant:

— Dame, dist il, je n'aimme pas,
d'amors tenir n'est mie gas.
Cil doit estre de mout grant pris
qui s'entremet qu'il soit amis.
Tel. VC. parolent d'amor,
n'en sevent pas le pior tor,
ne que est loiax druerie.
Ains lor ragë e lor folie,
perece, wisseuse e faintise
enpire amor en mainte guise.
Amors demande caasté

Dame, dit-il, je n'aime personne
et ce n'est pas un jeu que d'être en amour.
Qui songe à aimer doit être d'un très grand mérite.
Des centaines de gens
parlent de l'amour
en ignorant ses pires pièges
et ce qu'est une loyale affection;
mais leur rage et leur folie,
leur paresse, leur lâcheté, leurs mensonges
font tort à l'amour de mille manières.
L'amour exige la chasteté

en fais, en dis e en pensé.
 Se l'uns des amans est loiax
 e li autre est jalox e faus,
 si est amors entr'ex fausee,
 ne puet avoir longe duree.
 (vers 73-88)

en actes, en paroles et en pensées.
 Si l'un des amants est loyal
 et l'autre jaloux et fourbe,
 leur amour est gâté
 et ne peut durer longtemps.
 (Micha, trans. vers 73-88)

On revient encore à l'élément de fidélité. Pour Graelent, l'amour n'est pas un jeu comme il était joué au Moyen Âge. Il parle des dangers qui accompagnent le désir. Il lui conseille de ne pas se donner aux désirs sexuels et de ne pas faire partie du désir triangulaire. "L'amour exige la chasteté en actes, en paroles et en pensées" (*Lai de Graelent* 25). Ceci est un avertissement direct contre la spontanéité du désir sexuel. En représailles, la reine l'attaque à la cour.

Elle n'oublie pas qu'il l'avait rejetée, donc il fallait qu'elle se venge. A une soirée, le roi montre la reine sur une table pour que tout le monde lui donne des compliments. Graelent était la seule personne qui "couvrit sa tête, baissa son visage" (*Lai de Graelent* 45), et la reine a pris sa chance de venger:

— Voiies, sire, ques deshonor!
 N'avés baronn ne m'ait loee
 fors Graelent qui m'a gabee.
 Bien sai qu'il m'a pieça haie,
 je cuit qu'il a de moi envie
 (*Lai de Graelent* vers 438-442).

— Voyez, seigneur, quel déshonneur!
 Pas un seul de vos barons qui ne m'ait louée,
 sauf Graelant qui s'est moqué de moi.
 Je sais bien qu'il me déteste depuis longtemps.
 Je crois qu'il n'a pour moi que de la haine.
 (Micha, trans. vers 438-442)

A cause de ce déshonneur, Graelent est jeté en prison. Dans ce cas-ci, la reine a le pouvoir de se venger. Elle désire l'affection et les compliments de tous, de Graelent en particulier. Puisqu'elle ne peut jamais l'avoir, elle détruira ce qu'elle désire tant. La vengeance joue un grand rôle dans le désir triangulaire comme on l'a déjà vu au début de notre étude. La haine est exactement le contraire de l'amour. La vengeance est un acte de désespoir qui attire pour la dernière fois l'attention de celui (ou celle) qu'elle (ou il) aime.

LE ROMAN D'AVENTURE

Dans *Perceval ou Le Roman du Graal*, on voit une construction de vengeance qui est très intéressante. Dans la première partie du roman, Perceval, un jeune homme élevé dans la forêt, quitte sa maison pour devenir un chevalier d'Arthur. Maltraitant la pucelle de L'Orgueilleux de la Lande dans la forêt, il provoque la colère du comte. Ce qui est important, c'est que c'est la vengeance qui marque la triangularité dans ce cas-ci. L'Orgueilleux jure qu'il se vengera, bien que Perceval ne sache même pas qu'il a fait du mal. Après son viol, la pucelle dit à son ami toute la vérité, mais il n'est pas convaincu. Plus tard, Perceval rencontre une pucelle misérable. Il trouve qu'il l'avait maltraitée et il rencontre l'Orgueilleux qui s'était vengé sur elle:

On aurait pu la voir très belle mais sa vêtue était si pauvre, sa robe n'avait de bonne étoffe pas plus large qu'une paume. Le reste était mal recousu à grosses coutures, et partout rattaché de noeuds laissant pourtant passer les seins (Foucher, trans.102).

L'Orgueilleux ne se fie pas à elle. La pucelle est un objet qu'il possède. Il ne considère pas ses émotions mais il est plus concerné par la défense de son honneur. Quelqu'un a violé sa propriété et, puisqu'il n'avait pas la chance de confronter l'homme qui l'avait fait, il a fallu blâmer l'objet du désir, celui qu'il domine.

Perceval admet le crime et les deux se battent. Il vainc L'Orgueilleux et lui demande de réparer ce qu'il a fait. Il demande que la pucelle soit bien traitée et envoyée au roi Arthur. Ici, Perceval se repent de ses péchés et il venge les mauvais traitements de la pucelle en même temps. Il

envoie L'Orgueilleux au roi avec un message à la jeune pucelle giflée par Keu, un chevalier d'Arthur, disant "...que rien ne pourra m'appeler à la cour du roi Arthur tant que je ne l'aurai vengée" (107). Perceval se transforme d'objet de la vengeance en celui qui la cherche. Il emploie L'Orgueilleux comme intermédiaire dans un autre triangle de désir. Au lieu de l'amour, le désir est de la vengeance et pour cette raison, on peut dire que Perceval défend l'honneur de la femme et pas le sien.

Le Gaulois finit par se venger au nom de la demoiselle après avoir combattu et vaincu le chevalier Keu avant d'aller à la cour du roi avec Gauvain. Il se réfère à la pucelle comme "mon amie" (116) bien qu'il ne la connaisse pas. Pour le lecteur, il semble que la vengeance évoque un désir sexuel pour la jeune femme "...dont il se souvient qu'elle riait, puis il lui dit: «S'il vous en était besoin, belle, le chevalier je serais bien dont l'aide ne vous manquerait.»" (119). Par ces mots, il se donne au désir sexuel en offrant ses services et son amour à travers la flatterie. A ce moment-là, il semblerait que tout le monde soit vengé, mais c'est toujours l'homme qui se venge jusqu'à la fin de cette histoire.

Perceval était l'objet de la vengeance et celui qui l'a accomplie, mais il n'a pas vraiment payé pour ses péchés contre les femmes. C'est à la cour d'Arthur où après la parution d'une pucelle que personne n'a jamais vue, que la vengeance de toutes les femmes maltraitées se réalise contre lui. Cette pucelle représente l'honneur de toutes les femmes. C'est elle aussi qui a la dernière parole et qui distingue l'avenir de Perceval et la terre:

«Ah, Perceval, si Fortune a cheveux devant, elle est bien chauve par-derrière! Qu'il soit maudit qui te salue ou qui te souhaite quelque bien! Fortune tu n'as su saisir quand elle passa près de toi! . . . le Roi Pêcheur à triste vie eût été guéri de sa plaie; posséderait en paix sa terre dont plus jamais il ne tiendra même un lambeau. Sais-tu ce qu'il en sera? Les femmes perdront leurs maris, les terres seront dévastées, et les pucelles sans secours ne pourront plus qu'être orphelines et maint chevalier mourra. Tous ces maux-là viendront de toi» (120-121).

On voit que la seule manière de corriger ce qu'il a fait est de partir en quête. La femme pendant le roman n'a pas de pouvoir jusqu'à maintenant. La vengeance de la femme est considérée comme de la sorcellerie symbolisée par la contre-beauté qui fait peur aux hommes. Cette pucelle mystérieuse est décrite comme un monstre que "jamais vit-on être aussi laid, même en enfer" (120). Au Moyen Âge, ce topos nous réfère à la prévision d'un mal à venir. Shakespeare employait la même construction avec les trois sorcières dans sa pièce *Macbeth* qui prédisent l'avenir de la tragédie.

L'analyse du désir diffère d'une personne à l'autre selon leur désir malgré le genre littéraire. Le désir triangulaire semble être un phénomène immortel, une caractéristique psychique qui arrive à la surface d'un besoin. Il est aussi imité et appris des autres, une construction qui dépend de la personne désirée. Est-ce une question de comment demeurer avec ou de le supprimer? On ne sait pas, mais il continue constamment de nous troubler même aujourd'hui. La triangularité de désir peut être constructive ou déconstructive selon le point de vue du protagoniste. Bien qu'il soit brutal de temps en temps, pour quelques-uns c'est un phénomène qui nous donne de l'inspiration pour assouvir nos vœux. Pour d'autres, c'est un système d'exploitation des aspirations d'un autre. Le désir domine la littérature du Moyen Âge, comme celle d'aujourd'hui. Il fleurit dans nos émissions, nos magazines et nos journaux. Il nourrit la musique, la mode et la beauté. Nous sommes toujours en train de désirer ce que nous voulons, ce que nous souhaitons ou ce que nous n'avons pas déjà. Il nous consume dans nos pensées et dans nos rêves. Le désir, c'est nous.

NOTES

- 1 Cette critique de Dom Juan se réfère au personnage dans la version par Molière (Classique Larousse, 1991).
- 2 Ceci se réfère à l'idée de Jean Felman que "le désir aussi se désire", c'est-à-dire il perpétue une reproduction spontanée d'encore plus de désir qui par la suite sert à continuer le cycle de besoin.
- 3 *Le canso* est une chanson d'amour des troubadours qui a environ 7 ou 8 strophes de 5 à 10 vers.

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GETTING AWAY WITH LAUGHTER: APPROACHES TO THE COMEDY OF FRANCES BURNEY AND JANE AUSTEN

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Margaret Atwood, the Canadian novelist, once asked a group of women at a university why they felt threatened by men. The women said they were afraid of being beaten, raped, or killed by men. She then asked a group of men why they felt threatened by women. They said they were afraid women would laugh at them. (Ivins 288)

The responses to Margaret Atwood make one wonder how much of a role the threat of women's laughter plays in men's violent treatment of them, and how much women's fears of men's violence have stilled their laughter. In the face of such threats, Frances Burney and Jane Austen were two daring comediennes. While under pressure to uphold the English conception of femininity, a category that excludes comedy, they wrote undeniably comic literature which just as undeniably threatened men.

The violence that these two writers faced was not literal in the way that the Atwood exchange implies; "being beaten" instead serves as a metaphor for being silenced. For late eighteenth century women writers this could mean having their work go unpublished or being mocked in reviews, not to mention being discouraged from writing comedy from the outset. Their physical freedoms were not at stake, but their writing freedoms were.

In selecting male characters to mock, Burney and Austen ignored the threat of male retaliation. They exacerbate this threat as they comically divert, even blockade, the road to marriage. Studying Burney's *Evelina* and Austen's juvenilia enables us to understand and appreciate the serious, even mortal, dangers behind women laughing at men. It also allows us to recognize new comic aspects of those writers' works. Critics frequently approach Burney's comedy in a piecemeal fashion, zeroing in on episodes without considering her entire comic vision. And Austen's juvenilia, often dealt with perfunctorily, offers a physical, relentless comedy that can lead us to reconsider the comedy in her early and mature work. Studying their comedy means understanding how they got around constraints on their writing—how they laughed at men and got away with it.

I. The current state of women's comic theory

Before discussing Burney's and Austen's comedy, we need to ask whether "comedy" is the appropriate term to use, and then examine how the current status of comic theory can be helpful, but also misleading or insufficient, when analyzing these writers. One of the difficulties of writing about what is funny involves choosing a term and then accounting for how other sources do or do not employ it. Prominent theorists either choose one term without explaining their use of it, such as Judy Little in *Comedy and the Woman Writer*, or use a slew of terms without accounting for differences in their meaning, such as Gregg Camfield in *Necessary Madness*. Citing such texts requires identifying what term—humor, comedy, laughter, joke-telling—an author uses, and then considering if that person's use of "humor," for example, fits the current discussion.

To discuss these writers' works, I have chosen to use the term "comedy" as a global term, as opposed to "joke" or "humor," and to use "laughter" as that which is the manifestation or result of comedy. Joke-telling necessitates a punchline. *Evelina* abounds with Captain Mirvan's jokes, but such jokes do not comprise all that is funny in the novel; hence, the term is too limited. Whereas Peter Farb sees humor as promoting communication, at times by dissipating aggression, Freud includes the act of aggression, of laughing at the comic object, within his definition of comedy (768; 247). In the case of a woman laughing at a man, however, what I am calling comedy is aggressive precisely because it fails to do what Farb claims humor does: build community.

What is the current status of women's comic theory, and how do these theories apply to Burney and Austen? Many theorists pay homage to Helene Cixous's 1976 article, "The Laugh of the Medusa," which centers on the image, if not the analysis, of a woman laughing.¹ In *Comedy and the*

Woman Writer, the first book entirely on the subject of women's literary comedy, Little places this figure in a liminal mode, theorizing that experiences such as birth and marriage give rise to women's comedy. The notion of comedy's location "between the acts" of significant events makes it relevant to a novel of education such as *Evelina*, where the heroine learns appropriate behavior through comedy (3). Little's work toward locating comedy in women's texts contributes greatly to answering the reader's question, "Where is it?" Yet her theory is not comprehensive. It addresses some of the comedy in Austen's juvenilia but does not shed much light on the insistence of Austen's comic narrator, who pokes fun at characters several times per page. Nor can Little account for the everyday nature of *Evelina's* comedy, which emanates from and targets characters in non-liminal states, characters who have nothing to do with the romantic thread of the novel. And finally, her emphasis on liminality requires an examination of what qualifies as a rite of passage. Although birth and death seem beyond debate, Austen's casual treatment in her juvenilia of these elements and such other manufactured liminalities as marriage hints at alternate readings. In "Henry and Eliza," for instance, Eliza's discovery of a three-month-old baby in a haystack takes precedence over her having given birth to that very baby, an event she quickly forgot.

Regina Barreca and Nancy Walker, two other theorists of women's humor, have also made significant yet problematic contributions to the field.² In her numerous surveys and analyses of nineteenth and twentieth century American comic female writers, Walker correctly defines the female *iron* as a complex mix of innocence, which generates the humor, and self-awareness, which allows for a critique of the inequality being dramatized ("Agelaste" 119). Yet her assertion that women's humor "rarely provokes more than a giggle," that it is "more restrained," seriously diminishes a reader's expectations of it (122). If, as George Meredith wisely observed, one who fails to read in the comic spirit will miss the comedy, then similarly, Walker expecting only a giggle will probably miss the guffaws to be enjoyed.

For Barreca, the different dimensions of women's literary humor, as opposed to "traditional" (i.e., male) humor, are the reasons why humor in women's texts has for the most part gone undetected. Since women have different ideas of pleasure, their comedy leading to those ends will be manifestly different from male comedy (19). In this way Barreca enters the debate over whether men's and women's comedy can be distinguished, and if so, how. By pairing four female and four male nineteenth century American humorists, for instance, Camfield seeks to establish similarities that would refute Barreca, although her points that comedy infuses many literary forms, and that deviating from traditional literary forms gives rise to comedy, still need to be kept in mind when looking for women's comedy.

Barreca and Walker, as well as such theorists of gender and comedy as Gail Finney and Lisa Merrill, and such anthropologists as Suzanne Bunkers, Joanne Gullivan, and Carol Mitchell, all have examined whether women create comedy from making fun of themselves, or of others. Finney has identified two categories of women's comedy, "female," or comedy produced by women, and "feminist," pro-women comedy that either women or men can create (11). Such cultural democracy, such "feminist" comedy, is at the heart of Austen's and Burney's comedy, albeit in ironic ways. Burney pokes fun at male and female agelastes, and the characters who respond to them. Austen mocks every character.

Do female characters laugh at males in women-authored texts? According to Emily Toth, not directly. Toth, like Barreca, Dresner, and Walker, reads women's comedy as directed at larger targets than individual males. The choices both sexes make, and traditional social norms themselves, are the sources of comedy (201). Kate Fullbrook applies this concept to Austen, saying that Austen wants us to find the structures of her world funny (42). These claims account for a trend in women's comedy theory which weds it to norms of politeness. If a woman wants to create comedy without being called a "Medusa," she had better diffuse it by targeting an idea or political body, not an individual. This remains true even when the individuals are fictional, suggesting that people can, but do not want to, recognize their comic flaws.

Such people would deny women's comedy or, as in Atwood's dynamic, react badly to it, especially if they perceive the laughs as dunning or corrective. While women's comedy is not limited to the satiric, male readers might be threatened by real or perceived satire. A satirist writes from a

morally, intellectually, or socially privileged point of view—a knowing point of view—something that many men would not want to grant women. Thus, stigmatizing satire in women's writing would in part keep this threat at bay.

Despite the threat, both of these writers target individual men—and women—for laughs. Burney mocks Mr. Smith's grandiose notions of himself and his tendency to spread misinformation because he is disinclined to admit his ignorance. In "Catherine, or The Bower," Austen makes fun of Stanley for being self-centered, particularly when he convinces Kitty that they should break with decorum and surprise everyone at the ball because his presence will cause universal delight (209). The dynamic of women laughing at men needs attention, not only because it adds another dimension to theories of women's comedy, but also because it foregrounds Burney's and Austen's narrowing their focus to individual male characters. Their writing is a twist on gallows laughter, for by directing their comedy at distinguishable men, they dare to provoke male anger. This daring is scary, so the tension when released as laughter has the force of a scream: aggressive, unexpected, explosive.

II. Mainstream comic theorists' treatment of women

To begin examining how a laughing woman threatens many men, we can turn to earlier comic theories by George Meredith and Mikhail Bakhtin which are apparently "pro-woman," and see if they endorse women's laughter. While Bakhtin's relevance to historical and feminist readings of comedy justifies his inclusion here, Meredith's requires some explanation. Several theorists of women's comedy such as Karen Gindele, David McWhirter, and Kay Young uphold "An Essay on Comedy" as pro-female, and others like Barreca and Little praise his feminist comic heroines. He is important to any consideration of women's comedy because he directly integrates gender into comic theory; one reads "Essay" feeling that she has been considered. And Meredith views intellect rather than sentiment as the basis for comedy, putting him, as Robert B. Martin establishes, in the company of mid-eighteenth rather than mid-nineteenth century comic writers (90; viii). Meredith favors the incongruity theory of comedy, which accounts for scenes such as Evelina's capture by two prostitutes, and the gender reversal in "Jack and Alice," where Alice proposes to and is rejected by Charles. Burney and Austen hearken back to Restoration comedies of manners, from making references to fops to laughing at cuckolds, the latter of which came under fire later in the eighteenth century (Tave 49). Further, while Stuart M. Tave traces the growth of amiable, sentimental humor and laughter with its greater acceptance during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this concept did not have much to do with women's comedy at that time. Whether women's comedy did seem good-humored, like Louisa Henrietta Sheridan's, or satiric, like Anna Letitia Barbauld's, it was rejected in print simply for being comedy written by women. Because it subtly criticizes sentimental humor, as Martin notes, Meredith's "Essay" aligns with Burney's and Austen's use of comedy.

While he stands out among other comic theorists such as Bergson and Freud for insisting on women's potential to create comedy and not just function as the butt of jokes, and while he even supports women's complete emancipation, George Meredith actually fears the freedom comedy grants women. Meredith's treatment of women and comedy, therefore, says as much about his need to control women's behavior, in particular their laughter, as about his view of women as comic practitioners. For Meredith, women historically have not and currently do not engage in comedy, a failure in his view of the female sex. Part of the dilemma arises from Meredith's own slim reading for comedy. Despite his championing of the comic spirit, Meredith did not read past or contemporary women's writing in ways receptive to the comedy in it. Martin points out that Meredith cites none of his 1870s contemporaries; in fact, Meredith identifies comic female characters, Celimene from *The Misanthrope* and Millamant from *The Way of the World*, but no women writers.

Meredith also recommends comedy as a method of improving women in ways that make their relations more harmonious with men, advice which, by limiting the range of women's comedy, speaks to his fear of it. When Meredith expresses his desire that "pure comedy" as practiced by women "would help them to be, the sweetest of diversions, the wisest of delightful companions," he is not only defining comic women solely by their relationship to men, not only failing to take stock of women's existing grace, but also insisting that women's humor should be limited to the sweet and delightful (32). This last point poses two problems. First, it precludes much of women's comedy; Jane Austen would never be able to write comically by assuming a superior point of view, as she does in

Emma by ridiculing Mr. Woodhouse's easy transfer of "his backgammon-playing, gossiping affection" from his dead wife to his children and their governess (14). Second, Meredith's limited vision of women's comedy contradicts some of his other statements in the same essay about the function of comedy. While admitting that comedy must be at times restrained, Meredith also claims that dullness arouses comedy, which cannot help but imply superiority on the part of the laugher, and can therefore hardly maintain the "sweetness" of women's comedy (36).

Meredith's idea of comedy as a way of examining oneself, and his identification of anger, pretentiousness, and folly as comic prey, also imply a kind of probing aggressiveness toward oneself and others that is not akin to sweetness or delightfulness (14; 33). As Wylie Sypher notes, Meredith, like Henri Bergson who followed him, defines comedy in ways that restrict it to the rational comedy of manners, where one provokes laughter through incongruity, not absurdity or the nonsensical (195). Limited to begin with, Meredith's theory further restricts the range of women's comedy. By directing it toward innocuous ends, Meredith seeks to promote a constrained, non-threatening type of comedy from women, one expressly intended to improve their wifely role rather than to poke fun at, and thereby threaten, men. Though apparently promoting women's comedy, then, Meredith in fact confines it to innocuous subjects—a move which Margaret Atwood's male audience would applaud.

Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of comedy's proliferation in carnival should also be considered because of the supposed freedoms it offers to women. Like Meredith's illustration of the comic spirit, Bakhtin's theory of carnival helps identify properties of comedy, women's included. It too, however, is insufficient in accounting for the conditions under which women's comedy may occur. Critics such as Gabriela Castellanos and Mary Russo have found carnival useful in discussing the qualities of some women writers' humor, and many carnivalesque aspects, such as the creation of grotesques and misalliances, do help identify women's comic inventions. In *Mansfield Park*, for example, the carnivalesque environment of London provides the mood for Maria Rushworth to sever her marriage by running away with Henry Crawford. When she finally reenters the world of patriarchal control, her father banishes her and Aunt Norris from England. Her home country represents the potential for carnival which London fulfills; accordingly, banishment to Europe represents the end of any possibility of comedy in her life.

But carnival, as Bakhtin defines it, is an established activity that allows only temporary freedom of play and attack on the higher ranks of the social hierarchy. Carnival serves to strengthen the status quo by allowing joke-telling to function as a socially acceptable outlet for feelings of anger, a function Freud cites as primary behind telling a joke (125). The sanction of carnival encourages people to "read" others with an eye for comedy. Thus, people are more likely to detect comedy, and comic targets are more likely to tolerate ridicule. Women's comedy, in contrast, does not enjoy these luxuries. A female author's name has traditionally prevented a reader from expecting or tolerating comedy or satire; witness the many nineteenth century American commentators who insisted that, because of the comedy, Fanny Fern (real name Sara Willis Parton), the nineteenth century columnist and author of *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port-Folio*, had to be a pseudonym for a male writer (Camfield 177). Bakhtin's vision of the medieval world from which carnival sprang is a far cry from the threatened, fearful society Atwood suggests, where women's comedy is risky. Bakhtin's claim that "laughter must liberate the gay truth of the world from the veils of gloomy lies spun by the seriousness of fear, suffering, and violence" counters Atwood's observation of the dynamic between women's laughter and men's violence (174). For Bakhtin, laughter provides an escape from violence and fear. For Atwood, women's laughter arouses men's fear, and thereby courts violence against women. The social conditioning that dissuades women's comic responses, therefore, does not provide appropriate occasions or spaces for women to "let up" in carnivalistic fashion.

Women also lack the social conditioning that supports the formulation of comedy. In *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, Freud initially classifies jokes into two categories, innocent and tendentious, but then perceives that, while some jests and wordplay seem innocent, a joke—something that makes fun of a target to induce laughter in a listener—always implies a degree of tendentiousness. Even seemingly innocent jokes get told for a reason, such as to show off the joke-teller's facility, an action that Freud compares to "exhibitionism" in sex (174). This pointedness extends beyond joke-telling into the category of comedy. Freud's list of types of comedy—which

includes self-ridicule, slapstick, mimicry, caricature, parody and travesty—essentially consists of aggressive behaviors, whether directed at oneself or others.

Such behavior did not and does not accord with notions of women's ideal behavior. In his 1979 study, "The Role of Laughter and Humor in Growing Up Female," Paul McGhee explores comedy's aggressiveness through examining boys' versus girls' development. Finding that comedy gels with typically male characteristics such as aggressiveness and dominance, McGhee concludes that a woman wishing to create and convey comedy must develop some of these traits that are often discouraged in her upbringing (183-4). Because the words "aggressive" and "dominant" carry negative connotations when assigned to women, it is not surprising that women often avoid behavior that might fall under these labels. Both terms could characterize the action of women laughing at men, a behavior that leaves women subject to male derision or violence. Women risk less when they appear innocent, a condition that Freud finds alien to jokes and comedy. As a result, in studying humor practiced by men and women, Suzanne Bunkers observes that if less powerful members of society create humor, they are more likely to engage in self-deprecatory humor, whereas more powerful members of society are accordingly more aggressive toward their humorous subjects (91).

And finally, the strictures under which eighteenth century women wrote appear to have prevented comedy as well. The conditions of the eighteenth century woman of letters indicate that women's power with the pen was severely limited, suggesting that either women did not write comedy, or wrote comedy that often went unrecognized or ignored; for their own protection, it would seem, women writers wrote comedy that did not call much attention to itself. A greater number of British women wrote during this time than ever before, but their role as writers was strictly delineated. As Mary Poovey points out in *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer*, the new permissiveness toward women writing did not extend to publishing, nor to allowing women time away from their domestic duties to write (37). The genres available to women were granted almost by default, because they were devalued by men. As Poovey also notes, during the course of the eighteenth century, women became identified as upholders of morality, and therefore were permitted to write if they were educating or conveying rules of conduct (x). As a result, women were accorded the province of sentimental fiction while men pursued more esteemed genres. This new yet demarcated domain did not allow much room for women writers to tinker with genre, and it also carried expectations of moral education that prevented their audiences from reading with an eye for comedy. When calling "for cultivated women to recognize that the comic Muse is one of their best friends," George Meredith sustains this preconception by claiming that "they are blind to their interests in swelling the ranks of sentimentalists" (32). As Martin confirms, one of George Meredith's purposes in writing *An Essay on Comedy* was to inveigh against sentimental literature, a purpose that no doubt led him away from acknowledging humor within women's texts. The absence of women's power in society, and the strictures of the sentimental novel genre, seemingly precluded women's humorous writing in late eighteenth century Britain.

That comedy sprang from a woman's pen is therefore a remarkable achievement. A late eighteenth century female comic writer violates generic constraints, breaks away from her socially-inscribed role of upholding morality, and risks having her comedy either offend its audience or go unrecognized. Success stories in the chronicle of women's comedy, Burney and Austen both fit this description.

III. Burney's and Austen's comic slant

Comedy permeates *Evelina* and Austen's juvenilia. Word play, insults, slapstick, incongruous characters, and a catalog of other comic devices fill these two works. Burney and Austen pick on select individuals, including a remarkable number of foolish men. Often these men are deemed fools because of their striking adherence to social standards, such as Mr. Lovel's foppishness or, in Austen's *Lady Susan*, Reginald De Courcy's blindness to Lady Susan's viciousness. In this way, their comedy often contains the moral, satiric function of behavioral reform. Yet these multiple incidents also divert their readers from the progression of the marriage plot. By making it present, and by placing it strategically, Burney and Austen doubly prioritize comedy.

Despite society's limitations on women's development of comic talent, Burney possessed it and assigned it to her heroine, a double flaunting of gender assignments. In *Evelina*, the jokes are twofold—recorded by Evelina's pen in the epistolary form, and again by Burney's pen—showing that both author and character have an eye for comedy. Evelina displays a keen sense of timing, and she understands what elements of her story to underscore for comic effect. When Mirvan, for instance, calls Ranelagh, the public promenade located in London's Chelsea district, a dull place, Evelina's description of the audience demonstrates her comic flair. "Ranelagh dull!—Ranelagh dull!" was echoed from mouth to mouth, and all the ladies, as if of one accord, regarded the Captain with looks of the most ironical contempt" (110). The parrot-like, opinion-less response, and the ladies' simultaneous head-movements, like Austen's characters' simultaneously uttering the same sentences in "Frederic and Elfrida," confirm narrator's and author's comic command.

Austen's comedy also flaunts social expectations of women's behavior. In several of her earliest sketches, she achieves a layered comedy by ridiculing individual characters amid equally bizarre circumstances. The best known of her juvenile fragments, "Love and Freindship [sic]," features a scene where the widowed Laura meets her father-in-law, Sir Edward. Because of the family connection, Sir Edward presses Laura to accept four hundred pounds a year. She accepts, but objects to his treatment of her as merely his son's widow and not as "the refined and amiable Laura" (105). Sir Edward's generosity is funny and admirable because of its rarity, the more customary situation being, as in *Sense and Sensibility*, a father neglecting to provide for his own daughters, much less those acquired by marriage. Thus the reader's incredulity that this would ever occur heightens the effect of Laura's comically prideful response.

What responses to their comedy did Burney and Austen receive? Because Austen only circulated the juvenilia among family members, many of whom already appreciated her wit, she was virtually assured of finding receptive readers. Her family apparently laughed a great deal when she read her work out loud to them even though, as her biographer Claire Tomalin points out, many of Austen's writings, such as "Lesley Castle" which involves a woman abandoning her baby and her husband by converting to Catholicism, make bold jokes for her Anglican clergyman father to accept (67). (That he appreciated her writing puts Mr. Austen in Meredith's and McGhee's classification of a playfully minded reader.) By first publishing *Evelina* anonymously, Burney also ensured readers' greater receptivity to her comedy. While her contemporaries tended to view the novel as a display of rules of conduct, Burney's friend Dr. Johnson took pleasure in laughing at the character Mr. Smith from *Evelina* and declaring him a better character than any created by "Harry" Fielding (Doody 40; 53-4 and n.39). These responses demonstrate not only Burney's and Austen's daring in concentrating their comedy on individual male characters, but also that, luckily for them, certain men in their lives acknowledged and appreciated such aggressive comedy.

Focusing on a particular comic character, however, hardly does justice to a writer's comic vision. A century later, although a few critics of *Middlemarch* noted the stock comic characters Mr. Brooke and Mrs. Cadwallader, they stopped there, ignoring Eliot's rich and original comedy to which the narrator gives voice, and concluding instead that the book was "melancholy" (Holmstrom and Lerner 83). Like *Middlemarch*, Austen's juvenilia and Burney's *Evelina* contain stock comic characters, and more importantly, sustain comic discourse that resists institutions such as primogeniture and marriage by disrupting the progression of the marriage plot. Examining their comedy requires considering both of these aspects.

Comedy is central to *Evelina* because it exposes gender roles and power differences, and also demonstrates why a woman must conceal her tendency to laugh if she wants to gain social acceptance. In this coming of age novel, the heroine's "education" consists of her assimilation of proper women's behavior in high society; *Evelina* therefore results in the heroine's laughter being quashed. When Evelina publicly laughs at Mr. Lovel, a fop who asks her to dance in an affected manner of speaking, she draws stares and comments that caution her against laughing in public again. To avoid future punishment, she could drop comedy altogether. Instead, she transfers it into her letters, written to a single, rural, older, and therefore safe audience, her guardian Villars. While Villars never responds to Evelina's comic descriptions—perhaps not noticing them, as many readers have not noticed women writers' comedy—at least he refrains from punishing her for writing them. Validation of her comedy comes in the book's final comic scene, when the original target of her

humor, Mr. Lovel, becomes the butt of Captain Mirvan's prank. This moment suggests that occasionally a woman may laugh at a man, but only when another man initiates the laughter. Lone female laughers risk the "Medusa" label. Women's laughter must therefore be inscribed within men's, to reduce or eliminate the threat of the laugher. (Meredith would delight in such a laughing companion.) While Evelina's comic judgement is affirmed, she fails to receive credit for it, since Mirvan reaps the aggressive pleasure of making the joke. But Burney gets credit for creating Mirvan. And Evelina's refusal to cease laughing, even though it requires transferring comedy from the spoken to written medium, testifies to the importance of comedy in her life.

Jane Austen's juvenilia are equally comic. Consider "The History of England," her irreverent retelling of England's rulers' lives from Henry IV to Charles I. With her signature, "By a partial, prejudiced, and ignorant Historian," Austen immediately establishes that the purpose of this history is not to educate but to induce laughter. In the mini-biographies that follow, she swash-buckles through the lives of kings and queens—parodying Goldsmith, judging kings based on petty attributes (she claims to admire Richard III because "he was a York"), and throwing in a "Sharade" in the process. That comedy is her primary mission becomes clear when she describes the life of Edward IV: "One of Edward's Mistresses was Jane Shore, who has had a play written about her, but it is a tragedy and therefore not worth reading" (136). Though Austen herself was a lover of Richardsonian sentiment, nothing in the juvenilia comes close to tragedy. In fact, her "History" confirms that Austen's mode is comedy, and that she will apply it to any genre.

By inserting funny events into incongruous places, Austen and Burney interrupt the customary progression toward marrying their heroines. Barreca points out that many readers have missed the comedy in women's novels because they either fail to end in a happy marriage, or the marriage itself acts as secondary to another event, as is the case in *Evelina* (*Untamed* 18). Burney comically intrudes into Evelina's and Lord Orville's courtship, distracting us, through scenes in which Lord Orville does not figure, from the prospect of her marriage. Austen interferes with marriages in multiple ways, from the sudden and laughable surprise ending of *Mansfield Park*, in which Edward recovers from heartbreak to marry Fanny in the last three pages of the novel, to the more violent treatment of would-be brides and grooms in her juvenilia.

Examining the nature and location of comedy in Austen's and Burney's works will help us understand how they dealt with constraints on women writers' uses of comedy without abandoning comedy altogether. For Burney, comedy not only enables her to depart at times from the marriage plot, but also allows her to establish a new process toward maturity for her heroine. Breaking from genre conventions in bizarre, violent ways, Austen portrays characters and situations as ridiculous—a "pure comedy." The result is that both authors laugh frequently at male characters, laughter that they do not stifle in the face of male disapproval or threat.

NOTES

- 1 While it is not considered a work in the field of women's comedy, Neil Hertz's essay, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria Under Political Pressure" in *The End of the Line* also analyzes the threat Medusa represents to men. Hertz poses the question of why the hideous but still sexed figure of Medusa becomes an image of revolutionary violence. Catherine Gallagher responds by citing the French Revolution's binary need, in undermining patriarchal power, to uphold a female figure of liberty, and yet when liberty threatened esteemed aspects of patriarchy such as the family, to turn her into a whore (162; 196).
- 2 To remain consistent with Walker's and Barreca's terms, I am using "humor" here.

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DAVID ANTIN, LUDWIG WITTGENSTEIN, GERTRUDE STEIN: THE POET-PHILOSOPHER AND A MODEL OF THINKING

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ABSTRACT

Experimental performance poet David Antin, Viennese philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and Modernist writer Gertrude Stein all work with a model of human thinking that strikes at the heart of both empirical materialist and skeptical theorizing. Using the scenario of a foreigner learning a language by being dumped in a foreign country without prior experience, Antin proposes that creative human thinking is a fluid process that moves via trial and error, mistakes and adjustments, rather than a preordained freeway route from theory to conclusion.

i am a poet—a man talking in a way that makes things happen that i like to call thinking into and among important things (Antin "A Correspondence" 625)

David Antin and Gertrude Stein are not only poets; they are philosophers. Ludwig Wittgenstein is not only a philosopher; he is a poet. These three conduct their explorations of thinking, language and meaning in similar ways, and I shall take a look at some of those ways in this paper.

Antin quotes Diderot, "Poets are all foreigners" (*what it means to be avant garde* 1). He describes a foreigner as someone who has been dumped in a country without knowing the language at all and who has to learn it as s/he goes. Foreigners do not know their way around. They are not sure of the right way to say things. They have to fumble, make mistakes, turn around and start again, do "the best [they can] under the circumstances" to make themselves clear (*avant-garde* 46). To be a foreigner is to be unaware, unsure of what the new language will do, what turns it will lead one into. Making mistakes is an essential part of learning a language (or any other thing). Making mistakes, one will discover the boundaries and interstices of the landscape.

Stein and Wittgenstein share Antin's insistence on the importance, in any investigative journey, of being a foreigner who makes mistakes. In "Poetry and Grammar," Stein, who condemns an insistence on the absence of mistakes as "Patriarchy," says:

Verbs and adverbs are more interesting. In the first place they have one very nice quality and that is that they can be so mistaken. It is wonderful the number of mistakes a verb can make and that is equally true of its adverb. Nouns and adjectives never can make mistakes can never be mistaken but verbs can be so endlessly, both as to what they do and how they agree or disagree with whatever they do. . .

Then comes the thing that can of all things be most mistaken and they are prepositions. Prepositions can live one long life being really nothing but absolutely nothing but mistaken and that makes them irritating if you feel that way about mistakes but certainly something that you can be continuously using and everlastingly enjoying. I like prepositions the best of all. (*Lectures* 211-212)

Unlike idealists and empiricists, for whom mistakes are signs that language is faulty and deceiving, Wittgenstein insists that the possibility of mistakes is necessary for there to be right and wrong, truth and falsity. He also goes to great lengths to show that unquestionable certainty about some, but not all, things is logically necessary for there to be the possibility of mistakes (i.e., to say that everything might be a mistake is just as senseless as to say that there must be no mistakes).

I have not yet made the role of miscalculating clear. The role of the proposition: "I must have miscalculated." It is really the key to an understanding of the "foundation" of mathematics. (*Foundations of Mathematics* 221).

To be able to say I have done this right, there must be the possibility of saying I have done it wrong.

Antin's "thinking-by-talking" process, Wittgenstein's philosophizing, and Gertrude Stein's poetics are very similar to feeling one's way in a foreign language, from mistake to mistake, a major difference being that, in their work, the three poet-philosophers are both foreigner and native. They act as foreigners, "walking" the language by feel, surface by surface (Antin describes himself as interested in the "cracks in the real" (Perloff *Poetics* 302)). But they uncover to themselves, as native speakers and to their audiences, what thinking can tell them about a particular tangle of meaning. They all begin, though, with the attitude of a foreigner who does not know the answers.

Because all three are engaged in explorations that stay in touch with the particular, all are committed, in their investigations of their various topics, to exploring language in a very material way (we can say this; we can't say that; if we say that, this will follow) to see what our actual practice in language will reveal. They allow language to lead, in the sense that they do not already have an idea, a theory about the question they are asking, which would lead the investigation in a particular and preconceived direction.

Antin, for whom both Stein and Wittgenstein are intellectual forebears, says that one of the things that originally attracted him to Gertrude Stein's writing was its materiality. She approaches language like clay in which characters and narratives that are secondary to her endeavor emerge only to disappear again, maybe to reappear later. With the trust that language will take her somewhere enlightening if she follows, she improvises relationships among words, phrases, and whole sentences and records the outcome without indulging in a theory about what it all means (Antin, *Conversations*). This makes her confusing to those of us who have been suckled on theoretical contextualizing. For instance, in *Tender Buttons*:

Lying in a conundrum, lying so makes the springs restless, lying so is a reduction, not lying so is arrangeable.

Releasing the oldest auction that is the pleasing some still renewing. (*Selected Writings* 503)

We might call this entire quote a mistake (and many have derided Stein as childlike and grammatically inept). How does one lie in a conundrum, for instance? The verb "to lie" and the noun "conundrum" are not normally affiliated. There is no immediate conventional meaning we can ascribe to this pair of words. Stein goes on to mention that the springs are made restless if we do lie in a conundrum. "Springs" seems to bring us back to something we might physically lie on, like a bed, even though springs usually aren't thought of as "restless." Since we are meaning-making animals, most of us will at least try to figure out what might be going on here. The very juxtaposition of words that "should not" go together, this mistake, forces us into the undergrowth of meaning. We might begin to consider that "lie" has more than one meaning and that conundrums might be more easily connected to the kind of lying we do when we don't want to be discovered. But then what do we make of springs getting restless? It becomes obvious that this poetry is not the kind of straight description we are used to, even though Stein described herself as trying to write about how she saw her world as exactly as she could.

What will happen when such grammatical and syntactical "mistakes," the kind that a foreigner might make, are not only allowed but expanded upon? In the belief that language precedes us and can show us who we are, the three poet-philosophers commit themselves to finding out by shedding prior judgement as much as possible. It is only through the actual exploration of what can and can't be said in particular instances that we get to see how language, and by extension thinking, works (and by extension again, what forms our reality has). The destination of the investigation is the language itself and the ways of life revealed in it ("Talking" 2-3). The three insist on focusing on the investigation rather than pursuing the assumption that there is something else that precedes and justifies language, a prior (perhaps material) something they must get at first in order to understand "what a poet is," for instance.

This is what Antin is talking about in "what am I doing here?" (a performance poem recorded in *what it means to be avant garde*) when he discusses how the self emerges in discourse. Far

from the self being a separate thing that makes the word "self" possible, the self is what is revealed when a person thinks, talks, acts, etc. In his improvised talking poetry, David Antin is, in fact, showing what self is as much as he is showing what thinking is or what a poet is.

the self itself is emergent in discourse in some kind of discourse it is probably available but it comes up under dialogue and the dialogue is conducted with it and then the self emerges even though the self may not have been there until you called upon it you were always under something of an assumption that it was available for discourse and that it would answer you and if it doesn't answer you they call that forgetting and if you forget very gravely they give that other kinds of names (580-81).

Being a foreigner, navigating language as though going across country or roughing it rather than taking the already defined and paved road, is vital to Antin, as it is to Stein and Wittgenstein. It is essential both to being a poet and to being a philosopher. Both must remain open to self-transformation in their relationship with language. A poet-philosopher is someone who wills him/herself to remain on that trembling edge where, as Antin says,

there is always the threat that whatever it is that is confronting transformation may not be preserved in it and under the impact of that transformation may cease to be (*avant-garde* 95)

It is a difficult, shaky undertaking, then, this willingness *not to know* the answers in advance and therefore to explore "the cracks in the real." But, says Antin, whoever does not choose this path is not a poet (Conversations). Thus his quip, "if robert lowell is a poet i dont want to be a poet if robert frost was a poet i dont want to be a poet if socrates was a poet i'll consider it" ("what am i doing here?" 575).

Antin sees himself in a tradition of shaking loose a skeptical model of thinking, one that Socrates combats too with his question-and-answer process (Conversations). A skeptic assumes s/he can doubt anything and everything, and that, as a corollary, nothing can be known for certain. Mistakes, rather than making meaning possible, undermine this possibility. This way of thinking, frozen by its focus on a restricted range of examples in language, refusing to be foreign, solidifies inquiries into a mental cramp ("Correspondence" 600, 624). Antin says,

To me the world is filled with some things that are knots and some things that are snarls and some things that are pleasant tangles and I try to find a way to open them up and see what they are made out of and this sometimes leads to new forms of ravelling. I knot and unknot. . . ("Talking" 7).

Wittgenstein uses the term "mental cramp" to describe the kind of obsession with binarism that seems to overtake scholars when they ask philosophical questions: the answer is either this or it is that, and if it is this, it is not that (Malcolm 50). They assume they can find the right discovery, the theoretical answer that will close the question forever. Examples of the kind of mental cramp he is talking about are the assumption that we need to prove we are able to communicate with each other, to prove that we exist, or to prove that the world around us exists. The cramp continues in theoretical attempts to prove links between language and the world, between mind and body and so on, that have been artificially separated by skepticism in the first place. Just as Antin, in "Talking and Thinking," does not assume he knows what "third world" means, Wittgenstein does not assume, in his investigations that he knows what "body" or "mind" or "thought" or "the world" mean ("Talking" 9). Rather than building a theory in answer to a question, he will take a walk around and through it as Antin and Stein also do.

Stein said at one point, speaking of students,

You see why they talk to me is that I am like them I do not know the answer, you you say you do not know but you do know if you did not know the answer you could not spend your life in teaching but I really do not know. . .that is the trouble with governments and Utopia and teaching, the things not that can be learnt but that can be taught are not interesting. (*Everybody's Autobiography* 213)

If you do not know the terrain you are about to explore, you will need to pay attention to minute details, which those who think they know would ignore. Stein spends 1000 pages, in *Making of Americans*, exploring what kinds of people there are by actually beginning to portray all the kinds of people she thinks there are.

There are many then believing thinking knowing feeling doing things, mostly every one is feeling knowing thinking doing something, doing feeling believing knowing thinking a very great many things that if any one really knew it about them any one knowing them would be thinking that one a crazy one, would be afraid of such a one. . . . One once who was a very intelligent active bright well-read fairly well experienced woman thought that what happens every month to all women, she thought it only happened to Plymouth Brethren women having that religion. She was a child of Plymouth Brethren and had only known very intimately Plymouth Brethren women. . . . She was twenty eight years old when she learned that it happened to every kind of women. (Grahm 236)

An important thing to notice about this excerpt is that Stein (as do Antin and Wittgenstein) continuously and necessarily includes small stories in the narrative of her examinations. Far from theorizing about what kinds of people there are and how one could categorize them, make statistical analyses of them, Stein looks at example after example of people doing, thinking, feeling certain things that illustrate what she is talking about. Wittgenstein uses this same or a very similar technique in his discussions of measuring, for instance, in *On Certainty*, and throughout his later philosophical investigations. As Stein has been dismissed for being juvenile and ingenuous, Wittgenstein has also been dismissed for failing to get to the "real" investigation—what is presumably underneath the ordinary.

Wittgenstein describes what he is doing as opening up the field of inquiry so that all the possibilities are available and are seen as worth investigating (Malcolm 50). Nothing is precluded. What is closed out in the course of "walking" the question is only logical impossibility, something that becomes absurd if we try it out to its limits by telling concrete stories about it: doubting that I exist, for example, or doubting that words mean what they mean. And it is the telling of stories, whether they are stories about conceivable situations, such as Antin and Wittgenstein and Stein produce, or pictures of things or the ways that words can relate to each other, such as Stein produces in *Tender Buttons*, that bring poet and philosopher together.

Judy Grahm says of her writing:

She let the characters (which in some of her writing are parts of speech or numbers, not people or other creatures) spin out from their own internal natures as she let them happen from within themselves rather than placing them in an externally directed context. She discovered them as she uncovered them layer by layer through the rhythms of their speech or parts of speech, and the patterns of their daily lives. (Grahm 11)

Socrates and Wittgenstein are "performance philosophers." Gertrude Stein and David Antin are "philosopher poets." All four stage storytellings, often with themselves, in which the self-contradictions of skepticism are exposed by the unforeseeable processes of exploring what we can and cannot say according to the internal logic of language (Grahm 17).

Antin is not only adamant about the philosophical importance of maintaining an attitude of wobbly naivete, he sees it as a moral commitment. And I believe Stein and Wittgenstein also regarded their work as having moral importance. Moral commitment requires one to take a question seriously, to be naive about it, to take as unquestionable that it makes a difference what we say. Skepticism, on the other hand, leads to a nihilistic relativism where ultimately, anything can mean anything and therefore there is no meaning. Nothing is distinguishable from anything else.

In correspondence with William Spanos, an editor of *Boundary2*, Antin vilifies the work of the philosopher Heidegger ("It's no accident that he was a Nazi") because "if thinking is travelling it's not on a track—laid down—over and over. Anyone who starts with "Being" as a goal has already

reduced the possibility of travelling. He always it seems knew what Being was and could produce it from his hip pocket when necessary" (623-24). For Antin, Heidegger is fascist about ontology. For Wittgenstein, any philosopher who accepts the possibility of universal doubt as a premise will fall into the trap of having to build systems to replace what has been evaporated. The systems are necessarily self-reflective because their basis is only the maker's experience, not the undergrowth of the world. We can learn nothing except something about the maker from them.

Because he believed skepticism valid, Heidegger had to make a construct, Being, his ground and build theories around its existence. There was no possibility of letting language lead (of proceeding by not knowing) because language might not mean anything. It is clear from Antin's response to Spanos and from the position he takes on "tuning" vs. "brute technology" (see below) that he regards acceding to skepticism as morally dangerous.

A commitment to taking the unknown way rather than the already mapped and paved one is a moral choice for all three. It displays what Antin calls "the preference for software over hardware" ("A Correspondence" 644). It is why Wittgenstein insisted on such seriousness from his students and why Stein claimed she would change the world with what she was doing with language. Antin compares what he calls "tuning" to one's surroundings to "brute technology" over them, the former being displayed in the way "the Australian desert people inhabit a territory where rainfall is sporadic and sparse" and the latter by "a kind of Vietnam war against the earth" (644). One of Antin's earlier volumes of poetry was called *Tuning*, and Charles Altieri, in a review of *Tuning*, describes what Antin does as "a constant process of negotiation" (14).

Insistence on following the beaten path in investigations is a refusal to "tune" and results in a totalitarian philosophy or poetry. In contrast, Antin describes his process of talking and thinking as one of making false starts, going back over material he has already covered, wandering around, forgetting what it was he started out to look for, and following detours prompted by the sudden appearance of neighbors, associations, side roads, etc. ("A Correspondence" 628-629).

It is the mental cramp of attachment to a skeptically based and therefore fearfully pre-ordained road of travel that Stein, Wittgenstein and Antin work at alleviating. They do this not by establishing a new "coherent" system of clearly defined, paved "paths," but by repeatedly exemplifying a method or methods. They attempt to open up the cramp created by theory building, binarism, and so on, by continuously massaging language and telling stories, as in this exploration in Wittgenstein's *On Certainty*:

246. "Here I have arrived at a foundation of all my beliefs." "This position I will hold!" But isn't that, precisely, only because I am completely convinced of it?—What is "being completely convinced" like?
247. What would it be like to doubt now whether I have two hands? Why can't I imagine it at all? What would I believe if I didn't believe that? So far I have no system at all within which this doubt might exist.
248. I have arrived at the rock bottom of my convictions.
And one might almost say that these foundation-walls are carried by the whole house.
249. One gives oneself a false picture of doubt.
250. My having two hands is, in normal circumstances, as certain as anything that I could produce in evidence for it.
That is why I am not in a position to take the sight of my hand as evidence for it.
251. Doesn't this mean: I shall proceed according to this belief unconditionally, and not let anything confuse me?
252. But it isn't just that I believe in this way that I have two hands, but that every reasonable person does.
253. At the foundations of well-founded belief lies belief that is not founded.
254. Any "reasonable" person behaves like this.
255. Doubting has certain characteristic manifestations, but they are only characteristic of it in particular circumstances. If someone said that he doubted the existence of his hands, kept looking at them from all sides, tried to make sure it wasn't "all done by mirrors,"

etc., we should not be sure whether we ought to call that doubting. We might describe his way of behaving as like the behaviour of doubt, but his game would not be ours.

This quote is very long. I offer it as an example of what Antin, Wittgenstein, and Stein are doing: exploratory writing which reveals the structure of thinking and of language. In order to show what they are doing, all I can do is give an example of what they are doing. There are no critical points in their texts that will illuminate all the rest.

It is their method that makes Antin, Wittgenstein, and Stein so unlike other poet-philosophers. When we read their work, we may, swayed by the main trajectory of Western philosophy and poetics, be looking for the crux of what it is they are saying, the core which will explain all that talking. If we do this, we are missing the whole point. The talking is the point. We are not going on the walk to get somewhere already designated and known. We are going on the walk to go on the walk, to experience the lay of the land, to come to understand deeply walking itself, as foreigners do, by trial and error, making mistakes in an unknown and yet completely familiar land.

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