

Storytelling: The Art of Translation

2019 Proceedings

23rd Annual Graduate
Student Conference
College of Languages,
Linguistics & Literature

Edited by
Noella Handley
& Jim Yoshioka



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MĀNOA

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PREFACE

Noella Handley and Jim Yoshioka, co-editors

The 23rd Annual Graduate Student Conference of the College of Languages, Linguistics & Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa was held on Saturday, April 20th, 2019. As in past years, this conference offered the students in the six departments across the college, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies, the opportunity to come together and build a stronger community across the college by sharing their work with one another. This annual conference provides an opportunity for students to become socialized into academic practices, such as presenting at a conference and producing a paper for publication in these proceedings. It also allows students to take on various roles in the academic community, as the conference chairs, proceedings editors, coordinators, and volunteers for the conference are graduate students predominantly.

As the twenty-third iteration of this conference, it was the perfect opportunity to celebrate all the outstanding achievements of LLL graduate students. This year's conference theme, "Storytelling: The Art of Translation" well attests to the importance of all the creative and intellectual work done and the stories told through languages, literature, media, and more in our college.

The conference opened with a heartfelt address from Dean Laura E. Lyons, followed by a beautiful keynote by Dr. Anastasia Kostetskaya, Assistant Professor of Russian, titled "The Fluid Poetics of the Dancing Body in Russian Symbolist Film." Like previous years, we welcomed featured talks by this year's LLL Excellence in Research award winners: Dr. Christina Higgins (Second Language Studies), Dr. Shawna Yang Ryan (English), PhD candidate J. Vera Lee (English), PhD candidate Anna Mendoza (Second Language Studies), and PhD candidate Yoshiaki Otta (East Asian Languages and Literatures). Throughout the day, there were 28 graduate student paper presentations.

The conference was chaired by Noella Handley (Linguistics), R. L. Hughes (SLS), Chiyeon Hwang (EALL), and Sydney Ludlow (Linguistics). They were supported by the guidance and conference advisory of Jim Yoshioka, the Events Coordinator for the College of LLL; Dr. Nandini Chandra, Assistant Professor of English; and Karin Mackenzie, the Director of the Office of Community and Alumni Relations for the Colleges of Arts and Sciences. Further support for the conference was provided by the College of LLL, the Colleges of Arts & Sciences Alumni Association, the Francis and Betty Ann Keala Fund of the Colleges of Arts & Sciences, and the National Foreign Language Resource Center. Student volunteers from several departments in the College of LLL helped make the conference a success by giving their time to help organize, plan, and run the conference, including moderating presentations, managing registration, and providing technical support for the presenters.

We would like to give a big mahalo to all of the student volunteers and everyone who participated in both the conference and the compiling and editing of the proceedings. Of the 28 student presentations at the conference, 11 presenters submitted their papers for publication in the proceedings. We are grateful for the help of our copy editors who provided feedback and helped prepare the papers for publication: Lin Chen, Bonnie Fox, Jacob Hakim, Michael Harris, R. L. Hughes, Victoria Lee, Yu-Han Lin, Katherine Strong, Ashleigh Surma, and Kristen Urada.

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

Honolulu, 2019

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

The Fluid Poetics of the Dancing Body in Russian Symbolist Film

Dr. Anastasia Kostetskaya, Department of Languages & Literatures of Europe & The Americas

ABSTRACT

In my presentation, I synthesize connotations of emotional fluidity iconically represented in screendance through the prism of my research on verbal (poetry) and visual (painting and cinema) arts of the Russian Symbolist period. For this purpose, I focus on the famous ballerina solo *The Dying Swan* performed by ballerina Vera Karalli as part of her role in Evgenii Bauer 1916 film of the same name. The solo is based on *Le Cygne* (“The Swan”), the 13th movement of *The Carnival of the Animals* (1886) by French composer Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), and was first choreographed by Mikhail Fokine for Anna Pavlova. Within the context of Symbolism, the dance mimicking movements of a dying bird goes far beyond mimesis: it comes to signify the lived emotional experience of “dying of love” through the pliancy of the dancing body. We can clearly identify iconicity of emotional transcendence and the underlying metaphor of fluidity in *The Swan Dance*, as the context in which it appears matches to the account of this metaphor and its iconic effects in synesthetic verbal and visual arts of Symbolism. The biomorphic bodily design of the solo—from hand-gesture to full body-gesture—embodies the psyche in flux, just like a combination of sounds, rhyme, and meter do in poetry; the balance between shades of paint, lines and shapes in painting creates a similar effect. Hence, dance blends sensations belonging to different sensory modes and iconically evokes multisensory imagery codified in poetry and visual arts.

Dr. Anastasia Kostetskaya

Anastasia Kostetskaya is an Assistant Professor of Russian at the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa. She has pursued studies in Linguistics and Russian Culture at Volgograd State Pedagogical University and The Ohio State University, from which she holds PhD degrees. A blended product of two academic systems and research traditions—Russian rigor and American breadth of possibilities— she draws on her diverse backgrounds in Linguistics, Russian and Germanic Studies and Philology, Film, Art History, and Russian Literature in her scholarship. Her interest in language as it used by people, and not just as a formal system, spans a bridge between her research endeavors in the two countries: her monograph *Sociolinguistic Characteristics of Students of Cambridge and Harvard* (2003) centered on the issues of language and social class in British and American campus fiction, and her new book *Iconic Waters of Symbolist Transcendence: Blending Across Time, Media and Genre* (2019) also has as one of its major foci cognitive aspects of language. Anastasia's current research interests synthesize her various research experiences. They fall under two categories, which are continuously expanding. For one, she brings together her explorations in the fields of Russian poetry, painting, and film under the umbrella of cognitive linguistic studies—conceptual integration and iconicity. She also explores topics at the intersection of childhood and violence in literature and visual culture from multiple research perspectives.

2019 LLL EXCELLENCE IN RESEARCH AWARD PRESENTATIONS

Dr. Christina Higgins

Christina Higgins is a professor in the Department of Second Language Studies. She researches the sociolinguistics of multilingualism from a discursive perspective. She strives to be a sociolinguist for the real world and to engage in scholarship that will effect positive change in society.

As co-director of the Charlene Junko Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole, and Dialect Studies, Higgins aims to fuse her research with community-based work that encourages greater language awareness and promotes language rights. Her recent work focuses on family language transmission in Hawai‘i, with attention to the dynamic ways that people claim cultural belonging in revitalizing and speaking Hawaiian as “new speakers.” She is also researching the spatial distribution of multilingualism on O‘ahu, with a focus on how language ideologies are constructed in the semiotic representation of Pidgin, Japanese, and Hawaiian on signs and other public texts. Higgins' most recent publications can be found in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Applied Linguistics Review*, and *Modern Language Journal*.

Dr. Shawna Yang Ryan

Shawna Yang Ryan is an associate professor in the English department and director of the Creative Writing Program. She is the author of two novels: *Water Ghosts* (Penguin Press, 2009) and *Green Island* (Knopf, 2016). *Green Island*, which she spent over a decade researching and writing, explores the nuances of complicity and survival in Taiwan’s White Terror era, and how one man’s hunger for power destroyed the family and community structures of an entire nation, forcing everyday citizens into decisions that echoed down through generations of Taiwan society. In the end, *Green Island* is a novel about the compromises people make in their commitments to justice, lovers, and family. *Green Island* received an American Book Award and the Association for Asian American Studies Best Book Award.

J. Vera Lee

J. Vera Lee is a doctoral candidate in the English department. Her research interests include Asian American poetry, life writing, and translation studies. Her dissertation, a collection of short stories, is titled *Mollusk. Diary of Use*, her first book of poems, was published by Tinfish Press (2013). Her work has appeared in *American Letters & Commentary*, *Asymptote*, *Chicago Review*, *Colorado Review*, *Denver Quarterly*, *Narrative*, *New American Writing*, *Poetry Daily*, and *ZYZZYVA*. In spring 2019, she received the John Young Scholarship in the Arts, a coveted scholarship in the Colleges of Arts & Sciences.

Anna Mendoza is a PhD candidate in Second Language Studies. Her dissertation is on translanguaging in two 9th grade English classes. She studies how students' translanguaging to learn is affected by individual factors such as age of arrival, educational history, domains of use of languages in a person's repertoire, and dynamic social relations in class. She also underscores the need to look at other kinds of mixed language use apart from translanguaging, such as code-switching related to exclusion and inclusion.

Mendoza earned her BA from Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania and her MA from the University of British Columbia with a scholarship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada. Her work has appeared in *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *Foreign Language Annals*, and *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*.

Yoshiaki Otta is a PhD student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures. He examines modern Japanese literature, especially the literary representation of the region the Japanese called the South (*nan'yō/nanpō*) in the context of colonial expansion and warfare. Employing the insights of postcolonial theory and gender/sexuality studies, Otta investigates representations of Southeast Asian and Taiwanese anti-colonial movements in Japanese literature from the late nineteenth through the twentieth centuries.

Before attending UH Mānoa, he received a BA from International Christian University and an MA from the University of Tokyo. After serving as a visiting scholar at the University of Indonesia in 2018, Otta is currently working on his doctoral research as Special Research Student at the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo.

HAOMA: AN EXPLORATION OF A MANDARIN DISCOURSE MARKER IN INTERNET-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Kripa Bhagat, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the Mandarin discourse marker, *haoma* ‘okay?/good’ as used on an internet micro-blogging platform, Weibo. It explores an understanding of the discourse marker within the context of communication platforms where brevity takes importance. I conclude that *haoma* is a discourse marker that can mark a suggestion, be used as a request, emphasize a desire, point out the obviousness in an opinion and express anger. *Haoma* is used exclusively rhetorically as a discourse marker on the internet due to the unique nature of internet-platforms to be an open-source commentary on varying topics.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The exploration of discourse markers, also known as pragmatic markers or discourse particles, words that are syntax-independent and do not change the truth-condition of a statement yet contribute to the meaning, has garnered increasing attention in recent years (Lynn & Martinovic-Zic, 2004). While some scholars have argued that these markers “are...not substantially different from other lexical items” as they “create meanings,” others argue that discourse markers play both a “marking and creating” role in order to construct a situation (Fischer, 2006, 6). Others still argue that discourse markers are distinct from other “lexical items” as they have a “procedural or instructional meaning” (Fischer, 2006, 6). It is up to modern scholars to observe the behaviors of discourse markers and generate cross-linguistic data to further understand discourse markers within their natural contexts. Within the case of Mandarin, the study of discourse markers has evolved from Li Wang’s (1945/1985, 323-325) classification of discourse markers as 插语法 *cha yufa* or “language inserted outside the necessary language that complicates and adds a mood or emotion,” to the consideration that discourse markers are 话语标记 *huayu biaoji*, (discourse markers) to differentiate between the study of the syntactic and pragmatic functions of these markers (Cao, 2016, 3). No matter which approach these scholars have taken to observe discourse markers, many agree that an examination of context can shed light onto the function and meaning that these so-called “mystery particles” can hold (Longacre, 1976).

Among several relevant communicative contexts that researchers can observe is the growing number of internet-mediated communication platforms available to users today. One such platform within the context of Mandarin is Weibo. Weibo is a microblogging platform akin to Twitter, where anonymous users have the ability to publicly comment on social phenomenon or daily life. It has become “an intrinsic part of Chinese Internet culture in recent years” and thus provides a regenerative linguistic playground for data exploration (Han, 2016, 6). This study uses Weibo as a data source to observe the discourse marker ‘*haoma*’ (okay?) in Internet speech to observe the role that this discourse marker plays in internet-mediated communication among Mandarin speakers.

Through examining its discursive relevance, its appearance in both interactive and non-interactive micro-blog threads and the nature of the statement in which it appears, this corpus-driven study explores the following research questions: 1. What are the contexts that allow the use of *haoma* as a discourse marker? 2. How can linguists categorize these contexts? 3. What are the functions of *haoma* in these contexts?

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces previous studies in corpus-driven data on discourse markers and presents the theoretical framework used to approach data for this study. Additionally, it presents established data on discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese. It will be shown that previous research has provided a basic understanding on a fraction of discourse markers in conversational data but has yet to explore internet-mediated communication as a pragmatically unique data source or to understand *haoma*’s uses specifically. In

Section 3, I present the data collection methodology and analysis for the use of *haoma*. Section 4 shows the limitations, consequences and implications of the proposed analysis. Section 5 draws a conclusion and summarizes.

2.0. ESTABLISHED DATA AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DISCOURSE MARKERS

2.1. Generalizations in the Study of Discourse Markers and Previous Cross- Linguistic Research

It is relevant to point out that the debate in discussion of discourse markers begins with the nomenclature associated with these unique markers. Some scholars advocate for the use of “discourse markers” while others use “discourse particles.” Fischer (2006, 6) distinguishes “discourse markers” from “discourse particles” by arguing “discourse particles... are items that are functionally defined, while discourse markers may be both lexicalized particles, and nonlexicalized items that fulfill discourse functions.” Chinese scholars on the matter seem to prefer the use of the term 话语标记 *huayu biaoji* which can most closely be translated as “discourse markers” and define the term thus: “discourse markers are words or structures used by speakers in order to allow listeners to better understand the intention of the speaker. These markers include conjunctions, adverbs, interjections/exclamations and other short phrases. They exist in both spoken and written language. The transmission of discourse markers does not rely in truth or falsehood, but instead rely on sequential appearance” (Cao, 2016, 3). Following these understandings of the term “discourse marker,” I will use this term to refer to *haoma* for the purposes of this paper.

Schiffin (1987, 2001) approaches discourse markers through the exploration of context to make inferences about meaning. Through her exploration of discourse markers within their contexts, she suggests that markers can connect utterances across domains (information state, participation framework, act structure, exchange structure, and idea structure) and their contribution to multiple domains proposes a “multifunctionality” to discourse markers (Schiffin, 2006, 322). Following Schiffin’s theoretical framework on discourse marker analysis, I look at *haoma* within its context and ascertain its function in relation to its domain.

Ahmed (2014, 179) explores the use of a discourse marker ‘*bahi*’ in Arabic audio-recorded conversation and uses various extracts from recorded data to display the multifunctionality of the discourse marker as a term that can convey around 30 different meanings and established a gender difference across speakers (178). He concludes that the use of *bahi* “saves a lot of efforts for the speakers in perceiving the meaning without having to say it in literal longer words” and ultimately demonstrates that discourse markers provide a sense of convenience in communication across spoken data. Gaines (2011, 3313) observes the use of ‘*okay*’ as a discourse marker in police interview and aligns his idea that the discourse marker used in confrontation can have a limited amount of contextual “potential meaning” as its typically “mostly empty of the sorts of approbative content consistent with the typical acknowledgement/agreement/approval force of *okay*. This study also establishes that ‘*okay*’ can present itself in “an almost bewildering array of functions” (Gaines 2011, 3292). These observations of discourse markers in English and Arabic establish the idea that discourse markers can be concise demonstrations of thorough meaning by looking at specific usage contexts in turn-by-turn conversational data and highlight the diversity of meaning in discourse markers within their contexts. The study of discourse markers is rich in observational data similar to these two studies, however, this study on *haoma* aims to dive into the distribution of discourse markers and contexts as a way of understanding that a discourse marker can be defined and manipulated by speakers.

Previous corpus studies of discourse markers include studies of distribution that look at sentence position of discourse markers and variety of discourse markers in a given set of recorded conversational data (Huddleston & Fairhurst, 2013). Their detailed observation of the uses of ‘*anyway*,’ ‘*okay*,’ and ‘*shame*’ in conversational data examines the interaction of discourse markers as well as their various grammatical appearances in the recorded spoken data. While the study of conversational data is large and varied, it’s not uncommon for studies that involve conversational data to look at the turn constructional unit and ultimately provide an analysis of how these discourse markers affect turn-taking across participants. Babanoğlu (2014, 190) examines pragmatic markers in written data produced by L2 learners of English and while noting that pragmatic markers are “more peculiar to conversation than

writing,” L2 learners of English are likely to use such markers in written data. While this paper notes that there might be a certain degree of L1 transfer associated with this trend, the tendency to use these are “stylistically inappropriate” for writing and urge the reader to apply this in EFL education (Babanoğlu, 2014, 192). These two studies establish the level of formality associated with discourse markers and their importance and relevance in the context of conversational discourse. This provides an excellent basis for understanding uses of discourse markers in seemingly informal settings, such as internet-mediated discourse, while eliminating the direct conversational element that is typically associated with corpus-study. Prior to delving into the relevance of this in internet-mediated discourse, I will explore the studies of discourse markers specific to Mandarin Chinese.

2.2. Established Data and Generalizations on Mandarin Discourse Markers

Sun (2011, 75) explores the function of discourse marker *haobuhao* (okay?) as a “sentence final particle” in a corpus of spoken language data. The term *haobuhao* can be most closely associated with *haoma* among previously studied discourse markers as it has the same meaning and are grammatically similar. While *haoma* can be assumed to be ‘hao’ (good) with the question particle ‘ma’, *haobuhao* can be considered another way to present the term *hao* in a question where both terms mean “okay?” Within this exploration of *haobuhao* in conversational data of Taiwanese Mandarin, Sun (2011, 76) ultimately settles on 6 different contexts in which the discourse marker appears and ultimately provides a detailed explanation of the discourse markers’ functions within these contexts. This exploration of *haobuhao* within an interactional conversational context explores the intention of the main utterance as well as other interlocutors’ responses to explore the rich pragmatic meaning in interaction. Sun’s study provides an example for further exploration of discourse markers in Mandarin Chinese.

Also relevant is Chen and He’s (2001, 1446/1463) study on the use of *duibudui* as a discourse marker within an interactional context and concludes that it is a tool to convey “non-propositional meanings” and observed that while *shibushi* behaves similarly to *duibudui*, *haobuhao* would be worth describing further. Their study of *duibudui* observe its position within the turn-constructive unit and also looks at conversational data and response to determine contextual meaning and behavior of the discourse marker. These two studies in Mandarin, while both provide a rich exploration of two discourse markers, suggest that there is room to explore the data provided by internet-mediated discourse.

2.3. Cyberpragmatics as a Context for the Exploration of Discourse Markers

Yus (2011, 13) explores pragmatics through observance of context-dependent language use cases to expand on “how information is produced and interpreted within the Internet environment.” In a digital age where micro-blogging platforms provide a large-scale and high-speed environment for transfer of information and community interaction, “users that master techniques of virtual conversations will leave implicit ... all the information that they guess that their interlocutors will be able to supply (infer) themselves” (Yus, 2011, 17). As mentioned at the end of section 2.2, previous research established that discourse markers are a concise way to convey a rich degree of meaning. Naturally, the nature of conciseness afforded by internet-mediated communication provides a breeding ground for discourse markers to convey meaning beyond the writing limitations of social media platforms or the average capacity limitations of readers in cyber-space.

In summary, previous research establishes the notion that discourse markers must be studied within their context and that the context in which they appear can be relevant to the interpretation of their meaning. Previous scholars admit to the elusive nature of the discourse marker and put forth various methods in research. Corpus studies provide statistical value in understanding distribution of function and meaning in discourse markers. It is undeniable that the rise of social media platforms provides researchers with such a context to observe language in its natural evolution. The informal nature of online speech allows for more sentences that do not necessarily abide by normal rules of formally written language, such as those pertaining to punctuation or full sentences. Thus, the paper at hand aims to explore discourse markers in Mandarin through understanding its contextual meaning in a corpus of

internet speech to provide a basis for understanding discourse markers and a jumping point for further research in the exploration of the discourse marker ‘*haoma*’ in other communication contexts.

3.0. DATA EXPLORATION

Data collection for the present study used public microblog entries from the Chinese social media platform Weibo. Using 好吗 *haoma* (okay?) as the keyword search, I received 332,326,934 tokens and examined the first 300 items for this study. It is relevant to note that while traditional corpus studies might have selected from a previously established corpus, I chose to select tokens directly from the primary source. This method was chosen due to limitations in the already established Weibo corpus data, namely over half of the tokens retrieved from said corpus lacked enough context to explore the meaning and function of *haoma*. This is partly because corpus data generally does not support the collection of multimedia resources common to posts on social media platforms such as Weibo. Because these microblogs are often commentary on such resources, I felt it was necessary to record this data in order to better evaluate the meaning and function of *haoma* in its given contexts. Thus, the data was sorted into a spreadsheet, which included the username, content of the micro blog utterance, level of verification by Weibo of the user, and a record of any attached media. After extracting the first 300 tokens, I eliminated all instances of *haoma* where it does not appear as a discourse marker. As previously mentioned, *haoma* is a combination of the word ‘good’ and the question particle ‘ma’. As such, eliminated instances were comprised of micro blog where a user was posing a question to the platform about whether an item was good or not. This resulted in 246 usable tokens where *haoma* was used as a discourse marker. Among these 242 tokens, there were 2 tokens where *haoma* appeared multiple times. These repetitions were counted twice due to their unique contexts. As such, I observed a total of 248 instances of *haoma* in the data. Next, following previous models of discourse marker analysis, I recorded the meaning of the utterance preceding *haoma* in an additional column. After doing this, I looked at the function of *haoma* in each context.

Of the 242 microblogs collected, 160 members were verified members of Weibo at several levels. As with any social media platform that allows for the promotion of goods and works to establish an online presence for businesses and celebrities, “it has become more important for businesses, brands, celebrities, or other accounts of public interest to get verified to show netizens they are authentic” (Kawo, 2018). The high number of verified users in the collected tokens is likely due to the fact that verified users beyond the first level pay extra money to reach this verification level and gain more visibility to internet users (Kawo, 2018). In other words, promotional posts appeared more often in the search than posts by individual Internet users. This may be relevant to future studies on discourse markers if there is some notable difference between public users and private users. Secondly, of the 242 micro blog instances analyzed, 152 were attached to some sort of digital media resource such as a link to a video, a video file itself, or a photo, including memes, individual user uploaded photos, and screenshots of television programming or conversation. Lastly, all instances were parsed into non-rhetorical and rhetorical instances of the discourse marker. An analysis of context preceding the uses of *haoma* yielded an observation of five categories of *haoma*: Requests, Statement of Opinion, Suggestions, Commands, and Insults. Table 1 depicts the distribution of contexts for *haoma*. Requests proved to be most common at 85 out of 248 (34%). The second most common context for *haoma* was a statement of opinion, which appeared in 83 instances (33%). Other cases were in Suggestions (14%), Commands (14%), and Insults (3%).

Table 1. Distribution of Contexts for *Haoma*.

Requests	Statement of Opinion	Suggestions	Commands	Insults
85/248	83/248	37/248	35/248	8/248
34%	31%	15%	14%	3%

Upon discerning the various contexts in which *haoma* appears, I further examined the functions of *haoma* within each of these contexts. The results are summarized below. For the purposes of this paper, micro blogs are provided in their original lay out in characters. Subsequently, each example is glossed, and the relevant statement followed by *haoma* is underlined for the reader. The first line of the gloss is in Chinese characters, the second is in romanized pinyin, the third line is the follows standard rules for Lepizig glossing and the last line describes the idiomatic translation (Lehmann, 1982). It's relevant to note that many of these examples do not ascribe to traditional rules of punctuation, adding to the informality of the language acts. The idiomatic translation aims to accurately reflect the punctuation followed by the original utterance. Any internet-specific speech abbreviations are marked with an asterisk and glossed appropriately.

3.1. Categories of *Haoma*

3.1.1. Requests

While Sun's notion of *haobuhao* suggested "requests" as a staple for discourse marker, the notion of rhetorical requests within the context of Weibo differs considerably as it appears outside the context of a conversation. Thus, this type of request, while may be directed at a celebrity, a group, or a specific user, is one where the user is opening a request to an entire platform. In the example below, Weibo 薛定谔你赔我猫 *XueDing E Ni Peiwo Mao* is commenting on the frequent use of others' pictures on the internet. Particularly, the user is requesting that the fellow citizens pay close attention and requests that they do not carelessly omit the watermark of the designer. Here, the use of *qing* as a request makes this contextual discernment particularly apparent.

- (1) a. 请 有的 姐妹 在 搬图 过程 中 不要 随便 截掉
 qing youde jiemei zai bantu guocheng zhong bu yao suibian jiediao
 please some sisters in move photo process middle NEG-want carelessly cut
 'to all of you ladies out there, when you move photos please do not carelessly remove
- b. 别人 的 水印 好吗? 真的 很 不尊重 很 没有 礼貌!!!
 bieren de shuiyin haoma zhende hen buzunzhong hen meiyou limao
 other people POS watermark okay? really very NEG-respectful very NEG-have manners
 other people's watermarks, okay? It's so disrespectful and very rude !!!'

(Username: 薛定谔你赔我猫 Weibo 2019)

As can be seen from the context, the user is able to emphasize the desperation of her request by adding the discourse marker. The discourse marker also serves as a precursor to the continuation of the description. Thus, within a context of a request, *haoma* functions to emphasize the desperation of a request. It is relevant to note here that *haoma* appears at the end of a sentence in the token, but not necessarily at the token itself. In Line b, the statement that includes the marker is followed by a clarification that emphasizes the previous statement.

3.1.2. Statement of opinion

The second most common context in which *haoma* appears is in the "statement of opinion." As previously mentioned, since the Internet is a source for anonymous users to provide open commentary, it can be a useful tool for Internet users to express unfiltered opinions on a variety of topics. As such, these uses of *haoma* vary in their mood. Some present an opinion within a microblog that is arguing against some trend being publicly discussed while others exhibit an uncontroversial or advocatory opinion. Regardless of the mood of the microblogs that were sorted into this category, the marker *haoma* seems to function as a commentary on the obviousness of the statement made by the user. This is exhibited below in Token #146.

- (2) a. 国家 也是 搞笑 了, 办公室 禁 烟 这种 基本 规定 都 不
 guojia yeshi gaoxiao le bangongshi jin yan zhezhong jiben guiding dou bu
 country also funny LE, office prohibit smoking this type basic rule all NEG
 ‘Our country is pretty funny, they don’t even enact a basic rule like prohibiting smoking in the
- b. 落实下? 我们 是 来 工作 的, 不是 来 吸 尼古丁 的 好吗?
 luoshixia women shi lai gongzuo de, bushi lai xi niguding de haoma
 carry out I-PL is come work DE, NEG-is come smoke nicotine DE, okay?
 office? We’re here to work not smoke nicotine, okay?’
- c. 不顾 他 人 感受, 不顾 他人 健康 的 抽烟 行为 真的
 bu gu ta ren ganshou, bugu taren jiankang de chouyan xingwei zhende
 NEG-care his person feeling, NEG-care his person health DE smoke behavior really
 ‘Those who engage in smoking behavior without any regard for peoples’ feelings or health
- d. 令 人 不齿。 电子烟 味道 也 很难 闻的, 至于 危害
 ling ren buchi dianziyan weidao ye hennan wende zhiyu weihai
 make person contempt. electric smoke flavor also very hard smell DE as for damage
 really are so contemptful. The taste of e-cigarettes also smells bad. Who would say that isn’t
- e. 谁来 保证 没有 呢 [允悲*]
 shei lai baozheng meiyou ne yunbei
 who come promise NEG-have PRT emoji
 harmful? [face-palm emoji]’

(Username: 念瑾Gloria, Weibo 2019)

Token #146 is an example of a Weibo user commenting on a publicly relevant decision that may influence the workplace. The statement preceding the *haoma* discourse marker is a statement of opinion that seems obvious to the individual who posted the statement. Here, the discourse marker seems to place emphasis on the obviousness of the statement. While this could be considered as a micro blog that is expressing disdain about a comment, the statement that *haoma* is preceded by does not expressly state that criticism but rather aims to provide more insight on the intention of the statement itself.

3.1.3. Suggestions

The notion of the suggestion itself is difficult to pinpoint since suggestions can be grammatically marked in Mandarin Chinese. Nevertheless, Token #230 showcases the notion of suggestion as part of an open-platform discussion on the band BTS.

- (3) a. 这么 恨 他 那 可不可以 帮 我去 刷* #JKoutofbts*# 不是
 zheme hen ta na kebukeyi bang wo qu shua #JKoutofbts*# bushi
 this hate he then can-NEG-can help I go push #Jungkook out of BTS# NEG-is
 ‘If you hate him this much, then help me promote #Jungkook out of BTS. If he doesn’t want

- b. 他 要 solo, 你们 把 他 开除 出 队 好吗? 反正 队友 也 讨厌 他
 ta yao solo, nimen ba ta kaichu chu dui haoma fanzheng duiyou ye taoyan ta
 him want solo you-PL BA him dismiss exit team okay? anyway teammate also hate him
 to go solo, you should kick him out, okay? Anyways, his groupmates also hate him.’
- c. 团饭 也 讨厌 他。你们 联名 让 他 退队 行吗? 他 这种
 tuanfan ye taoyan ta, nimen lianming rang ta tuidui xingma ta zhezhong
 teamfan also hate him, you-PL jointly let him resign-team okay? him this type
 ‘The fanbase also hates him. Let’s jointly get him to resign, okay?’
- d. 小 傻瓜 自己 是 不会 走的, 所以 我 求 你们 赶 他 走 行吗?
 xiao shagua ziji shi buhui zoude, suoyi wo qiu nimen gan ta zou xingma?
 small idiot self is NEG-can go-DE, so I beg you-PL quick him go okay?
 That little idiot won’t go on his own, so I’m begging, make him leave, okay?’

(Username: 国选之昂 bot, Weibo 2019)

The user introduces the subject using the hashtag topic “#JKoutofbts” as a way to signal a discussion while never explicitly stating to whom the micro blog is directed at. Despite this, the user’s statement which precedes *haoma* is directed at a particular third person “you,” which a recipient can assume to be the band, BTS itself. In this case, *haoma* functions as a rhetorical confirmation to a request. Like an English, “okay,” this discourse marker serves to emphasize the validity of the suggestion on the part of the speaker while not expecting an answer. This use of the rhetorical *haoma* has a uniquely specific role within the context of open-source micro blogging where the Internet users do not necessarily require a response.

3.1.4. Commands

In my analysis, commands are any instance in which the Internet user does not use a request verb in the *haoma* utterance. The command differs from the suggestion in its tone and is typically a demand in which the writer is not proposing an option to the recipient. In this case, the user is scolding his observations of nosy co-workers and expressing his frustration. Once again, in this case, the speaker clarifies the statement with a succeeding utterance that further establishes his frustration.

- (4) a. 文字 看不出 语气 所以 发 的 时候 很 斟酌 用词 结果 还是
 wenzi kanbuchu yuqi suoyi fa de shihou hen zhenzhuo yongci jieguo haishi
 text see NEG out tone so send DE time very consider use word result or
 ‘When you’re writing, its hard to tell your tone, so I am diligent in my word choice’
- b. 被 咄咄 逼 人 的 文字 给 气 到 我 都 那么 好 生
 bei duoduo bi ren de wenzi gei qi dao wo dou name hao sheng
 PAS aggressive force person DE text give anger reach I all such good care
 ‘In the end, I was still subjected to aggressive texts to the point where I am trying to
- c. 说话 了 还 想 怎样 做好 自己 的 工作 好吗 不要 去 管
 shuohua le hai xiang zenyang zuohao ziji de gongzuo haoma buyao qu guan
 speak LE and want how do good self DE work okay? NEG want go
 speak nicely and am still obsessing about how I can do my work well! Stop paying attention

- d. 别 人 部 门 的 事 好 吗 你 就 知 道 别 人 给 自 己 添 麻 烦
 bie ren bumen de shi haoma ni jiu zhidao bieren gei ziji tian mafan
 other person section DE matter okay? you JIU know other person give self add trouble
 to other sections' matters! You just thinking that other people are giving themselves more
- e. 增 大 自 己 工 作 量 怎 么 不 想 想 你 自 己 给 别 人 添
 zeng da ziji gongzuo liang zenme buxiangxiang ni ziji gei bieren tian
 add big self work amount how NEG-consider you self give other people add
 trouble . How do you not consider the trouble you are adding for other people? [laugh emoji]
- f. 麻 烦 的 时 候 [微笑*]
 mafan de shihou [weixiao]
 annoy DE time [laugh emoji]

(Username: 沫Je_甜甜的相葉饼, Weibo 2019)

Haoma seems to be functioning similarly to the cases of suggestion *haoma* where it emphasizes the frustration expressed in the utterance. In the instances of commands, Internet users are typically making a public commentary about a phenomenon that he/she dislikes without addressing the perpetrator of said phenomenon. As such, this type of commentary further demonstrates the rhetorical quality of micro blogging.

3.1.5. Insults

Perhaps the most controversial of these categories, insults appear least frequently among Internet tokens. Nevertheless, I chose to distinguish them in their own category because of their uniquely vicious nature. Insults differ from suggestions in their exaggerated property and while one might not choose to say this directly to a listener in a conversation, Internet platforms provide a basis for this type of speech.

- (5) a. 每 次 看 到 我 家 爱 豆 在 机 场 被 一 堆 人 挤 着 走 真 的
 meici kandao wo jia ai dou zai jichang bei yi dui ren jizhe zou zhende
 every time see I home love in airport PAS one group person huddled go really
 'Every time I see my love at the airport followed by a team of people, I get so angry!'
- b. 超 气 ! 那 是 我 们 粉 丝 放 在 心 尖 上 宠 的 人 ! ! 是 没
 chaoqi na shi wo men fensi fang zai xinjian shang chong de ren shi mei
 super angry that is I PL fans put in heart heart on DE person shi NEG
 'As fans, we put these people in our hearts, don't act like animals! Have you never seen a handsome
- c. 见 过 帅 哥 还 是 干 嘛 ? ! 今 天 还 是 哥 哥 生 日 ! 不 懂
 jianguo shuaige haishi ganma jintian haishi gege shengri budong
 saw handsome guy still do PRT today still brother birthday NEG- understand
 guy or something? And it's even his birthday! If you don't understand respect
- d. 尊 重 人 的 原 地 爆 炸 好 吗 ! ! 真 是 暴 躁 到 想
 zunzhong rende yuandi baozha haoma zhen shi baozao dao xiang
 respect person-DE current place explode okay? really is cranky to want
 then just explode right where you are! I'm cranky and just want to yell at everyone.'
- e. 骂 人 !
 ma ren
 scold person

(Username: : 青屿 Makpo, Weibo 2019)

In Token 197, the user is criticizing overzealous fans who mobbed a celebrity by expressing her distaste for others who do not respect the people of whom they are supposedly fans. This type of criticism, while listed as the least frequent occurrence of *haoma*, shows an extreme example of *haoma* as a signifier of the emphasis on the frustration.

As listed in the examples above, *haoma* occurs in contexts of Requests, Statements of Opinions, Suggestions, Commands, and Insults. While the utterance in which it is used can vary widely, it is clear that *haoma* can function to emphasize the utterance preceded by *haoma*, emphasize its rhetorical nature, and add to the speaker's opinion on the degree of obviousness of the statement. It is relevant to note that the rhetorical nature of these utterances plays a key role in the way they can be interpreted. While previous scholars look at discourse marker utterance within the context of talk-in data, the nature of the internet-based speech places rhetorical emphasis on each of these uses. Despite the lack of expectation of other users to respond to these utterances, speakers use discourse markers to guide the reader, or other Internet users, into better understanding how to interpret the text at hand. Because of this unique interactional structure, Schrifin's (1978) model of domain is somewhat limited. The anonymity and lack of direct interaction suggests that the "participation framework" is an open and evenly footed, where all users are participating in a widespread discussion on any given topic. The discourse marker proves to be strongest in "information state" as it functions primarily on the part of the speaker, or in this case blogger, to provide new information to the recipient. Admittedly, there is no proof of confirmation linguistically as microblogging functions as a one-sided display of thoughts, but this type of presentation can be considered a new kind of "information state" discourse marker where the blogger uses the discourse marker to both comment on his/her own utterance as well as guide the recipient into understanding how they should react to it. While this analysis is simply a preliminary understanding of one aspect of discourse markers on the Internet, it highlights the idea that discourse markers can be used uniquely on web-based platforms and invites future exploration of the use of discourse markers as a way to guide Internet users into understanding digital language acts.

3.2. Limitations

Admittedly, it must be conceded that the judgment of the distributions and categories of the discourse marker in this study are highly subjective. While the examples here indicate a baseline for categorical analysis, this type of judgment may vary depending on a variety of factors, including age and gender. In this study, the researcher was a non-native speaker of Mandarin. Thus, a future path for this study would be to test tokens with and without the *haoma* discourse marker in an acceptability judgment test with native speakers. This type of test would better ascertain categorical analysis without risking influence from the discourse marker or other external factors. Additionally, a test across a variety of demographics of native speakers as well as a collection of demographic data of Weibo users whose tokens were collected has the potential to shed light on the unique nature of Internet users speech trends in the modern era. Lastly, an exploration of *haoma* as a discourse marker across a variety of types of data would be beneficial in understanding whether the contexts differ in Internet speech as opposed to face-to-face and other kinds of conversational data. This type of study can impact an understanding of politeness and indirect and direct speech patterns across data and understand the formality of discourse markers as a language tool.

4.0. CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS

Decades ago, Longacre (1976) described discourse markers as "mystery particles." Since then, several scholars have proposed theories on understanding what exactly these particles are, how they can be defined, what their functions are and have explored cross-linguistic data to support the cause. Nevertheless, this study simply illuminated the truly elusive nature of these particles. This exploration of *haoma* as a discourse marker was able to

ascertain the various contexts in which it can be used and created a preliminary understanding of the functions it might carry out. This understanding can help Internet users to better understand the way so-called netizens interact with their peers on an open-source platform and understand uses of *haoma* in various contexts, even if they are not familiar with the speech trends associated with such types of communication. For non-native speakers, the understanding of subtle language aspects, such as pragmatic markers, has the potential to further develop a speakers' interaction with native-speakers and explore a cultural understanding of the language at hand. Furthermore, observing such markers within their original context is a helpful way to cultivate this knowledge outside of the traditional academic materials typically provided to L2 speakers and can remain an influential way to connect with modern language trends even outside of countries where the language is spoken. This type of pragmatic knowledge can be invaluable to building relationships and contributing to the building of cross-cultural relationships.

5.0. CONCLUSION

Discourse markers play a unique role in the way interlocutors understand and interact. While they were not originally considered to hold great semantic value, linguists have increasingly paid attention to their function in daily interactions. The study of *haoma* sheds light on the diverse usage that it can have within a small number of tokens pulled from internet-based material. The study observed that *haoma* can appear within contexts of Requests, Statements of Opinions, Suggestions, Commands, and Insults and understands the discourse marker as functioning to emphasize emotional value of the statements as well as emphasizing the obvious nature of opinions. Additionally, the one-sided nature of online wide platform based communication allows for the rhetorical use of discourse markers that would not be observed in conversational data. It is my hope that this research is able to help native speakers and non-native speakers alike in further understanding the discourse marker *haoma* within internet-mediated communication and inspire future study on the quick-changing uncharted linguistic territory that can be found on Weibo.

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“DON’T MOVE! I WON’T KILL YOU”: A STUDY ON MULTILINGUAL INTERACTIONS IN A VIDEO GAME SETTING

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, there has been an increase in the creation and use of educational games. Unlike games whose purpose is entertainment or social interaction, educational games primarily seek to promote learning on topics within specific subject areas. Interaction between video players is essential for the research of educational video games. However there is little research focus on interaction between video game players. This research focused on multilingual interactions generated within a video game activity for language learning. The results showed that the language choice related to different elements, like the situation and the task, the authority in the game, and the relevant recipients, etc. The language choice also went along with embodied gestures that orient the participants’ utterances to specific recipients.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Some people might treat video games as a time killer, some may even blame it as the thing some people are addicted to. But according to recent studies, games represent an interesting site for social activity and interactions, (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010). They also represents a complex, technologically mediated social activity in which the game shapes the players’ interaction (Arminen, 2017). Especially team play and co-operative play in the games can enhance certain social skills and support informal learning by providing opportunities for sharing knowledge and expertise and negotiating membership in communities (Schott & Kambouri, 2006).

Multimodality in video games allows players to coordinate actions, align with other participants in various tasks, contribute to unfold the events in the games and to accomplish them through interactions (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010).

2.0. THEORY FRAMEWORK

2.1. Code-switching

Code-switching and translanguaging are similar concepts, different researchers may have different descriptions about these two concepts. In this study, the researcher decided to use “code-switching”, and narrated it as “two, or more, languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning” (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 649).

Recently, the research about code-switching contributes to participant selection and turn-taking generally (Auer, 1984), to mark preference (Auer, 1984), to mark emphasis through reiteration, to mark punch lines in stories (Sebba & Wootton, 1988), etc. In video playing setting, Piirainen-Marsh (2010) described how code-switching is used alongside other interactional resources (e.g. direction of gaze, body shift) to manage relevant types of activities and participation frameworks and to signal the players’ changing alignments according to unfolding scenes.

2.2. Recipient Design

Recipient design requires constructing and maintaining the appropriateness of an utterance “in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants” (Sacks et al., 1978, p. 727). It can be achieved through “word selection, topic selection, admissibility and ordering of sequences, options and obligations for starting and terminating conversations” (Sacks et al., 1978, p. 727). It can also be achieved nonverbally (Koschmann & Lebaron, 2002). In talk between bilinguals, choice of language adds another dimension because to engage in recipient design during talk requires establishing or inferring what is commonly understood or known language alternation in bilingual interaction is often participant related, highlighting what the speaker knows

about his or her interlocutor (Greer et al., 2010). Also, bilinguals design their talks in the appropriate language according to their addressee (Filippi, 2015).

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTION

In this study, the research question is: how do the participants select the language they use in a multilingual interaction while playing a video game?

4.0. DATA COLLECTION

4.1. Platform

The game platform used in this research is Minecraft, which is an open world sand box style game in which players are not constrained to levels such as in traditional video games, but have the freedom to explore and create content as they see fit (Smith, 2014).

4.2. Data Collection Process and Participants

The whole process of Minecraft playing consisted of two sessions. The first session of the game was designed to learn a Chinese constraint, and after the learning process, there was a second session. In the second session, all the participants played together just to relax and have fun. The empirical data for this study were collected through a video recording of the second session of the game which last approximately 30 minutes. All the participants were given the identity of a soldier in the game Minecraft. In the game they needed to first work with their partner and build their base for three hours, and then fight with others. The data analyzed for this research was from the last stage of the project, the period when all the participants got together and fought. This stage of the game session introduced an increased level of pressure and required a high degree of coordination through communication in order to succeed and achieve victory.

During this stage, the participants presented different levels of proficiency in Mandarin and English. There were six participants divided into three teams in this game. The red team consisted of D and P, D is a 200 level Chinese learner who is an undergraduate of Computer Science, and P is an English learner and a Chinese native speaker who is an undergraduate in Second Language Studies. The blue team consisted of I and J. I is a 200 level Chinese learner who is a freshman, and J is a 400 level Chinese learner whose major is Chinese. Finally, the green team was composed of R and Y. R is a 200 level Chinese learner who is an undergraduate in Second Language Studies, and Y is a Ph. D. student whose field is Chinese linguistics. The Ph. D. student Y is a native speaker of Chinese. He got his second master's degree in Second Language Studies in the United States, and continued to his Ph. D here. He has an equivalent competence of both Chinese and English. He was required to use as much Chinese as he could. Except for Y, all the Chinese learners were asked to use as much Chinese as they could while the English learner was asked to use as much English as she could in the first playing session. But in the second session, which was for fun, no language preference was required. As a result, there was a lot of code-switching happening in this nature setting.

4.3. Activity in the Game

The goal of the second session of the game was to retrieve an object (a star) from the opposing teams' bases while defending their respective bases. In order to do that, each team's members needed to coordinate through interactions. The winner was the last team who still kept their star.

5.0. DATA ANALYSIS

The data were analyzed based on the conventions of Conversation Analysis, which pays attention to both verbal and non-verbal actions of participants. Also the data were transcribed according to Jefferson (2004) and Burch & Kasper (2016).

5.1. Excerpt 1: Don’t move… I won’t kill you

This scene happened when the game just started. P who was the weakest in the game, appeared in the blue team, I and J’s base because of a game bug. This aroused I and J’s attention, because if they could not figure out who this person was, and fix the problem, they would fail the game immediately.

01 I: em, you know-↑ ?

+GZ> screen +GZ>D +GZ>J GZ>screen(0.3)

02 °Look°

+GZ>J ----->

03 J: ° who the hell is that°?

+GZ>I’s screen-----

04 I: yeah, who is, who is this?

I:+ Laughs +GZ>D +GZ>J

J:+GZ>I’s screen----->

05 J: 你们 ?

>Nimen↑?<

You PL?

You two?

+GZ>Y (0.2) +GZ> D +GZ> P

P: +laughs(0.2)

D: + smiles

06 J: Is tha- ↑? Where are you right now↑?

J:+computer clicks mouse +GZ, smiles>P smiles +GZ>I’s screen

I: +laughs +GZ>screen

07 D: yeah, she is there↑ in your base.

08 J: What↑?

+Laughs

09 J: OK. don't don't. 别动, 我, 额

Bie dong, wo, ㄣ::

No move, I, DM

Don't move, I, ㄣ

J: GZ>P +RHIF PNT P

10 P : 别动? 哦。

Bie dong?O.

No move?MD.

Don't move? Ok.

P: + hands up +Laughs

I: +Laughs

D: +Laughs

R: +Laughs

T: +Laughs

J:+smiles +GZ> screen

11 J : 我不会杀死你, 只是, I gotta fix a thing, so-

Wo buhui sha si ni, zhishi,

I no will kill die you, only

I won't kill you, it is just

J: +GZ> screen +smiles, works on the computer

As the situation was urgent, the task at the beginning of this excerpt was finding out the intruder, which was related to J and I's victory. When J and I first interacted, they didn't have time to consider the languages they could use, so they used their first language to co-operate naturally. But later, they found that the intruder did not mean to do something to hurt them. This gave them breathing time, and J used embodied actions (direction of gaze) to orient interaction. J interacted with Y and D first to check who the intruder was, because Y and D were the leaders in the teams. At the meantime, he did code-switching according to the addressee. Later, all participants knew it was a bug. P used her first language Chinese to respond to J's request in Chinese. Thus, she used embodied actions (lifting arms) to signal alignment to participants, and to help the participant J to understand her first reply. After the situation was clear, J used Chinese which is also P's first language to talk to P, and then he suddenly

switched to English, because of task change. The task of J changed into fixing the problem, which can be seen from J’s verbal and non verbal discourse resources.

5.2. Excerpt 2: Let the horse pass

This scene occurred when Y entered J and I’s base, and realized that J and I broke the rule and they took their star with them after a fight. Y tried to tell J and I that, they had already been against the rule.

45 Y:不能不能不能不能拿着星星走的呀.

=buneng buneng buneng buneng nazhe xingxing zou de ya.

theory up NEG can NEG can NEG can carry star walk DE DM.

the star cannot be carried around (while walking)

46 R : 不能, 不能?

[Bu neng], bu neng?

No can, no can

Cannot, cannot?

+laughs

47J : 干嘛?

[Ganma?]

Do DM

So what?

+ smiles

48 Y:理论上他们不能自己拿着星星自己走的呀。

Lilushang tamen buneng ziji nazhe xingxing ziji [zou de ya.

Theory up they no can themselves carry-ASP star themselves walk DE DM.

Technically, they cannot carry the star with them while they are walking.

49 R:[oh ok]I should have taught you how to ()- oh ok, well-

50 J:放马过来.

Fang ma guo lai.

Let horse pass come.

Come on!

+smiles

(2 sec)

R: +laughs

D: +laughs

T: +laughs

Y: +laughs

I: +laughs

P: +laughs

51 J: = come on. I got an ax and no armor ()

+smiles

In the conversation, they were debating a rule in the game. The situation was not urgent, and Y knew J's Chinese level, he chose Chinese as the interaction language. J also used Chinese based on his addressee. Then he used a difficult Chinese idiom to make a joke. Although everyone laughed, J still did reiteration to mark emphasis and to make sure everyone understood it.

5.3. Excerpt 3: You have the star?

This interaction appeared when J and I's star disappeared after a fight and they tried to figure out where their star was.

36 T: 已经没有了么?

Yijing meiyou le ma?

Already no-Asp DM?

Is it already gone?

37 I: 对不起

° Dui bu qi°

Sorry

I'm sorry

38 J: 对。我，我没有，你书包里面有吗?

Dui. Wo, wo meiyou, ni shubao li mian you ma?

Yes. I I NEG have your backpack inside have DM?

Yes. I, I don't have it, do you have it in your backpack?

J: + GZ>I’ s laptop screen

39 I: 我书包?eeeeeeeeeee, yeah, () yeah.

Wo de shubao? E::::

My backpack? DM

My backpack? E:::~ Yeah, () Yeah

I: + clicks on mouse, nods head

40 J: you have- you have the star?

41 I: yeah yeah yeah yeah

+ nods head

At first, the whole conversation was in Chinese, for the whole interaction began by the Chinese instructor. The instructor and students’ identities enabled the whole interaction in Chinese which was the students’ second language. But after I responded ”my backpack?”, which could be understood as he was not sure about the meaning, J switched to English, J and I’s first language, to confirm the information.

6.0. FINDINGS

6.1. Both Verbal and Non verbal Discourse Resources

In the data analysis, both verbal and non verbal discourse resources were found. They both contributed to coordinate participants’ actions and interactions, also allowed to manage shifts between different scenes in the game. This finding is consistent with Piirainen-Marsh (2010).

6.2. The Selection of Languages

In the previous research, the selection of language was directly related to the relevance of the task ongoing in line with (Piirainen-Marsh, 2010), was determined by the relevance of the addressee in the specific framework (Greer et al., 2010), contributed to marking emphasis and reinforce meaning (Sebba & Wootton, 1988), and went along with embodied gestures that orient the participants’ utterances to specific recipients (Koschmann & Lebaron, 2002).

Like previous studies, in this research, code-switching is also related to the task and situation the players faced. If the task and situation is urgent, the participants will use their first language to finish the task. They will not consider to use their second language unless the situation is not urgent which they can handle. In the handle-able situations, the participants will choose the relevant recipient based on several elements like the authority in the game, the situation participant etc. The recipients’ selection process can be noticed by both verbal and non verbal actions. After the recipients’ selection, the participants will choose their L1 or L2 according to the addressee. In the same process, the participants may do self-repetition to emphasize or confirm the information.

7.0. CONTRIBUTION AND IMPLICATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study expanded the existing literature on video games multilingual interactions by providing an insight of how the participants make use of both verbal (especially code-switching) and non verbal resources to coordinate their actions in the game activity. Also, it provided implication for future research as studies on video games that

entail team play and co-operate play as an opportunity for second language practice. Since serious games have become a popular learning tool for language learning, so more research should be done about team play and co-operate play for language practice.

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APPENDIX

Glossary of transcript symbols

// Double obliques indicate the point at which a current speaker’s talk is overlapped by the talk of another.

[A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset.

((The currently-used alternative to the double obliques.

] A right bracket indicates the point at which two overlapping utterances end, if they end simultaneously, or the point at which one of them ends in the course of the other.

= Equal signs indicate no break or gap.

– – Double dashes indicate a short, untimed interval without talk

(0.0) Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time by tenths of seconds

_____ Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude. A short underscore indicates lighter stress than does a long underscore.

:: Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The longer the colon row, the longer the prolongation.

↑↓ Arrows indicate shifts into especially high or low pitch

°word° Degree signs bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicates that the sounds are softer than the surrounding talk.

WORD Upper case indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.

> < Right/left carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is speeded up, compared to the surrounding talk. < > Left/right carats bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate that the bracketed material is slowed down, compared to the surrounding talk.

() Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to get what was said. The length of the parenthesized space reflects the length of the ungotten talk.

GZ> Gaze

-----> action lasting and ends

A TRANSLANGUAGING-BASED METHOD FOR INTEGRATING JEJUEO AND DIALECT PROFICIENCY INTO THE KOREAN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

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ABSTRACT

This project proposes a method towards including dialect awareness into Korean Foreign Language (KFL) classrooms and creating an elevated sociocultural awareness among KFL students. There are numerous benefits to both Korean L2 speakers and the Korean community at large for integrating dialect literacy into the KFL curriculum such as a broader cultural awareness, greater identity affirmation, stronger interpersonal communication, enhanced situational social awareness of speech differences, and a decreased rate in communication break-downs. The proposed method integrates Korean dialects and the Koreanic Jejueo into the Standard Korean language curriculum through a translanguaging-based method. A sample of materials integrating Jejueo provides an example of how to implement this method.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Within the Korean Foreign Language (KFL) classroom setting, there has been little effort thus far to include dialect and regional education into curriculums. Integrating dialect literacy into the KFL curriculum brings numerous benefits to both Korean L2 speakers and the Korean community at large. These include a broader cultural awareness, identity affirmation, stronger interpersonal communication, enhanced situational social awareness of speech differences, and a decrease in communication break-downs. As such this paper proposes a method towards including dialect awareness into our classrooms and creating an elevated cultural and social awareness among KFL students. Rather than separating Korean dialects and Jejueo into different language courses from Standard Korean, this method integrates them into the Standard Korean curriculum. The goals of this method are to be able to integrate it into any standard Korean language course and to have it be applicable to any Korean dialect and Jejueo. A case study in Jejueo integration will provide an example of how to implement this method.

The first section of this paper will introduce the theoretical support for dialect inclusion, translanguaging, and why translanguaging conceptually fits with dialect education. In addition to that, I will explain the features of Korean dialects necessary for successful dialect education. The second section of this paper will propose a method for implementing dialect literacy into regular KFL classrooms of different levels of proficiency drawing on methods proposed in other language education programs such as TBLT, PBL, or CBI. The third and final section will discuss a case study in integrating Jejueo conducted in the Spring Semester of 2019 at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa on students in their third semester of Korean language study to test the efficacy of the proposed methods.

2.0. PRIOR WORK ON DIALECT INTEGRATION

2.1. On the Value of Dialect Education in KFL

Dialects are typically considered non-standard and even vulgar language, especially in instructional settings (Lee, 2009). There is currently a negative stereotype within the Korean language education community surrounding dialects that they are embarrassing and should not be used in the classroom (Lee, 2009), and thus the standard for education is the standard dialect of the Korean language (Ko, 2010), which is broadly the dialect spoken in the Kyunggi Region, including the capital, Seoul. Dialects, unlike standardized language, are highly expressive modes of language, and they contain words and grammar that have no adequate equivalent in the standard dialect. Dialects also employ more use of Native Korean words, which is opposed to the favoring of Sino-Korean words in standard language (Lee, 2009). There are also many sentiments expressed through dialects that cannot be expressed in the standard dialect (Lee, 2009). Especially notable within dialects is the presence of kindness, hospitality, and soul.

This is typically referred to as '*ceng*' in Korean (Lee, 2009) and as such, dialects reflect the emotions, thoughts, and ideals of the people of a region (Young, 2007). Through use of a dialect, people gain a sense of inclusiveness with the dialect speaking community.

According to Lee (2009), should dialects be allowed into the classroom, there will be four main benefits. First, dialect speakers will experience less of an inferiority complex as the dialects will now be treated as equals to the standard language; second, through the learning of a dialect, the mind, culture, and people of the region in which that dialect is used will be better understood outside the region, thus reducing prejudices; third, the learning of a dialect provides a route to become in-group with the community that uses the dialect, as a dialect speaks to the hearts of the members of the community; and fourth, linguistic misunderstandings will be neutralized through the now mutual understanding of regional differences.

There are several advantages in incorporating dialect proficiency and awareness explicitly in the KFL classroom. First, the incorporation of dialects allows for a deeper fulfilment of the Five C's of Foreign Language Education. According to the ACTFL World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages (2012), language education in the United States should incorporate the following Five C's: Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities. Central to the introduction of dialects into our classrooms are the aspects of Culture, Communities, and Communication. There are several standards in place for culture, and as per Culture Standards 2.1 and 2.2, students should obtain knowledge of cultural practices or "what to do when and where", cultural products or tangible or intangible items such as literature or dances, and cultural perspectives or the underlying values and beliefs of a culture. Dialects are a fundamental aspect of knowing what to do when and where; they are an intangible cultural item and present a wider lens to show students what values are held in Korean society. Communities Standards 5.1 and 5.2 are also to a lesser extent fulfilled through dialect incorporation. These standards state that students should use Korean in and out of the classroom and that they should use the language for personal enjoyment. Dialects open students up to new Korean communities and provide a means for students to interact more meaningfully with a wider range of Korean people. With regards to Communication Standards, in order for students to successfully engage in conversation (1.1) and interpret written and spoken language (1.2), students will need to at least have basic knowledge of dialects and know how to interact with dialect speakers when they come across them.

Aside from meeting national standards, general sociolinguistic competence is crucial to the use and acquisition of language. As early as 1921, language was recognized as a chiefly social behavior and as the human means of understanding the world (Sapir, 1921; Sohn, 2006). According to the Whorfian hypothesis, language both reflects a culture and shapes the way we think (Sohn, 2006; Whorf, 1956). Because social interaction is carried out through the use of language (Sohn, 2006), students need to have a firm grasp of how different groups within a larger culture speak, think, and behave in order to have relationships with members of these different cultural subgroups. There is no reason to believe that students will only encounter and interact with Korean speakers born and raised in Seoul, nor that they are exclusively interested in Seoul as the monolith of Korean culture. From my experience, when given the choice to present on any topic on Korea and Korean culture, a significant portion of students in beginner Korean courses choose to present on a city or region such as Daegu, Busan, or Jeju, indicating that students are interested in learning about more regions beyond Seoul.

When entering a Korean community, students will encounter dialects with native speakers, especially within immigrant populations outside Korea, or should they visit Korea, within the community there. Students should know the dialect of the region they will live in, or the dialect most commonly used by people around them as this promotes integration into the community (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia, 2013; Lee, 2009). In addition, many Korean students in the United States are heritage learners. Heritage learners who speak dialects with their parents at home already will have the opportunity to affirm their language skills and fully realize their knowledge of these dialects.

Some Korean language educators may be concerned about students learning and using non-standard Korean in inappropriate situations. While having a command of grammar and vocabulary is important, communication is more so a crucial factor for the KFL learner. In order to receive more in-group receptions as a non-native speaker, perfect formal language will only go so far. Integration and communication within a community requires being able to accurately use slang or dialectal speech particular to the region you live in (Lee, 2009; Young, 2007). In addition, to the benefit of the entire Korean dialect-speaking community, regarding a dialect as worthy to teach to foreign learners raises the status of the dialect and affirms the identities of those who speak them (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia, 2013; Lee, 2009). Teachers who normally use a dialect and not the standard language, for instance, will have affirmation that using their dialect is acceptable in the classroom and not inherently dispreferred to Standard Korean. This affirms their identity as dialect native KFL educators alongside their Standard Korean native speaking colleagues.

2.2. Translanguaging and the Goals of Dialect Instruction

According to Garcia and Li Wei (2014), translanguaging refers “to both the complex language practices of plurilingual individuals and communities, as well as the pedagogical approaches that use those complex practices” (p. 20). Translanguaging views language as an integrated continuum and purports dynamic bilingualism (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). Translanguaging involves learning to negotiate an interaction between two languages through the valuing and affirmation of the cultural, societal, and linguistic values of multiple languages of dialects (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). Translanguaging is considered to go beyond the traditional notion of code-switching. More than simply transitioning between two languages, the speaker is also navigating all of the cultural and social aspects associated with the languages they are navigating between (Garcia & Li Wei 2014). Thus in the context of navigating between dialects, the concept of translanguaging refers to the navigation between the social, cultural, and linguistic norms of the two or more dialects in use. This concept can be applied to the classroom in many different settings, however, translanguaging as an instructional tool is most commonly used within a community where one or more alternative languages or dialects is commonly used in order to teach the educational standard dialect and affirm the identities of the non-standard dialect or language users.

Translanguaging can be used at two different levels: the level of the student and the level of the teacher (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). Students can use translanguaging as a means to process and understand language and content. Students at the beginning of the bilingual continuum, or language learning beginners, use translanguaging differently from students near the end of the continuum. Students beginning a journey in bilingualism tend to use translanguaging to support and expand their understanding – dependent translanguaging – while experienced bilinguals tend to use translanguaging to enhance their language skills – independent translanguaging (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). At the teacher level, planned situations for students to utilize translanguaging for educational purposes can be implemented through official translanguaging (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). This type of translanguaging can be used to strategically scaffold new information to ensure students to have a strong conceptual awareness and to help students access more difficult content. As a pedagogical practice this involves lowering the teacher’s role to a facilitator and encouraging classroom situations which require transitions between two languages and the understanding of a concept in one language through the use of the other (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014).

Dialect users within the Korean community move fluidly, or translanguage, between the standard dialect and their regional dialect regularly. Nonnative speakers also ought to be able to negotiate meaning within this type of situation. Translanguaging generates more awareness of linguistic diversity, which can help language learners who are most likely to need an understanding of this, namely heritage learners and learners living near or in diaspora populations of dialect speakers (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia, 2013). As such Korean dialect education should be centered on a curriculum based on translanguaging, inclusive multilingualism, or dialecticism, all of which involves fluid use of language and active negotiation of meaning (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia, 2013). This type of curriculum values the non-standard dialect or language to the same degree it values the native or standard language (Canagarajah, 2014; Garcia, 2013). In the application of this concept to the teaching of dialects as an L2,

translanguaging can be applied to the Standard Korean L2 community and their interactions with the dialectal Korean L1 community. Students can leverage their knowledge of both Standard Korean and their native language (in this case, the non-standard Korean dialect) and the associated culture in order to access and gain fluency in the dialect and the associated culture at hand (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014).

Translanguaging can be used in tandem with many different teaching approaches or methodologies such as Task-Based Language Teaching Approach (TBLT) (Long, 2014), Content-Based Instruction Approach (CBI) (Snow & Brinton, 2017), or Project-Based Learning Approach (PBL) (Beckett, 2006; Stoller, 2006). Translanguaging as a method simply requires the use of two or more languages to facilitate the learning of content and language, making it simple to incorporate into any classroom format.

2.3. Dialectal Features Necessary to Introduce in a Dialect Curriculum

In order to utilize translanguaging and integrate dialect education into the KFL classroom, we must first define the features of Korean dialects on which to be instructed. The dialect map of the Korean Peninsula looks as follows: North Korea has three main dialects – Pyeongan, Hamgyung, and Hwanghae dialect, while South Korea has six main dialects – Kyunggi (including Seoul), Kangwon, Choongchung, Jeolla, Kyungsang, and Jeju (King, 2006). These dialects are mostly mutually intelligible with some distinctive features ranging from the phonemic to the grammatical defining their differences (Sohn, 1999). Jeju, however, has been recently found to be mutually unintelligible with Standard Korean to the point that it has been determined to be a separate language entirely (O’Grady, 2014; Yang, 2014a; Yang, 2014b), but there are variations of the Jeju language (or Jejeuo) which are more mutually intelligible with other Korean dialects due to the gradual loss of the language in favor of Korean in the younger generations (King, 2006; O’Grady, 2014).

Diagnostic criteria for defining a Korean dialect generally include phonological or phonetic features, morphological features, and syntactic features (King, 2006; Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999). Particularly salient are the diagnostic features of the phonological sort, including differences in vowel system (number of phonemes and presence of umlaut), reflexes of earlier forms of Korean (manner of manifestation or the loss of certain Middle Korean phonemes), type and degree of palatalization (/t/, /k/, and /h/), as well as the presence of suprasegmental features (pitch accent and vowel length) (King, 2006; Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999). In general, tone is considered the most salient feature for dialect distinction by Korean speakers. Thanks to its salient tonal system, the Kyungsang dialect is considered one of the most salient. Jeju is similarly salient, but for its sheer typological mutual unintelligibility (Lee & Ramsey, 2000).

Since Korean dialects can be defined by their unique phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic features, these aspects must be explained by instructors intending to introduce dialects into the classroom. Phonologically, it is necessary to bring attention to how phonemes and suprasegmental features, such as tone and intonation, compare to Standard Korean in order to guide students to mimic and perceive these differences. Lexically, dialects rely on a plethora of dialect-specific words that need to be taught as separate vocabulary either through correspondence to a Standard Korean term or being introduced in its own right. Dialects also bear many distinctive morphological and syntactic features which function by dialect-specific rules which need to be explained implicitly or explicitly. In addition to typological differences, there are also cultural differences between regions that play a role in dialect use such as shared cultural norms, regional history, and food culture. Thus in addition to providing students with knowledge of linguistic features of dialects, students need to have literacy in the regions themselves in order to fully comprehend the dialects themselves.

2.4. Jejeuo Linguistic Features for Integrating into the KFL Classroom

The case study in this paper focuses on Jejeuo. Jejeuo is spoken on the island of Jeju (Jejudo) off of the Korean Peninsula and maintains many of features from Middle Korean language. Traditionally thought of as a

Korean dialect, Jejuo has been found to be a separate language from Korean. However, the declining number of native speakers (5,000 to 10,000 remaining) of Jejuo in modern times has resulted it being classified by the Catalogue of the Endangered Languages as an endangered language (ELCat, 2014). Jejuo has been found to have been mutually unintelligible with mainland Korean languages since around the Koryeo Period in various historical records and accounts (Yang, 2014). The endangered language is quickly merging into a dialect of Modern Korean among younger speakers; and as such there are several efforts in place to attempt to maintain Jejuo's status as an independent language, including creating educational materials and teaching Jejuo in Jeju Island classrooms (Ko, 2010; Yang, O'Grady, & Yang, 2017).

Jejuo was selected for this case study for several reasons, the first of which being the promotion of the preservation of this endangered language and the further solidification of Jejuo's status as an important Korean cultural heritage item. The second and most relevant reason for the selection of Jejuo is the similarities Jeju Island shares with Hawai'i, (Jeju is even called the "Hawai'i of Korea") and thus is a topic that will resonate well with students who almost are all born and raised in Hawai'i, the location for this study.

Jejuo has several distinctive typological features. Phonologically, there are nine vowels and 13 diphthongs (King, 2006), including the retention of Middle Korean arae-a (/ʌ/ or /ɔ/), which has been preserved exclusively in the Jeju region along with the j-diphthong of this vowel, known as double arae-a (Jejuo Education Research Committee, 2018; Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999; Yang, 2014). There is no tone, vowel length, or umlaut (King, 2006; Lee & Ramsey, 2000). There are 19 consonants with the addition of a voiced [h] phoneme, though the inclusion of this sound as a phoneme is contentious (King, 2006). There is widespread aspiration, and Middle Korean p-clusters are represented as aspirates (Jejuo Education Research Committee, 2018; King, 2006; Sohn, 1999). There is also extensive /k/ and /h/ palatalization, retention of historical /z/ as /s/, and retention of old lax consonants that in other dialects have since changed to tense consonants (King, 2006; Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999).

Lexically, there is highly divergent regional vocabulary, containing many old forms and terms unique to Jeju (King, 2006; Lee & Ramsey, 2000; Sohn, 1999); and morphologically there is the presence of fossilized suffixes such as *-ang*, *-(ay)ngi*, and *-ayki* (Sohn, 1999). The *-ko* ending/conjunctive in Standard Korean is realized as *-ang/-eng* and there are also many enders unique to Jejuo such as *-ye* and *-massum* (Lee & Ramsey, 2000). The morphemes *-supni-* from Korean become *-swu-*, or *-wu-*, *-keyss* becomes *-kh(+wu)*, *-ko issta* is realized as *-m-*, the perfective is actualized as *-at/-et* and *-an/-en*, and *-lang* is realized as *-yeng* (Lee & Ramsey, 2000). Syntactically there are three speech levels (high, equal, and low), where *-massum* is a common formal ender (King, 2006). With regard to other sentence enders, declarative enders include *-(u)khiye*, *-emce*, *-emse*, *-emchwu*, *-khwuta*, *-emswuta*, and *-(s)wuta*. Interrogative enders include *-emti(ya)?*, *-emsini?*, *-esinya?*, *-mkka?*, *-mkko?*, *-emse?*, *-emsinga?*, *-emswukkwa?*, and *-(wu)kkwa?*. Additionally, imperative/prepositive enders include *-(u)pse*, *-(u)pce*, *-(u)sim*, and *-cwu* (Sohn, 1999).

As a demonstration of the divergence Jejuo takes from Standard Korean, the following conversation excerpt from a Jejuo textbook is provided below. Here we can see the use of arae-a, unique consonant clusters, divergent morphemes and grammatical patterns, as well as divergent vocabulary. A translation into Standard Korean and English has been provided in the two columns on the right.

Table 1. Jejeuo and Standard Korean Comparison (Yang, O'Grady, & Yang, 2017, p. 1).

Jejeuo		Korean		English Translation	
미나:	소연아, 야의 우리 뭇을 아의, 말덜 터보라	미나:	소연아, 애가 우리 마을 아이, 말을 해봐.	Mina:	Soyoun, This is someone from our village, say hi.
mina:	<i>soyena, yauy wuli moul auy, maltel thepola</i>	mina:	<i>soyena, yayka wuli maul ai, malul haypwa.</i>		
만수:	체염 뵈저이. 나 만수여.	만수:	처음 보네, 난 만수야.	Mansu:	Nice to meet you! I'm Mansu.
manswu:	<i>cheyyem pwamscei. na manswuye.</i>	manswu:	<i>cheum poney, nan manswuya.</i>		
소연:	나도 체염 뵈저. 난 소연이. 게난, 는 멧 솔?	소연:	나도 처음 봐. 난 소연이야. 그러니깐 너는 몇 살이야?	Soyeon:	I'm also glad to meet you. I'm Soyoun! So how old are you?
soyen:	<i>nato cheyyem pwamsce. nan soyei. keynan, nun meys sol?</i>	soyen:	<i>nato cheum pwa. nan soyeniya. kulenikkan nenun myech saliya?</i>		
만수:	나 열아홉 솔.	만수:	나 열아홉 살이야.	Mansu:	I'm eighteen.
manswu:	<i>na yelaop sol.</i>	manswu:	<i>na yelahop saliya.</i>		
소연:	기? 나광 궂트다이.	소연:	그래? 나와 같다!	Soyeon:	Oh really? Same as me!
soyen:	<i>ki? nakwang kothutai.</i>	soyen:	<i>kulay? nawa kathhta!</i>		

Note: English and Korean translations not provided in original text. Korean and Jejeuo Gloss given using the Yale Romanization system.

2.5. A Comparative Program: University of Hawai'i Japanese Program and Okinawan

The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa is home to a thriving Japanese program and within this Japanese program there are several opportunities students are given to incorporate dialect and minor Japonic language studies into their educational experience. Of particular interest are the opportunities provided to learn about Okinawa and Okinawan language with the support of the Center for Okinawan Studies. Okinawan is similar to Jejeuo in that both are considered endangered indigenous languages of countries which are mostly considered monolingual societies.

Students of Japanese are given the opportunity to take up to three courses fully focused on Okinawan language and culture (there are also separate cultural courses offered through other departments). These three courses are JPN 471, JPN 472, and EALL 197 (Center for Okinawan Studies, 2010). The general structure and methods used to teach Okinawan were illuminated through an email-based brief interview with the current instructor for these courses, Dr. Stewart Curry. The Okinawan Language and Culture course (JPN 471) is designed for students who have background in Japanese and the course teaches students Okinawan language and culture. At the beginning of the semester, Okinawan grammar and syntax are quickly explained in order to move on to direct language application. Students are exposed to vocabulary, grammar, and sentence patterns through reading exercises

and lectures on cultural topics. Students are required to demonstrate their knowledge through a research paper and a presentation on a relevant topic. Okinawan Language and Literature (JPN 472) is the continuation of JPN 471. The course focuses on introducing archaic to modern Okinawan through literature and hosts guest lectures especially for topics related to performing arts; and it also culminates with a paper and presentation.

Elementary Okinawan (EALL 197) is a newly offered course which uniquely does not require any background in Japanese. All materials are presented in the Romanized orthography and students are taught the standard variety of Okinawan (the language of Naha). Focus is given to pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, sentence patterns, and conversations; but there is a minor emphasis on culture such as classic Okinawan language, performing arts, poetry and song delivered by occasional guest speakers. In addition to these three Okinawan-specific courses, there is brief mention of Japanese dialects in JPN 370, Introduction to Japanese Language and Society, where students go through one or two lecture sessions and discuss the history and repercussions of the spread of Standard Japanese including the repression of non-standard Japonic language varieties and Okinawan during the Meiji period. Outside the Okinawan-specific courses and the aforementioned sessions, non-standard Japanese is rarely mentioned in Japanese courses (S. Curry, personal communication, December 12, 2018).

There are some important things to be noted with regards to looking at this Okinawan model. First, there is a very strong support system for Okinawan specifically within the Hawai'i local community. Aside from support for language learning, there are many cultural opportunities and a large Okinawan community available for students to learn about other Okinawa related domains. This is not the case for Korean dialects, where immigrant communities are traditionally more mixed and there are not many opportunities for students to immerse themselves in a specific dialect's culture and language. As such, creating an entire program or course explicitly devoted to a dialect or general dialects does not meet the needs of most students therefore, introducing students to the way dialects are used is more prudent. Korean dialect users tend to switch between Standard Korean and the dialect fluidly especially when outside the dialect's region. Thus teaching students the skills to perceive translanguaging between standard Korean and Korean dialects is more practical than teaching them the ability to perform such translanguaging.

Second, the Okinawan program focuses a large amount of attention and effort onto bringing cultural events and guests into the classroom, even taking students outside the classroom to visit Okinawan cultural sites in Honolulu. This aspect, unlike the first, is applicable to the Korean situation. Bringing in visitors and guest speakers to demonstrate regional cultural practices through speech delivering is a much more plausible task. This can be done in person or, if there is a geographical challenge, via internet services such as video calling. Using other cultural aspects to motivate language learning as in the Okinawan courses is also highly applicable. Regional practices, literature, food, landmarks, folk songs, etc., can be used to introduce Korean dialects and Jeju dialect to students.

3.0. DIALECT INTEGRATION METHOD

The following is a proposed methodology for Korean instructors to follow when including dialects into their course curriculum. In order to ensure that dialects are taught with proper respects to KFL settings, activities should be designed to facilitate the use of translanguaging. Students should be encouraged to use the language they already know to help them express new concepts in the dialect. There are a total of nine proposed steps in this method. First, teachers should determine the degree of current dialect awareness of their students. How much do students already know and what do they already know? Second, teachers should identify themes in their curriculum which can serve as vessels to introduce dialects. Connections to the curriculum are key to ensuring that students have the linguistic skills to translanguage properly between the dialect and Standard Korean. Third, teachers should identify what dialect(s) to incorporate into their curriculum. If there is any connection to the community or students' prior knowledge this can be leveraged to facilitate the transition into dialect education.

Fourth, teachers should determine the how much dialect explicit content versus regional cultural aspects are appropriate for the students' Standard Korean proficiency level. The Standard Korean skill level of students should determine how much dialect language to incorporate into the curriculum. Beginning students are still learning the fundamentals of Standard Korean, and thus introducing dialect language too abruptly can cause confusion if not clearly defined. It is thus recommended to focus on teaching dialect vocabulary, specifically on extremely culturally relevant vocabulary or phrases, as opposed to introducing the whole package of the dialect at once. For students at the intermediate stage, namely those that have a grasp of the fundamentals of Standard Korean, parallel phrases in the dialect along with more loosely culturally relevant vocabulary and expressions can begin to be incorporated into the curriculum. For students who are advanced and have a fairly nuanced understanding of Standard Korean, full dialects can be introduced, but care should be placed on ensuring students understand the distinctions between dialects. For highly proficient students, dialects can be used as the main mode of instruction while Standard Korean is used when necessary to express unknown dialectal terms or concepts. In addition, teachers should take care to understand students' background in learning and using dialects. If, for instance, a student's parents speak a Korean dialect at home, this knowledge can be leveraged to help them disambiguate their home knowledge and help other students learn the new language.

Fifth, teachers should establish their desired student learning outcomes (SLOs) for the dialect portion of the curriculum. The level of dialect language and cultural proficiency student obtain through the program should be determined. Should students be culturally proficient, conversationally proficient, literate, historically literate, etc.? Specifically what should they be able to do after the program? Sixth, teachers should determine what methods ought to be used to reach these goals. Several methods can be proposed, but some suggested ones are hands-on tasks such as a real-life situation based task, a student project, or an activity involving interacting with a community member. Consideration should be given to practicality, giving consideration to aspects such as time or financial constraints. Seventh, based on the chosen methods, teachers should create the project, task, activities etc. with the identified themes and SLOs in mind. When designing class activities, teachers should keep in mind the goal of the activity, how it incorporates translanguaging, and whether it meets the desired SLOs. Teachers should also consider what materials will be needed for successful completion of activities, which is also the eighth step, i.e. determining the materials needed to enable the activity and methods.

There are several issues teachers should consider when making materials for classroom activities. For instance, they should determine if any background is needed for students to complete the activity. For the activity itself, the type of materials needed should be considered. Does the teacher need to create materials or are source materials acceptable? Does the activity require video, audio, literature samples, or anything else? Does the activity require worksheets or slides? Especially for special performing arts or cultural demonstrations, is a guest speaker necessary? Does acquiring the content require leaving the classroom? And finally, how much of the material can the teacher create, or find on their own without external help?

Ninth and lastly, teachers need to determine a method to assess students' achievement of the desired SLOs. Based on the specific goals of the program, the method of assessment will change. If the goal is cultural proficiency, a short writing sample regarding the topic can be used, or a questionnaire asking specifically about target points. If the goal is communication in a dialect, a short interview could be conducted, or proof of fluency through a project or task whose completion cannot be done without certain communicative skills. After completing these nine steps, the teacher can then begin creating the full program including activity and background materials and assessment materials.

Table 2. Dialect Incorporation Method.

Steps	Questions to Answer
1 Determine current dialect awareness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What dialects are students aware of? Do they know who speak them? 2. Are students aware of typological differences between standard Korean and dialects? 3. What type of cultural understanding do students have on dialect regions?
2 Identify themes in curriculum that can serve as vessels to introduce dialects	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is there any mention of dialects or regions in the curriculum? 2. Are there any themes in the curriculum which can be used to transit into a discussion or lesson on dialect(s)? 3. Where is the best place(s) in the curriculum to integrate dialect education?
3 Identify dialect(s) to incorporate	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Are there dialects relevant to the students' community? 2. Are there any specific dialects relevant to the curriculum? 3. Are there any regions or dialects of particular interest to the students? 4. Do I speak any dialects or know people who do and would be willing to help facilitate dialect education?
4 Determine appropriate ratio of dialect to culture for student level	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the students' Korean proficiency level? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do students have a grasp of basic Standard Korean skills? b. Do students have a fairly nuanced understanding of Standard Korean? c. Are students fully fluent in speaking/writing/etc.? Standard Korean? 2. Do students already know the target dialect(s) to any degree?
5 Establish desired student learning outcomes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What aspects of dialect proficiency and literacy should students acquire through the program? 2. Should students be able to converse using dialect(s) fully or partially? In what type of situations? 3. Should students be able to identify the dialect when one is being used? 4. Should students obtain a regional literacy and be able to identify the different regions and their associated dialects? 5. Should students have literacy in relevant cultural norms and facts? What norms and facts should they be literate in?

	6. Should students have historical knowledge of the dialect?
	7. Should students be able to read documents written in the dialect?
	8. What specifically should students be able to do after completing the curriculum?
6 Determine methods that are appropriate to achieve SLOs	1. Based on the SLOs created above, what methods do I need to employ to achieve them? 2. Does a project, real-life task, or academic content achieve these goals? 3. How much time should be allocated to these goals? 4. Should students interact with community members? 5. Should students engage in tasks or activities among themselves? 6. Do students need a hands-on introduction to a topic?
7 Create project, task, activities, etc. using methods chosen based on identified themes	1. Based on the method determined above, what is the most appropriate activity/activities to employ? 2. What is the goal of the activity? 3. Does the goal and the manner the activity is conducted align with the SLO(s) it intends to fulfill?
8 Determine materials needed to enable methods	1. Are source materials acceptable as they are or do I need to make modified or completely new materials? 2. Do I need video, audio, songs, or literature etc. in the dialect? 3. Do I need worksheets or slides? 4. Do I need guest speakers or demonstrations? 5. Do I need to plan a field trip? 6. What can I make myself and what do I need to outsource?
9 Determine SLO achievement assessment methods	1. Did students achieve the SLOs stated earlier? 2. What is the most appropriate means to determine if they did or not? 3. Do I need to create a test or is production of activity material sufficient?

4.0. DIALECT INTEGRATION SAMPLE PROGRAM

The methodology as described in section 3.0 was applied to 23 students enrolled in Intermediate Korean 1 (KOR 201) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. This is the third semester of study in the Korean program and students in this course can be considered beginner bilingual students. Based on an analysis of student interest and

awareness through an optional class survey asking about student knowledge and interest in dialects and regions of Korea, students were proven to be aware of a few basic linguistic differences by region and aware of a few different regions themselves, but overall did not know much about dialects or regions of Korea. In particular, students were quite interested in Jeju, comparing it to Hawai'i for its island lifestyle, and they also showed special interest in Kyungsang dialect, along with, more marginally, the Seoul and Jeolla regional dialects. Based on students' poor to basic understanding of the different regions of Korea, before beginning any dialect curriculum, students needed access to significant background information on Korean dialects and regions. Additionally, within the KOR 201 curriculum, there is a thematic focus on travel (Lesson 3) and life in Korea (Lessons 4 and 5) (Cho, 2012). These topics can easily be used to transition into a discussion of dialects, and there are portions of the vocabulary, readings, and conversations which mention several regions and dialects. Based on results suggesting that students are most interested in the Jeju, Kyungsang, Seoul, and Jeolla dialects, these dialects specifically deserved the majority of the program attention. Given that the highest amount of interest was displayed for Jejudo as a region in the student survey and for its ease of comparison to Hawai'i, Jejueo and Jeju culture seemed the best fit to introduce in more detail to students in this community.

Since students in KOR 201 are still in the stage of acquiring the fundamentals of Standard Korean, emphasis was placed heavily on cultural awareness with some culturally relevant Jejueo words and expressions. At the end of this dialect program, students were expected to be able to:

1. Identify the different Korean regions and the dialect regions.
2. Differentiate between salient examples of selected dialects.
3. Identify what makes Jejueo linguistically different from Korean.
4. Be able to recognize basic greetings and expressions of greeting in Jejueo in transition between Standard Korean.

This sample program was designed to take two fifty minute classes in total. The regional literacy portion covered one fifty minute class period and the Jeju dialect portion covered the last fifty minute session. Session 1 consisted of two main parts. The first half of the class was spent focused on introducing the regions of the Korean peninsula with a focus on South Korea in broader cultural terms while the second half of the class focused on introducing the concept of Korean dialects and letting students get a feel for the target dialects and Jejueo. For the first session, terms from the previous chapters were leveraged to introduce the concepts of north and south (*nam* and *puk*) which are key part of names for several Korean regions. Moving from explaining the Korean terms for North and South Korea, the names of the different regions within Korea were explained. Then students were given a worksheet where they were asked to fill out the regional map as the class went through the representative cities, cultural sites, and representative regional foods together.

After the regions and their local cultures were briefly explained, the program moved into the second portion of the session: dialects. Before going into each of the dialects, the concepts of 'dialect' versus 'standard' speech were introduced to help students parse through how formal speech and the dialects to be presented differ. Following this, students were presented with a video from YouTube by a creator who is a non-native bilingual speaker of Korean comparing his friends' native dialects to the standard speech, focusing on the three target dialects and Jejueo (The World of Dave 데이브, 2016). After watching through the video with side-by-side dialect comparisons for each given phrase, an edited version of the video was presented to students removing external content (such as laughter, jokes, etc.), keeping only the translations to help students focus more on dialectal comparison, and also reordering the clips to a standardized format. These two methods of comparison were used to get students keyed in on how dialects can differ and help them develop dialect comparison discernment skills. While watching the videos, students were asked to explicitly note any differences they noticed between the dialects with reference to vocabulary, pronunciation and intonation, grammar, and mannerisms or cultural differences.

After watching the two versions of the video, students were then asked to compare differences they noticed with their small group of two to three people. Upon finishing this comparative discussion portion, the program moved into looking at each dialect explicitly. For this portion, the video was further rearranged to only play the phrase in English and the focus dialect. Before replaying these phrases, some noteworthy linguistic features for the dialect were given, beginning with the Seoul dialect and ending with Jeju dialect. During and after watching each rearranged dialect clip, students were asked to note any salient facets of the dialect they noticed on a worksheet and then share their thoughts with their group. Students went through the dialects and were then asked to plan an in-country vacation with their group while role-playing as students on exchange to a university in Seoul, leveraging language skills they had learned through the recent chapter on travel while being encouraged to use any dialect language and regional knowledge they picked up during the class session.

The second session, set to focus on Jeju dialect, first briefly reviewed regional literacy covered in the first session and then moved on to comparing Standard Korean and Jeju dialect through the textbook conversation 1-1 presented in the Jeju 1 textbook (Yang, C. et. al., 2017) with a translation to Standard Korean provided by the teacher (in consultation with one of the textbook authors). The conversation chosen leveraged basic Jeju dialect grammar similar to Standard Korean and also leveraged the Korean intimate *panmal* speech level introduced to students in a recent chapter. Then, after students were made aware of salient differences between Jeju dialect and Korean, students were introduced to how to ask “what is your name?” and respond using the Jeju copula *-iye* (*-iya* in Standard Korean). Students then asked each other for various students’ names using Jeju dialect. Following this students were presented with a set of key cultural terms to Jeju life and asked each other what each term was using both Jeju dialect and Korean. The session then moved into introducing some Jeju greetings in honorific and non-honorific manners, reviewing student knowledge of hierarchical speech in Korean. Greetings were selected for their resemblance to Standard Korean (i.e. greetings chosen were most similar to Standard Korean, though all were divergent). Greetings covered five main topics: first meeting someone, greeting someone you know, saying goodbye, giving thanks, and apologizing. After presenting the selected set of greetings, students were given a set of matching cards for a small group. Students were asked to match each Jeju phrase to the Standard Korean equivalent and then sort them into honorific and non-honorific greetings. After completing this task and having each groups’ answers confirmed by the instructor, the groups were asked to flip the cards over and play a game lifting up cards two at a time until finding a match. Once they found a match, students would then greet each other with the cards’ contents and switch roles playing the Jeju and Seoul speakers. A final matching game was then given using the contents of the conversation first presented at the beginning of the session. They were asked to match each line of the conversation to its other language counterpart and to arrange the conversation sentences in chronological order after having listened to the Jeju sound clip three times as a class.

In order to assess how well students achieved the SLOs, small assessments were conducted throughout the program. For the first session, the completion of the worksheet given sufficed as an assessment for student understanding of the content explored. For the use of proper expressions in the second session, the instructor monitored student’s use of different greetings during the activities by interacting with the groups as students completed the activities as well as went over the expressions and answers as a class together after task completion. Finally, in order to assess the perceived quality of the program, students were given an evaluation form asking them how they felt the program went, what they liked and disliked, how they felt they improved in their cultural awareness, and if they had increased interest in the topics covered. Students generally enjoyed the program and indicated they had increased sociolinguistic awareness of regional cultural and linguistic differences in Korea.

5.0. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this methodology and case study on the implementation of Korean dialect curriculum into the KFL classroom through translanguaging allows for new dimensions of cultural, societal, and linguistic understanding in the KFL community and beyond. This research is needed due to current shift towards inclusivity in

education, which despite being slow, has begun to spread as an educational ideal globally. However, with regards to the KFL setting, little attention has been given to the inclusion of a linguistically diverse Korean language classroom setting, and hopefully this methodology will be able to help the practice move towards a more inclusive KFL educational experience. Through the inquiry into these issues, those in the KFL community and the Korean speakers they interact with will see several benefits, including but not limited to a broader cultural awareness, identity affirmation, stronger communication skills, and stronger sociolinguistic awareness. Broadly speaking, this study advocates for the practice of translanguaging in the classroom, continuing the expansion of its use in the L2 classroom and also into the instruction of L2 dialects.

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RENDAKU IN SYNTAX-PHONOLOGY INTERFACE: A CORPUS STUDY ON DEVERBAL NOUN COMPOUNDS

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a partial solution to the problem of when Rendaku (‘sequential voicing’) exceptions emerge, bringing us many steps closer to a complete understanding of how this complex phenomenon occurs. The study shows that Rendaku is sensitive to syntactic relationship as well as semantic relationship between the first item and the second item, in spite of being a phonological process. As such, studying the role of syntax and semantics in Rendaku provides novel insights into how morpho-syntax, phonology and semantics work together in one phenomenon.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In Japanese, when two words are combined to make a compound, the initial voiceless consonant of the second word sometimes becomes voiced. This phenomenon is called Rendaku.¹ Otsu (1980) defines Rendaku as in (1):

- (1) C(onsonant) \rightarrow [+voice] / [_N X [# _ Y
where (i) X \neq null and
(ii) Y does not contain any voiced obstruent²

To expound, (1) claims that in a compound, a consonant which occurs right after the word boundary becomes voiced. Examples of Rendaku are shown in (2a-b). In the rest of this paper, Word 1 (W1) and Word 2 (W2) refer to the first member and the second member of a compound, respectively. A hyphen indicates a boundary between the combined words.

- (2) a. W1: *hosi* ‘star’ + W2: *sora* ‘sky’ = *hosi-zora* ‘starry sky’
b. W1: *te* ‘hand’ + W2: *tukuri* ‘making’ = *te-dukuri* ‘handmade’

However, Rendaku does not necessarily occur when the condition in (1) is met, as observed in (3), where *t* is not realized as *d*.

- (3) W1: *kusa* ‘weed’ + W2: *tori* ‘removing’ = *kusa-tori* ‘weeding’

Although many accounts for Rendaku have been proposed, a number of exceptions to Rendaku remain unexplained. One reason for that is, as I will argue, the fact that the research on Rendaku has been conducted mainly in the field of phonology, as voicing is involved. In this paper, I investigate Rendaku in contemporary Japanese from a morpho-syntactic and semantic perspective, focusing on deverbal noun compounds, such as (2b) and (3), where W2 is a noun derived from a verb.³

The aim of this research is to examine whether syntactic relations between W1 and W2 affect the occurrence of Rendaku. For this reason, I focus on deverbal noun compounds, in which W2 is always a verb to which W1 is related to in some way. Drawing on a dictionary-based corpus that I created, I uncovered some syntactic effects in Rendaku. In particular, adjunct-head relationships between W1 and W2 show high frequency of Rendaku, whereas argument-head relationships between W1 and W2 have a lower tendency to undergo Rendaku. Based on this finding, I propose modifications of previously proposed constraints and conditions for Rendaku.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In §2, key previous studies on Rendaku are introduced. §3 outlines the methodology for creating the corpus. The result of analyzing the corpus is presented in §4, followed by

a discussion in §5. In §6, I conclude this paper by arguing that Rendaku in deverbal noun compounds relies on grammatical relationship between W1 and W2, as well as the meaning of elemental words and resulting compounds.

2.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES

A number of studies have proposed conditions for when Rendaku occurs or is blocked. For example, Ito and Mester (1986) examine phonological conditions on Rendaku, whereas Kindaichi (1976) and Okumura (1984) investigate the influence of lexical and syntactic information on Rendaku. In this section, I discuss some previous studies on Rendaku with a special attention to deverbal noun compounds. I close this section by pointing out the problem of previous research.

First of all, Lyman's Law, as defined in (4) below, is perhaps the best known and most influential rule on Rendaku.

(4) Lyman's Law

In the formation of a Japanese compound, the first consonant of the second component generally gets voiced, when the consonant is voiceless.

However, this rule does not apply when the second component contains a [+voice] phoneme (/b/, /d/, /g/, /dʒ/, /p^h/, and /z/).

(Lyman 1894; Sato & Yokosawa 2018)

However, Lyman's Law alone leaves a number of exceptions such as (3) unaccounted for. Hence researchers have been looking for the "exceptional" conditions that can explain cases where Rendaku does not occur when both (1) and (4) are satisfied.⁵

Following Kindaichi (1976), Okumura (1984), Sato (1989) and many other researchers, Suzuki (2009) summarizes that, when deverbal noun compounds are formed, Rendaku is less likely to occur when W1 is subjective or objective, while it is more likely to occur when W1 has the modifying grammatical relationship with W2.

But what exactly does he mean by "grammatical relationship" in compounds? Although Suzuki (2009) just uses the terms such as "subjective" or "objective," we can make these notions precise by making corresponding sentences from compounds. For example, the compounds *ame-huri* 'rainfall', *ama-go* 'rain-requesting; praying for rain' and *ama-zimeri* 'rain-becoming.wet; being humid because of rain' all have the same internal semantic relations as found in their phrasal/sentential counterparts (5a-c).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| (5) | a. | ame | -ga/*-o/*-ni/*-de/*-kara | huru |
| | | rain | -NOM/*-ACC/*-DAT/*-by/*-from | fall |
| | | 'Rain falls' | | |
| | b. | ame | -o/*-ga/*-ni/*-de/*-kara | kou |
| | | rain | -ACC/*-NOM/*-DAT/*-by/*-from | request |
| | | 'One prays for rain' | | |
| | c. | ame | -de/*-ga/*-o/*-ni/*-kara | simeru |
| | | rain | -by/*-NOM/*-ACC/*-DAT/*-from | become.humid |
| | | 'It gets humid because of rain' | | |

Ame in (5a) is a subject and appears with a nominative case marker, while *ama* (in a different form, but has the same meaning as *ame*) in (5b) is an object and appears with an accusative case marker. Accordingly, W1 *ame* in *ame-huri* is classified as nominative, while W1 *ama* in *ama-go* is classified as accusative. Followed by the marker *-de*, *ame* in (5c) provides the reason why it gets humid. Hence, W1 *ama* in *ama-zimeri* does not have a grammatical relationship to W2 *simeri*. Therefore, what Suzuki means by "grammatical relationship" in compounds is the grammatical

relationship of W1 and W2 in a corresponding sentence. Moreover, based on the corresponding sentences (5a-c), it is reasonable to suppose that W1 in both *ame-huri* and *ama-goi* is argument of W2, while W1 in *ama-zimeri* is an adjunct of W2. In other words, W1 is a core argument of W2 in *ame-huri* and *ama-goi*, but not in *ama-zimeri*. Importantly, Rendaku fails to take place in (5a) but does take place in (5b) and (5c) (although Suzuki (2009) focuses on compounds with accusative W1 and does not discuss cases where W1 is nominative). Under Suzuki's analysis, nominals in compounds have "grammatical relationship" at some abstract level of representation, even when there is no evidence in the surface form.

While the proposals exemplified by Suzuki (2009) suggest many reasonable conditions for Rendaku, one major problem of the previous proposals is that the definition of "W1 modifies W2" is ambiguous and different between proposals. For example, Okumura (1955) compares objective relationship with "adverbial" (i.e. modifying) one, giving examples of *huro-taki* 'bath-steaming; heating the bath' and *mizu-daki* 'water-steaming; hot pot (putting something into the water and boiling it)'. According to Okumura (1955), Rendaku occurs only in the latter because W1 is the object of W2 in *huro-taki* whereas it is a modifier in *mizu-daki*. However, since there is no phrasal/sentential equivalent of *mizu-daki*, 'water' does not syntactically modify the act of steaming, although 'water' could semantically specify the meaning of 'steaming'. The above example illustrates a general issue with the previous proposals – they fail to provide an objective definition of when the relationship between W1 and W2 counts as a modifying relationship. In order to avoid such a problem, I created a new dictionary-based corpus, which is introduced in the following §3.

3.0. DEVELOPING A RENDAKU CORPUS

With the problem pointed out above in mind, I conducted a corpus study, aiming to investigate if the grammatical relationship between W1 and W2 of a compound (as discussed above) can help us predict when compounds that obey Lyman's Law fail to undergo Rendaku. This section shows how the corpus for the study was developed.

3.1. Methodology

I collected 2,910 deverbal noun compounds in this research. Most of the examples of deverbal noun compounds came from *Kojien* (2011), one of the most popular dictionaries of Japanese. All compounds were classified into three types based on whether (i) Rendaku is observed, (ii) Rendaku is not observed, or (iii) Rendaku is optional (i.e., both forms can be found). I also referred to other dictionaries, such as *Daijirin* (2012) and *Digital Daijisen* (2018), but only when the description of a word in *Kojien* was inconsistent with my intuition as a native speaker.

3.2. Classification of W1-W2 Relations

The first criterion used to assess the collected deverbal noun compounds is whether they follow Lyman's Law. As for the relationship between W1 and W2, I classify compounds based on the grammatical relation that W1 holds with respect to W2. The types of grammatical category of W1 used in the analysis are shown in (6). All compounds in the corpus fell into at least one of these categories.

- (6) Types of Grammatical Category
- a. Case marker *-ga*: Nominative
 - Example: *kami-kakusi* 'god-hiding; being spirited away'
 - b. Case marker *-o*
 - i. Accusative
 - Example: *kusa-tori* 'weed-removing; weeding'

- ii. Path⁶
Example: *yama-goe* ‘mountain-crossing; crossing a mountain’
- c. Case marker *-ni*
 - i. Dative
Example: *hada-kake* ‘skin-putting; blanket’
 - ii. ‘in/on/at’ (refers to time, place, and direction)
Example: *kawa-zoi* ‘river-following; alongside river’
- d. Case marker *-de* (approximates English ‘by’, refers to place, time period, reason, means, and material)
Example: *enpitu-gaki* ‘pencil-writing; writing in pencil’
- e. Case marker *-kara* ‘from’
Example: *oya-banare* ‘parent-leaving; becoming independent from parents’
- f. Adjective or Adverb
Example: *haya-gaki* ‘fast-writing; fast writing’
 - cf. *hayaku kaku*
write fast
“(someone) writes fast”
- g. Particle
 - i. Positional expression
Example: *mae-gaki* ‘front-writing; foreword’
 - ii. Numeral (+ Counter suffix)
Example: *sen-giri* ‘thousand-cutting; shredding’
itiya-bosi ‘one.night-drying; (fish) dried overnight’
- h. V+V (both W1 and W2 are deverbal nouns)
Example: *kasi-kari* ‘lending-borrowing; lending and borrowing’
- i. Other (no grammatical relationship)
Example: *yu-zame* ‘hot.water-getting.cold; a chilly feeling after a bath’

When a compound has two different meanings that can be analyzed based on two different grammatical relationship, it was counted as two separate words. 126 compounds were recorded as having two possible interpretations and 10 compounds as having three. For example, *otoko-zuki* ‘man-prefer’ was counted twice, since it can mean both ‘something men like (usually describing a woman)’, in which *otoko* is nominative, and ‘someone who likes men’, where *otoko* is accusative. Also, when a compound can have one meaning with two or more possible corresponding sentences, it was counted as one word, but all of the interpretations were recorded. One example for this is *ki-gumi* ‘wood-putting.together; something made by putting wood together’, which can be understood as either *ki-o kumu* with case marker *-o* or *ki-de kumu* with the marker *-de*. Both accusative and *-de* ‘by’ marker were counted in this case.

4.0. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

In this section, the results of the corpus study are first discussed, followed by proposals for conditions of Rendaku that are based on the findings.

4.1. Lyman’s Law

Among all 470 compounds in which W2 has voiced obstruents, no word shows Rendaku. The effect of Lyman’s Law is observed with all grammatical categories of W1 listed in (6). Therefore, as previous studies show, Lyman’s Law takes priority over any other conditions. The data discussed below does not include those 470 compounds that meet the condition of Lyman’s Law.

4.2. Occurrence and Ratio of Rendaku

The occurrence of Rendaku are listed in Table 1. ‘R’ refers to Rendaku. The ‘±’ sign denotes that both forms are accepted. Ratio of +R was calculated as in (7), where the instances of ‘±R’ were not included.

$$(7) \quad \text{Ratio of +R} = +R / ([+R] + [-R])$$

Table 1. Occurrence of Rendaku.

Relationship /±R	+R	-R	±R	Ratio of +R
Nominative	132	58	1	0.6947
Accusative	463	459	25	0.5022
Path	30	0	0	1.0000
Dative	39	15	2	0.7222
‘in/on/at’ (- <i>ni</i>)	196	0	3	1.0000
‘by’ (- <i>de</i>)	276	6	3	0.9787
‘from’ (- <i>kara</i>)	55	2	0	0.9649
Adjective/Adverb	153	0	3	1.0000
Positional expression	104	3	4	0.9720
Numeral (+ suffix)	84	0	0	1.0000
V+V	144	22	4	0.8675
Other	289	7	4	0.9764
Total	1,965	572	49	0.7745

Rendaku always occurs when W1 denotes a path or ‘in/on/at’-like relationship, or it is an adjective/adverb or a numeral (and a counter suffix). Rendaku also tends to occur at a higher probability when W1 is ‘by’ (97.87%), ‘from’ (96.49%), or a positional expression (97.20%). On the other hand, compounds with nominative (69.47%) and accusative (50.22%) as W1 are less likely to involve Rendaku. Dative constructions also show the lower rate (72.22%), although the sample size is small (56).

These results suggest that when W1 is an adjunct of W2, Rendaku is more likely to occur. Among all constructions in which W1 is an adjunct of W2 (i.e., path, ‘in/on/at’, ‘by’, or ‘from’), 98.58% of compounds undergo Rendaku. The results also show that when W1 syntactically modifies W2 (i.e., adjective/adverb, positional expression, or numeral), Rendaku occurs in 99.13% of compounds. This is consistent with the observations in the previous studies, such as the observation in Yamaguchi (2011) that Rendaku occurs in 44% of “Argument Type” compounds while it occurs 96% of “Adjunct Type” compounds.⁷ When both W1 and W2 are deverbal nouns (V+V), Rendaku always occurs if they express tautology or reduplication, as in *hanare-banare* ‘leaving-leaving; to get separated’ (n = 5), but Rendaku never occurs if W1 and W2 are synonyms or antonyms, as in *ne-tomari* ‘sleeping-staying.overnight; lodging’ and *iki-kaeri* ‘going-going.back; one’s way to and from (somewhere)’ (n = 18). As for other V+V constructions, Rendaku occurs in 142 out of 146 compounds.⁸

To sum up, the findings from the corpus study show that when W1 is a core nominal argument of W2 (i.e., W1 is nominative, accusative, or dative in the sentence corresponding to the compound), deverbal noun compounds show lower rates of Rendaku.

4.3. Lexically-Specific Cases of [\pm Rendaku]

While most words that appeared as W2 are compatible with having or not having Rendaku, there are some deverbal nouns that show particular tendencies for Rendaku when they occur with a nominative/accusative W1: Some words always undergo Rendaku, whereas others never do. The words that show this tendency are listed in Table 2 (only the words with 10 or more examples are listed due to space limitation). Note that those [-Rendaku] in the list could be [+Rendaku] when W1 holds a different relationship with W2.

Table 2. Tendencies to Rendaku.

W2	Meaning	# of Examples	[\pm Rendaku]
<i>tome</i>	'stopping'	35	[+R]
<i>kaesi</i>	'returning'	28	[+R]
<i>kaki</i>	'writing/drawing'	23	[+R]
<i>kosi</i>	'passing'	17	[+R]
<i>tukai</i>	'using'	16	[+R]
<i>kawari</i>	'changing'	14	[+R]
<i>katame</i>	'congealing'	13	[+R]
<i>hari</i>	'overlaying'	11	[+R]
<i>suki</i>	'loving'	10	[+R]
<i>kiri</i>	'cutting'	33	[-R]
<i>tuki</i>	'attaching'	27	[-R]
<i>kakusi</i>	'hiding'	15	[-R]
<i>tataki</i>	'hitting'	12	[-R]

5.0. PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS OF THE EXISTING ANALYSIS

This section explores modifications to Suzuki (2009) that the findings discussed in §4 motivate. After a careful examination, it turned out that some conditions in Suzuki (2009) should be removed from the list, and some should be revised. This section concludes with a new list of exceptional conditions and the order they should be applied.

So far, we have not been able to give a characterization of when nominative and accusative W1s are [+R] or [-R]. In (8) I show Suzuki's (2009) list of observations, which appears to be relevant in determining this choice.

(8) Exceptional Conditions of Rendaku

- a. Rendaku is less likely to occur when W1 is subjective or objective, yet;
 - i. occurs when W1 can be followed by the case marker *-o*, but is not in objective
 - ii. occurs when the compound refers to the object created by the action of W2
 - iii. occurs when speakers regard the compound as one word, rather than a combination of two words in a grammatical relationship
 - iv. occurs when the deverbal noun compound has metaphorical meaning
 - v. occurs when the deverbal noun compound implies continuing aspect, such that "W1 has (been) W2"
 - vi. does not occur when the compound refers to "the person who W2 W1," where W1 is an object
 - vii. does not occur when the compound refers to a work or play, which means "doing W2 W1," where W1 is an object
 - viii. does not occur when the compound refers to a living thing
 - ix. does not occur when the compound refers to a tool to do W2

- b. Rendaku is more likely to occur when W1 has the modifying grammatical relationship with W2
- c. There are Rendaku forms that have different meanings from corresponding non-Rendaku forms

Based on the results of the corpus study, I suggest the following modifications to this list.

First, (8a) should be modified as “Rendaku is less likely to occur when W1 is a nominal argument of W2,” replacing (8a-i). The above change leads us to change (8b) as: “Rendaku is more likely to occur when W1 is an adjunct of W2, or a numeral/particle that attaches to W2.”

As for (8a-ii), (8a-v), and (8a-vii), I didn’t find any counter examples. Thus, they should remain unchanged (see Suzuki (2009) for the list of compounds in this category).

I propose to remove (8a-iii) and (8a-iv) for the following reasons. As for (8a-iii), there must be objective evidence to say whether or not speakers regard a compound as one word, such as accentuation patterns. Defining what counts as a word in a language is also difficult. Similarly, there must be an objective definition of “metaphorical meaning” if (8-iv) is to be used as a valid condition. Even if there was an objective way to identify metaphoric expressions, there are counter examples to this generalization, such as *simo-kesi* ‘frost-erasing; drinking alcohol to get warm’.

(8a-vi) is a well-known condition that many researchers have argued for (cf. Nakagawa 1966; Kindaichi 1976; Sato 1989); yet there are many counterexamples to it, such as *oomono-gui* ‘important.one-eating; defeating a superior opponent’ and *kodomo-zuki* ‘child-like; being fond of children’. However, much fewer counterexamples can be found if (8a-vi) is combined with (8a-vii), as in “a person who does W2 W1 as his/her work.” Therefore, (8a-vi) should be omitted, and (8a-vii) should be modified as “Rendaku does not occur when the compound refers to a work, worker, or play, which means “doing W2 W1,” where W1 is an object.

(8a-viii) and (8a-ix) should be removed, since there are numerous counterexamples. For (8a-viii), there are words such as *ka-dayasi* ‘mosquito-wiping.out’, meaning ‘mosquitofish’, and *hi-gurasi* ‘day-[making.it] get.dark’, meaning ‘evening cicada’. For (8a-ix), there are *nezumi-gaesi* ‘mouse-repelling’, or ‘rat guard’, and *syarin-dome* ‘wheel-stopping’, or ‘chock’.

(8c) seems to be well-motivated, as is observed in the contrast of *inu-kui* ‘dog-eating; eating a dog’ and *inu-gui* ‘dog-eating; eating like a dog’. It seems that speakers distinguish the two meanings by the feature [±R].

The resulting revised conditions are listed below in (9).

(9) Revised List of Exceptional Rendaku Conditions

- a. Rendaku is less likely to occur when W1 is a nominal argument of W2, yet;
 - i. occurs when the compound refers to the object created by the action of W2
 - ii. occurs when the deverbal noun compound implies continuing aspect, such that “W1 has (been) W2”
 - iii. does not occur when the compound refers to a work, worker, or play, which means “doing W2 W1,” where W1 is an object
- b. Rendaku is more likely to occur when W1 is an adjunct of W2, or a numeral/particle that attaches to W2
- c. There are Rendaku forms that have different meanings from corresponding non-Rendaku forms

6.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have provided a corpus-based study of Rendaku in deverbal noun compounds, with a new classification of W1 and W2 relationships. The result shows that whether a deverbal noun compound includes an argument or an adjunct as W1 influences the occurrence of Rendaku, and suggests specific conditions to explain when Rendaku does and does not occur. This finding allows us to improve previously proposed conditions on Rendaku. Therefore, this study provides a partial solution to the problem of when we see Rendaku exceptions emerging, bringing us many steps closer to a complete understanding of how this complex phenomenon occurs. The findings in this study highlight several interesting properties of Rendaku. Rendaku shows that syntactic relationships between compounded words are kept and still available when the phonological realization of a resulting compound is determined. It also shows that the phonological realization of compounds is sensitive to semantics. More broadly speaking, it provides insight into how morpho-syntax, phonology and semantics work together within one phenomenon.

NOTES

1. *Rendaku* means, and often is translated as ‘sequential voicing’, but in this paper I use the term Rendaku following most of the references.
2. (1ii) denotes Lyman’s Law, which is discussed in §2.
3. Japanese deverbal nouns are generated by converting a verb into its conjunctive form with a suffix *-i* when the verb ends in a consonant, as in *tukur-i* in (2b) and *tor-i* in (3), or with no suffix with a vowel ending verb, as in *kae* ‘changing’ or *mi* ‘viewing’.
4. Lyman treats /p/ as [+voice] in Japanese, possibly because it is considered as a “half-voiced” alternation of /h/. It does not affect this research, since there was no W2 with /p/ sound found in the corpus study.
5. Another famous constraint on Rendaku is that it does not change the sound in non-native words (cf. Otsu 1980). Because of this rule, no compound with non-native W2 was included in the corpus.
6. In Japanese, some verbs such as *koe-ru* ‘to cross’ and *hanare-ru* ‘to leave’ require a locative NP with a case marker *-o* (cf. Sato & Yokosawa 2018).
7. Yamaguchi’s (2011) main focuses are on the accent of compounds and the number of morae. Argument type compounds tend to be accented and resist Rendaku, whereas adjunct type compounds tend to be unaccented and undergo Rendaku. However, these phonological differences do not tend to hold in longer compounds.
8. The four exceptional compounds are *kiri-kaki* ‘cutting-lacking; notching’, *nage-kai* ‘throwing-buying; purchasing stocks after a shakeout’, *okuri-taosi* ‘sending-knocking over’, and *kime-taosi* ‘locking-knowcking over’. They are either 1) a compound in which the subject of W1 and W2 are different in the corresponding sentence, as in *kiri-kaki* and *nage-kai*, or 2) a compound that denotes the name of winning tricks in sumo wrestling, as in *okuri-taosi* and *kime-taosi*. These are so specific rules that I do not regard them as Rendaku conditions.

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MANDARIN PARTICLE *NE* IN THE STATEMENT-FINAL POSITION

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates Mandarin particle *ne* in the statement-final position. Based on data from the Center for Chinese Linguistics Corpus (Zhan, Guo, & Chen, 2003), this study aims to find out whether the Mandarin particle *ne* is an aspect marker or not and its core meaning. The findings suggest that *ne* does not express a continuing state. Rather, the core function of *ne* is to signal the noteworthiness or unexpectedness of the proposition to which it suffixes. The emphatic function extends to the function of hearer engagement, affective display, and topic shift.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

With its elusive meanings and functions, the particle *ne* has attracted scholars' interests in Chinese linguistics for decades. *Ne* can be suffixed to a noun phrase, a fragment question, a statement, or a question, which results in various interpretations and researchers have not yet reached a conclusion to date. One circulating debate over *ne* is whether or not it has aspectual meaning that denotes duration or continuation of a situation.

Previous studies (e.g., Chao, 1965; Lü, 2015; Zhu, 1982) have observed that *ne* frequently co-occurred with aspects or adverbs that suggest continuation of situations such as (1a). *Ne* alone seems to also be capable of expressing ongoing events as seen in (1b).

- (1) a. *Men kai-zhe ne.*
door open-DUR NE (Zhu, 1982, p. 210)
'The door is open.'
- b. *Xiayu ne.*
rain NE (Zhu, 1982, p. 209)
'It's raining.'

These instances have led some scholars to assert that *ne* denoted a continuing state and further claimed that it was a durative aspect marker (Chan, 1980; Constant, 2011; Marney, 1980). However, other researchers (e.g., Li & Thompson, 1989; Shifu, 1984) argue that in (1a), it is *zhe* that conveys a continued situation rather than *ne*, and they proposed other explanations to account for the meanings and functions of *ne*. Yet, problems still remaining. For instance, how should we explain the [predicate + *ne*] construction in (1b) if *ne* is not a durative marker?

Hence, the current study aimed to solve the puzzle by investigating how the particle *ne* functioned in the statement-final position. Specifically, the goal of this research was to find out the answers to the following questions: Does *ne* express durativity? If so, what are the constraints for it? If not, what is the core meaning of *ne* as a sentence final particle in statements?

After this brief introduction, §2 reviews previous findings on *ne*. It will show that the data and the generalization in previous research are inadequate to account for the function of *ne*. §3 explains the methods and provides information on the data adopted in this article. In §4, the author presents the results of the data analysis, followed by the consequences and implications of the proposed analysis in §5. Finally, §6 draws a conclusion and summarizes the article.

2.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES

The earliest account of *ne* was by Chao (1965). Chao distinguished two types of *ne*. One is 呢 or 呐 *ne* shown in (2) and another is written as 哩 in old novels and pronounced as *ni* or *nyi* in dialects as in (3a) to (3c).

- (2) *Na bu shi wan de ne!* [呢/呐 as mild warning: mind you]¹
 that NEG COP play DE NE
 ‘That’s nothing to trifle with, mind you!’
- (3) a. *Shuo-zhe hua ne.* [continued state: still...-ing]
 talk-DUR word NE
 ‘They are talking, -line busy.’
- b. *You yi bai chi ne.* [assertion of equaling degree: as much as]
 have one hundred feet NE
 ‘It’s as much as 100 feet.’
- c. *Tamen hai mai gu qin ne.* [interest in additional information]
 3PL even sell ancient zither NE
 ‘They are even selling the ancient zither.’ (Chao, 1965, p. 802–804)

Although Chao (1965)’s list of explanations reflected native speakers’ intuition, the results have been criticized as derived from “the interaction between the function of *ne* and its context, not the meaning/function of *ne* alone” (Wu, 2005, p. 49). As a result, researchers have been devoted to finding out the core meaning of *ne* that can apply to diverse contexts. Those previous proposals can be categorized into two categories: aspectual or discourse function.

2.1. *Ne* as an Aspect Marker

Chan (1980), Lü (2015), Marney (1980), and Zhu (1982) proposed that *ne* was a durative marker which signaled incompleteness or current continuation of a situation. According to Marney (1980), *ne* was able to denote permanent state, transitory state, and dynamic process presented in (4a) to (4c) respectively. When used in negation, Chan (1980) suggested that *ne* indicates the agent was not in the process of doing the activity as (5a) shows, which contrasted to the same sentence without *ne* in (5b).

- (4) a. *Ta hai shi xuesheng ne.* [permanent state]
 3SG still COP student NE
 ‘He/She is still a student.’ (Marney, 1980, p. 63)
- b. *Ta na-zhe shu ne.* [transitory state]
 3SG hold-DUR book NE
 ‘He/She is holding a book.’ (Marney, 1980, p. 65)
- c. *Wo zai kan shu ne.* [dynamic process]
 1SG PROG read book NE
 ‘I am reading a book.’ (Marney, 1980, p. 65)
- (5) a. *Wo bu dai maozi.*
 1SG NEG put.on hat

‘I do not put on/ am not putting on/ will not put on a hat.’

b. *Wo bu dai maozi ne.*

1SG NEG put.on hat NE

‘I am not (in the process of) putting on a hat.

(Chan, 1980, p. 124)

What supported *ne* as a durative marker was the observation that *ne* often co-occurred with another durative aspect *zhe*, as exemplified in (4b), as well as with progressive marker *zai* in (4c), and adverbs, such as *zheng* ‘right now’ and *hai* ‘still’ in (4a) (Chan, 1980; Lü, 2015; Marney, 1980; Zhu, 1982). Yet, this is exactly why this account was challenged. Chu (2006), Li and Thompson (1989), and Shifu (1984) pointed out some examples, as in (4a) to (4c), still have durative meanings, even if *ne* was absent. Furthermore, Lin (1984) and Qi (2002) provided counterexamples showing that *ne* was acceptable in non-continuing events such as (6a) and (6b) below.

(6) a. *Dahui gang jieshu ne.*

conference just end NE

‘The conference just ended.’

(Qi, 2002, p. 42)

b. *Ta shi zou-zhe lai de ne, zheme yuan de lu.*

3SG COP walk-DUR come DE NE so far DE road

‘S/he came on foot; (imagine) that it’s so far.’

(Lin, 1984, p. 228)

The example Chan (1980) provided in (5b) was also problematic. *Dai* means ‘to put on’ or ‘to wear’ depending on the context. Without a context, it is hard to judge whether (5b) was a valid example to prove the claim that *ne* was a durative aspect marker. As the conversation in (7) showed, the similar sentence can express a habitual situation in which no aspectual meaning was involved.

(7) A: *Wo song ni maozi dang shengri liwu ba.*

1SG give 2SG hat as birthday gift SFP

‘Let me give you a hat as a birthday gift.’

B: *Bu yong. Bu yong. Wo pingchang bu dai maozi ne.*

NEG need NEG need 1SG normally NEG wear hat NE

‘No need. No need. I normally don’t wear a hat.’

2.2. *Ne* as a Discourse Marker

So far, it seems that viewing *ne* as a durative marker is questionable. However, previous research did not explicitly explain what *ne* means when it was attached to a predicate in simple sentences as shown in (1b). Instead, more focus was on the role *ne* played in discourse. Li and Thompson (1989) and Wu (2005) asserted that *ne* was a pure “conversation particle”. The function was to direct the hearer’s attention to something that is unexpected, or even contrary to what the speaker/hearer previously believed as shown in (8) (Li & Thompson, 1989; Lin, 1984; Shifu, 1984).

(8) *Ni kan tamen zangxi de, nianxin san si wan ne!*

2SG see 3PL dirty DE annual.salary three four ten.thousand NE

‘(You see) that they get dirty all over all right, but they draw thirty or forty thousand dollars per year!’

(Lin, 1984, p. 223)

The contrastive function further contributed to discourse cohesion (Alleton, 1981; Chu, 2006; King, 1986; Lee-Wong, 2001). Drawing on the theory of relevance, Chu (2006, p. 7) stated that the core properties of *ne* were to call on the hearer to “look back for contrast” and to “demand a continuation of the current discourse”, which helped the hearer to see the connection between the current and the previous discourse so that the new information was easier for the hearer to process. In other words, *ne* presupposed a common understanding between the interlocutors so the proposition to which *ne* suffixed was the continuation of the previous discourse.

Nonetheless, as Wu (2005) pointed out, *ne* can occur in initiative moves, such as greetings shown in (9a), where there was no hearer’s previous expectation or belief to “respond to” or to “look back”, not to mention making contrast. Chu (2006) also admitted that there were instances in which the force for discourse continuation was weak, such as (9b). In addition, studies that emphasized the role of *ne* in conversations neglected the fact that *ne* also occurred in proses and monologues as this study will show later. How to accommodate instances where there was no hearer is not discussed in previous research.

- (9) a. *Sanbu ne (?)*
walk NE
‘Having a walk(?)’ (Wu, 2005, p. 52)
- b. *Wo jiu xiang nimen ye xiemen ne!*
1SG then think 2PL also weird NE
‘So, I thought y’all were just as weird!’ (Chu, 2006, p. 20)

2.3. Constant’s (2011, 2014) Proposal

The latest attempt to reconcile the dispute between aspectual meaning and discourse function was by Constant (2011, 2014). Constant (2014) claimed that *ne* was both a durative aspect and a contrastive topic marker. These two functions were in complementary distribution. Speaking of *ne* as a contrastive topic marker, Constant (2014) aligned with Alleton (1981) and discovered that *ne* exhibited the same properties as the Japanese topic marker *wa* and English intonation of contrastive topic: they implied there existed other alternatives that could be true as well. Therefore, contrastive topics were not compatible with maximal elements, direct and complete resolved answers, and out of blue questions. With regard to *ne*’s aspectual meaning, in responding to previous objection, he stressed that those arguments were based on the myth that when “one morpheme carried a certain meaning, other morphemes in the same sentence must be conveying something else” (Constant, 2011, p. 8–9). Constant (2014) also pointed out that instances like (1b) in which the continuation of a situation is solely marked by *ne* remains unexplained. The so-called counterexamples such as (6a) and (9b), in Constant’s analysis, were actually cases of *ne* as a contrastive topic marker.

Constant (2014) thoroughly examined how *ne* worked in different environments. However, unlike Constant (2014) stated, *ne* was acceptable in exhaustive answers when supplied with appropriate contexts. (10a) and (10b) seem natural to native speakers, and these examples do not involve aspectual viewpoint.

- (10) a. *Dao muqian weizhi, suoyou de shiqing ne dou hen nan ban.*
to now until.end all DE matter NE all very hard do
‘So far, everything is hard to do.’
- b. A: *Ni weishenme bu chu guo le?* B: *Yinwei wo ba ma bu tongyi ne².*
2SG why NEG out country SFP because 1SG father mother NEG agree NE
‘Why won’t you go abroad anymore?’ ‘Because my parents didn’t agree.’

As for the durative meaning of *ne*, some of the examples, such as *zai jia* ‘be at home’ in (11), is doubtful, because when *zai* ‘be located at’ was the only verb in a simple sentence, it rejected all the other well-attested aspect markers in literature, as shown in (12). Thus, although *ne* could be licensed in this structure, whether it conveyed aspectual or other meanings requires further investigation.

- (11) A: *Is he at home?* B: *Zai jia ne.*
 at home NE
 ‘He is at home.’ (Constant, 2014, p. 417)

- (12) *Wo zai (*guo) jia.*
 1SG at. (*EXP) home
*Wo zai (*le) jia.*
 1SG at. (*PFV) home
*Wo (*zai) zai jia.*
 1SG (*PROG) at home
*Wo zai (*zhe) jia.*
 1SG at (*DUR) home

Besides, *ne* itself cannot always be used to express durative meaning. Zhu (1982) observes that in stative situations, *zhe* was obligatory but *ne* was optional as exemplified in (13). In other words, it is ungrammatical to only use *ne* in stative situations. Even for activity verbs, such as *xihuan* ‘like’ in (14), *hai* ‘still’ was required to transform the sentence into a continuing state. Otherwise it was simply the speaker’s general or current state of mind. Still, responding with *ne* was not natural. In contrast, it did not cast any problem for other aspect markers to operate their functions independently, such as in (15). Thus, what the constraints are for *ne* to work in simple sentences needs to be answered if it is indeed a durative aspect marker. Moreover, all the other aspect markers immediately preceded or were suffixed to a predicate while *ne* is in the very end of a sentence. This structural difference was not discussed in Constant (2011, 2014).

- (13) *Biaoyu hai zai qiang shang tie *(zhe) ne.*
 slogan still at wall top paste *(DUR) NE
 ‘The slogan is still pasted on the wall.’ (Zhu, 1982, p. 210)

- (14) A: *Ni hai xihuan ta ma?* B: *Wo hai xihuan ta (#ne).*
 2SG still like 3SG Q 1SG still like 3SG (#NE)
 ‘Do you still like him?’ ‘I still like him.’ (modified from Constant, 2014, p. 416)

- (15) a. *Wo xihuan guo ta.*
 1SG like EXP 3SG
 I used to like him.
 b. *Wo xihuan zhe ta*
 1SG like DUR 3SG
 I am liking him.’

To summarize, there are still puzzles surrounding statement-final *ne* in terms of first, whether it is a durative marker, and second, what function it serves in non-conversational compositions. In view of the unanswered questions in previous research, the current study consulted corpus data from various genres and investigated how *ne* worked in context independently without the help of other linguistic forms such as aspects. It will argue that *ne* is

not a durative aspect marker and, besides denoting unexpectedness, *ne* also expresses the noteworthiness of the proposition.

3.0. METHODS

This study first ran a keyword search on ‘呢。’ in the Chinese Linguistic Corpus (CCL Corpus) developed by Peking University to ensure that *ne* in the results were all in the statement-final position. 400 instances were randomly extracted. After filtering³, it yielded 313 examples. In order to make a fair judgement, the current analysis had put aside cases in constructions that either denoted continuation or focus. The distribution of constructions in these two categories are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The Co-occurrence of *Ne* with Imperfectiveness-denoting and Focus-denoting Words.

Constructions denoting imperfectiveness (26.1%)				Constructions denoting focus (50.8%)				
<i>zheng</i> ‘right now’	<i>zai</i> + V PRO	<i>zai</i> +place+V V-ing at place	V + <i>zhe</i> DUR	<i>hai</i> ⁴ ‘still’, ‘even’, ‘also’	<i>lian...dou...</i> ‘even...also...’	<i>yiwei</i> ‘thought’	<i>cai</i> ‘only’	Rhetorical questions
11 3.5%	12 3.8%	3 0.9%	30 9.5%	99 31.6%	5 1.5%	8 2.5%	19 6.7%	28 8.9%

As presented in Table 1, *ne* commonly appeared in imperfective events. What was more salient was that about half of the instances in which *ne* occurred were constructions that had focus-denoting function. This distribution suggested a tendency of linguistic environments in which *ne* frequently showed up. Yet, it cannot be concluded that *ne* has these two functions. Therefore, these cases were also excluded, and this study concentrated on the remaining 98 instances.

4.0. FINDINGS

4.1. The Core Functions of *Ne*

4.1.1. Attract the hearer’s attention and demand the hearer’s participation

Previous research suggested that the use of *ne* indicated the current discourse was in contrast to the previously established common understanding between the interlocutors. However, in the corpus data, only 42% of the tokens supported the previous claims. 24% of data were cases in which the *ne*-suffixed propositions were out of the speaker’s expectation, and the remaining 34% of the data showed no contrast, such as examples (16) and (17).

(16) Context: Putao saw a woman smashing the door open.

Putao: <i>Ni xiang Laoba</i>	<i>ne.</i>	The woman: <i>Shenme laoba laojiu?</i>
2SG is.like Old.Eight	NE	what old.eight old.nine?
‘You are like Old Eight.’		‘What old eight old nine are you talking about?’

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Literature/ Mainland/ *The Ninth Widow*)

- (17) Context: The instructor asks what the soldier is murmuring. The soldier responds that he is just thinking about his own stuff and there is no need to worry. Suddenly, the soldier says:

Qu zhaoxiang le. Neng liu yibeizi ne.

go take.picture PERF can keep whole.life NE

‘I had someone take a picture for me. It can last for the whole life.’

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ TV/ Literary/ *Soldiers Sortie*)

In (16), the woman’s puzzlement manifested that “Laoba” and “being like Laoba” were not in her and Putao’s previous discourse. Thus, it is impossible for Putao’s utterance to contrast to their common ground. It is just out of the speaker Putao’s expectation. What the soldier said about having a picture of himself taken in example (17) was out of the blue as well. It was also unknown from the context that the proposition *Neng liu yibeizi* ‘A picture can last for the whole life’ contradicted previous common understanding, meaning that the hearer did not believe a picture can last forever in the past. Therefore, *ne* allows the speaker to attract the interlocutor’s attention and engage them in the conversation. Examples (18) and (19) are cases showing this emphatic function of *ne*.

- (18) Context: Sijia’s aunt is blaming Sijia for waving to men on the street. Sijia responds:

Sijia: *Wo zhi shi xiang kankan tamen cong zher zouguo. Wo ye xiang qu ne.*

1SG just COP want watch 3PL from here walk.by 1SG also want go NE

‘I just want to watch them walking by here. I also want to go.’

Sijia’s aunt: *Baobei!*

‘Baby!’

Sijia: *Wo shi zhende xiang qu ya!*

1SG COP really want go SFP

‘I really want to go!’

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ translation work/ literature/ *Gone of the Wind*)

- (19) Context: Wang is sighing because the city government removed all the lotus in the park.

Wang: *Kexi le.*

pity SFP

‘It’s such a pity.’

A Qing: *Tamen dou shuo naxie lianhua hen haokan ne.*

3PL all say those lotus very good-looking NE

‘They all said the lotus were beautiful.’

Wang: The New Park is the ugliest park in the world. Only those lotus were beautiful.

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Taiwan/ *Crystal Boys*)

In (18), there are two sentences and *ne* can be used in either one. The speaker chose to use it in the second utterance because that was what she wanted her aunt to know. This claim can be supported by Sijia’s repetition of her will in the next turn *wo shi zhende xiang qu ya* ‘I really want to go’. As for (19), Wang’s sigh revealed his appreciation of the lotus. A Qing’s reported speech supported Wang’s thoughts instead of presenting new

information that is out of Wang's expectation, because *tamen* 'they' in this context refers to their partners in the park rather than the officers in the city government. By attaching *ne* in his utterance, A Qing not only showed empathy to Wang but also invited him to comment on it as shown in Wang's response.

As *ne* stressed the noteworthiness of the utterance, it also helped the speaker to shift the current topic to their desired one, such as in example (20).

- (20) Context: The wife is talking about how much the husband used to eat when they just got married. The husband suddenly says:

Wen zhe xiang yao xiaxue ne.

smell DUR is.like will snow NE

'It smells like it's going to snow.'

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Literature/ Mainland China/ *The Ninth Widow*)

Without *ne*, the wife would have perceived that the husband was responding to her on the same topic and would be very confused as this utterance was totally irrelevant. However, with *ne*, the husband expressed that what he observed was more important than the current topic and suggests to change the topic. Based on data shown in this section, in a context where there is no clear contrast, *ne* functions to signal the importance of the statement in order to attract the hearer's attention and invite the hearer to the proposed topic suffixed by *ne*.

4.1.2. Enhance affective display

In §4.1.1., it was clear that *ne* demanded the interlocutor to take what the speaker said seriously and to respond or take action accordingly. As a result, it was not uncommon for speakers to employ it with strong emotion since showing emotion was also a way to focus the listener's attention, such as in examples (21a) to (21c).

- (21) a. *Xiao Hu ma dao: Zhe xiaozi xuexi Li Yuhe ne.*

Little Hu sold say this jerk learn Li Yuhe NE

'Little Hu scolds, "This jerk is acting like Li Yuhe!"'

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Newspaper/ *Writer's Digest*/ 1997B)

- b. *Fuzhou you qi you nao... zhi shi da dao: Wo xinqing bu hao ne.*

Fuzhou also angry also irritated only COP answer say 1SG mood NEG good NE

'Fuzhou is angry and irritated...She simply responds, "I am not in a good mood!"'

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Translation/ Literature/ *Genji Monogatari*)

- c. *Lao Qitou xiao dao: Zhe shi huansong nimen ne.*

Old Qitou laugh say this COP farewell 2PL NE

'Old Qitou laughs and says, "This is a farewell for you."'

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ Newspaper/ *People's Daily*/ 1995/ August)

Without *ne*, the utterance in each example sounded like a plain fact. It did not match the speakers' emotional display nor help the speaker to fulfill their intention.

4.2. The Use of *Ne* in Non-conversational Compositions

Figure 1 shows the distribution of *ne* in different types of compositions. It can be seen that conversational data including dialogues and quotes were predominant. That is, most of the *ne*-sentences were uttered by a speaker

to a listener. Nonetheless, there are still 35% of instances produced without an interlocutor. Therefore, to capture all the functions of *ne*, it was essential to analyze it in non-conversational compositions as well.

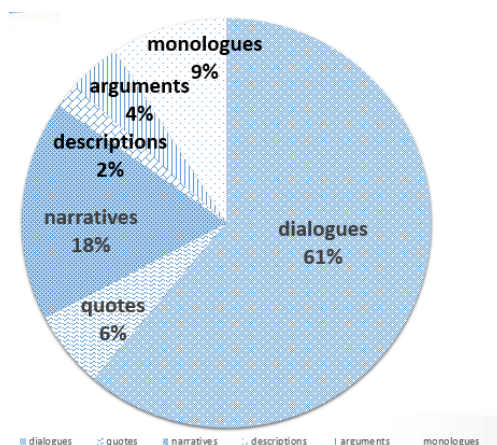


Figure 1. *Ne* in Different Types of Compositions.

4.2.1. Add conversational flavor

Although *ne* occurred in a wide range of compositions, having *ne* makes a composition sound like a conversation. In fact, there are four instances in the non-conversational data either explicitly addressing the recipient, as exemplified in (22a), or “speaking” to general readers by using the second person pronoun, as seen in example (22b). That is to say, writers tend to have their audience in mind when using *ne*.

- (22) a. *Zongjie, yecan zhen youwei ne.*
 Zongjie picnic really interesting NE
 ‘Zongjie, picnic is really interesting.’ (CCL Corpus: Modern/ literature/ prose)
- b. *Napa ni zhan-de xiang yi jie muzhuang ne.*
 even 2SG stand-COM is.like one CL timber.pile NE
 ‘It’s better even if you stand like a timber pile.’
 (CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ web data/ webpage/ C000013)

Ne was also employed in literature works when presenting a character’s thinking process like in (23a) and (23b). In these kinds of monologues, using *ne* gave readers an impression that the character was talking to themselves as if talking to someone else.

- (23) a. Context: The character is thinking that “he” has never said sorry to her. Then, she thinks:
- Wu, yexu ta bing bu gandao baoqian ne.*
 DM maybe 3SG at.all NEG feel sorry NE
 ‘Hmm, maybe he doesn’t feel sorry at all.’
 (CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ translation work/ literature/ *Gone of the Wind*)

- b. Hu San saw his friend being angry and kicking a hen away. He thinks:

Ta ye you shiqu zhending de shihou *ne*.

3SG also have lose calm DE time NE

‘(I did not expect that) there is also time that she loses calm.’

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ literature/ Mainland China/ *Can Xue Anthology*)

Considering that the author was actually talking to the readers or the character was talking to their inner self when *ne* was utilized in non-conversational compositions, instances in the corpus data presented contrast to the speaker’s own prior belief or to that of the hearer’s needs to be reevaluated. After reanalyzing, the percentage of cases showing contrast to the hearer’s prior belief increased from 42% to 57% and instances showing contrast to the speaker’s expectation dropped from 24% to 9%. However, it did not influence the result that one third of instances showed no contrast.

4.2.2. Direct readers’ attention

Section 4.1.1. illustrated how *ne* served to engage hearers by focusing their attention and demand their responses or actions. By making a composition sound like a conversation with the use of *ne*, this emphatic function extended to non-conversational compositions since readers felt the author was talking to them. In written works, although it was impossible for an author to request readers to respond or take actions, employing *ne* helped the author to point out the noteworthiness part in the paragraphs for readers. The example is shown in (24).

- (24) Tian shang zhi you san si kuai bu da ye bu zhong de baiyun,
sky on only have three four CL NEG big also NEG heave DE white.cloud

yan’ermen gei baiyun shang ding xiao hei ding zi wan *ne*

Swallow PL to white.cloud up nail small black ding character play NE

‘On the sky, there are only three or four clouds which are not big nor heavy. Swallows are having fun nailing little Ding characters’ on the white clouds.

(CCL Corpus: Contemporary/ literature/ *Lao She Short Stories*)

In this description, the author suffixed *ne* on to the sentence that described the flying swallows. It was hard to tell whether the author assumed the flying swallows were unexpected to readers or not. What can be sure is that the author intended readers to focus on the swallows’ activity rather than on the white clouds illustrated in the first sentence.

4.3. Is *Ne* an Aspect Marker?

In the corpus data, there were only seven instances in which *ne* may denote ongoing or continuing events such as (20a) in Section 4.1.2. (repeated in 25a). However, comparing it with the same sentence using another progressive aspect marker *zai* in (25b), it was obvious that the effect was different even though the truth value of the proposition did not change.

- (25) a. Xiao Hu ma dao: Zhe xiaozi xuexi Li Yuhe *ne*.
Little Hu scold say this jerk mimic Li Yuhe NE
‘Little Hu scolded, ‘This jerk is acting like Li Yuhe!’’

- b. *Xiao Hu ma dao: Zhe xiaozi zai xuexi Li Yuhe.*
 Little Hu scold say this jerk **PRO** mimic Li Yuhe.
 ‘Little Hu scolded, ‘This jerk is acting like Li Yuhe!’’

As discussed in Section 4.1.2., *ne* had the effect of dramatizing the emotional display and helped the speaker to draw the listener’s attention. Replacing *ne* with *zai* reduced the force, and hence, (25b) became merely a fact and the listener may have been less likely to take it seriously. On the other hand, without an appropriate context, using *ne* would cause puzzlement to the hearer. This is why in a simple question-answer exchange like (14a), native speakers judged the use of *ne* as unnatural, despite that it was indeed a durative event. In terms of the classic example *xia yu ne* ‘It is raining’ in (1b), none of the informants in this study gave the answer with *ne* when asked how the weather is now. They either expressed with the progressive marker *zai*, as in *zai xia yu* ‘it is raining’, or with the change-of-state particle *le*, as in *xia yu le* ‘it turns to rain’. Therefore, even though *ne* frequently appeared in imperfective events, it did not denote aspectual meaning. The context needed to be either unexpected to the common understanding as previous studies suggested or when the speaker intends to emphasize the importance of the proposition to license the occurrence of *ne*.

To summarize the results, the functions of *ne* can be demonstrated in Figure 2. In Figure 2, noteworthiness and unexpectedness are placed in the center as the basic function of *ne*. Due to this emphatic function, it supports the producer’s affective display and engages the recipient. That is to say, in conversations, it demands the listener’s response or action, while in compositions, it directs the reader’s attention by making the composition more like a conversation. Finally, it also helps the speaker to shift to a new topic in discourse.

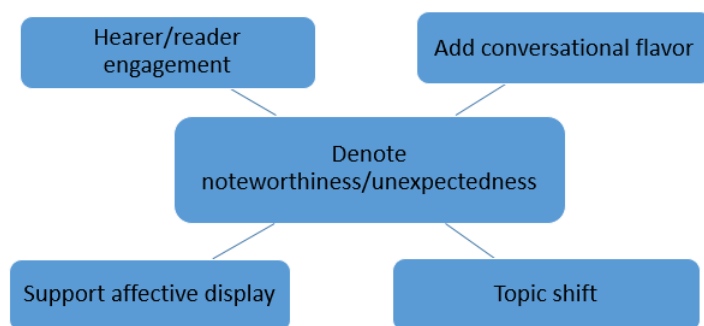


Figure 2. The Schema of the Functions of *ne*.

5.0. CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS

After investigating data from the CCL Corpus, this study yields three major findings. First, it finds that *ne* is not an aspect marker. The aspectual meaning is contributed by other morphemes, such as *hai* ‘still’, *zheng* ‘right now’, progressive marker *zai*, and durative marker *zhe*. When *ne* is attached to a predicate or a sentence without these morphemes, what the speaker or writer intends to express is not the continuation of the event. Rather, it is the illocutionary force *ne* possesses in discourse that motivates the use of *ne*. This argument is aligned with Chu (2006), Li and Thompson (1981), Shifu (1984), etc.

However, unlike the previous research that emphasizes on the contrastiveness function, the second finding in this article suggests that *ne* also stresses the noteworthiness of the utterance. This claim is supported by the corpus data, in which one third of the instances do not show a contradiction between the current discourse and the previous

discourse. Some cases of *ne* appear in out-of-the-blue situations where there are no previous discourses to contrast with. In this regard, the present study supports the findings of Alleton (1981) and King (1986) that *ne* marks the information it is attached to as particularly important so to invite the hearer's participation in the conversation.

Lastly, the current study contributes to the existing research of sentence final particles by providing an account on how *ne* functions in literary works, which is seldom discussed. This paper proposes that *ne* adds conversational flavor to non-conversational compositions. The core emphatic function extends to literary works by focusing readers' attention to the part the author considers worth noting.

Due to the limited scope of the current study, many important questions are left for future research. For one thing, instances like (26a) and (26b) sound incomplete to native speakers when *ne* is absent. Sometimes the meaning even changes as compared in (27a) and (27b). It seems that *ne* as a particle is not always optional. It is worth exploring what kinds of predicates or constructions require *ne*.

- (26) a. *Ni kanjian yima tamen le ma? Wen ni #(ne).*
 2SG see aunt 3PL SFP Q ask 2SG #(NE)
 'Did you see aunt and other people? I am asking you.'
 (Contemporary/ TV and movies/ literary/ *A Native of Beijing in New York*)
- b. *Dage, hai bu qu chifan? Saozi danxin #(ne).*
 big.brother still NEG go eat sister.in.law worry #(NE)
 'Brother, you are still not going to eat? You wife is worried about you.'
 (Contemporary/ literature/ Mainland China/ Contemporary short novels)
- (27) a. *Zhuxi wen Zhang Boju xiangsheng ne.*
 chair ask Zhang Boju mister NE
 'The chair is asking about Mr. Boju Zhang.'
 (Contemporary/ Newspapers/ *Writer's Digest*/ 1995/ 1995A)
- b. *Zhuxi wen Zhang Boju xiangsheng.*
 chair ask Zhang Boju mister
 'The chair asks/ asked/ is asking Mr. Boju Zhang.'

For another, this study does not discuss cases in which *ne* occurs in questions and with noun phrases. Whether or not question-*ne* and statement-*ne* are different morphemes is still a puzzle. It would be interesting to investigate if the proposed accounts in this article can be applied to questions and *ne*-suffixed noun phrases.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study examines the function of *ne* in statement-final position. Drawing on corpus data from various genres, it proposes that *ne* is not an aspect marker. Instead, it is employed to emphasize the significance or unexpectedness of the proposition and demands the active participation of the hearer or reader, which helps the speaker express emotion and shift the current topic to their desired one.

NOTES

1. Chao (1968) lists three other functions of *ne*: questions in context, questions with a specific point, and deliberate pauses. Since some studies (e.g., Qi, 2002) show that question *ne* and declarative *ne* have different origins and the current study is interested in how *ne* functions in the statement-final position, the functions of *ne* in questions or after a noun phrase are beyond the scope of this paper. Readers interested in how *ne* functions in other linguistic environments are referred to Jin (1996), Lee-Wong (2001), and Qi (2002).
2. Some informants pointed out that *ne* in this response sounds girlish or acting cute. How the use of *ne* contributes to gendered style of speech and indexes social meanings may be worth exploring for future research.
3. Data that are actually questions, drew from the Bible, and in [adjective + *zhe ne*] constructions are filtered. The reason why instances from the Bible are removed is because the language is mixed with formal and informal styles that native Chinese speakers don't typically use in daily life. As for [adjective + *zhe ne*], it has been recognized as a different construction from *ne*. See Lü (2015) and Wang (2010) for more discussion.
4. Although *hai* also indicates that the event it scopes is continuing, according to Liu (2000), *hai* is basically a focus particle and is "associated with the stronger proposition" (p. 41), so the current study sorts all instances of *hai* into the focus-denoting category.

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NUMERAL CLASSIFIER PHRASES APPEARING IN SUBJECT POSITION IN MANDARIN

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ABSTRACT

Most scholars agree that indefinite numeral classifiers phrases are freely allowed in object position while opinions vary on whether they are possible to appear in subject position. In order to fill this gap, the study collected data from corpus to examine both semantic and syntactic features of the numeral classifier phrases. It concluded that bare numeral classifier phrases appearing in subject position can receive definite, generic, and indefinite interpretation. The data also supported the conclusion that patterns allowing indefinite numeral classifier phrases as subjects were sentences expressingthetic judgments and the numeral classifier phrases received specific reference.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Numeral classifiers phrases are phrases that contain a bare numeral, a classifier, and a noun in the order of [Num CL N]. They can appear in both subject and object positions in Mandarin, either receiving an indefinite interpretation in episodic sentences or a generic reference in generic sentences. (Jiang, in press) The indefinite numeral classifiers phrases are freely allowed in object position (Chao, 1968; Cheng & Sybesma; Jiang, Jenks, & Jin, in press; Li and Thompson, 1981). However, there is no agreed conclusion on whether indefinite numeral classifier phrases can appear in subject or topic position, as shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) *jin lai le yi ge ren.*
enter come Perf one CL person
‘A person came in.’ (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 91)
- (2) *(you) *san ge xuesheng chi le dangao.*
exist three CL students eat Perf cake
‘Three students ate the cake.’ (Li, 1997, p. 2)

Chao (1968) held the view that they generally did not occur or was not preferred in subject position. Scholars, including Li and Thompson (1981) and Cheng and Sybesma (2005), also claimed that indefinite numeral classifier phrases in subject position were unacceptable. Instead, the existential marker *you* ‘exist/have’ was required at the beginning of the sentence, as in (2).

Nevertheless, as observed by some other scholars, numeral classifier phrases are allowed in the subject position by a range of patterns, such as (3), although controversial observations and generalizations on the interpretation and distribution of these numeral classifier phrases do exist (i.e., Huang, Li, & Li, 2009; Jiang, 2012, in press; Jiang et al., in press; Lee, 1986; Shyu, 1995; Tsai, 1999, 2001; Zhu, 1982).

- (3) Context: There are three kids in the speaker’s family and the speaker refers to the three specific kids when uttering these sentences.
 san ge haizi (dou) zai lou-shang zuo zuoye ne.
 three CL kids (all) at stair-up do homework SFP
 ‘Three (specific) kids are (all) doing homework upstairs.’ (Jiang, in press, p. 58)

Therefore, there is no agreed conclusion on whether indefinite numeral classifier phrases can appear in subject position and which patterns trigger the acceptability. To fill the gap, the paper collected data from a corpus, exploring the syntactic and semantic features of the sentences with numeral classifier nominal phrases as subjects.

The research questions were: (i) What interpretations do numeral classifier phrases receive when they appear in subject position? (ii) Is it possible for indefinite numeral classifier phrases to appear in the subject position? (iii) If it is allowed, which patterns are acceptable and others are not?

The study is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews previous accounts for numeral classifier noun phrases appearing in sentence initial position in Mandarin with respect to their syntactic features and semantic interpretations; Section 3 discusses to what range previous studies solved the research questions, what puzzles are still remaining, and which analysis the study adopts and proposes; Section 4 explains the methodology of how the new data is collected, sorted, and analyzed; Section 5 shows the consequences and implications on how the proposed analysis accounts the data; Section 6 summarizes the study.

2.0. ESTABLISHED DATA AND GENERALIZATIONS

2.1. Generally Disallowed

Opinions varied on whether indefinite numeral classifier phrases could appear in sentence-initial position. Chao (1968) held the view that although it was possible for indefinite numeral classifier phrases to appear in the subject position in sentences, such as (4a), a more preferred form of it in Mandarin was (4b).

- (4) a. *yi ge mai shuazi de zai menkou-er ne.*
 one Cl sell brush De at door SFP
 ‘A brush peddler is at the door.’

- b. *menkou-er you yi ge mai shuazi de.*
 door have one Cl sell brush De
 ‘The doorway has a rush peddler.’

(Chao, 1968, p. 76)

Li and Thompson (1981) also marked sentences (5) ungrammatical in which the indefinite numeral classifier phrase appears in subject position. They states that if the existential predicate *you* does not appear in the beginning to introduce the indefinite numeral classifier phrase, the sentence will be very unnatural to native speakers. (Li & Thompson, 1981; Li, 1997, 1998).

- (5) **(you) yi zhi gou yao guo malu.*
 exist one Cl dog want pass road
 ‘A dog wants to pass the road.’

(Li & Thompson, 1981)

2.2. Allowed by a Range of Patterns

Some other scholars held the view that numeral classifier phrases were allowed in the subject or topic position, although they differed on the range of patterns that allow them. (i.e., Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, 2012, in press; Jiang et al., in press; Lee, 1986; Li, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999; Shyu, 1995; Tsai, 1999, 2001; Zhu, 1988)

2.2.1. Distinction between “individuals-denoting” and “quantity-denoting”

Li (1997) showed that a number expression can freely be a subject when it received a quantity-denoting interpretation as shown in (6). It sounded natural to many speakers because the numeral classifier phrase in (6) does not denote who ‘three students’ is referring to. Instead, it merely expressed the quantity information denoted by ‘three’.

- (6) *san ge xuesheng bu gou.*
 three CL students not enough
 ‘Three students are not enough.’

(Li, 1997, p.2)

Huang et al. (2009) also claimed that there are two types of numeral expressions: quantity-denoting expressions, which were analyzed as Numeral Phrases (NumPs) by Huang et al. (2009), and indefinite individual-denoting expressions, which were considered as Noun Phrases (NPs). Jiang (2012) assumed the reference of the numeral classifier phrase in (7) should be captured as generic rather than ‘number-denoting’. As was observed, the sentence was a general statement about the number of students that was not sufficient across situations, which is indeed the definition of generic sentences as in Krifka et al. (1995). The distinction between generic sentences and episodic sentences will be discussed in Section 2.2.2..

However, no matter if these ‘quantity-denoting’ numeral phrases should be analyzed as either NPs receiving generic interpretation or NumPs denoting quantity, they should not be treated as indefinite references. Li’s proposal cannot explain counterexamples, such as (3). The numeral classifier phrase *san-ge haizi* ‘three kids’ did not receive a “quantity-denoting” interpretation, but still appeared in subject position. Thus, the question on whether indefinite numeral classifier noun phrases can appear in subject position cannot be explained by “quantity-denoting” cases.

2.2.2. Distinction between generic sentences and episodic sentences

As is discussed above, a problem suffered by Li’s analysis as well, as some other previous opinions (i.e., Lee, 1986; Li, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999; Shyu, 1995; Tsai, 1999, 2001; Zhu, 1988) was that some of the numeral classifier phrases in their cases generally occurred with generic expressions, so that they did not receive indefinite interpretation. It was the genericity of these sentences that gave rise to the generic interpretation of the numeral classifier phrases and triggered the acceptability (Jiang, in press).

Therefore, only with the possibilities of a generic interpretation clarified, can we reexamine whether numeral classifier noun phrases were allowed in sentence-initial position receiving indefinite interpretation, and what may have influenced the acceptability in episodic sentences. Two properties of numeral classifier noun phrases with “quantity-denoting” reference (receive generic interpretation in Jiang, 2012; and analyzed as NumPs in Huang et al., 2009) were observed by Li (1998). Jiang (2012, in press) argued that all the properties observed by Li were actually properties of generic sentences described by Krifka et al. (1995).

First, “quantity-denoting” phrases only received a collective scope interpretation, while indefinite phrases can receive either a collective scope reading or a distributive scope reading with scope ambiguities, as is shown in (7) (Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, in press; Li, 1998).

- (7) a. *wu-ge ren chi-bu-wan shi-wan fan.*
 five-CL people eat-not-finish ten-CL rice
 ‘Five people cannot finish ten bowls of rice.’
 Collective scope interpretation (10>5): ten bowls in total for five people.
 *Distributive scope interpretation (5>10): each person has ten bowls and there are fifty in total.

- b. *you wu-ge ren chi-bu-wan shi-wan fan.*
 exist five-CL people eat-not-finish ten-CL rice
 ‘There are five people who cannot finish ten bowls of rice.’
 Collective scope interpretation (10>5): ten bowls in total for five people.
 Distributive scope interpretation (5>10): each person has ten bowls and there are fifty in total.

A second property was that the “quantity-denoting” numeral classifier phrase cannot be referred by a pronoun, nor could it be an antecedent of a reflexive, since it does not have a reference in a particular event or situation, as in (8) (Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, in press; Li, 1998).

- (8) a. **san-ge ren_i tai-bu-qi liang-jia ni gei ta-men_i de gangqin.*
 three-CL people lift-not-up two-CL you give them De piano
 ‘Three people cannot lift two (of the) pianos that you gave to them.’ (Huang et al., 2009, p. 290)
- b. *Zhangsan_i zhidao san-ge ren_j yiding ban-de-dong ziji_{i/*j} de gangqin.*
 Zhangsan know three-CL people certainly move-able-move self’s De piano
 ‘Zhangsan knows that three people certainly can move self’s piano.’ (A. Li, 1998, p. 699)

2.2.3. Distinction between individual-level predicates and stage-level predicates

With the distinction between the “quantity-denoting” numeral classifier phrases and the indefinite numeral classifier phrases clarified, some scholars claimed even the indefinite ones were allowed to appear in subject positions in some contexts. (i.e., Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, 2012, in press; Shyu, 1995)

Shyu (1995) notes that there is a distinction between stage-level and individual-level predicates (Carlson 1977; Diesing 1992; Kratzer 1989): stage-level predicates allow indefinite subjects but individual-level predicates do not. The contrast is shown in (9). (Shyu, 1995; Huang et al., 2009)

- (9) a. a description of an event with an stage-level predicate:
yi-ge gaogao shoushou de jinfa guniang lai zhao ni.
 one-CL tall thin DE blonde girl come look for you
 ‘A tall, thin blonde girl come to look for you just now’
- b. a description of an individual property does not allow without *you*:
**(you) yi-ge gaogao shoushou de jinfa guniang hen congming.*
 exist one-CL tall thin DE blonde girl very clever
 ‘A tall, thin blonde girl is very clever.’

Tsai (1996) supported Shyu’s generalization (1995) by arguing that a sentence with a stage-level predicate, which expresses an event, contains an event operator; a sentence with an individual-level predicate does not. An indefinite subject nominal with a stage-level predicate can then be bound by an event operator, in the way that an existential closure licenses an indefinite nominal within a VP. (Heim 1982; Diesing 1992)

Huang et al.(2009) also supported the claim that indefinite number expressions are allowed by some patterns although he points out that Shyu’s analysis would predicate that all sentences with stage-level predicates should allow indefinite nominals in subject position. However, counterexamples exist as in (10). (Huang et al. 2009: 320-322).

- (10) a description of an event containing stage-level predicates

*(you) yi-ge ren kan-guo ta-de dianying.

exist one-CL person see-asp his movie

‘A person has seen his movie.’

(Huang et al., 2009)

As can be seen in (10), despite the predicate in the sentence is a stage-level predicate which is marked by experimental marker *guo*, the sentence is not natural without *you* for native speakers. Therefore, Huang et al. (2009) points out that whether indefinite numeral classifier phrases can be allowed in the subject position is not entirely decided by the property of predicate; and the question becomes why some sentences with stage-level predicates are acceptable with indefinite subjects but some others are not.

2.2.4. Distinction between *thetic* judgments and *categorical* judgements

In order to solve the puzzle, Huang et al.(2009) proposes that the contexts where an indefinite subject is possible are in those sentences expressing *thetic* judgment. (Huang et al., 2009)

The notion “thetic judgment” is firstly imported by Kuroda (1972). A sentence of *thetic* judgment expresses a simple recognition of the existence of an actual situation. (Kuroda 1972:154; 1992: 23) A contrastive notion is “categorical judgment”, which is expressed by sentences describing the relation between the subject and predicate. Moreover, “the categorical judgment is assumed to consist of two separate acts, one the act of recognition of that which is to be made the subject; and the other, the act of affirming or denying what is expressed by the predicate about the subject.” (Kuroda 1972:154; 1992: 20-22) Therefore, “the reference subject of categorical judgement is ‘presupposed’.” (Kuroda 1992: 223; Huang, Li & Li 2009: 322)

According to Huang et al. (2009: 322), sentence (10) are not quite acceptable without *you* because the experimental marker *guo* makes it a description of someone else’s earlier experiences, which cannot be observed or perceived directly. Sentence (9b) with an individual-level predicate, which denotes permanent properties of an individual, is also cannot be perceived directly. Therefore, they both do not express *thetic* judgments, so the subject NP with a numeral classifier phrase without *you* is unacceptable. In the contrary, sentence (9a) expresses a situation which could be interpreted as a *thetic* judgment, the NP consisting a numeral classifier phrase is acceptable and receives a specific interpretation. Therefore, according to Huang’s analysis, the contrast is aroused by whether the sentence expresses *thetic* judgment rather than the level of predicates.

Huang et al.’s (2009) proposal explains why indefinite numeral classifier phrases are not allowed in subject position even in some sentences with a stage-level predicate and proposed the contexts which licenses an indefinite numeral classifier phrase in the subject position is the *thetic* interpretation of the sentence.

Moreover, although Jiang (in press) figured out the generic interpretation of the numeral classifier phrases in previous work, Jiang agreed that episodic sentences can also admit numeral classifier phrases in subject position in Mandarin and receive a specific reference with contexts provided (Jiang et al., in press; Jiang, in press).

2.3. Numeral Classifier Phrases Receiving Definite Interpretation

As was mentioned, numeral classifier phrases appearing in argument position in Mandarin generally received either an indefinite or a generic interpretation (Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, 2012; in press). Numeral classifier phrases in Mandarin lacked a definite reading and cannot refer to the plural individuals in the antecedent clause, unless demonstrative was added (Jiang in press).

- (10) a. *jizhe-hui shanglai-le shi-ge jizhe he ba-ge xuesheng, #ba-ge xuesheng wen-le henduo wenti.*
 press conference come-Asp ten-CL reporter and eight-CL student eight-CL student ask-Asp many questions
 ‘Ten reporters and eight students came to the press conference; the eight students asked many questions.’
- b. *jizhe-hui shanglai-le shi-ge jizhe he ba-ge xuesheng, na ba-ge xuesheng wen-le henduo wenti.*
 press conference come-Asp ten-CL repoter and eight-CL student that eight-CL student ask-Asp many questions
 ‘Ten reporters and eight students came to the press conference; the eight students asked many questions.’
 (Jiang, in press, p. 59)

3.0. THE PRESENT STUDY

Based on previous studies, we knew that numeral classifier noun phrases appearing in argument position probably received either an indefinite or a generic interpretation, and they generally did not receive definite interpretation, except being regarded as an entity (Huang et al., 2009; Jiang, 2012, in press). Although there was no agreed conclusion on whether indefinite numeral classifier noun phrases can appear in subject or topic position, established data has shown it was allowed in some patterns. The study will work with corpora to provide data-based empirical evidence for the assumption.

Besides, assuming indefinite numeral classifier noun phrases was allowed in topic or subject position, the question on which patterns allow them was not clear. Thus, it required more data and further examination. This study adopted the proposal of Huang et al. (2009) and Jiang (2012, in press) that indefinite numeral classifier noun phrases appearing in sentence initial without *you* only in sentences expressingthetic judgments and received specific reference.

4.0. METHOD

4.1. Data Collection

All data in this study were collected from Beijing Language and Culture University Contemporary Chinese (BCC) Corpus. The total number of words included in BBC was about 15 billion words, including newspaper (2 billion), literature (3 billion), micro-blog (a kind of social media like Twitter) (3 billion), comprehensive resources (1 million), and Classical Chinese (2 billion), which was a large-scale corpus that can reflect the usage of Contemporary Chinese in the current society. In order to maximize the degree of the standard of the language data, all the investigated sentences were chosen from the literature resources, as Mandarin takes on paradigmatic contemporary Vernacular Writing language¹ as its grammar basis. (Lu et al., 1993, p.11)

The sentences in which numeral classifier noun phrases appearing in sentence initial position without *you* were collected by searching the key words corresponding to ‘Numeral Classifier Noun’ in the corpus. The total number of the items was 18, 326 and 200 of them were selected randomly. 200 sentences with *you* were randomly collected in analogous way from 2168 items for comparison.

4.2. Data Analysis

¹ Vernacular Writing language refers to the language written in standard modern literature. The term “vernacular” here is used to distinguish Literary Chinese, which was modeled on the classics of the Warring States period and the Han dynasty. With the development of a literature in written vernacular Chinese, this written language reflected Mandarin varieties and since pronunciation differences were not conveyed in this written form, this tradition had a unifying force across all the Mandarin-speaking regions and beyond. Thus, this “vernacular writing language” was regarded to be the standard of grammar of Mandarin by the authorities.

4.2.1. Filter out the unwanted data

In some of the sentences, although numeral classifier noun phrases appearing in the initial position, they are adjuncts, rather than subjects or topics. For example,

- (11) a. wu-ge yue hou, Lu Yanshi cong 2868 biancheng-le 1564 hao.
 five-Cl moth after Lu Yanshi from 2868 become-Asp 1564 number
 ‘After five moth, Lu Yanshi became NO. 1564 from NO. 2868.’
- b. yi-ge haozi li de yuyou dou jue de kui-le.
 one-Cl cell inside De inmates all think suffer loss-Asp
 ‘All the inmates in the same cell thought they suffered a lost.’

In sentences with *you*, cases in which numeral classifier expressing frequency were excluded, such as,

- (12) you liang-ci shaonian dou ting-xialai deng ta.
 exist two-Cl young person all stop-Comp. wait 3Sg
 ‘There are two times that the young person stopped to wait for her.’

The sentence in (12) does not have an overt noun inside the numeral phrases as it denotes the frequency of a situation. It usually occurs certain classifiers, such as *ci* ‘time’, *hui* ‘time’ and, *xia* ‘times of an action’. An interesting phenomenon found empirically was that only sentences with *you* include such classifiers in our unfiltered data, but as they were not included the range of discussion in this study, we excluded them and kept them in mind for future study.

After filtering, we deleted 56 unwanted items from the 200 items of sentences without *you*, and 144 were left for further analysis; for sentences with *you*, 48 items were deleted from 200 times and 152 were left.

4.2.2. Sorting data based on definite, generic, and indefinite references

Numeral classifier noun phrases denoting entities, functioning like proper nouns are sorted into “definite” such as (13). It is relatively rare and only 4 cases were found.

- (13) Liang-ge libai shi Yanshi de routi suo neng ao de zuida jixian
 Two-Cl week is Yanshi De body Pcl able bear De maximum extreme
 ‘Two weeks is the maximum limit for Yanshi’s body to stand (it).’

There were 36 other cases marked as “definite” as they referred to the individuals in the antecedent context. For example, numeral classifier phrases in subject position in (14) received a definite interpretation, which can be tested by adding a demonstrative or an existential marker *you*.

- (14) a. the original sentence in data
didi bei-zhe gege huida-le gangcai na ke shu pang.
 younger brother carry-Asp older brother return to-Asp just that Cl tree beside
liang-ge haizi lunliu chongfu-zhe gangcai de dongzuo
 two-Cl kids take turns repeat-Asp just De action
 ‘the younger brother carried the older brother returning to the side of that tree. The two kids take turns to repeat previous actions.’

b. definite reading, tested by adding demonstrative

...*didi bei-zhe gege huidao-le gangcai na ke shu pang.*
 younger brother carry-Asp older brother return to-Asp just that Cl tree beside
zhe liang-ge haizi lunliu chongfu-zhe gangcai de dongzuo
 this two-Cl kids take turns repeat-Asp just De action
 ‘the younger brother carried the older brother returning to the side of that tree. The two kids take
 turns to repeat previous actions.’

c. definite reading, tested by adding *you*

...*didi bei-zhe gege huidao-le gangcai na ke shu pang.*
 younger brother carry-Asp older brother return to-Asp just that Cl tree beside
**you liang-ge haizi lunliu chongfu-zhe gangcai de dongzuo*
 exist two-Cl kids take turns repeat-Asp just De action
 ‘the younger brother carried the older brother returning to the side of that tree. There are two
 kids that take turns to repeat previous actions.’

These cases showed that it was possible for numeral classifier phrases to appear in sentence initial positions in Mandarin with a definite reading by referring to the plural individuals in the antecedent clause without demonstratives.

After taking all the definite cases aside, numeral classifier phrases appearing in subject/topic position either received an indefinite (individuals-denoting) interpretation in episodic sentences or a generic interpretation (quantity-denoting) interpretation in generic sentences (Huang, 2009; Jiang, 2012, in press). Cases receiving the former interpretation were sorted into “generic” while cases receiving the later interpretation were sorted into “indefinite”. I adopted the two properties of “quantity-denoting” numeral classifier phrases observed by Li (1998): Only collective scope was allowed and could not bind with any pronoun or reflexive (discussed in Section 2.2.3.) as the criteria of distinction between “generic” and “indefinite” references. Then, we got 86 indefinite cases and 18 generic cases.

All the data without *you* had been classified into “definite,” “generic,” and “indefinite” groups, while sentences with *you* all received an indefinite reading in their subjects. The summary of the numbers in each category are shown in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Interpretations of Numeral Classifier Phrases in Sentences without *you*

Total data in BBC	18, 326 without <i>you</i>		
Randomly selected	200		
Deleting unwanted data	144		
Numeral classifier phrases in subject position	definite	generic	indefinite
	40	18	86

Table 3. Interpretations of Numeral Classifier Phrases in Sentences with *you*

Total data in BBC	2,168 with <i>you</i>		
Randomly selected	200		
Deleting unwanted data	152		
Numeral classifier phrases in subject position	definite	generic	indefinite

	0	0	152
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In order to further capture the patterns that allowing indefinite numeral classifier subject, two other factors were checked, including the reference of the numeral classifier phrases and the expressing purpose of the sentences (whether it is thetic judgment or categorical judgment). By comparing these factors in the two groups of sentences classified by *you*, we will know whether there are some correlations. (15) shows the distinction in the references of the numeral classifier phrases, and the contrast in the judgment type of the sentences.

- (15) a. the numeral classifier phrase receives a specific reference; thetic judgment
yī-tiào qúnzǐ pū zài dìshàng, shàngmian bái mǎn hóng de xiǎo píngguo.
 one-CL skirt spread at floor, top display full red De small apple
 ‘a skirt is spread on the floor, with the top is full of small red apples.’
- b. the numeral classifier phrase receives a non-specific reference; categorical judgement
nǐ yī-zhōng qiāngdào suīrán zuò quē zìrénbùhuì, rǎng rén pèipǔ.
 exit one-CL robber although behave badly but confess without concealment make people admire
 ‘there is a type of robber, although they are sinful, they confess without concealment, which makes people admire them.’

The consequences are summarized in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4. References of the Numeral Classifier Phrases

	Total	Specific	Non-specific	Ambiguous
Sentences without <i>you</i>	86	85	0	1
Sentences with <i>you</i>	152	149	1	2

Table 5. Judgment Types of the Sentences

	Total	Thetic	Categorical	Vague
Sentences without <i>you</i>	86	85	0	1
Sentences with <i>you</i>	152	101	35	16

5.0. CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATION

According to Table 2, bare numeral classifier phrases appearing in subject position can receive definite, generic, or indefinite interpretations. It challenges the generalization that numeral classifier phrases in argument position only receive indefinite or generic interpretation, lacking definite reading (Jiang, 2012; in press). In the data, 36 cases received definite interpretation by referring to plural individuals in the antecedent contexts. Besides, based on rough estimation, 58% (82/144) of the numeral classifier phrase subjects were indefinite. Thus, it is possible for indefinite numeral classifier phrases to appear in subject position.

To answer the third research question on which patterns allow them, the study adopted Huang et al. (2009) and Jiang’s (in press) proposals, examining the judgment type and the reference of the subject of these sentences. As can be seen in Table 4, almost all the numeral classifier subjects/topics received a specific interpretation in sentences without *you*, with only 1 exception whose interpretation is ambiguous. However, the references of subjects in sentences with *you* were also specific, with a few unclear cases. Therefore, the generalization that episodic sentences can also admit numeral classifier phrases in subject position in Mandarin and receive a specific reference with contexts provided are partially supported (Jiang, in press; Jiang et al., in press). However, as is shown by the data, it

did not make a distinction between sentences without *you* and with *you*. In other words, the reference of the subject is not a factor triggering the acceptability of indefinite numeral classifier phrase in subject position.

In Table 5, almost all the sentences without *you* expressedthetic judgments, with only 1 exception whose judgment type was really difficult to judge. However, the situation in sentences with *you* was not uniform. About two-thirds of the sentences expressedthetic judgment meaning, while some cases expressed categorical judgment meaning. There were also a few unclear cases, which were vague in the judgment type. Therefore, the generalization that the contexts where an indefinite subject is possible are in those sentences expressingthetic judgment is supported as well (Huang, et al., 2009). Moreover, since the difference in distribution of judgment types between sentences without *you* and with *you* existed in the data, it may be a factor that influences the acceptability.

Thus, for the third research question, the patterns that allow indefinite numeral classifier subjects should expressthetic judgment meaning rather than categorical judgment meaning, receiving specific reference in the subject.

6.0. SUMMARY

As previous opinions vary on the distribution of indefinite numeral classifier phrases, the study collected data from BBC corpus, examined the semantic and syntactic features of those numeral classifier phrases appearing in subject position in 144 sentences without *you*, and compared them with 152 sentences with *you* at the beginning to introduce a numeral classifier phrase.

Based on corpus data, several generalizations can be made. First, numeral classifier phrases appearing in subject position can receive definite, indefinite, or generic interpretations. The definite interpretation is generally attained by refer multiple individuals in antecedent contexts. Second, it is possible for indefinite numeral classifier phrases to appear in the subject position without *you* at least in a range of patterns. The patterns that allow indefinite numeral classifier phrases are all expressingthetic judgments rather than categorical judgments, and thethetic judgment meaning requires the numeral classifier phrase subject to receive a specific interpretation.

However, due to time limitation and tool limitation, several puzzles have not been solved and are left for future research. First, this study only investigated the context that allowed an indefinite numeral classifier phrases as a subject, but it did not analyze why and how the acceptability was triggered. Are there any sentences expressingthetic judgments but still require *you*? Are there any differences between two analogous sentences only differ on whether there is a *you* at the beginning? Second, in sentences with *you*, although most of the numeral classifier phrases in subject/topic position receive specific interpretation, a counterexample had been found in the data. Thus, it seems possible for indefinite numeral classifier to receive non-specific reading in some contexts, but very rare and we do not know what it occurs with. To solve these puzzles, corpus data is not a powerful tool as there are variables that are not controllable in diverse tokens that cause difficulty in finding minimal pairs. Thus, we encourage future corpus-based studies to conduct a speaker acceptability judgment test to mitigate the effects of external variables.

NOTES

1. “Subject” here is a rough notion as it can refer to subject, topic or both in sentence initial. As the difference between topic and subject has not been clearly clarified, the study adopted Huang, Li & Li (2009)’s way to not distinguish between topic and subject.
2. Xu (1996) used ‘assertive’ and ‘descriptive’ to refer sentences expressing categorical judgment andthetic judgment respectively.

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IDENTIFYING AND IMPROVING KOREAN ORTHOGRAPHIC ERRORS VIA DICTATION TASKS

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks the common orthographic error patterns of the Korean language learners via dictation and observes the effects of Korean orthography and pronunciation. After the pre-test, the experiment group received a 10-minute spelling/pronunciation lessons for ten times while the control group received none. The statistical analysis showed that the experiment group showed higher rate in error corrections than the control group during the post-test. The most common error patterns are the differentiation between [e] and [o] and the differentiation of double consonants. This research suggests dictation tasks as an efficient assessment tool for the Korean orthography acquisition.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This study examines adult Korean language learners' orthographic error patterns by employing dictation tasks as an assessment tool to observe the effects of the pedagogical methods on the students' initial and final dictation task. The cause of designing this study is originated from the researcher's experiences in teaching Korean to Second Language learners over the past five years. It is quite intriguing to see the beginner-level students struggling in writing vocabulary previously acquired when the words are given verbatim by the researcher of this study, while the students write perfectly on the homework assignments and exams. The following pedagogical routine clarifies this 'verbatim' dictation in the researcher's Korean language classroom every day; daily lecture is given to the students for the first 20 minutes of the class and the students are asked to make a group of two or three after receiving the activity handouts set for the day's lesson plan. The students are usually asked to create simple conversation dialogues by using the grammar patterns they learned for the day, which enables the students to utilize the vocabulary, grammar patterns and sentence structures they have acquired previously. During this activity, the students actively engage into the communication process in Korean language, however, frequently ask the instructor the spelling of words they want to use in their sentences. Table 1 illustrates the commonly found orthographic errors from the students when the words are given verbatim by the instructor:

Table 1. Common Orthographic Errors of Korean Language Learners.

Example	좋아요		
Orthographic errors	Coayo		
	'(I) like-DEC'		
	조아요	초아요	총아요
	Coayo	choayo	chohayo
Example	No final consonant ㅎ	No final consonant ㅎ	ㅈ (cho) instead of ㅊ
	(h)	(h)	(co)
	빨리		
	Ppalli		
Orthographic errors:	'Quickly'		
	파리	빠리	빨이
	P'ali	Ppa-li	Ppal-i

It is important to know that the example words above are previously acquired from the exercise and tests and are orally practiced in the classroom daily. This research questions the following issue: why do the students struggle in dictation tasks during oral communication activities? The gap between writing and listening proficiency among the Korean language learners is notably apparent particularly in the novice-high and intermediate-low/mid-levels. In other words, the students can read Korean, but cannot hear Korean. This can be possibly explained that the researcher's L2 students may (1) not correctly perceive the sound of individual letters and therefore (2) fail to hear

the vocabulary because the mechanics of Korean phonetics are not entirely acquired. This study thus examines the orthographic error patterns when L2 Korean language learners perform standard dictation tasks. By the administration of Korean pronunciation and spelling lessons based on the errors, this study observes the impact of the lessons on the final dictation task and possibly suggest the dictation as pedagogical assessment in teaching non-heritage Korean speakers.

2.0. BACKGROUND STUDIES

Oller (1971) analyzes the effectiveness of dictation tasks that the dictation task can assess a wide scope of linguistic abilities of L2 learners from the spelling to listening comprehension. Figure 1 illustrates the analysis of the process towards the outcome in a dictation task in the following steps (Oller, 1971):

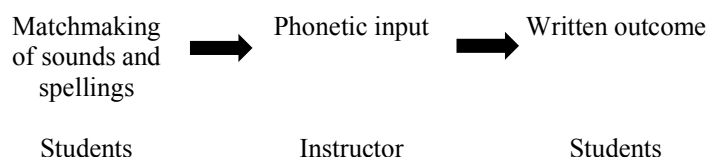


Figure 1. Analysis of Dictation Tasks Process (Oller, 1971, p. 258).

According to Oller (1971), the phonetic input is given to the students initially by the instructor, and the students then make efforts to bring out the written outcome on the paper by analyzing the sounds by applying the correct orthography to the sounds and the written outcome is transcribed on the paper. The process of phonetic comprehension can be evaluated in a dictation task. Kim (2010) also suggests creativity in the dictation tasks by letting the L2 learners transferring the telephone messages, seeking information, getting delivery orders, role-playing, and notetaking activities. For the language instructors, Kim (2010) denotes that the dictation tasks can be a straightforward evaluation tool for assessing the students' linguistic comprehension, not to mention the easy approachability towards the students, flexibility in adjusting the difficulty levels to suit the students' needs and even the feedback can be most accessible to the students since they would see the results clearly and correct their answers, and this correction process also involves precise recognition of sounds while practicing the orthography.

In the case of beginner level students, Kim (2010)'s dictation task experiment reveals that the participants show the following types of errors in dictating Korean words – the participants could not hear the words correctly, did not know the spelling of the words, slow speed in dictating words causing blanks in the answer key, and writing the words as they hear, not following the correct orthography. Kim (2010) focuses that the beginner-level students have difficulty in recognizing the allophones of each Korean consonant caused by orthography and merely perceive the words in the allophones themselves. For example, the consonant [k] goes through sound changes when used as final consonant or the epenthetic [s] rules, causing the words *kwankwang* (sightseeing) be mispronounced as [kwangkwang] or *kaskil* (a shoulder on the road) as [katkkil]. However, the participants in the study of Kim (2010) often displayed replacement of consonants when they cannot provide the correct orthography in the dictation task, while some participants left the answers blank if they fail to provide the correct answers. This dictation task research of Kim (2010) provided the guideline of this paper to assess the perception of Korean language among the beginner-level L2 learners analyze the error patterns and see the most common errors shown by dictation tasks.

The efficacy of dictation tasks in the L2 testing is proven in countless studies since the inception of language teaching back in the 19th century. Stansfield (1985) highlights the history of dictation tasks as an assessment tool emphasizing the translation and memorization of grammatical rules and the critiques on the dictation tasks emerging in the 60's by the wave of audio-lingual method and then the communicative language

teaching method, including the critiques from linguistics like Lado, who denounces dictation tasks as an improper and inadequate assessment tool to test the learners' true aural and orthographic perceptions since the words are identified by context, not by the individual sounds. Stansfield (1985) denotes that the extensive studies of Oller in the late 70's on his findings from the ESLPE (English as a Second Language Placement Examination) at the UCLA revealed that dictation task on the test was able to predict all the scores from the ESLPE testing elements in terms of the big four components of communication – listening, writing, reading and speaking.

The validity of dictation tasks as a linguistic assessment at present is widely adapted in both language teaching and testing, especially in the second language acquisition (Stansfield, 1985). Linguists like Park and Park (2004) from Korea observe meaningful improvements of English listening skills of the EFL learners in Korea through dictation tasks. Park and Park (2004)'s study reveals that the adult EFL learners show significant increase in the scores on the dictation tasks by listening English phrases when compared to the control group where the subjects received traditional classroom lectures without listening and dictation practice. An intriguing aspect of Park and Park (2004)'s research is that the subjects in the control group could listen to the same context with an addition of new elements over a certain period during the research. This resulted that the subjects were exposed to the repeated tasks in which familiarity towards the task and the content, leading to the higher scores when compared to the control group. The study on using dictation to improve the English language proficiency among the Iranian university students (Rahimi, 2008) reveals similar results to Park and Park (2004), stating that the overall linguistic proficiency test scores showed improvement while the control group without the dictation tasks showed improvement in the knowledge of vocabulary. Rahimi (2008) also utilizes dictation tasks as both learning and assessment tool for linguistic proficiency improvement for four months but the efficacy of the task was not as dramatic as expected.

The notion of dictation by Kazazoglu (2013) as a language learning tool primarily states that dictation tasks may be used as an assessment device for teaching phrases, clauses and listing syntactic mistakes based on the experiment with Turkish high school EFL students. Kazazoglu (2013) first identifies the factors influencing the difficulties in dictation tasks including the conceptual difficulties of the phrases, the overall speed of presentation, the lengths and pauses between the word units, and the dialect and pronunciation of the speakers may cause significant impacts on the scores of the dictation tasks. The study of Kazazoglu (2013) on the dictation tasks discloses that a significant score difference between the teacher-led dictation and tape-recorded dictation, indicating that the scores from the tape-recorded dictation task were significantly lower than the teacher-led dictation tasks where the students are more familiarized with the native intonation and accent of the first language (L1) rather than the tape-recorded materials. Kim (2018) searches the effects of web-based dictation denotes and states that no meaningful impact on the dictation scores was recorded as the subjects listened to the pre-taped materials, but the interaction between the students as they were assigned to different groups in varying number of people – the subjects in the smaller group showed higher scores on the dictation tasks where they could process and draw the answers together after the hearing of pre-taped materials.

Recent studies including Zirnstein, van Hell, and Kroll (2018) reveal how bilinguals control their L1 in the assessment of reading materials in L2. Contrary to the stereotypical notion that communication in an L2 would be not as same as in the native language, Zirnstein, et al. (2018) illustrate that adult L2 learners who have acquired their target language during their adulthood can excel in reading by using learning strategies in their target language as native speakers do. Zirnstein, et al. state that the key concept of this experiment is to visualize the brain activity of the bilinguals in the target language performance – how bilinguals use L1 and L2 simultaneously. Zirnstein et al (2018) reveal significant findings; the ability to predict words in reading tasks depends on how well the bilinguals control their L1, in order to absorb themselves into the L2 without receiving the L1 interference. While speaking involves the audible production of sounds in communication, reading can be less challenging to many L2 learners since it does not require production tasks to transfer the message to the others. This finding has become particularly important to this paper's topic, because the participants of this study show greater abilities in writing, but poor

perception and production in Korean. Teaching L2 pronunciation and its mechanism must gain profound validity in L2 textbooks and learning materials, and its significance should be weighed as same as the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar patterns.

The actual, realistic pedagogical implications and teaching methods then can be found in training language interpretation training. Cho and Park (2006) analyze the English pronunciation errors that are particular to native Korean interpretation trainees and disclose that the following issues are present in the native Koreans' phonetic system – (1) availability of sounds, (2) phonotactics – different sound combinations in Korean and English, (3) 'transfer' of Korean phonological processes into English, and (4) failure of English phonological process acquisition. The availability of sounds in the speakers' L1 always tries to find the allophones or similar sounds to the target language, and when the L2 sounds are not recognized in the allophones of L1, the speakers may acquire the sounds easily, or if the L2 sounds have the allophones in the L1 system, the speakers may apply the allophones to pronounce the words, which would cause the 'foreign accent' by transferring the Korean phonology to English pronunciation. In the case of non-native Korean language learners, this phenomenon of phonotactic transfer also occurs, causing the 'can see the words, cannot hear the words' situation mentioned earlier. As the native Korean speakers fail to grasp the phonological process of English, the non-native speakers may fail to understand the phonological process of Korean even though the grammar and vocabulary are thoroughly practiced in class. Cho and Park (2006) however do not very specific on the pedagogical practicum of the pronunciation training after suggesting rather general guidelines on the teaching methods in the following process; first, the language instructors identify the error patterns from the L2 speakers' speech and figure out the reason 'why' the students make such distinctive errors by applying various phonetic rules of the target language and the speakers' mother tongue. After the error patterns are clearly identified, the instructors should develop well-constructed syllabus containing the methodologies on teaching pronunciation and execute the plans in oral practices and daily assignments. Precise assessment of students' learning progress is vital to check the progress.

Yoon (2013) perceptually approaches the pronunciation training and reveals that Korean vowel lessons conducted on native English speakers for a short period of time (two weeks) have shown small but significant improvements on the speakers' abilities in accurate pronunciation and perception. Yoon (2013) divided the participants into two groups and implements pronunciation lessons by having the participants repeating the instructor after listening to the pronunciation. The other group of Yoon (2013)'s study was given an opportunity to discuss the phonetic similarities between Korean and English and focus on the phonetic differences between the two languages. The final listening test results from both groups denote that even without specific oral training on pronunciation, the participants from the experiment/perception group shows improvement in pronunciation. Yoon (2013) states that the second language learners need to have pronunciation perception training. This perception training is believed to be initiated in language classrooms by the instructors leading the lessons in the target language, minimizing the need of L1 as the students' progress into advanced levels. Teaching methodologies on pronunciation can be varied by many language instructors and Yoon (2013)'s experiment of Korean vowel training with lollipop sticks can be an example of creative teaching methods in pronunciation. In two consecutive pronunciation trainings, Yoon (2013) trains the L2 speakers on the pronunciation of [i] and [u] where Yoon states that those are where L2 speakers fail to distinguish the difference between the two. After one week of personal practice sessions (all the participants in the study did 5-10 min training at home by holding a lollipop stick horizontally in their mouths), Yoon (2013) observes that the errors in distinguishing between [i] and [u] has gone down from 87% to 35%.

In spite of the abundant amount of research in the areas of pronunciation and orthography of Korean, the terminology of the rules should be approachable to the beginner level students, and such efforts should be enjoyed by the Korean language instructors if only they are truly concerned with more dynamic ways to let the learners obtain communication proficiency in the language. In order to provide a tool for orthography assessment first and the pedagogical approaches on the acquisition of Korean orthography and pronunciation, this research asks the

following research questions: 1) can dictation tasks identify orthographic error patterns among the Korean language learners, and 2) are there significant effects of the orthography/pronunciation lessons on the dictation tasks? The main assumptions of this research state that the orthographic errors will be clearly identified on the dictation tasks by analyzing the listening perception of the Korean language learners and the effects of the lesson plans will be significantly strong on the final dictation task in the experiment group.

3.0. METHODS

A pre- and post-test of dictation tasks, and treatment (lessons) between the tests for ten 10-minute sessions on the experiment group, were conducted while the control group will take pre-and post-tests without treatment. A quantitative collection of errors from the pre-test, and errors corrected on the post-test from the control and experiment group was conducted, and the descriptive statistics including t-tests to address the error patterns found among the Korean language learners during the dictation task were conducted to validate the research findings.

3.1. Participants

A total of 34 participants received dictation tasks and lesson treatment; 17 subjects from experiment group received pre- and post-test and the treatment between the two tests, and 17 subjects from control group received the pre- and post-test without the treatment. All the participants were enrolled in the intermediate-mid level of Korean class of the researcher's affiliated institute at the time of the research. The participants could perform basic greetings and various daily activities including seeking the direction, shopping, and making friends by self-introduction though the actual level of each student varied from one participant to another. To conceal the purpose of this experiment utterly from the students from the beginning, all the participants from both control and experiment groups were informed that this dictation task is solely for evaluating the students' overall progress at the intermediate level and would not be graded. The students in the experiment group were informed that the pronunciation/orthography lessons are for the review to maintain the validity of the research outcome.

3.2. Design

Table 2 is the test item specification of the dictation tasks; a total of 10 short sentences were given to the subjects in both control and experiment group where the researcher read each sentence for three times. The orthographic errors shown on the tasks are analyzed by individual word units of each sentence. The sentences used for the pre- and post- dictation tasks were made based on the vocabulary lists from the Korean textbooks used by the institution (Cho et al, 2001). The first five sentences carry the vocabulary that the subjects should have acquired from the previous Korean language classes (KOR 101, 102 and 201) and the last five sentences employ several words the subjects may not have acquired from the previous Korean classes to see how the students perceive unfamiliar Korean words in listening and transcription. A total of 41 item units in the ten sentences were counted in the dictation task.

Table 2. Dictation Test Item Unit Specification.

1	오늘 우리 집에 같이 갈래?
item unit	1 2 3 4 5
	Onul wuri cip-e kati kallay-PLN-Q
	Today my house-DAT together go-PLN-Q
	'Do you want to go to my house together today?'
2	숙제 빨리 끝내고 놀아라.
Item unit	1 2 3 4
	Sukce ppalli kkthnay-ko nola-ra
	Homework quickly finish-and-CNJ play-PLN-IM
	'Finish the homework quickly and play.'

3.3. Procedures

Table 3. Dictation Test and Treatment.

Day	Procedures
1	Pre-test: control and experiment group
2	Resyllabification exercise
3	sound differences between ㄱ(k), ㅋ(kh) and ㄲ(kk)
4	peer-dictation by voice recording on smartphones
5	sound differences between ㅈ(c), ㅊ(ch), ㅉ(cc) by peer-dictation
6	differentiating ㅅ(s), ㅆ(ss), and ㅈ(j), ㅊ(p), ㅉ(ph), ㅊ(pp), ㅌ(t), ㅎ(th), ㅑ(tt)
7	double consonants (ㅈㅈ, ㅊㅊ) as a final consonant, nasalization, and tensification
8	Palatalization
9	h-aspiration
10	h-deletion
11	Post-test: control and experiment group

Table 3 above states the research procedures of the dictation and lesson plans. On Day 1, after the daily lecture and classroom activities, the subjects of the experiment group were informed that there will be a short dictation task during the last 10 minutes of the class. Each subject was given a pre-designed dictation task sheet, and the researcher explained the procedure of the task – 10 short sentences will be given, and the instructor will repeat each sentence three times, and the subjects will write them based on what they heard. The sheets were collected by the instructor after the dictation task. The same pre-test was conducted for the subjects in the control group. On Day 2, the first 10-minute lessons on resyllabification were administered– how the sounds change when the phonetic value of the final consonant is carried to the following vowel. The resyllabification exercise was chosen as the first lesson for the participants since many L2 Korean learners at the beginning level tend to read each letter by its own sound, without applying the phonetic rules. On day 3, the subjects were asked to read the worksheet aloud in small groups, and then record their own utterances on the smartphones. The researcher asked the participants to take out their smartphones and listen to their own voices on day 4 and dictate what they hear onto the task sheet. On day 5, the participants were asked to pair up, find 10 words from the textbook starting with [c], [ch] and [cc], and give a mini dictation task to each other and check their answers. The participants were given a sheet of vocabulary to write the phonetic values and worksheet activities were followed from day 6 to 9. The post-test was conducted on day 10 for both control and experiment group, and the data was collected for detailed analysis.

4.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first question of this study was that the role of dictation tasks to identify the orthographic errors of the Korean language learners. One of the main assumptions of this study was that the dictation task can access the aural perception of Korean among the L2 learners by observing the frequencies and patterns of the orthographic errors on the test. Table 4 and figure 2 and 3 respectively illustrates the descriptive statistics of the pre and post-tests of the control group where the errors were analyzed by the sentence unit (i.e. errors from each sentence). Since no treatment was done for the control group, the post-test in the sentence unit analysis ($M = 25.4$, $SD = 12.96$) showed no meaningful improvement from the pre-test score ($M = 27.2$, $SD = 13.41$). However, a t-test was conducted between the pre and post-test errors from the control group's dictation tasks in terms of the sentence unit ($t=2.377$, $p=0.021$) and item unit ($t=3.045$, $p=0.002$), showing that the change was significant. The effect of post-test is evident in the control group even without the orthography and pronunciation lessons. The subjects in the control group did make corrections, which may be explained by the effect of previous exposure from the pre-test and the range of time between the pre- and post-tests. Figure 2 illustrates the scope of the pre- and post-test error correction of the control group, showing the trend that the dictation task as an assessment may a device for the learners to recall

the correct orthography when exposed to the aural perception task. It should be noted that higher number of errors were found in the last five sentence units where the subjects are not familiar with the words yet based on their proficiency levels.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for Pre and Post-Test in Control Group.

	Sentence unit		Item unit	
	N = 17		N = 17	
	t= 2.377	p=0.021	t=3.045	p= 0.002
	M	SD	M	SD
Pre-test	27.2	13.41	6.63	6.20
Post-test	25.4	12.96	4.92	4.81

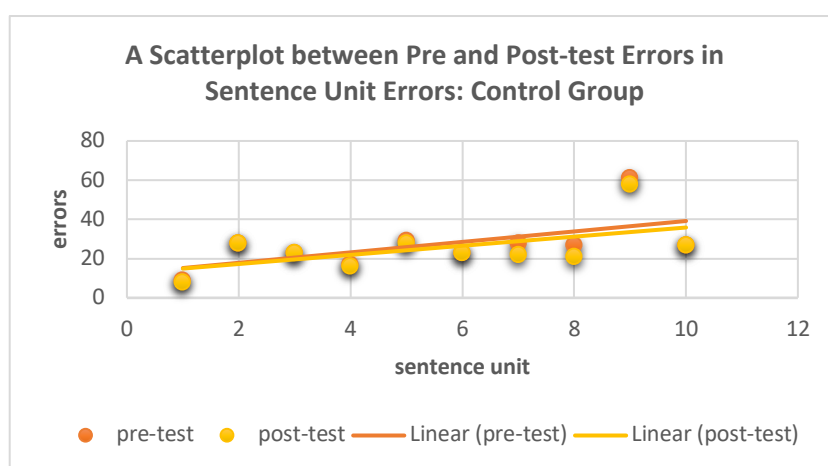


Figure 2. A Scatterplot Between Pre- and Post-Test Errors in Sentence Units: Control Group.

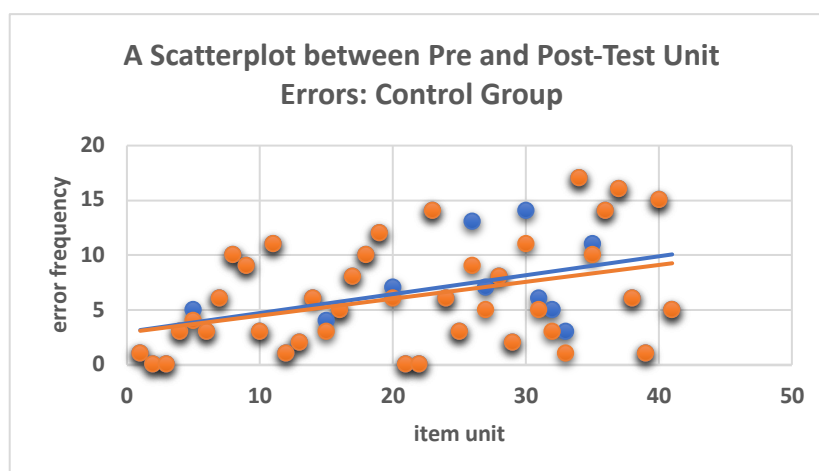


Figure 3. A Scatterplot Between Pre- and Post-Test Errors in Item Unit: Control Group.

The results from the experimental group, where lesson plans were implemented, showed higher rates of error correction when compared to the control group. Table 5 denotes the findings from the experiment group, and figures 4 and 5 show the overall tendency of the error distribution, in which the pattern is similar to the control group.

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Pre- and Post-Test in Experiment Group.

	Sentence unit		Item unit	
	N = 17		N = 17	
	t= 5.354	p=0.0002	t=4.445	p= 3.40e ⁻⁵
	M	SD	M	SD
Pre-test	25.7	12.48	6.27	4.83
Post-test	19.9	11.34	4.83	4.22

The lesson plan implementation was done for the experiment group and the results were indicated on the post-test in the sentence unit analysis ($M = 19.9$, $SD = 11.34$), showed improvement in the score by decreasing the number of errors from the pre-test score ($M = 25.7$, $SD = 11.34$). The overall score on the pre-test of the experiment group is lower than the control group at the beginning of the experiment. A t-test was conducted between the pre- and post-test errors from the experiment group's dictation tasks in terms of the sentence unit ($t=5.354$, $p=0.0002$) and item unit ($t=4.445$, $p < 0.05$), showing that the change is strong and significant, meaning that the effect of the pronunciation and orthography lessons is evident in the experiment group. The subjects in the experiment group made higher number of corrections, which may be explainable by the effect of previous exposure from the pre-test and the lesson plans, and the range of time between the pre and post-test. Figure 4 illustrates the scope of the pre and post-test error correction of the experiment group in terms of the sentence errors, showing the trend that the dictation task as an assessment and the appropriate lessons plans on the orthography and pronunciation together may a device for the learners to acquire the aural perception of the target language by matching the pronunciation and orthography.

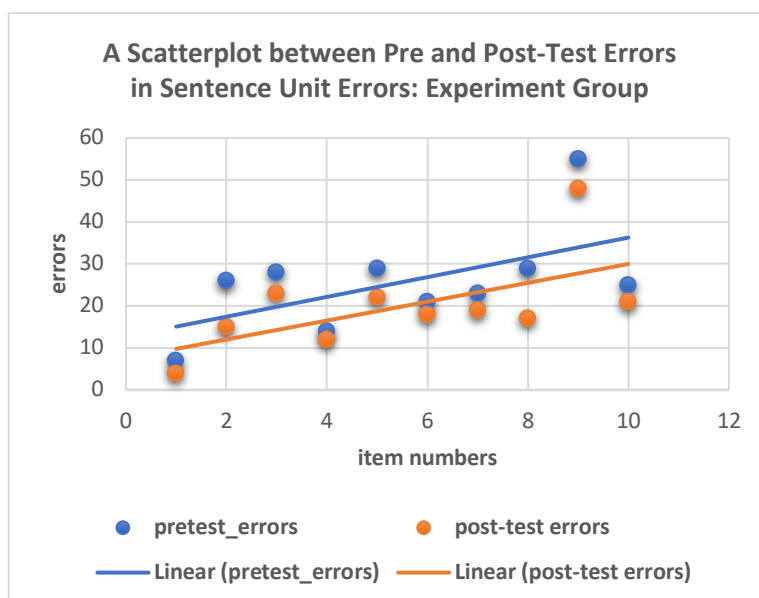


Figure 4. A Scatterplot Between Pre- and Post-Test Errors in Sentence Units: Experiment Group.

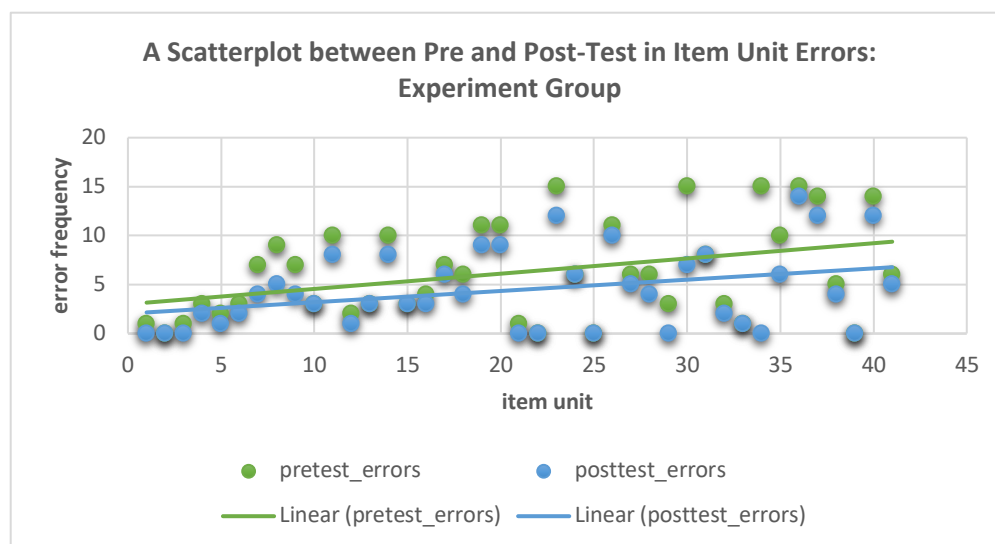


Figure 5. A Scatterplot Between Pre- and Post-Test Errors in Item Units: Experiment Group.

While the dictation task in this study has proven its efficacy on identifying the number and frequency of the errors with and without the lesson plans, the remaining question of identifying the error patterns among the Korean language learners – identifying the type of errors the learners show on the dictation task was illustrated on the pre and post-test in this research. According to the data of the rate of errors from the control groups, most of the error type patterns come from the inaccurate perception of the consonants and vowels of Korean alphabet rather than the pronunciation rules. Among the error types occurred more than 5 times in the sentence item 1 to 5 in which the vocabulary is familiar to the subjects, 33% of the subjects in the control group did not recognize the different sound between Korean [c] and [ch] and 30% of the subjects could not differentiate Korean [ng] and [n] sounds that are carried in the final syllables in Korean words. In the error patterns occurred more than 10 times on the dictation tasks of the control group, the difference between the Korean [ay] and [ey] sounds were found to be the most problematic in the orthography because 52% of the subjects made errors on differentiating those two sounds.

The Korean [l] sound as a final consonant also showed 18% error rate since many subjects in the control group either missed the final consonant [l] or misplaced it to another syllable. It can be interpreted that the L2 learners transcribe the sound to the paper, not the conveyed sound carried in the spelling. Before reiterating the issue of speaking and listening practice, periodic dictation assessment for the Korean language learners may effective to actualize the conveyed phonetic rules for the optimal language acquisition. The ‘mismatch’ between the pronunciation and the orthography among the Korean language learners is also apparent in the speech of the Korean dialects and intonation where the Kyungsang provincial dialect phonetically understands Korean [ss] as [s] or [sh] but the meaning is well-communicated between the native Kyungsang dialect speakers. This dialect phenomenon may explain the mismatch of the words and sounds among the Korean language learners in terms of the L1 sound mechanism where the learners find the allophones from their native language to recognize the target language.

The error patterns in the experiment group portrays similar patterns with the control group. In the experiment group, 37% of the subjects did not recognize the difference between Korean [s] and [c] sounds, and 28% of the subjects could not differentiate between Korean [ay] and [ey] sounds, which is lesser than the rate of control group errors (52%). This may indicate that the subjects in the experiment group recognize the sound properly because of the lesson plan implementation. Among the error patterns occurred more than 10 times in the experiment group, recognition of [ng] sound to [m] in final syllable consonant (40%) was apparent while the different sound recognition in Korean [c] and [ch], re-syllabification and recognition of the [t] sound as [p] were marked the same rate (20%) of the errors. The recognition of the Korean [t] sound as [p] occurred when dictating a word where the

Korean sound [t] and [th] occurred continuously. Perhaps this is due to the sound of the Korean [t] next to the [th] creates a sound which has a similar nature to the [b] as in bat, and even the correction rate was low in the experiment group during the final dictation task. Further studies on the perception of these words will be most beneficial to improvise effective teaching methods and guidelines for the Korean pronunciation sessions.

5.0. CONCLUSIONS

L2 learners participated in this study perceived the natural utterance spoken by the L1 researcher and transcribed the utterance on paper. Most of the subjects show discrepancies between listening and writing in Korean. Although they may understand what native speakers say, understanding the phonetic mechanisms of Korean language is still difficult for many participants in this study. The L2 learners who joined this study can perceive and orally communicate in Korean, but they tend to transcribe the sound as they hear them, not as they are learned, and when they are introduced to new, unfamiliar words, the subjects experience a clash between their L1 and Korean and create brand new orthographies based on how they interpreted phonetically, just as Flege (1995) proposed the SLM model, where the L2 is strongly influenced by L1's phonetic system and the learners naturally seek the allophones to match the new L2 sounds. The subjects from both control and experiment groups seem to make spelling errors in the familiar words as well as the unfamiliar ones, although far less in familiar ones. Listening and speaking must be fully utilized in various forms to encourage the students to speak more in the classroom and the target language communities. Dictation tasks can be one of these methods, and creativity in developing phonetic activities and the materials calls for immediate pedagogical attention.

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A QUANTITATIVE STUDY ON L2 ACQUISITION OF CHINESE LOCATIVE PARTICLES *SHANG* AND *LI* IN *ZAI* CONSTRUCTION

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how L2 Chinese learners understand the highly used Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* (*zai*-construction). To do this, 14 participants participated in a multiple choice paper and pencil test. The results show that 1) intermediate learners of Chinese are more likely to produce errors than advanced learners and 2) the rate of *shang*-related errors outweighs other errors including *li*-related errors and N/A-related errors, etc. The finding not only supports the usage-based model (Ellis & Ferreira-Junior, 2009) showing that learning is driven by the frequency and frequency distribution of exemplars within constructions, but also suggests that the order of L2 acquisition is associated with the sequence of L2 teaching. Specifically, highly frequently misused Chinese locative particles such as *shang* in the *zai*-construction (*zai*+NP+*shang*) should be taught earlier, and more input can facilitate L2 learners' acquisition of this particle.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The locative phrase is an indispensable pattern in daily communication, because it renders not only the important concept of space or location, but also abstract concepts of condition, range, scale, etc. However, speakers of different languages may have their own L1 patterns to express spatial relations, and these differences can be somewhat embodied in different structures of their expressions. For example, in English spatial relations can be expressed by using the locative phrase *preposition*+*noun phrase* (NP), such as *in the mind* and *on a table*, so the preposition in the pattern denotes both state of being (status) and orientation (inside the mind and on the surface of a table). Interestingly, in Mandarin Chinese spatial relation is normally expressed by combining the *preposition*+NP and a locative particle, such as *shang* (up), *xia* (down), *li* (in), *wai* (out), *zhong* (in), *nei* (in), etc., to form a locative phrase *preposition*+NP+*locative particle*. In this way we can see that Chinese prepositions such as *zai* can denote state of being (status) but cannot show the concept of orientation. The orientation is actually embodied in the attached locative particles, as in their meanings shown above. Therefore, the study of Chinese locative phrases has aroused plenty of discussions, as to how to differentiate between different locative particles, in the field of second language acquisition for a long time (Li, 1980; Chen, 1995a; Fu, 2003; Li, 2005). Also, how to express spatial relations is one of the basic and necessary requirements for students in their second language learning. Especially in the field of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL), the Chinese locative particles have been presented as important grammar points in several widely-used textbooks (Liu et al., 2009; NTNU, 2017) for the beginning level.

In this study I focus primarily on the locative phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* (*zai*-construction), which is a commonly used locative phrase in Mandarin Chinese¹. As noted before, *zai* is a preposition which means “being somewhere,” NP is short for a noun phrase which involves a concrete noun (e.g., table) or an abstract noun (e.g., mind), and the locative particles *shang* and *li* literally mean *up* and *in*, respectively. In what follows I will examine how L2 learners acquire the Chinese locative phrase *zai*-construction by conducting quantitative research such as a corpus study (British National Corpus: BNC; Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus: BCC) and a statistical test (R, ANOVA, and Cohen's d); the results as well as implications of my study will be provided at the end.

¹ By searching the BCC (BLCU Corpus in China), I found the number of occurrences for the pattern *zai*+NP+*shang* is 457107 while the number for the pattern *zai*+NP+*li* is 171537.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

Generally, previous studies (Yoshihiko, 1992; Chen, 1995b; Chu, 2004; Ge, 2004; Liu, 2007; She, 2014; Li, 2017) mainly focus on a comparison between English and Chinese locative particles, as well as cognitive interpretations for the two particles *shang* and *li*, so it is observed that much of the discussion in these studies centers on syntactic and semantic analysis. For example, the comparison between the two locative particles *shang* and *li* from a cognitive perspective can be found in Ge (2004), where she mainly discusses the similarities between these two particles by using metaphor in a variety of texts. She's (2014) contribution is to make a semantic classification for *shang* and *li*, and she also focuses on the comparison between these two Chinese locative particles and English ones (*on* and *in*). Meanwhile, Li (2017) is targeted mainly at conditions of the presence and absence of *shang* and *li* in some Chinese locative phrases. However, there are few studies (Luo, 2013; Xu, 2018) that have to do with the acquisition or teaching of these two particles, *shang* and *li*, when they occur with some prepositions like *zai* to form locative phrases. In what follows I will briefly introduce the three most relevant parts in Luo (2013) and Xu (2018); these parts are categorized as frequency-based comparison between English and Chinese locative particles, corpus-based errors in L2 acquisition, and testing and suggestions on L2 learning.

2.1. The Comparison between English and Chinese Locative Particles

As previously noted, the nonequivalent expressions of English and Chinese locative particles have aroused great attention in previous studies. Luo (2013) observes that one of the biggest differences between English propositions and Chinese prepositions is, in English, speakers can put a preposition such as *in* and *on* before a noun to form a prepositional phrase (locative phrase), which is to show the direction or location of somebody or something. In Mandarin Chinese, however, the spatial relationships embodied by locative phrases are normally expressed as *preposition* (PP)+*noun* (NP)+*shang*/*li*, or in many cases the same meaning can be expressed in the pattern *noun* (NP)+*shang*/*li* without the preposition part. So the basic requirement for the formation of locative phrases is the combination of nouns and locative particles instead of prepositions and nouns. A case in point is to see the comparison between these two sentences:

(1) a. There is a fly **in** the bowl.

b. (在) 碗 里 有 个 苍蝇
zai wan **li** you ge cang-ying
 PREP bowl in there.be classifier fly
 'There is a fly **in** the bowl.'

(Luo, 2013)

In this example, Chinese speakers use *zai...li* while English speakers use *in* to express something (a fly) inside (the bowl), but the Chinese preposition *zai* can be deleted (e.g., *wan+li*) to show the same meaning expressed by the full pattern *zai+wan+li*.

The above point of view lets us know that Chinese locative particles do play a crucial role in the formation of locative phrases, especially for the two particles *shang* and *li*. Luo (2013: 4) also points out that according to *The General Syllabus for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language* (TCFL), the word *shang* is ranked 20th for its frequency in the syllabus, which has 1500 frequently-used tokens among common Chinese words, while the word *li* is listed as the 34th. In this way we can see that the two words are highly-used in daily life. That is the reason why previous studies pay attention to these two locative particles *shang* and *li* in an English-Chinese comparative way. The same idea can be found in Xu (2018), where he also observes that the word *shang* and *li* are the most frequently-used ones among 14 common monosyllabic Chinese words, but he mainly describes another difference between English and Chinese locative expressions, showing the different choices of these two particles with their different spatial interpretations in the two languages. The nonequivalence between the two particles in the two languages can be seen in the following examples: on the blackboard is equal to *zai* (PP) *hei-ban* (blackboard) shang in Chinese, and in the

drawer is identical to *zai* (PP) *chou-ti* (*drawer*) *li* in Chinese. However, many English expressions cannot match Chinese ones: for example, *on the campus* is expressed as *zai xiao-yuan* (*campus*) *li* and *the birds in the tree* is expressed as *zai shu* (*tree*)-*shang* *de* (*particle*) *niao* (*bird*). Bearing this in mind, Xu (2018) predicts that the nonequivalent translations between the two languages could somewhat affect foreign learners' acquisition of these two Chinese particles.

2.2. Typical Errors in L2 Acquisition

It is important to know what types of errors are made by foreign learners as well as their possible factors. Luo (2013) generally summarizes three typical errors concerning the two particles *shang* and *li* after investigating the HSK (Chinese Proficiency Test) Corpus; they are:

First, omission of the two particles. This accounts for up to 8% of all the errors in the corpus. For instance, in Chinese we cannot say **zuo* (*sit*)+ *zai* (*in*)+*yi* (*one*)+*ge* (*classifier*)+*ban* (*class*) 'sit in one class.' Because we need to add locative particles to the end of the noun, the grammatical expression is *zuo* (*sit*)+*zai* (*in*)+*yi* (*one*)+*ge* (*classifier*)+*ban* (*class*)+*shang/li* 'sit in one class' (2013: 11). This error is caused by L1 transfer because English locative phrases only allow the combination of prepositions and nouns, like the translation 'sit in one class'. In this regard, the Chinese locative particles could be easily ignored by English learners.

Second, redundancy of the two particles. This makes up 16.5% of all the errors in the corpus. It is observed that the function of locative particles is to make nouns have a locative denotation (2013: 15). For example, *zhuozi* 'table' is a noun indicating an object, it does not have locative interpretation unless the locative particle *li* 'in' or *shang* 'up' is added to its ending, like *zai+zhuzi+li* 'in the table' or *zai+zhuzi+shang* 'on the table'. However, some Chinese place nouns already have locative denotation, such as *tai-guo* 'Thailand' (2013: 15), a place located in southeastern Asia. There is no need to add locative particles *li* 'in' or *shang* 'up' to the end of this noun. English L2 learners can therefore overgeneralize the rule by producing ungrammatical cases like **zai+tai-guo+li* and **zai+shang-ye-zhong-xin+shang*. Luo (2013) posits that it is the over-generalization that misleads English learners to put locative particles at the end of all the nouns.

Third, confusion between the two particles. This adds up to 75.5% of all the errors, thus becoming the most frequent errors made by foreign learners. The reason for this error is that learners from different countries have different cognitive learning abilities, thus leading to different expressions for one spatial concept (2013: 20). Take the noun *tian* 'farmland' for instance. In Chinese we say *zai+tian+li* 'in the farmland' instead of **zai+tian+shang* 'on the farmland', because Chinese speakers take the farmland as a big container to hold something inside while learners in other countries may take the farmland as a surface with something on it.

2.3. Testing and Suggestions on L2 Learning

Testing and suggestions on the acquisition of the two locative particles can be found in previous studies. So far no studies have focused on the pattern *zai*+NP+*shang/li*, but Xu (2018) examines how learners acquire the two locative particles *shang* and *li* occurring with different prepositions by conducting English-Chinese translation tests. He chose 34 learners in the Department of East Asian Studies at one British university as his participants in the test group. Their proficiency ranged from intermediate (18 persons) to advanced (16 persons) because they had all studied Chinese for at least one year and a half. The control group was made up of 35 undergraduate Chinese students at one university in China. The result of his experiment shows that the abstractness of a NP can trigger more errors in L2 learners compared with native speakers; therefore, the suggestion is to require teachers to focus more on the abstractness of NPs instead of concreteness of NPs occurring with the two locative particles. Similarly, Luo (2013: 48) proposes that it is advisable to teach the two locative particles occurring with NPs which are concrete or spatial, before teaching about them with abstract nouns in order to give learners enough time to find the similarities and differences.

However, some gaps in previous studies can be still identified as follows. In the first place, previous studies did not focus entirely on the acquisition of the widely-used locative phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li*. Luo (2013) examines Chinese prepositional phrases in a broader sense, finding that the preposition (PP) is not mainly focused on *zai*⁵¹ ‘in or on’ but on other prepositions such as *wang* ‘to’ and *cong* ‘from’. Given this, the meaning of the prepositional phrases could be different. Take the *wang*-construction for example. The meaning of the pattern **wang*+*hei-ban* (*blackboard*) *shang* is incomplete, and its meaning is roughly like “to the blackboard.”, where a verb needs to precede “to” to show the action. In light of that, the phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* should be a case to match English locative phrases concerning *in* and *on*. A similar problem could be also found in Xu (2018), where he has not yet considered the preposition *zai* when comparing Chinese locative phrases with English ones. That is, he only uses the preposition-free pattern *noun* (NP)+*shang*/*li* to match English expressions, but the full pattern *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* can be also widely used to translate English corresponding patterns. Therefore, whether or not the existence of the preposition *zai* could affect foreign learners’ understanding of *shang* and *li* may serve as a potential gap in this research.

In the second place, the backgrounds of participants are not consistent in terms of their levels and countries. Luo (2013) only examines the acquisition of the two locative particles by investigating data from the HSK Corpus, and the learners who produce the errors are from different countries. Also, Xu (2018) chooses a specific and different population, for the reason that these learners come from Britain with above-intermediate levels, and he has conducted empirical research (translation task) on the two particles *shang* and *li* occurring with different prepositions in locative phrases. However, both Luo (2013) and Xu (2018) have not yet investigated the L2 acquisition of the locative phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* by American English speakers who are in intermediate to advanced levels. The gap from previous studies motivates me to explore more specific details about how English L1 speakers in America can acquire the two Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in this study. In addition, it is still unclear what kinds of typical errors can be made by American English speakers when they use these two locative phrases, as well as the possible reasons.

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study addresses these research gaps by conducting quantitative research on the commonly-used Chinese locative phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* with a focus on two particles *shang* and *li*. In order to examine some potential questions in the field of SLA and teaching pedagogy, my experiment is based on a paper and pencil test which investigates how American English speakers (L1 English, L2 Chinese) can understand the two Chinese locative particles *li* and *shang* in the *zai*-construction when their Chinese reaches the intermediate to advanced level. My research is guided by the following questions:

1. Regarding the two spatial particles *li* and *shang* in this Chinese locative phrase, what is the distribution of the errors made by American learners from intermediate to advanced level?
2. How can negative transfer from the L1 (esp. nonequivalent translations) as a possible factor affect learners’ acquisition of the two Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the *zai*-construction?

4.0. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Test Design

The form of my test is a paper and pencil examination. Each test contains 48 questions, and each question includes three choices: A. *li*, B. *shang*, C. N/A (not applicable). The distribution of each choice (answer) is preliminarily designed as 16 (*shang*), 16 (*li*), and 16 (N/A) in a random order. Also, since the NP in the *zai*-construction can be either abstract or concrete, I designed 24 (half) questions containing an abstract NP (e.g., society) as well as 24 (half) questions containing a concrete NP (e.g., table). The right answer for each question, as

mentioned before, depends on the high frequencies of locative phrases in the BCC and BNC corpus; examples are shown below:

- (2) a. *zai* *dian-hua* *li*
 PREP phone inside
 ‘on the phone’
- b. *zai* *she-hui* *shang*
 PREP society upside
 ‘in the society’
- c. *zai* *Beijing* *N/A*
 PREP Beijing not applicable
 ‘in Beijing’

As shown above, in example (2a), when the NP is concrete (phone), English speakers prefer to use *on* (796) instead of *in* (61) according to British National Corpus (BNC), while Chinese speakers prefer to use *li* (2911) instead of *shang* (343) according to BCC Corpus (Beijing Language and Culture University). Similarly, in example (2b), when the NP is abstract (society), English speakers prefer to use *in* (116) rather than *on* (30), while Chinese speakers are more likely to use *shang* (6140) rather than *li* (63). In this way, the right answer for example A is *li* in Chinese because of its higher frequency in the BCC corpus compared with *shang*, and the right answer for example B is *shang* by the same token. However, in example (2c), the preposition *in* is always (100%) used to co-occur with Beijing, but in Chinese we do not have to put any particle after “Beijing” the proper noun, so N/A here means neither *li* nor *shang* is applicable.

Overall, the goal of my test is to investigate how Chinese L2 learners understand the locative particles like *li* and *shang* when they appear with different NPs in the *zai*-construction.

4.2. Participants

There are in total 14 American college students (9 male and 5 female) taking part in this test. These test takers include 7 intermediate-level learners and 7 advanced-level learners with an English as L1 background. The age of these participants ranges from 18 to 30, and they all study Chinese as their L2.

4.3. Procedures

After my test design was approved by the IRB (Institutional Review Board) at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, I started to collect my data from 14 participants by conducting the paper test one by one. For each test, I first showed the person the IRB protocol in order to legally conduct my language research, and then I read my instructions for doing the test. Specifically, in order to keep data confidential, all the tests were anonymous, but the participants needed to fill in some necessary information like which level they are in and the amount of years they have learned Chinese as a second language. Each participant was recommended to finish these 48 questions in 15 to 20 minutes in a quiet self-study room. When all the participants finished their tests, I then started to review their answers and marked the errors made in their paper tests.

4.4. Data Analysis

I use statistical tools to analyze my collected data. The independent variables in my test are the NP (concrete and abstract) and the proficiency of the L2 learners (intermediate and advanced), and the dependent variables are the three choices (*li*, *shang*, and N/A) for each question. With this in mind, I first used the statistical

software R to check the distribution of my collected data which contains *li*-related errors, *shang*-related errors, and N/A-related errors. Then I used Factorial Anova to test if the effect of proficiency and NP (concrete and abstract) on errors with *li*, *shang*, and N/A would be significant by checking the produced p-values. In the meantime, I used the software Cohen's d (1988) to compute the effect size to see how significant these effects are.

5.0. RESULTS

5.1. Distribution of Errors

First, we need to know the data distribution for these errors. As we can see in Figure 1, the distribution of *li*-related errors is more likely to be normal even though the data on the right side of the bar chart is a little small. Also, it is observed from Figure 2 that the data of *shang*-related errors is nearly a normal distribution as a whole, but data on the right side of the bar chart is insufficient in terms of the number of errors (partly because the sample size is a little small). Lastly, from Figure 3 we know that the distribution of N/A-related errors is nearly a normal one, but again, the data of the right side of the bar chart is a little small.

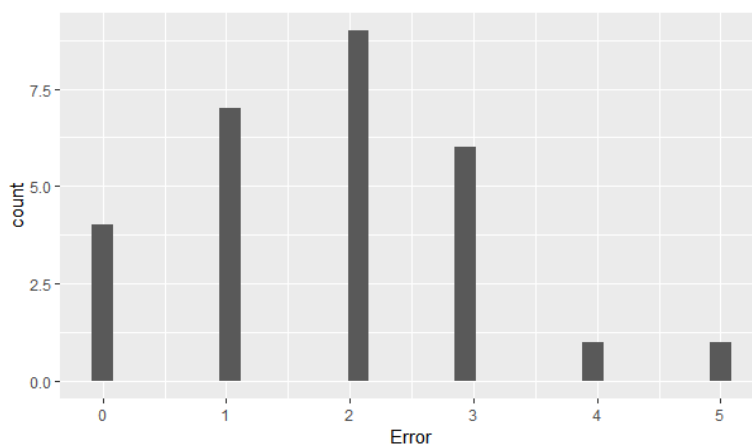


Figure 1. Distribution of *li*-related Errors

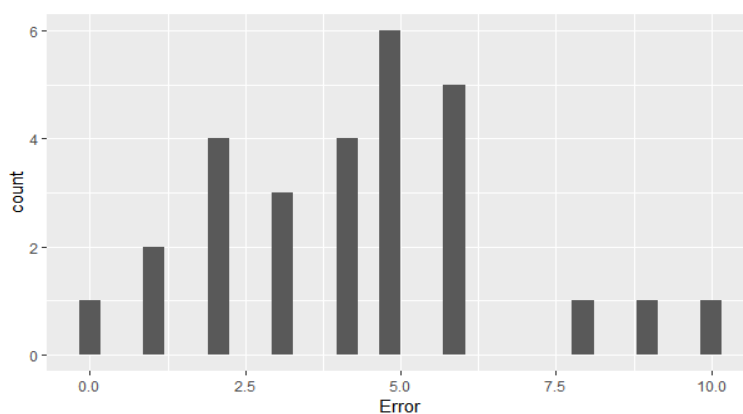


Figure 2. Distribution of *shang*-related Errors

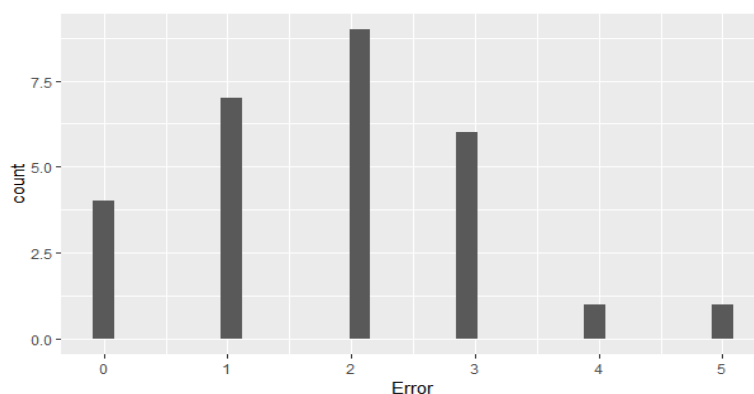


Figure 3. Distribution of N/A-related Errors

5.2. Effect of Proficiency on the Three Choices

First, the relationship between the total errors and the proficiency can be shown in Figure 4. It is clear to see that the proficiency has a negative relationship with the number of errors. Then, we see from the *li*-related errors (Figure 5) that as the proficiency of learners goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors remains the same (because the range of errors with abstract NP at the advanced level is larger than that at the intermediate level) while the number of concrete-NP errors goes down. Additionally, we know from the *shang*-related errors (Figure 6) that, as the proficiency of learners goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors goes down while the number of concrete-NP errors roughly remains the same. Lastly, it is observed from NA-related errors (Figure 7) that, as the proficiency of learners goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors remains the same while the number of concrete-NP errors goes down.

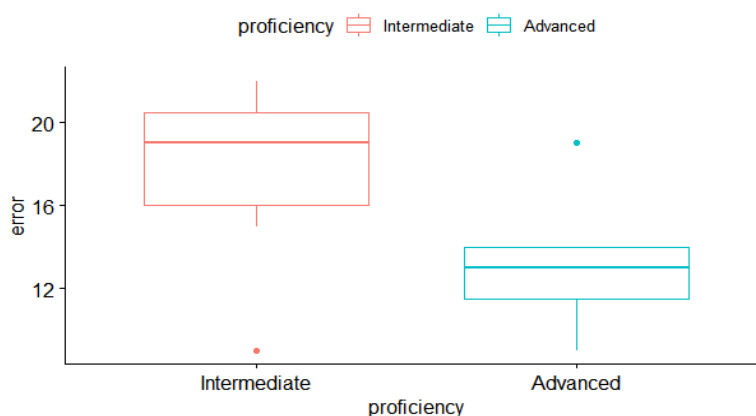


Figure 4. Relationship between Proficiency and Total Errors

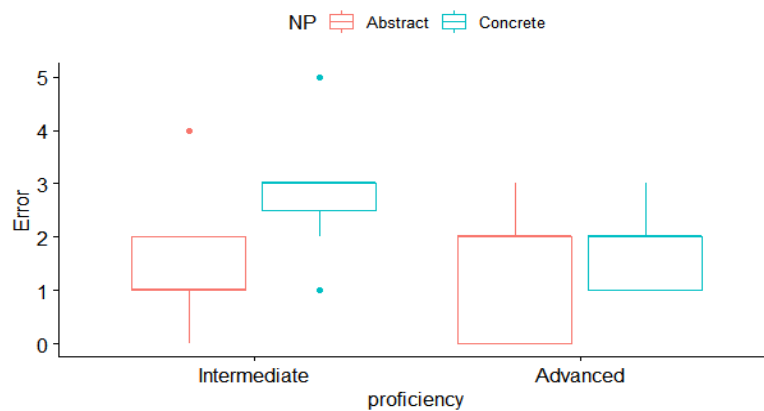
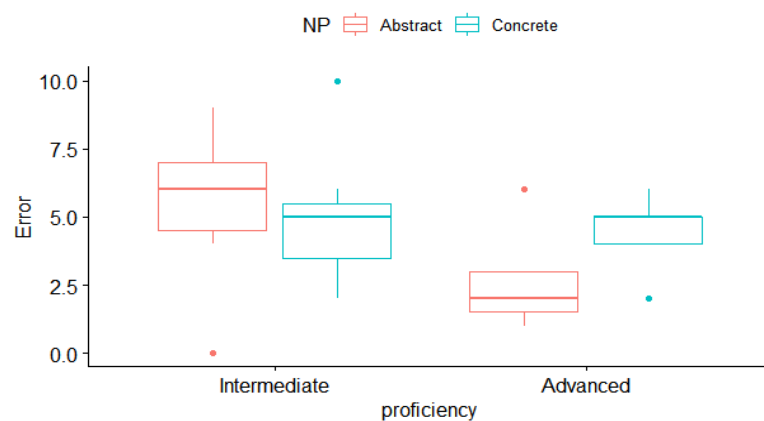
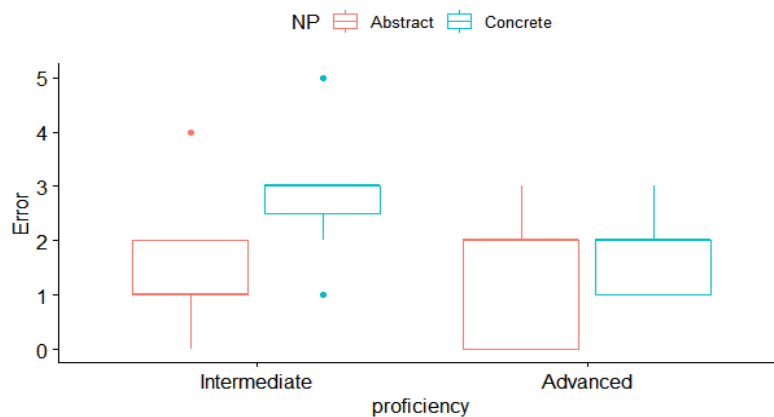
Figure 5. Relationship between Proficiency and *li*-related ErrorsFigure 6. Relationship between Proficiency and *shang*-related Errors

Figure 7. Relationship between Proficiency and N/A-related Errors

Moreover, through R analysis, we can clearly know the basic picture of the significance of relationship between proficiency and the three choices (*li*, *shang*, *N/A*), and Anova can tell us how significant these correlations are, as shown in the following tables. From Table 1 we know that the effect of proficiency on the *shang*-related errors is significant with a medium size, while the effect of NP on the *shang*-related errors is not significant with a small size. Table 2 tells us that the effect of proficiency on the *li*-related errors is not significant with a medium size, and so is the effect of NP. Table 3 informs us that the effect of proficiency on the *N/A*-related errors is not significant with a medium size, and so is the effect of NP. Furthermore, the effect of proficiency on NP is not significant in all the three tables. Lastly, with the help of Anova, we know that the effect of proficiency on all the errors is significant with a large size ($W = 9$, $p\text{-value} = 0.05448$, effect size = 1.2).

Table 1. Effect of Proficiency on *shang*-related Errors

<i>shang</i> -related Errors	Sum	Sq	F value	Pr(>F)	Effect Size
(Intercept)	46.286	1	9.3237	0.005463 **	
proficiency	28.571	1	5.7554	0.024561 *	0.79
NP	12.071	1	2.4317	0.131998	0.31
proficiency:NP	9.143	1	1.8417	0.187376	

Note. Effect size: 0.2-0.5 (small), 0.5-0.8 (medium), 0.8- (large) (Cohen, 1988)

Table 2. Effect of Proficiency on *li*-related Errors

<i>li</i> -related Errors	Sum	Sq	F value	Pr(>F)	Effect Size
(Intercept)	11.5714	1	8.8364	0.006623 **	
proficiency	0.2857	1	0.2182	0.644642	0.61
NP	0.6429	1	0.4909	0.490260	0.75
proficiency:NP	1.2857	1	0.9818	0.331636	

Table 3. Effect of Proficiency on *N/A*-related Errors

<i>N/A</i> -related Errors	Sum	Sq	F value	Pr(>F)	Effect Size
(Intercept)	11.5714	1	8.8364	0.006623 **	
proficiency	0.2857	1	0.2182	0.644642	0.61
NP	0.6429	1	0.4909	0.490260	0.75
proficiency:NP	1.2857	1	0.9818	0.331636	

5.3. Error Rate

It is also worth pointing out that the error rate for each choice could be different based on data calculation. Firstly, the total number of questions by proficiency is calculated as $48 \times 7 = 336$; the error rate of intermediate learners is shown as $123 / 336 = 36.6\%$, while the error rate of advanced learners is expressed as $92 / 336 = 27.4\%$. Secondly, the rate of *li*-related errors is calculated as $52 / 224 = 23.2\%$, the rate of *shang*-related errors is expressed as $122 / 224 = 54.5\%$, and the rate of *NA*-related errors is shown as $52 / 224 = 23.2\%$. Thirdly, the rate of NP-abstract errors is calculated as $83 / 336 = 24.7\%$, while the rate of NP-concrete errors is shown as $121 / 336 = 36.0\%$.

6.0. DISCUSSION

The distribution of errors made by American learners (intermediate to advanced) in terms of two spatial particles *li* and *shang* can be seen from different perspectives. One is to check the error rate. As we can see in 5.3, overall, the error rate of intermediate learners is 36.6% which is higher than the error rate (27.4%) of advanced learners. This naturally explains that as L2 learners' proficiency goes up, their errors can be narrowed down because learners at the advanced level can get more systematic training in terms of how to use the two particles accurately. Specifically, the rate of *li*-related errors is equal to the rate of N/A-related errors, but it is much lower than the rate of *shang*-related errors. This shows that L2 learners at different levels could easily produce *shang*-related errors. Also, this result can be verified in Xu (2018), where he points out that the high error rate for the particle *shang* is due to negative transfer from L1 English; in some cases English speakers prefer to use the preposition *in* while Chinese speakers prefer to use the particle *shang* rather than *li* to express the same idea. In this way, the result demonstrates that learners' negative transfer from L1 (esp. nonequivalent translations between L1 and L2) as a possible factor can affect learners' acquisition of the two Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the *zai*-construction. The reason is that different error rates regarding *li* and *shang* (e.g., the proportion of *shang* is much higher than that of *li*) can be clearly seen via computation.

Another is to check the error changes as the effect of proficiency works on the three choices. As for the choice *li* in 5.2, as proficiency goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors remains the same while the number of concrete-NP errors goes down. This shows that advanced L2 learners could produce less errors regarding concrete-NP when they use the particle *li*, which support Xu's (2018) conclusion that the particle *li* is not actually an obvious problem for advanced L2 learners. As for the choice N/A (not applicable), as proficiency goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors remains the same while the number of concrete-NP errors goes down. It is thus easier for advanced learners to choose the N/A-related answers when the NP is concrete in the questions. Because L2 learners should be exposed to concrete nouns (NP) first in the Chinese teaching, their understanding of concrete nouns should be better than that of abstract nouns when their levels get higher.

However, the limitation of my test design is obvious. Firstly, it is not easy to account for the fact that the rate of NP-abstract errors is lower than the rate of NP-concrete errors. I estimate that some questions concerning NP-concrete might be more difficult to do in terms of their complex structures and words, so this is one of the problems with my test design, which should be improved later to make sure every single question can maintain the same difficulty. The same goes for the choice *shang* in 5.2. We know that as proficiency goes up, the number of abstract-NP errors goes down while the number of concrete-NP errors roughly remains the same, but it is hard to decide the reason why the number of errors regarding abstract-NP is reduced while the number of errors regarding concrete-NP does not change. I consider this to be a problem of test design as well. Secondly, it is also observed from 5.1 that even though the distribution of *li*-related errors, *shang*-related errors, and N/A-related errors is more likely to be normal, the data on the right side of all the bar charts is a little small. The main reason for this is that the samples I collected are limited (only 14 participants).

The results support the usage-based point of view that learning is driven by the frequency and frequency distribution of exemplars within constructions (Ellis & Ferreira-Junior, 2009), implying that adult L2 learners first acquire the most frequent, prototypical and generic exemplar. According to the BCC corpus, the number of the pattern *zai*+NP+*shang* (457107) is more than that of the pattern *zai*+NP+*li* (171537). As mentioned before, the rate of *shang*-related errors is more than other errors like *li*-related errors and N/A-related errors in the results; this more or less reflects the fact that L2 learners cannot actually acquire the Chinese particle *shang* very well. It is hence suggested that American college learners should be first widely exposed to the particle *shang* instead of *li* at the beginning level, especially for the prototypical exemplar *zai*+NP+*shang*, which should be a main focus when teaching Chinese locative phrases in the classroom. Additionally, from previous results we clearly know that proficiency is negatively correlated to the learners' total errors, showing that the more frequently and earlier L2 learners get input from their teachers, the easier and faster they could acquire Chinese locative particles in the end.

In sum, the implication of my study is to show the order of L2 acquisition is in line with the sequence of L2 teaching. Therefore, the highly frequently misused Chinese locative particles like *shang* in the *zai*-construction (exemplar) should be taught earlier; and more exposed input can facilitate L2 learners' acquisition of this particle.

7.0. CONCLUSION

The study of two Chinese locative particles, *shang* and *li*, has long been investigated (Yoshihiko, 1992; Chen, 1995b; Chu, 2004; Ge, 2004; Liu, 2007; She, 2014; Li, 2017) from the syntactic and semantic perspectives. However, only two studies to date (Luo, 2013; Xu, 2018) have to do with L2 acquisition of these two particles, *shang* and *li*, and they mainly focus on the frequency-based comparison between English and Chinese locative particles, corpus-based errors in L2 acquisition, as well as translation testing and suggestions on L2 learning. The gap in these studies is: first, the background of their participants is not consistent (not all English native speakers) and second, they have not centered on these widely-used locative phrases *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* as the research focus.

In light of this previous research, the current study reexamines how L2 Chinese learners (American students) understand the highly used Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the commonly used phrase *zai*+NP+*shang*/*li* (*zai*-construction). To do this, I designed a multiple choice paper test to see how L1 English-L2 Chinese learners (intermediate to advanced level) perceive the two particles in the *zai*-construction. I then collected my data (errors) from 14 participants and used the statistical software R to compute the distribution of *li*-related errors, *shang*-related errors, and N/A-related errors. I also used Factorial Anova to test if the effect of proficiency and NP (concrete and abstract) on errors of *li*, *shang*, and N/A would be significant by looking at the produced p-values. Furthermore, I used the software Cohen's *d* (1988) to compute the effect size in order to know how significant these effects are.

My first research question concerns the distribution of the L2 learners' errors regarding *shang* and *li* in the *zai*-construction, my data analysis indicates that (1) intermediate learners are more likely to produce errors than advanced learners; (2) the rate of *shang*-related errors is more than other errors like *li*-related errors and N/A-related errors; and (3) the rate of NP-concrete errors is more than the rate of NP-abstract errors.

My second research question deals with how negative transfer from the L1 (esp. nonequivalent translations) as a possible factor can affect learners' acquisition of the two Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the *zai*-construction. The results of my test manifest that learners' negative transfer from the L1 (esp. nonequivalent translations between L1 and L2) can influence learners' acquisition of the two Chinese locative particles *shang* and *li* in the *zai*-construction. The evidence is that different error rates regarding *li* and *shang* (e.g., the proportion of *shang* is much higher than that of *li*) can be computed.

The results of my test basically support the usage-based point of view that learning is driven by the frequency and frequency distribution of exemplars within constructions (Ellis & Ferreira-Junior, 2009). The corpus study (see footnote 1) indicates that the number of the pattern *zai*+NP+*shang* (457107) is more than that of the pattern *zai*+NP+*li* (171537). Moreover, the results of my test show the rate of *shang*-related errors is more than other errors like *li*-related errors and N/A-related errors, revealing the fact that L2 learners cannot actually acquire the Chinese particle *shang* very well. It is therefore suggested that American adult learners should first be widely exposed to the particle *shang* instead of *li* at the beginning level, especially for the prototypical exemplar *zai*+NP+*shang*, which should be a main focus when teaching Chinese locative phrases in the classroom. Obviously, the result also shows that the proficiency is negatively correlated to the learners' total errors, showing that the more frequently and earlier L2 learners get input from their teachers, the easier and faster they could acquire Chinese locative particles. Overall, the implication of this test is to indicate that the order of L2 acquisition is associated with the sequence of L2 teaching, so the highly misused Chinese locative particles like *shang* in the *zai*-construction (exemplar) should be taught earlier; thus, more input can facilitate L2 learners' acquisition of this particle.

However, a number of limitations in this study should be considered in future research. First, it is not easy to account for the fact that the rate of NP-abstract errors is lower than the rate of NP-concrete errors; also it is difficult to decide the reason why the number of errors regarding abstract-NP is reduced while the number of errors regarding concrete-NP does not actually change. Second, as noted earlier, the data collected is limited for this is only a pilot study. Considering this, in future research I will enlarge the sample size by conducting English to Chinese translation tests or other forms which might be more reliable to examine L2 learners' errors from their natural outputs. Moreover, multiple choice as a test form might not be suitable to obtain data in terms of difficulty for each question; instead, interview as a qualitative research method can help get information about learners' feelings toward their performances. In this regard, it is better to know which type of pattern is easier for them to answer and the possible reasons for learners' errors.

Further study will focus more on the L2 acquisition of different locative particles such as *xia* 'down' and *wai* 'out' to summarize the common rules regarding how to better guide L2 learners to grasp the knowledge of locative phrases in Mandarin Chinese.

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SELF-REFERENCE PRACTICE AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION — DATA FROM INSTAGRAM

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines how a Japanese female idol rapper negotiates her identity through the use of self-reference terms. The style-shifts were analyzed using the Speaker Design in order to account for the variability within the participant. The study suggests that self-reference terms can reflect the formality of the topic and identities of the speaker. Moreover, the Speaker Design approach suggests that one linguistic resource could be employed to index different identities.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Language style reveals a speaker's identity, which is not static but rather is fluid and dynamic in nature (Dyer, 2007). Many works on language style have found that individuals style their speech and these different styles convey different social meanings (Bell, 2007). The study investigates the use of self-reference terms by a Japanese female idol rapper on Instagram. Unlike other languages such as English, Japanese has several self-reference terms, which are used differently depending on the context and the gender of the speaker (Ide, 1997). The self-reference terms in Japanese reflect not only the relationships between the individuals who are involved in the conversation (Miyazaki, 2004; Suzuki, 1973) but also the mood of the speaker (Komori, 2008). Most of the previous literature on self-reference terms were heavily based on the style shift approach of the Audience Design, which puts major focus on audience. However, this seems to pose difficulties in examining other variables such as speakers' creativity (Schilling-Estes, 2002). By adapting the Speaker Design approach, this study examines the participant's identity indexed through her language choice of self-reference terms with further attention on speakers. In addition, this study is different from previous studies in that it focuses on one participant who utilizes different reference terms towards the same audience on Instagram. Based on the Speaker Design approach, this study suggests that self-reference terms are effectively utilized in indexing the identity of the participant and also they reflect the topic of the post on social media. Moreover, as the Speaker Design holds, this study argues that a certain style-shift is not a mere mirroring of a static identity, but instead, different identities could be indexed by the same linguistic feature from one context to another.

2.0. BACKGROUND

2.1. Self-Reference Terms In Japanese

First person pronouns in Japanese are utilized differently depending on the formality and the gender of the speaker (Ide, 1997). As summarized in Table 1, the first-person masculine pronoun includes *ore*, *boku*, *jibun*, *watashi*, and *watakushi* while *atashi*, *watashi*, *atakushi*, and *watakushi* are considered as feminine (Ide, 1997). It should be noted that *watashi* and *watakushi* are shared across genders albeit the difference in formality. It should also be noted that the feminine deprecatory form is absent.

Table 1. The Summary of 1st Person Pronoun in Japanese
(adopted from Ide (1997) as cited in Miyazaki (2004))

	Masculine	Feminine
Formal	<i>watakushi</i>	<i>watakushi</i>
	<i>watashi</i>	<i>atakushi</i>
Plain	<i>boku</i>	<i>watashi</i>
		<i>atashi</i>
Deprecatory	<i>ore</i>	

However, the use of pronouns in Japanese is not straightforward as appears in the table. Satake (2005) discusses masculine word use by women in Japanese society. She reveals that masculine words such as *boku* and *ore* are employed by women. Endo (2006) argues that the crossing by the use of a masculine pronoun is a result of the gender equality movement. With reference to the findings from Kobayashi (1997), which contains only *watashi* and *watakushi* used by women in the workplace, Satake (2005) suggests that the social norm that *boku* and *ore* are masculine is rooted deeply in Japanese society, while there is evidence of the use of masculine reference terms by women.

In addition to the pronouns, some Japanese adult females utilize their first name to refer to themselves. According to Ojima (2016), boys stop using their name as they grow up while some girls continue to do so after childhood in Japanese society. Miyazawa (2015) explains that the use of first name in referring to oneself by Japanese females might be showing their childishness, by which they are claiming their cuteness. Psychologists explain the phenomenon that children start calling themselves by their names in order to identify themselves (Wallon, 1956/1983). In other words, children are able to identify themselves by calling themselves by their names, by which their guardians call them. By continuing what they used to do during childhood, some Japanese females might be projecting their cuteness.

2.2. Style Shift

The choice of self-reference terms is considered a style shift. Schilling-Estes (2002) discusses three approaches in examining style shift namely, Attention to Speech (Labov, 1972), Audience Design (Bell, 1984), and Speaker Design (Coupland, 2001). Attention to Speech suggests that the style shift is a consequence of the difference in the amount of attention the speakers pay to their utterances. However, there is a criticism about difficulties to quantify the attention (Bell, 1984), and its unidimensionality prevents us from seeing other variables that might come into play. The Audience Design, on the other hand, argues that the style shift is a result of the speaker's response to the audience. This approach has its roots in Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland, 1975), which maintains that speakers adjust their speech toward their addressees' speech. Nevertheless, the theory has been criticized that it is ignoring the creativity of the speakers themselves (Schilling-Estes, 2002). Audience Design ascribes the style shift to the audience and topic with no consideration about the speaker themselves. Unlike the two aforementioned approaches, the Speaker Design views a style shift not only as a response phenomenon but also as a reflection of speaker's identity (Coupland, 2001). Thus, from the perspective of the Speaker Design, the present study examines identity construction via a shift in using self-reference terms.

2.3. Previous Studies

Previous studies which examined the use of self-reference terms in Japanese utilize a variety of methods including questionnaire surveys, ethnographic observation, and interviews. There is mounting evidence from the questionnaire surveys showing that Japanese people use different terms depending on the formality of the context and differences there are in gender (Miyazawa, 2015; Nishikawa, 2011; Saegusa, 2009). Those studies find that *watashi* is the most frequently used term by female college students. Moreover, some female college students also report that they refer to themselves by their names when they are communicating with their parents or friends. However, it should be noted that those questionnaire studies heavily depend on the assumption that individuals always use the same reference terms to a specific audience group. The findings from the questionnaire survey are also reported in Miyazaki (2004) and SturtzSreetharan (2006), who utilized different approaches.

Miyazaki (2004) employed ethnographic observation and interviews to investigate the use of first-person pronouns by junior-high school students. She found that the plain masculine term, *boku*, is less masculine, strong, and powerful than the deprecatory form of *ore*, and hence, the use of *boku* is denigrated. Moreover, the study also suggests that *ore* sounds too cool and could be perceived as arrogant, because of which some boys avoid using it. Miyazaki mentions a student named Taku, who does not have power at school. Taku uses *boku*, a less masculine and cooler pronoun when talking to powerful peers, while he uses a cooler and more masculine term, *ore*, when talking to his friend, Hide, who he thought to be equal to him. Thus, Miyazaki suggests that the power dynamics in a classroom have an impact on the language choice by the students. She also finds that many girls employ masculine terms, *boku* or *ore*, and *uchi*, the last of which is a relatively new term which originally means “home.” She suggests that a lot of girls are comfortable with using *uchi*, instead of *watashi* or *atashi*, since the latter two sound too formal and too feminine. Moreover, the study reveals that the use of *boku* by a female student generally does not leave a negative impression while *ore* could be perceived in a variety of ways, such as crazy or problematic.

SturtzSreetharan (2006) examines the use of the first-person pronoun together with sentence-final particles in a conversation among male businesspersons who speak a Western dialect of Japanese. She analyzes natural occurring conversations which involved participants from different age groups and working backgrounds. In the study, a younger participant, Okumoto, refers to himself using *boku* to Hamada, who is older and has more experience. However, since Hamada is close to Okumoto, he calls Okumoto *Oku-chan*. *Chan* is a diminutive form of *san*, which is originally used to address children, intimate friends, or girls/women (Niyekawa, 1991). Thus, by calling Okumoto *Oku-chan*, Hamada shows his position that he is older and more experienced than Okumoto. SturtzSreetharan argues that *boku* is used to index familiarity with and subordination to Hamada. Thus, the study demonstrates that the response to the interlocutor is a designed result of the language choice which is in accordance with the social relationships between the talkers.

There are limited numbers of studies which examine variables other than the interlocutor’s interpersonal and social relationship in studying the style shift of self-reference. Komori (2008) views the shift as the Speaker Design and investigates a family conversation of over 41 hours. She identifies three variables affecting the shift, namely topics, overhearer, and the mood of a speaker. In the data, an elderly man utilizes six self-reference terms, which are *watashi*, *washi*, *boku*, *ore*, *oisan*, and *oira*. He uses *washi* when the topic is on his close relatives or friends, or something retrospective (something happened in the past). In another excerpt, he uses *boku* and *ore* when conveying his opinion. Thus, Komori (2008) suggests that the style shifts occur as a consequence of variabilities in speakers and topics.

3.0. THE DATA & DATA ANALYSIS

The data were obtained from Instagram. Instagram is a publicly accessible platform, where users can post a picture with or without text. Viewers are able to like and leave a comment on a post as they wish. For research purposes, Instagram has its advantage in multimodality, popularity, and longitudinal data. Since Instagram requires a

picture, it offers multimodal data, which makes it possible to examine the language practice in relation to a picture. In addition, Instagram is becoming more and more popular, especially among teenage girls in Japan. According to JustSystems (2019), which offers a monthly report on the use of social media and so forth, over 30 percent out of the 1100 respondents answered that they used Instagram. Teenagers aged from 15 to 19 seem to enjoy Instagram more than any other age group. The proportion of the teenager respondents who reported using Instagram is over 50 percent nearly every month, fluctuating between 47 percent and 63 percent. Respondents in their 20's also often utilize Instagram, but the percentage is smaller than that of teenagers (from 36 percent to 47 percent). In addition, the report also reveals that Japanese female teenagers use Instagram more than male teenagers. Furthermore, Instagram provides long-term data, which allows us to examine a large amount of data, which makes visible changes in practice over time. The aforementioned advantages, i.e., multimodality, popularity, and the longitudinal feature of Instagram, allow us to conduct the analysis to which we soon will turn.

The participant is a female idol rapper, Ami (pseudonym), who was in her early 20's and had 191,000 followers at the time of the data collection. The procedure of the data collection includes identifying posts with self-references and then screen capturing such posts. The data were collected from February 2018 to March 2019. Six examples will be presented below with pictures, text (presented by romaji), dates, number of likes received, and English gloss and translation.

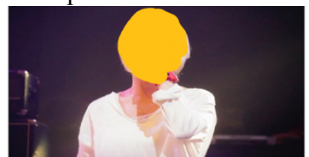
(1) Example 1: February 2017 (696 likes)



boku no uta o kimi no mimimoto ni todokeru yo ima
 1SG.M GEN song OBG you GEN ear to deliver PP now
 ‘Now, I am delivering my song to you (your ears).’

In Example 1, Ami posts a picture in which she, the person in the middle, is doing a live performance in front of an audience. Thus, she is projecting herself as a rapper through the picture in this post. Although there are more and more female hip-hop artists, hip-hop has a longstanding stereotype of masculinity. Moreover, in the picture, she is putting her leg on a loudspeaker, which is not a behavior traditional Japanese women are expected to have. Thus, the picture does not seem to index her femininity, but rather, it signifies her masculinity being a rapper. In the text, she refers to herself with *boku*, which is considered to be masculine (Ide, 1997). In addition, she mentions her songs and makes it clear her role as a singer in the text by saying that “I am delivering my song to you”. Hence, it seems that she is indexing her identity as a rapper by posting the picture and reinforcing it by referring to herself with a masculine reference term, *boku*, and projecting herself as a rapper who is delivering her song to her audiences.

(2) Example 2: November 2016 (658 likes)



warito saikin tuitta- tokade boku nokoto shitte kureta hito ni
 Relatively recently Twitter or something 1SG.M about know give:PST people by

iwaregachi nano ga koe ga souzousiteta noto chigau, desune
 be often said that TOP voice SUB imagine:PST from different COP:PP

‘Relatively recently, people who got to know me via like Twitter tell me that my voice is different from their expectation.’

boku rappu yatterun desuyo
 1SG.M rap doing COP: PP

‘I am a rapper.’

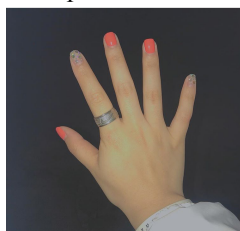
koe hikui shi aidorurappu toiu yoriha warito
 voice low and idol rap say than more or less

dosunokiita koe dashimasu tamani
 deep and low voice produce.POL sometimes

‘My voice is low, and I sometimes produce kind of a deep and low voice rather than an idol rap.’

In Example 2, Ami presents another picture, in which she is singing again. As in Example 1, she is showing herself as a rapper in the post. She overtly reveals her identity as a rapper in the text as well. The topic of the post is her voice, which supposedly does not meet the expectations from her fans who knew her through social media, such as Twitter. She mentions that her low voice is different from what people expect idol singers to have. The excuse she writes is that she is a rapper and thus has a low voice. It is further argued that she sometimes produces a *dosunokiita* (deep and low) voice instead of what idols would do, which she seems to mean a cute voice. In Japanese society, it is desirable for women to have a higher pitched voice (Van Bezooijen, 1995). Thus, Ami is putting aside her femininity, and claiming her identity as a rapper, who does not have a high-pitched but a low voice, which is unlikely for an idol to have. The use of the self-reference term *boku* also reveals that she is not projecting her femininity, but her masculinity. This post discloses the expectation for girls to look and sound cute in Japanese society, and what Ami actually has is the opposite of the stereotypes. In line with Example 1, the post reveals her masculinity, which is indexed both by pictures and the self-reference term.

(3) Example 3: March 2018 (688 likes)



Ami no te ha mochihada rashii desu
 SN GEN hand SUB smooth skin seem COP

‘People say that my hands are smooth.’

In Example 3, Ami reveals a picture of her hand with her nails polished with a pink and glitter finish. Coloring nails is typically deemed as feminine. Thus, unlike the previous examples, she is showing her femininity via the picture. In the text, she mentions her skin, which is smooth. As in Miller (2006), smooth skin is a requirement for acceptable beauty in Japanese society. Hence, the picture and the text disclose her femininity. In terms of the reference term, she uses her first name, Ami. As discussed earlier, the use of a first name for self-reference is used by only children and some adult women. Miyazawa (2015) suggests that the use of name for self-

reference might reveal childishness and cuteness of the speaker. In this post, she employs her first name to refer to herself, through which she might want to show her cuteness and femininity.

(4) Example 4: January 2018 (1494 likes)



#seijinshiki

The coming of age ceremony

#sejinnohi

The day of the coming of age ceremony

#seijinshikihea

Hair style for the coming of age ceremony

Seijinshiki *deshita !*
the coming of age ceremony COP:PST
‘I had the coming-of-age ceremony.’

#dorompa

Dorompa (the name of the mascot besides her)

Watashi no shi niha dorompa ga kitekuretan
1SG.F GEN city TOP dorompa SUB come.give:PST:PP
‘Dorompa came to celebrate with us.’

In Example 4, Ami shows pictures in which she is wearing a Japanese traditional clothing, *furisode*. The pictures are taken at a coming-of-age ceremony. The coming-of-age ceremony is an important event for youngsters to celebrate their accomplishment of becoming adults. The majority of women wear *furisode* (i.e., a type of kimono) while men wear *hakama*, a traditional and formal Japanese cloth for men or suit and tie. In the ceremony, important figures such as a governor would deliver a speech. Thus, it is a relatively formal event. In the text, Ami writes that she had the ceremony and *dorompa* which is a character of FC (football club) Tokyo (professional soccer club) came to celebrate. Ami uses the first-person pronoun *watashi*, which is a plain pronoun for women according to Ide (1997). However, Miyazawa (2015) and Nishikawa (2011) suggest that *watashi* is used to talk to someone unfamiliar or with a higher social status, such as teachers. In addition, Kobayashi (1997) reports that *watashi* is used very often in the workplace. Thus, it seems that the plain form of the pronoun, *watashi*, contains some formality. The topic of the post, which is indexed by both the pictures and the text, together with the use of *watashi* successfully inform her followers that she recognizes the formality of the coming-of-age ceremony. Hence, the topic of the post influences the term she utilizes.

(5) Example 5: March 2019 (2810 likes)



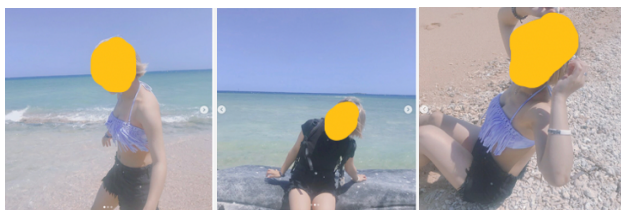
Tamani ha konna boku mone un
Sometimes TOP like this 1SG.M as well yes
‘Sometimes, me like this (is good). Yes.’

In Example 5, Ami presents two pictures with different face angles, which seem to be taken by herself. In the pictures, she is wearing a white lace shirt and putting her left hand on her cheek. In the text, she mentions the

current self with the comparison with the ordinary self, which is made obvious by the word ‘sometimes’. The post seems to be disclosing her feminine identity. Clothes with lace is very feminine, which is not a typical type of clothes she usually wears in other posts. Moreover, the poses she takes is very common among Japanese women to make a face look slimmer (Japan Girls Style, 2020), which is one of the desirable characteristics for women in Japan (Japan Info, 2016). The self-reference term she uses, however, is the masculine pronoun *boku*, which seems to contradict with what is indexed via the pictures. Unlike the earlier examples, the relationships between the language practice and the visuals do not seem to be aligned with each other.

There are two possible explanations for this paradox. The first is that Ami’s use of the masculine pronoun, *boku* is a default choice for her. It is possible that the continuity of the use of *boku* is fossilized and becomes her habit. Thus, she refers to herself with the term *boku* no matter when and what the topic is. In that sense, her use of *boku* loses the indexicality of masculinity. Hence, she is just indexing her cuteness by the pictures on Instagram without any complex interplay with the reference term. Another hypothesis is that she is employing the masculine term in order to counter-reinforce her femininity. In other words, by presenting two contradictory identities and creating a distance between them, she successfully makes her femininity stand out. Thus, the indexical meaning of *boku* is expanded from just disclosing the masculinity to further strengthening the opposite identity, which is femininity. This perspective is in line with the Speaker Design, which argues that “the linguistic features and patterns speakers use are not mere reflection of static identity” (Schilling-Estes, 2002, p. 389). Hence, Ami’s use of the masculine term is not always a reflection of her masculinity, but it might index her feminine identity. This phenomenon is observed in the following example as well.

(6) Example 6: September 2018 (2839 likes)



Boku ni mata natsu ga kaette kita
 1SG.M to again summer SUB get back come:PST
 ‘Again, summer got back to me.’

In Example 6, Ami shows three pictures taken on the beach. In two of the pictures, she is wearing a type of bikini. It goes without saying that those two pictures denote her femininity, not her masculine identity. She refers to herself with a masculine pronoun *boku* again. Similar to Example 5, the use of the pronoun and the pictures do not index consistent gender identity. While the pronoun is masculine, the pictures index her femininity. As discussed earlier, the contradiction seems to bring out complicated identity construction, in which she is claiming her femininity, or cuteness by employing the opposing idea of masculinity.

4.0. DISCUSSION

The study examined the use of self-reference terms by a female idol rapper on Instagram. Besides the texts, the pictures provide us an additional resource to investigate identity construction through the language practice. The data show a variety of self-reference terms employed by one woman towards her followers on social media platform, which is seemingly the same audience. The terms used include *watashi*, *boku*, and her first name. The study demonstrates that these self-reference terms are the reflection of the topic and speaker’s identity, not the sole response to the audience.

The identity of Ami is observed via the use of reference terms, such as *boku* and her first name. A masculine pronoun *boku* is employed in order to express her rapper's identity, or masculine identity in Examples 1 and 2 while she reveals her feminine identity by referring to herself with her first name in Example 3. Thus, in line with Miyazaki (2004), this study suggests that speaker's gender identity is reflected via the use of self-reference terms. In Miyazaki's (2004) study, Taku, a socially and physically powerless boy, uses *ore*, the most masculine term when facing Hide, who is also powerless. While Taku is not able to use *ore* in front of the strong boys, he is able to do so when conversing with Hide to show his masculinity.

The formality of topic is also found to be related to the choice of self-reference terms. In Example 4, *watashi* is utilized when Ami is mentioning something formal. Komori (2008) also observes a case where an elderly man employs *washi* when he is talking about his relatives or something retrospective. In line with the previous studies, the present study suggests that the self-reference terms could vary based on the topic of the speech. The present study further argues that the topic of the speech could reflect the formality of the topic.

Unlike the first four examples, Examples 5 and 6 reveal that the language choice and the speaker's identity are not in a straightforward relationship. As the Speaker Design argues, a particular language practice is not a mere reflection of a static identity (Schilling-Estes, 2002). In Examples 5 and 6, the gender identities indexed by the pictures and the self-reference terms contradict each other. I argue that Ami's use of a masculine self-reference term, *boku*, in these posts are disclosing her femininity, or identity as an idol. By employing the masculine term, Ami attempts to highlight her femininity in the pictures.

It should be questioned why Ami does not employ *ore* instead of *boku* in order to index her masculinity in Examples 1 and 2. As far as the author is aware, she has never referred to herself with *ore*. According to Table 1, *boku* is the plain form while *ore* is the deprecatory form of a masculine pronoun. However, it seems that the differences between these two forms lie beyond the unequally indexed formality levels. According to Miyazaki (2004), *ore* is more masculine than *boku*. Moreover, Miyazaki further suggests that when girls refer to themselves with *boku*, it generally does not leave a negative impression. A boy from Miyazaki's (2004) study reveals that he thought that girls who used *ore* are crazy. Thus, by avoiding the most masculine term, *ore*, and adopting the less masculine term, *boku*, Ami seems to negotiate her identity as both being a rapper and an idol.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This study examined varieties of self-reference terms employed by a Japanese female idol rapper. The Speaker Design approach allowed us to investigate the creativity of the speaker. The study argues that the style shift of self-reference terms could be a reflection of topics and identities of the speaker. In addition, the study also suggests that a linguistic resource is not always employed in order to index the same identity (Schilling-Estes, 2002), which was evidenced by the use of *boku* in Examples 5 and 6. The study found that linguistic features and speaker identity are not in a fixed relationship, but rather in a variable relationship.

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APPENDIX

Glossing

1SG.F: First person singular feminine

1SG.M: First person singular masculine

COP: Copula

GEN: Genitive

OBJ: Object marker

POL: Polite suffix

PP: Pragmatic particle

PST: Past tense

Q : Question

SN: Self-naming

SUB: Subject marker

TOP: Topic marker

ANIMATED HA‘I MO‘OLELO ‘ŌIWI: PLACE-BASED PEDAGOGY IN PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

Place-based pedagogy is an approach to creating curricula that challenges current theories and practices that are often hegemonic and colonial. For Hawaiians, storytelling is the primary means of transmitting knowledge, and place-based pedagogy embraces this tradition. We are creating a series of short animated films that retell mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi ‘traditional Hawaiian stories’ that are place-based teaching materials for Hawaiian language reclamation. The short films include aspects of the local geography, material culture, value systems, alternative literacies, and worldview inherent in the original mo‘olelo. We will outline our creation process, as well as our plan to share them in schools and the community.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ‘Hawaiian language’ revitalization movement has made significant progress toward creating speakers, establishing an immersion education system, and developing teaching materials. Encouraged by the extensive textual and oral documentation of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by native speakers, the movement has also engendered a considerable amount of pedagogy based on mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi ‘traditional Hawaiian stories’. Some of these mo‘olelo are rendered as short animated films, such as those by Kamehameha Publishing and ‘ŌiwiTV, to be used in the classroom as native teaching aids that converge with various models premised on an Indigenous education.

This paper highlights some of the animations we are creating and asserts that these stories are excellent for language revitalization and reclamation efforts due to their inherent inclusion of cultural aspects and assertions of Indigeneity that define the group. Such cultural aspects encoded in the mo‘olelo include local geography, material culture, value systems, alternative literacies, cosmogony, and worldview. Collectively, these aspects represent a holistic assertion of Indigeneity that reinforces the group identity alongside language reclamation. In this paper, we briefly explain the history of language shift and reclamation in Hawai‘i, justify the importance of mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi in developing place-based pedagogy, and summarize our process of selecting and animating stories.

2.0. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN HAWAI‘I

Initial contact with English in Hawai‘i happened in 1778, upon the first documented arrival of foreigners to the archipelago. In spite of their attraction to the Western material culture introduced on the Hawaiian shores by Captain Cook and his crew (guns, mirrors, ships, etc.), Hawaiians of the time were steadfast in their native tongue and staved off language shift temporarily. Simultaneously, Kamehameha I was succeeding in his conquest, expanding his dominion across the island chain. By 1810, through treaty, Kamehameha I united the entire archipelago under his rule, creating a united nation whose national language was ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Despite a mounting presence of foreign merchants and other maritime ventures, the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom was poised and ready for self-governance. The death of Kamehameha I in 1819 launched a grieving nation into a period of social instability, and in the following year, the first cohort of missionaries was sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Hawai‘i. The missionaries brought literacy and Christianity with them, and several of the Hawaiian chiefs and chiefesses saw the value of both. Enthused by the advent of this new technology, they actively pursued literacy, and shortly after taught it to the nation across the archipelago (Nogelmeier, 2010). Importantly, nationwide literacy was achieved entirely in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

In 1893, a band of American businessmen launched an overthrow backed by the U.S. military whose warships were docked in Hawaiian harbors, unseating Queen Lili‘uokalani from her throne and establishing themselves as the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1896, English replaced ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as the official language of all public education in Hawai‘i by law, stigmatizing the native tongue and resulting in the social oppression of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Additionally, following the overthrow, while Queen Lili‘uokalani was awaiting the restoration of her sovereign nation, Hawai‘i was unlawfully annexed by the United States in 1898, despite failing to secure two thirds of support by the US Senate. The native language of the land weakened due to many factors, namely population loss, the erosion of Hawai‘i’s political autonomy, cultural displacement, and the physical dispossession of native land (Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

3.0. HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

In the 1970s, Hawaiian music, lore, arts, language, and identity were reinvigorated en masse across the archipelago, a movement that became known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. The mobilization of Hawaiians and locals alike boosted pride among the people in a movement characterized by resistance to American hegemony and military occupation, self-determination under the recognition of the overthrow of 1893 and ensuing annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a territory of the United States of America in 1898, and the highly-contested admission of Hawai‘i to the Union in 1959. The Hawaiian Renaissance exposed ideologies and sentiments that “enough was enough”, articulated loudly and clearly that Hawaiians were (and are) still here, in spite of the myriad struggles to survive and thrive in Hawaiian ancestral homelands.

The success of the Hawaiian Renaissance gave momentum to Hawaiian language immersion education programs initiated in the early 1980s. The legislation of the 1978 Constitutional Convention declared ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a co-official language of Hawai‘i, further supporting efforts to reclaim Hawaiian ways of being. In 1984, the first Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language immersion preschool was established with the single mission statement: E ola ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ‘Let the Hawaiian Language live.’ Later, in 1987, primary education in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was made possible through the establishment of Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, which was established under the Department of Education, and later became independent in 1994. Since then, the school has expanded to serve grades K-12, and several other immersion schools have been established throughout the islands (Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). Hawaiian language degrees are offered at all of the four-year university campuses within the University of Hawai‘i system up to the Master’s level, and a PhD program in Hawaiian and Indigenous Language and Culture Revitalization is offered at University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. Many of these schools embrace Indigenous education and place-based pedagogy because they converge with ideas such as aloha ‘āina ‘love for the land’ and mālama ‘āina ‘caring for the land’ that surfaced during the Hawaiian Renaissance.

4.0. PLACE-BASED PEDAGOGY

Our project of creating animated films prioritizes place-based pedagogy. This approach to creating curricula focuses on important cultural aspects embedded within the mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi, allowing audiences to identify more closely with the story. This theoretical framework has gradually expanded, coinciding with the recent movement to establish charter schools in Hawai‘i that utilize place-based and project-based pedagogical approaches.

One charter school in Makiki, Honolulu, called Hālau Kū Māna, embraced a similar framework from the onset of its inception, recognizing the value of such methods in their support of a more autonomous and self-determined learner, culturally-grounded in his or her own education:

[Hālau Kū Māna] founders and early teaching staff used the limited autonomy of the charter school model to envision and develop a curriculum that centered place-based and project-based

pedagogical approaches and that made Indigenous Hawaiian cultural knowledges the foundation for interdisciplinary and cross-cultural inquiry. (Goodyear-Kaopua, 2013).

Goodyear-Kaopua, an educator and founding member of Hālau Kū Māna, recognizes the benefits of these pedagogical approaches because a student's ability to recognize the cultural aspects embedded in the mo'olelo could boost his or her personal interest and attention to the lessons. Importantly place-based pedagogy favors the oral traditions of the Hawaiian people. This pedagogical approach augments a student's ability to relate to place, establishing ties among the people of that place, as well as connecting people to the land, to its geography, history, lore, and its place names.

Harwood (1976) argues for the importance of local and Indigenous perspectives on geography, the place names they assign, and that group's ontological and experiential methods of locating themselves on the land. This suggests that there are two ways to organize events; literate societies tend to organize events in a chronological approach, whereas oral societies focus on organizing events spatially, weaving their stories into the land. Place names are one way that oral societies recall important historical events, ecological knowledge, philosophies, etc. (Cruikshank, 1990). Ethnographers also argue for the importance of endonyms, or traditional place names usually given by the Indigenous group of that region. Cruikshank (1990) asserts that place names are mnemonic and persistent, they provide a unique way of encoding information, describe a rich "mythscape"² (referring to the inseparable links between cosmogony, origin, and landscape), and indicate traditional and Indigenous land use.

One example of a Hawaiian place name that aligns precisely with Cruikshank's descriptions is the endonym of a traditionally-built and managed fishpond in Maunalua, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu. Although the fishpond was dredged in the 1960s and repurposed as a small boat harbor and marina in a region paved over and renamed (now bearing the exonym "Hawaii Kai") its traditional name Keahupuaomaunalua offers deep insight into the area's natural resources and ecology. Literally meaning "Maunalua's shrine of young mullet", the name encodes not just the type of fish found in the area, but also their size, as pua 'young mullet' only describes that species of fish when they are young spawn. It is in this fishpond where the young mullet were raised until adult size for consumption, and the endonym describes the area's aquacultural value. There are thousands of place names in Hawai'i that exemplify such cultural importance, as is the case with many indigenous place names.

In an oral culture such as Hawaiian, the expansive repertoire of mo'olelo 'ōiwi is undoubtedly rich with place names, mapping any particular area's ecology and history onto its topographical features rather than onto chronological timeline, fashioning an entire Hawaiian universe into cognitive markers and dividing the space into recognizable units for its inhabitants (Zamora & Rosaldo, 1980:48). Cajete (1994:120) supports these notions, asserting that "[r]elating the stories associated with a particular geographic place is a way to begin developing a cognitive map of that place and of its concentric rings of interrelationship." These stories enrich the "mythscape" of a particular region, imbuing the area with a unique, poetic sense of place, offering inhabitants alternative perspectives on stewardship and land use. Furthermore, a rich and vibrant mythscape known by local residents of a particular 'āina 'land' provides alternative frameworks of relating people to place in a way that challenges colonial and commercial logics. Place-based pedagogy promotes the recognition and utilization of indigenous place names and provides another dimension to the language reclamation process.

5.0. WHY STORIES?

Our approach to indigenous education, and more specifically place-based pedagogy, embraces mo'olelo 'ōiwi as a way to connect students to and learn from the history and heritage of the places they call home, the lands from which they originate, and the spaces they know intimately as locals born and raised in Hawai'i (Jacob, Chang, and Porter, 2015). These methods of creating pedagogy allow for indigenous education to continue far beyond the classroom, into the environments where students live, play, and share experiences on the land. In this way, a holistic

application of indigenous education and knowledge is made possible by using traditional stories to contextualize information in a meaningful way (Cajete, 1994). For many indigenous groups, meaning is found in the 'āina which represents an ancestral, animate entity from whom indigenous groups claim genealogical descent, and retelling mo'olelo as an approach to language learning further maintains the relationships between people and place.

The construction and reification of these interpersonal, familial, and genealogical relationships through an indigenous education based in story facilitates not only the reclamation of indigenous heritages and ways of being, but also creates a space for healing historical trauma in the aftershock of colonialism and conquest of the indigenous world. Archibald (2008:12) asserts that "Stories have the power to make our hearts, minds, bodies, and spirits work together. When we lose a part of ourselves, we lose balance and harmony, and we may feel like Coyote with the mismatched eyes. Only when our hearts, minds, bodies, and spirits work together do we truly have Indigenous education." Furthermore, the utilization of mo'olelo 'ōiwi in indigenous education presents the opportunity to celebrate and extol the indigenous group's own achievements vis-à-vis local technology and material culture.

For these reasons, we chose Ka Mo'olelo no ka He'e a me ka 'Iole 'The Story of the Squid and the Rat' for our first animated story, which is a popular story used in 'ōlelo Hawai'i educational settings throughout the islands. This mo'olelo 'ōiwi, which takes place between Mokoli'i, Kualoa, and Kāne'ohe on the Ko'olaupoko side of the island of O'ahu, includes descriptions of indigenous technology, such as a wa'a 'canoe' upon which 'Iole 'Rat' paddles from place to place. This is particularly important given the symbolism of a wa'a in the Hawaiian universe, and Hawai'inuiākea 'Polynesia' at large.

For Pacific peoples, the wa'a is a symbol for epic, land-seeking, island-securing voyages across great oceans during an age prior to the introduction of Western way-finding instruments. In light of Hōkūle'a's recent Mālama Honua global circumnavigation and the reclamation of traditional navigation epistemologies by Hawaiians and other Pacific peoples (Low, 2013), which has renewed cultural pride and solidarity among its people, the visibility of a wa'a in this story nods to the way-finding traditions of the Pacific peoples while deepening one's connection to and understanding of such cultural innovations.

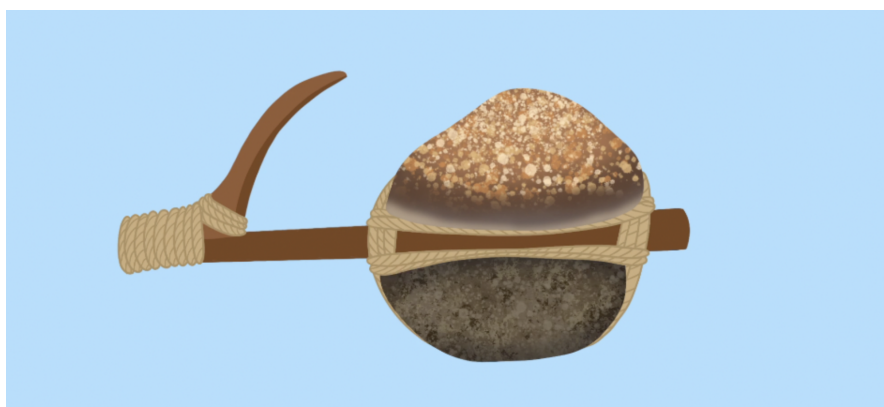


Figure 1: Image of Lūhe'e from He'e me 'Iole Animation.

Another celebration of indigenous ingenuity found in this mo'olelo is the lūhe'e 'a lure for octopus or squid'. In the mo'olelo, He'e 'Squid' shows kindness to 'Iole, who later disrespects He'e, justifying a tension between the two creatures. The story concludes by giving contemporary audiences the reason for the existence of the lūhe'e: anytime He'e sees a lūhe'e, He'e mistakes the lūhe'e for 'Iole, and He'e, seeking vengeance, grabs the

lūhe'e (Figure 1, pictured above). This technology continues to be utilized by Hawaiians and other Pacific peoples to catch he'e today.

Like most mo'olelo 'ōiwi, even beyond the Hawaiian repository, the He'e & 'Iole story teaches morality and virtue. While most of the value systems encoded and prescribed in a majority of the world's banks of traditional stories can be distilled down to a certain degree of uniformity, it is important to attend to the ways in which these universal values are interpreted in local contexts, paradigms, and worldviews. In the He'e & 'Iole story, children and adults alike are awakened to at least two cultural norms. The first is that given the sacrifice He'e made during their interaction, as one's access in contemporary times to a natural resource, such as he'e, should not be taken for granted. Should one fall short of appreciating the provision and availability of this resource, they are warned (by the second moral of this mo'olelo) of an ill fate that may befall them. In these ways, then, universal values are instilled in audiences via a localized and indigenous reiteration of those values to which recipients of indigenous education will relate more readily. Such stories allow these morals and values to be communicated most richly in the language of the community, providing a culturally-appropriate engaging scenario for language exposure, maximizing a learner's ability to reclaim the ancestral knowledge through language learning.

6.0. PROCESS OF CREATING ANIMATIONS

In this section, we describe the process we used to select the mo'olelo 'ōiwi and create the animated short film. We chose He'e & 'Iole because it is set in easily recognizable locations in Hawai'i (Kualoa, Mokoli'i, and Kāne'ohe), highlights material culture and indigenous technology (lūhe'e and wa'a), has characters and actions that could easily be depicted, and is particularly entertaining to children. Additionally, the mo'olelo is published in Pukui, Green, and Zane's (1995) book *He Mau Ka'ao Hawai'i* and required little to no manipulation to become a script.

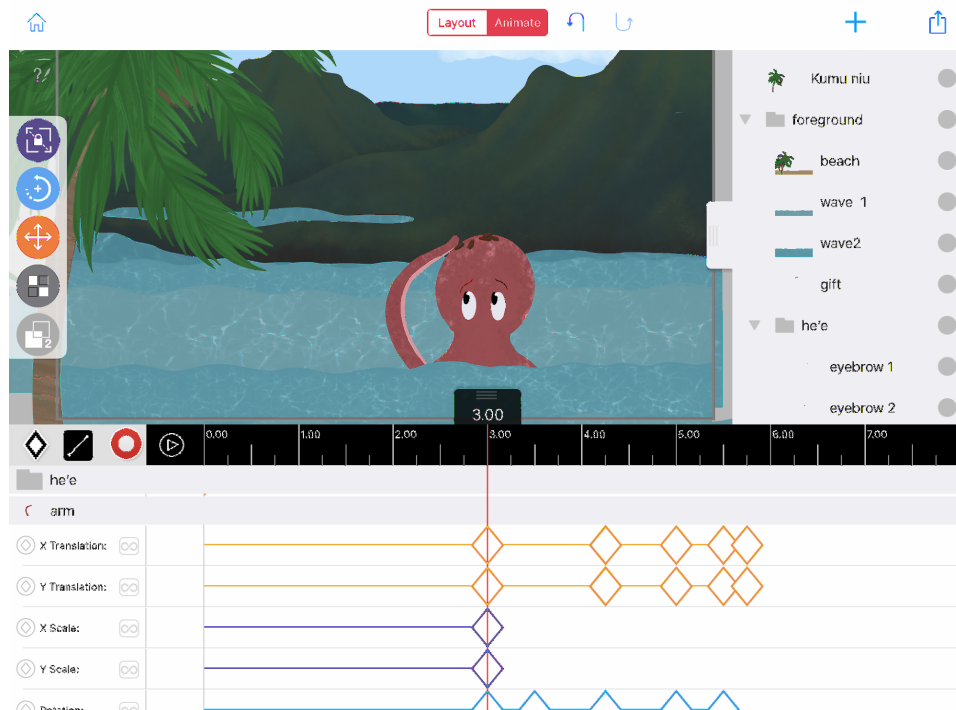


Figure 2: Screenshot of Animation of a Scene Using Core Animator.

After we decided on the mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi, we began the process of animation and audio recording. The animation process began with storyboarding to design the characters, the environment, and objects that needed to be present throughout the story. Once we had the broad visual layouts constructed, each character and piece of scenery was broken out into individual elements that would be needed as individual parts for manipulation during animation. Subsequently, illustration of each element was drawn using the application Procreate on an iPad Pro and saved as PNG files with transparent backgrounds. Animation was also done using the iPad Pro and the Core Animator application by manipulating elements in the background, midground, and foreground for visual interest and to create a dynamic final animation.

Three highly proficient second language speakers, who all teach ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, graciously volunteered their time to voice the two characters and provide narration of the mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi. To ensure the best possible audio quality, the audio was recorded using a Zoom H6 recorder with a Sony ECM-44 omni-directional lavalier microphone inside a soundbooth. Audio was then cleaned up and parsed using Audacity, an open source audio-editing software. Each character’s dialogue and chunks of the narration were parsed to facilitate time-alignment with individual scenes. Finally, audio and animation were combined using iMovie, a video-editing software for Mac devices. Each audio clip was combined with its matching animated scene and a background track, which was an open source recording of waves lapping onshore, and the project was exported as a .MOV file. HandBrake, a video conversion software, was used to convert the file into an .MP4, which was later uploaded online to maximize accessibility.

7.0. BROADER IMPACTS AND FUTURE STEPS

As we have presented in this paper, mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi contain important cultural aspects that we argue augment the language reclamation process by mapping the events of the story in a culturally-appropriate and identifiable context. These mo‘olelo create and sustain intimate relationships of various sorts while deepening one’s connection to the self, to one’s community, and to one’s place of residence. Reviving and retelling these mo‘olelo enriches the mythscape of that place, deepens one’s sense of stewardship to it, infuses meaning into it, and instills pride within its inhabitants.

To continue our animation project, we have lined up several other mo‘olelo ‘ōiwi to be adapted into short films to be used as aids in several domains where ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is spoken, both inside the classroom and more broadly within the Hawaiian community. It is our goal to provide high-quality, freely-accessible pedagogical tools on par with those available for “global” languages while maintaining a commitment to indigeneous educational practices. Our ultimate wish for these animations is that they serve multiple purposes, such as being used for language instruction and facilitating language reclamation, as well as for entertainment and recreation in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

NOTES

1. In the expression of this place name, we do not use the ‘okina (glottal stop), as present in the name Hawai‘i, because Hawaii Kai is an anglicized “Hawaiian” name imposed on the area in the 1960s.
2. We recognize that this term is potentially problematic because of the negative connotations associated with the word “myth” which can be used to undermine and fictionalize Indigenous epistemologies.
3. Our video can be found on <https://www.danniiarbrough.com/mo-olelo-iwi>

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