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PREFACE
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On Saturday, April 21st, 2012, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its sixteenth annual graduate student conference. The theme of the conference was *Language and Community* bringing together graduate students and faculty members from the Departments of East Asian Languages and Literatures (EALL), Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures (IPLL), Languages and Literatures of Europe and Americas (LLEA), Linguistics (LING), and Second Language Studies (SLS). The conference this year was more special with two plenary speeches: Dr. Marta González-Lloret (LLEA) gave the opening keynote speech following the Dean's welcoming message in the morning with the topic of language and online community and the closing keynote speakers were by Dr. Lyle Campbell and PhD students John Van Way and Eve Okura (LING) who gave a talk on a language documentation project. Between the two plenary speeches were thirty-three presentations with the topics ranging from formal linguistics to language and culture/society and to second language pedagogy.

The chief editors would like to express our sincere gratitude to those who made this year's successful conference possible on behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature. The team of faculty and student volunteers contributed their time and effort and our special thanks go to the co-chairs this year: Amanda Chin (SLS), Brandon Narasaki (SLS), Matt Nelson (SLS), and Melody Ross-Nathaniel (LING). We, of course, thank all the other volunteers who helped organize and hold this year's conference as abstract readers, coordinators for facilities, food and beverage, presentations, on-site volunteers, panel moderators, program/web designers, publicity managers, and registration organizer/volunteers, whose names cannot be all listed here.

Our final acknowledgement goes to everyone who helped us compile the nine papers published in this year's proceedings. We would like to say many thanks to Dean Robert Bley-Vroman and Iris E. Chang from the Dean's office, who provided us with experienced guidance, and their assistants Jaime Tam and Blake Lau. We also greatly benefitted from e-mail correspondence and on-line meetings with Deborah Masterson, a publication specialist from National Foreign Language Resource Center (NFLRC). The proceedings, of course, could have come to light due to the help of our two assistant editors, Kristyn Martin (EALL) and Mari Miyao (SLS). We believe this year's conference was a great learning opportunity for everyone involved and appreciate that students in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature are given this arena to hone their academic skills annually.

PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS
Hyunah Ahn and Mónica Vidal, Chief Editors

FORMING COMMUNITIES ONLINE: LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Dr. Marta González-Lloret, a faculty member in the Spanish Division of the Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, teaches courses on Spanish language, linguistics, and Spanish as a second language. These courses are fully online or hybrids that meet both face-to-face and online. She created one of the first online courses in the college in 2003 and teaches the only teacher training course in the college. Her main areas of interest are the intersections of technology and TBLT (Task-based Language Teaching) and technology and L2 pragmatics, conversation analysis for L2 interaction, teacher training, and assessment.

Her plenary fit in nicely with a modern approach of this year's conference theme: *Language and Community*. It was a detailed overview of the possibilities of forming communities online with an emphasis on language, culture, and identity. She began her talk by defining what an online community encompasses, then gave examples of both macro and micro online communities and what the communities of each share. She then discussed how these communities could be used in language teaching, language learning and finally, for language conservancy. She wrapped up her talk by providing standards for effective online communities and gave some insight into the trends and futures of these communities.

The macro communities that have developed throughout the world since the implementation of Web 2.0 include such phenomena as Facebook and YouTube, which each have more than 800 million users! These users create communities around their own world. They share what they are doing with their time, how they feel (i.e. status updates), they upload photos where members of the community can add their perspectives or messages. They share videos that others have passed along or upload their own. The postings are meant to keep friends up to date on the banal happenings in quotidian life. Even from a less banal perspective, shifting masses of people's attention to political events can bring about communities of people who come to back movements they learned about from videos posted on YouTube.

The macro communities are made up of millions of people's micro communities, but the emphasis on the micro communities in Dr. González-Lloret's plenary was on communities such as Laulima, the online course management system used by the University of Hawai'i. There are hundreds of 20-person communities on Laulima who come together on-line around the topic of an academic course. Just like on Facebook or on YouTube, the members of the community share their perspectives, test each other's understanding, ask for assistance in wrapping their head around ideas, and overall learn from each other within their on-line community. In the micro context, the scale is clearly smaller and the stakes are likely not as high, but in the end, there is also interactive participation from the community.

Regardless of the context, being a part of a community requires that norms be followed, that there be shared practices and common goals. Having these commonalities leads to shared identities that result in the sharing of cultures. One does not have to be Japanese to be a part of a Japanese community, for example. Participating in a forum about *manga*, or graphic novels grants access to a community that might otherwise be unreachable off-line. Online communities foster the development of new cultures, new identities, and language learning. They can also promote the conservation of cultures, identities, and languages!

Making use of existing online communities, adapting others, and even creating new communities to fit the specific needs of a class, are all part of both language teaching communities as well as language learning communities. We can be sure that the communities we have established within our college to discuss languages, literature, and linguistics are being revamped on a semesterly basis and being a part of these communities and discussions makes learning and teaching languages all the more exciting! On behalf of the 16th LLL conference staff, and students who were present at the presentation, we would like to express our gratitude to our opening keynote speaker, Dr. Marta González-Lloret.

WHY A CATALOGUE OF ENDANGERED LANGUAGES?

Dr. Lyle Campbell (Ph. D. UCLA), a faculty member in the Linguistics Department, is a leading expert in the field of language documentation, historical linguistics, and typology and he has held positions in various fields (from anthropology to linguistics to behavioral research). John Van Way, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department, is interested in language documentation and is currently working to document Nyagrong Minyag, an understudied endangered Tibeto-Burman language of China. He was the project coordinator for the Endangered Languages Catalogue in 2011-2012. Eve Okura, also a PhD student in the linguistics department, received a B.A. in Anthropology/Archaeology and an M.A. in Linguistics (BYU). After completing her Ph.D., she intends to do historical linguistics and promote cultural awareness through language.

The plenary speech "Why a Catalogue of Endangered Languages?" was a detailed introduction to the project "The Catalogue of Endangered Languages" (ELCat). The talk began with the definition of an endangered language, and proceeded to explain the importance of documenting endangered languages, as well as what efforts is being made for the documentation of such languages.

When a language is not passed on to the next generation and only a small number of speakers can speak the language, the language is considered endangered. Although language endangerment and extinction has been there for a long time in human history, the issue has now become serious due to the rate at which languages are disappearing. The speech enlightened us with why it is necessary to document endangered languages and highlighted what we lose when a language is endangered and eventually becomes extinct.

The loss of languages is not merely a loss of the speakers but that of the entire human race. A language is a vessel for the literature, knowledge, and history of the speakers' community and we lose information on all these aspects of the speech community.

Language endangerment and extinction also means a shrunken data set from which to induce the algorithm of human cognition. Linguists study languages to understand what is possible and impossible in human language and the ultimate goal of this is to understand the human cognition system. As languages disappear, data sets with which to test scientific claims are lost as well.

Language loss is often involuntary. It involves the unjust oppression of minority language speakers by repressive regimes and leads to a crisis of identity, which, in turn, threatens psychological, social, and physical wellbeing. Several indigenous language speakers were quoted to highlight how losing and retaining their mother tongue directly relates to threatening and saving their spiritual identity, respectively.

The next phase of the speech introduced the efforts being made to draw in the reins of the unprecedentedly accelerated language endangerment. The Catalogue of Endangered Languages project (ELCat) is directed by Dr. Lyle Campbell at University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM) and Drs. Anthony M. R. Aristar and Helen Aristar-Dry at Eastern Michigan University (EMU). This project is moving in a virtuous circle of language documenters' need of information on the communities of the endangered languages and the communities' need of information on their own languages recorded by the documenters. The ELCat aims to make language archives accessible, provide data from multiple sources, and create an arena for discussion.

The final remarks were about what they have already learned through the initial stages of this project, namely, "Known unknowns." They reported how many languages are now extinct or endangered, how fast and how many uncontacted language groups are out there with little or no documentation of their languages. Given the amount of discoveries in its initial stage, the ELCat team is expecting to fill in a vast array of missing information and to correct errors in existing sources.

Studying at University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, one of the leading institutes in language documentation, we have heard the phrase "language documentation" quite often but our understanding of it did not go much beyond its literal sense, not to mention that we were not aware of its purpose or use. The closing plenary speech of this year's LLL conference broadened our knowledge in this area of linguistics. We, chief editors, on behalf of the 16th LLL conference staff and students who were present at the presentation, would like to express our gratitude to the presenters.

I. Language and Society

LANGUAGE ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICES: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO LANGUAGE POLICY AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Jennifer Holdway, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

Language barriers can severely affect many immigrants from participating fully in their new community, including accessing critical resources related to public safety and welfare. However, legislation recently passed in Hawai'i requires all state-funded agencies which offer services to the public be able to do so in the client's first language. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants, including staff of state-funded agencies, relevant institutions, and community groups. As one of only six U.S. states with language access legislation, documenting the current situation is a necessary first step in understanding the significance and implications of such a policy.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Language policy and planning (LPP) involves the investigation of macro-level, top-down language policies often associated with the state and political decision-making (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), how these are implemented within various social contexts and institutions, and how they are experienced in local communities (Davis, 1994). One criticism of previous LPP research is that the focus is often on government agencies and national policies, rather than also considering local, bottom-up language practices (Tollefson, 2002). Schiffman (2006) summarizes this as follows: "It is important to view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, de jure, official, and 'top-down' decision-making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions" (p. 112). Hornberger (1997) refers to this community-level approach as grassroots language policy and, although LPP can occur on several levels—macro, meso, and micro (Baldauf, 1994; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997)—it is this latter level that needs a greater focus of attention.

Over the past number of decades, for example, the active promotion and support of language access to public services has often been provided by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-profit groups. Much can be learned about LPP and its implementation from these local organizations, as many have been long-standing advocates and providers of important services to their communities, often long before policies are enacted at either the national or state level. Perceptions of language access to public services at each of these three levels—the state (macro-level), institutions (meso-level), and community organizations (micro-level)—will be explored in this paper, with an emphasis on the local context as an essential contributor to the overall LPP process (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008).

1.1. A Multidisciplinary Approach to Language Policy and Planning

By its nature, LPP is a multidisciplinary field that "provides a rich array of research opportunities for applied linguists and social scientists" (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 401):

> The field of language planning and policy has witnessed significant growth over the past 25 years. Scholars from a variety of disciplines, including linguistics, education, political science, history, policy studies, law, demography, and sociology, have continually broadened and deepened the scope of inquiry while contributing new insights into the processes, politics, and goals of language policies, whether planned or unplanned, overt or covert. (pp. 401-402)

However, while there has long been a focus on LPP relating to educational issues (e.g., Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Ricento & Wright, 2008), there has been seemingly insufficient attention made to LPP across disciplines, including contexts which affect immigrants, refugees, those in poverty, and transnational individuals and communities; these areas involve a range of social, economic, health, and legal issues which have not been represented to any great degree in the LPP literature to date. It is this paper's intent, therefore, to help address this gap by providing an initial look at language access to public services from language policy and policy implementation perspectives.

1.2. Language Access Needs and Resources

Language barriers often adversely affect immigrants from fully participating in their new community, severely affecting their ability to become productive and self-sufficient citizens. More critically, these challenges in communication can result in immigrants having great difficulties in accessing vital government-funded programs and services on a daily basis, including schools, housing, legal service providers, routine healthcare, emergency medical services, pharmacies, police, fire fighters, crime-victim resources, driver's licenses, business licenses, public benefits offices and all other services vital to basic public safety and welfare (Alanen, 2009; see also Abel, Argueta, & Grewal, 2011; Omori, Kleinschmidt, Lee, Linshield, Kuribayashi, & Lee, 2007; Pobutsky, Buenconsejo-Lum, Chow, Palafox, & Maskarinec, 2005).

1.3. Consequences in a Lack of Language Access

There can be severe consequences when there is a lack of access to critical services in one's first language. In the education system, there can be a decrease in parent involvement in their children's education if they are unable to communicate important points to the administration and teachers or understand documents sent home with the child (e.g., Garcia Coll, Akiba, Palacios, Bailey, Silver, DiMartino, & Chin, 2002; Ramirez, 2003). In a medical setting, parents may not take their children to see a physician if there is no one to interpret for them (e.g., Flores, Barton Laws, Mayo, Zuckerman, Abreu, Medina, & Hardt, 2003), or parents may use their children as interpreters, reversing the parent-child role and increasing the potential for conflict at home (e.g., Free, Green, Bhavnani, & Newman, 2003; Lehna, 2005). Adults who are untrained as interpreters face similar circumstances to children; that is, there is the potential for mistranslations or omission in the transmission of information, errors in interpretation, shorter or biased responses, and inadequate information (Monroe & Shirazian, 2004).

1.4. Challenges in Acquiring English

A further challenge beyond a lack of access is acquiring English as an additional language. Many immigrants are required to work several jobs, often below minimum wage, in order to support their families. With little time or finances to spare in order to attend English as a Second Language (ESL) courses, this population may be additionally challenged with a lack of transportation or childcare and long wait-lists for classes (Tucker, 2007). Alanen (2009) explains further:

> The task is exponentially more daunting for immigrants who are pre-literate in their own native languages due to lack of access to education in their countries of origin. For most immigrants, learning English is only one component of the epic struggle to integrate into mainstream society, feed and shelter their families, and cope with the trauma, loss and severed ties that characterize their migration to the United States. (p. 95)

While there is a shortage of high-quality ESL courses for adults—"state-administered ESL programs currently serve only about a million of the estimated 12.4 million [Limited English Proficient] adults in the United States who need language instruction" (McHugh, Gelatt, & Fix, 2007, as cited in Wang, 2009, p. 1)—local community efforts are attempting to meet the needs of the immigrant population. In the state of Hawai'i, for example, NGOs and non-profit organizations have long been active in this area, including language courses offered by Catholic Charities, Pacific Gateway and Hawai'i Literacy. Such classes are specifically focused on improving human welfare, with programmes promoting English for life-skills development and assisting adults in becoming self-sufficient and active participants in the community (cf. Barbee, Escalona, & Holdway, in this issue).

2.0. FEDERAL AND STATE POLICIES

Based on the severity of consequences when access to government services is incomplete or unavailable, several policies have been created and implemented in the U.S. at both the federal and state level. These will be mentioned in the following section, before focusing on the current situation of language access to public services in the state of Hawai'i.

2.1. Federal Policies

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964 to ensure there was no possibility of discriminatory practices in federally-funded programmes or activities:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. (Title VI, 1964)

However, as this law does not specifically mention language, there was little improvement made at the federal level towards the implementation or increase of language access in the decades that followed. A further federal mandate, Executive Order 13166—*Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency*—was enacted in 2000 to address this discrepancy and requires federal agencies to do the following:

> …To examine the services they provide, identify any need for services to those with limited English proficiency (LEP), and develop and implement a system to provide those services so LEP persons can have meaningful access to them. (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000)

As a result of this Order, most legislation and regulations needed to address these language-related issues have occurred at the state level.

2.2. State Language Access Policies

The judiciary and healthcare systems have long been leading the way in language access with, for example, at least 43 states having enacted one or more language access laws for healthcare as of 2006. While some states have between one and four laws, California leads the way with over 70 (Chen, Youdelman, & Brooks, 2007); however, as of 2008 only "five states have enacted comprehensive language policies requiring their public agencies to make their programs accessible to LEP individuals" (Wang, 2009, p. 4); these states are California (1973), Minnesota (1985), Maryland (2002), Hawai'i (2006), and Illinois (2006), with Hawai'i seemingly the most comprehensive after California (see Wang, 2009).

Although the remaining 45 states do not have this language access legislation, cities such as Washington D.C. and New York City have developed their own language access plans; in particular, many areas "are being forced by community activists to make progress in providing city services to immigrant communities with large LEP numbers" (Applied Research Center, 2004, p. 2). In addition, as the national trend is predicting a further increase in the number of immigrants to the U.S., non-urban centres "could also benefit from being proactive in creating access in languages other than English" (Applied Research Center, 2004, p. 2; see also Wang, 2009).

2.3. State Policy–Hawai'i

While significant improvements at the federal and state level in the past has been slow to come, recent progress has been promising, particularly in Hawai'i. Of the over 1.3 million people living in the state, approximately 330,000 speak one of over 100 languages at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Many have only a limited ability to read, write, speak or understand English, with about 150,000 speaking English 'less than very well' (Office of Language Access [OLA], 2012b). As the most linguistically diverse state, Hawai'i has an obligation to provide services necessary to meet the basic needs of all residents in their access to public services. While community organizations have long been aware of this, it is only recently that the local government has set language access policies and instituted a mandate to address the needs of this diverse population. In 2006, the state passed legislation on language access in the form of Act 290, later codified in the Hawai'i Revised Statutes (HRS) §371-31 to 371-37. Overseen by the Office of Language Access (OLA), it is intended to ensure that all state-funded agencies, which include all local governments and many non-profit service organizations, are accessible to adults who require language access; as HRS §371-31 (2006) states, language can be "a barrier to accessing important benefits or services, understanding and exercising important rights, complying with applicable responsibilities, or understanding other information provided by state-funded programs and activities".

3.0. EMERGENT THEMES

Preliminary information was provided by representatives from the state level, institutions, and community organizations, with overall challenges being noted as relating to a lack of trained interpreters and the funding to support further interpreter training.

3.1. State Level

Four state agencies were contacted about language access to public services, with five main themes appearing from these conversations: interpreter training, the use of bilingual staff, telephone interpreting, the use of relatives or friends as interpreters, and cultural awareness.

3.1.1. Interpreter training

There is a significant need for interpreter training, as the competency of present interpreters can vary greatly. In choosing who will be trained, however, those organizing such events focus on recruiting participants they think can also become good trainers themselves, with the intention that this will help to both alleviate training demands in the future and promote future leaders in professional interpreting (personal communication, March 23, 2012). However, one challenge is finding participants able and willing to become interpreters in languages of lesser diffusion (LLD) (personal communication, April 18, 2012); in Hawai'i, such languages would include those from Pacific Island nations, including the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands, who speak predominantly Chuukese and Marshallese, respectively. As one respondent noted:

> There are some [interpreters for Chuukese and Marshallese] but there are not enough…. The hospitals…The community itself….They need interpreters. We have some interpreters in the community, but the problem is they're not trained. They need training….

One of the challenges unique to populations who speak LLD is the inability to find many professionally-trained interpreters, as the majority of immigrants from these nations represent the first generation to live in the United States and may not yet have a similar level of English as they do in their first language. A member of one state agency made the following comment in reference to this new Micronesian population:

> In terms of numbers, [Micronesians] are a small population but in terms of impact, high impact, because many of them access public services….And, because there isn't a…three, four, five generational base here, you don't have a lot of local people who both speak English and the other language. So it is one in which there is high impact, low resource and it's one of our major issues.

Efforts are currently underway, however, to address this need in a variety of settings. The national boards for both the judiciary and healthcare have been setting new standards for language access and interpreter quality. In the local context of Hawai'i, as well, there have been associations made to address such issues. As an example,

> [The OLA] arranged and attend[ed] a meeting of the Micronesian community with Kapiolani Medical Center (KMC)/Hawai'i Pacific Health…to discuss [a] possible collaboration on how to address KMC's language access needs and training needs of interpreters. (Report, 2012)

These collaborative efforts are crucial steps toward the promotion and availability of interpreter training and the improvement of language access to public services. One added challenge, though, is the ability to find adequate funding for interpreter training, which is vital in achieving an effective, professional level of interpreting. As the overall education and competency of interpreters already working in the field can vary significantly, the consequences of a lack of training can have severe results, making financial support for such programmes paramount.

Fortunately, funding was recently found for 30 bilingual participants to attend Hawai'i's first ever Community Interpreter Training, coordinated by the OLA in March 2012. This five-day training session included a widely diverse selection of languages—Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Laotian, Ilokano, Tagalog, Spanish, Russian, Samoan, Chuukese, and Marshallese—and focused on healthcare, education, human- and social-services settings and emphasized the importance of interpreting ethics and standards of practice (OLA, 2012a). One overall challenge for interpreter training is that, given the available languages in Hawai'i and the size of particular populations likely to request language access to public services, the number of interpreters may not be enough to meet demands: "When [staff] try to contact…an interpreter, [it's always possible] nobody's available. Everybody's busy. That's why there's a need to develop more interpreters" (personal communication, March 23, 2012). Through professional training, there is the opportunity

to both inform community interpreters already working in the field on the ethics and responsibilities of the position they hold and also raise awareness for the profession and support more bilingual (or multilingual) speakers to become qualified. One often-used alternative to interpreters, however, is bilingual staff.

3.1.2. Bilingual staff

Employees who speak more than one language may either be hired because of their language skills or, if already in a position, be asked to serve as an interpreter. One state agency employee made specific mention that "there are not enough competent bilingual persons either on staff or in the field," a common situation throughout the state. However, recent hiring practices suggest that, all else being equal, a priority is placed on employing bilingual persons:

> Sufficient resources are most important….We have a priority….Let's say that you and another person are up for a job and you spoke the language and the other person did not speak the language….All things being equal, we choose the person with the language….So we have priorities….One of our priorities is language….(Personal communication, March 23, 2012)

There are a number of factors involved, though, in the use of bilingual staff; these are addressed by those at the institution level, which will be mentioned further in the paper.

3.1.3. Telephone interpreting

When there are not enough bilingual staffs or in-person interpreters available, one alternative is to make use of language access lines via telephone:

> In general, there are not enough competent bilingual persons either on staff or in the field that we can access….so some of our programs access people by telephone, either locally or through national language lines. It's not a complete system, therefore, it's not one in which we're happy with…but those are the kinds of things that can be done.

While all state agency employees spoken to commented that they preferred to have in-person interpreters, there was also agreement that for emergency services, however, the use of telephone interpreting does have its advantages; in particular, the speed by which one can access an interpreter, as waiting for an interpreter to arrive—specifically for critical services—may take valuable time. One further use of telephone interpreting is as a means of explaining state agencies' language access services:

> It's not really an ideal process but we just implemented it….We knew it would be clumsy, cumbersome…but at least it works; it explains how they can get access to the program and for us, of course, access is the key. Cumbersome but it works.

While this may be a convenient and more cost-effective system, state agencies still recognize their responsibility to make in-person access to services available in often numerous and diverse languages. A predominant challenge is described as follows:

> People…are aware that they have this responsibility [to provide language access]. I would like to give our staff credit that they try. It's an issue of trying to match resources and need in a timely manner; a timely and competent manner, that's the hardest part.

In this way, either telephone interpreting or automated systems may be beneficial in meeting the immediate needs of the population requesting services, but is well-recognized as not being a replacement for in-person access.

3.1.4. Relatives or friends as interpreters

The use of adults who are not trained as interpreters—most often relatives or friends of those accessing services—can have serious consequences; these can include the possibility for mistranslations or an omission of information, shorter or biased responses, and inadequate information (Monroe & Shirazian, 2004). One state agency staff member described this as follows:

> We discourage the use of relatives…there's an influence there, an agenda….Here's what does happen…some programs face this…Sometimes when someone said no [to wanting a free interpreter rather than a relative], we still insist on a free interpreter…and the reason is because some of the programs deal with serious issues like child abuse and therefore we're not accepting their refusal, we're saying we're going to bring in an interpreter…who is a neutral party….

This comment continues in the following section, with the importance of cultural awareness also being raised.

3.1.5. Cultural awareness

In addition to discouraging the use of untrained interpreters—in particular, relatives or friends of persons requiring access to services—there is the need to understand the cultural expectations and practices of the populations for which interpreting services are being provided. The state agency staff member who commented above continues:

> …and in some cultures you have to be a little careful because, for example, sometimes in the Micronesian culture, you may not be able to speak to the wife because the husband is the one you have to speak to, but he could be interpreting, saying whatever he needs to say. We need our own interpreter to determine…just to be fair. Just so we know we are all on the same page….especially those programs relating to abuse, violence, or protective services.

Opinions on the use of untrained interpreters are made by both institutions and community organizations, with ethics and cultural awareness also included by these two groups, respectively.

3.2. Institutions

Three main themes emerged from comments provided by institutions contacted: interpreter training, the use of bilingual staff, and the use of relatives or friends as interpreters. One sub-theme, under the heading 'interpreter training', includes a brief comment on the challenges trained interpreters face. An additional, over-arching theme raised by the institutions is one not specifically mentioned at the state level; that is, the importance of ethical interpreting and issues surrounding its use.

3.2.1. Ethics

The *Interpreters Code of Ethics* was prepared by Dr. Suzanne Zeng of the Center for Interpretation and Translation Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and is widely-used in Hawai'i due to its conciseness and clarity. Ideally, it should be read, understood, and signed by all interpreters prior to the provision of service, whether trained or untrained; however, as will be noted throughout the comments below, this may not often be the case.

3.2.2. Interpreter training

Education, not only for interpreters themselves but also those who hire or use interpreters, is paramount to their appropriate use:

> We kept saying education is still everything. Some people say we need more interpreters, but no we don't, we need education on how to use interpreters, so the bad interpreters will disappear, good interpreters will naturally rise. There's been an on-going…issue here…: the lack of good interpreters for the community because of the low pay …and the lack of accuracy and ethics. Even though they come from [agencies], they're not trained. Some…I would never use them *ever*. They're horrible because they're not trained. (Personal communication, March 23, 2012)

There is occasionally funding provided for training and therefore classes can be attended by those who are desperately needed in the field; in particular, those who speak LLD:

> Last year, the Department of Health got a grant [for tuition] to send four people to [professional interpreting] classes at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa….Two Chuukese and two Marshallese.

While it is crucial to have these trained interpreters representing these two language groups, four trained interpreters are not enough to meet demands and, according to several participants, until there is more funding made available, little improvement can be made beyond this:

> The two Chuukese and two Marshallese interpreters are *so* busy interpreting. That's all they do….Full-time interpreters. But we need *a lot* more for Chuukese. *Every day* we get requests for Chuukese. So that's the problem, also. We need trained interpreters….Without funding, you can't do anything.

It has also been noted that specialized training is also preferred because many states do not ensure that the interpreters they hire "can speak English, speak the language to be interpreted, or know how to interpret in [a] specialized…setting" (as cited in Alanen, 2009, p. 96). Even though general training may have been completed, a lack of specialized knowledge of terminology provided by context-specific training can have significant consequences; for example, a misinterpretation of a single word can significantly alter the meaning of an entire conversation. One respondent notes that regulating trained interpreters for specific fields is an additional challenge, since all may not have the skills required to interpret in a wide variety of settings:

> How can you regulate who is who? Put it this way. I have three interpreters for one particular language, one of them should never be sent to certain places, but could be used for certain things, like…medical…but her English just isn't fluent enough for her to be used in all situations and she doesn't have the time to go out and study things…or to do the research. She interpreted for a lawyer over the phone once because they needed it *now* and then afterwards there was a complaint....Some people are better anywhere *but* the courts. So you need someone who knows the interpreter's skills. Everyone's so different.

This example cites the importance of mandatory certification courses for particular contexts, such as is currently required for the court system, and the need for further official certification in interpreting for healthcare and other critical public services.

> In addition, professionally-trained interpreters, but particularly for those who speak LLD, can often be placed in very challenging, demanding and overwhelming circumstances where they are attempting to provide ethical interpreting services to a population that far out-numbers their ability:

> Everyone's calling them for help, for cultural awareness, sex assault, domestic violence….They're just overwhelmed. Because the few voices that are really good, that have taken professional interpreting classes, are overwhelmed. They're just so busy.

This participant adds that such challenging situations could prove to be deterrents in successfully recruiting new interpreters, although training—including understanding the ethics involved and having a clear picture on the role of the interpreter in such a situation—would be advantageous and help assuage many concerns. One final point on the use of trained interpreters is that in many communities, though in particular those where LLD are spoken, there may also be feelings of embarrassment due to small community size and concerns over the privacy of the issue, or being of low economic status; therefore, interpreters are trained to reassure clients of confidentiality and the *Code of Ethics* they adhere to as professionals:

> And in the whole realm of community interpreting, embarrassment is a big thing because of a lot of low income; they're embarrassed, they want it private. So the interpreters…they're trained to say "Hello, I will be your interpreter today"—they may know each other—"and everything that happens here is confidential"…and so on.

The respondent concluded by stressing that such open reminders of the ethics involved—which are emphasized during interpreter training programmes—is important to make clear to the client before any services are provided.

3.2.3. Bilingual staff

There has been a recent trend to hire bilingual staff in order to better provide in-house support for potential clients:

> We're trying to push people to hire bilinguals. If you can't afford to continually hire an interpreter…and if you need somebody anyway, get somebody who speaks the other language.

This said, however, bilingual employees may very likely have little or no training in interpreting or the ethics involved in performing such a function. The following comment was made with regards to this:

> [An employee asks the bilingual employee who speaks the same language as the client:] "Oh, could you ask her why she's here?" And all of a sudden the bilingual staff member becomes really important. "Sure, I'll ask." And next…they are having long conversations and the person is just sitting there watching them talk to each other, has no idea what they just said. Or they'll answer for the person…which is really horrible.

Even if a staff member is fluent in both languages, as stated earlier, a lack of training as an interpreter and little understanding of ethical interpreting can have potentially serious consequences. Whether hired in-part because of their language abilities, or if already working in the environment where services are being offered, these employees may or may not be familiar with the terminology in that field (interview, 23 March 2012); that is, while they regularly use job-related terminology in English, it can be much more complex to explain the same word in another language if the staff member doesn't have particular knowledge, for example, in a healthcare or legal setting where very specific vocabulary is required. While many people are still of the belief that being bilingual is adequate enough to act as an interpreter, in reality this is rarely true (interview, 23 March 2012).

3.2.4. Relatives or friends as interpreters

One respondent described the situation of when relatives or friends are used as interpreters and the lack of importance placed on both the encouraged use of trained interpreters and the *Interpreter Code of Ethics*; that is, whether the interpreter is considered trained or not, the same code of ethics should apply:

> If they bring a family member and that family member or friend is willing to interpret, the person needing the service signs off, signs a waiver saying "I am willing to have my family or friend interpret for me." But, what happens is they're not interpreting. Then they make the family member or whoever read the *Code of Ethics* and sign it saying "I certify that I will abide by it," but not even knowing what the *Code of Ethics* means…I mean, not *really* going through it, just sort of breezing through it really quickly and signing it and giving it back, saying "yeah, sure." In other words, "I won't be having conversations with them" or "I won't be answering for them" or "I won't give them legal advice." It's ridiculous. It's not working.

This comment cites the importance of using trained interpreters who understand and will legally abide by this *Code*. In addition, when family members are used as interpreters, the following situation has occurred:

> The family member ends up talking *for* them or not interpreting everything or not fully understanding because their English is not that good either. So misunderstandings happen.

As noted earlier and by several participants, potentially serious consequences can occur when there are misunderstandings in communication and therefore the use of relatives or friends who are untrained as interpreters should be avoided wherever possible.

3.3. Community Organizations

There has been a long history of community organizations working on the ground to both meet the needs of those accessing services and act as advocates for policy change, including language access to public services:

> A lot of the non-profit agencies have been pushing for language access, something to help interpreting services because they were the first to know;…a lot of non-profits, Susannah Wesley, Catholic Charities, they knew this is a huge issue and were talking about it 20 years ago. It's been a huge issue in Hawai'i. They're needing interpreters….Language was a problem. A lot of the people they served weren't getting services because of the language problem.

These non-profit groups sought to meet this need by providing their own interpreting services to better serve the community. There are a number of organizations in Hawai'i which support a community-based approach, including outreach and the provision of language access to public services. Example community groups include NGOs and non-profits, such as Catholic Charities, Susannah Wesley, Helping Hands, and Pacific Gateway, and organizations which promote the empowerment of their community, such as the Micronesian Community Network. While these groups "are not necessarily well-known outside their localities [they] are nevertheless doing hard and patient work to transform the culture and practice of…civic engagement" (Warren & Mapp, 2011, p. 8); thus, it is important to include the opinions of such organizations in a discussion on language access. Four themes appeared during conversations with members of community organizations: interpreter training, telephone interpreting, cultural awareness, and the use of relatives or friends as interpreters.

3.3.1. Interpreter training

One challenge in interpreter training not yet mentioned relates specifically to LLD: languages such as Chuukese and Marshallese do not have the necessary materials to train interpreters, which include, for example, glossaries of medical or legal terminology from which tests for interpreting can be made.

> The four [interpreters] are working on a test for all Chuukese and Marshallese interpreters…to make them meet a standard of Micronesian interpreting…but so far only these four are trained as interpreters…even their certification is based on this test that they're building and they're the only certified interpreters in these languages in the whole state.

This respondent also cites the importance of having completed training and understanding how crucial what was learned in the course is to the interpreting process:

> I have times where I interpret for people that I know and it's very hard for me but I know what hat I'm wearing at that time and I know the importance of it and I took an oath to tell them the truth according to what is written [in the *Interpreter Code of Ethics*].…But if you don't go through the training, you won't understand the importance and values of the *Code of Ethics* and those things that are really important to be sure of.

This emphasis on training and ethical interpreting highlights how such knowledge is both practical and paramount in the field of community interpreting.

3.3.2. Telephone interpreting

Although those asked preferred in-person interpreters in most contexts, there can be advantages to telephone interpreting:

> A lot of times some interpreters…don't like the fact there's a telephone interpreter but for some of us, especially if we don't see that person…and I don't need to know who they are, I'm just there to bridge the language, for me, personally, I think it's good in some cases and then in some cases it would be difficult.

Telephone interpreting can be especially important to members of smaller local communities, such as the Micronesian populations currently in Hawai'i, where anonymity might be wanted on the part of the client:

> I feel like if those people who are on the other side of the telephone talking about their serious medical issue,…I can tell sometimes in their voice that they're resistant and then I just tell them: "Guess what? Don't be ashamed, I'll never see you, I don't even know who you are….If I see you on the road I might not even know that's you…I'm just here to bridge the

communication. The language is there but I don't see you…." I think in some cases that's very important.

3.3.3. Cultural awareness
There is a great need for "culturally-competent interpreters" (personal communication, April 10, 2012), as this can severely affect successful access to public services:

> There're a lot of cultural differences that can also play a barrier for people when families interpret. Number one…if I come in with a male relative to interpret for him, there are certain things that he cannot say because I am in the room. The fact that I am a woman is number one. Second, I am a niece or relative, so they can't be honest to give what their sickness is and this is just in a medical situation.

In a legal situation, there is the added need for the interpreter to be an appropriate match to the victim, witness, or client:

> And if you go into the legal part of it, let's say court, how can they even be honest, let's say it's a sexual case and I'm going to be interpreting for that case. That person will not be honest or open enough to say what they will say, just by the fact that I am there because I am a woman. So, if you don't know that's part of the culture, you would put a female to interpret for them and it's not helping the case. And the person will either be [likely] to change the statement or just not open up or not say anything at all, so it's hurting the case either way. So that's why we'll push to be culturally appropriate and sensitive, because…we have to be realistic about how valuable the communication will be if there is a barrier there.

For LLD, however, community members can be very helpful, particularly when appropriate training is provided. Depending on the size of the community, untrained interpreters may be unaware of the confidentiality of the situation or, given the number of interpreters, there may not be enough to meet demand. Therefore, it is important to have a good understanding of both the culture of the interpreter and of the client.

3.3.4. Relatives or friends as interpreters
Even when interpreters are available, participants reported feeling more comfortable without using a formal interpreter, regardless of the possibility that family members may either accidentally or deliberately not explain vital information while serving as an interpreter. The size of the community may affect the decision to use an interpreter or not, with the possible exception of medical appointments: privacy issues, the possibility of embarrassment, and not wanting family members to worry were cited as reasons where an unknown, trained interpreter may be preferred (personal communication, March 27, 2012). One additional comment made was the preference for using a family member or friend when in a hospital setting or for medical appointments in general: if an interpreter is unavailable it may be necessary to reschedule the appointment and is therefore an inconvenience to return (personal communication, March 27, 2012). While each of these comments thus far is from the perspective of the client rather than the interpreter, there are instances when relatives or friends who may often interpret are placed in the difficult position of sharing serious information to those they care about:

> When you're right there, sometimes I'm very emotional, I really fight my tears and what they're going through…there are some things…like when my relative recently went to see a doctor and he went with another relative. And the relative [who came to interpret] can't tell him that the doctor's telling him he's dying. And he doesn't know how to explain that to him….Although he's a male, he's a relative, it's difficult for him to tell him that he was dying…What do you say…especially if you're an interpreter for a relative?

Situations such as this show the importance and benefit of having a neutral third party in the form of a trained interpreter.

4.0. TOWARDS ENGAGED LANGUAGE ACCESS PLANNING

What has been noted to varying degrees by all three levels represented in this paper—state, institutional, and community organizations—is most critically the need for interpreter training, including a solid understanding of ethics and cultural awareness. While addressing these needs may be difficult at present—and can be hindered by the added challenge of a lack of funding—"nothing is as important as reaching the people who need it" (interview, 04 April 2012).While promising plans have been put into practice, current efforts should not stay as they are; Hawai'i's linguistic and cultural diversity requires the need for continued improvement, resulting in better language access to public services. In considering a multidisciplinary approach to LPP, future research directions in the area of language access may include the benefits of community-based approaches and the potential for engaged ethnography and participatory action research.

4.1. Community-based Approaches

Community-based approaches can have a significant impact on promoting and achieving change at the local level and raising awareness with all stakeholders, both within the community and beyond. Community engagement, in particular, promotes working collaboratively in areas where issues affect the well-being of its members. These participants often share a special interest or similar situation and come together to meet these needs, who may then be encouraged to become advocates in areas where change is greatly needed.

> Organizing groups do the patient, long-term work to build the capacity and leadership of people to create change in their communities….They teach people the skills and knowledge necessary to bring residents of their communities together, identify issues of pressing concern, research those issues to develop an agenda for action, build alliances with other groups, negotiate with public officials, and collaborate with…institutional agents to create and implement new policies and practices. (Warren & Mapp, 2011, p. 6)

Such community organizations "offer a critical contribution to reform efforts" (Warren & Mapp, 2011, p. 6) and are paramount to instituting change.

4.2. Engaged Ethnography and Participatory Action Research

In-depth engaged ethnographic studies and community-based participatory action research are also possible future directions for looking at LPP across disciplines, including language access. While it takes time to establish connections within communities, it is imperative there be a mutual understanding and collaborative approach to future research. Local organizing communities are often fighting for change and promoting awareness, and support through a long-term, in-depth, engaged ethnography would provide a more thorough, co-constructed look at language access. Sutton & Levinson (2001) state this as follows: there is the need for the promotion of "more [engaged] ethnographic research which provides a 'locally informed, comparatively astute, ethnographically rich account of how people make, interpret, and otherwise engage with the policy process" (p. 4, as cited in Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p. 510).

Although this is a preliminary study, there is little literature at present that explores language access in this manner, thus demonstrating the need for a more multidisciplinary approach to LPP. There is an important responsibility to conduct ethical research in the local context and from this positively influence the lives of those whose health and safety are intricately connected to effective language access to public services.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

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The concept of citizenship is usually interpreted in legal terms. Individuals born in a country, to that country's citizens, or naturalized are said to be citizens of that country. There are, however, other kinds of citizenship. One of these is cultural citizenship. In this modern age of technology, connections are possible among people all over the world. Technology allows people to maintain a connection to their homeland while being in the diaspora of that country. Immigrants may study, pass the citizenship test in the United States, and become naturalized citizens, but have they truly made the transition to being an American citizen who is knowledgeable about and a part of American culture? Or have they created some new definition of American citizen within this country, one who is legally an American citizen but culturally still a citizen of their homeland? What factors contribute to the acquisition of cultural citizenship in the United States? How important is language in the development of cultural citizenship?

To examine these questions, I looked at Project SHINE and what its students do that helps them to gain both cultural and legal citizenship. In doing so, I was able to determine to what extent these Chinese immigrant women, most of whom were living in Chinatown in Honolulu, were making the transition to becoming full-fledged American citizens both legally and culturally. For those who were successfully making the transition, I tried to determine what factors contributed to their success, and for those who were struggling to assimilate, I tried to uncover the barriers to their assimilation.

There are many challenges that immigrants face in trying to become citizens of the United States. When looking at the situation of current Chinese immigrants in Honolulu, it is important to remember the sort of problems Chinese immigrants faced in the past. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, for example, prohibited Chinese from coming into the United States. Those who had arrived up until that time were seen as a problem, because some thought that they were incapable of becoming citizens due to their perceived lack of intellect. This perception was heightened by the fact that many of the new immigrants spoke little to no English, and if they did speak English, they spoke with a heavy accent. This anti-Chinese prejudice persisted even after the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943. Keith Zak has documented anti-Chinese prejudice and discrimination extending into 2012. (Zak, 2009, updated 2012, pp. 13-16)

In 1878, Professor S. E. W. Becker testified before a Joint Special Committee of Congress on Chinese Immigration that it was really the fault of the government that assimilation was not occurring. We "cannot expect aliens who are denied naturalization to take interest in institutions or assimilate rapidly" (Coolidge, 1969, p. 105). Therefore, it is good to see programs that try to help with assimilation today. Project SHINE (Students Helping in the Naturalization of the Elderly) is one of those programs. It was developed by the Center for Intergenerational Learning at Temple University in Philadelphia. At its outset, the purpose of this program was to use intergenerational partnerships to meet the needs of elderly immigrants and refugees. It is interesting that the first need identified was to help new immigrants to learn English. Toward that end, LEIF (Learning English Through Intergenerational Friendship) was founded at Temple in 1985. LEIF focused on working with Southeast Asian refugees in the neighborhoods around Philadelphia. (Project Shine: History, 2008, p. 1)

The program continued and broadened the focus of its work in 1996. When Congress passed the Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, SHINE changed its focus to emphasize helping immigrants work on their language skills while at the same time building their civic knowledge. (Project Shine: History, 2008, p. 1) Both missions are essential to helping in the naturalization of immigrants.

Project SHINE in Honolulu began in 1996. There are two different locations for SHINE currently on the Island of Oahu, one in Waipahu at the Filipino Community Center and one in Chinatown at the Kalanihuia Center there (Project SHINE, 2002, p. 1). Project SHINE has four specific goals: (1) to help immigrants of Oahu communities by tutoring them in English and to help them gain citizenship through passing the exams, and therefore improving their quality of life (2) to encourage agency between people of different ethnicities, as well as collaboration between the community and university communities (3) to help college students to be conscious of

government policies and legislation towards immigrants and what the immigrant experience is really like (4) to help promote and push for the empowerment of immigrants in Hawaii. (History, 2011, p. 2)

The focus of my study was the Project SHINE site on ʻAʻala Street in Chinatown. Although the sessions are open to all people, this program currently serves only Chinese students. When I first began working at SHINE, I was volunteering as part of an Ethnic Studies project, and I had many ideas about what I wanted to study. Like many projects that are based on working with people, however, a certain amount of flexibility was required. Before I began working at SHINE, I was planning to look at the effect that these elderly immigrants had on their grandchildren fitting into the idea of the model minority. What I learned is that most of these people have not yet been able to establish roots. All of the people being tutored had been here less than five years, and that is why they were working toward U.S. citizenship. Even if they had grandchildren living in Hawaiʻi, many of these people did not speak English well enough to share their experiences with me. These problems involving the inability of so many of the students to speak English are what caused me to begin to look more closely at the relationship between language and cultural citizenship.

Another factor relevant to assimilation relates to language and the function of the ethnic enclave as it relates to citizenship. Does the ethnic enclave facilitate or hamper the gaining of citizenship for newer immigrants? While the opportunity to live in such a community may facilitate superficial assimilation, it may isolate the new immigrant and hinder his or her integration into American society, especially when the new immigrant can get along in Chinese without having to learn English.

In the globalized world that we live in today, it might seem that national citizenship is unimportant; yet this is not the case. In considering legal rights, citizenship is the one thing that is undeniably important to have, especially in these times of overseas workers who send remittances back home. Transnationalism, "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, allows many immigrants to fail to shed their old identities and not to assimilate totally." (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994, p. 7) The SHINE students with whom I worked demonstrated some traces of transnationalism, as defined by Basch et al. Their connection to China was maintained to some degree by their environment in Chinatown, particularly by their participation in Project SHINE, which allowed them to continue to interact with their fellow Chinese in the United States.

Having citizenship does not always mean that there is a full assimilation to the way that people live in their new countries. The United States is one of the most diverse and complicated countries to live in. Each state, and often each city or county, has a different set of cultural norms. And although to be a citizen of the United States does not require one to fit into the definition of norm, there are expectations of what is normal. Those expectations affect newer immigrants' assimilation, their ability to find employment, and the ease with which they can climb the social and economic ladder. It is therefore important to look at cultural citizenship to see whether or not immigrants are making a cultural transition. For the purposes of this study, I defined cultural citizenship as having a sense of belonging and appreciation and displaying attitudes and behavior that are either important or a part of a country's culture. Since the students in my study had not yet gained their American citizenship, this study was limited to cultural citizenship.

In order to look at cultural citizenship with the limited English of the students and my non-existent Chinese, it was important to use non-verbal resources to assess recognition. One event that afforded me the opportunity to study cultural recognition was Thanksgiving. I discussed the holiday with two ladies, one of whom lived in Chinatown next to the community center and the other in Hawaiʻi Kai. I wrote and read, "What are you doing for Thanksgiving?" and received no indication that either lady comprehended my question. When I showed the ladies a picture of the Thanksgiving symbol, the turkey, the ladies nodded their head in recognition, but did not seem to make the connection to the holiday. My final effort was to test their understanding by showing them the word in the dictionary. They read and understood the word, but they still did not seem to understand the concept of the holiday. For the lady living in Chinatown, this makes sense, because there were not many signs of Thanksgiving, such as decorations, in Chinatown. This seemed a bit more unusual for the lady in Hawaiʻi Kai. Hawaiʻi Kai is, right behind Kahala, one of the wealthiest and nicest places to live on Oahu. There are shopping centers that always have displays of upcoming holidays. So although it is not surprising that the lady living in Chinatown did not know about Thanksgiving, it is surprising that the lady who is out of the enclave and is living in a wealthier area did not have any idea about the holiday. I would suspect that this lady's inability to read and

understand more English left her without knowledge of the American holiday. In any case, neither lady has come to that part of cultural citizenship that celebrates American holidays. This example highlights the fact that, although someone may seem to have outwardly achieved the American dream by working hard and moving up socially and economically, they may not have completely made the transition to American cultural citizenship. That transition is either promoted or discouraged by command of the English language.

A common assumption has been that the ultimate goal for immigrants is to assimilate and to fit into the American society. It may be, however, rather than fitting in by adopting the customs of the new society and rejecting those of the previous one, there is the possibility of bi-culturality or dual cultural citizenship. (Hofstede et al., 2002, p. 23) Although this may create a conflict for the individual involved, bi-culturality can allow people to have a strong sense of identity in both their native culture and their new culture. This new sort of citizenship is observable among the SHINE students, who have established an identity in Hawaiʻi, and through networking with those from their homeland, are continuing their ties to their homeland, too.

This new bi-cultural citizenship, although it might make life easier in the short term, may actually be slowing the progress of these women toward American cultural citizenship. This is demonstrated by the lack of understanding of American cultural customs and is created first and foremost by limited knowledge of English. Immigrants may become comfortable within safe zones, such as Project SHINE, where they can still speak Chinese with their fellow countrymen and women, but their integration into the society at large is limited without the ability to understand both spoken and written English.

Becoming culturally American is probably more difficult in Hawaiʻi than elsewhere in the United States. The idea of local identity has made the concept of identity complex in Hawaiʻi. Because of its geographical isolation and its history, particularly as it relates to annexation, there is in Hawaiʻi a sense of detachment from the rest of the United States and a desire among some actually to become independent from the United States. Local identity is founded in the appreciation of all cultures present in Hawaiʻi and brings them together in a shared common culture. "Other sources that contribute to this continual making of local identity include the everyday cultural practices, norms, and values followed by local people that are or become part of local culture in Hawaiʻi." (Okamura, 2008, p. 113) However, local identity is also based on differentiating from being American. Therefore, the cultural citizenship being acquired by the Chinese immigrants at Project SHINE would most likely have more of a connection to local culture than to the culture of the country as a whole. This may be made easier by the fact that local culture has some aspects of it that are rooted in Chinese culture. Manapua, a traditional local meal with its roots in Chinese cuisine, are steamed buns usually filled with char-siu pork. Although these are a variation of the original and thus not exactly traditional, their familiarity allows a continuation of the connection to China that is perhaps not so readily available on the mainland or outside of an ethnic enclave. This allows for more of a transnational connection and does not require that immigrants entirely sever their connection to China. Although Project SHINE may help to facilitate the transition to legal citizenship, it cannot guarantee that its participants become cultural citizens of the United States.

Chinatown in Honolulu is a diverse place that not only has housed many Chinese immigrants, but many immigrants from all over the world, and still does today. Chinatown is filled with many stores that belong to Chinese merchants who are selling fresh produce, fish, meat, and other things imported from China. For the students coming to SHINE, you can tell that they see Chinatown as their particular space where they draw more connection back to their homeland. Coming from school, I would try to arrive early to go around Chinatown before tutoring so that I could observe. Every time that I did, I saw the ladies who would come to SHINE in clusters of five or six going around town usually with their grocery bags containing those things they had bought while out and about. On every Tuesday, there were about twenty-two students that would come to the tutoring sessions. Out of those twenty-two students, only about five or six were not living in Chinatown. For the students who were living in Chinatown, it is hard to say that the social space in which they are living would really aid in any way for them to become more culturally American or even local in anyway. Certainly, they would not have to speak English in many stores. Although Asian segregation has declined all over the country, for newer immigrants the importance of Chinatown as a refuge is still there. If it were not, then why would these people come from all over the island just to come for tutoring and for shopping for groceries? Chinatown gives a sense of belonging and security as anyone's home would give to them. The comfort of being able to speak in their native language is part of that.

The SHINE program allows people from their own and different cultures to connect with each other with less effort. The center is open and welcoming to any people needing its assistance. By coming to tutoring early, I was able to observe more of what went on in the space before hand. When it was close to tutoring time, all of the people waiting to get in were Chinese. The people who would come would cluster together and chat before going in. Some ladies would have their grandchildren drop them off. Sometimes they would come to tutoring, and sometimes they would just leave to go elsewhere in Chinatown.

Although the community center has the potential of bringing people of different ethnicities together, in the case of the Chinese students who come to SHINE, the center functions similarly to Chinatown as a place where people can come and reaffirm their Chinese identity. This identity extends to language. This was demonstrated during the first week when one tutor had a student who spoke to her in Chinese, and when the tutor did not respond, the student said, "Well, how are you going to help me if you do not speak Chinese?" Therefore, the center is not being completely effective in its purpose of bringing people together to facilitate assimilation, even though it may be serving an important function for Chinese immigrants by providing them a refuge in a society in which they are not completely comfortable.

Looking at the community center shows that the social space brings the students together in a way that ends up helping to reaffirm their Chinese identity. The SHINE program needs to be examined to see how it is enabling or hurting the Chinese students who are working towards cultural and legal citizenship of the United States. Does the SHINE program really work to its purpose? Are the Chinese students really trying to make the transition to becoming American citizens, or are they using the SHINE program to serve their own interests of continuing to reaffirm their Chinese identity? The way the program is set up within Chinatown is to allow more students to be able to come, and although the tutoring is helping them to practice English and civic questions, is the area and the situation really pushing for cultural or legal citizenship transition? It seems to be changing the meaning of the program to be a comfortable place to meet other friends from China and to have a connection back to home. With the program set up as it is now, it is not meeting its full objectives. It does allow college students to be exposed to the types of issues outlined in its goals. However, with the limited English conversation possible between tutor and student, it does not fully meet its goals. There is usually at least one student in the session that speaks Chinese, but although this might seem to be helpful, it actually disables the students, because if they cannot communicate something, they run to that person to gain understanding instead of trying to find the words on their own or to communicate through other methods. So although progress is being made in the SHINE program, the program seems to being working more towards the specific interests of continuing the importance of Chinese identity by connecting and creating a network that helps to continue the transnational ties and to establish new Chinese identities here.

Throughout my study, I identified a number of factors that contribute to cultural citizenship. I have already mentioned transnational links and food. Another important factor in achieving cultural citizenship is socioeconomic status. In the past, religious, ethnic, and class membership were used to determine the political status of people. (Del Castillo, 2005, p. 2) The more successful the family or individual was in the adopted country, the more likely they were to assimilate culturally. Dressing, behaving, and speaking like those around you encouraged acceptance by citizens of the host country, thus facilitating cultural citizenship. That is why Jewish immigrants went to night school to learn English and adopted American styles of dress. As perceived by the Jewish community, success and socioeconomic advancement were predicated, at least in part, on command of the English language. (Grubin, 2008, p. 1)

Family connections and generational position also make a difference in cultural identification. More recent immigrants usually feel less of a tie to their adopted country and a closer bond to their mother country than those who are born here. Often succeeding generations cannot even speak the family's original native language. This is a clear indicator of the importance of language in cultural citizenship. Acquiring the ability to speak English and no longer being able to speak the native language of the family indicates a shift in cultural citizenship.

This shift is reinforced by other factors in American society. Assimilation is encouraged by the media, especially as it relates to young people. That helps to explain why the grandchildren driving their grandmothers to tutoring dress and behave like other Americans of their age group. While it is true that it is now possible to maintain dual country cultural citizenship with the Internet and worldwide media, to become financially successful and to become part of American society is more difficult to do without the ability to speak English. While this may change

in some regions of the United States with the increase in the Latino population, language will, nevertheless, remain a key to cultural citizenship, and Americans will still need to learn the language to communicate with those of different ethnic groups in this country, much as the rest of the world already uses English as a *lingua franca* for doing business today.

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NARRATIVE AGENCY AND NARRATIVE COMPLICITY: METAFICTION IN INTERACTIVE NARRATIVES

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ABSTRACT

Interactive narratives (video games, simulations, visual novels, etc.) borrow heavily from literary and cinematic narrative conventions. However, the nature of the medium necessitates narrative innovation, the most profound of which is providing the illusion of narrative agency while simultaneously limiting it. This paper will examine one aspect of metafictionality in this developing field.

What I call interactive narratives is more commonly known by the diminutive "video games," a thoroughly unhelpful appellation. The word "game" marginalizes the medium as mere play; unserious, unsubstantial and not worthy of critical attention. Recently critics have attempted to move away from the term "comics" for the same reason; the term denotes a light, funny, unserious medium disposable after being consumed for a laugh or two, certainly not capable of sustained narrative interest. This characterization defies even a cursory visit to the local bookstore, and many have attempted to invent a more appropriate name. Some have embraced the term "graphic novels" to capture the length, narrative complexity and visual nature of the medium. Others have attempted to use the Japanese word "manga" to describe all such works, Japanese or otherwise, in order to cash in on manga's reputation for more serious narrative. Adam Kern prefers the term "verbal-visual narrative" (Kern, 2006), while Art Spiegelman has attempted to reclaim "comics" with the term "commix," a play on the way the medium "co-mixes" words and pictures (Spiegelman, 1988, p. 61).

The term "interactive narratives," then, is a similar attempt to distance a narrative medium from a diminutive popular name. Besides marginalization, "video games" is also an inadequate descriptor. In practice the term encompasses things like interactive novels, which have no "game" element at all. At the same time "video" recalls the early days of the medium, when consoles were plugged into television sets just like "video cassette players" and seen as the same category of household electronics, but now such narratives are consumed on a variety of devices in a wide array of settings and contexts. "Interactive narratives" is a much less problematic term: it simply describes narratives that interact with their consumer. Many have autotelic challenges, but not all. Many are designed for amusement and play, but not all. Most combine elements of autotelic challenge and play with narrative elements. Finally, most interesting for the field of narratology, many interactive narratives are narrative endeavors enabled by technology to experiment with narrative forms and techniques unavailable in other mediums.

It should be stated at the outset that not all interactive narratives use new narrative innovations. Many use tried-and-true narrative techniques, mainly those borrowed from cinema. *Final Fantasy XIII* (2009) is one of the latest and most typical examples of this narrative mode: all narrative is related through short cinematic movies (cutscenes). These cutscenes are consumed as passively as any theatre film,[1] and use professional cinematic techniques, such as framing and depth of field, that would be completely at home in a Hollywood movie. Gameplay is completely separate from the cinematic narrative elements, and in many ways each gameplay segment is a challenge required to "unlock" the next cutscene. Therefore consuming the narrative of *Final Fantasy XIII* is just like watching a movie, albeit in short chunks that must be unlocked.[2] That being said, there are many new and innovative techniques unique to the medium. I want to discuss the confluence of two such innovative techniques, which I will explain separately.

1.0. NARRATIVE INNOVATIONS

The first of these is the so-called "first-person perspective." As the name implies, this refers to the visual perspective from which the consumer[3] views the narrative world; through the eyes of the protagonist. The visual frame is exactly the protagonist's visual field. The use of this perspective means that the protagonist is effectively invisible. Because the narrative gaze is out, away from the body of the protagonist, the consumer never actually sees that protagonist. The protagonist's hands are sometimes visible in the frame, but in these games those hands are usually covered by protective gloves or armor of some kind. As a result, there is no visual information about the protagonist available; gender, ethnic, social and class markers that would be apparent visually in cinema or in the descriptive prose of novels are completely absent.

Early narratives employing this visual perspective seem to have regarded this as a flaw. The seminal games *Wolfenstein 3D* (1992) and *Doom* (1993), widely hailed as the progenitors of the first-person perspective category, featured simple icons at the bottom of the screen showing the protagonist's head and face. Perhaps because these narratives provided only the barest skeleton of story and characterization, the developers felt there was some need to have a human face the consumer could emphasize with. Whatever the case, the practice was dropped in subsequent works. Lack of visual characterization of the protagonist has been embraced by interactive narratives.

The second narrative technique featured in interactive narratives is the "silent protagonist." Again, as the name implies this refers to a narrative in which the protagonist never utters a word. Conversations are carried on entirely by the protagonist's interlocutors in a one-sided fashion, a curiosity that never seems to bother characters inside the narrative world. In *Half-Life 2* (2004) one character, after carrying on just one such conversation with a mute protagonist, remarks "Man of few words, aren't you?" (Valve, 2004). This is one of very few (if not the only) acknowledgements of this convention; usually the protagonists' muteness is treated as normal and unremarkable within the narrative world.

This technique again denies characterization. Not only does the protagonist not have a voice with its attendant markers of gender, ethnicity and class, the protagonist also expresses no speech content that might provide clues into personality, ethics or politics. Combined with the first-person perspective technique, which denies visual characterization of the protagonist, these narrative techniques result in a thoroughly uncharacterized protagonist.

It should be noted that these two techniques need not be used together. They can be used in any number of combinations. The blockbuster *Halo* (2001-2010) series features first-person perspective with a concealed protagonist who does, however, occasionally speak. The popular *Legend of Zelda* games (1986-2011) feature a protagonist with a definite face and body visible from a third-person visual perspective, but this protagonist is silent. Similarly *Dead Space* (2008) features a silent protagonist visible through a third-person perspective, but the protagonist's entire body is covered by a suit, denying any visual characterization. Finally, *Deus Ex: Human Revolution* (2011) is mostly first-person, but moves to third-person perspective for dialog, during which its protagonist is very visible and speaks. These techniques can be used in different combinations and to different degrees according to the characterization needs of a particular narrative.

However, the present study is interested in the confluence of these two techniques; first-person perspective and the silent protagonist. When used together, they result in narratives with an astounding lack of characterization for their protagonists. This might seem like a mere failure to characterize, but I would argue that these techniques, in fact, radically deny characterization. They are powerful rhetorical techniques that are very complicit in shaping how interactive narratives are consumed.

2.0. SECOND-PERSON NARRATION

Interactive narratives are by no means the only medium to deny characterization. Early Japanese painting, especially the 12th century Genji scrolls (picture scrolls used for visual reference during a recitation of *The Tale of Genji*), use a stylistic convention for portraying faces called *hiki-me kagi-bana* (dash for eyes, hook for nose). Faces are drawn in a highly abstract style with, as the name implies, only a few brushstrokes providing the barest framework of facial features. Some have seen this as evidence of a lack of will to characterize or individuate, and the style has been used as evidence in the tiresome argument that Japanese lack individualism (Miller, 1998, p. 428). However, Akiyama Terukazu, a leading scholar of classical Japanese art, provides a more astute interpretation:

> *Hiki-me kagi-bana* as an expressive technique… sought not to draw the men and women described in stories realistically, but instead drew them in a single idealized form. We can think of it as inviting the viewer to freely affix their own imaginings to the characters. Furthermore, depicting the protagonists of stories who were, after all, aristocrats just like the viewers as a single defined type made it easy for the views to project their own appearance on to the characters inside the narrative pictures. Through means of a kind of empathy, they were able to feel closer to the narrative world. (Akiyama, 1964, p. 237, my translation)

Hiki-me kagi-bana, therefore, does not stem from lack of a will to characterize, but is rather an intentional denial of characterization and individuation that allows the viewing subject to read him or herself into the picture. It is a technique that facilitates identification by the consumer with the characters, by portraying them as someone not distinct from the consumer but whom the consumer is encouraged to inhabit (Miller, ibid). Significantly, this is a visual style linked to narrative explication. The Genji scrolls were designed to be referred to as a storyteller read the text of *The Tale of Genji* aloud.

Interactive narratives that utilize the combination of first-person perspectives and silent protagonists are doing much the same thing. They radically deny characterization and individuation to create a protagonist that has no distinctiveness from the consuming subject, whom the consuming subject is invited to inhabit. The consumer becomes the protagonist, or the protagonist becomes the consumer.

These two narrative techniques, then, are powerful rhetorical devices that in effect create a second person narration. This is a significant development, which no other narrative form has achieved as successfully.

Furthermore, narrative in which the protagonist is "you" offers consumers agency in the narrative world, an innovation unique among narrative forms that deserves greater examination. Consumers control the narrative gaze, and can inspect any element of the game world they choose. The consumer/protagonist can also move to different locations, exploring the narrative world. Often there are certain instructions, which, if carried out, will advance the plot, but the consumer/protagonist is free to ignore them and pursue his or her own agenda. The consumer/protagonist can also affect the narrative world in various ways, changing the physical or social landscape, interacting with characters and sometimes affecting the narrative flow and outcome.

Indeed, agency in the narrative world is one of the selling points of interactive narratives, and it should be noted that there are other techniques these narratives use to supply it besides the ones being investigated here. Many narratives feature a visible protagonist from a third-person perspective, but allow the consumer to customize the character. The *Mass Effect* (2007-2012) series, for example, allows consumers to alter and manipulate gender, skin color, hair, facial morphology and other variables that visually characterize the protagonist. Some consumers may create an image of themselves, while others may attempt to create a character as different from them as possible. In either case, I would argue that consumers create a homunculus of themselves that has agency in the narrative world, an interesting device that deserves more investigation, but is unfortunately outside the scope of the present study.

However, even as interactive narratives offer consumers a sense of agency and base their appeal on it, they simultaneously must work to limit consumers' narrative agency. There is an inherent tension between consumer agency and narrative cohesion; if the consumer has complete freedom it is impossible to construct a well-paced, coherent narrative. More practically (and perhaps more importantly), developers simply cannot produce an infinite number of software assets. Every room or corridor, forest or city block presented in the narrative world requires hundreds of man-hours to construct. Developers must necessarily limit consumer agency so that they can limit the number of software assets required and produce games for reasonable budgets. The methods for limiting agency are common and simple; within the narrative world where the consumer/protagonist is free to move around and explore, some doors are locked, and some roads are blocked.

3.0. REVEALING THE TECHNIQUES OF LIMITATION

Having established the rhetorical techniques that create an illusion of narrative agency and the needs of interactive narratives to limit that agency, I now turn to one particular narrative, *Bioshock* (2007). This narrative uses the twin rhetorical techniques of first-person perspective and a silent protagonist to create a second-person narration and a sense of consumer agency in the narrative world. Like all such narratives, *Bioshock* must also limit that agency even as it offers it. However, *Bioshock* metafictionally calls attention to the methods it uses to limit narrative agency, and the consumer's own complicity in limiting the second-person protagonist's agency in the narrative world.

The narrative opens with the protagonist's airplane crashing into the ocean. Out of the middle of the ocean rises improbably a tower, which leads to an underwater, art deco, ruined libertarian utopia named Rapture. As the narrative progresses the consumer/protagonist is guided over a radio by a helpful character named Atlas,

who steers the consumer/protagonist through various obstacles and brings him or her to a confrontation with the city's erstwhile founder gone mad, Andrew Ryan.

However, Andrew Ryan reveals that the plane crash was not random; the protagonist came from the city, although he[4] had forgotten it (corresponding with the consumer's own lack of knowledge), and the crash was designed to bring the protagonist back. He also reveals that a polite speech habit Atlas has been using the whole time, the phrase "would you kindly," is in fact a code phrase that the protagonist is biologically programmed to obey. Shortly before the confrontation Atlas had used the phrase to "ask" the consumer/protagonist to kill Ryan. Ryan, who values liberty paramount, knows he cannot escape, but reveals the truth to the protagonist, knowing he cannot disobey even with the knowledge that he is a slave. Ryan uses his own death to mock the protagonist for his enslavement.

Ryan's dramatic exit reveals that throughout the entire narrative the protagonist has been unknowingly obeying Atlas's commands of enslavement. Of course, since *Bioshock* is a second person narrative, the protagonist is indistinguishable from the consumer. Therefore the consumer has been unwittingly obeying commands of enslavement. In the narrative layer, the protagonist had the illusion of agency but never had it in any real sense. In precisely the same way, in the meta layer the consumer had the illusion of agency, but never had it in any real sense. However, as explained above this is a necessary feature of consuming interactive narratives. The narrative, therefore, becomes a metafictional metaphor for the act of consuming the narrative itself. The game metafictionally reveals that by choosing to follow Atlas's commands, the consumer has this whole time been complicit in limiting the second person protagonist's own agency.

Ryan's death is a cut scene. Control of the gaze and hands that the narrative has seduced the consumer into thinking of as their own is wrested away and used to kill Ryan, driving home the consumer/protagonist's complete lack of real agency. Afterwards, however, Atlas needs one last task fulfilled in order to take control of Rapture (his ultimate goal). He uses the phrase "would you kindly" again to command the consumer/protagonist to complete it for him. This time, control is returned to the consumer. He or she is again in full control, with full (supposed) agency, able to move about freely and free to defy enslavement by disobeying Atlas's order. Now, however, the game reveals the technique it has always used to limit the consumer's agency; there is simply no way to progress other than by obeying the command; the path is linear, and there is only one way to access the rest of the narrative. But, of course, this is exactly how the game has always forced the consumer to obey what turned out to be enslavement commands. There was never any way to progress other than by obeying Atlas's orders. The narrative metafictionally reveals the methods it has been using to limit the consumer's agency the whole time (and the methods all interactive narratives use). Before, the consumer was unwittingly compromising their agency, but now they must do it fully cognizant of the fact. The only other option is to quit the game.

Interactive narratives, or video games, offer a sense of agency in the narrative world, something unique among narrative mediums. Using various rhetorical techniques, such as first-person perspective and silent protagonists, interactive narratives invite consumers to identify themselves with a transparent protagonist and enjoy the freedom and agency the game offers. However, these narratives must limit that freedom and agency even as they create the illusion of it. When narratives choose to metafictionally reveal the mechanisms of limitation, the second person equation of the protagonist with the consumer is turned back on him or her; what had been a vehicle for freedom and agency for the consumer now becomes a vehicle of limitation and conformity for that consumer, in which he or she has been actively complicit.

NOTES
1.   Some might argue that since all narratives are intertextual, no act of narrative consumption is entirely "passive." Here, I merely use the term in the sense of not requiring any input or action from the consumer.
2.   Gameplay perhaps does contribute in small ways; the gameplay segments move the narrative from one setting to the next as the characters move among different locations.
3.   "Player" has the same terminological problems as "video games," hence the use of "consumer." Furthermore, "consumer" is generalizable: reading a book, watching a film or "playing" a game are all acts of narrative consumption.

4.   Although the protagonist's voice and face are never revealed, in this particular narrative brief references to a male name and a handful of uses of masculine pronouns confirm that the protagonist is indeed male in this case. However even this characterization is made weakly, presumably to allow all consumers to identify with him as much as possible.

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II. Second Language Pedagogy

DEVELOPMENT OF AN ESP PROGRAM FOR A MICRONESIAN POPULATION IN HAWAIʻI

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the situational and linguistic needs of a prospective English program to be offered to adult language learners at a homeless shelter in Hawaiʻi. A needs analysis was designed, with the information collected leading to the development of course objectives, a syllabus, materials, and the aspects relating to teaching. This study may prove valuable to the field of language learning and teaching as it is situated outside an academic context and directly involves the educational needs of a population not often addressed in applied linguistics literature.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, there has been a rapid increase in the immigrant population to the United States, with many states showing a foreign-born population that has more than doubled between 1990 and 2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). In 2009, this population represented 17.3 percent of Hawaiʻi's total, of which 6.3 percent are migrants having arrived during the last three decades (Migrant Policy Institute, 2009). This situation was heightened in 1986 by the creation of the Compact of Free Association (COFA). Under this agreement, residents of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM)—composed of Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei and Yap—and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) (among other Pacific Island nations) became eligible to enter the U.S., its territories, and commonwealths without a visa or time limit (Grieco, 2003); in fact, individuals from the FSM are the fastest growing community of Micronesians in Hawaiʻi (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

While the COFA provided the FSM and RMI with economic development aid and provisions for increased healthcare, they were poorly funded, in particular with health and education, leaving these island nations lacking self-sufficiency; more specifically, this is in part because "strategies and resources to develop local leadership and management capacities were not included in the settlements" (Pobutsky, Buenconsejo-Lum, Chow, Palafox, & Maskarinec, 2005, p. 61). The countries' limited economic resources and struggling education and healthcare systems are significant factors in these residents choosing to leave (Omori, Kleinschmidt, Lee, Linshield, Kuribayashi, & Lee, 2007; Pobutsky et al., 2005). After arrival, however, there is often significant difficulty in finding employment, particularly due to low-level English skills. As an unfortunate result, there are a disproportionate number of families of Micronesian descent in Honolulu's homeless shelters and who would benefit from English as a Second Language (ESL) education within the shelters themselves (Hezel & Samuel, 2006; "Status of Micronesian Migrants," 2003; personal communication, January 23, 2012).

In January 2012, we began volunteering at such a shelter in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, with the initial intent of providing an ESL class to residents. There were three main points known before starting the program: the clients would be from the FSM and the RMI, they would be adults, and one purpose of the class would be to assist the students in acquiring life-skills using English in order to, primarily, find employment and acquire housing. Knowing in advance there was neither an established curriculum nor support in creating such a curriculum, we entered the 'classroom' to find students with varying English levels and a system designed to intake and exit clients ideally within a three-to-six month window.

After establishing the need for such a program and receiving approval from the shelter administration and the University of Hawaiʻi's Office of Research Compliance Human Studies Program (certificate of exemption, CHS#20009), we determined the purpose of this study to be the situational and linguistic needs of a new English program for adult English language learners within this context. After gathering academic and pedagogical resources, including existing information on the COFA and the population of interest, a needs analysis (NA) was designed. This analysis involved qualitative methodologies, including informal meetings, questionnaires, student-produced narratives, and observations from the three of us as researchers, which were conducted over a three-month period. The culmination of the study was the development of the NA, as well as the creation of course objectives and syllabus, adopted and adapted materials, and a teachers' guide, with the

project's framework centered around theories of pedagogy, in particular English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and adult ESL learners.

1.1. Literature Review For Context

As stated above, we found no curriculum in use nor one ever having been created, as well as no evidence a NA had ever been conducted. However, from the variety of information gathered, we began with three key pieces of information about the current situation:

1. The students would be predominantly from the FSM, and to a lesser extent the RMI, and were considered by shelter staff to have limited English skills.
2. The students would be adults (over age 18).
3. The students would need English for life-skills development, including but not limited to finding employment and acquiring housing.

With this knowledge gained early on in the project, we believed it necessary to review the current literature on adult learners of English and ESP to better inform ourselves on the situational context and gain a better understanding of the environment in which we would be working. It therefore became important to create a theoretical framework for this study, as well as knowledge of the situation, the students, and the shelter. From this, an evaluation of the initial state of the program could be conducted.

1.1.1. Micronesians in Hawai'i

According to *The Micronesian Counselor*, there are over 30,000 FSM citizens and 20,000 Marshallese living in the United States and its territories ("Status of Micronesian Migrants," 2003). The Micronesian population, which we will define for the purposes of this paper as individuals migrating from the FSM and RMI, is reported to be about 13,000 living in Hawai'i (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), although there is an updated estimate of approximately 20,000; of this number, about 73 percent live on Oahu (LaFrance, 2009) with hundreds more immigrating every year (*Status*, 2003). A study released in 2003 cites the main reasons for migration include a better education for both parents and their children (55 percent), improved employment opportunities (13 percent), and advanced healthcare (*Status*, 2003).

Many immigrants who arrive in Hawai'i may often do so without adequate knowledge of the system; they immediately face a high cost of living, a scarcity of affordable housing, crowded conditions, and work, if any, in low-paying, unskilled jobs. In addition, many soon find they cannot support themselves, with the only available option, particularly those with children, is to become a temporary resident of a homeless shelter. Public housing is an additional option, though currently with an extensive waiting list. Upon visiting the homeless shelter for the first time, we learned that the shelter served families, single women, and couples, with the majority of clients seeming to be of Micronesian decent. Having an understanding of where the current shelter population was from and what their experiences in Hawai'i may have been like up to that point, at least from the literature, provided a basic framework on which we could build as we entered the shelter and conducted our first class.

1.1.2. Adult learners of English

With the recent trend in immigration to the U.S. by speakers of languages other than English, there has been a subsequent increase in the number of adults attending ESL classes. Between 2002 and 2003, for example, participation in federally funded programs rose from 1.1 million to 1.2 million, respectively (Practitioner Toolkit, 2004).

Following a study by the National Center for Family Literacy (NCFL) and the National Center for ESL Literacy Education at the Center for Applied Linguistics, there are two key questions that can be asked about adult language education. The most common answers to the first, "Why do adults learning English participate in adult education programs?" (Practitioner Toolkit, 2004, p. I-3) are that students want to:

1. Learn English to communicate in their everyday lives
2. Get a job or pursuing better employment
3. Get a high school diploma or GED (General Educational Development) certificate
4. Acquire skills needed to advance to higher education programs (e.g., vocational training, college, university)
5. Acquire skills to help their children succeed in school (Practitioner Toolkit, 2004, p. I-3)

These five points may potentially play an important role in why clients of this shelter have decided to attend the ESL classes.

A second question posed in this study is, "What challenges do adults learning English face?" (I-3). The authors describe the following responses:

> ESL learners are not only trying to acquire a new language and a new culture, but are also working, managing their households, and raising their children. These challenges often present significant obstacles to learning. The National Center for Education Statistics (1995) listed the following barriers to program participation: limited time, money, childcare, and transportation, and lack of knowledge about appropriate programs in the local area. (Practitioner Toolkit, 2004, p. I-3)

In addition, the NCFL produced a study that asked both those in the education profession and community leaders about potential barriers reported by immigrants to their areas. The results outline five potential challenges across a number of locations experiencing a rise in the local immigrant population: logistical; program availability; employment; housing, language, and medical issues; and, psychological and social issues (Practitioner Toolkit, 2004, p. I-3).

The first two challenges, logistical and program availability are not applicable for this particular ESL class, as the clients who attend live in the building where the class is held. However, within this latter challenge is one important point to consider: although there are at present not formal child-minding services available within the shelter during scheduled class time and, with many children currently residing in the shelter are under the age of 5, they accompany their parents to the ESL classes. A lack of childcare services at community-offered language programs has restricted these adults from attending classes outside the shelter. The challenges most related to the adult students in this proposed program, though, were the latter three: employment; housing, language, and medical issues; and, psychological and social issues. Awareness of these topics was helpful to us as we prepared the questionnaire and considered how best to direct the overall interaction with the clients.

1.1.3. English for specific purposes
A literature review on this topic would be incomplete without including information on the program content—more specifically, ESP—as it was known that the students would need English for life-skills development, for finding jobs and acquiring housing and should therefore be a priority. Belcher (2006) states that ESP "assumes there are problems, or lacks, that education can ameliorate" and that "the problems are unique to specific learners in specific contexts" (p. 135). Included in this brief look at ESP will be how critical approaches are important frameworks for guiding ESP (Belcher, 2006), including how it answers two key questions: "How do we plan for an English program that focuses on survival skills?" and "What are the different social, pedagogical, and economic constraints that may affect our program?" Frye (1999) explored the various factors that appeared during her development of an ESL class for Latina immigrant women and concluded that language educators must consider not only the needs of the students, but also the power relations that may be at play. Similar to Frye (1999), we are building a program to fit a specific population of immigrants; thus, critical approaches and, we may add, critical pedagogies, are highly relevant. In the proposed ESL program to immigrants at the shelter, we must understand how English as a language with power and domination may be intrusive and at times destructive to cultural identity. Therefore, a focus on ESP and encouraging future teachers to hold a critical perspective would benefit the program, especially if approached with an understanding of personal prejudices or unrealistic expectations which might affect the clients' success.

2.0. NEEDS ANALYSIS

As stated previously, the participants at the shelter fall under the category of adult English language learners (ELLs). While such a classification comes with certain expectations and limitations, it does not entail the specific situational or linguistic needs of the participants, nor does it apply to our specific context. For a better understanding of the specific situational and linguistic needs of the students, we believed it paramount to conduct a NA. These step taken for the NA are discussed under the following headings: methodology,

procedure, and results, with the latter further divided into situational analysis results and learner NA results. The NA concludes with a brief discussion based on the results.

2.1. Methodology

The natural first step in making decisions about the NA is mirrored by three questions posed by Brown (1995): Who will be involved in the NA? What types of information should be gathered? Which points of view should be represented? Each question will be addressed in the following subsections—participants, instruments, and perspectives.

2.1.1. Participants

In answering the question, "Who will be involved?" we identified four groups of stakeholders using Brown's (1995) terminology (included here in italics): (a) the students/clients represent the *target group* (data on the participants gathered during the NA will be presented in the *Results* section of this paper); (b) the current volunteer teacher, staff members and other volunteers of the center represent the *audience*, or those "who will eventually be required to act upon the NA" (p. 37); (c) the three of us who served as researchers and teachers and acted as *needs analysts* for this program; and, (d) the *resource group*, with teachers and shelter staff again chosen, as they also "serve[d] as sources of information about the target group" (p. 37). The *resource group* can be further classified to include outsiders (Brown, 1995), in the case of this study referring to possible employers of current shelter clients. Due to time and resource limitations, we were unable to deal directly with this latter group of stakeholders but would choose to include it in future research should this be possible.

2.1.2. Instruments

In answer to the second question, "What types of information should be gathered?" we needed to make choices about what research instrument-types should be used to gather information. While the above literature review helped define the potential sociopolitical factors potentially affecting the outcome and implementation of the program, we also explored a number of other sources:

1. Existing information (e.g., shelter records and reports; client demographics)
2. Situational inventory observations (e.g., facilities; materials; teacher availability; teacher training; technology) and observations we conducted in the 'classroom'
3. Teacher and staff questionnaires (one past teacher; the present teacher; two staff members)
4. Student questionnaires
5. Student written statements in the form of personal narratives

The NA was designed to gather information at different times throughout the study as a means of necessitating flexibility and was subdivided into three periods of data collection: (a) pre-interaction, (b) during the initial interaction with the students, and (c) during instruction. This design structure made it possible to revisit each instrument before and after data collection and adjust it appropriately based on stakeholder feedback, member checking, and the amount and type of information gathered in order to best serve the NA.

2.1.3. Perspectives

"Which points of view should be represented?" was the third question considered for the NA, with us deciding to focus on three dichotomies presented by Brown (1995): (a) situation versus language needs, (b) objective versus subjective needs, and (c) linguistic content versus learning processes. The first two dichotomies represented equally strong perspectives and we concluded that an equal focus on each should be targets of the NA. While the linguistic-content-versus-learning-processes dichotomy is very important, time constraints determined for us that the focus should be on linguistic content; however, while students' learning processes were not a direct focus of our study, we explored issues such as student motivation and situational distractions in the learning environment which fall under the category of learning processes (Brown, 1995).

2.2. Procedure

As mentioned earlier, data collection occurred over three time-periods of student-teacher: (a) pre interaction, (b) initial interaction, and (c) during instruction. An overview of the data collection procedures for each of these three categories will be presented in the following section.

2.2.1. Pre-interaction

Before both entering the shelter environment and creating data collection instruments, we chose to gather and learn from existing public information. These resources were compiled in the form of a literature review and records analysis on the sociopolitical factors directly relating to the shelter clients, student demographics, and the educational environment, in the latter case relating to the shelter itself. In considering the content of these materials and comments provided by center staff, a questionnaire was developed to gather specific information about the learners and their surrounding situation; this was then distributed to the *resource group* stakeholders: one administrative staff member, one volunteer counseling psychology student completing a university practicum at the shelter, one former teacher, and the current teacher.

In addition, this pre-interaction time allowed us to perform an educational inventory of the shelter, which included gathering information on the facility, available materials, the time and logistical concerns within the program, teacher availability and training, and available technology for use in the program (see *Situational Analysis Results* below for further information). In preparation for the initial interaction with the students, we also created further data collection instruments, including a specific lesson plan to gather students' opinions and language learning experiences through the use of narratives.

2.2.2. Initial interaction

As we served as both researchers and teachers, it was possible to design lessons around the NA and gather information from the students while simultaneously providing English learning opportunities. The opinions of the students, as well demographic information, was gathered with consent from the students themselves in the form of observations, questionnaires, and students' written personal narratives. This data gathering has a two-fold purpose: to determine students' linguistic and situational needs and to verify the specific purposes for which the students might need English. As an offshoot of these data-collection activities, we subsequently learned about several important factors to consider while both creating and instructing in such a program: student's motivation for attending the class, first language (L1) literacy levels, English literacy, listening and speaking abilities, and reasons for migration.

2.2.3. During interaction

This stage of the NA saw each of us taking on multiple roles: (a) objective observer, (b) teacher, and (c) liaison with other shelter volunteers and staff. While serving as observers, we were interested in formative student evaluation (often through observation of student work), student motivation and attitudes, possible situational restraints to student attention, and the interaction between the students and the teachers and staff.

2.3. Situational Analysis Results

2.3.1. Shelter

The site for this study was a 24-hour emergency homeless shelter for single women, couples, and families, with a men's shelter in a neighbouring building. One of the responsibilities as a guest of the shelter is attending and completing some or all of the following skill-building classes as determined by staff (personal communication, January 25, 2012), which include budgeting, parenting, anger management, and civic engagement. In addition to adult programs, there is a Homework Club for school-aged children, available Monday to Friday afternoons in the shelter's Learning Center. At the time of this writing, the majority of the children in the shelter are under age 5 and, with formal childcare not often available at present, it is not unlikely to have almost as many children in the same room as there are adult students. One useful resource available at the shelter is a computer room; however, times must be reserved in advance, as it is generally reserved for use by the Homework Club.

2.3.2. Classroom

Classes take place in a large room on the third floor of the shelter, which has the multi-purpose use of common area, storage area, 'lounge' area and serving area for meals. The students use large, circular tables that comfortably accommodate four chairs. A small whiteboard on an easel is available but must be brought up by the instructors from the first floor to the third floor before each class and returned directly following each lesson. The use of the photocopier is permitted in an office on the second floor. At present, notebooks are provided for students by past donations, which are accessible only to staff, but pens, pencils, loose paper, whiteboard markers and erasers at present need to be provided by the instructor.

2.3.3. Volunteers

Volunteers only began teaching ESL at the shelter in January 2011, with one of the three researchers for this project among that group. All volunteers up to the present have been students of the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa; between January 2011 and January 2012 (when this study began), there were a total of four volunteers from the master's program and one completing a bachelor's degree. At present, the class is held one day per week for two hours, due to a lack of volunteers and the conflicting schedule of the current teacher.

2.3.4. Students

Fifty percent of the clients currently staying at the shelter are from Micronesia (personal communication, March 28, 2012). However, as the clients are often in transition, class demographics will naturally change as well. Information was collected voluntarily from the students during the first class using a personal identification form. While class numbers naturally fluctuated based on the transitional nature of the shelter, the initial numbers of students was 16, 3 males and 13 females, ranging in age from 20 to 41. Two first languages of the clients were identified—Chuukese and Marshallese—with ten and six speakers, respectively. Time spent in the U.S. ranged from four months to 12 years. The shelter staff initially recommended which students would attend the class; however, the current ESL teacher was advised by an administrator of the shelter that the final decision about which students should attend the class or not can be determined by the teacher, who has more knowledge of English language levels (personal communication, January 23, 2012).

2.4. Learner Needs Analysis Results

2.4.1. Data from staff and teachers

Data from the staff and teachers were collected via questionnaires, which focused on several types of information divided into five categories:

1. Personal information about the teachers and staff (e.g., job description, length of employment, amount of direct contact with students)
2. Information about the center (e.g., purpose, types of enrichment classes and services offered)
3. Objective information about the clients (e.g., reasons clients come to the shelter, demographic information, length of stay)
4. Subjective information about the clients (e.g., language needs, situational needs, motivation to join the English class)
5. Information about the existing the English class (e.g., availability, original purpose, enrollment issues guidelines, goals, available materials and resources, greatest challenges to the program)

As the first three categories cater to descriptive information about the participants and the setting of the study, most of the information from these categories was addressed in the previous learner and situational inventories; therefore, this section will only address select questions, predominantly from the latter two categories.

From the responses provided, two themes emerged. First, every respondent referenced that the students need English overall for "life-skills," to help themselves "get on their feet" and to help them become self-sufficient and independent members of society. Here English was shown to be needed by the students for specific purposes: (a) finding employment (highest frequency of those surveyed); (b) acquiring housing; (c) meeting social, community, and legal responsibilities; (d) communicating health and physical needs; (e) being aware of social services related to welfare and healthcare; (f) education; (g) being involved with their children's education; and (h) developing skills specifically related to employment and housing, including reading job advertisements, filling out applications, understanding questions in a job interview, budgeting, and paying bills.

Second, a significant amount of responses related to perceived challenges to the current program and potentially to any future English programs offered at the center. Such challenges can be separated into three categories: student-oriented, teacher-oriented, and center/program-oriented. Student-oriented challenges include students bringing their children to class, motivation levels, English levels, and a lack of self-confidence. Teacher oriented challenges are training and preparedness, scheduling constraints, and a lack of specific knowledge on the setting and students. Center- and program-oriented challenges relate to the open-entry and

open-exit nature of the program, a lack of materials and resources, and the lack of a set curriculum, which have been shown to be an overwhelming challenge to teachers and ultimately a deterrent in continuing to volunteer.

2.4.2. Data from students

Information on students' subjective needs was made through several key observations. From class activities, we were able to note skills we felt could be strengthened as the program progressed; similarly, observing the completion of specific tasks helped us better gauges the students' language skills. Informal questions to the students were equally helpful as they provided information on the aspects of language they were most interested in learning. Coupled with results from the student questionnaires and personal narratives, these observations helped us to better understand the students' perceptions on the English class and offered additional and important perspectives.

In addition to observations, questionnaires were designed to have students consider both their needs in the English class and their life outside the shelter, and were created to meet each individual's English proficiency level. The question topics and a summary of their responses can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Results of Students' Questionnaires.

Reasons for learning English	• To get a job
	• To speak with the case manager
	• To speak English without needing an interpreter
	• To expand on vocabulary
Reasons for living in Hawai'i	• For children's education
	• To find a better job
	• Hawai'i is bigger and wealthier than Micronesia

While observations and questionnaires were helpful in understanding more about the students' needs, we also decided to create a lesson activity relating to the students' individual experiences in learning English and reasons for choosing to relocate to Hawai'i. Responses in writing were encouraged, but with an added oral explanation made possible to all students. Upon the completion of the narratives, believed pertinent information was extracted and categorized into four groups:

1. Previous experience with English learning
2. Reasons for learning English (including expressed needs and concerns)
3. Problems faced not fully understanding English
4. Motivation to learn English (including examples of intrinsic motivation and appreciation)

Narrative Quotes 1: Previous experience with English learning
Student A: "I was in high school I learned how to speak English only little bit not really and then I graduated from high school and just stay[ed] home…. When I first came here it was very hard to speak English"
Student D: "[my son] was trying to teach me English, and now I can understand English"
Student E: "first time when I came to Hawai'i I didn't know how to speak English"

Narrative Quotes 2: Reasons for learning English
Student A: "I want to learn how to speak English because I go look for my job and speak English to somebody"
Student C: "English class is important to me because I want to look for [a] job…"
Student G: "I want to speak to my doctor and my case manager"

Narrative Quotes 3: Problems faced not fully understanding English
Student E: "I answered the phone and they said I have to go to my interview and I just said yes I will then the day I [was] so confused because I really didn't understand what they said"

Narrative Quotes 4: Motivation for learning English.

Student A: "I [am] lucky for…this class…I know how to speak English [a] little bit…thank you for…help[ing]
          me how to speak English I really thank you because I understand"
Student C: "English class is important to me because I want to look for [a] job and then I like speak English…
          when you say that I know what you say for me or someone but it not big it's a little bit"

2.5. Discussion of Needs Analysis

Information provided by the four participant groups cite the importance of English language skills for self sufficiency, including employment—such as reading a job advertisement, filling out applications, and preparing for interviews—and English for daily life, as well as becoming independent and active participants in the community. There are several challenges, however, that have be noted from both the NA and volunteering in such an environment. The provision of English classes at this shelter is a new concept, beginning only within the year prior to when this NA was conducted. Initially starting as a tutoring session due to only one or two clients attending, the shelter staff and administration have come to offer stronger support for its continuation. However, as this is a newly proposed program, there are at present several challenges that need to be kept in mind when creating and maintaining a course in this environment; these include student attendance and motivation, and teacher recruitment and retention.

Student attendance is either made mandatory or recommended by shelter staff, depending on their perceptions of the client from daily interaction; however, the final decision on whether the student needs to attend the class has been left up to the teacher, as they will likely have previous experience in teaching English and therefore be in a better position to judge clients' English levels (personal communication, January 25, 2012). Some students who are at a higher level are not required to attend, but do so "because they sincerely want to improve their English skills" (questionnaire response); others attend simply to fulfill the requirement. As this is an emergency homeless shelter, there are rules enforced to ensure clients are working towards self-improvement and being active with their intentions on leaving the shelter. This includes the completion of required volunteer hours or attending life skills classes at the shelter, towards which the English class counts. The teacher also needs to create a sign-in sheet, which is then given after the class to the family program coordinator who passes this information on to the required staff members.

One of the greatest challenges agreed upon by most staff and teachers surveyed is that motivation on the part of students is lacking. The students who attend have mentioned in the narratives that they want to learn English for specific reasons and why they attend the class. Staff and teachers have noted, though, that motivation to attend in general was absent, while also noting that student "self-confidence and a self-awareness of their potential" (questionnaire response) were also lacking.

An additional challenge that has been noted is teacher recruitment and retention, which may be for several reasons. Volunteer English lessons began at the shelter in January 2011, with one or two students attending, and none of the volunteers (university students) choosing to return the following semester. One new volunteer taught from September to December 2011, but also decided not to return after the completion of the semester. The major reason considered by previous teachers is the necessity of creating their own materials on a weekly basis—a challenge for any teacher—but with the added disadvantage of teaching in an environment where the learning and language needs of the students cannot be met simply by the use of a standard ESL textbook. Teachers also need to be aware that because of potentially sporadic attendance, lessons should ideally be planned to stand alone. As cited by one of the teachers, there is a "lack of a well thought-out and set curriculum that actually caters to the students' needs" which can affect a volunteer teacher's decision on whether or not to continue teaching in this environment (questionnaire response). With the teacher required to provide all the materials and no appropriate textbook that could be given to the students, the creation of materials on a weekly basis can be an added challenge. This being said, however, one of the goals of this project was the creation of objectives, a syllabus, a collection of materials, and a teacher's guide, all of which are intended to provide that support for teachers and potentially solve the issues surrounding their recruitment and retention.

3.0. OBJECTIVES AND SYLLABUS

After carefully reviewing and discussing the NA findings, we listed twelve main functional categories we believe would benefit the students and from these categories created objectives that would serve as the

framework of a curriculum. Additionally, these objectives would serve as a guide for what the teacher should expect from the students at the end of the course. Thirty-one objectives were laid out, as they seemed essential to the specified purpose of the program. The objectives were then reorganized and incorporated into the syllabus of the curriculum. For this particular course curriculum, we chose to mix two types of syllabuses: situational and functional: a situational syllabus is "based on the idea that language is found in different contexts or situations" (Brown, 1995, p. 8), while a functional syllabus is based on a sequence of useful ideas or functions that seem to fit the students (Brown, 1995). Although we offer a basic structure that could serve as a gradual progression of skills, the syllabus is not intended to work as a sequence of lessons that are interrelated, as ultimately it will be the teacher's decision as to what best fits the current class demographics. This is especially important given the constraints and instability of the shelter population as well as the open entry/open-exit nature of the class. To further assist future volunteer teachers, the syllabus was organized with twelve topics, assuming one topic per week and a perceived course length of three months: (1) Greetings/Introductions; (2) Forms and Documents; (3) Personal Information; (4) Directions; (5) Events and Scheduling; (6) Shopping; (7) Phone Calls; (8) Jobs; (9) Job Interviews; (10) Medical Needs; (11) Computer Literacy Skills; and, (12) Setting up an Email Account.

4.0. MATERIALS

4.1. Adopted Materials Review

It has been well documented that ESP plays an important role in acquiring skills to meet the needs of a particular body of students. Finding appropriate resources for a specific context, however, can be challenging; in particular, those that would be potentially interesting and contain original content for students to explore, while also incorporating the skills needed by the particular population. In addition, there has been the argument put forth in current cutting-edge pedagogy that teachers of all levels should use resources that are both "well contextualized and meaningful to learners. In addition, the learning objectives should be grounded in some type of real-world discourse" (Celce-Murcia, 2007). With these ideas in mind, materials were chosen as possible resources to be used in the proposed ESL program at the shelter.

4.1.1. *All-Star textbook series*

The overall goals of the *All-Star* textbook series are to "systematically build language and critical thinking skills around life-skills topics; these include family, work, and community topics in each unit and also provide alternate application lessons in its workbooks, giving teachers the flexibility to customize the series for a variety of student needs and curricular objectives" (Lee, Tanaka, & Velasco, 2011, p. 2). Based on these topics, *All-Star* may be a good resource for students in developing their life-skills using English, be potentially very interesting to students, and be ideal for beginners who want to improve their English listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. Specific topics for life-skills development include: *Meeting Your Classmates, Getting Started* (such as exchanging personal information; saying and understanding numbers (telephone, area code, zip code); using appropriate greetings and partings; asking about occupations; and, introducing people); *Time and Money* (read a time schedule; ask for and tell the time of day), *Calendars* (talk about appointments; make, cancel, and reschedule an appointment), *Health* (talking about health problems), and *Work* (responding to job ads; completing job applications).

4.1.2. *Downtown textbook series*

The *Downtown* series serves as a practical, complement textbook relevant to the needs of this ESL population, as the table of contents includes many relevant topics, as well as a situational layout with functional and structural syllabus subcategories; for example, Chapter 1 is titled *Personal Information* and includes greetings and introductions, as well as asking for telephone numbers (McBride, 2006). Nine of the ten chapters may potentially be useful in an ESP setting, including lessons under the following chapter titles: *Personal Information, Shopping, Time, The Community, Housing, Health and Safety, Food,* and *Work.* The sequential series include the same situations at more advanced levels of language competence.

4.2. Limitations of Adopted Materials

While the *All-Star* series may be a useful set of materials to be adopted, considerations need to be made by the teacher on necessary adaptations based on the level of current students. Because names of certain locations and people—including film stars—were unfamiliar to these clients from FSM and RMI, there were challenges in understanding the content of the activity, which inhibited, for example, being able to complete a

particular exercise. Similar problems can be found in the *Downtown* series, which are limitations of these textbooks and why adapting resources is a necessary factor.

While only *All-Star* and *Downtown* have been reviewed here, there are a number of other useful resources available. Knowing that materials selection can be very content and situation specific, it is often left to the teacher to decide which texts and resources from which to pull lessons and activities. Regardless of the texts that we have reviewed and listed, careful thought by the teacher as to the changing population of students' needs, abilities, and prior knowledge, particularly in the present ESP context, will need to be given to any materials considered for use in the class.

5.0. TEACHING

The overall aim of the NA was to help in the creation of a self-contained curriculum that would allow for flexibility in delivery. The NA findings were crucial in understanding the main focus of such a course and determining what support would be most necessary in helping future teachers of this program succeed. Our conclusions from all information gathered suggests there can be at least six main factors that impede successful teaching:

1. There is a lack of communication between the teachers and staff.
2. There is no system in place to provide new teachers with basic information on the shelter, the other programs offered, and the clients.
3. There is no system in place to orient teachers to the students, their demographics, linguistic needs, and in what "life skills" they need English to perform.
4. There is no system in place to inform the teachers of the sociopolitical context of the program.
5. While materials have now been adopted and developed, they have yet to be disseminated in an organized way that could be easily passed from teacher to teacher, ultimately supporting the longevity of the program.
6. The open-entry and open-exit nature of the program leads to an ever-changing student population that is unpredictable.

According to Brown (1995), "the impressions and facts that teachers receive in the first few weeks or months of their stay in a language program may well shape their views and actions within that program for years to come" (p. 180). This perceived need, then, for future volunteer teachers to know such information will greatly assist in the provision of a more in-depth knowledge of the potential teaching environment; thus, one final document created for this study was a teacher's guide, intended to help teachers better acclimate to this unique teaching environment.

6.0. DISCUSSION

The purpose of the NA is to provide clients, staff, and present and future volunteer teachers with informed instruction in 'survival skills' English. One of the primary reasons for many Micronesians being in the shelter is because their level of English is not sufficient enough to find employment. Students who attend this ESP program would benefit from English focuses on finding employment and improving life-skills. In addition, as the homeless shelter is intended for emergency situations only, it is the administrations' goal for clients to become self-sufficient; that is, ideally finding a job and moving out of the shelter within three months. As well as the benefit of acquiring survival English language skills, it is also beneficial for residents to gain an understanding of basic computer functions, as this would make finding and applying for employment more accessible.

Based all information gathered to date, the proposed curriculum would be for three-months. At present, the class is likely to be offered for two hours, once a week. Should a more comprehensive curriculum be developed, it is likely more teachers may be willing to volunteer. One possible issue is the potentially constantly changing student population. An ESL course would be supported by the shelter administration that is in a position to require residents to attend as a requirement to fulfill for volunteer hours (a requirement for long-term stay in the shelter and in order to be given certain benefits/privileges). This mandatory attendance will help the class maintain the same students on a weekly basis. A second issue that relates to curriculum development is the

varied English language levels of the residents; at present they have been observed to range from low-level literacy to intermediate. Due to the constantly fluctuating situation of both attendance and English language levels, a proposed curriculum would only be intended to serve as a guide rather than a set curriculum.

7.0. LIMITATIONS

Although we tried to focus on what were considered to be the primary issues of each section of the study—that is, the NA, objectives and syllabus, materials, and teaching—there were a number of factors that could not be addressed. The largest limitation was time, as this study was completed in three months; for example, while we all agreed that linguistic content and students' learning processes were both important, time constraints determined for us that the focus at present should be on linguistic content rather than learning processes. Another significant factor was the use of only qualitative data, with no quantitative data found on, for example, each student's English level. In addition, we were not in a position to conduct a proficiency test or any form of diagnostic or achievement assessment and therefore there was no subsequent section on testing. Although teacher observations were used as a formative assessment, other forms of assessment were not considered.

8.0. CONCLUSION

The four participant groups—target, audience, needs analysts and resource—represented the students, teachers and staff (who will act upon the information), us as researchers, and teachers and staff (as sources of information about the target group), respectively (Brown, 1995, p. 37). Information gathered from these groups included existing information, observations, questionnaires (to staff, teachers, and students) and student narratives. Before data collection, we decided to also consider three potential dichotomous perspectives: situational versus linguistic needs, objective versus subjective needs, and linguistic content versus learning processes. Answers to these points were sought in varying degrees during the three chosen occasions for data gathering—pre-interaction, initial interaction, and during instruction—and resulted in a suitably comprehensive representation of the needs of this population in this setting. There can be a number of challenges in teaching in such an environment, including the diversity of English language levels and the unpredictability of attendance; however, as the course is still in the beginning stages, continued support by staff and the willingness of volunteer teachers in promoting and guiding the program are necessary for the program's longevity and its success.

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BEYOND COMPREHENSION: OBSERVING PATTERNS OF LEARNER REACTION TO WRITTEN TEXTS

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ABSTRACT

Amid tendencies in the FL classroom to overemphasize literal comprehension and thus to undermine texts' window into sociocultural and linguistic practice, this study observes readers' reactions to a text as they move beyond comprehension of the text towards its implications for personal and real world relevance. Concurrently, the study examines the influence of instructional materials, objectives, and guidance on learner reaction. Data collection involved audio recording a third-year Japanese four-skill class and a fourth-year Japanese modern literature class. The findings showed little learner reaction, but suggested an instructional need to develop and contextualize comprehension to elicit further learner engagement.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Over the years many researchers and studies have looked at the processes, strategies, and motivations involved in reading and the factors that contribute to and constitute comprehension. Goodman (1994), in a long career of reading research, suggests that during a reading the reader is trying, by means of various processes and strategies, to make sense of the text and is engaged in comprehending, and ultimately that "comprehension, at some level, is always at the end product of any act of reading" (p. 31). Yet, as important as such processes and strategies may be, if the only end goal is often this comprehension, and then to what extent are our classrooms and our learners limited?

Moving beyond comprehension is not something foreign to the classroom. Students in primary and secondary schools are often asked to write response journals or essays regarding a reading, reflecting on their general thoughts and feelings towards the text, and post-secondary literature courses often emphasize analysis and interpretation of texts. While these reactions and responses tend to be highly teacher-prompted and temporally disjoined from the actual task of reading, the process nonetheless highlights opportunities to take up and react to textual meaning and implication. Among post-secondary foreign language classes, however, this concept seems lost upon many L2 learners, who seem more concerned with translating the text and solving word and vocabulary problems rather than focusing on building, evaluating, and reacting to the textual message (Mori, 1995). In this light, readings and texts tend to lose their nature as conveyers of information and as mediums that elicit thoughts, feelings, and reactions. Process and comprehend as students might, the text tends to remain an end in itself, a medium for revealing language, and rarely acts as a means to further thought or reaction in how the reading or its components may affect the reader or the community at large.

This said, there have also been a number of studies on critical reading skills, analysis, and approaches. Kern (2000) and Iwasaki and Kumagai (2008), in examining the nature of the reading ability teachers aim to develop in the foreign language classroom, recognize tendencies to overemphasize literal comprehension and thus undermine authentic texts' window into sociocultural and linguistic practice. In response, Kern goes on to frame the principles necessary for a critical reading approach, and Iwasaki and Kumagai attempt to integrate such an approach within an advanced level Japanese course. They find that the teacher necessarily has to provide structured guidance to enable students to engage in critical thinking prior to and during reading and discussion. They suggest that in-depth critical readings could facilitate the use of effective analytical processes and strategies and hold considerable influence in developing not only a learner's language skills but their literacy skills as well.

In consideration of the above issues, the current study examines the space between literal comprehension and critical reading approaches by observing how learners initially react to texts as they move from literal comprehension towards implications for personal and real world relevance. The objective of this study is to reveal how learners do, or do not, react to the meanings and implications of a text, to look at the influence of instructional materials, objectives, and guidance on learner reaction, and to see what, if any, implications the findings may have for the classroom and for critical reading approaches.

2.0. BACKGROUND

The act of reading is understood to necessitate a number of processes and strategies, with the goal being to develop comprehension. In order to establish the context within which learners may be seen to react to or about a text, I would like to briefly look at these processes and strategies. Specifically, I will focus on the elements understood to define the reading process, the creation of meaning from text, the nature of comprehension, and the reading's relation to the real world.

At the heart of reading operations there is an integrative interaction between top-down and bottom-up processing. In the late 60's, Goodman (1967) developed a psycholinguistic theory that viewed the reader as an active participant in the reading process, one who uses background knowledge of various linguistic and conceptual levels (p. 46). Thereafter, these linguistic and conceptual levels were redefined as hierarchically organized schemata, with more general conceptually-driven schemata at the top and more specific data-driven schemata at the bottom (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1988, p. 77). Within these organized schemata, two significant types of processing emerged: top-down and bottom-up. To quote Carrell (1988),

Top-down processing is the making of predictions about the text based on prior experience or background knowledge, and then checking the text for confirmation or refutation of those predictions. Bottom-up processing is decoding individual linguistics units (e.g., phonemes, graphemes, words) and building textual meaning from the smallest units to the largest, and then modifying preexisting background knowledge and current predictions on the basis of information encountered in the text. (p. 101)

These two types of processing, while rather broadly defined here, incorporate an array of strategies which learners may potentially use in developing their comprehension of a text.[1] Learners, having used these strategies, may also in turn create potential sites for relating the text to themselves, to their community, or to the world.

Since defining top-down and bottom-up processes, research has increasingly revealed instances of interaction between both top-down and bottom-up processing, and researchers have progressively understood reading to necessitate the integration of both. They conclude that on some level all reading entails the interaction and informational processing between one's linguistic knowledge and one's own prior worldly knowledge (Grabe, 1988; Carrell & Eisterhold, 1988; Eskey, 1988). On a note of caution, however, we should be aware of individuals' respective usage of these types of processing. Koda (2005) suggests that not all learners use each process equally, such that each learner differs in their perceptual processing, word recognition, lexical access, phonological decoding, contextual use, vocabulary knowledge, comprehension ability, coherence building, text-structure knowledge, and background knowledge (pp. 183-8). This is to say, as interactive as the processes may be, in the foreign language classroom we must account for the possibility that readers may tend to actively focus on one type of processing over the other (Mori, 1995).

An understanding of the interaction between top-down and bottom-up processing and learners' variability in how they utilize them allows for the ability to observe how individual learners' comprehension is dynamically constructed. As learners attempt to develop comprehension, they gradually build an understanding of the text's meaning through their own personal connections, and from this, increasingly reveal and allow for potential sites for reaction. Eskey and Grabe (1988) state that "the reading of any kind of text must be treated as real reading, that is, reading for meaning" (p. 227). Yet, the meaning of a text is not self-contained (Eskey, 1988, p. 96), nor does it reside in a fixed, static form frozen within the words of a page (Devine, 1988, p. 260); rather, learners create meaning in the process of discerning the author's communicative intent (Koda, 2005, p. 123).

In "a highly creative process whereby the reader draws upon a multitude of resources to create meaning from print" (Everson & Kuriya, 1998, p. 2), the learner engages in a receptive process in which the writer has encoded thought as language and the reader decodes the language as thought (Goodman, 1988, p. 12). As Everson and Kuriya and Goodman suggest, during the act of reading, learners are creatively processing and attempting to decode the author's encoded message and develop a sense of the reading's meaning. To develop a higher level of comprehension, however, Taguchi (2008) explains that readers need to access multiple layers of meaning:

Comprehension involves a simultaneous calculation of three layers of meaning: the conventional meaning based on the structure of language or language use patterns, the intended meaning based on the context involving the speaker and the listener, and the pragmatic meaning based on norms of how language is normally used. (p. 253).

Taguchi further suggests that comprehension difficulty is based on the degree of processing effort in each of these three layers (p. 253). It is not only top-down and bottom-up processes that challenge learners, but also the need to access different layers of meaning which contribute to the complexity and difficulty in comprehensibility of a text. As learners access these layers, they establish a more refined understanding of the text and concurrently create more potential sites for personal reaction, whether it is to particular elements of the meaning, to a combination of such elements, or to the overall meaning.

As learners interact with the text, access meaning, and approach comprehension, we must consider the question of what comprehension is, or rather what we are looking for that will necessarily define or constitute it in the classroom. Kern (2000) began to question "teachers' tendencies in foreign language classrooms to excessively focus on literal comprehension and to use written texts as materials merely for language exercises through which students learn new vocabulary, expressions, and structural patterns" (p. 123). Given such instruction, overemphasis on "the accurate retrieval of information from texts may undermine the content of readings," and "course activities may not be as intellectually challenging or stimulating as desired" (Iwasaki & Kumagai, 2008, p. 124). In consideration of these observations, the current study recognizes the possible influence of instructional methods and objectives, and the possibility that learners may not even be given opportunities to move beyond literal comprehension.

In looking further at the definition and nature of comprehension, Goodman (1994) cautions us regarding the distinction between comprehension as a product and comprehension as a process. As a product, and in line with Iwasaki and Kumagai's (2008) concern, he mentions that comprehension is usually measured by some type of post-reading test of knowledge; yet, attempts to study and evaluate reading using such tests "are limited by what the reader is willing or able to report as well as by what has actually been comprehended" (p. 31). Not to mention, a reader "may change what he or she understood on the basis of test questions that seem to require particular responses and views" (p. 31). As a process, on the other hand, comprehension allows for "a constructive process in which readers make sense of the text" and "goes on during reading, even long afterwards as the reader reconsiders and reconstructs what has been comprehended," thus suggesting that "comprehension may be changed in the course of testing it" (p. 31). With respect to the above distinction and to Schmitt, Jiang, and Grabe's (2011) conclusion that 98% of vocabulary coverage is probably necessary for even 60% comprehension (p. 39), the current study allows for the possibility that in the context of comprehension-as-product classrooms, learner reaction may have been confined to a lexical, phrasal, or structural level. Yet, it concurrently looks for the occurrence of comprehension as a process, whereby learners continuously reconstruct and adapt their perspective of the text and thus expand the potential grounds on which they might react.

With an understanding of comprehension and the processes and strategies that define it, we can take the act of reading and consider it in non-instructional contexts, where it is not an end in itself, but a means suggesting various applications and implications. This is in contradiction to foreign language classroom practice where acts of reading tend to overemphasize comprehension and lose sight of a text's potential to connect to learners and the world they find themselves in. Ingulsrud and Allen (2009) state that when separated from testing, however, comprehension can dissolve into other motives such as pleasure, usefulness, and inspiration (p. 128). Writers, having some thought or feeling about the world, encode a text with meaning, so why should it be that on the flip side we only expect readers to decode and comprehend the meaning with no further alignment towards that meaning's relation to reality? As Goodman (1988) states, "meaning is the context in which reading takes on reality" (p. 15). From a theoretical and pragmatic standpoint, it seems odd to deny learners the affordances of reacting to a text as they see relevant to themselves and to their realities.

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As discussed above, the act of reading is constituted of a set of processes and strategies by which learners attempt to access meaning and develop comprehension. Further, in the foreign language classroom, the act of reading is often influenced by instructional materials, objectives, and guidance and such influence may extend from the reading to learners' reactions to the text. In conjunction with this act, researchers have identified potential

areas wherein learners may be seen to react to a text as they establish comprehension. It is the goal of this study to understand learners' initial reactions to texts in the hope of revealing ways for foreign language instructional practice to move from a focus on literal comprehension to more critical reading approaches. To do so, the current study poses the following research questions:

- How do learners react to or about a text as they move beyond comprehension as they take up a text and align to personal or real world knowledge and implications?
- What is the influence of course materials, objectives, and instructor guidance on learner reactions?

By answering these questions, this paper hopes to address some current reading methodologies and what potential there exists to move reading focuses towards more personal, applicable, and interpretive spaces.

4.0. STUDY DESIGN

4.1. Participants
        The participants for this study consisted of 29 learners from two intact Japanese classes at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa: a second semester third-year Japanese language class (four skills), hereby referred to as the "third-year class," with 15 learners; and a fourth-year Japanese modern literature class, hereby referred to as the "fourth-year class," with 14 learners. These two classes were selected in that they both have regular reading assignments in Japanese and because the reading materials tend to be of a semi-authentic or authentic nature. They were also selected in the hopes of revealing potential differences that might emerge from the difference in course level, focus, and materials.

        To develop a clearer picture of the variance in language learning experience among the population of learners in this study, prior to the observations, participants were asked to fill out a brief background survey regarding their prior experience, both formal and informal, with the Japanese language. For the third-year class, learner responses to this background survey indicated an average of 2.5 years of formal study, all of which took place at the current university. All but one student were taking the course for the first time. Four students had additional informal experience: one had worked for 2 years in Okinawa, one had a native-speaking mother, one had a one-month exchange program, and one had taught English for 5 years in Niigata prefecture in Japan. The fourth-year class, on the other hand, had a much more varied group of learners. According to their responses, the average number of years of formal study was 3.375. This number, however, included four heritage language learners who all had one native-speaking parent: one with 0 years formal experience, one with 6 years of Japanese elementary school experience during a 9 year residence while her family was stationed in Japan, one with 9 years in a Hawai'i-based Japanese primary school system after growing up in Japan from age 1 to 5, and one with 9 years in the same Hawai'i-based Japanese primary school system. Excluding the heritage learners, the average was 2.9375 years, with three learners having a one-year study abroad in Japan. Overall, we can conclude from the background surveys that the fourth-year class only had an additional half to three-quarter-year advantage over the third-year class in terms of formal study, but had a much more extensive base in residence abroad or exposure to the language at home or in a Japanese school system. In looking at the data in this study, I will review more specific individual cases as they pertain to instances of learner reaction that emerged.

4.2. Procedures
        Three observations were conducted for each of the two intact classes for a total of six observations. The third-year class met for 50 minutes each session, and the fourth-year class for 75 minutes. For each observation, the researcher sat in on the class and recorded via a single high-quality digital audio recorder placed in the center of the room while concurrently taking general field notes to mark speech turns, gestures, and other such visual cues, using pseudonyms for reference. While the classrooms were relatively small and the recorder of high-quality and placed in the center of the room, the researcher realizes that learners may have engaged in low-volume self-directed speech or unobserved facial expressions or gestures, but due to lack of individual recording devices or a video recorder was unable to account for all of such data.

        All observations took place during a six-week period, and, keeping in line with the study's purely observational objective, occurred as each class dealt with readings and activities already a part of its normal curriculum and coursework. For the third-year class, the first observation occurred as the class began to read 「狂言

と笑い」(*Theatric Farce and Laughter*) from lesson eight of the upper-intermediate level textbook *Tobira*. The second and third observations took place over two consecutive days exactly three weeks later as the class read「日本の教育の現状」(*The Modern Condition of Japanese Education*) from lesson nine of the same textbook. For the fourth-year class, the first observation occurred during the middle of a rather long short story by Murakami Haruki entitled「像の消滅」(*The Elephant Vanishes*), with the second observation occurring twelve days thereafter as the class finished up the reading. The third and final observation took place just over a month after the second as the class quickly covered the entirety of a single short story,「鏡」(*Mirror*), again by Murakami Haruki.

When all observations were complete, the recording time was distributed as follows: for the third-year class, approximately 50 minutes, 29 minutes, and 9 minutes for a total of approximately 88 minutes; and for the fourth-year class, 70 minutes, 74 minutes, and 68 minutes for a total of 212 minutes. The reason for such inconsistent and overall low times for the third-year class was due to the nature of the course. While the fourth-year class was purely literature-focused with all in-class time spent on readings, the third-year class was four-skills-focused, and thus class time was also spent on grammar-based activities, quizzes, and cultural discussion.

4.3. Methods

Following the data collection, the recordings were transcribed and analyzed in conjunction with the researcher's field notes and learners' background surveys, with analysis qualitatively focusing on emergent patterns of learner reaction to the text and the potential influence of instructional materials, objectives, and guidance on said reaction. Via observations and field notes, the researcher sought to answer this paper's research questions by identifying verbalized or otherwise visual outward reactional cues. These reactional cues were identified as learner moves that went beyond the processes and strategies of an act of reading, indicating comprehension and uptake. Reaction was taken to be any sign that the learner had comprehended and taken up the text and was aligning to some degree to its personal or worldly implications. While the current study did not presuppose any single reaction type, the types and instances of learner reaction were easily observable and recognized. While this methodology does not provide data afforded by visual recordings or learner interviews, it does provide data via a process similar to a teacher's everyday observations of class and learners, closely mirroring a teacher's perspective.

5.0. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In analyzing the transcriptions and field notes, I focused on the time during which readers were reading and "on-task." While this does not include reactions framed by off-task teacher-led content questions, I will briefly note such occurrences and their implications. For each class, the texts themselves were treated as intensive. This is to say that each text contained vocabulary and grammar assumed to be unknown at the learners' level, as well as complex sentences requiring some cognitive effort, and overall was at a level just beyond learners' comprehensibility. The analysis that follows will look separately at the third-year class, the fourth-year class, the respective influence of instructional materials, objectives, and guidance and finally two concrete examples observed during the fourth-year class.

With the third-year class, the researcher observed no signs of reaction occurring during the reading. While on-task, learners took turns, going around the room reading one or two sentences each. During this time there was an evident struggle just to comprehend the text as students repeatedly misread a number of *kanji*, 'Japanese characters,' asked for the meanings for a number of *kanji*, and even ended the readings of some non-question sentences with a questioning rising intonation. Concurrently, these efforts were constantly and heavily supported by teacher corrections and recasts. While the readings, "Theatric Farce and Laughter" and "The Modern Condition of Japanese Education," centered around topics one would assume readers to find at least mildly humorous or reflective of their own educational system, no signs of reaction were observed. We thus turn to the objectives of the course, which likely had a stronger influence than the nature of the materials. The syllabus for this course indicated an emphasis on the continued development of the core "four skills" and a broader knowledge of grammar, expressions, and vocabulary, yet at the same time also encouraged the ability to read more extensive authentic materials in Japanese and to develop a deeper awareness of the role of culture and social behavior in communication. Through the observations, however, it was clear that the learners' general focus remained on linguistic elements, particularly vocabulary and grammatical formations, as they appeared within the readings. This perspective likely supported a more intensive approach to the text whereby learners focused on lexical and grammatical elements, suggesting that

learners may have viewed the reading as a comprehension task and language exercise. What is of particular interest was that while the reading may have been viewed as a task, the instructor often facilitated and guided students, after the reading, to particular selections and implications within the text via content and topic questions, whereby learners often reacted with laughter. Instances of such reaction were numerous, and may reflect on the influence of instructional guidance on learner reaction. Such teacher-led facilitation and scaffolding may suggest that to enhance opportunities for learner reaction to a text it may be necessary to preliminarily enhance reading comprehension. Or at least, such guidance may comprise an important step in developing the skills, knowledge, and interactional tools for learners to engage a text as the teacher creates a space for learners to access and react to it.

The fourth-year class, on the other hand, contained two instances of learner reaction during readings, with reaction again taking the form of laughter. Beyond these two examples, and similar to the third-year class, extended reaction was seen during content questions after the teacher had contextualized learners' comprehension within the reading and created a space for learners to engage the text and its meaning. In analyzing the two instances of reaction, it will help to understand the objectives of the fourth-year class. According to the course syllabus, focus was to be placed on analyzing textual nuance, meaning, and narrative features. This suggests that the course emphasized more extensive reading where focus was placed not on comprehension per say, but rather on analysis and interpretation of the text and its inherent elements. What this implies for the current study is that learners of the fourth-year class, in conjunction with course objectives, may have been more predisposed to move beyond mere comprehension and into spaces for potential reaction.

With this, let us look at the first example (complete excerpt available in Appendix A). This excerpt was taken from the second observation of the fourth-year class as they were reading the end of Murakami Haruki's short story *The Elephant Vanishes*, an investigative mystery story with a witty undertone that contains a number of humorous elements and satire. The excerpt takes place during a "read and translate" section, where selected students are to read a brief section of the original Japanese text, typically two to three sentences, and immediately follow-up with their own English translation of the section. The particular "read and translate" section of this excerpt focuses on m-5 (male #5), a learner with 3 years of formal study, no study or residence abroad experience, and no consistent contact with native speakers. I have divided the excerpt into three parts. In the first part below, m-5 has finished reading one sentence of the story, and is asking if he should read more before translating:

Example 1A.

1	S-m5	°should I keep going?°
2	T	>yeah, yeah, ok.< since you're volunteering=
3	Ss/T	=(hahahaha)

While this brief section reflects a general, off-task reaction and is not one of the foci of this paper, it illustrates a factor likely to strongly influence learner reaction in the classroom. That is, it reveals the light-hearted nature of the class and shared space that the learners inhabit as they work together through a reading. During the observations, it was clear that this class of learners had established a strong rapport among each other, and in essence created a space where they felt they could openly react. This is worth mention as it could potentially be a strong underlying factor of influence.

In the second part of this excerpt, m-5 continues reading and mispronounces a Japanese character—which has two pronunciations (*kuso,* which is inappropriate for the current situation, and *fun*), yet one meaning (excrement). I will discuss the reaction that follows as the teacher, f-2 (female 2), and m-5 align and react to the word's meaning and implications.

Example 1B.

1	S-m5	=yuka? ah! yuka ni, (.) eeto ochita:: (.) kyodai (.) na,[
		=floor? ah! to the floor, (.) um fell:: (.) enormous (.)
2	T	[(hahaha)
3	S-m5	(..) kuso? ((misreads kanji))
		(..) shit?
4	T	kyodai na?
		enormous…?

5	S-m5	kyodai na (.) kuso.
		enormous (.) shit.
6	T	ah: maybe ["fun" ((correct pronunciation of misread kanji))
		ah: maybe ["excrement"
7	S-f2	[(hahaha)
8	S-m5	oh, fun.
		oh, excrement.
9	T	yeah.
10	S-m5	o (haha) atsumettari (haha), (.) ah: shokuji no katazuke:: o shitari to itta, shiikugakari toshite, wa
11		mazu atarimae no, sagyou o shite iru dake datta.
		(haha) which he collected and (haha), (.) ah: he cleaned up the food:: Just doing his expected
		duties as caretaker.
12	T	hai
		yes

In this section, prior to line 1, m-5 had mispronounced a previous kanji and received teacher guidance in formulating the correct pronunciation. In line 1, m-5 realizes and accepts the correction pronunciation (*yuka*), continuing on with his reading of the sentence. Before m-5 gets much further, however, the teacher anticipates the next word (*fun*, 'excrement'), aligns to its 'taboo' connotation, and laughs. After this, in line 3, m-5 pauses slightly, perhaps as he attempts to find the correct pronunciation for the kanji or in thought as to the reason for the teacher's laughter, and proceeds to provide a hesitant and incorrect pronunciation. Even after the teacher's recast of the first part of the phrase in line 4, m-5 again gives the wrong pronunciation again, this time without rising intonation, perhaps suggesting his acceptance of the pronunciation and movement towards a search for the reason for the teacher's previous laughter. In line 6, the teacher provides the correct pronunciation in a brief and direct statement in English. Before the teacher can finish his utterance, however, f-2 breaks into laughter. As this laughter happens before "*fun*" is uttered, it may suggest that f-2's alignment and reaction is not to the term itself, but rather to m-5's inability to come to the correct pronunciation. In line 8, m-5 follows with an uptake marker (oh) and a repeat of the correct pronunciation, with falling intonation, again suggesting his acceptance of the pronunciation and a search for the reason for preceding laughter.

After a brief pause for the teacher's confirmation in line 9, m-5 continues reading at which point he immediately reacts in an outward bout of laughter. This suggests that during the pause for the teacher's confirmation, m-5 understood the reasons for the teacher's and f-2's previous laughter, the taboo meaning of the term and the irony of his inability to see it. This laughter is thus a result of his understanding of and alignment to the term and the previous laughter surrounding it.

Another point of interest within this section is the alignment of the laughter. Both the teacher's and m-5's alignment and reaction towards the term revolve around the word's meaning and implication in English. This is evidenced in that while the word "shit" or "excrement" is considered a taboo or off-limits in most English contexts and situations, the Japanese equivalents carry no such connotation. Further, m-5's alignment and reaction may have been influenced by, or even grounded in, the teacher's laughter in line 2. Overall, this section suggests that as learners react in the classroom, their alignment to textual meaning and implication may be contingent upon instructional guidance and scaffolding.

In the third and final part of this excerpt, m-5 is translating the previously-read sentence into English and encounters the problem of appropriately translating the Japanese word *fun*.

Example 1C.

1	S-m5	um: (.) and the- (..) the, the caretaker would- (.) wait. collect his (.) large, (..) <u>dungs?</u>
2	T/Ss	°(hahaha)°
3	T	yeah, [large
4	S-m5	[poop?
5	T	yeah, humongous right?=
6	S-m5	yeah: his humongous, (.[.)
7	S-f2	[(hahaha)

8	S-m5	waste?
9	T	yeah=

In this section, m-5 is attempting to not only demonstrate his understanding of the text, but also interpret its nuance in order to correctly translate it. He engages with the text as he considers three possible interpretations for the term *fun,* as seen in lines 1, 4, and 7. After m-5's first attempt of "dungs," the teacher and class react directly to the English word's implications via subdued laughter, a further sign of the term's taboo nature. Yet, perhaps more important is m-5's alignment to the meaning and tone of the original Japanese version and his continued attempt to find an equivalent by testing words with varying registers: "dungs," a rather neutral word often associated with animal excrement; "poop," a more casual, crude, and even childish word; and lastly, "waste," a neutral, more socially-correct term. M-5 reveals his comprehension of the original term and tries to capture a voice appropriate to represent it. In line 7, and similar to the previous section, f-2 laughs before the previous utterance can be finished. This time, the interrupted utterance is that of m-5. This laughter may suggest an alignment to the search for an appropriate quantifier regarding the term, in which case the teacher would have again influenced the reaction, this time by providing a recast of "large," a more neutral term, with "humongous," a more exaggerated term, in line 5.

Next, let us look at a second example of learner reactions. This excerpt was taken from the third observation of the fourth-year class as they were discussing, primarily via teacher-led content questions, the entire short story "Mirror" by Murakami Haruki. Similar to a ghost-story narrative, this story deals with slightly absurd and unnerving experiences that provide a personalized and accessible account. The excerpt takes place after the teacher has asked what conclusion the narrator of the story is making. It starts with a teacher rephrasal and affirmation, and continues with a clarification question from f-3, a response from m-4, and a brief read and translate section, where the example occurs.

Example 2.

1	T	um. jibun-jishin ga ichiban kowai. souiu youna ketsuron o mezashimasu ne. [ee,
		um. "oneself is the scariest [thing in the world]". He's aiming at that kind of conclusion, right. [ee
2	S-f3	[jibun-jishin ijyou to
3		kaite aru node, (.) °douiu imi desu ka.°
		["beyond oneself" is
		written so, (.) °what does that mean?°
4	S-f5	jibun-jishin [ijyou kowai mono, ((gives up turn))
		beyond oneself [scary thing,
5	S-m4	[jibun ijyou ni kowai mono wa nai.
		beyond oneself there's nothing scarier
6	T	un. ningen ni totte jibun-jishin [ijyou ni kowai mono wa aru kadouka, to ne.
		un. he questions whether or not for humans there's something scarier [beyond oneself, right
7	S-m4	[ijyou wa,
		[beyond
8	T	ah, un:, jya, koko no toko dake eiyaku shite mimashou. (.) ee:to, jya m4-san, kore eiyaku shite mite.
9		*ah, un:, well let's try to translate just this part into English. (.) um::, ok m4, read and translate this*
		into English
10	S-m4	[ahhhh
11	T	[ningen ni totte, ((indicating where to start reading))
		for humans,
12	S-m4	ningen ni totte, jibun-jishin ijyou ni (.) kowai mono, ga, (.) kono yo ni aru darou ka tte ne.
		he said, for humans, I wonder if there's anything in this world scarier than oneself, right
13	T	um huh.
14	S-m4	um::, so: fo, for a human, ((clears throat)) there's nothing more, (.) scarier in this um, >there's
15		nothing more scarier,< (1.5) uh:: in this world than <yourself>. (hahaha).
16	T	yeah, than [the self.
17	S-m4	[oneself. (.) yeah

The focus of this extended section is m-4, a student with 3.5 years of formal experience with Japanese, including a one-year study abroad in Tokyo, who uses Skype to chat with a native speaking friend every other day. Observing

the turn sequences and overlap within this section, it is apparent that m-4 is attempting to take the floor and convey his comprehension. In trying to display his knowledge of Japanese nuance and his comprehension of the sentence at hand, he not only responds to a clarification question posed by f-3, but also takes over f-5's response turn in order to do so, as seen in line 5. He further goes on to overlap the teacher's summation turn in line 7, providing more support for his attempt to speak and be heard. Thereafter, the instructor asks m-4 to read and translate the sentence. After reading, at the end of his translation, m-4 places emphasis on the final word "yourself" and follows up with a reaction of laughter. What this affixed laughter suggests is that m-4 is aligning to some part of the utterance. While it is not possible to identify what exactly he is aligning to, his initial use of "yourself" in line 15—as opposed to the teacher's following and generalized "the self" or his own recast and somewhat personalized "oneself"—suggests a level of personalization and orientation to a shared human really. In line with such orientation, the laughter therefore could suggest a reaction to the ironic hilarity that "there's nothing scarier in this world than yourself/oneself." Again, however, it is not possible to state this with any certainty without an account and confirmation from m-4 himself. What is also of interest, however, is that his laughter did not occur after the Japanese reading and was held until after the English translation, which supports the idea of a level of personal identification and implication in that his L1 is English.

In the above examples, there is a clear sense of interplay between learner reaction and instructional guidance. The instances of learner reaction, when taken in context, were often grounded in preliminary reaction or recast from that of the instructor. Further, learner reaction was not taken up or elaborated. In other words, while instructor uptake and follow-up of the above emergent reactions could have provided the potential to move beyond the text in a direction relevant to learners' engagement with the text, it did not occur as it might have detracted from the teacher's engagement with the text, and thus with the instructional flow of the reading section.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Through observation, this study has looked at learners' reactions to texts and the potential influence of instructional materials, objectives, and guidance on learner reaction. It found that, seemingly regardless of the nature of the materials and course objectives, during the reading there was very little learner uptake and reaction, with only two concrete examples. This data supports a view similar to Kern's (2000) in that readings, for the current learners, seem to have taken on a role as language exercise and were predominately viewed as comprehension tasks. While after the reading the instructors for both courses framed learners' comprehension in the reading's meanings and implications, creating spaces and sites for potential reaction, during the reading itself the instructors' focus was kept on the text and any learner reactions were not taken up as sites for elaborated engagement with the text. This further reveals a teacher-centered approach in which learners are guided through a reading in the classroom such that reading becomes an activity necessarily guided by the instructor, as noted by Iwasaki and Kumagai (2008).

Regarding the methodology of this study, two very limiting factors were that it lacked a videotaped record of the non-verbal aspects of the instruction and that it remained exclusively observational. These limitations confined the study and data to forms of reaction only outward and observable to the sole researcher at the time of data collection. Through the addition of personal interviews with learners, this study might have created a more comprehensive and informative data set by providing perspective into what learners thought of the reading and how they reacted on an internal, non-observable level. It might have further provided more grounds for analysis by supplying personal reasons and commentary for the two concrete examples of reaction that were observed.

Despite a narrow focus and limited data set, this study and it implications are nonetheless revealing. This study illuminated how and in what contexts learners initially react to texts, and how these occurrences can function as resources for creating a shared space and socializing learners to see texts as materials to engage with. The lack of frequent reaction also suggests that what may be needed in the foreign language classroom is not so much the mindful facilitation of individual instructors, but a revisited look at how we incorporate in-depth critical reading skills and approaches into our language classes and whether or not learners would benefit from earlier exposure at the start of their language learning careers.

NOTES
1.   Schueller (2009, p. 149) provides a detailed overview of the respective strategies involved in top-down and bottom-up processing, and Everson and Kuriya (1998, pp. 5-7), in their study on learner reading strategies, go even further by detailing and categorizing concrete examples of each type of processing and positing a third, "metacognitive" category of strategies.

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APPENDIX A
        Data Excerpt 1 – Complete (4th Level Class: 2nd Observation: during reading of Murakami Haruki's short story "The Elephant Vanishes")

1	S-m5	((35:27—as part of read and translate section, has read one sentence)) °should I keep going?°
2	T	>yeah, yeah, ok.< since you're volunteering=
3	Ss/T	=(hahahaha)
4	S-m5	ah: ((continues reading)) zou wa zousha no: naka ni haittemo, aikawa, aikawarazu (.) bonyari toshite
5		ita shi, kyoiku- ((mis-read of kanji)) ano: shiikugakari (.) mo dekki burashi de zou no karada
6		arattari, (..) ah: toko ((mis-read of kanji)) ni (.) ochita=
7	T	=yuka. ((correction of mis-read))
8	S-m5	(..) what was it?
8	T	yuka.
9	S-m5	oh,yuga ni?=
10	T	=yuka.
11	S-m5	yuka?
12	T	yuka.=
13	S-f1	=yuka.=
14	S-m5	=yuka? ah! yuka ni, (.) eeto ochita:: (.) kyodai (.) na,[
15	T	[(hahaha)
16	S-m5	(..) kuso? ((mis-reads kanji))
17	T	kyodai na?
18	S-m5	kyodai na (.) kuso.
19	T	ah: maybe [fun ((correction of mis-read kanji))
20	S-f2	[(hahaha)
21	S-m5	oh, fun.
22	T	yeah.
23	S-m5	o (haha) atsumettari (haha), (.) ah: shokuji no katazuke:: o shitari to itta, shiikugakari toshite, wa
24		mazu atarimae no, sagyou o shite iru dake datta.
25	T	hai
26	S-f2	sore mo nagai ne (haha) ((had just read the previous sentence, which was also long))
27	T	sore mo nagai ne.
28	S-f2	(haha)
29	S-m5	argh:: >where are we again?<[um::
30	T	[to wa ittemo,=
31	S-m5	=uh, ok. [so::
32	S-f2	[(haha)
33	S-m5	even saying that? (1.0) um:: it's not like (.) the:: two of them did anything, (.) special.
34	T	ok, terrific=
35	S-m5	=in the, (..) pen (.) thing.
36	T	°yep, in in in [the elephant house.°
37	S-m5	[um::::: when the:: elephant entered the:: <elephant house>, (..) um, he loafed around
38		(.) as usual. (1.5) um: the:: (.) caretaker washed his body with a desk brush.
39	T	um huh.
40	S-m5	um: (.) and the- (..) the, the caretaker would- (.) wait. collect his (.) large, (..) dungs?
41	T/Ss	°(hahaha)°
42	T	yeah, [large
43	S-m5	[poop?
44	T	yeah, humongous right?=
45	S-m5	yeah: his humongous, (.[.)
46	S-f2	[(hahaha)
47	S-m5	waste?
48	T	yeah=
49	S-m5	=from his, (.) is that his bed? (.) or his, the ground?
50	T	the floor.=
51	S-m5	=the floor
52	T	yeah
53	S-m5	um::
54	T	that had fallen on the floor, right?

55	S-m5	oh, that had fallen on the floor, yeah. um: (.) <and he would also: (.) like, clean up, (.) his meals
56		after?
57	T	um huh.
58	S-m5	so: he (..) was doing his job, obviously, as a (..) caretaker.
59	T	(2.0) ok. ((37:49))

APPENDIX B
Transcription Conventions

,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation (not necessarily a question)
.	falling intonation
[	onset of overlap
:	elongation of a sound; lengthening
::	extended elongation of a sound; extended lengthening
(.)	brief pause
(..)	longer pause
(0.0)	length of silence
=	latched utterances
( )	unintelligible stretch
(( ))	comments by the transcriber
(ha)	laughter
>words<	faster rate/increase in tempo; quicker than surrounding talk
<words>	slower rate/decrease in tempo: slower than surrounding talk
°words°	quieter than the surrounding talk
WORDS	louder than surrounding talk
<u>words</u>	more emphasis than surrounding talk

PRAISES AND CRITIQUES IN L2 SOCIALIZATION OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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ABSTRACT

Using the theory of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a), I analyze how assessment routines in Japanese L1-L2 interaction function as linguistic resources for socializing JFL speakers into important sociocultural values. Following work by Poole (1992), I show that praises and critiques in Japanese encode cultural messages which point to cultural notions of hard work, effort, and conflict avoidance. When exposed to such messages repeatedly over time, JFL learners may be socialized into these values. The data suggest praise and critique do not function as honest assessment of JFL speakers' linguistic ability but are instead consistent with broader cultural values.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Following Ochs and Schieffelin's (1984; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a) well-known theory of language socialization, Poole (1992) presents an application of this theory to research on teacher-student interactions in the second language classroom. This allows for an interpretation of language teaching as a space for teachers to both explicitly and implicitly impart broad sociocultural information to students through linguistic interaction. Prior to this study, most research in the language socialization framework had centered primarily on caregiver-child interactions within the environment of a single language. Scholars now widely recognize that language learners, as novices of both the target language and the cultural values associated with native speakers, are recipients of socialization by those with expert knowledge of the language (see Duff, 2011, for a review of work on second language socialization). In the present paper, I consider how speakers of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) are socialized in expert-novice interaction outside of a classroom. In particular, I analyze the patterns in which positive assessment (praise) and negative assessment (critique) are used to encode and convey Japanese sociocultural information. Following Poole's (1992) analysis of classroom-based interactions, I argue that certain components of expert talk to L2 novices are culturally motivated and may serve to socialize language learners into these related sociocultural behaviors if they are exposed to such routines repeatedly over time.

2.0. L2 LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

The language socialization paradigm provides an analytical framework for connecting mundane, habitual language use to broad, culturally important ideas. Through the use of a variety of semiotic resources, experts are able to encode and transmit cultural values; thus language is a particularly powerful tool used in helping novice learners become competent members of society. Silverstein's (1976) work argued, in part, that because linguistic structures vary across social contexts, those same structures function to point to those contexts when used. Ochs (1990) used this concept to argue that when linguistic resources are used to point to social contexts in this manner, they become tools for socialization. In this sense, language is used to evoke socially important values, and when exposed to socioculturally-infused linguistic structures repeatedly, novices are guided toward an acquisition (or rejection) of these values.

Any socialization interaction requires at least two participants: an expert, who possesses the sociocultural information in question, and a novice, defined by their lack of this information (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Poole, 1992). The earliest studies in language socialization considered specifically how children become competent members of society, framing children as societal novices and their caregivers as the experts responsible for their socialization. However, the roles of expert and novice need not be limited to parent-child environments. Indeed, this paradigm has been applied to a rapidly increasing set of interactions such as teacher-student (Ohta, 1999; Poole, 1992), peer-to-peer (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011), L1-L2 speakers (Duff, 2011; Willet, 1995) and workplace interactions (Li, 2000; Roberts, 2010) to name a few. In the present analysis, I frame native speakers of Japanese as language experts and analyze how their talk is culturally motivated and serves to socialize JFL students in linguistic interaction.

In one of the earliest studies to apply these ideas to situations outside the caregiver-child paradigm, Poole (1992) demonstrates that teachers of English as a second language (ESL) use resources from the English

language in a manner consistent with cultural norms typically associated with white middle class American (WMCA) caregivers. She demonstrates that teachers in ESL classrooms not only teach language, but also use language to encode WMCA culture in a manner that may socialize their ESL students to become competent members of a new society. Many other studies have similarly used the language socialization framework in second language learning environments, giving rise to a growing body of literature on second language socialization in the classroom (Duff, 2011; Gordon, 2004; Talmy, 2008; Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003).

L2 socialization research is extending outside of classroom contexts as well. For example, Moore (2008) and Howard (2008) discuss how children in multilingual societies are socialized into several languages through the resources of their parents, schools, and the community as a whole. Some researchers have considered L2 socialization in even more specific contexts such as online communities (Lam, 2004), work environments (Li, 2000), and home stay settings (Cook, 2008). By examining talk outside of the classroom, I confirm that Poole's (1992) general argument holds in a wide range of expert-novice L1-L2 interaction. Additionally, by specifically considering interactions where L1 speakers of Japanese assess the linguistic performance of JFL students, I also confirm Poole's (1992) argument that linguistic interactions are highly culturally motivated. The study further contributes to an understanding of language socialization by considering Japanese-specific cultural values and investigating specific linguistic resources used to encode these values.

3.0. JAPANESE SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES IN LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

Many studies have used a language socialization approach to connect culture to language, showing how language is both influenced by and used to transmit cultural messages. Research on the Japanese language has been particularly attracted to this framework. Cook (1990) has connected the sentence final particle *no* to cultural notions of conformity and affective dependence, addressee honorifics to Japanese concepts of *uchi* and *soto* (1996), and Japanese-specific interactional patterns to the value of attentive listening (1999). Burdelski and Mitsuhashi (2010) have used a similar framework to argue that the Japanese affective term *kawaii* 'cute' socializes Japanese children into culturally appropriate affective stances and gender identities. Clancy (1999) has also demonstrated that the Japanese term *kowai* 'scary' accesses sociocultural information to socialize children into culturally appropriate affective stances. Likewise, Suzuki (1999) shows that the morphological suffix *-chau* is used to instruct children in how to appropriately interact with items in their environment, such as toys. These studies connect language to culture and demonstrate how linguistic resources serve as a force for socialization. They have in common an attempt to show how linguistically-encoded cultural messages serve to socialize novices into appropriate social practices and impart important cultural values. The present study contributes to this line of research by analyzing how the specific resource of assessment activity in Japanese, given in the form of praise and critique, is used to index two particular Japanese sociocultural values: *ganbaru seishin* (hard work and effort) and *wa* (harmony and conflict avoidance), which I first describe below.

3.1. Effort and Hard Work

Japanese sociocultural values generally place an emphasis on hard work over the accomplishment of some idealized performance standard. A novice's work is acceptable if it is the result of a concerted effort, regardless of the quality of result. Through extensive ethnographic work, Lebra (1976) has argued that the work ethic important to the feudal samurai elite has continued to influence post-war Japanese society. As a strong work ethic is reflective of deeper commitment, it is considered more important than the quality of work. Other work further suggests that a relatively rigid social hierarchy might contribute to an attitude that high-level performance is not required of novices who still have plenty of time to learn until they become fully-fledged members of society (Reischauer, 1988). Holloway (1988) reviewed research on the social definitions of "ability" in Japan and America, concluding that the Japanese more often define accomplishment in terms of effort rather than results. Although I do not intend to essentialize or stereotype Japanese culture, it seems reasonable to take, as a general assumption, the idea that Japanese society (as do other societies) commonly defines achievement in terms of effort rather than results.

Citing social scientists Ezra Vogel and Yoshiaki Yamamura, Burdelski (2006) has also noted that for the Japanese "achievement is the result of practice, effort, and hard work rather than innate ability" (pp. 155). He then used this assumption to demonstrate that the manner in which Japanese mothers praise their children may serve to socialize the children into this sociocultural value. Similarly, in the present work, I show how

positive assessment routines in Japanese are used in a way that is consistent with this cultural assumption and argue that they may be used to socialize L2 learners into this particular societal value. Praise given by native speakers in my data is not always consistent with the demonstrated linguistic ability of JFL speakers. It was not uncommon for students who tried hard, but with less success than others, to receive more frequent praise. This can be explained if praise is seen as encouragement, which reflects the sociocultural value of hard work and effort.

3.2. Harmony and Conflict Avoidance

Another pervasive sociocultural value in Japanese society is the value of maintaining harmony. It is considered important to cultivate a good-natured relationship between conversational partners, even if this requires going out of the way to avoid conflict. Appeals to the Japanese sociocultural value of harmony, or *wa*, are remarkably pervasive in scholarly literature, and have been used to provide insight on issues in business behavior (Yoshimura & Anderson, 1997), medical ethics (Konishi, Yahiro, Nakajima & Ono, 2009), child education (Kelley, 2008), psychology (Kawabata, Crick & Hamaguchi, 2010), and in many other areas of inquiry. Author Boye De Mente has claimed that *wa* is "one of the most important words in the vocabulary of Japan" (1994, pp. 33) and the "foundation of Japanese behavior" (2012, pp. 35). While these claims may be overstated, the importance of maintaining harmony in Japanese society is clear. Japanese society generally places an emphasis on avoiding conflict with others and this value has been shown to be more pervasive in Japanese behavior than in western cultures (Ohbuchi & Atsumi, 2010; Ohbuchi & Takashi, 1994). Conflict avoidance has also been observed as a strategy in Japanese linguistic interaction (Park, 1990).

Critiquing a novice's performance could lead to conflict if the novice does not receive the critique well. Attempting to provide negative assessment could threaten the harmony that would otherwise exist between conversational participants. My data reveal that the construction of critiques is consistent with a strategy of conflict avoidance. Native speakers only provide critiques when a safe environment exists and abort attempts at criticism when it seems that conflict is likely to arise.

4.0. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

I use transcript data from interactions between native and non-native speakers of Japanese to examine strategies L1 speakers use when speaking to JFL speakers and analyze how these strategies connect to a larger cultural model. The data are taken from unscripted talk that occurred during a feedback and discussion session following a structured role-play activity where JFL speakers interacted one-on-one with Japanese L1 speakers without an instructor present. The analysis is a qualitative exploration of several examples from the transcripts. The central question is to determine connections between native talk and cultural information encoded in the Japanese as it pertains to the socialization of JFL students into the community of Japanese speakers. As assessment routines were very common in this setting, I use these as the primary locus of analysis.

4.1. Participants

The participants in my study are all university students between the ages of 20 and 28. Three native speakers of Japanese and ten students of Japanese participated, resulting in a total of approximately 2.5 hours of recorded conversation. Most JFL speakers were recruited for the study from second-year Japanese classes. Native speakers of Japanese were all graduate students, with somewhat varied backgrounds. Note that throughout this paper pseudonyms are used for participant names as well as any place names and other potentially identifying information in the data. Each JFL student was paired with a native speaker. Kaori met with 3 students, Shiho with 5 and Takeru with 2. As all participants were uncompensated volunteers, pairing was arranged primarily based on scheduling and mutual availability. JFL students and native speakers had not previously met and were introduced to each other only as fellow students. No other background information was given regarding the participants' social positions so as to avoid one perceiving the other as occupying a higher social standing, although in some cases this information came out through the course of the dialogues.

4.2. Conversational Activity

The conversational activity was described to participants as a role-play. Native speakers were first given a short description of a role-play scenario and were then asked to explain the scenario to the JFL student in Japanese and confirm that the student understood the instructions. Following the role-play, native speakers were asked to give immediate feedback on the Japanese learners' performance. They were not told to give any specific advice, but simply to provide general comments based on their intuition as a native speaker of Japanese. JFL students were told only that they would participate in a role-play and would receive all instructions from the native speaker.

The analysis is primarily concerned with these feedback sessions following the role-play. In these unscripted conversations, native speakers had an opportunity to use their role as language expert in order to socialize language learners. This role is somewhat different than that of a teacher, as the native speakers were not asked to provide explicit language instruction, but is similar in that the students defer to them for linguistic and cultural knowledge.

4.3. Analytical Approach

Following the recordings, discourse analysis was applied to the transcriptions to identify areas where native speaker talk seemed to be culturally-motivated. There were two areas that stood out as particularly revealing when viewed through the language socialization framework. First was the pattern of positive assessment and praise given by native speakers to their JFL conversational partners. It seemed that, in many cases, praise was not consistent with what would be expected given the students' actual performance. For example, students who struggled often received more praise than those who performed well. This unexpected result, however, is consistent if praise is instead interpreted as a culturally motivated phenomenon and not as direct assessment of good performance. Praise is used to encourage hard work and effort.

The second area I consider is how native speakers provided critiques. Negative assessment was much less common than praise and the strategies used to provide it were consistent with Japanese cultural tendencies toward maintaining harmony and avoiding conflict. Critiques were only given when the JFL student seemed most likely to accept it and attempts at critique were aborted if the good rapport between participants seemed to be placed in jeopardy. Thus, when considered as a cultural achievement, both praise and critique appear to be consistent with the manner in which language teachers provide cultural information in Poole's (1992) study.

It is important to note that my study is a one-time recording session and captures only single interactions between L1-L2 speakers of Japanese. To draw any conclusions suggesting that socialization is actually occurring in these interactions would be premature. As Kulick & Schieffelin (2004) have correctly explained, language socialization studies should be longitudinal in scope and ideally demonstrate the actual acquisition (or rejection) of cultural practices. The purpose of this study is to shed light on the linguistic tools Japanese native speakers are most likely to use in socializing L2 learners. By connecting linguistic practices to cultural messages as Poole (1992), Cook (1990b), Burdelski (2006) and others have done, I show how culture is embedded in language and transmitted to a novice. Then, by assuming that language learners would be exposed to these messages implicitly and repetitively through extended interaction with native speakers, it is possible to uncover what tools for socialization exist in the language. Thus I seek not to demonstrate that socialization is actually occurring, but rather to first discover what resources Japanese native speakers have available and how these resources are used to encode culturally important information.

5.0. POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS AND VALUING EFFORT OVER PERFORMANCE

Burdelski (2006) considers assessment routines as they are used by Japanese mothers to socialize their children into culturally important ideals of effort and hard work. Praise, as he defines it, is a positive assessment item, which is triggered by some feature of the novice's speech or behavior to which the expert responds with a positive evaluation. He claims that in Japanese culture "achievement is the result of practice, effort, and hard work rather than innate ability" (pp. 155) and argues that positive assessment through praise encourages such behavior (Burdelski, 2006, pp. 155). When used not to reward expected behaviors, but rather to encourage a novice to exert concerted effort, praise is being used as a socialization tool

5.1. Praise As Encouragement

Native-speakers of Japanese socialize L2 learners in a manner similar to how Japanese mothers socialize children. In my data, positive assessment was used more frequently as encouragement in response to an honest effort than to accurately assess a JFL speaker's abilities. If language learners are consistently exposed to such encouragement over an extended period of time, they will gradually be socialized to place more value on their efforts in practice and on simply trying to speak Japanese rather than attaching importance to accurate speech. This is consistent with general Japanese cultural values of effort discussed earlier and shows how the linguistic resource of positive assessment is used to implicitly transmit these values to language learners.

To illustrate, consider a brief case-study of two different JFL learners, Dan and James. Both were second-year students of Japanese in the same class and both engaged in the conversation activity with the same native-speaking partner, Shiho. Despite these similarities, their performance was starkly different. Dan spoke with safe, simple grammatical patterns allowing him to sound confident and relatively fluent. James, on the other hand, tried very hard to use grammar patterns he recently learned in class but with which he was not yet very competent, resulting in halting, hesitant speech, which was very difficult to understand, despite a more prolific use of complex linguistic items. To illustrate, first consider the feedback given to Dan. Upon completion of the role-play, Dan suggests that his Japanese was terrible, which triggers Shiho to counter his negative self-assessment with praise of his performance, shown in Example 1.

Example 1. Dan and Shiho feedback: Praise in response to negative assessment.
1	Dan:	A::, chotto heta kuso.
		Ah, that was terrible.

2	Shiho:	Iie. Iie. Sonna koto nai n desu yo. Un. Sugoi. Ato, un to. (0.2) Soo da ne. Ano:: michi o oshieru no wa totemo muzukashii desu ne.
		No, no. That's not true. Ya. It was great. Also, um, giving directions is a difficult task.

3	Dan:	Hai.
		Ya.

4	Shiho:	Migi toka hidari toka, ano, sugoku ano::
		You have right and left and, well…

5	Dan:	Ima, ano:: (0.2) wakaranai tokoro.
		Right now. Um. Something I don't understand.

6	Shiho:	Hai?
		Yes?

7	Dan:	Hai. Demo, boku no jugyoo no tokoro wakarimasu.
		Yes. But, I understand things in the classroom.

8	Shiho:	Demo, wakarimashita yo. Ano, hora, toshokan toka resutoran toka, un, soo, sugoku yokatta to omoimasu.
		But I understood you [during the role-play]. See, [you mentioned] the library and the restaurant. I thought it was very good.

In Example 1, Shiho gives praise in direct response to Dan's negative evaluation of his own abilities. When he suggested that his performance was terrible, she immediately responded with assurances that the talk was difficult, he handled it well, and she understood him without difficulty. The key point here is that praise was triggered by the L2 novice's negative self-assessment in line 1. By countering this assessment with immediate positive reinforcement in line 2, Shiho uses praise primarily as a form of encouragement. Later, in line 7, Dan attempts to explain that he understands while in the classroom, implying that his misunderstandings during this role-play were a result of the new environment, not his ability. Shiho understood this excuse as

another form of negative assessment of his performance and again responds in line 8 by assuring him that she understood him and he did well. As in this sample, throughout the feedback discussion nearly all of the praise Dan received was directly preceded by his own negative comments about his performance. By countering comments about performance with encouragement focused on what Dan did well, Shiho supports the cultural notion that efforts are more important than accuracy.

Now consider feedback given to James who, despite sounding much less competent during the role-play activity, was given praise much more frequently and often not in response to negative self-assessment. James was clearly trying very hard to use patterns he had recently learned in class, but was so hesitant as to become unintelligible. However, despite James' broken, halting speech, during the feedback phase Shiho immediately began by telling him what a good job he had done. An example is given in Example 2.

Example 2. James and Shiho: High frequency of praise.

| 1 | Shiho: | Sono idea (0.1) wa totemo yokatta to omoimasu. |
| | | That idea, I thought it was very good. |

| 2 | James: | Un. Arigatoo. |
| | | Oh. Thanks. |

| 3 | Shiho: | Hai. Totemo yokatta desu yo. Nihongo. |
| | | Yes. It was very good. Your Japanese. |

| 4 | James: | Ah. [hehehehehe |
| | | Oh. <laughter> |

| 5 | Shiho: | [hehehehehe |
| | | <laughter> |

| 6 | James: | Not very |
| | | Not very |

| 7 | Shiho: | Soo? Iya. Wakarimasu yo. Hontoo ni. (0.5) Nanika shitsumon arimasu ka? |
| | | Really? No. I really understood you. Do you have any questions? |

| 8 | James: | Iya, uh::, shitsumo- shi- shitsumon ga arimasen. |
| | | No. Uh::. Que- Qu- I don't have questions. |

| 9 | Shiho: | Hai. Totemo yokatta to omoimasu. Hontoo ni. |
| | | Ok. I think you did very well. Really. |

| 10 | James: | Un. Hai. |
| | | Oh. Ya. |

| 11 | Shiho: | Yokatta desu. Yoku dekimashita. |
| | | Very good. You did very well. |

Despite James' difficulties, Shiho gave him praise at a much higher frequency than Dan. In the excerpt she begins by complimenting him and then immediately turns this into a positive assessment of his Japanese abilities in line 3. Significantly, this praise was given without a prior negative assessment by James. In fact, it occurred immediately following the role-play before James had provided any self-assessment whatsoever. It was effort, not linguistic fluency, which he portrayed in his role-play and Shiho seemed to understand. It seems that her motivation in giving praise was not to accurately assess his Japanese but rather to encourage his efforts and downplay his linguistic difficulties. Her assessments were largely motivated by societal values and point toward the manner in which praise can be used to socialize language learners into Japanese values of hard work.

It is interesting that James received the bulk of the praise, in contrast to Dan, who did not seem to put as much effort into his speech. Moreover, Dan received praise largely in response to negative self-assessment while James occasionally received spontaneous praise. Table 1 summarizes the praise given throughout the entire feedback phase for both of these students and demonstrates the stark difference in frequency and context of praise.

Table 1. Frequency of Praise to Dan and James.

Student	Time Spent on Feedback	Positive Assessment Tokens	Positive Tokens in Response to Negative Self-Assessment
Dan	7 minutes	4	3
James	8 minutes	9	2

The examples given above from Dan and James were characteristic of a clear trend throughout my entire data set. Because praise is used as encouragement to reward effort rather than good performance, it can be a tool for socializing JFL learners to related Japanese values.

5.2. Implicit Cultural Messages

In discussing how linguistic items index social dimensions when they are used for socialization, Ochs (1990) has made a distinction between implicit and explicit language socialization. The cultural messages embedded in the praise routines between L1 and L2 Japanese speakers are most often implicit. That is, native speakers do not generally reference the value of hard work when encouraging L2 speakers. Instead, they select the frequency and placement of praise in a way that implicitly indexes pertinent cultural information. This is certainly the case for the example of Dan and James. This strategy was not specific only to Shiho; the other native speakers in my data also used implicit methods of transmitting the same cultural information. Consider two additional items from Kaori and Takeru. Like Shiho, these speakers also used praise in response to negative self-assessment. In excerpt 3, Craig immediately put himself down at the end of a role play.

Example 3. Craig and Kaori: Implicit socialization through assessment.
1   Craig: Warui da to omou [haha].
              I think it was bad. <laughter>

2   Kaori: [haha]haha (1.4)
                              <laughter>

3   Ne. Muzukashii node. (0.4) Setsumei suru no wa muzukashii kara (0.2) muzukashii.
              Ya, because it's difficult. Because explaining [directions] is difficult, [the role play] is difficult.

4   Craig: Hai. (0.8)
              Ya.

5   Kaori: Demo (0.4) chanto dekita node yokatta to omoimasu.
              But you did it just right so I think it was good.

When Craig says he did not do well Kaori responds by assuring him that it was a difficult role-play. In fact, during the role-play Craig had struggled quite a bit, even with simple items. Still, in line 3 Kaori notes that the role-play was difficult and in line 5 tells him he did just fine. Thus Kaori's comments here are can be interpreted as encouragement, showing a culturally-motivated pattern of praise similar to that of Shiho. Kaori's positive assessments are given within certain cultural constraints and by so doing demonstrate Japanese values to Craig. Through repeated interactions, he would likely be socialized into these values.

5.3. Explicit Cultural Messages

While implicit socialization is most common, it is also possible to find examples of praise being explicitly linked to Japanese culture. The placement and function of praise in the dialogues presented thus far demonstrate implicitly coded cultural messages, which serve as resources for socialization. At other times, however, sociocultural information is directly indexed by positive assessment routines when native speakers explicitly tell their peers they are impressed with visible efforts to speak Japanese. Although much less common across all three native speakers, such examples did occur in Kaori's speech on two occasions. One of those is presented in Example 4. In this example, an L2 speaker I will call Martin apologizes in English for what he thought was bad performance during the role play task. In reality, Martin did quite well. When Kaori refutes his statement, she offers an explanation.

Example 4. Martin and Kaori: Explicit socialization.
1	Martin:	I'm sorry. Haha.
		I'm sorry. <laughter>
2	Kaori:	E::. Dooshite?
		Really? Why?
3	Martin:	I was like (0.6) confused. Ha! A little bit. Haha.
		I was, like, confused. Ha! A little bit. <laughter>
4	Kaori:	E:, demo, ano, gan- sugoku ganbatte
		Ya, but, um, tri- [you] really tried hard.
5	Martin:	Haha. [Iie.]
		<laughter> No.
6	Kaori:	[Ano] acchi tte itte, yokatta desu.
		Um, [you] said 'over there' and it was good.
7	Martin:	Oh. Ya. I tried. Sorry. [It's confusing]
		Oh, ya. I tried. Sorry. It's confusing.
8	Kaori:	[Iie. Iie.] Yokatta desu yo.
		No, no. It was good.

As in previous examples, Martin's negative self-assessment in line 1 is countered by Kaori's offering of praise in lines 6 and 8. However, the praise was first preceded by something of an explicit explanation. In line 4, Kaori notes that Martin was trying very hard. Although Martin did a good job, during the role play he could not remember the names of a few buildings and had to talk his way around it using words such as *acchi* 'over there' instead of explicit place names. He also gestured a lot and put much effort into communicating his point. Kaori notes this and explicitly tells him it was good because of his effort. In fact, the Japanese word *ganbatte* 'try hard' is a culturally-important word often used to encourage effort with no regard to actual performance. This use of *ganbatte* 'try hard' can be interpreted as an explicit index of the underlying cultural message.

Although explicit routines like this were rare, the fact that a few did show up in the data strengthens the argument that praise is a tool for socializing hard work and effort. Most generally, this cultural value is encoded implicitly in the position and function of praise, but is so prevalent in Japanese society that it is occasionally manifested explicitly in native speaker talk. Burdelski (2006) did not show evidence of explicit cultural messages in mother-child interaction, but this could simply be because explicit messages are more likely to be understood for their cultural content when given to more mature individuals, such as the college students in my data. My results here show that praise in Japanese L2 socialization is consistent with the functions of praise in mother-child interactions (Burdelski, 2006). The data also uncover the explicit mention of culture in linguistic interactions, shedding light on how language indexes sociocultural information. Similarly,

Poole (1992) showed that the teachers in her study used assessment to frame group accomplishments as a result of individual effort, which is reflective of WMCA culture. Here, the cultural objective is the Japanese value of hard work, rather than WMCA values, but in both situations praise is a culturally-motivated phenomenon that serves to socialize novice language learners into the society relevant to their target language.

6.0. NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT AND AVOIDING CONFLICT

All three native speaking participants responded to JFL speakers' negative self-assessments with positive praise of some sort. I have shown how praise can be interpreted as encoding cultural messages, thus providing native speakers with tools for socialization. On a few scattered occasions the native speakers also attempted to provide constructive criticism to their L2 conversation partners. While criticisms also appear to be consistent with the same Japanese values of hard work and effort, even more salient in critical interactions is the Japanese value of *wa* or harmony and how it relates to conflict avoidance as discussed above.

6.1. Preserving Harmony

Japanese sociocultural practices are often thought to be carried out in a way that avoids conflict as much as possible. Because criticism could possibly be interpreted as an attack, we would predict that they would be carried out in a manner that reduces the likelihood of negative confrontations. Criticisms were rare in my data, but Kaori in particular tried to give constructive advice to each JFL speaker with whom she engaged. However, this advice was never very direct and strongly reflected a desire to maintain good accord with her conversational partners. Presenting criticism in this way carries an implicit message to the L2 peer that preserving harmony is preferred to giving honest critiques, thus giving evidence for how language is used to socialize novices into this important cultural practice. Consider the example in Excerpt 5. This sample is again taken from the conversation between Kaori and Craig. During his role-play, Craig had struggled with figuring out how to begin the conversation. During the feedback session, Kaori made an attempt at honestly assessing Craig's initial failure to start a conversation in an effort to provide constructive criticism.

Example 5. Craig and Kaori: Attempted criticism.
1   Kaori: Chotto, saishoo no situation ga (1.7) ano, muzukashikatta?
             So, the first situation, um, was difficult?

2   Ano, situation (0.2) chotto (0.7) a::, kaiwa no hajimekata ga (1.8) wakaranakatta n desu ne.
             Umm, the situation, well, ah::, you did not really understand how to begin the conversation,
             right?

3   Craig: (5.2)
             <silence>

4   Kaori: Demo:, ano::, watashi ga acchi (0.1) acchi kocchi tte kiitara chotto wakatte (1.3)
             dekimashita ne.
             But, um, then I asked 'there- there or here?' and you were able to understand.

5   Craig: Hai. Wakarimashita.
             Yes. I understood.

6   Kaori: Hai. (9.5) Demo, joozu deshita yo. Yokatta desu yo.
             Yes. But it was good. Very good.

Here, Kaori made a sincere attempt to open a space in which she could offer Craig constructive advice. She does this in line 2 by carefully framing the conversation around the fact that Craig had struggled at the beginning. In particular, note the use of sentence-final *ne*. As Cook (1990a) has argued, *ne* indicates affective cooperation. In this sense, Kaori may be attempting to elicit Craig's cooperation in suggesting he had not performed well initially. If Craig buys into this, then Kaori would have a safe, non-confrontational opening to offer critiques. However, Craig does not respond for over 5 seconds, a period of time, which felt very awkward to me as an observer. During the silence, Kaori appeared very uncomfortable. So when Craig did not respond,

Kaori apparently took this to mean that Craig would not be receptive to her pending criticism. This causes her to change course by backing off her previous utterance and, in lines 4 and 6, she gives praise instead by pointing out that Craig was able to figure it out and tells him he did a good job. Her attempt at criticism failed, apparently trumped by a desire to maintain a good relationship with Craig. A language socialization interpretation of this interaction would suggest that Craig is being taught the value of maintaining harmony. Through similarly repeated interactions, an L2 speaker would learn the importance of maintain conversational harmony instead of giving honest critiques. This implicitly connects to Japanese cultural practices of conflict avoidance. The manner in which Kaori begins to formulate a critique, and then backing off when it shows an indication that it could be more confrontational than anticipated, encodes the cultural notion of *wa*.

Kaori did make a more successful attempt at criticism in a conversation with Nate, another JFL speaker. During their role play, Kaori had asked how long it would take to walk to a certain location. When she asked if it was about five minutes, Nate incorrectly thought she said 15 minutes and carried on with the role-play accordingly. Several minutes later, he self-corrected and accurately said five minutes. Then, during the feedback discussion, Nate said that vocabulary was difficult, but he felt he understood it all. Kaori sees this as an opportunity to point out that he had actually misunderstood the number five. This plays out in Excerpt 6.

Example 6. Nate and Kaori: Correcting a misunderstanding.

1   Nate: Tango wa (1.2) ch- chotto muzukashii kedo:: (1.8) waka- wakarimashita.
             The vocabulary was a lit- little difficult but, I und- understood it.

2   Kaori: A::. Wakarimashita? Yokatta. Yokatta. Unn (0.3) go- gofun dake desu ne.
             Oh, you understood? Good. Good. Umm, just 'fi- five minutes', huh.

3   Nate: Haha[haha]
             <laughter>

4   Kaori: [haha] Juu go fun da to omotta.
             <laughter> You thought [I said] 15 minutes.

5   Nate: Eh. (1.8) fun, fun.
             Right. Minutes. Minutes.

Kaori's criticism is successful here because she is able to frame it in a manner that is less confrontational. She commends Nate on his self-evaluation of being able to understand vocabulary and subtly points out in line 2 that the only thing he misunderstood was the term 'five minutes.' The environment was safe because it was light-hearted. Throughout Kaori and Nate's interactions, they seemed to have a good relationship and laughed often. Nate's laughing (in line 3) and the overall feeling of the conversation was not very serious. This is seen further when Kaori comments in line 4 that he thought she had said 15 minutes and he responds with a playful repetition of the word *fun* 'minutes' which was clearly understood by both participants to be a light-hearted self-mockery of his confusion with the time words. This shows how critiques are successful if they can be carried out in a way that does not disturb the harmony that has been maintained between conversational participants, again showing how *wa* is encoded into Japanese linguistic interaction. Like praise, the function of criticism in peer conversation appears to encode important cultural values. Criticism was not as prevalent as praise, but occurred in environments predictable under the cultural notion of *wa* as it relates to conflict avoidance. Criticisms appear in safe, non-confrontational contexts. This allows native speakers to maintain harmony and not appear critical or condescending. These messages are transmitted to learners implicitly and, if these interactions occur repeatedly over time, it is reasonable to conclude that JFL learners will come to know Japanese cultural values as they are transmitted through language.

7.0. CONCLUSION

My data uncover specific linguistic resources for encoding important cultural messages that are available to Japanese speakers. Praise is used as encouragement and indexes cultural ideals, which value effort over performance. Additionally, negative feedback is given in a manner such as to avoid conflict. These patterns, if used in repeated interactions by native speakers, may serve to socialize JFL speakers into Japanese

cultural norms. By encoding sociocultural information into their speech, native speakers harness resources, which can be used to instruct JFL learners in Japanese cultural values. The specific cultural messages I identify are consistent with other socialization research in Japanese, which has considered caregiver-child contexts (Burdelski, 2006; Cook, 1990b) and teacher-student interactions (Ohta, 1999). By considering L1-L2 interactions, I have shown that cultural messages are pervasive throughout the Japanese language in many contexts and situations, pointing toward the importance of broad sociocultural values and shedding light on how these values are implicitly transmitted to novice learners of Japanese, thereby socializing novices into these culturally important practices.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS
:   lengthening of a sound
?   question intonation, typically rising intonation
hehe   laughter
[co-articulated items
(x.x)   x.x seconds of silence
(.)   short pause
-       abrupt stop

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III. Linguistics

KOREAN MASS/COUNT NOUN DISTINCTION

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ABSTRACT

I examine mass/count nouns in Korean and report that the distinction is reflected in their ability to take numerals without classifiers. The mass noun thesis proposed that classifier languages have only mass nouns, since classifiers function as measure words. However, many studies argued against this thesis. I conducted an acceptability judgment task, using a Latin Square design and Likert Scale. This experiment consists of sentences including numerals attached directly to four noun types: humans, objects, substance and abstraction. The results show that Korean mass and count nouns are not distinguished by animacy and that not all inanimate nouns are mass nouns.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In many European languages, including English, count and mass nouns are drawn a distinction by prominent syntactic devices. For example, count and mass nouns in English are distinguished whether they allow determiners such as *a/an*, a plural marker *–s*, or specific quantifiers, such as *many* or *much* to be attached to them (O'Grady, 2011). On the contrary, some languages seem not to distinguish these domains treating all nouns as mass nouns. Classifier languages have been considered as such, and Korean, as one of the classifier languages, seems to lack the distinction of count and mass nouns at first glance (Kang, 1993). Both Korean mass and count nouns have an identical construction, modified by classifiers.

To examine mass and count noun distinction in Korean, I explore numerals attached to nouns directly, which is one of the syntactic devices for mass/count distinction. Furthermore, I conducted an experiment to figure out whether Korean mass/count distinction is reflected in the animacy hierarchy and where the split line is located.

2.0. MASS NOUN THESIS

Chierchia (1998) defined mass nouns as already plural semantically; therefore, they cannot be pluralized; mass nouns cannot combine with numerals directly, because numerals individuate entities (Kang, 1998). Chierchia proposed the mass noun thesis for many classifier languages that there is no count noun; in other words, all of their common nouns are mass nouns (Yi, 2010). As Nemoto (2005) indicated, Japanese and Korean bare nouns behave like mass nouns, since they need numeral classifiers to be counted and their bare forms are neutral as to number. In other words, a bare noun, "a demonstrativeless phrase like *haksayng* 'student'," can refer to both one student and more than one student (Nemoto, 2005). Therefore, this mass noun thesis sounds plausible for Korean, as Korean bare nouns are understood either singular or plural depending on the context. Nemoto (2005) investigated Chierchia's nominal mapping parameter: Japanese and Korean bare nouns denote kinds and have mass denotations. This is a following example of nouns, which require a classifier to be counted:

(1)   a.   *sey-ui haksayng
           3-GEN student
           'three students'

        b.   sey-myeng-ui haksayng
           3-CL-GEN student
           'three students'   (Nemoto, 2005)

Even though a classifier is normally combined to count Korean common nouns, there are some cases where only a numeral alone can count common nouns in Korean, which contradicts the previous mass noun thesis. In the following chapter, I will discuss mass and count noun distinction in Korean to support the proposal that Korean, even if it is a classifier language, needs to distinguish its common nouns to mass and count nouns.

3.0. MASS/COUNT DISTINCTION

Although the mass noun thesis has been prevalent, there have been many debates on it. Rothstein (2010) defined the mass/count distinction by establishing the properties of nouns: count nouns can take a plural marker, can be used without classifiers, and can be used only with numerals. Therefore, those nouns that can be counted explicitly by numeral classifiers are mass nouns. Besides, Yi (2011) proposed the count noun thesis in that classifier languages have count nouns as well as mass nouns; classifier languages have morpho-syntactic devices for distinguishing count nouns from mass nouns.

According to Kang (1993), Korean common nouns have three morpho-syntactic devices in distinguishing mass and count nouns. The first distinction can be made by the plural marker –*tul*, which can be attached only to count nouns:

(2)   a.   sakwa-tul
                apple-PL
                'apples'

         b.   *mwul-tul
                water-PL
                'water'   (Kang, 1993)

Thus, regardless of the usage of Korean optional plural marker, the existence of count nouns in Korean contradicts the mass noun thesis as mass nouns cannot be pluralized.

The second piece of evidence is provided by some quantifiers, which are sensitive to the mass/count distinction:

(3)   a.   yele sakwa
                several apple
                'several apples'

         b.   *yele mwul
                several water
                'several water'   (Kang, 1993)

While Korean was considered to have no quantifiers such as *many* and *much* in English, there are some quantifiers in Korean that only attach to countable nouns.

Moreover, Korean common nouns are distinguished in mass and count nouns by a special case of quantifiers, numerals, which cannot precede mass nouns but can precede some count nouns:

(4)   a.   sey haksayng
                three student
                'three students

         b.   *sey mwul
                three water
                'three water'   (Kang, 1993)

As a result, classifiers are not always obligatory in Korean; in other words, nouns are able to occur with a numeral directly (Yi, 2011).

With respect to these three morpho-syntactic devices, there is no denying the distinction of mass/count nouns in Korean. In this paper, I am going to support Korean mass/count distinction with the third feature, numeral-noun direct combination by an experimental study. In this experiment, nouns were divided into four types – humans, objects, substance and abstract nouns - based on the animacy hierarchy in a more sophisticated

way.

4.0. ANIMACY HIERARCHY

Baek (2002) examined the relationship of Korean plural marking on common nouns and animacy hierarchy: the higher on the animacy hierarchy, the noun is more likely to combine with a plural marker in Korean (human > animal > things > abstract things …). As count nouns are only able to attach to the plural marker, this might indicate Korean mass/count distinction in that Korean common nouns might be distinguished by the animacy hierarchy. According to Corbett (2000), there is a general constraint, i.e., animacy hierarchy, on the countability preferences of nouns. As the noun is closer to the rightwards in the animacy hierarchy, the countability of the noun will decrease. The issue that arises here is in which level the animacy hierarchy applies.

To incorporate all the possibilities, not only do I consider the animacy hierarchy in dividing common nouns, but I also divide inanimate nouns further: concrete nouns into things and stuff. According to O'Grady (2005), concrete nouns are divided into solid objects and non-solid substance. Non-solid substance includes liquids, powders, and gelatinous masses. The former sounds strange when they are modified by *some* or *much*; whereas, the latter is acceptable with *some* or *much*. Rothstein (2010) also distinguished stuff/substance from things/objects. As this distinction is within inanimate nouns, it will show whether Korean mass/count distinction follows the animacy hierarchy: if the split line is located between objects and substance, there would be no animacy hierarchy in Korean mass/count distinction.

5.0. EXPERIMENT

5.1. Experiment Reason

I conducted an experiment to figure out mass/count distinction in Korean by numerals, which combine nouns directly. I examined whether the distinction can be reflected by the animacy hierarchy, which is one of the universal hierarchies. In addition to figuring out whether the distinction follows the animacy hierarchy, this experiment investigated where the split line is for mass and count noun distinction in Korean.

5.2. Participants

This experiment was conducted in a way that the participants were asked to send an email with an attachment of their responses in Microsoft Word format. There were 20 adult native speakers of Korean, who participated in this study. They were born and raised in Seoul, Korea and stayed in foreign countries less than three years. Their age range was 21-38 years old, and their mean age was 25. Their self-reported English proficiency was intermediate.

5.3. Method

An acceptability judgment task was conducted using a Latin Square design and a 5-point Likert Scale. After reading the experimental sentences, participants were asked to rank each sentence in a 5-point Likert Scale: from "very strange", "strange", "acceptable", "good", to "very good". This experiment was designed with a 4 x 3 Latin square; each set consisting of 36 sentences (12 main sentences and 24 fillers):

(5)   a.   Yenghuy-nun koawen-eyse twu ai-lul chacassta
               Yenghuy-NOM orphanage-LOC two child-ACC found
               'Yenghuy found two children in the orphanage'

        b.   *Yenghuy-nun puekh-eyse twu milkalwu-lul chacassta
               Yenghuy-NOM kitchen-LOC two flour-ACC found
               'Yenghuy found two flour in the kitchen'

The example (a) contains a human denoting NP with a numeral; whereas, the second example includes substance denoting NP with a numeral. While (a) is grammatical, (b) sounds bad as the substance noun is modified directly by the numeral without the help of a classifier.
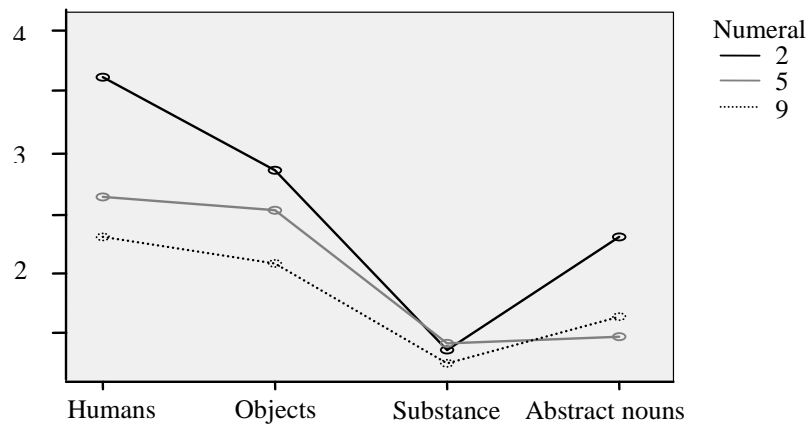
5.4. Result

Figure 1: Acceptability with Numerals and Animacy Hierarchy

This graph shows the acceptability of the noun depending on the size of the numerals and the hierarchy in the animacy hierarchy. The black line in the numeral is number 2, the gray line is number 5 and the dotted line is number 9. On the x-axis, the first one indicates a 'human', the next one is an 'object'; the third one points 'substance' whereas the last one indicates an 'abstract noun'. According to the result, humans and objects are significantly different from substance and abstract nouns based on the statistical analysis. In addition, there are differences depending on the numerals: number 2 is significantly more acceptable than the other numbers. The result reveals that there is no interaction between numerals and animacy hierarchy, as the shape of three graph lines is similar to each other.
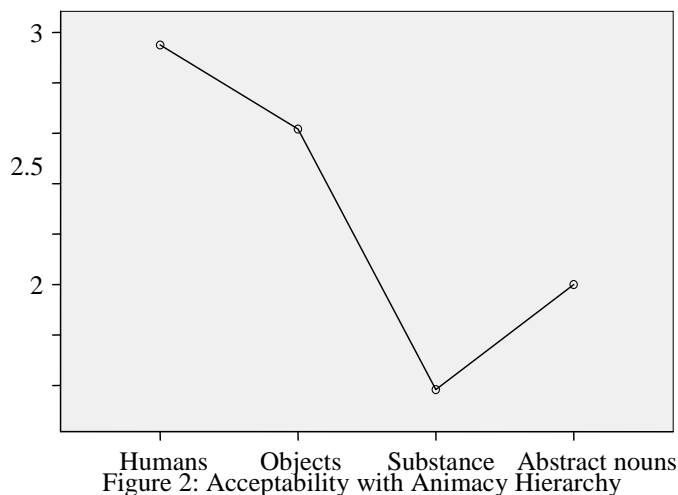
5.5. Discussion

Figure 2: Acceptability with Animacy Hierarchy

This graph is focusing on the animacy hierarchy and the acceptability of the nouns with numerals. 'Humans' is the only animate while the others are inanimate nouns: 'objects', 'substance' and 'abstract nouns'. As humans and objects are countable whereas substance and abstract nouns are not, there is no animacy distinction for the mass/count distinction in Korean. This paper concentrated on the concrete nouns – objects and substance – to figure out whether Korean follows animacy hierarchy or not. Therefore, I did not divide abstract nouns, but

selected uncountable abstract nouns to minimize conditions. Nevertheless, as the result indicates, abstract nouns are more flexible in countability depending on the context. I chose imperfective abstract nouns such as *love*, *passion* and *happiness*; however, if I had chosen perfective abstract nouns or given some context, the result for the abstract nouns would have been very different.

Along with concrete nouns, abstract nouns can be further discussed even though their distinction is not as clear as objects and substance (Doetjes, 1997). For example, nouns such as *idea*, *characteristic* and *opinion* are countable while nouns such as *happiness*, *appreciation* and *function* are uncountable. Therefore, even abstract nouns show mass and count distinction. According to Grimm (2012), abstract nouns can be categorized into event and states. In other words, the mass/count distinction can be made by the aspectual event/state distinction. Because of the limited duration, the former is considered to be discrete as an event; whereas, the latter lasts indefinitely as a steady state.
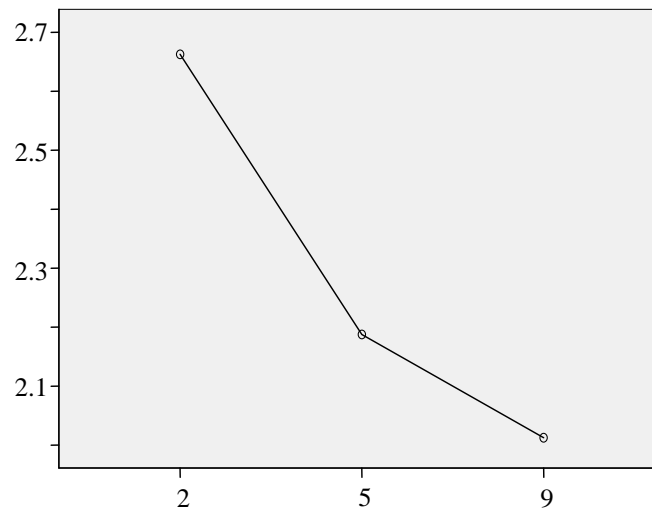

Figure 3: Acceptability with Numeral

This result enlightens an interesting fact that there is a significant difference depending on the size of the number. I selected those three numbers 2, 5 and 9, since the usage of numerals without classifiers is known to be unnatural when the number is above nine, as in *?sumu cha* 'twenty cars' (Sohn, 1999). As there is a statistical difference between 2 and the other two numbers (5 and 9), it would be interesting to study further where the significant split is in the size of the number in Korean.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In the previous studies, classifier languages were discussed as having only mass nouns based on the mass noun thesis. However, as discussed above, it is insufficient to explain all common nouns of classifier languages to have only mass nouns. I researched studies opposing the mass noun thesis in that Korean, which is one of the classifier languages, has not only mass nouns but also count nouns based on the morpho-syntactic devices. I conducted an experiment to investigate Korean mass/count distinction particularly with the numerals attaching directly to common nouns. According to the result, there is mass/count distinction in Korean with no contrast in the Animacy Hierarchy, since the split location is between objects and substance. For my future study, I would like to study further on Korean numerals and distinction within the abstract nouns, which are more complicated than the concrete nouns.

LIST OF NOUNS
Humans: friend, student, child
Objects: book, picture, bag
Substance: milk, meat, flour

Abstract nouns: happiness, passion, love

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KOREAN SUBSYLLABIC REPRESENTATION OF ADULTS AND CHILDREN: FOCUSING ON A SHORT-TERM MEMORY TEST

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ABSTRACT

Based on the branching neutrality between the universal right-branching effect and the language-specific left-branching effect (Berg & Koops, 2010), this study shows that Korean native children exhibit more of the right-branching effect and less of the left-branching effect than adults do. To verify this, a short-term memory test was used to see whether there is a difference in the syllable substructure that is reproduced more correctly between adults and children. The result indicates that children reproduced rhyme part slightly better than body part, while adults did body part much better than rhyme part.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In the field of phonology, the exact nature of subsyllabic representations of syllables has been an issue of an ongoing debate. Traditionally, many researchers have assumed that each language has its own fixed subsyllabic structure: a) Onset-Rhyme (Right-branching) structure, b) Body-Coda (Left-branching) structure, or c) Flat (Non-hierarchical) structure.[1]

The research on Korean syllable substructure is controversial because of the co-existence of evidence of left-branching and that of right-branching structure. (See the section 2. Literature Review for the discussion of data discrepancy). The recent trend in this area is being understood in a position that excludes the binary distinction of the hierarchical modeling. Among the studies that stand in the perspective of the flat structure, two recent studies by Berg and Koops (2010) and Lee and Goldrick (2008) are notable, in that both of them take the non-hierarchical approach that tries to explain the syllable structure in terms of the distributional characteristics of phoneme sequences in Korean lexicon. More specifically, they approach with the calculation of the phonotactic probability, i.e., the strength with which particular consonants and vowels co-occur. According to Lee and Goldrick (2008), the non-hierarchical approach is an alternative to the hierarchical model – the dichotomy approach between left-branching and right-branching – and it utilizes no suprasegmental units inside the syllable to account for these patterns. Rather, it attributes these effects to statistical patterns of co-occurrence between individual segments.

The two studies of the non-hierarchical approach build up the fundamental reasoning of the current study. Lee and Goldrick's (2008) statistical analysis indicates that segments in underlying forms in Korean have a distributional pattern that, in general, cues body-coda subsyllabic representations in Korean. Also, their Short Term Memory (STM) test results correspond to their calculation. The implication of this study is that Korean speakers utilize this statistical information during language processing, and that an STM test effectively reflects the relationship between phonotactic probabilities and language behavior. Berg and Koops (2010), in contrast, found no such patterns in their statistical analysis, i.e., the strength of correlation of onset-vowel sequences and that of vowel-coda sequences in Korean are not statistically significantly different from each other. They suggest that the branching direction neutrality represents a compromise between left-branching and right-branching effects, which are of similar strength, rather than interpreting this finding as evidence for an insensitivity of Korean phonotactics to syllable structure. The left-branching bias is a language-particular effect which may also be found at other levels of linguistic structure (notably, syntax), whereas the right-branching bias is argued to emanate from the sequential nature of speech and therefore to be universal in nature.

Taken the two studies based on the non-hierarchical approach together, the current study posits the following two assumptions: (1) the branching neutrality exists in Korean between the language universal right-branching effect and the language specific left-branching effect, (2) STM tests can show the strength difference between the two substructures, i.e. onset + nucleus and nucleus + coda. Thus, it is hypothesized in the current study that Korean native children exhibit more of the right-branching effect and less of the left-branching effect than adults do. To verify this, an STM test is used to investigate whether children remember and reproduce rhyme part (nucleus + coda) better than body part (onset + nucleus) and adults vice versa.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been many studies suggesting that right-branching structure is universal (Selkirk, 1982; Fudge, 1987; and Lee, 1993). They argue that since the coda consonant is presented to the listener later in time than the onset consonant, the sequential nature of speech in language processing makes listeners perceive a consonant that is located to the right of the nucleus vowel inherently better than the consonant that is located to the left of the nucleus vowel (see, Dell et al., 1993 for the discussion of the role of the sequential nature of speech in language processing).

However, more substantial evidence needs to be collected for the debate on the precise nature of Korean syllabic substructure. Data from a lot of sources indicate that one cannot easily decide which subsyllabic structure Korean syllables have, since the results vary depending on what kinds of data one may pick.

On the one hand, unlike the claim that the right-branching structure is universal, there has been a great deal of evidence supporting the left-branching structure (Ahn, 1988; Cho, 2000; Chun, 1980; Kang, 2003; Kim, 1987; Yoon & Derwing, 2001). The following examples from (1) to (4) have been used as evidence for the left-branching structure.[2]

(1)   Reduplication
        twung-sil 'buoyantly' → *twu-twung-sil* 'buoyantly'
        : reduplication of onset+nucleus in the first syllable   (Kim, 1984)

(2)   Mis-pronunciation
        pok-hap-cek 'complex' → *pop-hak-cek*
        : mis-combination of onset+nucleus and coda   (Chun, 1980)

(3)   Short-hands from computer-mediated communication
        ku-len-tey 'but' → *kun-tey* 'but'
        : deletion of onset+nucleus   (Chun, 1980)

(4)   Wordplay
        a.   *nosa* wordplay
             chel-swu-nun hak-kyo-ey kan-ta. 'Chelsu goes to school.'
             → *chenosal-swu-nun hanosak-kyo-ey kanosan-ta.*
             : insertion of /nosa/ after onset+nucleus in the first syllable of every word   (Kim, 1987)

        b.   *piup* wordplay
             wu-li-nun kong-pu-han-ta. 'We study.'
             → *wupu-lipi-nupun kopong-pupu-hapan-tapa.*
             : insertion of /p/+nucleus after onset+nucleus in every syllable   (Moon, 1996)

On the other hand, there have been some studies supporting the right-branching argument (Kim, 1986; Lee, 1998; Oh, 1997; Sohn, 1987). The data in (5) and (6) show that it is nucleus+coda (i.e., rhyme) that is used as a chunk of duplication or deletion.

(5)   Reduplication
        wul-thwung 'bumpy' → wul-thung-pul-thwung 'bumpy bumpy'
        : reduplication of nucleus+coda in the first syllable[3]   (Bae 1996)

(6)   Short-hands from computer-mediated communication
    a.   ttay-mun-ey 'because' → ttaym-ey 'because'
          : deletion of nucleus+coda in the second syllable
    b.   o-layn-man 'in a long time' → ol-man 'in a long time'
          : deletion of nucleus+coda in the second syllable
    c.   a-ni-myen 'otherwise' → a-nim 'otherwise'
    : deletion of nucleus+coda in the third syllable   (Lee 2007)

The above discussion thus leads to a conclusion that there has been no simple uniform way of describing the subsyllabic structure of Korean syllables.

Therefore, still others have alternatively suggested a representation of Korean syllables with no inherently fixed subsyllabic hierarchy based on language-internal as well as behavioral data (Berg & Koops, 2010; Lee & Goldrick, 2008; Kim & Lee, 2011). These recent studies, using evidence from both language-internal and behavioral data, focus on a different approach to various aspects of syllable structure, which are realized in language processing. These recent studies share the perspective that research on syllable structures should escape from the hierarchical dichotomy since both of the left- and right-branching representations are observed through various factors, such as phonotactic probability, sequential nature of speech, morphosyntactic processes, and difference between perception and intention (see Kim and Lee (2011) for the discussion of the different syllable representations used in rap-song rhyming between rappers' intention and listeners' perception).

Thus, in line with the perspective of the branching neutrality, the current study aims to show that the language universal right-branching effect and the language specific left-branching effect are reflected differently between adults and children in terms of perception of Korean syllables. An STM test method is used to show that Korean adult speakers utilize the statistical information on phonotactic probabilities in their language processing.

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The STM test was performed with three adults whose ages ranged from 28 to 30 and four children aging from 4;6 to 8;7. One of the three adults are native Korean speakers who were living in the U.S. at the time of experiment less than 1 year. In the children group, parents reported that two of them (7;0M and 8;3M) are balanced bilinguals between Korean and English, and the other two children (4;6M and 8;7F) are English-dominant bilinguals. The numbers in the parenthesis in Table 1 indicate how the parents estimate each child's degree of English dominance. In the case of the child 4;6 M, for example, (6:4) in the column 'Language spoken' means that the child is 60% English dominant. All the adult participants were graduate students at University of Hawai'i, and they reported they do not speak any other language than Korean and English. Table 1 summarizes the details of the participants. None of the participants reported any history of speech or hearing impairment.

Table 1. Participants' Biographical Data.

	Participants	Language spoken
Children	4;6 M	English dominant (6:4)
	7;0 M	balanced between Korean and English
	8;3 M	balanced between Korean and English
	8;7 F	English dominant (5.5 : 4.5)
Adults	28 M	Korean as 1st and English as 2nd
	29 M	Korean as 1st and English as 2nd
	30 F	Korean as 1st and English as 2nd

3.2. Experiment Procedure

The STM test provided the participants with recordings of non-word CVC syllable sequences. Each sequence was made of four syllables, and a total of 22 sequences were given. Participants were directed to listen to the recording carefully and repeat what they hear after they listened to four syllables that are contained in a sequence. One sequence was made of four syllables because four syllables in a row turned out to be appropriate in length for children to remember and reproduce through preliminary tests. Children in the preliminary tests provided "don't know" responses in most cases of the syllable sequences in which more than four syllables were contained. As the participants reproduce the stimuli, their responses were recorded for the purpose of analysis.

For the analysis, errors were counted under the following criteria. If [gam] is produced by a participant when [gal] is given as a stimulus, the corresponding part of the entire syllable is onset+nucleus. This error is assumed to be because the participant caught only the left-branching substructure, thus is counted as an error caused by the left-branching underlying syllable substructure, namely left-branching error. On the other hand, if [tal] is produced when [gal] is given, the corresponding part of the entire syllable is nucleus+coda. This error is counted as a right-branching error. To verify the hypothesis, children are expected to commit more of the right-branching errors and less of the left-branching errors than adults do.

3.3. Stimuli

The stimuli were recorded by the researcher in a soundproof booth at the Language Analysis and Experimentation (LAE) lab located at University of Hawai`i at Manoa. The stimuli were without background noise to minimize perceptual errors. Recording was made with TASCAM DR-07 at 44 kHz with 16 bit quantization. The stimuli consisted of 22 lists of four CVC nonsense syllables each. All of the 88 syllables in the stimuli were combinations of phonemes that are used in Korean phonotactics. To select the phonemes used as the stimuli, following criteria were observed. First, only single consonants were used (There were no so-called double consonants, i.e., tensed consonants). Second, only single vowels were used (Diphthongs and glides were excluded). Last, consonants that have the same surface representation in the coda position were excluded. For example, in Korean when /t/, /tʰ/, /s/, /ʥ/, and / ʧ / are in the coda position of a syllable, they are realized as the unreleased alveolar stop /t/, thus only /t/ was selected as the representative phoneme. Thus, 13 consonants in the onset position, 7 vowels in the nucleus position, and 7 consonants in the coda position were selected to be the phonemes used in the stimuli. Table 2 shows the lists of phonemes used in each position. These phonemes were combined randomly to make the 88 syllables, with the almost same frequency of occurrence for each phoneme.

Table 2. Phonemes Used in Each Position

Position	Phoneme
Onset	/k/, /n/, /t/, /l/, /m/, /p/, /s/, / ʥ /, / ʧ /, /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /pʰ/, /h/
Nucleus	/a/, /ɛ/, /o/, /u/, /ə/, /ɨ /, /i/
Coda	/k/, /n/, /l/, /m/, /p/, /s/, /ŋ /

4.0. RESULT

Errors in the participants' reproduction were analyzed into the following three types, based on the researchers' perception: left-branching errors (L type), right-branching errors (R type), and others. L type errors are the errors in which the left-branching subpart of a syllable, i.e. onset + nucleus, is reproduced correctly. R type errors are the ones in which the right-branching subpart of a syllable, i.e. nucleus + coda, is reproduced correctly. Others are the errors in which onset, nucleus, coda, or onset + coda is reproduced correctly, all of which did not occur frequently and are assumed to be attributed to other sources such as perceptual errors, rather than the effect of syllable substructure.

Table 3. Result of the STM test

Participants		Errors in total	L type error	R type error	Others
Children	7;0 M	2	1	1	0
	8;3 M	15	5	9	1
	8;7 F	2	1	0	1
	4;6 M	10	5	4	1
	Total	29	12 (41%)	14 (48%)	3 (10%)
Adults	30 F	48	34	6	8
	28 M	45	32	6	7
	29 M	27	14	4	9
	Total	120	80 (67%)	16 (13%)	24 (20%)

The children group has one more participant than the adult group. Nevertheless, the collected errors from the children group are far fewer in number than those from the adult group. The total number of errors from children group is 29, out of 92 syllables they repeated, while that from adult group is 120, out of 264 syllables they repeated. This is because the children were difficult to make concentrate on the task for an enough length of time. No children were able to complete the reproduction of all of the 22 sequences. Even though the data from the children group is not enough to elicit a generalization, the dramatic difference between L type and R type errors from the adult group data clearly shows that adults perceive and reproduce onset + nucleus much better than nucleus + coda.

5.0. DISCUSSION

The collected data supports the hypothesis of the current study. Children perceived and reproduced nucleus + coda slightly better than onset + nucleus (14 right-branching errors and 12 left-branching errors), while adults did onset + nucleus much better than nucleus + coda (16 right-branching errors and 80 left-branching errors).

However, the experimental design of the current study has two critical defects that prevent the errors in the STM test method used in the current study from reflecting the real representation of the branching direction neutrality. In other words, even though every participant was exposed to the same stimuli, there still remain the possibilities of other sources of errors, such as individual differences in terms of perception. The followings have to be improved in future research.

First, the phonotactic probabilities of segments used were not considered in the stimuli. In Lee and Goldrick's (2008) research, it is assumed that the statistical information of phonotactic probability between segments is a significant factor that is utilized in native speakers' language processing. For this reason, they divided their stimuli into three types, depending on the probabilities of C + V and V + C occurrence in a CVC syllable of Korean. For example, CV + vc is a type in which the combination of onset + nucleus occurs frequently and that of nucleus + coda occurs rarely in Korean phonotactics. In contrast, cv + VC is another type in which the combination of onset + nucleus occurs rarely and that of nucleus + coda occurs frequently. The last type is cv + vc type, where the both combinations of onset + nucleus and of nucleus + coda occur rarely. This is the reason why the STM method holds the validity in their experiment. Without the statistical information being controlled in the stimuli of the current study, the perception by the participants could have been affected. For example, a combination of cv + VC type will lead the participants to perceive the onset + nucleus poorly, and a combination of CV + vc will cause the poor perception of nucleus + coda.

Second, the procedure of Lee and Goldrick's experiment included a familiarization step, prior to the recalling of the perceived stimuli. In the familiarization step, the participants heard each syllable one by one and immediately repeated it. Mispronunciations were corrected. After familiarization, the participants listened to the entire set of six syllables in a different random order, and then they were asked to orally recall the six syllables. This step greatly helps minimize perceptual errors.

Also, one more shortcoming to note is that the current study collected data from a few number of bilinguals due to the difficulty of recruiting Korean monolingual speakers in Hawai`i.

Nevertheless, the current study has an implication as a preliminary step, in that it shows the possibility of the behavioral difference in syllable representation between adults and children, which has not yet been studied in the field.
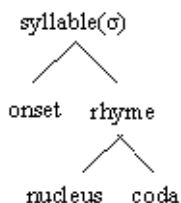
6.0. CONCLUSION

Based on the prediction of Berg and Koops (2010) that Korean syllable structure represents the branching direction neutrality and the validity of the STM method used in Lee and Goldrick (2008), this study shows a possibility that children perceive and reproduce the nucleus + coda better than adults do. Although the study needs improvements in several aspects, the result presented here can be a preliminary step to investigate the exact nature of Korean syllable representation and to show potential differences in syllable representations in Korean adults and children.
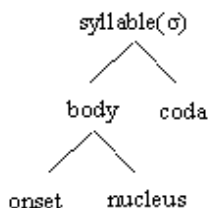
NOTES

1.   Illustration of the three possible sub-syllabic structures.
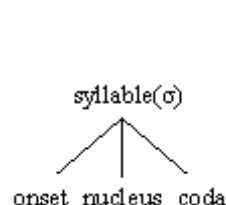

    a. onset-rhyme structure   b. body-coda structure   c. flat structure

2.   Phoneme transcription in this paper is based on "The Yale Romanization System", except that hyphens indicate syllable borders for the convenience of readers.

3.   There are many other mimetic words in Korean showing the same lexicalization manner. Following words are the examples of this. All of them are registered in the entries of Standardized Korean Dictionary online service (http://124.137.201.223/main.jsp).

el-ssi-kwu-cel-ssi-kwu 'Hurray'
el-lwuk-tel-lwuk 'variegated'
wul-kut-pul-kut 'colorfully'
ong-ki-cong-ki 'clustered friendlily'
al-khong-tal-khong 'happily together'
ol-mang-col-mang 'together in a cluster'
el-ki-sel-ki 'interwovenly'

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PHONEMIC DISTINCTION LOSS IN MONOLINGUAL VS. BILINGUAL INFANTS

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has shown that as age increases, the ability to distinguish distinct sounds outside of a speaker's native language decreases. Werker and Tees (1984) reported that this distinction loss happens in monolinguals as young as 10 months. So far, no other study has addressed at which age bilingual infants no longer have the ability to distinguish sounds outside of their ambient languages, other than the ability to discriminate one language over another (Byers-Heinlein, Burns, and Werker, 2010). This project investigated the age at which bilingual children begin to lose the ability to discriminate between sounds not in either ambient language. The findings reveal that bilingual infants do in fact have a longer latency period beyond ten months.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Children are exposed to language from birth. In turn, they unknowingly begin to acquire language skills, such as developing a lexicon, learning the nuances of the grammar of their language, and speech production. Although timelines vary, in general, language development in children begins at birth with reflexive vocalizations (i.e. vegetative sounds), followed by cooing and laughter at 6-16 weeks of age. Following that stage, at 16-30 weeks of age, vocal play begins. Babbling first begins with canonical babbling at 6-10 months and then variegated babbling starts at 10-14 months. Recognition of various sound differences begins at around 14 months (Deen, 2011).

Bilingual infants are perceptive to more than one ambient language and are exposed to twice the language features that monolingual infants are exposed to. Additionally, they must be attuned to the language sound changes around them, discerning which sounds belong to one language versus the other.

Werker and Tees (1984) reported that phonemic distinction in monolingual infants is lost as early as eight months, but on average it is at 10 months. By 12 months, the ability to discriminate sounds outside of their ambient language is gone. Further, Goto (1971), Strange and Dittman (1984), and Werker and Lalonde (1988) support that as age increases, the ability to distinguish distinct sounds outside of a speaker's native language decreases. The above studies were done in reference to monolinguals, but were not done for bilinguals. Werker, Gilbert, Humphrey, and Tees (1981) did a study comparing infants to native English speaking adults and native Hindi speaking adults for distinction between non-native sounds and found that the infants did better.

There is debate about whether children acquire language faster than adults. In comparing the rate of second language acquisition in children and adults, (Krashen, Long & Scarcella, 1979) showed that although children may have an advantage in achieving native-like fluency in the long run, adults actually learn languages more quickly than children in the early stages; this is possible evidence for maintaining phonemic perception differences at older ages.

The present study investigates a phonemic distinction loss in bilingual infants. An experiment designed to test various ages to discover the prime window of age or ages to best expose an infant to another language other than their native language or primary language of exposure, an experiment was designed to see what that age may be. It is predicted that bilingual children will have a delayed onset for phonemic distinction loss than monolinguals (>10 months), due to their delayed development in their early stages of life (e.g. having later onsets of major milestones like telegraphic speech, first words, etc). A research question asks at what age bilingual infants are evidenced to lose their phonemic distinction ability. Regardless of when the loss occurs, it is predicted that it will still be later than monolingual infants at after 10 months of age.

2.0. BACKGROUND

Werker et al's (1981) experiment tested 6 to 8 month infants learning English as well as adults that had native proficiency in either English or Hindi. Using Hindi phonemic contrasts, it was expected that Hindi adults would be able to distinguish the minimal pairs presented, which they were due to their familiarity with

their native language. The contrastive sounds were almost indistinguishable to native English speakers because they scored way below chance for most Hindi sounds, but certain sounds were slightly easier, based on their similarity to the English phonemic inventory. The infants proved to still retain their "skill" to pay special attention to the phonemic differences between sounds, and did better than the English adults, and almost as well as the Hindi adults. This is because at that age range, infants are perceptive to all sounds and have not fine-tuned their phonemic inventories to distinguish specific sounds unique to their native language.

Werker and Tees (1984) tested infants exposed to contrasting sounds in Thomson Salish and Hindi. They implemented the "conditioned head turn procedure" in which an infant is "trained" by being exposed to sounds synchronized with a reinforcement (e.g. a picture on a screen that appears each time a sound is played) and further encouraged to change at specific intervals when the sounds change. The authors used three groups of infants exposed to a monolingual environment: a) 6-8 months, b) 8-10 months, c) 10-12 months. Among the three groups, the infants in the 6-8 month group did the best (by being the most responsive in head turns), the 8-10 month group did moderately worse than the 6-8 month infants, but better than the 10-12 month group. The worst performance was seen in the 10-12 month group, suggesting that phonemic contrasts are not paid attention to and the skill for differentiating sounds is lost starting at 10 months. Werker and Tees (1984) concluded that a language acquisition metamorphosis in monolingual infants occurs during the 8-10 month age range. This study gives support to their hypothesis that infants are born as a universal perceiver, and as they grow older, they become a language-specific perceiver. That is, from birth, language processing is open to the various sounds that may or may not be a part of their ambient language environment. Out of necessity and specific exposure to a language or languages, a person becomes a language-specific perceiver after infancy.

3.0. STUDY

The present study hoped to answer several questions. At what age, specifically, do *bilingual* infants lose their phonemic distinction ability? Presumably, bilingual infants who have more exposure and "experience" with more than one language would be more receptive to foreign sounds at a later age beyond their monolingual infant peers. The hypothesis predicts that this will be the case, with their distinction abilities to be beyond ten months; this is due to the widely known fact that bilingual children tend to be delayed in their early milestones in life, such as the later onset of telegraphic speech, their first words, among others.

Data was gathered in Honolulu, Hawai'i from infants between the ages of 6 to 24 months (see Appendix). Both monolingual and bilingual infants were tested. All experiment sessions were video-recorded to be later used for data encoding. The majority of the sessions took place at the infant's home, with a similar setup based on the "conditioned head turn procedure" method to be mentioned in the next section (Werker, Polka, & Pegg, 1995). Other sessions were done at the Tracker Lab at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. At the home sessions, infants were placed in high chairs on the opposite side of the experimenter and at the diagonal end, as seen in the figure (right). In total, there were 6 monolingual participants and 4 bilingual participants.

The setup for the experiment shown is from Werker, Polka, and Pegg (1995). Inside a room, the experimenter sat at a table with a computer that was hooked up to audio speakers. The speakers were facing the infant, to which the parent and infant saw the speakers to their right. As the sounds played, it was expected that the infant would turn their head towards the source of the sound, i.e. the infant's right, during sound transitions. Each session took approximately 15 minutes to complete. All participants and parents of the participants volunteered for this experiment and were not compensated (which was very kind of them). All participants were recruited via word-of-mouth, email, and online forums.

4.0. METHOD

Sounds were recorded using a digital audio recorder. The Hindi phonemic sounds were elicited from a native Hindi female speaker. Sounds were edited using Audacity 1.3.13. Each session was videotaped using a ZOOM Q3HD portable camera, and the laptop used was an Apple MacBook Pro, which ran QuickTime to display the reinforcement video used in the training phase and Audacity to play the four sound strings in the test phase.
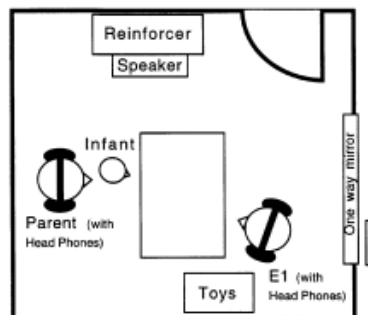
Figure 1. Conditioned Head Turn Layout

The method was designed using Werker and Tees's (1984) experimental design as inspiration, and Hindi was the foreign language of choice because it is among one of the less common second languages in Hawai'i. A head-turning procedure was adopted and used in this experiment (figure 1). A video with a circle that appeared in sync with the sounds that played consisted of the training phase to train the infant to identify differences in phonemes and turn their head from experimenter to computer. This stage had two strings of sounds that played: 1. Fixed, where phoneme sounds played were in a specific quantity, and 2. Variable, where the phoneme sounds played were in varying quantities up to 25, e.g. /b/ x 14, /ʈ/ x 22. All sounds had a 0.3-millisecond silence that was placed between each sound. At each sound transition, an owl attached to a stick but hidden inside a cardboard tube appeared and emitted a hooting noise. The owl's appearance was an obvious clue to the child that something amongst the sounds had changed and acted as further reinforcement to turn their head. In the training phase, the sounds /b, ʈ, g/ were played.

Following the training phase, the test phase consisted of four different tracks. The tracks were made up of "blocks" that were the minimal pairs of each phoneme. Sound distinctions amongst the phonemes consisted of aspiration versus non-aspiration, and voiced versus voiceless. For example, a block would consist of /k, kʰ/, both sounds being played 25 times each. A string would have 4 blocks, with one block playing one after the other. The owl also appeared during points of sound change, but made no sound. Tracks were played in pseudo-random order for each child, so that no two children heard the same order of sound strings.

4.1 Coding

Coding was done solely by the experimenter. The experimenter examined all videos after experiment sessions and quantified head turns during the training and test phases. A head turn was counted if the child clearly turned their head from the laptop to the experimenter.
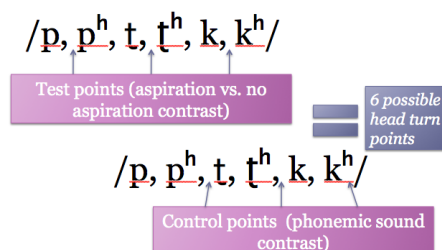

Figure 2. Coding Points.

Head turn counts in the training phases were used to contrast the monolingual infant participants with the bilingual infant participants, as some monolingual infants did not make it past the entire training stage.

Conditioning infants to the sounds in the training stage was not expected to be learned by the monolingual participants, as well as the older participants. The more valuable and interesting head turns were in the testing phase, where infants had six chances to turn their heads. There were three test points in which there was a contrast between aspiration and unaspiration. Additionally, three more control points were at places in each string in which there was a contrast between each separate phoneme. This is shown schematically in Figure 2.

After coding with the sound on, coding was done with the sound off as a quality control check. The head counts were compared and any inconsistencies meant that there could have been some false head turns accidentally counted and the video was coded again.

5.0. RESULTS

The results of the coded head turns showed more responsiveness and head turns from the bilingual infant group in general. The older the child was, the less responsive they tended to be, especially if they were monolingual. The older monolingual children were seen getting bored during the variable sounds in the training phase and did not make it to the testing phase, or were bored early into the testing phase. Despite this, the hypothesis was confirmed, where the bilingual infants showed a delayed onset of their phonemic distinction skills in which they were able to recognize a wider range of phonemes at a later age than monolingual infants.

Results from this study are consistent with previous research that says that younger infants are more receptive to phonemic contrasts outside of their ambient environment. Also consistent is the fact that monolinguals lose their phonemic discrimination ability after 10 months of age. An 18 month-old was seen becoming bored after 1 minute and 10 seconds into the training phase.

Results are quantified in Table 1. Proportions are shown with total number of chances each infant had to turn their head during the specific points amongst all strings. It can be seen that of the control points, it was easier for both groups to discriminate a distinction between different phonemes. There was a stark contrast between the monolinguals and bilinguals with respect to recognizing aspiration and no aspiration. Bilinguals were shown to be able to recognize the aspiration feature at a rate of 25% more than monolinguals.

Table 1. Percentages of Head Turns by Infant Group.

Infant Group	Control Point	Test Point
Monolingual (M= 13 months)	45/60, 75%	30/60, 50%
Bilingual (M= 12.5 months)	40/48, 83%	36/48, 75%

Note: M is used to represent mean ages.

Monolinguals had less head turns overall, generally bored by the first or second test string (out of four total). This group missed most of the test points and critical points by not turning their head. In contrast, bilinguals were seen turning their heads at most of the test and critical points. However, as age increased, response rate decreased. Contrast between the youngest and oldest bilingual participants showed a 58% decrease in head turns (0;6 versus 1;4). This is consistent with Werker and Tees's findings as well.

The bilinguals' average age was 12.5 months. This is older than Werker and Tees's (1984) study comparing monolingual infants to adults finding that infants lose this ability at 10 months of age. The bilinguals, although more responsive through head turns at the control points rather than the test points, had issues discriminating aspiration. For example, of the three possible head turns during the control points, none of the infant participants of both groups except for two bilinguals were counted as having zero out of three possible head turns.

6.0. DISCUSSION

In many ways, this was a preliminary look. Several issues were encountered during this run, and suggestions for modifications will be discussed. In an ideal situation, resources would be unlimited so issues would be minimal, but this was not the case.

The stimuli inventory could have been larger to present more contrasts to the participants. Due to sound issues and hurdles collecting stimuli, some phonemes were unusable, limiting the amount of stimuli possible to use.

The research question could not be answered with this study. It was difficult to find an exact age at which bilingual infants do lose their phonemic distinction ability with only ten participants. In the future, a larger group of participants would be needed, and would likely be most successful at finding this age if the study was extended to other regions outside of Hawai`i to get a distributed range of infants of all ages between 6 and 24 months. Additionally, a longitudinal method could follow up at certain ages to confirm the phonemic distinction loss.

Gender effects, though unclear, may have had an influence within the results. The majority of the participants were female. A further direction to take this study in the future would be to investigate how gender affects bilingual phonemic discrimination at the early ages and into childhood, if at all. It could be interesting to see if one gender maintains this skill longer over the other.

Perhaps an ordering effect may have affected the results. Test strings, although pseudo-randomly presented to each participant, there was a clear pattern of boredom for the monolinguals appearing by the middle of the first or second string in the test phase after they finished the training phase. The entire experiment itself consisted of 12 minutes of sounds, so it is possible that the length was too long, but more importantly, by the time the second test string played, the participants would have already heard the sounds; therefore no new information was presented and no response was elicited.

The delayed onset of this phonemic discrimination skill amongst bilingual children has two possible explanations. First, bilingual children are exposed to two phoneme inventories. This is double the amount of sounds than their monolingual peers, thus their brains are conditioned to listen for extra, "outside" sounds. They must be able to discriminate what sound belongs to one language and what does not and apply this to an additional language. The larger quantity of phonemes could account for the recognition of different contrasts, since they have already been exposed to them and are familiar, thus were able to recognize the contrasts. Secondly, the bilingual brain could be structured differently after it has been established that the child is exposed to a consistent bilingual environment. Perhaps it is the case that being bilingual automatically forces the brain to be extra sensitive to sounds, making it more receptive to foreign phonemes and different contrasts. In this way, the brain is holding onto this phonemic distinction skill longer, delaying the onset of the skill's decay. This could explain how it may be easier for a bilingual to pick up a third or even a fourth language, by way of being able to discriminate one sound from another across languages and being generally more receptive.

7.0. CONCLUSION

In this study, both monolingual and bilingual infants between the ages of 6 and 24 months were tested to see if there was a delay in phonemic distinction. Using a method of head turns as various sounds in Hindi were played, the infants were observed to see if they would be responsive to the stimuli through head turns at contrast and test points within the sound strings played. Follow-ups to this study will need to be conducted in the future to expand on the results and find more definitive answers. The application of this study to the public would help inform parents of the time window they have to raise their children as bilinguals if they choose to do so.

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APPENDIX

Monolinguals			Bilinguals		
Gender	Language(s)	Age	Gender	Language(s)	Age
F	Korean	1;1	F	Mandarin, English	0;6
F	English	0;10	F	English, Korean	1;4
M	English	1;9	F	English, French	0;9
M	English	0;6	F	English, Japanese	1;7
F	English	1;11	F	Farsi, English	1;5
	Average age	13; 8		Average age	12;5

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Eve Millett, originally from Columbus, Ohio, is a senior at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, where she was initiated into Phi Beta Kappa. In Fall 2012, Eve will receive her Bachelor of Arts degree in French and Ethnic Studies. She plans to continue her research interests on the importance of language and its connection to citizenship. Eve wants to attend graduate school for both French language and Ethnic Studies.

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Mónica Vidal is a second-year M.A. student in the Department of Second Language Studies. She was raised in a Spanish-speaking bilingual home with two younger siblings and immigrant parents and has capitalized on these life experiences to pursue research in the field of heritage languages. Her interests lie in the sociolinguistics of naturalistic language learning and how it can be applied to teacher training. Her overall motivation lies in reversing the shift from Spanish to English in later generations of Spanish-speaking immigrants' families. Starting in Fall 2012, she will be teaching Spanish 101 for the first time, after 19 on-and-off years of teaching English and French. Once she graduates with her M.A., she hopes to pursue a Ph.D.