Proceedings 2013

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

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

edited by Jennifer Holdway & Brittany Wilson

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PREFACE

Jennifer Holdway, PhD student in Second Language Studies
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The College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa hosted its seventeenth annual graduate student conference on Saturday, April 20, 2013. This conference provides graduate students across departments within the College of LLL—East Asian Languages and Literatures (EALL), English (ENG), Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures (IPLL), Languages and Literatures of Europe and Americas (LLEA), Linguistics (LING), and Second Language Studies (SLS)—with excellent experience, including giving conference presentations in a welcoming environment, sharing their research with their peers and faculty, and becoming familiar with the publishing process through the opportunity to submit their paper to the conference proceedings.

The theme for this year was *Engaged Language Research and Practice*, with the plenary speech provided by Dr. Kathryn A. Davis of the Department of Second Language Studies. Following the Dean's welcome message, 46 students gave presentations on a wide variety of subjects, including educational policy, pedagogy, endangered languages, formal linguistics, and technology. Twenty-three of these presenters have chosen to include their papers in these proceedings, representing the diversity of educational experiences and research interests from our students across the College of LLL.

The conference could not have proceeded without the hard work of the organizing committee co-chairs: Keeley Cestare, Megumi Jinushi, Dongmin Kim, and Gordon West. Additional support by the College of LLL, the National Foreign Language Resource Center, the Linguistics Society of Hawai'i, the Second Language Studies Student Association, and Sigma Delta Pi also made this conference possible. Student volunteers from all departments dedicated their time and effort in planning and running the conference, including moderating the presentations and the question and answer sessions, providing refreshments, organizing and managing registration and other administrative duties, and providing technological support for the presenters.

We would also like to say a grateful thank-you to everyone who participated throughout the process of our compiling the impressive response of 22 papers in the 2013 conference proceedings. Dean Robert Bley-Vroman, Jim Yoshioka, Iris Chang, and two student assistants from the College of LLL Dean's office—Tyler Bills and Blake Lau—have been invaluable. We are also very grateful to our four assistant editors—Kristyn Martin (EALL), Li-Anne Dela Vega (ENG), Sunju Kim (LING), and Jenna Pak (SLS)—who contributed their time over the summer months to help get the papers ready for publication.

This year's conference has been a wonderful experience, for the students who gave presentations and those who attended sessions by their peers, as well as those behind the scenes whose contribution has been invaluable. We hope you enjoy this compilation of diverse research projects currently underway within the College of LLL.

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

ENGAGED LANGUAGE RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Dr. Kathryn A. Davis, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

Professional associations, higher education institutions, and scholar-activists are increasingly acknowledging the value of engaged research and practice. University programs such as the *Center for Institutional and Social Change* at Columbia University promote a "full participation" diversity and public engagement framework that focuses on enabling people across identities, backgrounds, and institutional positions to realize their capabilities, engage in meaningful institutional life and enable others to do the same (Sturm et al. 2012). Networks of scholars and communities are also being formed, notably the *Urban Research-Based Action Network (URBAN)* designed to foster engaged research across university disciplines and within communities. Building on current trends and the historical legacy of equity scholarship in linguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., Hymes, Hornberger, Labov, Lippi-Green, Rickford, Shohamy, Heller), this presentation explores the potential for engaged research and practice across LLL multilingual/bilingual and foreign, heritage, indigenous and second language fields. In seeking "full participation", the presenter suggests the centrality of engaged dialogic processes towards gaining and raising awareness across communities (institutions and people) of the potential for research, curriculum, pedagogy, and programs that are meaningful and inclusive.

Kathryn A. Davis' scholarly interests focus on Language Policy and Planning that draws on engaged ethnography to explore equity and agency across language situations and interdisciplinary fields. Her most recent theoretical work and research involves collaboration with students, colleagues, and communities as represented in the following publications and presentations: "Multicultural Education as Community Engagement: Policies and Planning in a Transnational Era (Davis, Phyak, & Bui, 2012); Ethnographic Approaches to Second Language Acquisition in the *Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Davis, 2012); Language and Literacy Acquisition Theories in the *Handbook of Educational Theory* (Davis, Ovando, & Minami, 2012). She additionally worked with young scholars in organizing the 2012 Invited Session on *Language Policy and Planning from Within: Local Ethnographers Engaging Communities* at the American Anthropology Association conference. She is a guest editor for an upcoming thematic issue on *Engaged Language Policy and Planning*, based on a 2011 AAAL collaboratively organized session on this topic. In Fall 2013 she will be working with colleagues and graduate students in Luxembourg/Europe on research concerning "Language, Identity, and Agency at Transnational Crossroads: Language Planning for Diversity."

I. Language and Society

UNPROPORTIONAL: DISPARITIES OF FUNDING AND ENDANGERMENT IN LANGAUGES AND SPECIES

Shaun Kindred, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the extent of disparity in knowledge of and support for language and biological conservation. It surveys and contrasts the amount of funding and other resources dedicated to language and biological conservation, and defines the endangerment within three countries and across the world. This paper also investigates the common economic, political, and social pressures that endangered languages and species face. I found that there are unique challenges for the conservation of languages and cultures that wildlife organizations do not face, but there is also much common ground where future collaboration may be possible.

1.0. THE SERIOUSNESS OF ENDANGERMENT

Krauss (1992) estimates that 50% to 90% of human languages will be doomed within this century. We must consider that this is significant not only to languages, but also to what they represent. Languages represent a significant portion of a native speaker's worldview, culture, and historical knowledge. While some cultures can and will survive without languages, they cannot escape language loss unscathed. Nor can one be so optimistic as to believe the same homogenizing forces that endanger languages will not stamp out many of the cultures that lose their language. Essentially, cultural endangerment is at issue, but it is not as easily quantifiable as languages, There are no reliable tests to differentiate and categorize all the cultures of the world. However, language ability and uniqueness can be investigated. To begin, it is helpful to consider that the loss of language may be a barometer for even greater losses of culture, just as the loss of species diversity indicates wider environmental degradation.

However, 100 years can seem to be a very distant future. For many, this idea of vast language extinction might bring up the same jaded sneers that people get when peak oil or other catastrophic Malthusian predictions are proposed. There was, of course, no mass starvation event in the 70s and 80s as *The Population Bomb* predicted and SUVs and other high MPG vehicles are still popular. For those who have less concern for the state of the world for future generations, it may be better to restate this in a shorter timeframe.

In a conservative comparison of the endangerment of known fauna species and languages (Sutherland, 2003), about 4.5% of languages are known to have already gone extinct within the last 62 years, compared to 3.2% of birds and mammals. Sutherland stated that 7.1% of languages are critically endangered. Yet, Sutherland's numbers are fairly conservative compared to United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Moseley, 2010) where at least 577 languages, or 9.6% are "critically endangered." These languages are spoken by only a few people who are of the grandparent's generation or older, are no longer being passed on to future generations, and are not commonly spoken. Whalen & Simons (2012) have a more negative estimate—6% of languages have gone extinct and 23% are not being transmitted. These languages are not likely to survive the next 20 years. Thus, most of us living now are likely to see the complete disappearance of over 1/10th of the world's languages within our lifetime.

Sutherland (2003) makes a comparison that 6.1% of birds and animals, and 7.1% of languages are critically endangered. However, if expanded to the entirety of the 1.2 million catalogued species (Mora, Tittensor, Adl, Simpson, & Worm, 2011), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Red List considers less than 1% to be endangered. In worse-case scenarios on climate change, only 35% of species *are predicted* to be "committed to extinction" by 2050 (Thomas et al., 2004). However, 50% of languages have been believed to be "committed to extinction" *since 1992*.

Languages also face mass extinction of groups higher on the phylogenetic tree. Whalen & Simons (2012) have composed a list of the amount of language families, isolates, and unclassified languages (referred to as "stocks") that are endangered or potentially endangered. These language families carry unique language innovations that are not shared, by definition, by the rest of the world's languages. Yet, 15% are already lost, 27% are not being passed down and are soon to die, and 25% are in danger. In comparison, three species of rhinoceroses are on the IUCN Red List but the entire Rhinocerotidae family is not.

The endangerment of unclassified languages and isolates is particularly important for the insight they give to human history as well as linguistic knowledge:

> The investigation of linguistic isolates yields invaluable information for improving the general classification of the world's languages, for enriching knowledge of specific typological traits and for elucidating early population movements [such as] hunter-gatherer languages being absorbed by languages spoken by invading agriculturalists. (Hombert & Philippson, 2009)

Of the 73 languages that are known but have too little information for classification, 41 are also endangered. But before someone gets comfortable with these high levels endangerment and believe that 56% is not too bad, they should realize that the remaining 32 languages have already become extinct. These windows to the past, definers of their environments, and parts of the diversity of human thought may forever lack enough documentation to even classify their place among the world's languages. Monophyletic species such as the Koala (a "species isolate"), however, are not as endangered.

It is also likely that languages are even more diverse than has been estimated by past linguists, and summarized and packaged nicely by *Ethnologue*. At least 15 languages in Africa alone could be reclassified as isolates (2009).

2.0. FUNDING

In search of other quantifiable ways of showing the disproportional amount of attention endangered languages receive compared to endangered species, we need to look at their respective amounts of funding. I will compare the funding within the following three regions and worldwide.

2.1. Japan

In 2005, Japan gave $827,000 USD to the preservation of all Ainu culture, their only indigenous group. This funding has dwindled to only $313,000 in 2012 despite gaining formal recognition as an indigenous population in 2008 (Hokkaido Government Board of Education 2005, 2012; Norimitsu 2008). In contrast, Japan budgeted $45 million USD for biodiversity conservation in 2012. This disparity is even starker when you consider that the Ainu people are descended from the prehistoric Jōmon settlers of Japan. The evolution of their language and culture has recorded a history of the land from before the arrival of the modern Japanese (Yayoi) people, and throughout their conflict and integration with them. This sole window into the ancient history of the Japanese nation is now carried by no more than a handful of ailing native Ainu speakers.

2.2. Canada

Under the Canadian government's Species at Risk program, at least $15 million USD[1] is provided towards the protection of endangered species. Promisingly, however, the Canadian government has created an "Aboriginal Fund' that goes to support their aboriginal peoples in conserving local endangered species. This is a promising new trend towards the symbiotic funding of cultural and biological diversity. $5 million is given towards preservation of indigenous languages through the Aboriginal Languages Initiative, although that is spread over 30 First Nation languages and peoples.

2.3. US

The US government, through the Administration for Native Americans, funded $14 million in grants towards native language preservation and revitalization in 2012 (Wolfe, 2012). Based on my calculations of the National Science Foundation's (NSF, n.d.) DELL grant awards, they have steadily grown since 2007 to just over $3 million in 2011. In contrast, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS, 2011) spent $58.5 million dollars in 2011 on endangered species alone.

2.4. Worldwide

On the biological side, the IUCN allocated approximately $129 million to its conservation efforts for 2012. The Wildlife Conservation Society expended $176 million in 2011 for its zoos and other conservation programs worldwide (KPMG LLP, 2011). The National Fish and Wildlife Foundation spent nearly $53 million in 2007 (Anschutz-rodgers et al., 2007). Finally, the World Wildlife Fund spent over $202 million on program expenses alone in 2011.

For languages, the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project granted over 1.7 million dollars to language documentation efforts in 2012. And the VolkswagenStiftung institute in Germany provided $3.5 million with their DoBeS initiative. However, that initiative has recently completed its run and it is unknown how much more funding may continue to be offered. A few others—such as the Endangered Language Fund, Foundation for Endangered Languages, the Christensen Fund, Jacob's Research Funds, National Geographic's Genographic Legacy Fund, EarthAction's Endangered Languages Program—are less transparent with their funding than the above. But given the average grant amounts and number of grants, I estimate that all of these sources combined would equal approximately $1 million for 2011. In Table 1, you can see these numbers contrasted further, where the disparity between funding of endangered languages and endangered species may be over 9,000%.

Table 1. Disparity in Funding for Conservation and Revitalization of Endangered Species and Languages.

	Canada	U.S.	Japan	Worldwide
Wildlife	$15,000,000	$58,500,000	$45,000,000	$560,000,000
Languages	$5,000,000	$17,000,000	$827,000	$6,200,000
Disparity	200%	344%	5,441%	9,032%

These are only a few examples — a snapshot of funding available in three specific regions of the world and international organizations. They cannot be considered representative of the entirety of funds available in every regional, national, and international organization across the world, which, if totaled, may easily exceed these numbers. However, the general trend and amount of disparity is apparent and likely reflected at all levels of funding. The Terra Viva Grants Directory currently lists 9 international organizations, 15 government organizations, and 130 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that provide grants for biodiversity, wildlife, and conservation activities. The largest comparable list for language conservation funding is done by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project website and lists only 19. The Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity (RNLD.org) lists over twice that amount although many are not specifically intended for language or cultural conservation work.

3.0. PROTECTIONS

There are many current protections and strategies for protection available to biological conversation and revitalization efforts that are not applicable for languages. One is land preservation. 3.48% of total world land area was protected in 1985. This has increased to be over 12.9% in 2009, 5.8% of which is used strictly for the conservation of biodiversity (Jenkins & Joppa, 2009; Zimmerer, Galt, & Buck, 2004). However, there are no parks or preserves for languages. The closest attempt at protecting a culture in such a way is the Jawara tribe of the Andaman islands. They have been placed in a reserve where all contact with outside people and culture has been prohibited. Yet, there are cases of their children trying to join schools outside their reserve and integrate with the society that surrounds them as well as inevitable direct and indirect contact with the people who surround the preserve (Pandya, 2007). Zoos are another option that serve multiple roles as outreach, conservation, and revitalization centers but cannot be replicated for language conservation.

Further, there are a few cases of endangered species with very small populations that have recovered once protected or bred. However, as language communities get smaller and smaller, their languages become less economically valuable, support from within the community wanes, and they stop intergenerational transmission at higher and higher rates in a seemingly negative feedback loop (see Whalen & Simons, 2012, p. 163 for an illustration of these effects). Unlike some rare species (Rabinowitz, 1981), languages rely on large populations to help keep their cultural spheres intact.

Both languages and species face a broad documentation problem that is far more drastic on the biological side. There are isolated cases, such as large numbers of languages in Africa, that have no documentation at all (Blench & Dendo, 2003), while 86% of biological species lack description (Mora et al.,

2011). However, the prospects for the identification and tracking of species has a much more promising future. The International Barcode of Life Project (iBOL) is one of many attempting to solve this lack of documentation of the diversity of life and they have been given over $80 million Canadian dollars to document 500,000 species within 5 years. While $80 million would go a long way towards filling in the gaps of knowledge of the diversity and scope of humanity's remaining languages, languages do not carry any DNA or markers that can be so easily recovered in the field.

This lack of a DNA makes the process of preserving languages a much more difficult feat. Words, grammars, and discourses can be sampled with audio, video, and transcription but will only represent the language as far as the situations depicted, and just this small amount of documentation comes at a significant time and financial cost for each language. In contrast, the Svalbard seed vault may be able to preserve our plants long after natural disasters or nuclear war could erase humanity.

Although there is this a disparity in endangerment, funding, and available conservation methods, the biocultural landscape is tightly integrated (Pretty et al., 2008) and there is a strong correlation between the areas language and biological diversity occur (Gorenflo, Romaine, Mittermeier, & Walker-Painemilla, 2012). What affects one side of the metaphorical biocultural coin often affects the other. So there may be avenues where language and nature conservationists can work together. I will address below some similarities and differences in the endangerment of species.

4.0. REASONS FOR ENDANGERMENT

4.1. Valuable Resources
Often with endangered wildlife, species are overharvested for food or poached to sell for exotic goods. As they become more rare and exotic, they become ever more valuable and endangered[2]. This is unlike languages, which often are endangered because of their lack of value or prestige. However, that is not to say that the reasons for language endangerment do not include murder for something of value. One is the case of the Akuntsu people, who now number only 5, after a massacre of their people by Brazilian ranchers in search of new farmland to settle. There is little prospect of their language or culture to pass on, as there is only one woman left of child-bearing age and no known suitors (Aragon, 2009). The case of the Akuntsu is another example of wide-scale endangerment. Its entire subfamily Tuparí, of the larger Tupian language family, is critically endangered. The search for profitable resources and land development is no doubt a factor in both the endangerment of wildlife and cultures.

4.2. Language & Human Rights
Language endangerment has very personal and ideological causes that do not have similarities to the relationships between humans and wildlife. Languages and their associated cultures and ethnic groups are often considered a threat to more powerful entities such as privileged classes and nation states. These entities promote ideologies and structures of *ethnicism* and *linguicism* that legitimize and promote unequal divisions in society. They construct the languages and cultures of minority language groups as worthless resources (Skutnabb-kangas & Phillipson, 1994a, pp. 104–105).

Over the majority of the United States' history, there has been a strong and lasting Anglo-American hegemony that has repressed and forced assimilation of Native Americans, Mexicans, and even other European ethnic groups (Hernández-Chávez, 1994). One can see this effect by the paucity of bilingualism in the USA despite its obvious immigrant history. Only 1 out of 5 of people in the US speak more than one language at home (Shin & Kominski, 2010) and bilingual education itself can be considered a threat to national unity (Rannut, Skutnabb-kangas, & Phillipson, 1994).

Linguistic imperialism in Africa seems to be leading to former colonial languages having become official and prestigious despite their practicality. Swahili, for example, is considered easier to learn and more relevant to community interests for Tanzanians. Yet, they overemphasize English in secondary education despite its lack of use in society (Skutnabb-kangas & Phillipson, 1994b). But imperialism and *linguicide* has not always been from the West or based on nation-building. It could come from old and lasting migrations of religion, such as evidenced by the Arabicization of Northern Africa, where non-Arabic uses of language are seen as a threat to Muslim unity (Brenzinger, 2007). Another case of a culture being a threat to a cultural and

political hegemony is the Kurdish language and culture in Turkey. The performance and teaching of Kurdish has been outlawed with severe penalties for the Kurdish, who have resided in the same area for thousands of years, but are often classified and punished as suspected terrorists because of current political realities.

In contrast to biological conservation efforts, Languages uniquely have human rights issues that need to be addressed. Linguistic freedoms are essential for the realization of other fundamental rights such as the free expression of opinion, the right to education, and the right to participate in the cultural life of one's community (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1994, p. 367). Yet fighting the root causes of language repression may require fighting the hegemonic structures of different societies, which add complexities to public outreach that biological conservationists do not face.

4.3. Globalization
The current global flows of culture, language, capital, and people have increased the frequency and strength of contact between many kinds of people across the world. Communication between many distinct peoples has become nearly instantaneous as the world is squished into an ever smaller ball of time and space. However, the advantages of this have become uneven. What is commonly known as the digital divide has stratified peoples to those with access to technological resources and those without. It has removed the isolation of many regions and forced the inhabitants to compete in a global marketplace where their land itself is a commodity.

Those of the dominant groups, who have access to the most technological and economical resources have spread their languages as *lingua franca* and flexed their technological and global economic power over their respective regions. In such a situation, the languages of low economic advantage are devalued. Yet, does not the pace of globalization endanger biological diversity too? As people and goods travel further and ever more often, invasive species will spread to every corner of the planet. If native languages and cultures are replaced by Western materialism, and the cultural connections with the land are lost, the land itself may be devalued.

4.4. Climate Change
Climate change is a relatively new factor in the endangerment of biological, cultural, and linguistic diversity. Yet, it is affecting indigenous peoples and biological diversity swiftly and severely. Indigenous peoples are threatened in many regions by different factors, such as the warming of the ice sheets in polar regions, loss of fresh island water, and loss of plant life (Salick & Ross, 2009). All of these harm biodiversity, but also force changes to the indigenous people's livelihoods. Particularly in the case of low-lying island peoples, they may soon have to migrate *en masse* away from their ancestral homes and to foreign nations. The Inuit of the North may lose all of their traditional hunting and other cultural practices that are based on cold weather and ice patterns. Along with the loss of these cultural practices will certainly be the loss of the words describing these landscapes.

A recent example was reported recently in the New York Times (Rosenthal, 2009), the Kamayurá people of Brazil's Xingu National Park are currently threatened by a collapse of their fish food stocks and a shift in planting season. This has been caused by the drying of their environment, which is now surrounded by farmland after decades of deforestation to the natural moist tropical forest. They have had to survive on diets of ants and monkeys for protein, and may have to move away to preserve their culture. Yet, all small populations, along with their languages, are at risk to "assimilate and disappear" when they migrate (Oviedo, quoted in Ibid.). It is likely that the same pressures are exerted on other indigenous peoples in at-risk areas.

4.5. Migration & Urbanization
All migration requires physical, psychological, and cultural displacement of a people from their home. It disconnects people from the land their languages and culture were born and grew to describe, interpret, and cope with. It may be encouraged through deforestation and climate change, as may be the case of the Kamayurá, or by migration of peoples away from conflict. Another case would be the Kavalan, an aboriginal tribe in Taiwan who have suffered two migration events. In the mid-19th century, the Kavalan were forced out of their homeland by Chinese settlers and migrated south to eventually assimilate with the stronger and larger Amis

aboriginal group. This resulted in most speakers shifting towards Amis as their native language. Their language now suffers a subtler economic migration, as most of their young and middle-aged have moved to the cities to work (Hsieh & Huang, 2007, p. 101) and no longer have direct access to the community that practices their culture and language.

Kerswill (2006) argues that rural to urban migration, which has become common among all peoples vying for economic advantage, along with all other directions of migrations can be generalized as creating instances of language homogenization and combination into varieties of pidgins, creoles, koinés. Where large new groups migrate into new areas and overwhelm the native population, their languages also tend to become the lingua franca of the area and replace what came before.

Cities act as gateway points to economic opportunity and, for international immigrants, ports of entry to other countries. Because of migration from many disparate areas, cities also tend to become very linguistically diverse as new migrants join in and old migrants homogenize. The Endangered Language Alliance is one of the few trying to address this directly through documentation and revitalization efforts among migrants to New York City.

Biological diversity is also threatened by urbanization. Just as urban migration tends to homogenize languages, so does it to the physical environments that are drawn, planned, paved, bricked, and concreted into smooth forms with self-serving purposes. Yet, as McKinney (2006) shows, flora species also tend to migrate into cities one way or another, mixing with native species, and resulting in a more diverse biome than would be expected. Similar to how the ELA is trying to conserve indigenous languages that have migrated to urban environments, McKinney argues for the conservation of indigenous species that have always been there. These cases represent the trend of the globalizing and modernizing world towards landscape uniformity and human monocultures.

5.0. MOVING FORWARD — COLLABORATION & OUTREACH

In the history of the world, people, ethnic groups, and nations have always fought for power over others. While we are shifting towards more democratic forms of government and away from the institutional racism and apartheids of the past, hegemonic structures will continue on for the near future. Language endangerment has many sources that can be shared with biological endangerment, but it is uniquely caused by human to human conflict. While biological conservation threatens short-term economic and business interests (and may help long-term interests), it does not carry a threat to the nation state or to dominant ethnic cultures. In contrast, conserving the land of a nation may be seen as preserving its resources for the lasting betterment of the nation while conserving languages may be seen as challenging and fractioning it. It is these hegemonic structures that challenge language conservation efforts overtly in some areas and covertly in others. It may be seen as in the best interest of a dominant cultural group to hide and suppress the issue of language endangerment from public discourse. It is no wonder that less than 4% of the world's languages carry official status within their countries (Romaine, 2002).

Moving forward, it may be best to identify the sources of prejudice against language conservation efforts at personal, regional, and national levels to fight against them. A good way to do this would be to increase education and outreach efforts that reach wider audiences. There is no reason why Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund can be a household names but Terralingua cannot. Admittedly, this will not be easy. Although wildlife can be commodified and *charismatic megaflora* (Leader-Williams & Dublin, 2000) exploited without backlash, peoples and cultures cannot be commodified without facing much larger ethical obstacles.

We also need more knowledgeable linguists to popularize the seriousness of the danger—and to prevent the audience from giving up hope or finding justifications for the downfall—teach the importance of language diversity to mankind. This needs to be done in a manner that is easy to spread and consume with popular literature, documentaries, and interaction with more established conservation groups. To begin to address this disparity of funding, public knowledge, and lack of linguists in this field, we may need to ask ourselves, "How can we make the image of our languages as cuddly as a panda?" What should our mascots be and how should we use them?

6.0. CONCLUSION

It is not my intention to convey with this paper the idea that either biological or linguistic conservation is unimportant or needs less funding for the sake of the other. If anything, both fields lack and will continue to lack enough funds to fully accomplish their ideals and must compromise and strive for the highest efficiency with their paltry resources. Rather, I have made these comparisons with the intent to bring to light a conservation issue that has hidden in the shadows of its much larger brother. The importance of language diversity and the seriousness of language endangerment should not be minimized just because they do not have the potential to clean our air, make our medicines, or fill our stomachs. Although very real to those who suffer a lack of linguistic human rights, the issue of language endangerment is less tangible to the general public. But what would humanity be without its diversity of knowledge, culture, arts, and history? While we seek to preserve the *quality of life* our current ecosystem provides, we may do well to recognize that term is not limited only to the lowest rungs of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

NOTES

1.   For ease of comparison, the financial amounts from all organizations have been converted into US dollar amounts and rounded to the nearest million or thousand using exchange rates from December, 2012.
2.   For further discussion on this effect, see Courchamp et al., 2006; Hall et al., 2008.

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IT TAKES A HURRICANE: THE RENAISSANCE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN POST-KATRINA LOUISIANA

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ABSTRACT

From its founding, Louisiana has been a multicultural society. Despite that multiculturalism, the French language, once commonly spoken, was threatened in the 20th century by legislation prohibiting the use of French in the public schools, leading to a decline in the use of the language. "It Takes a Hurricane: The Renaissance of the French Language in Post-Katrina Louisiana" examines the state of the French language in Louisiana today by focusing on French immersion schools which promote learning of the language. It will compare the state of the French language in Louisiana before and after Hurricane Katrina (August 29, 2005).

1.0. INTRODUCTION

From its founding, Louisiana has always been a multicultural society. Among its people, Native American, French, Spanish, Italian, English, German, African American, Canary Islanders, and Haitians have become residents and have all contributed to the diverse society now living in the state. Louisiana's diversity is made even more evident today as it is the only state with a governor of Asian Indian heritage and by the fact that greater New Orleans currently possesses the largest Honduran population outside of Honduras. Despite the presence of all of these ethnic groups, it is notable that the second language greeting visitors arriving at Louis Armstrong International Airport in New Orleans is French. "Bienvenue en Louisiane" also welcomes visitors on billboards outside the airport and on highways entering the state. Indeed Louisiana is the only state where French is the second language. Why is Louisiana the only state with such a strong adherence to the French language, and how has that link been perpetuated? We must begin by looking at the settlement of the state of Louisiana.

Although visited by Spanish explorers, Louisiana was first claimed in the name of Louis XIV, King of France by Sieur Robert Cavalier de la Salle in 1682. Louisiana became a French royal colony in 1731 and remained so until it was ceded to Spain after the French and Indian War in 1763. Eventually it reverted back to France in 1800, and finally it became part of the United States as a result of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 between Napoleon and Thomas Jefferson (History of French in Louisiana, 2013). If this had been Louisiana's only connection with France, the language might have long ago ceased to be used in the state and died out. After all, the amount of time during which Louisiana was controlled by the French was relatively short. Although it was explored in the 17th century, it was a royal colony for only thirty-two years in the mid-18th century and was only under French control for three years in the early 19th century. This is actually a shorter period of time than the Dutch controlled New York, forty years, and few New Yorkers today continue to speak Dutch. What happened to sustain the connection with French in Louisiana? The answer lies in later developments which brought other French speakers to Louisiana.

One of the groups continuing the heritage of French in Louisiana is the Acadians or, as they are more commonly termed, the Cajuns. As of 2013, there are 700,000 Cajuns currently living in South Louisiana, descendants of the French Canadian Acadians. The journey of the ancestors of this group began in 1604 when settlers from Brittany, Normandy, Poitou, and other places in France established a colony in Canada called "Acadia." The area they settled was in present-day Nova Scotia. In 1713 the British won the colony from France, setting the stage for potential problems for this French community.

In 1755, the Acadians were forced to make a choice. They either had to pledge allegiance to the British crown in Canada and renounce their Catholic faith and their language in order to assimilate, or they had to leave (History, 2013). That forced removal was termed by the Acadians *Le Grand Derangement.* They left with only what they could carry and began an almost thirty-year migration along the east coast of the United States, looking for another place to live. More than half of the Acadians that left Canada died. Some settled in various places along the way, but about 3,000 of the survivors went to south Louisiana when the Spanish king granted them permission to settle there in 1784. The Cajuns first attempted to go to New Orleans. Met with great hostility by members of the French aristocracy whose families had been there since the 18th century and who did not identify

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with these newcomers and did not want to be associated with them, the Acadians then headed west into unsettled bayou country, settling on land seen as being of little value by others. (Of course, this all changed with the oil boom of the 1970s and 1980s.) The isolation from other Americans and from other French speakers allowed the Cajuns to preserve their customs and their language, which is a *patois* of 18th century French. (*Patois* is a term used to describe a language or dialect that is specific to a small area, sometimes a town. In this connotation, it does not have the same social stigma currently associated with the term in France.)

Cajun French is, however, not the only variety of French spoken in Louisiana. In 1791, after the slave revolt in Haiti, French-speaking Creoles also made their way to Louisiana (History of the French in Louisiana, 2013). These African Creoles who came in from the Caribbean spoke French Creole - a mixture of French, Spanish, African, and Native American languages. This combination, which came to be known as Louisiana Creole, is still spoken today by 250,000 people. Those that speak the language live primarily in southern Louisiana, but there are also people who speak the language in and around the largest cities in California. The language is similar to Haitian Creole, and there are significant differences between it and Cajun or Classical French. For example, in standard French the number two is spelled *deux*, while in Louisiana Creole, it is spelled *dé*. There are other similarities between Louisiana Creole and standard French. When it comes to personal pronouns, sometimes there are things spelled differently, but pronounced the same. In French, the informal you is *tu*, while in Louisiana Creole, it is *to*, which although it is spelled differently, the pronunciation is the same phonetically.

More amazing than the fact that the Cajuns and Creoles continue to speak French is the fact that there are also Native Americans in Louisiana who speak French. The largest group of Native American speakers of French is the Houma Indians, forty percent of whose tribal members still speak French. This tribe began to speak French in the late 1600s when they came into contact with the first French explorers in the region. Their French is Colonial French overlaid with a trade language once spoken along the Gulf Coast (Cockerham, 2012).

With all of these groups speaking French, although of different varieties, it would seem the future of the language would have been assured. At the beginning of the 19th century, French was the *lingua franca* for many in business and publishing in Louisiana, and in New Orleans, French still had significant use at the beginning of the 20th century. The French language was, however, already under attack.

There had been some pressure to speak English since Louisiana became a state in 1812. That pressure increased in 1860 when it was made illegal to speak French in public activities. A law in 1916 went further, making it illegal to speak French in classrooms and public buildings. Students who spoke French in the classroom could be suspended or expelled (Parlez-vous?, 2011). Those who spoke it on the playground were to be punished. In 1921, a new constitution reinforced these laws by forbidding the use of any language other than English in the public school system (Cockerham, 2012). This brought about a serious decline in the use of French in Louisiana. For the most part, French was spoken only at home and only among adults. French speaking parents did not want to teach French to their children for fear that they would get in trouble in school or be made fun of. This, of course, was devastating to the French language in Louisiana, because it cut off the younger generations from learning the language and caused French to die out in many families. This trend would continue to be encouraged by the Progressive mood of the time expressed by Theodore Roosevelt as "one nation, one people, one language" and also by developments opening up South Louisiana and linking it to the rest of the nation. These included the discovery of oil in Jennings, Louisiana in 1901 and many road and bridge-building projects begun by Governor Huey P. Long in 1928 (History, 2013). The threat to the language also came from the fact that more educated French speakers thought that speaking English was the way to succeed, and so the only ones left speaking French on a regular basis were those of lower socio-economic status, who were thought to be speaking an inferior version of French, which was really a mixture of French and English - not unlike Pidgin in Hawaii. Their French was primarily an oral language, either spoken among friends and family or sung. This French also came to have non-native pronunciation in many cases.

French might have disappeared altogether in Louisiana, if not for the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Outlawing discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and nationality, the law gave proponents of the French language the chance to revive a part of their heritage. One of the first steps in that effort was the creation of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) in 1968 (History, 2013). By law, this group was charged to "preserve, promote, and develop Louisiana's French and Creole culture, heritage, and language." Along with overseeing the development and expansion of the state's economic development and tourism activities designed to promote French culture, heritage, and language and to oversee educational and cultural exchanges, the

Council was tasked "to develop a model French immersion program which can be used by any school seeking to establish a French immersion program within its curriculum" and "to increase the number of French immersion schools in the state..." As a part of this effort, the goal was to establish at least one French immersion school in East Baton Rouge Parish and in each of the 22 parishes comprising the Acadiana Region by September 1, 2015. ("Legislative Act 409, Chapter 13: Council for the Development of French in Louisiana", 1968, pp. 1-2) Many of the early efforts to strengthen or reintroduce French amounted to little more than token efforts, however, which taught French as a second language. In some schools, students got no more than thirty minutes of French three times a week (Parlez-Vous?, 2011). It is little wonder then that these early programs failed to stem the decline of French. As an example, there were a million French speakers in Louisiana in 1968, while there are probably only between 150,000 and 200,000 today (Cockerham, 2012)

This decline is one of the motivations for the move to true immersion which began in the 1980s. Louisiana now leads the nation in French immersion programs with more than 3,715 students in more than thirty schools in nine parishes across south Louisiana (Bronston, 2012; Parlez-Vous?, 2011). (Louisiana is the only state in the nation with parishes, rather than counties.) In these immersion schools, students take their reading and writing classes in English, while all other courses are taught in French (Parlez-Vous?, 2011). Teachers in these programs come to Louisiana from other countries, such as France, Belgium, Quebec, Haiti, and Francophone Africa (Cockerham, 2012; History, 2013). As a result, the French taught in the immersion schools is more standard French, rather than the local varieties spoken by the ancestors of today's students. Some teachers, however, try to incorporate Cajun French and other local dialects into their lessons (Cockerham, 2012). The Houma Indians, who trace their speaking of French back to the first explorers in the 1600s are currently working with the French Consulate to organize a French language immersion program for their tribe (Cockerham, 2012).

The popularity of French immersion programs is currently growing, especially in the more Cajun areas of Louisiana, such as Lafayette Parish. In Lafayette Parish in 2010, more than 1,000 students were enrolled in French language immersion programs (Hawkes, 2010). None of the immersion schools can fill the demand for admission, and all have waiting lists to get in (Plaisance, 2011). This is perhaps not surprising in what is considered the capital of Acadiana. It is surprising, however, that the demand reaches well beyond the Cajun parishes to the city of New Orleans. August 29, 2005 was a day New Orleanians will never forget. It was the day when Hurricane Katrina hit the city, bringing devastating damage and flooding. Eighty percent of the city of New Orleans flooded, and even those whose homes were spared were forced to evacuate, because the city had no electrical power or other services. The city had to be pumped out, a long and difficult process. Residents of the city were unable to return to their homes until at least October, and some still have not returned. As with any crisis, those who do return find themselves bound together in new ways. Sometimes it is with humor as indicated by a bumper sticker which read: "New Orleans: Proud to Swim Home." Other times it is with symbols. The *fleur-de-lys*, long a symbol of the city, has now assumed an almost religious significance as a symbol of its rebirth. As part of looking back to its roots, the French language has also assumed a new importance in the minds of New Orleanians as part of their heritage.

While most French language immersion efforts had been concentrated in the Acadian area of the state west of New Orleans, where they had been mandated by law, the more than seven years since Hurricane Katrina have seen an increased interest in learning French in the city itself. There are currently nine French language immersion programs or schools in New Orleans. All of these programs have waiting lists for admission. The increased interest in French is somewhat surprising in that after Katrina there was a wave of Hispanic migration into the city to help with the rebuilding effort. One might have instead expected an increased demand for Spanish immersion. On the contrary, although one school, the International School of Louisiana, does offer Spanish immersion, in addition to French immersion, the demand is greater for French immersion programs. In fact, in 2011 the International School of Louisiana received more applications for its French program than ever before (Plaisance, 2011). One mother, Gayle Perez, who grew up in a Spanish-speaking household in New Orleans with her Ecuadorean parents, explained her reason to put her son in the French language immersion program in this way. "It was the best thing I could have done for my son. He's not just learning a new language. He is learning that there's another part of the world out there, one that's not only English-speaking or only Spanish-speaking" (Plaisance, 2011, p. 1). She continued: "Knowing French, knowing any other language, it opens up the world. It will make my son more interested in the world and make him more relevant in the world. He will be able to do anything he wants to do" (Plaisance, 2011, p. 1). Ms. Perez also stated that she chose French for her son in part because of the place of the language in the history of the city of New Orleans and also because of the importance of the language in the world. An example of this is that French is spoken in more than thirty countries and remains an official language of the United Nations. Sean

Wilson, head of the International School of Louisiana, stated that "now more than ever, we're hearing Arabic, Spanish, Hindi, Portuguese and there's an increase in demand when something is heard more frequently" (Plaisance, 2011, p. 1). Perhaps that is what is happening in New Orleans. As more students learn French and are able to speak it to each other, to older relatives and friends who speak the language, and to French-speaking tourists, the demand will continue to grow.

A look at some of the other French immersion programs also shows growth. Chartered in 2010 and opening in 2011, the *Lycée Français de la Nouvelle Orleans* was opened with the assistance of the French government. It accepted 135 three, four, and five-year-olds during its first year. By the beginning of the current school year, it had 321 students in PreK to 2nd grade, and by December, it had 340. This year the school offered 100 kindergarten spots, twice the previous year's number. Nevertheless, the school currently has a greater demand than it has availability of class spots, and so it must hold a lottery. It is currently in the process of building a new school which will accommodate 500 students and plans to expand even further to include a high school in 2015. The *Lycée Français de la Nouvelle Orleans* will not only grant a Louisiana diploma, but will also offer a French *baccalaureat* (or *bac*) in one of three fields: mathematics and science, economics and social studies, or literature and language (Jewson, 2013). Olivier Brochenin, the French Consul General in New Orleans says this school will make the city more attractive to multi-national companies.

Two schools in New Orleans, one public and one private, actually are accredited by the French government, as well as by the state of Louisiana. *L'École Franco-Americaine* was founded in 1986 under the Audubon Montessori School and was granted an independent charter in 2006 after Katrina. It is the only public school in Louisiana accredited by the French Ministry of Education in pre-K through fifth grade. It also offers middle school. *L'École Franco-Americaine* has seen a slow and steady increase since receiving its independent charter only a year after Katrina (French & Montessori Education, 2013). Beginning with 113 students at its founding, the school now has 327 students, more than double its initial enrollment (Cheynet, 2013, telephone interview). *L'École Bilingue* is the first and only private school in Louisiana accredited by the French government for two-year-olds through 7th grade. It imports teachers and materials from France for its courses and uses Skype to allow its students to talk to students in France and other French-speaking countries. *L'École Bilingue* began in 1985 with approximately 100 students. Today enrollment has almost doubled to 185 (*Ecole Bilingue*, 2013).

While all of these schools have shown growth, one school, Hynes Lakeview, chartered in 2006, is managing to hold its enrollment steady at 180. This is a victory of sorts, though, in a part of the city hit hard by flooding after Hurricane Katrina. Many residents of Lakeview did not return to the city after the storm, and so Hynes has a lower population base from which to draw its students than the other schools which are located in less hard-hit areas (Williams, 2013, telephone interview).

While none of this suggests that everyone in New Orleans or Louisiana will be speaking French in the near future, the increased interest in French and the growth of French immersion programs offer hope for the continuation of French as the second language of Louisiana. They also offer hope that the twenty-two Acadian parishes, those of Creole descent, and the Houma Indians will not be the only ones speaking French. They will be joined by New Orleanians who are celebrating the survival and recovery of their city and reclaiming a part of the city's history by learning French.

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CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE RECOGNITION OF BERBER LANGUAGES IN ALGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the theoretical and practical concerns which must be acknowledged in standardizing a language for implementation at the official level of the state for all communities, with specific reference to the situation of the Berber speakers in Algeria and their movement for official recognition. This example highlights a complex situation of dialect variation and multiple orthographies and the comparative case study of the linguistic situation in Morocco provides a peek into Algeria's prospective future. The conclusions of this paper will benefit all communities seeking state-level standardization and recognition as a means of encouraging revitalization.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to present the theoretical and practical concerns which must be acknowledged in order for the Berber language to be recognized as official languages of the state of Algeria. Section 2 begins with a brief history of the Algerian state to provide background information on the present day status of Berber languages in the country. Next, Section 3 presents the differences between national and official languages as well as the pragmatics of standardizing a language. Sections 4 and 5 explain the diversity of the Berber language varieties in existence as well as the range of orthographical systems available for overall standardization. In Section 6, Morocco serves as a comparative case-study, with its similar history of colonization, large population of Berberophones, and its recent recognition of Berber as an official language. Section 7 provides a short conclusion.

2.0. A BRIEF HISTORY OF ALGERIA

Following the French siege of Algiers in 1830, France occupied Algeria for 132 years until the end of the Franco-Algerian War, which brought about the emergence of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Because Algeria was considered a veritable part of France, comprising three French *départements*, the country saw a massive influx of European immigrants. During this period under French rule, the French educational system was also established in Algeria.

Since 1962, the Algerian heads of state have ignored and rejected the indigenous Berbers, who comprise between 25% and 30% of the country's population (Centre de Recherche Berbère). In establishing autonomy and a national identity, the newly formed Algerian government sought to "affirm the Arabness of Algeria and its place in the socio-cultural history of the Arab world" (Benmayouf 2009:44).[1] Foremost in the actions taken to reach these goals was the implementation of Arabization legislation which relegated French to a foreign language and established Modern Standard Arabic as the national and official language of the country.

Berber communities responded through the formation of the Arouch - a political body to represent their goals through general and university strikes and through the promotion of political Berber poetry and songs. One of the main objectives of the Berberist movement, represented by the Arouch, demands "the satisfaction of Berber revendication in all of its dimensions (identity, civilization, linguistic, and cultural) without referendum and conditions and the consecration of Berber as both a national and official language" (Mouvement Citoyen Des Aarchs).[2] In 2002, President Bouteflika declared Berber a national language. The Berberist movement, however, continues to demand *official* linguistic recognition by the state.

Berber is an Afro-Asiatic language spoken throughout North Africa, with large populations of Berberophones in Morocco and Algeria. The smaller populations in Egypt, Libya, Niger, Mali, and Tunisia and the disaporic communities in Europe and North America are excluded from this paper, though there is importance in noting that "the geo-linguistic factors that form the present-day Berber dialects are the result of a historical process of fragmentation of a berberophony that previously formed a continuum across all of North Africa and the Sahara" (Chaker 1995b:1).[3] The Center of Berber Research in Paris lists Kabyle, Chaouia, Chenoua, Beni Snous, Chleuh, Rifain, Tamazight, Beni Iznasen, Touareg, Djerba, and Siwa as the eleven

languages which comprise "berbérophonie" in North Africa (Centre de Recherche Berbère n.d.). Of these, Chenoua, Chaouia, Kabyle, Touareg, and Beni Snous are located in Algeria, and Chleuh, Tamazight, and Rifain in Morocco.

3.0. NATIONAL LANGUAGE VS. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE STATUS

With official recognition a key goal of the Berberist movement, it is first necessary to define the symbolism of national and official languages, as well as their intended purposes. The split between the two is rooted in practicality and tangibility. When a single nationality "'largely or increasingly' controls and independent political unit" a nation is born (Fasold 1985:2). Nationism focuses on the "political and territorial integrity of a country" (Fasold 1985:3). According to Fasold (1985:3), an official language serves nationist purposes, potentially those of government, education, commerce, and everyday life. These institutions are physical constructs which produce tangible results for the nation: constitutions, laws, money, knowledge, jobs. On the other hand, nationalism is "the organization of the beliefs, values and behaviors of a nationality with regard to its own self-awareness" (Fasold 1985:2). In lieu of governance and interactions of one political body with another, nationalism is rooted in "group pride and awareness" (Fasold 1985:2-3). A national language is one that serves nationalist purposes, those which reflect intangible and internal attributes of a group and aligns them as one entity. Whereas an official language of a country represents the entirety of the country in pursuit of its goals and fulfills the generalized needs of a country across a variety of domains, a national language appears to represent a smaller group, bound by social beliefs or cultural practices which do not necessarily find use in nationist purposes.

Fasold (1985:4) reinforces this split, stating that "whether or how soon a given language will become a national, official or communicative language...depends heavily on how well suited it is to fulfilling that particular set of functions." So long as one official language fulfills its set of functions for the political body of the nation, no need arises for a second. It must be said that countries do recognize multiple official languages as well as multiple national languages. Berger (2002:63) gives a slightly modified version of the process: "the successful assimilation of the familial [language] into the national [language] and of the national into the familiar occurs when the mother tongue and the national language coincide as a result of historical and political processes." In contrast, Tahi (2004:13) affirms that "a language becomes official by the sole will of those who hold power." If one accepts his powerful declaration, the reasons for which a language does or does not become official rests squarely on the shoulders of the elite.

Following the nation's independence, the heads of the Algerian government implemented the Arabization legislation to enforce Modern Standard Arabic as the national and official language of the nation. The legislation caused a variety of problems for the country, including skyrocketing illiteracy and imposing a foreign identity on its people, but for the scope of this paper, the significance of this law and the actions of the Algerian elite to the Berbers remains an important motivating factor for the Berberist movement. The actions of the Algerian government corroborate Tahi's statement.

Though Berber received acceptance as a national language in 2001, several years later, President Bouteflika declared that "No country in the world has two official languages and it will never be the case in Algeria where the only official language, recognized by the constitution, is Arabic" (in Benrabah 2007:246-247). Not only did Arabization target the use of Berber languages, but the continued rejection of official recognition of Berber languages symbolizes the refusal of the state to accept the potential use of Berber. By rejecting officiality in such an outright matter, the Algerian elites imply that the Berber languages are inferior to Arabic. In the eyes of the presidents of Algeria, the Berbers and their culture have grudgingly been recognized to a satisfactory degree, while the Berberists "never cease to repeat that they are Algerian, but not Arab, Algerian but that Arabic is not their language, for Berber is their language and they want to preserve their language and culture" (Benmayouf 2009:33).[4] In fact, if Fishman's definitions of official and national languages are taken into account, the Berberists are demanding that the government accept that Berber languages can have the same functionality as Modern Standard Arabic when permitted the opportunity to be used in the same public, political domains.

4.0. BERBER LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

In order to gain official recognition, the state could recognize one or multiple Berber varieties. The choice of a single language for multiple communities would reflect the desire for oneness and unity of cause. The power of a single standard language lies within its ability to unify: "the standard language acquires the value of an identity symbol for the whole population, nation, or state" (Bartsch 1987:266). I imagine that a unified Berber population with common goals might see faster results than several smaller movements for recognition stating separate demands and desires.

In regards to mutual intelligibility, Chaker (1995b:1) suggests that "even in the relatively weak zones of extension like Kabylia, the speech communities situated in the very opposite parts of the region can understand important divergences, even those which are structural."[5] This statement lends itself to the idea that because even within specific communities speakers find structural differences, the greater varieties of Berber should not be mutually intelligible. Ennaji (1997:26) agrees with Chaker that the dialects, specifically from country to country, are "generally mutually unintelligible," but makes note of the similarities shared between all varieties.

On the whole, Chaker (1995b:4) suggests that in spite of their "extraordinarily complex tribal segmentation" the Berbers should be considered "as a single people, a single nation, and [a community] who continue to speak a single Berber language":[6] generally, that he believes it better to stick to the traditional determination that there is a singular Berber language with its own varying dialects and speech communities.

4.1. Selecting an Official Language
4.1.1. Kabylian Berber

If the varieties of Berber are indeed dialects of a single language by scholastic definition, which dialect should represent the overall Berber community as the official language of the state? Several attributes of a speech community's language tend to encourage its choice as the official, standard language of the nation. Favorable factors for a language variety becoming the standard are political, economic, or educational prestige of that particular speech community, a literary history in the community, and the borrowing and assimilation of features from other varieties which come into contact with the favored language (Bartsch 1987:251). Malkiel (1984:54) supports Bartsch's list, stating that the occurrence of a specific language or dialect becoming the standard for a larger community results when "obvious" factors coincide, specifically "political power, economic pressure of an emerging aristocracy or middle class, cultural prestige, monarchic or religious authority, or not so obvious factors."

The history of the Berberist movement in Algeria readily provides a variety to be selected as the standard to elevate to official language: Kabyle. Mouloud Mammeri, arguably the Berber community's most celebrated author and activist, was a Kabylian poet. His *Poèmes kabyles anciens*, written in Berber with accompanying French translation, elevated the status of Kabyle by equalizing its status with French. Mammeri's poetry became a catalyst for the Berberist movement. Bounfour (1999:65) explains that historically, Berber poetry was "engaged in the anticolonial fight and consecrated to moral and social values," but that contemporary Kabylian poetry "integrated the theme of identity with more passion [and became] openly political and militant" (71). Malkiel (1984:57) cites Old Provençal as an example of a language which "teaches us...how literary prestige, especially in conjunction with a strong dosage of social and political glamour, can raise a...regional dialect to the enviable plateau of standard language." This definition fits Kabyle perfectly: Mammeri's compilation of historical and politically active poetry gave esteem to the Kabyle language, and the social and political Berberist movement rallied behind him. Moreover, the population of the Kabyle speakers outnumbers all of the other Berberophone groups within Algeria (Lewis 2009). Though the representative language need not be Kabyle by default, the other Berber languages of the country do not command the literary, economic, political power that are driving forces behind the selection of a language variety for standardization.

4.1.2. A combined standard

Another potential choice for the Berber communities is the creation a standard "Berber language" which selects attributes from the various Berber languages to arrive at a combined language representative of all Berber communities. This option, at first glance, appears to have many benefits and implies a certain simplicity of institution for instruction. Ennaji (1997:26) suggests that despite mutual unintelligibility between Berber varieties, they do share phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical similarities. A generalized language

could use all of these commonly shared features as a base and an authority could select specific, unique features from each language to use in the generalized standard form. In addition, all Berber language communities receive recognition under one, all-encompassing language, rather than the selection of one variety over another.

On the other hand, selection of one standard language to represent all Berber languages inherently reduces the vitality of the others. "By being declared non-standard, these varieties are prevented from being put to use in their old functions or in new functions that arise with modernization and are, therefore, no longer cultivated or elaborated" (Bartsch 1987:267). The standardization and acceptance of one Berber language in Algeria could halt the progress of the other varieties. With a standardized variety, whether one selected from those already existing or one created as a general, single Berber language, the other varieties potentially lose the claims they had to be used in government, education, and media. As the standardized variety gains prestige, Berberophones may value this official variety as a means to economic and social betterment and esteem it more than their own individual variety, encouraging language shift. The creation of a generalized standard Berber language ignores the functioning speech communities in their present states: distinct. The Berber languages have their own high use within each discrete community. Furthermore, the combined variety combines and nullifies distinctive characteristics of each language variety.

4.1.3. Standardize all varieties
In lieu of electing a sole language to represent all varieties, could each Berber language be recognized as official and used in the government, educational system, public media, etc.? This course of action would avoid the potential language shift by acknowledging all Berber languages and Berber communities as equally valuable and esteemed by the state. Each community could retain its individual identity while achieving national recognition. Unfortunately, "diversity is adverse when centralization and mobility are aimed at. This is the case when national states are formed of formerly independent tribes or states, and when mass media and mass communication, in particular printing, and recently the use of computers, require some uniformity in order to be effective and cheap" (Bartsch 1987:249). When this statement is applied to Algeria, one could consider the Berber population as the nation comprised of independent tribes. The smaller communities which contribute to the whole Berber population could hinder the progress that has been made under the Berberist movement headed by the unified Kabylians. The idea of ease of use for education, technology, and communication also plays an important role in selecting a standard writing system for the official Berber language.

5.0. WRITING SYSTEM DIVERSITY
5.1. Standard Orthography
Seeking officiality of the Berber languages requires a standardized form to be used. Because the official language functions as a language of public domains throughout the entire nation, it must be systematic and consistent in all fields. The official language needs to allow for use by both native speakers and second language learners. In education, the language taught to learners should be the same as the language that is used in government documents, formal social interaction, and other parts of public life. Particularly in linguistic situations in which a variety of dialects are spoken and orthographies used, a standard orthography provides a normalized system of representing the language which resists change across functional domains and across regions. If each person used his own preferred tactics for writing down his language, later reading of the text by another individual may lead to confusion of intended meaning.

Modern Standard Arabic, Algeria's official language since 1962, is a standardized form whose creation allows for mutual intelligibility of the Arabic language across a wide variety of countries and communities. After going through the educational system in which Modern Standard Arabic is taught, an individual can successfully read all documents without variation of graphemes or script impeding comprehensibility. Because the Berber communities seek official recognition and use of their languages, the standard orthography developed must provide the same accessibility for all Berberophones in all domains that Modern Standard Arabic currently functions in: government, education, media, commerce, public life, etc.

In 2004, the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published the "Manual for Developing Literacy and Adult Education Programmes in Minority Language Communities." Portions of the manual raise questions and provide suggestions related to the development of writing systems for minority language communities. Much of the text is dedicated to the creation of orthography for a solely oral language as it transitions to written use. However, the guidelines and suggestions are relevant for the

selection and standardization of Berber orthographies. The manual gives the following six guidelines that a writing system must meet before education programs can begin. The community needs "a writing system that:

- Is acceptable to the majority of the Mother Tongue (MT) speakers of the language;
- Is acceptable to the government;
- Represents the sounds of the language accurately;
- Is as easy as possible to learn;
- Enables MT speakers to transfer between the minority and majority languages; and
- Can be reproduced and printed easily" (UNESCO 2004:38)

Although the manual makes no statement about hierarchical importance within the guidelines, specific linguistic environments and histories of the interaction of languages may covertly create a preference in specific communities. Presently, three existing orthographies have the potential for use in the standardization of Berber: the Berberized Latin script, Neo-Tifinagh script, and the Arabic script. Different Berber communities choose to utilize a script for a variety of reasons, but the choice rests heavily on politics and history. This suggests that the acceptability of the system, the first guideline as defined by UNESCO which includes political leanings, identity preferences, and feelings about writing systems in existence, is of utmost importance to the Berber communities. Sections 5.2 through 5.4 consider the history and development of the three writing systems available for promotion to standardized use across all of Algeria. Appendix 1 provides a comparative alphabet chart of the three scripts.

5.2. The Berberized Latin Script

The Berberized Latin script originated through the dissemination of *The Fichier de Documentation Berbère*, a regularly printed publication by Catholic "Pères Blancs" from France. In order to spread their teachings, the writing system, too, gained wider acceptance. Moreover, the first Kabylian elites attended French schools. The ability to read and write French facilitated their abilities to read and write in this Latin script which was altered to include phonological sounds found in Berber languages. When the Berberisants and Berber scholars, specifically Mouloud Mammeri, began to publish poetry in this writing, "the symbolic impact of written usage of Berber [became] decisive in the valorization of the language" (Chaker 1997:85).[7] As the number of scholars grew, their works published in French and Berber "strongly reinforced the feeling of 'kabyle pride' and, in the absence of an institutional center of reference for language and culture, [the Berberized Latin script] helped the valorization of heritage and very effectively contributed to legitimizing the social process of [Berber's] passage to writing" (Chaker 1997:86).[8] The Berberized Latin script enjoys regular use within Kabylia where the original development of the script took place.

It is obvious that the cultural importance of the Berberized Latin script weighs heavily in its favor to be accepted as the standardized orthography in official domains. The writing system underwent a series of adjustments in order to make the script more appropriate for the Berber language (Chaker 1997:90-91), but its Romanized alphabet enables greater transferability to French and other Roman alphabet scripts, though not with Modern Standard Arabic.

Moreover, numerous Berber writings in this Berberized Latin script have appeared since the 1970s, including "translated adaptations of international or Maghreb literary works in Berber, original literary works, and historical essays and scientific writing in Berber" (Chaker 1997:90).[9] This corpus of writings provides ready resources for language learning and education and could expedite the transition of Berber language education courses as a norm throughout the country.

5.3. The Neo-Tifinagh Script

The Tifinagh script dates back to proto-history of North Africa, centuries before the Common Era (Chaker 1997:92), as an original script for Berber languages. Until recently, only the Tuareg communities in the south of Algeria continued using the Tifinagh script. However, in the 1960s the Berber Academy in Paris sought to create a modernized version of Tifinagh for popular use. Its usage represents "a more intense ideological commitment than the Latin alphabet and allows [...Berber activists to avoid] the unpatriotism of the Roman alphabet as well as the traditionalism of the Arabic alphabet" (Souag 2004).Today, Neo-Tifinagh can be seen on road signs in regions with high Berber populations and has strong support in the Kabylian region as well as throughout Algeria (Larbi 2003:4).

Like the Berberized Latin script, Neo-Tifinagh has been modernized from its original form to better accommodate the phonological system of the Berber languages as they are spoken today. Neo-Tifinagh has gained popularity across Kablia in addition to the Tuareg dominated south of the country because of its political statement that Berber languages need not rely on a modified Arabic or Latin script, imported from other civilizations when Tifinagh is indigenous to the Berber communities of North Africa. Its history places the Berbers on a level above that of the Arabs when they can date their writing system to a time far earlier than Koranic Arabic. According to Chaker (1997:92), "these are certainly the two factors which encourage the growth of Tifinagh not only in Kabylia, but also in all the other Berberophone regions."[10] Unfortunately, the Neo-Tifinagh script's differences from the other available orthographies presents less transferability to either French or Modern Standard Arabic as compared to Berberized Latin or a modified Arabic script and requires the adoption and spread of an entirely separate writing system.

5.4. The Arabic Script
The Arabic script used throughout the Arabic speaking world "developed from the nineteenth century on by reformers throughout the Arab world in an attempt to modernize Koranic Arabic" (Berger 2002:67). In spite of the script's ties to religion, it has been adapted for use by speakers of languages other than Arabic, most notably the standard forms of Persian and Urdu. Though Ennaji (1997:25) states that Berber languages have been written in the Arabic script throughout Morocco fairly regularly in a periodical magazine, personal letters, and creative literature, the Berber communities of Algeria reject its use on political grounds because of the history of the Berberized Latin script and the Tifinagh script and their staunch ideological and cultural separation from the Arabs of Algeria.

Although using an adapted Arabic script for the Berber language would provide considerable ease of transferability to the official language and an ease of use with technology for production of materials, I suggest that the Berber community's feelings of resentment and independence from the Arabs or Algeria may present an insurmountable difficulty in using the script for the standard language.

6.0. MOROCCO AS A CASE-STUDY

Morocco has already gone down the route to language standardization and officiality for the Berber language and can serve as a case study for Algeria. The two countries share a variety of historical events, most notably French colonization and occupation for more than a century and the selection of Modern Standard Arabic as official language following independence. Beyond this, the Berber communities in both countries have sought cultural and linguistic recognition by the state in the past century. The High Commission for Amazighity in Algeria and the Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture in Morocco (IRCAM) stand as government institutions charged with negotiating the implementation of Berber culture in the nations. Morocco, however, is itself a smaller country run as a constitutional monarchy as opposed to Algeria's democratic republic. In regards to the Berber population, that of Morocco is greater numerically and proportionally: roughly 10 million Berber speakers to 6 million in Algeria (Sadiqi 1997:34) and approximately 35 to 40% of the population in Morocco to 20 to 25% of the population in Algeria (Centre de Recherche Berbère). In addition to a larger overall Berber population, the number of distinct dialects is fewer than Algeria – 3 in Morocco, compared to 5 in Algeria.

The status of Berber language in Morocco appears to be greater than its Algerian counterpart. Ennaji (1997:32) suggests that "on the whole there is a large consensus in Morocco that Berber language and culture have been the basis of Moroccan society over the centuries and that it is important to revive them and preserve them for they represent Moroccan cultural authenticity." In 1994, public schools began teaching Berber, the result of three major factors: "the Amazigh cultural movement, the work of academics, and the king's will to integrate this language into the country's development. The combination of these factors has been assisted by an overall process of democratization that Morocco launched in the last decade or so" (Sadiqi 1997:33). Though the country declares no national language, in 2011, King Mohamed VI's proposed revisions to the constitution were accepted and Berber was declared an official language of Morocco, alongside Modern Standard Arabic (La Constitution du Royaume du Maroc 2011).

6.1. Reaction to Standard Orthography
While this is a stride forward, it is the case that the selection of a standard orthography has become a heated issue. As in Algeria, Berbers can utilize three orthographical options in writing their language: a Berberized Latin script, a modified Arabic script, or the Tifinagh script. And, as in Algeria, the popular favorite

is the Berberized Latin script. Following a meeting of the IRCAM with the Ministry of Education in 2003, the Tifinagh script was selected as the standard writing system for Berber throughout Morocco. The choice of script received a majority vote and, as the official orthography, will be used in all future teaching programs designed by the state (Larbi 2003:3). Unfortunately, the decision ignited concern and opposition from Berber movements and associations, as well as scholars and associations in the Berber diaspora (Larbi 2003:3). Tamazgha, a Berber association based in Paris, suggested that the decision to declare Tifinagh as the official script was a "strategy whose aims are to waste time and slow down the Amazigh movement through the use and manipulation of certain association leaders and intellectuals" (in Larbi 2003:4). Given the literary, economic, and social prestige of Berberized Latin in both Algeria and Morocco, the mandate feels to some to stop progress and doom the Berberist movements to failure.

7.0. CONCLUSION

The decision to elect a standard Berber language and orthography must take into account the cultural and political history of the Algerian state. While several language varieties are spoken today, scholastic work suggests they all remain mutually intelligible. The separate development and non-linguistic factors of each available writing system, especially the association a writing system has with a particular community (Kabylian, Arab, or traditional Berber) are integral factors in the decision.

Although the status of Berber communities in each country differs, the Algerian Berberist movement can learn from this contested orthographical decision in Morocco. The gains made in the political spectrum for Berbers by the official recognition of their language are not without difficulty. By analyzing the situation in Morocco as it develops and continues in the future, the Berbers in Algeria will be able to see the real, tangible effects of the complexities involved in language standardization and officialization in a similar community.

NOTES

1. "...affirmer l'arabité de l'Algérie et son appartenance à une aire socio-culturelle historique qui est celle du monde arabe"
2. "...la satisfaction de la revendication Amazigh dans toutes ses dimensions (identitaire, civilisationnelle, linguistique et culturelle) sans referendum et sans conditions et la consécration du Tamazight en tant que langue national et officielle"
3. "Les ensembles géo-linguistiques que forment les dialectes berbères actuels sont le résultat d'un processus historique de fragmentation d'une berbérophonie qui formait autrefois un continuum sur toute l'Afrique du nord et le Sahara"
4. "[ils] ne cessent de répéter qu'ils sont Algériens mais non arabes, qu'ils sont Algériens mais que la langue arabe n'est pas leur langue, que le berbère est leur langue et qu'ils veulent préserver leur langue et leur culture"
5. "Même dans des zones d'extension relativement faible comme la Kabylie, les parlers situés dans les parties extrêmes opposes de la région peuvent connaître des divergences importantes, de nature structural même"
6. "...comme un seul peuple, comme une nation unique et... qui continue de parler elle aussi d'une (seule) langue berbère"
7. "L'impact symbolique de cet usage écrit du berbère aura été décisive pour la valorisation de la langue"
8. "... a puissamment renforcé le sentiment de "fierté kabyle" et, en l'absence d'un centre institutionnel de référence en matière de langue et de culture, elle a aidé à la valorisation du patrimoine et très efficacement contribué à légitimer le processus social de passage à l'écrit"
9. "...des traductions-adaptations en berbère d'œuvres littéraires internationaux ou maghrébines, des œuvres littéraires originaux, des essais historiques et même des écrits scientifiques en berbère"
10. "Ce sont certainement ces deux facteurs (historicité et spécificité) qui fondent l'engouement pour les tifinagh non seulement en Kabylie, mais aussi dans toutes les autres régions berbérophones"
11. "Tableau officiel de l'alphabet tifinaghe tel qu'il est préconisé par le Centre de l'Aménagement Linguistique (CAL) et consacré par l'IRCAM."

Appendix 1. Official chart of the Tifinagh alphabet as it is recommended by the Center of Linguistic Planning (CAL) and accepted by IRCAM (Ameur et al. 2004:14)[11]

	TIFINAGHE	Correspondance latine	Correspondance arabe	Exemples
ya	·	a	ا	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yab	ⴱ	b	ـب	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yag	ⴳ	g	ݣ	ⵄⵄⵄ
yag̲	ⴳⵯ	ḡ	ݣ	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yad	ⴷ	d	د	ⵄⵄⵄ
yaḍ	ⴹ	ḍ	ض	ⵄⵄⵄ
yey	ⵉ	e		ⵄⵄⵄ
yaf	ⴼ	f	ف	ⵄⵄⵄ
yak	ⴽ	k	ك	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yak̲	ⴽⵯ	k̄	ك	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yah	ⵀ	h	ه	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yaḥ	ⵃ	ḥ	ح	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yar	ⵔ	ɛ	غ	ⵄⵄⵄ
yax	ⵅ	x	خ	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yaǧ	ⴵ	ǧ	ج	ⵄⵄⵄ
yi	ⵉ	i	ي	ⵄⵄⵄ
yaj	ⴶ	j	ج	ⵄⵄⵄ
yal	ⵍ	l	ل	ⵄⵄⵄ
yam	ⵎ	m	م	ⵄⵄ
yan	ⵏ	n	ن	ⵄⵄⵄ
yu	ⵓ	u	و	ⵄⵄⵄ
yar	ⵔ	r	ر	ⵄⵄⵄ
yaṛ	ⵕ	ṛ	ر	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yay	ⵖ	ɣ	غ	ⵄⵄⵄ
yas	ⵙ	s	س	ⵄⵄⵄ
yaṣ	ⵚ	ṣ	ص	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yac	ⵛ	c	ش	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yat	ⵜ	t	ت	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yaṭ	ⵟ	ṭ	ط	ⵄⵄⵄ
yaw	ⵡ	w	و	ⵄⵄⵄ
yay	ⵢ	y	ي	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yaz	ⵣ	z	ز	ⵄⵄⵄⵄ
yaẓ	ⵥ	ẓ	ژ	ⵄⵄⵄ

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LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE REVITALIZATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

The success of language documentation and revitalization efforts is determined by a variety of factors. While practical and financial resources tend to be largely influential in the success of a project, community involvement, the language's vitality, and language policy can also be major factors (Crawford, 1995, p. 32). This paper focuses on the role of federal and local language policies in the United States over the past 150 years and its influence on the revitalization of three languages effected by these policies: Navajo, Hawaiian, and Yup'ik.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Language policy, whether it is determined by local, federal, or international governing agencies, clearly impacts language usage, maintenance, and revitalization. Crawford (1995) even goes as far as arguing that when it comes to the success of these efforts, "the decisive factor in the survival of Native American languages will be politics" (p. 32). Over time, it has become clear that language policy has had a significant and lasting impression on speakers of Native American languages, as seen in the strong correlations between speaker rates, language preservation rates, linguistic attitudes, and language policy natures.

The term "language policy" refers to several things. For the purpose of this paper, however, it refers to the laws and regulations regarding language rights, usage, and programs. It is the decisions made by law makers, which have both immediate and lasting consequences, some of which will be discussed in this paper.

This paper examines the interaction of language policy with documentation and revitalization efforts, focusing especially on the complex linguistic situation of the Indigenous peoples of the United States and how changes in policies over time have affected the heritage languages of these communities. In the past century, language policy has changed significantly in the U.S. The adoptions of various laws, such as the Native American Languages Act and the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Act, are among many of the products of the shift from oppressive to empowering language policies.

In what follows, I address the history of language policy in the United States and various international governing bodies, first starting with the boarding school system of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and ending with the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006. Second, I present examples of the influence of language policy on three Indigenous communities of the United States: the Navajo community of the Southwest, the Hawaiian community of Hawai'i, and the Yup'ik community of Alaska. Third, I discuss the interactions of language policies, linguistic attitudes, and maintenance and revitalization efforts. Fourth, I examine the interactions between language policy and the typical essential characteristics of successful projects. Finally, I present a summary and some conclusions, highlighting the complexity of the interaction of language policy and documentation and revitalization efforts, especially in Native American communities. Despite the complexities of these situations, it seems clear that language policies influence linguistic attitudes, which in turn heavily influence language use and maintenance and revitalization efforts, as will be suggested in what follows.

2.0. LANGUAGE POLICY HISTORY

2.1. Boarding Schools

As Crawford (1995) explains, the boarding school system was started in 1868 with the United States government's creation of a federal commission with the objective of making peace with the Indigenous peoples of the United States. Once formed, the members of this commission decided that the source of the conflict was due to language differences, and created policies to "correct" this perceived problem. The members of this commission felt that the establishment of schools for young Native American children with the specific intent of making them monolingual speakers of English would be most effective. In the 1880s, this same language policy was also adapted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), a division of the government which deals specifically with the issues faced by and pertaining to the Indigenous people of the United States. Native American children

were then forced to attend these schools which were frequently located in places which were foreign to them and far from their families. After becoming students, these children were then often severely punished for speaking their native languages while attending the schools (Crawford, 1995).

The boarding school system of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries discouraged many Native Americans from both speaking their languages and from teaching them to their children (Del Valle, 2003; Jasso-Aguilar, 1999). Among other reasons, language revitalization programs were fewer during this time and long afterwards, probably in part because of the significant decrease in speakers and the simultaneous increase in negative attitudes towards Native American languages as likely results of these sorts of language policies. Because of the extremely oppressive nature of the language policies of the U.S. during the era, many languages were lost or became severely threatened. Even today, some older speakers of Indigenous languages were so traumatized by their boarding school experiences that they do not and will not speak their heritage languages (Del Valle, 2003). This is an example of how language policies can have significant and lasting impacts on linguistic attitudes. Based on these types of evidence, it seems that this language policy heavily influenced the usage of many Native American languages and increased negative attitudes toward these languages both immediately and long afterward.

2.2. International Policies

Although to a lesser extent than national language policies, international language policies have also influenced the United States' language policy and therefore maintenance and revitalization efforts in Native American communities as well. The first influential language policy of this nature was the United Nations' passing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. In this Declaration, its creators explicitly named language as something for which individuals cannot be discriminated against, as seen in the following, taken from Article 2 of the declaration: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (United Nations, 1948). Next, in 1960, UNESCO's Convention against Discrimination in Education also created a similar policy, where the children of Indigenous communities were explicitly granted the right to receive instruction in a language-- or languages-- deemed appropriate by the community (Spolsky, 2004). These international policies are less influential for Indigenous communities in the United States than the United States' own language policies, but they may still have impacted and continue to influence Native Americans' language rights and attitudes towards their heritage languages, as discussed below.

2.3. Court Decisions

As discussed by Del Valle (2003), during the mid-20th century, three fairly important court decisions regarding language policy took place. The first, Meyer v. Nebraska, took place in 1923. In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that states could not require private schools' instruction be conducted solely in English, but they could do so for public, tax-supported schools. This is relevant even today, as many Native American children attend such public, tax-supported schools.

The next two important court decisions were both based on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in federally funded organizations and programs. In the first of these, in 1971 the Federal Court for the US Eastern District of Texas ruled that it was a violation of Title VI either to disallow or to lack bilingual education programs in public schools. Finally, in 1974 in the case of Portales v. Serna, the Federal 10th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that VI provided for the right to bilingual education (Del Valle, 2003). These types of court decisions, combined with title VI as support, were influential in the establishment of later federal language policies, including the Bilingual Education Act.

2.4. Bilingual Education Act

The Bilingual Education Act was representative of the beginning of a large shift in U.S. language policy. Passed in 1968, this act allotted funds for bilingual education programs through 2002. The passing of this Act, like other acts of this nature, reflected the beginning of the changing of many attitudes toward Indigenous languages from negative to positive in the United States. However, in 2002, it was allowed to expire (Spolsky, 2004), which was likely due to many of its perceived failings. The programs initiated by the policy affected only approximately ten percent of bilingual students, and therefore, the policy's effectiveness was questioned before its expiration. Some argue that the goal of this Act was actually an oppressive one, and that

its real purpose was to convert bilingual speakers to monoglots through its educational programs (Jasso-Aguilar, 1999). Regardless, this Act certainly has been a step in a new direction for language policy in the United States, despite its perceived ineffectiveness and lack of influence for most heritage language learners. It is also quite likely that the court decisions mentioned in section 2.3 above and the Bilingual Education Act presented here were targeting immigrant monolingual speakers of languages other than English, especially Spanish speakers from Central America. Although these language policies may not have been directed at speakers of Indigenous languages, they did affect this population's linguistic rights greatly.

2.5. Native American Languages Act

As discussed by Crawford (1995), although the boarding school system was essentially eliminated with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, it was not until 1990 that any major changes occurred in the United States' federal language policies with the Native American Languages Act. The passing of the Native American Language Act was the first major step towards a truly empowering and language policy in the U.S. which sought to maintain and promote linguistic diversity, as opposed to eliminating it. This Act not only explicitly permits, but also encourages Native Americans to learn and use their heritage languages. The nature of this Act is clearly different from those previously discussed, but it may still be flawed, as discussed below.

The Native American Languages Act was the United States government's first major step towards a positive federal language policy which empowered individuals to continue to use their heritage languages. The purposes of this Act are both to endorse explicitly and to support financially the continued use of Native American languages. Unfortunately, the appropriation of the resources created for these types of projects was not completed quickly and the funds were considered by many communities to be less than sufficient. Another perceived failure of these acts was the fact that the President's, (George Bush Sr. at the time,) report on the success of the implementation of the first act was never completed. Eventually, the BIA attended to the matter by creating a list of bilingual education programs in federally funded schools, but this was also considered insufficient by many Native Americans, and may have actually done more harm than good, since it may have reaffirmed the sense of the devaluing of these languages (Crawford, 1995), as discussed in the next section.

2.6. Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act

The Native American Languages Act was followed by the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act in 2006. This Act was created to augment the language revitalization and maintenance efforts initiated by the Native American Language Act, as well as to support financially new language programs aimed at young children and their families, such as language nests and classes. The nature of this policy seems to have been empowering for community members interested in language revitalization, as it specifically acknowledges Indigenous languages, and has led various groups to initiate documentation and revitalization efforts (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2008). This increase in communities' willingness to engage in linguistic projects is important, especially following the sharp decline in heritage language use stemming from oppressive language policies.

Despite its positive nature, this policy does have several potential problems, as did the Native American Languages Act. As mentioned by McCarty et al. (2008), one of these issues is the perceived lack of sufficient financial and practical support for the language rights gained by the Act. The Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act also provided some financial support for language instruction, but some have argued that the language instruction was actually provided for only a few children and was therefore insufficient (McCarty et al., 2008). Simultaneously, the shift in attitudes and increase in maintenance and revitalization efforts have been slow due to the long-lasting impact of deeply ingrained negative linguistic attitudes, and the perceived failures of many of the implemented language policies and lack of sufficient funding for these efforts have only led to further disappointment and reaffirmed negative attitudes about Native Americans, their languages, and how the United States' government views these groups. Despite some of its issues, this Act was intended to supplement previous language policies by providing additional financial and practical support for language maintenance and revitalization by allocating funds and maintaining these efforts. Many communities have therefore found this Act to be empowering and thus, increased involvement in maintenance and revitalization efforts have followed in these communities (McCarty et al., 2008), including the Navajo community, as discussed in the next section.

3.0. COMMUNITIES INFLUENCED BY LANGUAGE POLICY

3.1. Navajo

Navajo is a clear example of a language for which the level of endangerment has been influenced by changes in language policy over time. Currently, Navajo is undergoing language shift to the dominant language of the Southwestern United States, English. Fortunately, it is also the Indigenous language of the U.S. with the highest number of speakers (McCarty et al., 2008), and therefore, language maintenance and revitalization efforts have been more likely to occur and be considered successful in this community, as opposed to other Native American language communities.

Boarding schools were in use for Navajo children into the 1970s. At the time, a vast number of children were entering the schools as monolingual speakers of Navajo. Currently, the situation is reversed, where the vast majority of children are entering preschool programs as monolingual speakers of English (Spolsky, 2002). A clear representation of the influence early language policies had on the usage of Navajo can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. Language Usage in the Navajo Community (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census)

	5-17 years old		%		18 and older		%	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
Population	42,121	42,994	100%	100%	65,993	81,301	100%	100%
Monolingual English speakers	5,103	12,207	11.8%	28.4%	2,713	6,439	4.1%	7.9%
Speak another language	38,557	30,787	89.4%	71.6%	63,220	74,862	95.9%	92.1%

In large part, the decrease in speaker rates demonstrated in the above table appears to be due to the lingering effects of the oppressive boarding schools system and especially the negative linguistic attitudes that resulted from the system, but modern changes in language policy have led to the gradual reversal of these trends.

As explained by Crawford (1995), in the 1980s, the Navajo tribal government became concerned with the rapid rates of language attrition occurring at the time. In response to this, the Navajo community initiated language revitalization programs. Despite the fact that the Navajo Tribal Council had little control of the education of Navajo children, in 1984, the tribal council passed the Navajo Nation Education Policies. The purpose of the policy was to establish bilingualism of Navajo and English in the community through the schools. It also led to the creation of an increasing number of head start programs, where preschoolers are taught in a linguistically immersive environment. However, it is also important to note that changes have been gradual, as reflected in Table 1 above.

As with the other Native American languages discussed in this paper, the first major change in language policy which seems to have helped reverse language shift in Navajo communities was the Native American Language Act, which was followed by the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act. Both of these also appear to have been influential for Navajo language maintenance and revitalization efforts. During this time, Navajo language support was also impacted by the Navajo Nation Tribal Council's approval of the Navajo Sovereignty in Education Act in 2005. The intent of this Act was to give control of schools on Navajo lands to the tribal council. The passing of this act both symbolized the sovereignty of the Navajo Nation and is expected to increase Navajo language use in the school system with the hope of creating a stable community of speakers. Interestingly, Arizona is an English-only state and as of 2008 was contesting the act (McCarty et al., 2008), which is another example of how empowering policies may actually become more oppressive in their

implementations. Over time, Navajo's usage in the U.S. seems to have been influenced by language policy and the resulting linguistic attitudes, which is likely to be one of the biggest hurdles for successful maintenance and revitalization efforts.

3.2. Hawaiian

Hawaiian is another language for which vitality and speaker numbers have been heavily influenced by various language policies over time. The Hawaiian government has undergone significant changes over the past two centuries, and as such language policies have also changed significantly. Some, such as Davis (1999), have lauded Hawaiian Language as a success, attributing it to Hawai'i's positive, inclusive language policies. Although the United States' and International governing bodies' policies have been influential, Hawai'i's own language policies have been especially influential, as seen below.

Between 1840 and 1893 Hawaiian was essentially the official language. In 1840, Kamehameha III established the first public school system of Hawai'i. In these schools, instruction was to be provided in Hawaiian. Before 1840, instruction was private, including a school established in 1839 for the Hawaiian royal family and was instructed in English (Warner, 2001). As explained by Kahumoku (2000), in 1893, less than sixty years later, Act 57 was passed by the Hawaiian government and required education to be English-only. This law was passed shortly after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (Warner, 2001), and led to the gradual loss of both native speakers of Hawaiian and teachers who capable of providing instruction in the language. The decrease in language instruction resources and overall speaker numbers that this policy led to was long-lasting, and "left devastating imprints on Native Hawaiians (Kahumoku, 2000, p. 146)." It was also around this time that the use of the pidgin language, which is now referred to as Hawai'i Creole English, became the native language of younger generations of Hawaiians who would otherwise likely have been native speakers of Hawaiian (Warner, 2001). It is likely that this also had a lasting and profound impact on the vitality of Hawaiian.

The English-only policy was not changed until 1980s, following the Hawaiian cultural revival of the 1960s which also led to an increase in heritage learners of the language (Warner, 2001), especially through classes where Hawaiian was taught as a second language (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). As discussed by Kahumoku (2000), in 1986 the Hawai'i State Legislature passed Act 47, which removed the restrictions created by Act 57 of 1893, and lead to the creation of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program. This Act was intended to serve the fairly small community of Ni'ihau, in which Hawaiian historically has tended to be used almost exclusively. However, the Act has also benefitted other communities, since it allotted federal funds for the support of Hawaiian language programs throughout the islands (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). Act 47 also made Hawaiian an official language of Hawai'i (Kahumoku, 2000), which has likely also increased the language's domains of use and number of speakers.

The Immersion Program system has been especially successful in the maintenance of Hawaiian (Hinton, 2011), and has led to the creation of immersive preschools called "language nests" (Warner, 2001, p. 136), such as Pūana Leo, as well as the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program, Kula Kaiapuni. In 1984, Pūana Leo opened in Kaua'i and has been followed by several other language nests throughout the islands. However, due to the state's government regulations and a lack of sufficient external funding, not enough schools have opened to serve all potential future speakers of Hawaiian, especially those who are unable to attend private language classes. Kula Kaiapuni was initiated by the Hawaiian Department of Education in 1987 and has been more successful in creating a larger, more stable body of speakers of Hawaiian. This program provides for instruction in Hawaiian throughout primary and secondary schooling and is widely considered a success by community members (Warner, 2001). As of 1998, there were approximately 1,850 children enrolled in Pūana Leo and Kula Kaiapuni, in addition to the approximately 5,000 students studying Hawaiian as a second language at the high school or college level (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). The success of the language revitalization efforts in Hawai'i is likely be due to a combination of the positive nature of the language policies and pride in the language found in the region, as well as the creation of a stable community of speakers through education programs like the language nests and the immersion school system (Kahumoku, 2000).

3.3. Yup'ik

Yup'ik is also an example of a language which has been affected by language policies, especially in terms of its vitality. Prior to the acquisition of Alaska by the United States, speakers of Yup'ik used their

language almost exclusively. In the late nineteenth century, the children of the community were subjected to the same boarding school system as children from other Native American communities and were discouraged from using their heritage languages because of the language policies which implemented the schools. Unlike the children of other Native American communities, Yup'ik children were frequently transported to boarding schools especially far from their homes. In many cases, Yup'ik children attended these schools in Oklahoma and Oregon (Wyman, 2004). It seems that the drastic changes for Native American children which accompanied the boarding school system were more drastic for Yup'ik children, especially because of the distance; however, the system may have had less of an impact on the vitality of the Yup'ik language, especially since language policy in Alaska changed earlier, as discussed below.

Compared to the other communities discussed in earlier sections of this paper, as discussed by Wyman (2004) and Krauss (1974) language policy in Alaska changed slightly earlier. In 1972, the state of Alaska passed its own Bilingual Education Act. This Act, along with Alaska's State Senate Bills 421 and 423, lead to the foundation of the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska and created mandatory education programs to support the use of Native American languages. It also led to the foundation of a village high school in which Yup'ik was used (Wyman, 2004). However, the introduction of the school may have actually led to the increase in the use of English in the community, as discussed below. Senate Bills 421 and 423 were also passed in 1972, and provided for the Bilingual Education Fund. This fund was established to financially support existing bilingual education programs in the region and to found new bilingual education programs. It is also important to note that these Bills were worded so that there was room for improvement based on the reactions of Native American communities affected by the Bills, (including the Yup'ik community,) which is considered one of the Bills' strengths (Krauss, 1974).

Once the local school was founded, it attracted non-Indigenous teachers from outside of the community because of the higher pay offered by the school. With the continued presence of outsiders, technology and non-traditional services have also become the norm, and English has become more commonly used in the Yup'ik community. However, as of 2000, 91% of the Yup'ik community used their heritage language at home, which is a higher speaker rate than that of many Native American communities. This may be linked to the positive language policies of this community, especially the resulting immersion-type school, and the relative sovereignty and isolation of the Yup'ik community (Wyman, 2004).

4.0. LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES

The ways a community views and values its language are extremely influential for language use, maintenance, and revitalization. It appears especially important that the majority of the members of a community value their language and is willing and able to invest the resources involved in language maintenance. Both interest and practical and financial resources can be encouraged and created by positive language policies. Maintenance and revitalization efforts have been most successful in areas where language policies both reflect and inspire positive attitudes towards Native American languages.

At the same time, oppressive language policies are equally, and often more influential for linguistic attitudes than empowering policies. When oppressive language policies are the norm, such as was the case in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, communities are less likely to continue to use their languages for a variety of possible reasons. Firstly, frequently these types of policies frequently either explicitly disallow language use or decrease the domains in which the language is used. Secondly, and potentially more importantly, these types of language policies typically lead to an increase in lasting negative attitudes towards and devaluing of the language which also lead towards decreases in language usage (Jasso-Aguilar, 1999).

5.0. TIPS FOR SUCCESSFUL REVITALIZATION EFFORTS

According to Crawford (1995), past successful revitalization efforts have benefitted from several things. Firstly, as previously mentioned, they have required a community to be willing to undertake the massive amount of work revitalization involves, and to value its heritage language, as discussed in section 4 above. In many cases, outside experts are also involved in the process of creating language documentation and teaching materials for the community's efforts. Finally, well-trained teachers and language advocates are an essential part of the maintenance and revitalization processes.

For the purposes of this paper, it is most important to note that all of these factors are closely linked to language policy. The importance of language policy in maintenance and revitalization efforts is echoed by others, such as, "although legislation of language policies and plans at the national level are essential for realization of language maintenance and revitalization, it is likely that advocacy efforts...will be necessary" (Davis, 1999 p. 91). Without positive language policies which protect linguistic rights, a community is less likely to have the resources to participate in projects. Also, in areas where coercive language policies exist, there is no practical or financial support for maintenance or revitalization projects, and therefore outside experts are less likely to become involved. Positive language policies can be hugely influential for the success of language maintenance and revitalization.

6.0. SUMMARY

As discussed in this paper, language policy has affected several Native American communities over the past 150 years. Language policy in the United States has controlled language use and continues to do so, especially in public education settings. Language policy has also explicitly prohibited or endorsed language learning programs, often providing or denying financial and practical support for these types of programs. Language policy also seems to have both reflected and influenced linguistic attitudes throughout the country. Linguistic attitudes tend to correlate with the overall success rates of documentation and maintenance efforts, especially when outside resources are made available, such as experts and funding, as demonstrated in the cases of the Navajo, Hawaiian, and Yup'ik communities.

Despite some of the failings perceived by Indigenous communities of modern language policy in the United States, documentation and revitalization efforts have eventually increased and tended to be considered more successful in many communities as policies have changed. This increase is possibly due to the increase in positive attitudes towards Indigenous languages in the United States, as these attitudes are strongly correlated with language use. By specifically granting Native Americans the rights to learn and use their heritage languages, then following through and applying these principles in education, community members are more likely to become speakers of their heritage languages. Once the number of speakers has increased, communities are more likely to participate in maintenance and revitalization projects. When these projects are successful, communities are more likely to continue to speak their languages in the future and to pass them on to future generations, eventually creating a stable community of speakers of the language. The results of language policies tend to be negative or positive, depending on the whether the language policy itself is negative or positive. Language policies in the United States appear to have consistently influenced linguistic attitudes both within and outside of Native American communities, which in turn have influenced language use and maintenance and revitalization efforts in these communities and the overall vitality of the Indigenous languages of the United States.

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II. Language, Identity, and Attitudes

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING, IDENTITIES, AND A SENSE OF BELONGING

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

During a conversation one of my friends asked me what became a compelling question. He asked what my favorite part of living in the United States (U.S.) is. It took me a while to answer the question, not because I had to figure out what my answer would be, but rather because I knew that the answer I had in my mind was highly ambiguous and opaque. I ended up saying that in the United States who you are is who you think you are. Back home in Japan, I always felt that who I am is who everyone else thinks I am. I feel in Japan that there were fewer spaces in which to construct who I am and who I want to be. Of course, even in the U.S. there are elements of "me" that are defined by external factors to some degree, but there seems to be more space for defining who I am. In other words, I can exert a certain level of agency in the U.S. that allows me to make the most of my potential and take advantage of the opportunities presented to me. Since I was asked the question about living in the U.S., I started thinking critically about my own identity and language learning related to identities. My journey to explore my personal and collective identity has given me insight into how one's individuality is not predetermined but transformative. I also began to understand at a deeper level how identities are not just about who you are and who you would like to be, but also how you are defined by others. My identities which, I feel, were imposed on me in Japan have since been deconstructed and reconstructed moment by moment. This self-realization arose from literature suggesting that language and meaning-making processes play essential roles in identifying oneself in each community in which one lives (Block, 2007; Pavlenko, 2001; Norton & Toohey, 2011).

In employing feminist post-structuralist epistemology, Pavlenko (2001), one of the prominent researchers in this field, specifically addresses gender identity in stating that "(b)ased on a theoretical framework which understands identities as dynamic, fluid, multiple, and socially constructed... linguistic and cultural transitions of immigrants and expatriates represent a meaningful and fertile site for exploring and problematizing the relationships between language, gender, and identity" (p. 136). In the case study described here, I move beyond my self-exploration in critically co-examining with another women issues concerning expatriate race and gender identity in learning and using English as a second language, especially the sense of self and belonging. My research co-participant in this study is a female international college student from Japan living in Hawai'i. My research questions center on how being bilingual land moving from one community to another with different languages affects a sense of self and belonging. In order to do this, I focus on the significance of the intersectionality of gender and race, aimed not from a fixed, dichotomous way of situating women based on biological/genetic difference, but rather, in a more critical way of understanding the complex and contextual dynamics in which Asian women are situated.

Research on second language learning and identity has been around for a while and is gaining recognition in various fields of linguistics. However, the way research participants are framed has tended to be essentialized, such as by framing language learners as immigrants, refugees, or international/exchange students. Thus, the purpose of this case study is two-fold. First, I employ a feminist post-structuralistic approach to show how complexly the research participant has been situated and how she has negotiated her positioning both in Japan and English-speaking communities, in this case those in Canada and Hawai'i. Secondly, I would like to point out that the agency of Asian women is often undermined and normalized by social norms created especially through mass media. Instead, this case study intends to create a counter-narrative of Asian women stereotypes by revealing that the interviewee's life story is created in her own words and is used by her to make sense of the world. Since this research was started as a part of my own personal journey, my semi-autobiographic accounts are included as support and counterpoints to the research participant's narratives. Data collection is done through in-depth, open-ended interviews in naturalistic settings and an analysis of this narrative follows.

2.0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Historical Background of Epistemologies

In this case study, I employ a feminist post-structuralistic approach to narrative analysis. To understand feminist post-structuralism, I will first discuss the epistemologies that have influenced its formation. Conventionally, the field of social science has considered research from the point of view of positivism which is still widely employed in the field of natural science. One of the characteristics of positivistic research is the exclusive emphasis on objectification. Positivists believe that by removing subjective judgments and interpretations "universal truth" can be found or approximated (Sprague, 2005). This positivist view has created a great deal of problems in social sciences because the claimed-to-be-possible objective way of looking at things completely ignores the fact that we as researchers cannot help but see things through "a cultural lens" (p. 33).

In contrast to positivism, there is a social constructivism perspective. Social constructivists believe that there is no universal truth, but the truth is socially constructed (Sprague, 2005). Michel Foucault is one of the fundamental theorists who had a great influence on building the theory of social constructivist, employing the idea of "'power/knowledge' to convey the idea that in the modern world, the two are inextricably linked; power is enacted through the organization of knowledge, and knowledge is constructed as a form of domination" (Sprague, 2005, p. 36; Block, 2009; Foucault 1980,). This innovative way of understanding sheds a new analytical light on social science. However, according to Sprague (2005), social constructivism has faced difficulties in overcoming oppression and bringing social justice due to the lack of being able to claim truth.

Following this struggle of social constructivism, the post-modernist approach to research emerged. Post-modernism is an umbrella term for several epistemologies employed by various interdisciplinary studies concerning "voice of the Other" including feminist post-structualism that I am employing in this case study. These post-modernists bring the oppressed and the marginalized into research by using their voices and their stories in ways that are reflexive and political (Hesse-Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2004). A subcategory of post-modernism called post-structuralism emerged in the late 20th century. I will be focusing particularly on post-structuralism in relation to language learning. This approach emerged in order to solve the problems that structuralists were unable to explain such as "struggles over the social meanings that can be attributed to signs in a given language" (Norton, 2007, p. 349). Poststructuralists take a more co-constructive, contextualized, and situated stance to language and identity (Block, 2007, 2009; Norton, 2000, 2001, 2006; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, 2004b). Identities in this perspective are seen as something that is not determined when you are born. Rather, as defined by Norton and Toohey (2011), identities are "fluid, context-dependent, and context-producing, in particular historical and cultural circumstances" (p. 419). In relation to this, they also emphasize that it is important to address how power relations in the social world affect individuals' participation in language learning.

Historically, researchers retain their authoritative status in a position of power without recognizing the relationship between the researcher and the researched, especially in the quantitative field (Hesse-Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2003). However, based on post-structuralist epistemology, the notion of reflexivity of the researcher has been increasingly emphasized in qualitative studies. Furthermore, it focuses on the issues of inequality and its dynamic power relations in the society. Denzil and Lincoln (2011) take this political stance further by examining how people' struggles can be the source for informing and transforming social policies.

2.2. Historical Review of Second Language and Gender

In the area of language and gender studies, historically there have been three primary frameworks of focus in second language acquisition: deficit framework, dominance framework, and difference framework or dual culture model (Block, 2009; Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). In the early 1970s, the first framework, the deficit framework was born, influenced by the emerging feminist political movement. It was based on the idea that due to the difference between men's and women's language, the linguistic imbalance causes the voicelessness of women and potentially leads to the view of their language use as deficient (Lakoff, 1975). The dominance framework evolved from the deficit framework during the mid-1970s. It focuses on the idea that women are linguistically oppressed by the social domination of men (Block, 2009; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). The cultural differences framework was the third to develop in the early 1980s. It claims that girls and boys are socialized in different ways so they tend to develop different communicative

styles. Furthermore, this view eventually evolved into a celebratory claim that women are generally considered better at learning languages (Block, 2009; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). All of these frameworks were based on an assumption inspired by the essentialistic view that men and women are fundamentally different and separate. However, since the early 1990s, it has become increasingly popular among scholars, especially feminists, to argue that the relationship between language and gender is a lot more complex and should be interpreted in more nuanced and contextualized way.   Davis and Skilton-Sylvester (2004) illustrate how the shift of epistemologies from positivism to post-modernism has brought about the transformation of how gender is interpreted and analyzed. Now under the framework of post-structuralist or critical-feminist approach, gender is not so much about the difference between female and male, but it is more about the relations among multifaceted gendered individuals. In this sense, gender is examined in relation to how groups and individuals act within the existing social relations (Davis & Skilton-Silvester, 2004).

In an emerging conceptual framework based on feminist post-structuralist framework, gender identity is situated and negotiated through existing power relations in the speech community (Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). As a result of this new framework, the research of language and identity has been transformed. In the development of gender identities through a feminist post-structuralistic approach, Weedon (1997) has played a significant role by introducing the notion of subjectivity instead of identity. She claims that subjectivities are discursively constructed and have three defining aspects which are "the multiple, non-unitary nature of the subject, subjectivity as a site of struggle, and subjectivity as changing over time" (Norton, 2007, p. 350). Norton and Toohey (2011) point out that the term subjectivities rejects the conventional western idea of identity as unitary and fixed.   Instead, subjectivities create the notion of a more fluid and contextualized way of negotiation between personal agency (subject of) and social structure (subject to).

Butler (1990, 2004) has played an important role in examining language learning and identities particularly from the gender perspective. She introduced the performative theory of gender, an idea that gender is a stylized performance based on the socially institutionalized gender norms and expectations. Additionally, Block (2007) states that "gendered selves... are the effects of day-to-day 'acting' in ways normatively defined as masculine or feminine" (p. 16). This notion is why feminist post-structuralists have successfully avoided the essentialized notion of gender where gender is considered to be determined by birth and to be unchangeable over time and space (Block, 2009). These researchers have also added the notion that gender performativity might also be sensitive to other identity categories such as race and ethnicity.

2.3. Language Learning in Relation to Gender and Ethnicity

There have been a great number of qualitative case studies done from feminist post-structuralistic perspectives (Davis, Cho, Ishida, Soria, & Bazzi, 2005; Gao, 2011; Harklau, 2000; Kinginger, 2004; Kobayashi, 2007; McKay & Wong, 1996; Morita, 2004; Norton Pierce, 1993). Here, due to space and time limitations, I focus on research involving Japanese participants learning English as a second language in various contexts.

McMahill (2001) analyzed Japanese women's identity transformation through an English study group based on feminist pedagogy. She concluded that by introducing feminist beliefs into their English curriculum, students effectively learned English as a means in which to empower themselves and became critically aware of how gendered inequality they encountered has been socially institutionalized, reinforced, and maintained in the Japanese society. She also recognized the linguistic differences between Japanese and English that affects the way they speak. By constantly inserting pronouns in sentences in English, unlike Japanese, the students found themselves better able to organize their ideas more clearly, independently, and critically.

The narrative inquiry by Simon-Maeda (2004) explores personal and professional identity formation by English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers in Japan from the perspective of the intersection of gender and family background, work environment, and pedagogical philosophy.   Although participants in the study had various backgrounds and conflicts which they had encountered, the article successfully describes how each individual, as a female EFL teacher, responded to issues regarding gender, sex, race, ethnicity, age, socio-cultural differences in Japan.   Furthermore, it points out that the value of an ethnographic emic approach to explore how the identities of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Language (TESOL) professionals are evolved is fundamental to develop teacher training and curriculum development since it involves marginalized voices that are usually omitted in the normative educational research.

Bailey (2007) conducted an ethnographic research in which he critically reflects his positionality as a white, male native English speaker in the Eikaiwa (English language schools) in Japan. Since middle-class, highly educated Japanese women have been frustrated with the gender-normative Japanese society, they discursively constructed a highly Orientalized self in this imagined community. They experience English language learning whereas Occidentalized eroticized white, male, native English speaker teachers both support the desire for more equal positioning as female workers and potentially serve as romantic partners.

Ichimoto (2004) conducted a case study of Japanese women studying in Australian universities to examine the ambivalent and contradicted sense of self in relation to 'public' desires such as career development due to globalization and 'private' desires such as release from the traditional hierarchical society in Japan. The essentialized approach to examine gender and ethnic identities is revealed to be inappropriate for understanding the complexity of their identity formation and reformation because this is always in transition and ambivalent, sometimes even contradictory, which is theoretically portrayed as 'hybrid identity' (Kelsky, 1999) or 'third space' (Bhabha, 1996). This literature shows that the post- structuralistic approach has produced various theories to examine language and identities which can be applied to Japanese studying English, and First language (L1) English speakers learning Japanese. They investigate identities as fluid, contextualized, and transformative (Block, 2007, 2009; Butler, 1990, 2004; Weedon, 1997) instead of dichotomous, although this research has been criticized in that most has focused on adult, middle class, and white populations in Western classroom settings (Davis & Skilton-Silvester, 2004). Based on this literature, the case study described here explores language and gender/ethnic identities of a female Japanese student in relation to a sense of belonging (Anthias, 2008).

3.0. THE STUDY

3.1. Research Participant
This case study focuses on Akiko, a twenty four year old female Japanese student at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM). Akiko was born and raised in Tokyo, Japan. After she graduated from high school in Canada, she studied photography/art at UHM for four years. When I started this project, she was living in Japan working part time to save money to go back to Hawai'i. Her English proficiency is quite advanced in both academic and social settings. I selectively chose this research participant because of the opportunity to build an interpersonal relationship between the researcher and the participant so that the co-construction of life stories would be possible. I coincidentally met Akiko through mutual friends and felt that she would be a great participant for this project from the moment I talked to her. Not only was her linguistic competence in English quite advanced, but we also immediately got along well. We were soon comfortable enough to share our life stories and we found a great deal of similarities in life events and our own set of values. In that sense, since I am the author of this study, it is important to recognize my positioning as a researcher, but the similarities between us seem to help reconcile the distinctive power relations between the researcher and the participant. As I mentioned earlier, the co-construction of story-telling could not be possible without the bonding relationship between the narrators, and thus this narrative analysis is partly composed of my own life stories as well.

3.2. Research Methodology and Data Analysis
The interviews were conducted in several settings based on where the research participant felt the most comfortable to talk and share her personal life story. I consider the flow and dynamics of the conversation to be an important part of the interviews, therefore the interviews were semi-structured, so that there could be flexibility within the course of the conversation. Since Akiko preferred talking in Japanese during the interviews, I transcribed the conversations in Japanese and then translated these into English. All the excerpts and data analyses have been shown to the research participant several times to confirm their accuracy and to gain her agreement. Thus, most of the original excerpts in Japanese are not literally translated into English word by word because of Akiko's will and desire so the translated excerpts in English are closer to what Akiko believes she meant in Japanese. The order of the excerpts does not correspond to the exact order of the conversations during the interviews due to the need for thematic consistency and organization of the analysis. The main focus of the interview questions is as follows:

• What circumstances did Akiko encounter that led to moving away from Japan?
• What does it mean to be Japanese, a woman, and a Japanese woman? How has this changed over time for her?

- What does being an emergent bilingual mean to Akiko? What does English language and local culture mean to Akiko?
- What does a sense of belonging mean to her? Where does she feel that she belongs? How is that connected to her sense of self? How has it changed over time?

These interview questions led to focusing on the difficulty and struggles that Akiko has had both before and after she moved to English speaking countries, in this case, Canada and Hawai'i, and how she has responded to those difficulties. The majority of identity research related to language learning focuses on new immigrants, refugees, or citizens learning their heritage language (Block, 2007; Park, 2011; Pavlenko, 2001). However, what is unusual about this paper is that I chose a participant who is an international student, which implies that it is her wish to move to a foreign country and study in higher education and that it is assumed she and/or her parents are financially responsible for this study. In this case, language learning is autonomous instead of obligated. In other words, international students choose to move to a different country voluntarily, and receive higher education because they have the drive to do so and they believe study abroad will bring certain benefits which they may bring back to their home country. On the other hand, in this particular case, Akiko is strongly interested in permanently living in the U.S., which means building her own life in the U.S., rather than spending only a short period of time experiencing a "foreign" country. As this study shows in the following excerpts, the participant feels at home more when she is in the U.S. and more isolated in her country of origin. In this paper, I would like to investigate the interviewee's personal life-story in hopes of contributing to the diversity of knowledge about identity change and transformation.

In this case study, a narrative inquiry approach (Pavlenko, 2007) is employed based on Weedon's argument that since identities are constructed through discourses (Weedon, 1997), narratives help me to understand the dynamics of the discourse that the research participant and I collaboratively create.

4.0. FINDINGS

4.1. Identity Markers as a Site for Struggle
One of the first topics that we discussed was about why Akiko decided to leave Japan. She mentioned that she had a hard time going to middle and high school in Japan and eventually completely stopped going. She explained that one of the reasons for that was because she did not feel comfortable with the school community, especially with female students. In attending a private school where the majority of students are female, she felt she had a hard time with socialization into this gender specific community. She suggested that it was originally not exactly her intention to subsequently transfer to a high school in Canada; instead this was her parents' suggestion, especially because her mother dreamed of living in a foreign country (Kelsky, 1999). Akiko mentioned that the reason she chose to move to Hawai'i was also because her parents expected her to go to college and recommended she move to Hawai'i because they knew a lot of people there. There were several occasions when Akiko implied that her parents', especially her mother's philosophy of raising their children was particularly strict and protective.   For example, while growing up she was not able to stay over at her friends' place nor allowed her to get her ears pierced. Her parents seem to have a great deal of impact on her life and play an important role as her decision makers.

However, although the original intention to move to a foreign country did not come from Akiko, she reveals that eventually she realized her unique positioning as a Japanese woman living outside of Japan and started exerting agency in deciding to stay in Hawai'i for a long term. The following excerpt is about the way she understands the similarity and difference between Japan and Canada/Hawai'i in discussing her current situation. She further explained the difficulty that she faced because of reverse culture shock.

[Excerpt 1] (Akiko: A, Me: Y)
    A: でもなんか、日本で働くのと、こっちでも何ヶ月か働いたことあったんだけど、全然違うことがいっぱいあって、何かやっぱ、これがカルチャーの違いなんだな、と。
    Y: 逆にね。
    A: そう、逆にカルチャーショックみたいな。
    Y: うんうん。
    Y: じゃあ今は日本に住んでてどんな感じ？

A: 今—特に私東京だから、何かすごく、何かちょっと暗く、気持ちが暗くなる感じで、都会ってみんなそうなのかも、ニューヨークとかもみんなそんな感じなのかもしれないけど、もう誰も誰にも関心ないみたいな感じでそれがすごい寂しい。すごい寂しくなる。みんなロボットみたいな。

Y: それと似たような感じで高校のときも学校に行かなくなっちゃったの？

A: うーん、何か、あんまり、ほんと学校が好きじゃなくて、なんかそれで行かなくなっちゃったけど、でもカナダに引っ越してからは、英語の勉強もちゃんとして、英語、勉強したら勉強しただけちゃんと友達とも話せるようになって、なんかほんといい環境にいたなって、私はやっぱりこっちのほうが合ってるなって思って。

A: Like working in Japan, I have some experience working in Hawai'i, too, but I realized there are so many different things that I didn't know, and that makes me think this is the cultural difference.

Y: Reversely, right?

A: Yeah, it's a reverse culture shock.

Y: Yeah. (...) So what is it like to live in Japan now?

A: Now, well, I live in Tokyo, so it's dark, it makes me feel down. Maybe it's just an urban thing, like other places like New York. But I feel like nobody cares about anybody and that makes me feel lonely. I feel really lonely. Like everybody is acting like a robot.

Y: Did you have the same reason when you stopped going to high school?

A: Well, back then I really didn't like school, and that is why I stopped going. But after I moved to Canada, I started studying English, and you know, the more I studied English, the more friends I got, and in a retrospective, I realize that I was in very good surroundings, and it reassured me that I like it here better.

She started with the realization of how she feels about living in such an urban city as Tokyo and explained the sense of emptiness that she feels because people are so busy that they do not seem to care about each other. This implied that she did not feel she belonged to the urban setting in Tokyo. This feeling that she had after she went back to Tokyo from Hawai'i gave her an opportunity to critically reflect on her experiences abroad which helped her realize that living outside of Japan is what she wants to do, although it was not her original intention. She describes how as she moved out of her familiar circle such as her family and her school in Japan, she was exposed to alternative ways of constituting the meaning of her experience which seem to address her personal interests more directly. She explains the sense of disassociation with Japanese women (and men) that she feels. She began to more deeply investigate the reasons that she stopped going to high school and concluded that it was mainly because she was intimidated by the way other female classmates looked at her, which seemed judgmental. These classmates made her feel that something was wrong with her behavior and thus she felt pressured to act in a certain way so they would not judge her. This eventually made her feel suffocated and led her to feel isolated. Thus, avoiding school was her way of solving the problem. However, it is important to point out that this feeling of isolation has not necessarily disappeared since she moved out of Japan and still is the major theme of her narratives in Hawai'i.

The following excerpt is from the conversation when she was talking about her experiences when she first moved to Hawai'i.

[Excerpt 2]

Y: ハワイで日本人と打ち解けられなかったってどうして？

A: うーん、なんていうんだろう、日本人の女の子って、まぁ、男の子も女の子も一緒かな、なんか、いっつもグループになって、何かずっとハングアウトしたりしてて、それって日本にいてもできることで、それだったら何でハワイにいるのに、何か日本人だけでつるむのかなって、それが疑問で私はそれがすごい嫌だったし。

Y: それは自分の語学力の向上のために？

A: それもあるし、あと、環境も、ハワイの文化的なものも日本人とすごしていたらわからないことも、いろいろあると思ったし。私多分日本人の子と一緒にいたら多分ずっとワイキキにいると思うし。そういうことに興味がなかった。それよりもっと新しいこと探ったり、いろんな人に会ったりしたかったし。

Y: Why is it that you couldn't get along with Japanese girls?
A: Well, I don't know, like Japanese girls, well maybe same as Japanese guys, but they always stick with each other as a group and hang out all the time, and it's like you have to in Japan. So I felt like why do you do that when you are in Hawai'i? I questioned about it, and I hated that.
Y: Is that because you wanted to improve your English?
A: That, too, and I thought there are many things that I wouldn't understand like culture if I only hang out with Japanese people. Like, if I was always hanging out with Japanese girls, I'd never leave Waikiki! I didn't want that. I wanted to explore and meet new people.

She expressed her curiosity when she saw Japanese students mingling among themselves, which seems to be the norm of socialization of international students in Hawai'i. She feels this way not only because she wanted to improve her English proficiency, but also because she was expecting more from living in a foreign country. She is planning to hang out with non-Japanese people so she can socialize into the communities of people who have lived in Hawai'i for long time. This reveals that she considered English language as not merely a skill, but as something that affects her life and the way she is. Feeling isolated from the group of people she shared demographic origins with, aka Japanese women, she stopped trying to socialize with them. As I mentioned earlier, identity is a site of struggle not only in new second language (L2) communities, but also in L1 communities that individuals may become increasingly alienated from as they adopt a larger transnational identity. In other words, the way individuals feel about their L1 communities before moving to the L2 community can drastically affect the way they experience the new community. This is also related to the power relations between personal agency and social structures which produce and reproduce norms and expectations imposed on members of the community like Akiko feels in the Japanese group case.

4.2. (The Lack of) The Right to Speak
When Akiko first moved to the Canada when she was sixteen, her English proficiency was at the very beginning level. This excerpt is from the conversation that we had when I asked her how her English was and how she has learned English.

[Excerpt 3]
Y: じゃあ、初めてカナダに引っ越した時って英語はどの程度できたの？
A: あ〜全然！もう何言ってるのかほとんど分からなかったし、特に私、日本で学校行ってなかったから。だから、文法とかも全然だったし、単語も知らないし、何にもわからなかったなぁ。
Y: じゃあ友達はできたの？
A: あはは、全然！話ができるような友達なんてしばらくいなかった。私の学校に日本人は私だけだったし、誰も日本語なんて話さないし。だから、学校ではいつも一人だった。でもそれが、結構つらくて。特にランチの時間とか、みんなランチの時間って友達同士で一緒にいるって感じだったから。だから、美術室で絵を描き始めたんだよね。
Y: え、てことは、友達がいなかったから絵を描き始めたってこと？
A: そう。そしたらしばらくして、美術の先生が話し始めてきて、いつも絵を描いてて偉いねって。そうしたらだんだん美術の生徒ともはなすようになって。そこから美術の先生を生徒と話しながら英語勉強し始めて。
Y: So how was your English when you first moved to Canada?
A: Oh it was terrible… I barely understood anything, especially because I did not even go to school in Japan. I didn't know the grammar, I didn't know vocabularies, I didn't know anything.
Y: So did you have any friends?
A: Haha no, not at all! I did not have any friends that I could talk to. I was the only Japanese in my high school, and no one spoke Japanese. So I was always alone. It was particularly hard during the lunch time because that's when people always hang out with their friends. So that was when I started painting in the art room alone
Y: Oh, so you started painting because you could not make any friends?
A: Right. Then eventually my art teacher started talking to me and introduced me to her art classes. Since then I started learning English through my teacher and classmates in the art class.

At first, like many others who move to a different language community, Akiko was very much struggling with the right to speak and the power to exercise this right because of the language barrier. She mentioned that since she had not gone to school since middle school in Japan, she had to start with a very elemental level of English. When she was going to high school in Canada, she had a host family to live with. She told me that her host grandmother gave her cards with English words on it every morning to learn. Also, her host father gave her an English lesson every night after dinner. However, these lessons were not enough for Akiko to function independently and socialize in the school community. What is intriguing to me is that her language barrier led to curiosity about and then committed interest in art. She found her own way to tackle the struggle by entering the world of art. Although not directly connected to language learning, she strived to construct positive identities for herself from a position of marginalization and she tried to find strength in art as an effective and inclusion move that successfully led her to higher education as an art major in college.

4.3. Keyword "Original": Beyond Identity Categories

When I started asking Akiko questions about her childhood to seek ideas about how the history of her life has contributed to the way she is now, she answered the question with a very specific example concerning fashion.

[Excerpt 4]

Y: 子供のころはどんな子だったの？

A: 子供のころは、子供のころは誰の真似もしたくない、個性的な子だった。ファッションとかでも誰の真似もしたくない個性的になりたい子だった・・なんだろう。でもなんか、日本とかって特にトレンドだけ追って、みんなみんなの真似をするのがすごくやで、何かいつも変な服ばっかり着てた。

Y: そのみんなの真似をするのが嫌っていうのはどこから来てるんだと思う？

A: うーん、なんか、昔は、なんかあんまりなんで自分が個性的になりたいのかとか考えてなかったけど、カナダから帰ってきたときに、冬に帰ってきて、で、あの、駅の人を見たときに、なんか、あの、みーんな同じかっこして、黒いコートに黒いブーツに何かマフラーして、みたいな、それがすごい異様に思えて。なんかやっぱ個性的なほうがいいんじゃないかなって思い始めて、なんかみんな全く同じに見えて、なんか自分ないなーって思って、なんかほんとトレンドで生きてるなーっていう、それがすごい印象的、カナダから帰ってきたとき。

Y: 個性的っていうのってどういう意味？

A: うーん、個性的・・個性的って、なんていうのかな、他の人が考えると変じゃないかなっていうのを、自信を持ってきてる人。洋服でいうと。アクセサリーとかでも、何あの人つけてるんだろうっていうのを平気でつけてる人。

Y: What kind of kid were you?

A: When I was a kid, when I was young, I didn't wanna copy anybody, I was unique. It's like fashion, too, I didn't wanna follow anybody, I wanted to be original...I don't know, but like particularly Japanese people tend to follow what is popular and I hated that everybody wears the same so I always wore weird clothes.

Y: So where do you think it came from that you wanted to be unique?

A: Well, back then, I didn't really think about why I wanted to be unique and stuff, but when I came back from Canada in winter, and when I saw a crowd of people at a station, I realized that everybody was wearing like exactly the same! Like black coat and black boots and a scarf... and I started to think that's very strange. Like maybe it's better to be unique, like everybody looked the same, like they really don't have a sense of self... just following the fashion trend... that was very memorable when I came back from Canada"

Y: What do you mean when you say "unique"?

A: Well, unique...I don't know, like people who wear things with confidence which other people might think strange. I'm talking about fashion, like accessories too, people who wear unique accessories that people might think like "what is that?!" and don't care about others.

When she described herself when she was young, she used the word "original" multiple times (「個性的」and in Japanese). She also used an example of fashion, the way she wears clothes to explain her way to be "original", which she repetitively said was seemingly a key concept to her in terms of a sense of self. She

clarified that being different from others with confidence and not caring about others, means being original. It implies that when she was in Japan, she wanted to be "original", but she also had this feeling of isolation because she was "original". As she mentioned above, Japan was too isolating to be original with her own sense of confidence and satisfaction, and that isolation is intertwined with her complex feelings toward female figures.

It also seems that the way she presents herself through fashion is a part of her performance of self which resonates with the idea of Discourse proposed by Gee (1996), Gee describes Discourse as:

> ...ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. Discourse is a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk and often write so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize (p. 127).

In Akiko's case, her identity of being "different" and "original" from where she came from as a "Japanese women" contradicts Gee's structured definition as reflected through her personal fashion that resists Discourse membership.

In addition, Akiko's choice of the word "original" allows insight into her life as a youth who was unique and did not fit in. Thus, she seems to have been seeking and gaining freedom from the societal constraints she felt in Japan. Pavlenko (2001) points out the idea of English as 'liberating' in the following way:

> (In a new community,) facing new femininities and masculinities, often tied to new ways of self-expression, L2 learners may opt either for assimilation or resistance to new subjectivities. The desire to assimilate to the new community may be prompted by negative attitudes to gender ideologies and discursive practices of one's native speech community, ... while the culture devalues her and limits her options for self-expression. Such is the choice consciously made by many L2 users in the corpus, some of whom explicitly say that they perceive English as liberating (p. 145).

Along with the other excerpts, it is revealed that learning English has definitely widened Akiko's options to leave her home country and move to a new community. However, the next excerpt shows that when it comes to the issue of a sense of belonging, it becomes more complex and transformative.

4.4. A Sense of Belonging, Transnational Social Space, and Transmigrants
The final excerpt comes from a casual conversation that I had with Akiko after all the interviews were finished.

[Excerpt 5]
Y: でも結局肝心なのは言語とかエスニシティーとかジェンダーでもないと思う・・二か国語話せるってことは、ハワイに今こうして住めることとかには関連してるし、英語で会話できるっていうのは付き合う人のオプションも増えて、前に比べてなりたい自分になれてると思うけど。そういった意味で英語は自分・・自我の形成にすごく影響を与えていると思うけど、でも一番は自分の周りにいる人で、私がその人たちとどういう風に関わっていくかだと思う。そういった意味ではまだ私ここが自分の居場所だって思える場所は探せてないかも。だし、いつか見つけられるのかもわかんないなー。ハワイにいても結局今でもこう・・メインストリームな人たち・・とか特に日本人の女の子は怖いし、今でもすごい特定の人としか付き合わないし。でも、それは言語の壁とかではないし。結局一番肝心なのはそこに行きつくまでの過程であって、結果が必ずしも一番大切ではないっていうか。
A: In the end, I don't think it's so much about language or ethnicity or gender... Being bilingual definitely helps me seek alternative options such as living in Hawai'i, and being able to communicate in English has helped me become who I want to be. In that sense, language learning has played a significant role in my identity formation. But it's more about people around me and how I can relate myself to them. In that sense, I don't think I have found a place where I can clearly say that I belong

to, and I am not sure if I am going to. Even here in Hawai'i, I still have difficulty mingling into the so-called main stream society. I am still scared of girls, especially Japanese women, and it's not because of the language barrier. But the important part is the process of it, not necessarily the outcome of seeking it.

It is particularly striking to me that what matters to Akiko was not just language, nor gender nor ethnicity. Although these might liberate or constrain her sense of self, it's more about how she relates herself to others, and she is still in the process of exploring this. It shows that the formation and the reformation of one's identity is a complex process, and you cannot really point out what it is or does. It was also very interesting that she mentioned that a sense of belonging was not so much about physical or social space but it's about what the space creates for us. In that sense, it makes sense that when I asked her if there was something that she has gained from my study after I finished our overall interviews, she said that the co-construction of our life stories itself was a space which created a sense of belonging to her. It implies that a sense of belonging is not necessarily something that a group of people shares, it could be something that a group of people do not share with anyone. Overall, it is salient that wherever Akiko goes, she is always looking for a place where she feels like she belongs. It seems to have a lot to do with the fact that she does not feel at home in Japan since she was young, partially because of the norms and expectations of being Japanese, and partially because of being a woman.

There are several strategies that Akiko has employed to seek a space where she feels comfortable enough that she feels that she belongs. First is that she has been socialized with only non-Japanese males while living abroad. In order for her to solve the problems of gender marginalization that she has encountered, one salient solution that she tends to turn to is that she feels more comfortable building friendship with male figures, including her host father, her guy friends, and her partner. Another space she found is art. Not only has she studied photography at college, but she also has been involved with artistic activities such as drawing and playing music. By finding her own space with people she feels comfortable with, she successfully creates a sense of belonging. As Akiko is a Japanese woman but feels she does not belong as a Japanese woman, she felt lonely when she was young. However, moving to Canada and Hawai'i and learning English has allowed her to deconstruct and reconstruct her own ethnic and gender identity.

5.0. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are several themes arising from narratives that we can learn from in this study. First of all, language, gender, and ethnicity are the existing categories that some people feel constrained and thus isolated by. People like Akiko may seek strategies to finding spaces where they feel comfortable. Secondly, language learning is never just about language itself. It involves an intricate process of forming a sense of self through time and space. Thirdly, a sense of belonging is not necessarily about characteristics such as gender and ethnicity that one shares with other people. Sometimes, in going beyond gender and ethnicity through co-construction of life-stories resulting in creating a space to share a sense of belonging that exists without the constraints of labels and the social expectations that go with them.

I would also like to point out that it is important that Akiko quite often ended a statement or thought by saying "Am I answering your question?" or "Am I doing okay?". She also frequently apologized that she was not a decent candidate for the interview because she is not "normal". I believe this is "presence of absence", according to Anderson and Jack (1991), which means a tendency for women to make sense of their experiences based on the existing framework of cultural norms and expectations instead of voicing their own personal feelings and emotions. They emphasize its significance by stating that

> women's interests and experiences are at variance with those of men. A woman's discussion of her life may combine two separate, often conflicting, perspectives; one framed in concepts and values that reflect men's dominant position in the culture, and one informed by the more immediate realities of a woman's personal experiences (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 11).

Unconsciously or consciously, Akiko seems to understand the existing, accepted framework of how Japanese women are supposed to be/act, and she feels different from it and thus feels isolated when in Japan. Thus, although she almost sarcastically mentioned that she is different and original, as if she was an outsider in the

Japanese community both in Japan and Hawai'i, she at the same time understands her possibility to search for an alternative framework of her own expectations and norms by maximizing her skills of language and art which she has successfully achieved.

For further studies in the area of language and identities, we should focus on the following implications; how can we contribute to knowledge of language and identities based on a feminist poststructuralist framework? (Canagarajah, 2002; Heller, 2007; Pennycock, 2004) One thing that is clear from this study is that language educators should not overlook the complexity of language learners' identities. They could be and probably are completely different from the exiting stereotypes of international students. Language teachers should take advantage of the diversity of students' identities and apply this to language classrooms by employing multilingualism as a tool to empower students and a means to critically explore the marginalization that L2 speakers experience (Kramsch, 2006). It is my hope that this narrative study and further studies in the future will contribute to the counter-narrative to ethnic and gender stereotypes which are still prevalent in ESL classrooms (Kumaravadivelu, 2003).

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"OH YU IT KIMCHI? OKEI DEN.": CODE-SWITCHING, CODE-MIXING, AND IDENTITY IN LOCAL KOREAN DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This study explores language choice in conversations involving Hawai`i Creole, Korean, and English among Local Koreans in Hawai`i particularly in code-switching (Auer, 1998; Blom & Gumperz, 1972), code-mixing (Muysken, 2001), and borrowing. Participant discourse is also used to determine identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The results show that Hawai`i Creole code-switching is often used in reported speech, while Hawai`i Creole code-mixing is more frequent in casual speech; however, Korean are limited in terms of lexical borrowing. Identification as a "Local" is also emphasized; while all participants are ethnically Korean, they are not actively involved in their Korean cultural identity.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The Hawaiian Islands are typically seen as aesthetic paradise with foamy beaches, swaying palm trees, and exotic flora and fauna; however, the co-existence of varying ethnicities, cultures, and especially languages additionally promote Hawai`i as a linguistically stimulating community. Due to the influx of immigration in the late 1800s, and to the plantation work that many immigrants were involved in, the language known as Hawai`i Creole evolved among the Local population, and is still currently in use. Sumida (1991) provides an accurate definition of a Local:

> A "local" [...] is usually thought of as nonwhite, for instance a native Hawaiian, Asian American, Samoan, or Puerto Rican; or a local may be someone historically, ethnically originating in the working classes of Hawai`i, such as a Portuguese American or a Spanish American with a family history on the sugar plantations or the ranches of *paniolo* country. [...] Furthermore, the term "Hawaiian" is not a synonym for "local." In Hawai`i, "Hawaiian" is commonly taken to mean "native Hawaiian" and is usually reserved for that use in order to avoid ambiguity among those who speak these terms – that is, among locals. A Hawaiian is quintessentially a local, but a local is not necessarily a Hawaiian. Thus the term "local" does not itself denote race. (pp. xiv-xv)

This "mixed" language, referred to as Hawai`i Creole, provides a medium for Locals to switch into based on the situation or audience around them. Hawai`i Creole, as one of the main spoken languages in Hawai`i, thus serves as an important aspect of both Local culture and sociolinguistic research.

While a significant body of research has developed on Hawai`i Creole, there seems to be a lack of applied linguistic research studies about this language among the Korean community. Previous studies about Local Koreans focus primarily on Korean identity in literature (Kwon, 1999), heritage language learning (Byon, 2003), and the recent wave(s) of Korean immigration (Danico, 2004; Yum, 2006). Koreans in Hawai`i, however, seem to be a minority in sociolinguistic research, with very few studies actually looking at language discourse and pragmatics. This current study attempts to increase the applied linguistic body of knowledge regarding both the Hawai`i Creole and Korean languages. In this way, I hope to further research in both Hawai`i Creole and Korean, particularly in terms of how language choice, code-switching, and mixing index Koreans in Hawai`i as a Local.

2.0. BACKGROUND OF HAWAI`I CREOLE

Hawai`i Creole, also known in the Local community as Pidgin, is the creole language that developed in the Hawaiian Islands. When trade first started around the early 1800s, an unstable contact vernacular (Sato, 1985), called Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin (Day, 1980) developed as a Hawaiian-based pidgin for Native Hawaiians and foreigners to engage in business. This Maritime Pidgin evolved into Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin (HPP) (Day, 1980) when immigrant groups started coming in during the late 1800s. Immigrants from places such as China, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, and Portugal arrived in Hawai`i to work on Caucasian-owned plantations. Without a common language in which to communicate, HPP was used to communicate between language parties; when grammatical features began to stabilize and new generations of native speakers emerged after the

turn of the century, this pidgin Hawaiian transformed into Hawai`i Creole. This language is still in use among Locals today, though the language has become increasingly English-lexified (Sakoda & Siegal, 2003; Sato, 1985).

2.1. Koreans in Hawai`i

Korean immigrants first arrived between 1903 and 1905 as there was a "high degree of political instability and social disorganization" (Harvey & Chung, 1980, p. 136) due to Japan's imperialism of Korea. Around 7000 Koreans, mostly unwed males (Nordyke, 1977), joined the other immigrant groups on the plantations. Most immigrant groups did not expect to stay in the islands, and the Koreans were no exception. However, only 16 percent of Koreans actually returned to Korea (Takaki, 1989) while the rest took up other jobs in Hawai`i or moved again to the continental United States to find work (Harvey & Chung, 1980; Nordyke, 1977).

As more Koreans immigrated to Hawai`i to work, however, they also engaged in communal activities such as attending Korean churches and creating a *tonghoe*, or a village council to organize the Korean population (Harvey & Chung, 1980; Nordyke, 1977). Korean cultural values were also passed down from generation to generation such as *p'alcha* ("destiny") and *chaesu* ("fortune"), which refer to how Koreans react to "supernatural forces that shape their lives but remain beyond their control", *in'gan* ("connections between people"), which refers to emotions and circumstances between men and women, and mostly notably *ch'emyon-sang* ("face value"), which refers to the Korean sense of pride (Harvey & Chung, 1980, p. 151-152). Korean immigrants, though, as perceived by other immigrant groups, were highly stereotyped as "hot-tempered and quick-fisted; persnickety, loud, and aggressive; proud and stubborn; and hardworking and tenacious" (Harvey & Chung, 1980, p. 140). Few of these typecasting characteristics, however, are reinforced by the fact that Koreans valued their own language and culture, even setting up Korean language schools, similarly to the Japanese immigrants, for their children (Takaki, 1989). Interestingly, though, many second and third generation Koreans married out of their ethnic group (Harvey & Chung, 1980), breaking away from the very rigid Korean value system and thus mixing both ethnicities and languages of their future generations as well.

The current study investigates Local Koreans, who are second to fourth generation, and their choice in language discourse. Local Koreans, based on the context those later generations separated themselves from Korean language and culture, must have varying languages in which to converse. My research question thus focuses on whether Local Koreans code-switch into Hawaii Creole, Korean, and English, and in what situations. Due to the close cultural ties of language and identity, I will also examine if the Local Koreans' language choice affects their perspective of themselves as Korean-Americans or Locals.

3.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Code-switching and Code-mixing

Code-switching is defined as the "alternation among different speech varieties within the same event" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Unlike borrowing, which rather incorporates or "loans" lexical items into a language, code-switching is used when two communicating parties completely switch languages in certain settings. Code-switching is characterized in two ways. First, metaphorical switching stresses a shift regarding emphasis and/or attention "as a conversational strategy to enhance or mitigate conversational acts such as requests, denials, topic shifts, elaborations or clarifications" (Shin, 2010). In other words, this type of code-switching is used when an individual wishes to draw a particular stress on something in his or her discourse. Situational code-switching, on the other hand, shifts for different topic changes or when new members join the conversation.

In addition to code-switching of both types, code-mixing between Hawai`i Creole and English is also common. Code-mixing is defined in Muysken (2001) as "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (p. 1). Muysken also defines different situations were code-mixing which include "insertion" of lexical items or phrases, "alternation" between grammatical features of both languages, and "congruent lexicalization" of areas where there are different lexical items but a similar grammatical structure (p. 3). Similarly, code-mixing is also defined in Meyerhoff (2006) as

the "underlying switches within turns and between different conversational episodes" (p. 125). These progressions of code-mixing are valuable in knowing in order to determine if speech utterances is being mixed or switched. For the purpose of this research, both Muysken and Meyehoff's definitions will be looked at, with a particular emphasis on alternation of codes. One main difference between code-switching and mixing is that code-switching is primarily used for pragmatic purposes, while code-mixing is not.

Scholars who have previously looked at Hawai`i Creole code-switching (Day, 1972; Furukawa, 2007; St. Clair & Murai, 1974) found that speakers of Hawai`i Creole adjust to certain situations by code-switching between Hawai`i Creole and English. These situations include lexical and semantic functions (St. Clair & Murai, 1974) and comedic purposes (Furukawa, 2007; Grimes, 1999). Code-switching and code-mixing are found in fictional writing by Local authors such as Darrell Lum, Lee Tonouchi, and Lois-Ann Yamanaka (Romaine, 1994). Local authors base their stories on personal "small kid time" experiences, and language, especially Hawai`i Creole, plays an important role in illustrating the voices of the author and various other characters. Many stories often weave back and forth with both English and Hawai`i Creole (see Hara, 1998; Lum, 2008; Tonouchi, 2004; Yamanaka, 1996), expressing the duality of the languages used both in Hawai`i and in the Local community. Hawai`i Creole is usually used in the dialogues of characters, while English is used in the prose. However, some authors, such as Lee Tonouchi, fully write in Hawai`i Creole, including the prose and dialogue, identifying that his characters not only speak in Hawai`i Creole, but they also think and narrate in Hawai`i Creole.

Specifically in terms of Korean code-switching in continental US contexts, Shin (2010) uses the phenomenon of code-switching to signify situations where participants change languages between Korean and English. Using Blom and Gumperz's (1972) definition of situational and metaphorical code-switching, Shin (2010) uses immigrant and 1.5 bilingual speakers of Korean and English at a church to determine why they code-switch. The findings Shin (2010) report is that code-switching "constructs and reinforces social hierarchies" (p. 110) and maintains identities of the children who use both languages. Using Korean, for example, strengthens ties to traditional Korean values and relationships with elders. In this instance, Shin's (2010) study shows how code-switching is already being utilized in Korean-American communities, and so this aspect could possibly be related to the Local Korean identity factors as well. Because there is a lack of applied linguistic literature on Local Koreans, however, this study will attempt to look at code-switching and code-mixing in terms of not only Korean and English, but Hawai`i Creole as well, and how the language use especially determines identity[2].

3.2. Identity

In this study, I will draw on Bucholtz and Hall (2005) to explore the identity construction that is taking place in Local Korean conversational data. Bucholtz and Hall provide an accurate definition of identity as "the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586), which will be used as the framework in this study. Important factors Bucholtz and Hall also mention relating to identity are indexicality, which refers to how "linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (p. 594), and intersubjectivity, specifically (1) adequation, how groups or individuals, when positioned to be the same, do not need to be identical (p. 599), (2) distinction, the "identity relation of differentiation" (p. 600), (3) authentication and denaturalization, the "processes by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice" (p. 601), and (4) authorization and illegitimation, the "structural and institutional aspects of identity formation" (p. 603). Identity is used discursively to find how individuals view themselves and others. As seen in the Shin (2010) example earlier, identity is important for Korean-Americans to preserve and foster their heritage. Koreans in Hawai`i especially have a strong identity tie as well; they encompass a sense of pride in their heritage, community, and language, which is highly reinforced in the cultural values and practices they brought with them from Korea (see Section 2.1). Shin's (2010) data, for example, shows one sample where one boy responds in Korean to an elder who speaks to him in English using the identification markers for Korean honorifics to show respect (p. 98). This example shows how the boy indexes Korean language to be associated with respect and the cultural identity of being Korean. Identity will be thus be analyzed in this study in terms of discursive dialogues and practices that are mentioned by the participants.

4.0. METHODOLOGY

This study takes a sociocultural linguistic approach to interview discourses to study the relationship between code-switching and identity. Sociolinguistic interviews focus on gathering empirical data (Talmy, 2010) between the interviewer and participant, although there is argument that interviews do not necessarily classify

as interaction due to the institutional style and the differences in footing by the interviewer and participant (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). This study uses the interviews as both a research instrument, to determine Hawaiʻi Creole and English code-switching and code-mixing instances, and as a social practice, to explore identity through discursive practices (Talmy, 2010).

4.1. Data and Participants

The data was taken from two personal interviews were conducted by the researcher. The participants were both Local Korean males, aged 27 and 60 at the time of interview, from Kaneohe. They have post-undergraduate levels of education and currently work in academia. Both also perceive themselves as Hawaiʻi Creole speakers.

The participants were asked questions based on demographics (e.g., where do you live, what are you doing for a living), life in Hawaiʻi (e.g., what do you like to do in your free time), language (e.g., what language(s) did you speak growing up), and being Local (e.g. do you feel Local, are there some places that are more Local than others). An external microphone and the sound-editing program Audacity was used to record the participants' speech. Each interview lasted from thirty to fifty minutes.

The third interview comes from the television series, *Plantation Children: 2nd-generation Koreans in Hawaiʻi* (Pak, 2006), directed and produced by Gary Pak. This series ran from 2006-2007 on the ʻOlelo television network. Pak interviewed Korean Locals about segments of their lives such as childhood, activities and hobbies, employment, and family. The project is currently on hiatus as of today. Only one episode was used for data collection.

Participant demographics are summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1. Participant Information.

Interviewee	Data source	Gender	Age	Area where he/she grew up	Self-reported languages spoken
JO	Face-to-face interview	M	27	Kaneohe	English, Hawaiʻi Creole, Japanese, Korean
PKG	Face-to-face interview	M	60	Kaneohe	English, Hawaiʻi Creole, Korean
SK	*Plantation Children*	M	80	Wahiawa	English

Note: All participants understood that their interviewer also spoke Hawaiʻi Creole

The large gap in ages between the participants shows different generational perspectives that may contribute additional information to the data analysis and can be used to compare and contrast across generational boundaries. JO is a fourth generation Local Korean, PKG is a third generation, and SK is a second generation.

Instances of participant data code-switching (in either Hawaiʻi Creole or Korean to English) were isolated and transcribed orthographically based on Heritage and Clayton (2010). Transcription conventions derived from Heritage and Clayton were also added into the data to indicate intonation, description of certain events, unclear or omitted speech, interrupted or corrected speech, and overlapping speech.

Codes in Hawaiʻi Creole are determined using the phonetics, syntax, and prosody of the utterances. Hawaiʻi Creole, not having a standard writing system, is written linguistically in the Odo Orthography

(Bickerton & Odo, 1976; Odo, 1975; 1977), a phonetically-based system where one letter is equal to one sound (Sakoda & Siegal, 2003). This writing system will be further used to differentiate codes written in Hawaiʻi Creole.

Hawaiʻi Creole pronunciation uses phonemes that differ from English such as the [t] and [d] sounds replacing [θ] and [ð] respectively, the insertion of flaps (symbolized in the Odo orthography as [D]), and the use of ʻokina, the glottal stop used in the Hawaiian language. In terms of syntax, Hawaiʻi Creole sentences follow a noun phrase-verb phrase structure (*ai no go awt tunait* "I'm not going out tonight"), or a verb phrase structure (*get waDa ova hia* "There's water over here"). Prosody is also an important component of Hawaiʻi Creole; English is more of a stress-based language, while Hawaiʻi Creole is syllable-based ("Can I / go out?" versus *ai / kaen / go / awt?*). These variations in pronunciation, syntax, and prosody all contribute in deciding how Hawaiʻi Creole and English utterances are differentiated; however, I will particularly focus on phonological and syntactical variations the most in determining code-switching and code-mixing in the data.

To determine whether an utterance is a code-switch, a code-mix, or borrowing, the researcher set up a rubric to separate and define each category. Depending on the definition and understandability in terms of Hawaiʻi Creole and Hawaiʻi English speakers, the three categories are described in Table 2.

Table 2. Explanation of differences between code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing.

	Code-switching	Code-mixing	Borrowing
Definition	Sentences or phrases in Hawaiʻi Creole that are switched based on metaphorical or situational reasons	Longer phrases and mixed language in Hawaiʻi Creole and English, focus on an "alternation" within codes	Lexical items, short phrases, and singular phonological instances in Hawaiʻi Creole that are used in common English speech
Comprehension	No mutual comprehension between Hawaiʻi Creole and English speakers	Not as frequent comprehension between Hawaiʻi Creole and English speakers	Mutual comprehension between Hawaiʻi Creole and English speakers
Example	"And she thought like "Oh *no nat whea yu wen skul, laik whea yu fram hea* (I'm not talking about where you went to school, where are you from in Hawaiʻi?)."	"Not his family [...] but *hi get onli wan brada* (he only has one brother) in Korea"	"If you *poDagi* (Portuguese), you must be pretty stupid, but you know that's not true for everybody"

5.0. DATA ANALYSIS

Three excerpts where the conversation focused on Korean ethnicity and culture were analyzed for code-switching/code-mixing within the sociocultural framework. Using the classification of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing as mentioned in Table 2, instances of Hawaiʻi Creole and English are determined based on situational settings. Identity is based on the content of the discourse, looking discursively at each participant's utterance using Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) frameworks of indexicality and intersubjectivity as previously mentioned. Discourse in English, as well as transcription symbols, are shown as the normal font, Courier New, while utterances in Hawaiʻi Creole are transcribed in Arial. Instances of Korean are in Times New Roman.

The following example comes from interview data with JO, a 27 year old full-time male graduate student from Kaneohe. He is a fourth generation Local Korean, ethnically half-Korean, one-quarter Japanese, and one-quarter Okinawan. In this excerpt, JO explains about his friends from elementary school after being asked about ethnic jokes about Koreans he may have heard while growing up.

JO
30:13-32:24

```
01    JO    Well in elementary school, my friends who were haole
02          were also like mixed ada kain stuff, and so I I
03          remember like almost nobody at my elementary school
04          was w- all one thing.  It's like ho dis guy is Chinese
05          Japanese, ho dis guy is like, five hundred things.
06          ((laughs)) Like how are you like all these different
07          American Indians and Chinese and Hawaiian and
08          Filipino, yu jas laik sum gai. ((laughs)) You know
09          I was like Japanese Korean Okinawan, my ada fren waz dis
10          an dat, and and so like you know as a kid like it
11          didn't really make a difference cuz everyone was so
12          mixed-up anyways.  So we never really thought of it.
13          And like we were exposed to racial humor very young,
14          with like poDagi jokes and Filipino jokes and
15          japani jokes, and so we know we we had a idea we
16          didn't know the word but we knew the s- that they
17          were stereotypes you know, cuz we're all like part
18          something doesn't mean that we are exactly like those
19          jokes, we knew that.  But we didn't analyze them to
20          an extent that you know older people would,  but we
21          knew that like you know oh yeah, these guys always do
22          this kind things.  If you poDagi you must be
23          stupid, but you know you know that that's not true
24          for everybody, it's like ho you're poDagi you must
25          pretty real dumb yeah?  ((laughs)) yu get da kain poDagi ka
26          o wat. And the same thing like o yu chainiz,  ho yu mas
27          bi so chip yu so chæng ah?  yu no laik shea eniting. ((laughs))
28          Like ho you japani ho yu no laik tawk ah?  ((laughs))you
29          know so there's all we knew there there's this
30          stereotypes but, as kids you know all kids are all
31          all kinds so.
32    INT   ((unintelligible))
33    JO    I mean when I was elementary school there really
34          wasn't that many Koreans.  Um ((pause)) and so I it
35          didn't really matter you know, I don't think people
36          knew enough about Korean culture to actually tease
37          about, I mean cuz everybody knows what kimchi is and
38          kalbi but, haw yu gona tiz samwan laidat.  "yu it kimchi? okei
39          den."  ((laughs))
```

Code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing are all seen in this excerpt, and each category signifies a different change in speech. Code-switching is seen in lines 25 through 28 where JO uses reported speech to signify the ethnic stereotyping that many Locals perceive (Furukawa, 2007). JO code-switching in this instance thus shows a slight sensitivity to this ethnic humor since he separates himself from being associated with the

utterance by using reported speech. Another code-switching between Hawai'i Creole and English is in lines 38-39. JO switches languages in the beginning of line 38 to prime the constructed dialogue, "*yu it kimchi? okei den*". This instance could refer thus to JO stating a hypothetical speech that could have happened to him.

Code-mixing occurs in lines 2 and 9-10, where JO discusses about his childhood friends and ethnicities. He chooses to code-mix in these examples most likely because his own Hawai'i English is inflected with Hawai'i Creole, and code-mixing in these situations also frame his friends and himself as Locals. On the other hand, instances of borrowing are in lines 14, 15, 22, and 24. Because JO uses a more Hawai'i Creole-like pronunciation of ethnic groups (*poDagi* "Portuguese", *japani* "Japanese"), it can be inferred that this usage is related in proximity to JO's Hawai'i English, as these lexical items are understood by non-users of Hawai'i Creole.

JO's code-switching and mixing also refers to the adequation of how Local Koreans are perceived in other Local's mindsets. As JO mentioned, he notices that other Local ethnic groups have stereotyping jokes such as how the Chinese Locals are considered to be cheap spenders and the Japanese Locals are not considered to be very talkative. However, he expresses a lack of Local Korean stereotyping as seen in lines 35-39, where he states that Korean culture is not very well-known for others to make fun of.

Based on the data provided, JO's Hawai'i English, therefore, is highly inflected with Hawai'i Creole as seen with the examples of code-mixing and borrowing. However, he does code-switch in a situational instance, when JO uses reported speech to distinguish between a Local and non-Local. Interestingly, JO does comment on being ethnically Korean in lines 33-39. His usage of the word *kimchi*, Korean pickled spicy vegetables, and *kalbi*, Korean barbecued short ribs, signifies one aspect of Korean culture that is popularly-known – food. Food, especially, provides indexicality for Locals to recognize as a part of Korean culture, especially since JO claims, "I don't think people knew enough about Korean culture to actually tease about" (lines 35-37).

The next excerpt is from PKG, a third generation full Korean and 60 year old male writer and university instructor from Kaneohe.

```
PKG
30:05-31:52
1      PKG    Stigmas of being Korean?
2      INT    ((unintelligible))
3      PKG    Well ((pause)) first of all, when I was in elementary
4             school ((pause)) most the kids didn't know what a
5             Korean was.  You know? ((laughs))
6      INT    ((laughs))
7      PKG    I I would you know I remember in elementary school,
8             talking with my friend yea- yeah I would see this one
9             guy too you know at my elementary school my
10            elementary school friend he's a bus driver.  And I
11            rememb- once in a while I'll see him at least and I
12            know his son too I mean actually uh (      ) grew up
13            with his uh he was uh my friend's son he went to the
14            same school.  And uh ((pause)) and I remember guess-
15            you know peop- w- we had to guess ethnicities and
16            stuff and so says "PKG what are you." Says "ges."
17            "so yu dis? yu japaniz." "No." "chainiz." "No."
18            "wa- wat yu." "yu ges." They never could they would
19            guess Korean ((laughs)) because there weren't that
20            many- one thing there weren't that many Koreans that
21            time.  I mean there were Koreans ((pause)) but there
22            weren't that many in terms of you know you know the
23            only other Korean family I knew was actually my
24            cousin my cousin, and uh and there were like one or
25            two other Korean families in Kaneohe but mainly it
```

```
26              was you know Hawaiian Japanese Chinese you know you
27              name it Portuguese everybody else.  But people then
28              af- after a while people knew what Koreans you know
29              because people saw you know we eat kimchi and stuff
30              like that you know.  Um but I didn't really feel
31              stigma, I mean there were some you know ((pause)) you
32              know people would say oh yobo after awhile
33              but me- you know I I I didn't see that as I didn't
34              feel that was like a stigma per say you know what I'm
35              saying?  You know,
```

PKG in this excerpt has limited uses of Hawai`i Creole.  In lines 15-17, he tells an anecdote about a conversation with a friend.  His use of reported speech in these Hawai`i Creole instances suggests that the voices of those in the story are Locals. This aspect is quantified by the fact that PKG and his friend both grew up in Hawai`i and therefore use Hawai`i Creole as a communicative mean. Discursively, the data also shows how PKG identifies himself as a Korean. He mentions in lines 4-5 that Koreans were very rare in his neighborhood, and many people did not know about their culture and ethnicity. This characteristic is justified by PKG's story with his friend, which expresses how his friend was unable to guess PKG's ethnicity as Korean, instead guessing Japanese and Chinese, the more well-known and populous East Asian immigrant group ethnicities. PKG also brings up *kimchi* similarly to JO, explaining how when Koreans were better known, Locals of non-Korean ethnicities found *kimchi* as the iconic link to Korean culture. Another Korean term PKG introduces is *yobo*, defined as an expression of "Dear", "Honey", or "Darling" in the official Korean language (Minjung, 2005) but used by non-Korean Locals to refer to the Local Koreans in general. These aspects of Korean culture are what PKG perceives others to think of Koreans, although it is unsure of how exactly PKG identifies himself as a Korean.

PKG thus uses Hawai`i Creole in his discourse as reported speech, similarly to JO. He does borrow terms into these instances of reported speech; however, there are no instances of PKG using it as a part of his normal speech. He does use some Korean lexical terms as a marker of Korean identity, though these are the only examples of Korean discourse in his speech. PKG seems to have much in common with JO, as they both do not show much utterances of Hawai`i Creole unless it is spoken as reported speech. They also use Korean language sparingly; they both identify as Koreans ethnically, albeit it seems that they identify more as Locals. Finally, they both mention humorous stories that shape how their Korean ethnic categories are perceived by their friends and classmates, who did not recognize or even know about their Korean ethnicity.

The last participant, SK, is an 80 year old man who grew up in Wahiawa but is currently living in Waimanalo. He is a second generation Korean. Before retiring, he worked as a security guard at a pineapple company. SK arguably uses the most Hawai`i Creole out of the three participants, but interestingly does not recognize Hawai`i Creole as one of the languages he speaks.

```
SK
37:27-39:15
01    INT    Is there anything about you you know person- your
02           personality-wise that you feel is Korean.
03    SK     No. ((pause)) I just tink I just tink naturally that you
04           know ai bawn in hawai and I love Hawai`i I wanted to
05           be a citizen in America to begin wit,
06    INT    S- so you consider yourself more local.
07    SK     Yeah I'm a loca- local.
08    INT    But you have uh Korean ancestry.
09    SK     Yeah.
10    INT    So your your rebellious days like that that's not
11           being Korean,
12    SK     No. ((laughs))
```

```
13   INT   ((laughs))
14   SK    Them days uh had fo tink fo being Korean because we
15         associate with all kind nationality yeah?
16   INT   ((affirmative noise))
17   SK    Da etnik grups awl difren æh?
18   INT   ((affirmative noise))
19   SK    Den yu yu lrn dat etnik stail awf liv æh, den we I swear
20         I sw- I swear da Korean in me kaina vanishin away you know
21         we go different uh etniks we liv- plei wit go fishin wit
22         evryting yæh?
23   INT   But to this day you still s- call yourself Korean
24         because of your ancestry.
25   SK    Yeah] das rait das rait.
26   INT       [because because your uh your genetics ah?
27   SK    Yeah.
28   INT   You take one blood drop look in the microscope then
29         you- your your blood your blood cells says I am
30         Korean ah?
31   SK    No yobo.
32   INT   Oh yobo?  ((laughs))
33   SK    ((laughs))
34   INT           [((unintelligible)) called uh yobo?
35   SK    Hah?
36   INT   Dey dey used to call you yobo?
37   SK    Some guys way back.
38   INT   Yeah why why did they call you.
39   SK    I don't know.  Because they hear the the Korean
40         people you know the the wife or the husband call
41         themself yobo æh? like uh ho]ney or
42   INT                                     [yeah
43   SK    Samting æh?
44   INT   Yeah
45   SK    Dæts what they call they they learn the word yobo æh?
46         Korean æh? Huh?  Thinking nothing of it.
```

SK's excerpt shows his code-mixing (lines 4, 14, 17, 19-22, 25, and 43) and borrowing of Hawai'i Creole phonology and markers (lines 3, 45-46) in his Hawai'i English. He discusses that he feels Local and wants to be a part of Hawai'i despite being ethnically Korean. This authentication of wanting to be Local denaturalizes his own Korean ethnicity expresses a great ideology change from the original Korean immigrants who placed value on culture and language. The interviewer presses on this issue, asking in lines 10-11 about SK's rebellious days and how those are not considered "Korean". SK agrees with the interviewer on this matter and explains about how Hawai'i is comprised of all different sorts of nationalities that make it hard for a Local to only claim one culture. SK asserts that the Korean in him is "vanishing" although he does recognize himself as being ethnically Korean. This situation agrees with SK's previous discourse where he knows he is of Korean heritage, but identifies with being a Local more. Interestingly, this belief is also common in excerpts of JO and PKG, as mentioned earlier in the analysis.

Korean, amusingly, does show up in SK's excerpt. SK mentions jokingly in line 31 that he is not Korean; he is a *yobo*, a term also used by PKG. SK uses *yobo* in this context to refer to himself as a Local Korean, as he explains that other people from different ethnic groups called him that in the past. *Yobo*, thus, separates meaning from Korean and Local Korean; SK thus identifies with more with *yobo*, although *yobo* itself is a Korean term.

From his excerpt, SK uses borrowed Hawai`i Creole and Korean in his discourse, in the same way as JO and PKG. SK is, however, one of the only participants who passively uses Hawai`i Creole code-mixing in his normal speech, the other user being JO. His identity of being a Local overrides his ethnic ties of being Korean to the point where he calls himself a *yobo* to position himself away from being a "Korean".

6.0. DISCUSSION

The findings of the analysis show that although there are considerable amounts of both Hawai`i Creole and English use in each of the participants' discourse, most of the Hawai`i Creole production happens in reported speech. Much of the Hawai`i Creole discourse is also used in borrowing; the participants use Hawai`i Creole-inflected words and discourse markers in their English. Code-mixing is the least observed; SK code-mixes frequently, but only JO code-mixes in one excerpt. Due to this analysis, Hawai`i Creole seemingly is used by these participants as a way to tell anecdotal stories, but all of their Englishes are inflected with bits of Hawai`i Creole, signifying the huge impact Hawai`i Creole has on Hawai`i English.

In terms of Korean language use, no participants underwent code-switching in their interviews. A few Korean words, *kimchi* and *yobo*, are used for identity purposes when the participants are asked about being Korean. The lack of Korean language use shows that the participants, despite being ethnically Korean, do not associate much with the Korean cultural values and traditions that the original Korean immigrants brought to Hawai`i. The participants also seem to distance themselves from being Korean; they would rather been perceived as a Local. Their roots of familial generations in Hawai`i may be a factor in this aspect, since none of them are first generation or 1.5 generation Koreans. Danico[3] (2004) emphasizes this factor, as first and 1.5 generation Koreans are expected to have a "value placed on being 'really Korean' within the family" (p. 13). Because of this initial strictness of Korean immigrants, later generations may have wanted to rebel from their cultural traditions, similarly to what Harvey and Chung (1980) discuss earlier and to what the interviewer inferred about SK in Excerpt 3: "So your rebellious days like that that's not being Korean" (lines 10-11). SK, replying with a firm "No", discursively demonstrates how the later generations disobeyed Korean values and even culture almost immediately.

Similarly, all three participants index themselves as "Local" rather than "Korean". They all may be ethnically Korean, but culturally, because they were all brought up in Hawai`i, the Local culture is what they identified and still identify with the best. This adequation and distinction again has to do with the later generations' disinterest of Korean cultural values. The lack of Korean awareness, as seen in JO and PKG's discourse excerpts, illustrate how not only the participants did not know about Korean culture (besides Korean food items and slang), other ethnic groups in the Local community also did not know about Korean culture. Koreans were numerous during immigration, as well as the Japanese and Chinese, and yet, non-Korean Locals who know about bon dances, fireworks on New Year's Eve, and Chinese New Year do not know anything about Korean culture. This aspect seemingly disassociates Local Koreans from their traditional values while placing a higher importance on Local culture.

7.0. CONCLUSION

The discourses of Local Koreans changed over the years. The first Korean immigrants in Hawai`i encouraged the perpetuation of their culture and values. The later generations, however, wishing to break from traditional means, did not speak Korean and used Hawai`i Creole and English instead. By using Hawai`i Creole, these Koreans identified themselves as Locals, as a part of the Hawai`i community with very limited ties to Korea. Local Koreans' usage of Korean is limited now to lexical items, while Hawai`i Creole and English are used more in discourse contexts. Yet, even Hawai`i Creole is spoken in certain situations – in reported speech and in code-mixing. This study, of course, is limited in terms of participants and discourse analyzed, having only three participants data examined. There is also a lack of focus on a particular demographic of Local Koreans since this study encompassed three different generations. There is hope, however, that this study encourages further interest and applied linguistic research of Local Koreans in Hawai`i.

NOTES

1.   I use the term Hawai`i Creole in this study, although the creole is also known linguistically as "Hawai`i Creole English", "Hawai`i English Creole", and more commonly, Pidgin (Sakoda & Siegal, 2003, p. 4).

2.   There seems to be a lack of literature on code-mixing in Hawaii Creole; at the time of writing, I was unable to find any sources exclusive to Hawaii Creole and code-mixing.

3.   1.5 generation refers to the children of immigrants who were not born in the country of immigration (Danico, 2004; Shin, 2010).

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A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN TIMOR-LESTE

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ABSTRACT

Timor-Leste is home to four institutionally recognized languages as well as 15-25 indigenous languages. The status of all these languages, combined with lingering effects of the societal disruption from the 30-year Indonesian occupation, have created complicated problems for the education system. Low achievement and high dropout rates indicate that overlooking the critical issue of mother tongue language and educational access may have serious repercussions. This paper is part of an ongoing project to assess the effects of multilingual education on language attitudes by investigating the degree to which Timorese value their mother tongues and other languages, and for what purposes.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste is one of the southern and easternmost points of Southeast Asia, and had a population of just over 1 million in 2010. Timor-Leste declared icndependence from Portugal in 1975 only to be immediately invaded and occupied by Indonesia. After decades of bloody oppression and resistance culminating in international intervention, Timor-Leste was declared the newest sovereign nation of the 21st century on May 20th, 2002. Currently, the two official languages are Portuguese and Tetun, while the working languages are English and Indonesian; there are 15-25 local languages spoken throughout the rural areas, which is the majority of the country. This pilot survey uses a combination of quantitative analysis and qualitative interview data adapted from Quinn (2008) and personal interviews conducted in July 2012 to answer whether Timorese value their mother tongues, what languages Timorese do value (and for what purpose and to what extent), and whether there are any trends that can be generalized about the Timorese educational experience.

2.0. LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN TIMOR-LESTE

Central to this survey is the Timorese experience of language in education. From the time of Portuguese colonization in 1769, until 1975 when Portugal amicably ceded control of the state to the newly independent nation of Timor-Leste, the language of instruction was Portuguese. For 500 years, Portugal had focused primarily on educating a small class of administrative staff; just enough to effectively manage Portugal's best interests in the colony. During the Indonesian occupation, access to basic education was greatly increased for all Timorese children, but was primarily in Bahasa Indonesia, which almost no one spoke at the time. In addition to this obvious problem of language access, the Indonesian prescribed curriculum has been described as one of indoctrination, aiming to suppress ideas of a separate cultural Timorese identity (Shah 2012).

Even before independence from Indonesia was officially declared in 2002, language in education was identified by the Timorese leadership as a central goal in the construction of their new nation. In 1999, the exiled leaders met in Australia and drafted a development plan for Timor-Leste in which they envisioned "an education system that enhances the development of our national identity, based on our selective cultural and universal human values" (CNRT 1999). In the period surrounding the Indonesian withdrawal, the country was again plunged into violence and instability, during which time over 90% of schools and materials were destroyed or left in ruins. The Indonesian withdrawal also left Timor-Leste with a dearth of qualified teaching staff, many of whom had come from Indonesia or abroad and fled Timor-Leste to escape the violence (World Bank 2004). The United Nations Transitional Authority for East Timor (UNTAET) was granted authority to administer the ravaged nation, and their efforts in the education sector focused on salvaging or procuring basic supplies, rebuilding what had been destroyed, and recruiting educators who were already qualified and required very little training. Real educational reform would not take place until the UNTAET's mission in Timor-Leste drew to a close in 2002 and the governance of the country was handed over to the newly elected Timorese officials (Shah 2012).

The choice of language in the classroom can have critical repercussions for a fledgling government by damaging, reinforcing or confirming state legitimacy. When the first curriculum reforms were implemented in

2004, fewer than 6% of teachers reported fluency in Portuguese; to counter this, the Ministry of Education instituted large-scale and compulsory Portuguese language training courses for all teachers. Theoretically, teachers are to focus on building literacy in Tetun in the primary grades and gradually transition to Portuguese over time, emphasizing the importance of being fully bilingual in Tetun and Portuguese. However, teachers received conflicting messages about the status and appropriateness of Tetun in the classroom from the Ministry of Education, who sometimes referred to it as a 'tentative, auxiliary language'. Studies conducted in 2007 and 2008 showed that a small but discernable portion of Timorese held overtly negative attitudes toward the Portuguese language, while Tetun was perceived as the critical language for day-to-day existence and an important source of national identity (Leach 2007a, 2007b, Taylor-Leech 2008). Quinn's 2008 interviews with teachers found that primary teachers use Portuguese out of compliance, but saw very little utility for children using Portuguese outside of the classroom. They also reported high enthusiasm toward using Tetun with their students, seeing it as "a language of identity and civic participation in contemporary Timor-Leste" (Quinn 2008, Shah 2012).

Despite this enthusiasm, a survey in 2010 by the World Bank found that by the end of Grade One, 70% of students could not read a single word of Tetun. Moreover, they found that 75% of teachers still did not have the minimum qualifications that were required of them by law. Clearly, a factor, which would prove to be crucial to educational achievement, was overlooked in the design of the Tetun/Portuguese curriculum. In the 2010 national census, only 191,106 of the 440,193 Timorese children between ages 0-14 were reported to use Tetun as their first language and only 153 children were reported as using Portuguese. 248,934 participants reported that children's first language was a local language (Census 2010). This means that *more than half* of East Timorese children are entering a school system in which they do not speak the language of education.

The Ministry of Education sought to address the issues of ineffectual curriculum, government opacity and linguistic inaccessibility by introducing the Mother-Tongue Based Multilingual Education program in the 2010 Strategic Development Plan and the 2011 Implementation Plan. Mother tongue instruction generally refers to the use of a child's primary language as the language of instruction; this term also has also been associated with rural programs in which the mother tongue is the only language used throughout the education system and not to instruct children in a language of wider communication. The term 'multilingual education' is based upon the findings of Thomas and Collier (1997) that children whose early education is in the language of their home tend to do better in the later years of their education. MLE then, seeks to use mother tongue instruction to create the 'strong foundation' upon which children build the rest of their education. It then uses a guided transition from learning through the mother tongue to learning another language and learning *in* another language as a the 'strong bridge' connecting L1 and L2. The ultimate goal is for students to use this program as a way to attain quality education in a language of wider communication and maintain their bilingualism, rather than abandoning their mother tongue somewhere along the way.

The MTB-MLE program in Timor-Leste is essentially being marketed as the opposite of the first curriculum reform, which was seen as the work of a fixed group of elite with little to no input from the people. By promoting community agency through national debate, transparent decision-making, and focusing primarily on relevant, accessible education for everyone, the Ministry sought to repair the damaged relationship and restore community trust. More importantly, the Ministry is embracing the MTB-MLE program as a means to increase access to education, build a strong foundation of literacy and numeracy and provide a smooth transition for the acquisition of both Portuguese and Tetun (MoE 2010).

One of the most understated priorities of the Ministry is the development of curriculum and other literature in each of the local languages for use in the classroom. For a multilingual country like Timor-Leste, this is a substantially ambitious objective. Many of the local languages have no tradition of literacy, so the Ministry proposes to work with linguists to produce grammars, dictionaries, grade-level primers and literacy materials- such as the very popular *Manu Kai* 'Chicken Little' and *Ida Ne'e Uma* 'This is a House' series that has already been translated into several local languages. By providing linguists and language workers with a template of materials, the Ministry has streamlined the process for creating educational material, allowing for more rapid production. Because Timor-Leste is home to some 15-25 local languages, 6 of which are considered critically endangered (largely due to the decimation of speaker populations) and another 7 of which are considered threatened, the development of these materials has very important implications for the survival, maintenance and continued vitality of the indigenous languages of Timor-Leste.

To conclude, Timor-Leste has experienced violent and devastating upheaval on more than one occasion within the last fifty years and the repercussions of this were felt in every sector of life; political, educational, economic, and social. After independence, the fledgling government sought to bolster support from their constituents by reforming education to be specifically Timorese, but because decisions were made largely without input from the community, this reform did not achieve the desired effect. Exacerbating the problem is the issue of linguistic access in education, which the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education program seeks to address. The MTB-MLE program emphasizes achieving literacy in children's home languages and using this strong foundation as a bridge to literacy in additional languages.

3.0. LANGUAGE USE IN TIMOR-LESTE

Given the state of language use in Timor-Leste, this new educational policy seems logical. Timor-Leste is a highly multilingual country, which boasts 15-25 local Papuan and Austronesian languages, as well as widespread L2 fluency in non-native European languages, such as Portuguese and English. The map below demonstrates the extent of Timor's multilingualism by showing the main languages of contact by *suco*, an administrative division within districts that roughly corresponds to the British English concept of a county. From this map it can be generalized that Tetun is mainly used in the urban area surrounding Dili, and as the primary lingua franca in places with very low population density, such as the *sucos* on the eastern shore. However, for the rest of the country, it is most often the case that local languages take the priority position. This map uses census data from 2001, and the 2010 largely corroborate this. In 2010, only about 35% of the population reported that Tetun was their mother tongue, and of those, 61% were localized to urban areas (see Table 2 below). However, as communication and transportation infrastructure continues to improve, first language Tetun speakers will likely increase.

Table 1: Mother Tongue and Population Density (Adapted from Census 2010)

Mother Tongue	Timor-Leste	Urban	Rural
Total	1,053,971	307,886	746,085
Tetun Prasa	385,269	236,980	148,289
Makasai	101,854	13,006	88,848
Mambai	131,361	9,594	121,767
Chinese	722	657	65
English	773	694	79
Indonesian	3,045	2,647	398
Portuguese	595	483	112
Other local languages (28 listed in census)	430,352	43,825	386,527

Given this obviously high level of first language multilingualism, implementing a mother tongue education program at the primary school level with a goal of transitioning to bi- or multi-lingualism after primary school seems like an obvious solution to a very complicated problem. However, despite performing pilot tests in three districts, seemingly effective results and positive marketing, the new language program has met with vitriolic criticism, vehement resistance, ignorance, or general disinterest. The impetus for the present survey was born of this unlikely reaction to what should have been an egalitarian and apparent solution to the problem of language in education.

4.0. DESIGN METHODOLOGY

The questions in this survey were developed from structured and unstructured interviews that I conducted in Timor-Leste in July and August of 2012. During my interviews with older participants, I asked questions such as, "Do you think it is important for children to be able to read and write in [your local language]?", "Do you want your children to speak [your local language]?", and "What languages do you wish

you had learned?" With younger participants, I asked questions like, "Do you feel proud of your language?", "What languages do you think are important to know to be successful?" and "Do you think your children will learn [your local language]?" With all participants I asked questions like, "What language(s) do you use at home/church/at the market/with friends/with officials, etc?", "What languages do people speak in [specific locations]?", "Have you heard about the mother tongue program?", and "What is your opinion of the mother tongue program?"

Predictably, answers to these questions were varied and reflected the personal experiences and opinions of the participants. However, some trends were easy to generalize from their shared opinions. For example, most participants valued their mother tongues for their social currency and wanted their families to continue using it as I predicted. However, they did not consider their mother tongue to be an instrument of economic or professional value. In addition, many participants had heard about the mother tongue language program, but expressed overt disapproval or pessimism; one participant responded simply, "yes, but it's failed," and that was the end of our discussion on the topic. These two opinions (that mother tongues are valuable, but have no place in education) are inherently contradictory. In light of this incongruity, my survey sought to answer the question of which languages the Timorese *do* place high value on, to what extent, and for what purposes. In addition, I asked forced-choice questions in my survey about participants' experiences in the education system of Timor-Leste with the hope of priming participants to answer the opened-ended questions honestly and enthusiastically.

Other considerations that shaped the design of my survey were based on practicality. I chose to use an online, form-fillable survey supported through GoogleDocs, largely because I was unable to visit Timor-Leste for a month during the academic year, however, there are many problems with using an online survey tool. The challenges I took into consideration in designing my survey were those of representativeness (or non-representativeness), curtailing of Internet etiquette, controlling testing conditions, language access and the intertwined challenge of Internet access and non-response.

In the developed world, the main methodological problem facing online survey researchers is the issue of sample (non)representativeness (Matsuo et al. 2004). It is very difficult to control for demographics and there is no reliable way for researchers to access a particular population when using a web-based survey as opposed to the traditional methods of telephone and mail surveys (although these methods may have difficulty establishing a representative sample as well). However, Gosling et al. (2004) found that the demographic characteristics of Internet surveys reported similar results to those conducted using traditional survey techniques. In designing my survey, I asked several background and demographic questions in order to more accurately understand the demographics of the sample I received and what sector of the population was actually responding. Another factor that could potentially affect my survey results is the issue of self-selection bias. Participants are more motivated to respond to a survey if they are interested in or opinionated about the topic, which may exacerbate the issue of (non)representativeness (Sackmary 1998).

Another related consideration is that of Internet etiquette and anonymity. In accordance with best research practice and in order to facilitate a sense of trust in me as a researcher, I assured participants of the anonymity of their responses so that they could be as honest as they wanted in answering questions. As a consequence of this anonymity, the possibility was introduced of a breach in respectful Internet dialogue without social consequence. Nosek et al. (2002) and Matsuo et al. (2004) suggest several techniques for online researchers to 'catch' malicious participants, but because the scope of this pilot survey was very small, I did not include any such failsafes. Indeed, of 63 total respondents, only one response had to be thrown out for obvious intentional data corruption, identified by incongruity, and even this person's responses were interesting in their own right. By responding honestly, albeit quite rudely, this participant gave me valuable insight on the negative view that some Timorese hold toward foreign researchers, which would normally be inaccessible to me if all participants felt they were restricted by the socially-constructed rules of communicative exchange. So, while anonymity may be a detriment to some kinds of research, if it encourages honesty from participants and facilitates trust between the researcher and the respondents that their opinions are valuable, then it can be utilized to powerful advantage.

Controlling the testing environment from a distance was another consideration that affected the design of my survey. This is a concern to researchers in the developed world because certain environmental factors

may cause the results to be susceptible to increased variability. Among the concerns listed by Matsuo et al. (2004) were unsupported software programs, incompatible browsers, and improper display of multimedia. Heeding these warnings, I entirely omitted any multimedia items such as images, audio or video. I chose to use Google Forms because they use simple HTML, which should be supported on most browsers, operating systems, and even mobile devices. I know firsthand that the conditions in a Timorese Internet café are highly variable and often not ideal. As such, the most important thing I could do to control for quality was to make sure that my survey was short, interesting, and that it used clear, exact language.

In order to ensure that I used the most clear and concise language, I chose to design my survey bilingually in Tetun and English, in order to make sure that my survey was in a language that was accessible to the Timorese participants. This also supported my decision to use Google Forms, as it is currently the only free survey software that supports logic branching. The first question asked participants if they chose to take the survey in English or Tetun, and from this decision they were directed to either the English or Tetun versions. Because Tetun is not my first language, I had my survey reviewed for grammatical accuracy and to make sure that the questions were as similar as they could be between the two languages. My two reviewers are both graduates of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, and they reviewed the survey independently. The final result of these revisions was a concise, bilingual survey consisting of thirty easy-answer questions, some of them optional, spread out over four pages.

Finally, the most important issue I considered when designing my survey was the limited nature of Internet access in a developing country. Internet access in Timor-Leste is considered a commodity and not a necessity, and as such it tends to be available to those who have some disposable income. Timor Telecom is the country's only Internet service provider. Timor Telecom built all of Timor's telecommunication systems from the ground up after the Indonesian withdrawal left the infrastructure in ruins. In the last year, the company has invested considerable resources into improving the internet infrastructure which can be seen in the recently enacted 50% reduction in consumer pricing, and the greater than 300% subscriber increase from 2,361 subscribers in December 2011 to 10,293 June 2012 (Internet World Stats). Internet access in Timor-Leste is still not as salient as it is in a developed nation, but penetration is obviously increasing. Nearly every district has a centrally located media building (*Uma Media Regional*) where customers may use internet-equipped computers at the rate of $1 an hour. Because of this cost, Internet access is only regularly utilized by about 1% of the overall population. This means that the respondents to my survey represent a very specific socioeconomic class, or those who are living abroad where Internet access is widely available, and the results should be viewed accordingly.

To conclude, the 30 forced-choice and open-ended questions in my bilingual English-Tetun survey were developed from language attitude interviews conducted in the summer of 2012, with the cooperation, input and advice of two Timorese college graduates with native fluency in Tetun. The questions were designed to further investigate a contradictory trend I observed through my interviews that the Timorese seem to value their mother tongues for their social currency, and cultural value but not for their educational potential, or potential economic power. The survey was distributed online through email, forums populated by scholars interested in Timor-Leste, and various social media such as Facebook. Authors such as Sackmary (1998), Matsuo et al. (2004), Nosek et al. (2002) and Gosling et al. (2004),who have studied the efficacy and trustworthiness of online surveys, caution that several factors may influence the validity of survey data. These factors include (non)representativeness and self-selection bias, anonymity and breach of Internet etiquette, non-response and Internet access, inability to control environmental factors, and language accessibility. I believe that I mitigated as many of these factors as I could without physically conducting my survey in Timor-Leste through careful planning, heeding the advice presented from previous scholarship and the invaluable guidance of my Timorese colleagues.

5.0. RESULTS

5.1. Demographic
The participants in my survey consisted of 63 respondents, 31% female and 69% male, ranging in age from 0-15 to 51-60, although around half were between 21-30. Many of the participants had a very high level of education, and just over half were involved in the education sector in some way, either as a student or a teacher. Timor-Leste has thirteen districts, which serve as the largest administrative divisions. Survey respondents hailed

from nine of these thirteen districts, but nearly a third of the respondents reported that they currently lived abroad.
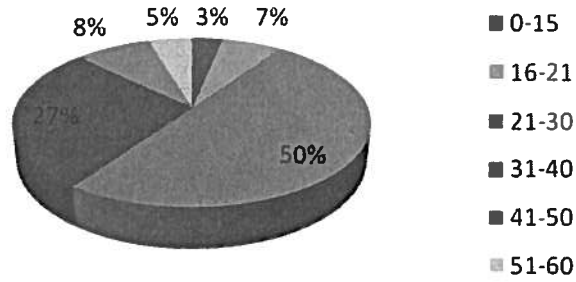
Figure 1: Age Range of Survey Participants (*N*=63)
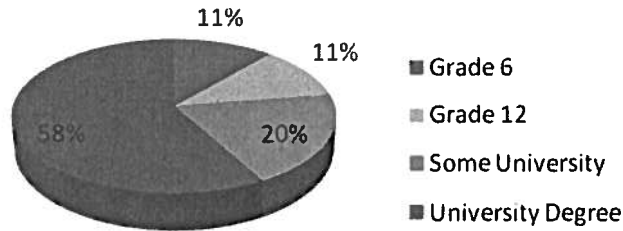
Figure 2: Education Level of Survey Participants (*N*=63)
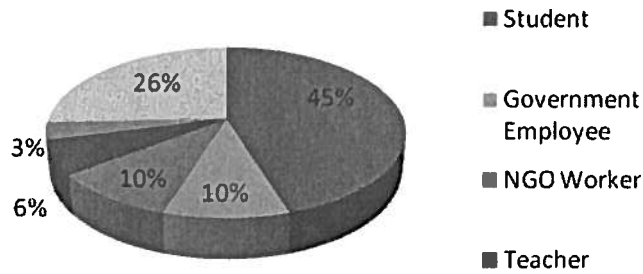
Figure 3: Occupation of Survey Participants (*N*=63)
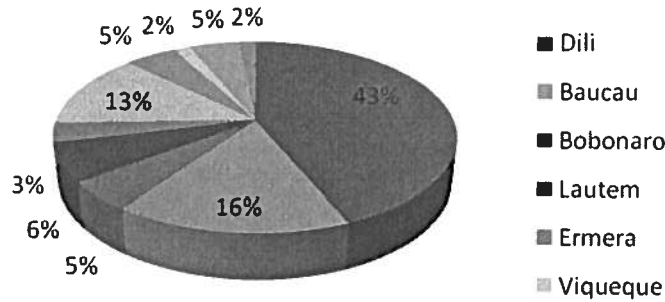
Figure 4: Home District of Survey Participants (*N*=63)
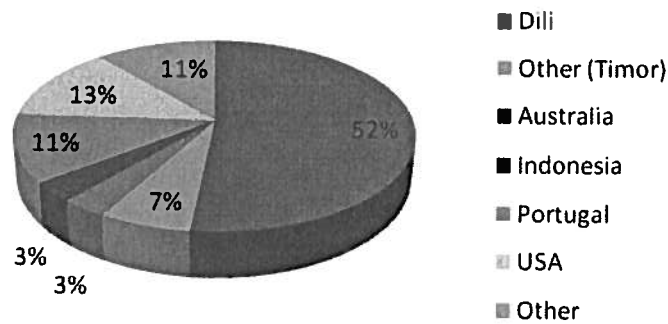
Figure 5: Current Residence of Survey Participants (*N*=63)

5.2. Language Use

The number of participants who chose to take the survey in English and the number of participants who chose to take the survey in Tetun was surprisingly close to even at 44/56. Of the 15-25 local languages of Timor, 14 are reported as first languages by survey respondents and participants also reported high levels of fluency in many other languages. In light of these reported mother tongues and other fluencies, the following statistics are interesting. Respondents were asked what languages their teachers used at various levels.

In light of these reported mother tongues and other fluencies, the following statistics are interesting. Respondents were asked what languages their teachers used at the primary, secondary and University level. The answers were structured so that respondents could choose the following options: Bahasa Indonesia, Portuguese, Tetun, English, My Mother Tongue, Other (please specify). While 60% of respondents answered that they were fluent in Bahasa Indonesia (above), none reported that it was their mother tongue, and yet it appears that at one time it was the most popular language of education for young students just beginning their schooling. This is likely because the majority of survey respondents were educated during the Indonesian times prior to 1999. The changing role of Bahasa Indonesia as the Timor-Leste became independent can be seen in its waning influence as student attained higher education. It appears that the importance of Portuguese as a language of education is also on the decline. At the same time, English shows a very sharp increase approaching the university level.
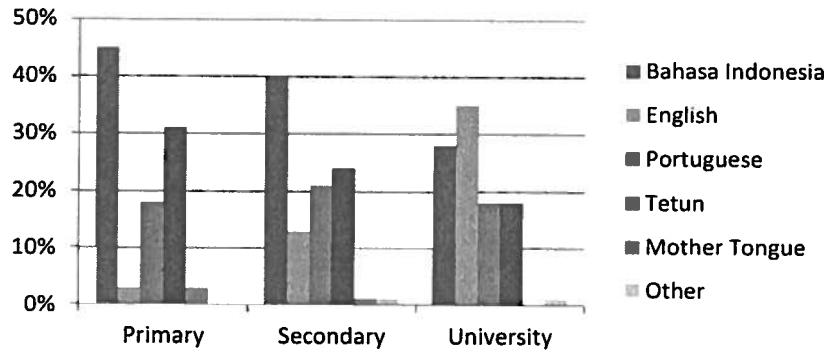
Figure 6: Language of Education Experience of Survey Participants (*N*=63)

To get more information on the Timorese educational experience, I asked participants, "Would you like to make any comments about your education in Timor-Leste?" Instead of the expected personal anecdotes on individual's experiences in Timor's education system, I instead received many recommendations for how to improve education in Timor. Several participants emphasized the importance of 'developing' Tetun, such as this comment, "It is very important that all resources be put towards developing our national language Tetun through the adoption of Portuguese words for words that do not exist in Tetun eg scientific languages."

In order to understand what languages Timorese use in social settings, I asked the question, "What language do you usually use when you talk with friends/family/malae [foreigners]?" The available responses to this question were forced-choice with the options: Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun, My Mother Tongue, Other. This was in order to oblige participants into choosing a single response, so that they would think about how to generalize their experiences as much as possible. This design feature of the survey garnered the most unprompted response in the free-response sections that followed. It should have been no surprise that in such a multilingual environment, participants really did not like having to choose only one option. However, in generalizing their experiences, I was able to get a picture of language use in society and Timorese perception of where foreigners generally come from. It should be noted that very few participants reported that they used Bahasa Indonesia in any social situation.
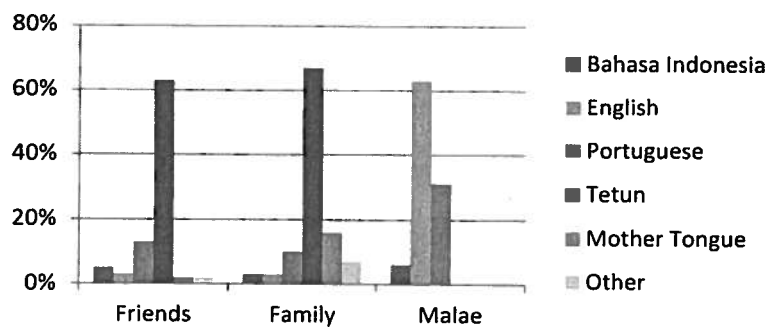
Figure 7: Social Language Use of Survey Participants (*N*=63)

Similarly, in order to understand what languages the Timorese perceive that they use in physical settings, I asked the question, "What language do you usually use at home/work/school?" Responses to this

question were highly variable in comparison to the languages used in social settings, reflecting the necessity to be bilingual.
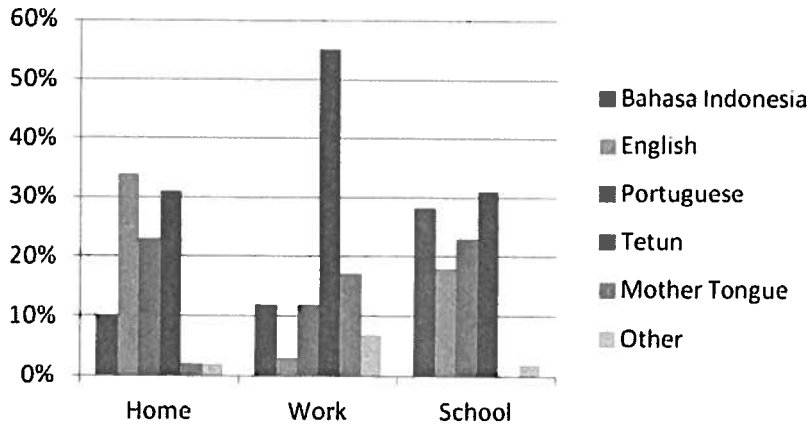
Figure 8: Physical Situational Language of Survey Participants (*N*=63)

5.3. Language Attitudes

One of the most important research questions my survey sought to answer was that of Timorese attitudes toward specific languages. After asking respondents what their first language was and what other languages they knew very well, I asked them what languages they wished they knew better. Respondents were able to answer this question with as many languages as the liked. Many participants listed other languages other than the options available, including Chinese, Korean, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Hebrew. This question was asked devoid of context to get as much of a general response as possible before asking questions about language use in specific contexts.
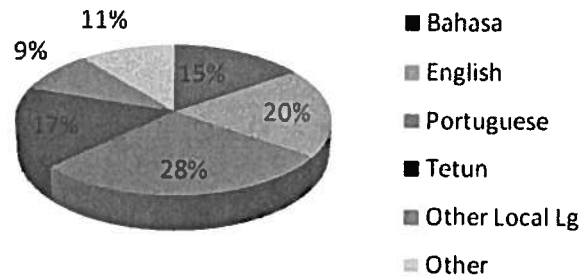
Figure 9: Languages Survey Participants Wished to Know (*N*=63)

Later, participants were asked which languages they wanted their children to know. Later, participants were asked which languages they wanted their children to know. This question was designed to further delve into what the Timorese think of their mother tongue. 27% responded with Portuguese, 21% responded with English, 20% responded with Tetun, and only 12% responded with My Mother Tongue. This is a very worrying stance, as this can be one indication that language shift is imminent many people do not consider that unless they make a concerted effort, their children will not be fluent in their local language, and will instead acquire the language of wider communication (Lewis 2009).
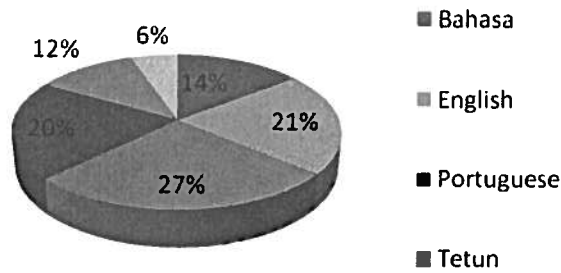
Figure 10: Languages Survey Participants Want their Children to Know (*N*=63)

Another question designed to gather insight into how much the Timorese value their mother tongues was the free-response question, "Would you like to make any comments about your mother tongue?" I asked this question out of genuine curiosity as to what the answers may be, and the results were a wide variety of both positive and negative responses. Finally, participants were asked how important it was to them to know specific languages in specific contexts. They were asked, "To be successful/To get a good education/To get a good job/To be happy in your relationships, how important is it to know these languages [Bahasa Indonesia, English, Portuguese, Tetun]?" Participants were asked to rate each language on a 4 point Lickert scale from 1 (Not Important) to 4 (Very Important).
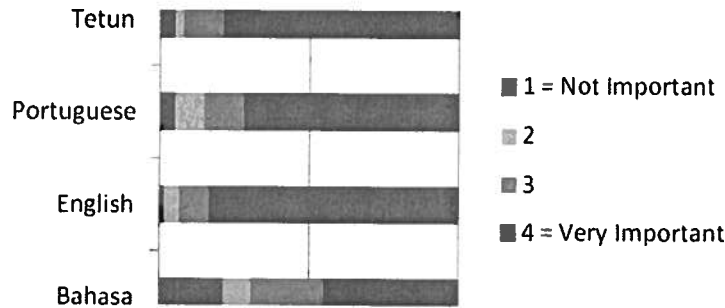
Figure 11: Languages of 'Success' (*N*=63)
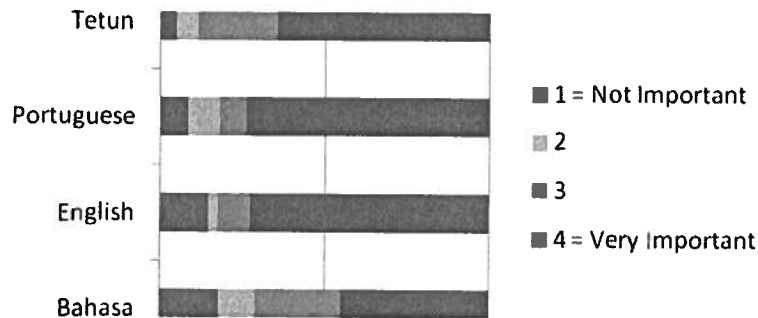
Figure 12: Languages of Employability (*N*=63)
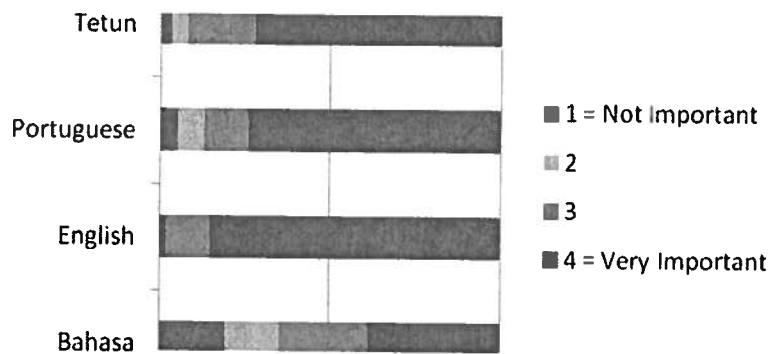
Figure 13: Languages of Education (*N*=63)
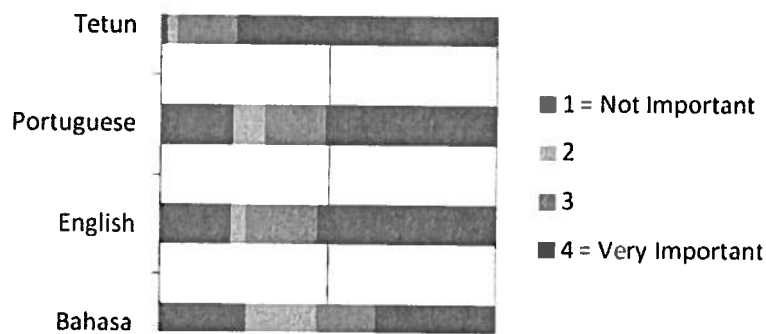
Figure 14: Languages of Happy Relationships (*N*=63)

The fact that each of these graphs shows a high importance for almost every language demonstrates that the Timorese consider multilingualism to be highly prestigious. This is corroborated in the free-response question at the end of the survey asking, "Would you like to make any comments about language and success?" The value of multilingualism is obvious, for example, "For me, in order to be success we need to have excellent English and Tetun. Portuguese for now is just complementary [*translated*]."

6.0. CONCLUSION

To conclude, this pilot survey set out to answer several basic questions about Timorese language attitudes and the Timorese educational experience. Predictably, these answers varied widely based on the respondent's individual experiences and personal opinions. From their responses, I believe that the Timorese do value their mother tongues, but only symbolically and for their cultural significance, not as a language of education or commerce. This worrying attitude can be one indication that language shift is imminent (Lewis 2009). The languages that are highly valued are Tetun and English. Tetun is the language of social interaction and civic involvement, and many respondents say that is should be the language of education, and that it needs development in order to incorporate scientific concepts and to minimize the reliance on Portuguese. Paradoxically, many respondents reported that they would like to know Portuguese better, and wanted their children to know it, but did not indicate high levels of fluency, nor that it had an important role in their lives

currently, and some stated outright that it ought to be set aside in favor of other languages. English appears to be gaining currency as the language of education and commerce, although one respondent offered his anxious opinion on the influence of language use and the possibility of another wave of colonization, saying, "Everyone should know English, but to strengthen national unity, must improve Tetun nationally. Portuguese is also important to bring us close to America, Europe and Africa. If Timor only chooses Indonesian or English, Timor becomes colonized one more time by Indonesia or (worse) Australia." Finally, Indonesian appears to have lost most of its influence in the country, which is not unexpected given the historically acrimonious relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, and the bitter memories many Timorese still carry of their occupation. The issue of language in education is complicated and nuanced and is colored by the historical violence of Indonesia, neglect of Portugal, and aide of the United States, Australia, and (largely English-speaking) United Nations. In light of this, the Timorese should carefully plan their next steps in the education sector. It is my avowed hope that a Timorese researcher, interested in this pilot survey, would take the initiative to create their own, longer and more widespread survey and would use the voice of the Timorese to affect change in the government's educational policies.

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III. Language Pedagogy

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING THROUGH IN-SERVICE TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the transformative learning experiences of six K-12 in-service teachers during a 15-week, on-line, asynchonous, professional development (PD) course focused on theories and methodologies to address a simultaneous focus on English language development and academic mathematics content instruction for emergent bilinguals. Informed by transformative learning theory (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 1991), this qualitative study focused on written reflections through weekly discussions and summaries across four key themes: the "language" of math; assessment and cultural bias; developing cultural awareness; and building math-specific comprehension skills through literature. Results cite the importance of PD courses and implications for future research.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In response to the well-documented increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in US schools (NCELA, 2011), in-service teachers are faced with the significant challenge of addressing both the linguistic and instructional needs of their emergent bilingual[2] students. However, the majority of current in-service teachers have not received long-term, specialized training in incorporating simultaneous language acquisition with academic content for emergent bilingual students, placing these educators—through no fault of their own—in a dynamic classroom environment requiring them to be knowledgeable not only of academic content, but also language acquisition pedagogy. Further hindering this situation are the mandates of the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB) of 2001, where teachers are put in the position of needing to balance successful education and teaching practices to diverse populations within the context of standardization. As a means of attempting to address these issues, K-12 teacher training through professional development (PD) courses has responded by focusing on understanding emergent bilingual students' simultaneous linguistic and instructional needs across the content areas (e.g., Janzen, 2008), though heavily focused on the social sciences.

It is only very recently, however, that the content area of math is being addressed in PD focused on emergent bilinguals (e.g., Takeuchi & Esmonde, 2011); although math is often mistakenly considered to be a "universal language," its academic linguistic complexity is in fact highly contextualized and one that requires an awareness of specific pedagogical strategies, including the necessity for the simultaneous acquisition of this academic content alongside increasing students' language proficiency. Additionally, while there is already a large research base on teacher PD relating to the ways teachers, for example, transfer new knowledge to the classroom (e.g., Van Duzor, 2011), affect student academic achievement (e.g., Borko, 2004; Desimone, 2009), and develop leadership skills (e.g., Scott & Mouza, 2007), there is a need for examples of teacher critical reflection on their own beliefs and teaching practices as are promoted, supported, and experienced through long-term PD courses and across diverse content areas. In exploring such a context, it has been well-noted that long-term PD can encourage collaborative efforts, including educators participating in, reflecting on, and linking activities relevant to their own experiences and teaching contexts (Garet, Porter, Desimone, Birman, & Yoon, 2001), offering opportunities for collaboration and shared meaning-making (Hord, 2009), and creating spaces for critical thinking and dialogue aimed to further improve teaching and provide subsequent methods to advance student learning (Hord, 2009). Building on what educators as learners bring to the PD course and through this providing spaces for new ideas to be learned is a significant benefit of such courses (Zwiep & Benken, 2012), as well as learning and receiving feedback from fellow educators who can validate newly acquired classroom practices with others in similar positions. Additionally, "learners need to be placed in a setting that encourages them to confront their current thinking" (Zwiep & Benken, 2012, p. 3), support higher-order thinking, and promote critical reflection.

The primary goal of this study was to explore instances of teacher critical reflection and transformational learning about both personal and professional beliefs and classroom teaching practices and, more specifically, in the context of engagement in a long-term PD course addressing a simultaneous focus on English language development and math content instruction for emergent bilinguals. This paper recognizes and provides evidence of the linguistic obstacles faced in the academic math classroom in the context of standardized US

education, while informed by transformational learning theory (Mezirow, 1991) as a means of understanding participants' experiences throughout the course. As one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse states in the country, Hawai'i serves as an ideal context in which to counter the assumption that math—contrary to being independent of linguistic considerations—is highly dependent on language that must be directly addressed and learned *concurrent to* academic content. The importance of such knowledge is evidenced in this paper through exemplar comments from teacher-participants' transformative learning experiences.

2.0. TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING THEORY

First proposed by Mezirow (1991), transformative learning theory is a framework which describes, analyzes, and critically explores one's learning processes. Although evolving beyond its first meaning "into a comprehensive and complex description of how learners construct, validate, and reformulate the meaning of their experience" (Cranton, 1994, p. 22), transformative learning involves:

> ...an enhanced level of awareness of the context of one's beliefs and feelings, a critique
> of their assumptions and particularly premises, an assessment of alternative perspectives,
> a decision to negate an old perspective in favor of a new one or to make a synthesis of old
> and new, an ability to take action based upon the new perspective, and a desire to fit the
> new perspective into the broader context of one's life. (Mezirow, 1991, p. 161)

Each of these components within transformational learning theory has implications for educator-participants in PD, as they describe potential areas of critical awareness and subsequent action. In addition, transformative learning benefits from engaged discourse, where "we often become critically reflective of our assumptions or those of others and arrive at a transformative insight, but we need to justify our new perspective through discourse" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 20). Through PD, educators often must explore their own teaching practices and reflect on prior assumptions while participating in critical dialogue with other educators in similar positions; that is, "central to this process is helping learners to critically reflect on, appropriately validate, and effectively act on their (and others') beliefs, interpretations, values, feelings, and ways of thinking" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 26).

With the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in US schools, it is necessary for educators to continually explore personal and professional assumptions and beliefs of their teaching practices, classroom learning environment, and student dynamics. While these may result in challenges to educators' assumptions, beliefs, expectations, and subsequent action, the resulting critical reflection, raised awareness, and transformative learning experiences are crucial to improving ethical teaching given the continued diversity in 21st century US classrooms. This paper's contribution is through examples of transformational learning in the context of the multilingual and multicultural public-school academic math classrooms and shows how such an approach to educator PD can provide opportunities for not only professional but personal growth in both teaching and working daily with multilingual students. In direct relation to this is the simultaneous need for raised awareness of the "language" of math and its implications for instruction in linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms and the challenges inherent in this given current NCLB policies of standardization.

3.0. THE "LANGUAGE" OF MATH

Emergent bilingual students in English monolingual math classrooms face considerable linguistic challenges, as language plays a critical role in understanding academic content; as Khisty (1995, p. 34) states: "We have operated too long with the myth that mathematics teaching and learning transcends linguistic considerations." In her review of research by applied linguists and math educators, Schleppegrell (2007) explores the complexities of mathematical language and notes that the last three decades have seen significant acknowledgement of the ways that "language is implicated in the teaching of mathematics" (p. 139; e.g., Carter & Quinnell, 2012; Garrison & Mora, 1999; Rubenstein & Thompson, 2002). Halliday's (1978) notable work on the "mathematical register" resulted in the conclusion that "counting, measuring, and other 'everyday' ways of doing mathematics draw on 'everyday' language, but that the kinds of mathematics that students need to develop through schooling use language in new ways to serve new functions" (Halliday, 1978, in Schleppegrell, 2007, p. 140). To put this in context—from the perspectives of both emergent bilingual students learning math and in-service teachers learning to instruct these students—examples of mathematical register will be introduced here, as it is predominantly a unique language not often used outside of the math classroom (NCTM,

2000) and one necessary to understand many of the in-service teachers' perspectives and comments representative of transformative learning on the complex academic language of math.

The use of everyday, conversational language in the math classroom has been noted to be a challenge because there is often little context from which to derive meaning (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994). Vocabulary essential to communicate mathematical ideas can take several forms, such as words from everyday language being given a specific mathematical meaning (e.g., mean, table, volume), words specific to math (e.g., isosceles, quotient, hypotenuse, coefficient), and many words which may have only one meaning (e.g., add, and, plus, sum, combine). Each of these variants can cause emergent bilinguals—and potentially *all* students—significant challenges. In addition, complex phrases with unexpected combinations of words from everyday language can have single or multiple meanings (e.g., least common denominator and surface area, respectively) and be equally as difficult to acquire. One further, prominent math-based challenge that must be mentioned is word problems, as they are conceptually-packed, expository texts which require specific linguistic knowledge in addition to higher-order thinking, reflective, and metacognitive skills (Brown, Cady, & Taylor, 2009; Gómez, Kurz, & Jimenez-Silva, 2011). These can cause significant challenges for language learners, as they "contain complex syntax and difficult lexical items. Answering these questions correctly requires advanced skills in English reading comprehension—a construct which is supposed to be irrelevant to measures of math concepts (Haladyna, 2002)" (Wright & Li, 2008, p. 240).

One significant, additional challenge for both educators and emergent bilingual students that will be further addressed in the following section is the strict requirements under NCLB to achieve specific levels of achievement on standardized assessments, regardless of English language ability, prior education experience, and time in the US. Although emergent bilingual students are currently excluded from taking the state-wide Reading test if they have been in the country for less than one year, states vary significantly in their requirements for emergent bilinguals to write state Math tests; many of these students, "regardless of how long they have been in the country, are required to take—and expected to pass—their state's Math test" (Wright & Li, 2008, p. 238), furthering this misconception that math is free of language and that there is not a significant level of English reading ability needed in addition to the math content knowledge to perform well on such assessments.

4.0. STANDARDIZATION: EFFECTS ON EDUCATORS AND EMERGENT BILINGUALS

Current US federal and state education policies place standardization as the determining factor of successful education and teaching practices in the K-12 government-supported school system. Following the regulations of NCLB, education "improvement" has been a top-down, de facto approach which holds each state, district, school, and ultimately the teacher, accountable for student performance: "if a school fails to achieve [the "adequate yearly progress"] goals, either because students fail the tests or do not progress in the ways required, then the school faces sanctions such as loss of federal funding or closure" (Menken, 2009, p. 104); such high-stakes accountability and an emphasis more specifically on standardized testing limits the abilities of teachers to meet the individual learning needs of their diverse learners. It has also been well-documented and argued by language assessment experts that NCLB fails to meet the learning needs of emergent bilinguals as they must take the same academic content tests as native-English speakers (Crawford, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Menken, 2008; Wright & Li, 2008). Despite this well-evidenced mismatch in academic language proficiency between native-English speakers and emergent bilinguals in such assessments, high-stakes testing continues to be the foundation on which teachers must frame their instruction, while also knowing that many states use a single standardized test score as a deciding factor in grade promotion and high school graduation (Heubert & Hauser, 1999).

Teachers across all content areas are thus challenged to meet the needs of their emergent bilingual students while also being under extreme pressure to ensure these same students pass tests targeting native-English speakers (Abedi, 2001, 2003, 2004; Martiniello, 2008, 2009; Wright & Li, 2008), thus staying in line with the NCLB mandate or risk facing drastic consequences. As one of the content areas included in these high-stakes assessments, math poses numerous challenges for all students, but in particular for emergent bilinguals; for example, Martiniello (2008) analyzed word problems from standardized tests and found a significant number of syntax and vocabulary-related challenges which did not favour emergent bilinguals who were of comparable proficiency in math (Martiniello, 2008): "At the highest end of the linguistic complexity range, items contained

complicated grammatical structures that were essential for comprehending the item, along with mostly low-frequency, non-mathematical vocabulary terms whose meanings were central for comprehending the item and could not be derived from the context" (Martiniello, 2008, p. 337). This lack of differentiation of linguistic knowledge and math ability places unnecessary and harmful demands on these students and does not offer an adequate and fair assessment of present skills.

This mismatch of language experience and academic content knowledge in a standardized learning environment places both students and teachers in a challenging position. As noted earlier, however, long-term PD is beginning to provide opportunities for addressing both these needs through engagement in critical reflection, transformative learning, and subsequent action, which are central to this study's purpose.

5.0. METHOD

5.1. Context and Participants
The remainder of this paper explores the critical reflections and examples of transformative learning made by participants[3] during a 15-week online, asynchronous, PD course made available to K-12 in-service educators across Hawai'i. A large focus of the course was on discussing and demonstrating knowledge and understanding of various methods of instruction for emergent bilinguals, including linguistic and metacognitive strategies for supporting the current math curriculum. The six participants taught general and/or academic math classes, math courses specifically for emergent bilinguals, or, particularly in the elementary years, were educators of all subjects but with emergent bilingual students in their classes. Individual teachers taught anywhere between three to 80 multilingual students on a regular basis.

5.2. Data Collection
This qualitative study focused on written reflections in the form of weekly discussions, posted in an online group forum, which allowed the teachers (also referred to here as participants) to read and comment on each other's understandings of the required article readings and related discussion questions, as well as to share new ideas, personal perspectives, ask follow-on questions, or in any other way "relate the [weekly] course content to [their] real-world teaching experiences" (syllabus). Weekly summaries were also required, submitted directly to the instructors and not made available to other participants. Each of these submissions needed to address the general topic of the week, but could also include any perspectives on the course content, classroom observations, and reflections on discussions (syllabus).

6.0. RESULTS

Participants' comments focused on reflections on weekly required readings through initial questions across a variety of themes. These themes were chosen for a specific purpose as they were believed to be critical to improving the instruction of in-service teachers and the learning of emergent bilinguals; thus, the examples of critical reflection and transformational learning which resulted and can be seen in the collected comments are naturally framed within these themes. The participants' personal experiences of transformative learning reflect their unique classroom situations and beliefs across a number of relevant themes, though due to limited space, only four will be presented here: (a) the "language" of math, (b) assessment and cultural bias, (c) developing cultural awareness, and (d) building math-specific comprehension skills through literature.

6.1. The "Language" of Math: Is it a Universal Language?
In response to this question of whether math is a universal language, Barwell (2008) provides a monograph which includes two main points of discussion under the following two groups of questions: (1) "What roles does language play in learning mathematics? What are the characteristics of mathematical English? What differences does learning mathematics through a second language make?[4]" and (2) "What challenges do teachers encounter? What factors appear to be effective in supporting ESL learners in mathematics?" (p. 2). In addressing these questions, Barwell (2008) determines that, although math is often considered to be a universal language, as noted above, it is in fact highly contextualized, with even math symbols needing to be interpreted linguistically (p. 2; Brown, 2005). A new perception is needed that recognizes that math does not transcend language, as this does little to support language learners in acquiring both academic content knowledge and language. In addition, Barwell (2008) points out the importance that math should not be depersonalized but rather be allowed a negotiated meaning through discussions, continued relevant challenges, and debates. Across

content areas, the need and benefits of students explaining their ideas and drawing on previous experiences work together to help make sense of these new learning contexts. Laura recognized the importance of Barwell's (2008) above discussion and provided comments on her raised awareness of how math does not transcend language and that knowledge of this is necessary to improve student learning:

> Upon finishing the articles I felt like I was given direction on how to help students with difficulties in math. The language of math is an interesting topic particularly because we do not use the two words in the same sentence. Unfortunately, content is often taught in isolation and connections between math and language are regularly missed.

In recognizing this inconsistency, she additionally acknowledged that math content is treated very differently than more commonly-considered "linguistically dense" subjects, such as Language Arts or Social Studies, and she begins to recognize both the significant level of language needed to succeed in math and that this must be specifically addressed.

Carter and Quinnell (2012) discuss a prevalent use of and the important differences between passive and active voice and their effect on emergent bilingual students' understanding. Passive voice is abstract and impersonal and word order is affected, where the noun and the verb are reversed; for example, "the difference in the ages of two students is six years" (passive) versus "Sandra is six years older than Peter" (active) (p. 6). In response to this, Laura said, "At this point the light bulb went off. Passive versus active doesn't mean much to someone who understands language. However, students who do not know the language struggle more with a problem that does not directly present the information." A new, critical awareness of the many challenges of the mathematical register was also noted, with a particular focus on the complex nature of word problems for their emergent bilingual students. Lisa said,

> I always believed that mathematics is a universal language....Now, after reading through the articles, I think that mathematics is less of a universal language since, if you give a person a word problem, if that person doesn't know that language very well, then even though they have great mathematics skills and mind, they will still have a problem just because they don't know what the words mean. So, I must not automatically assume that everyone must know what the problems mean. Therefore, I need to teach my students the specific math terms, what they mean, and how to use them.

Laura agreed but further suggested that teachers putting themselves in their students' position could be helpful: "Suffice to say it might be beneficial for teachers to attempt to do a math problem in a foreign language with minimal help to gain a better understanding of what our students are up against."

Many of the participants noted that conversation ability does not necessarily determine an understanding of math language; as Rachel summarized, "we cannot assume that because a student can communicate conversationally he or she understands the academic language specific to math fundamentals." Sally followed this by saying: "The article made me realize that just because a student can carry on a thoughtful conversation with ease with me does not mean they have a good grasp of academic language." Such recognition that a high level of conversational English does not guarantee either comprehension of and/or proficiency in math is important and mirrors Cummins' (1984) work, where there is widespread agreement that it is not only necessary to have basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS), but also a very context-specific, cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in order to succeed academically, with the latter often taking 5 to 7 years to develop (Cummins, 1984).

6.2. Assessment and Cultural Bias

Cultural bias in assessment is a prevalent topic considering the prominence of standardized testing in US schools. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their own views of cultural bias in assessment and ways they can reduce this bias. Many participants went beyond the initial question of cultural bias to recognize and critically discuss the requirement for emergent bilingual students to take standardized tests. As mentioned earlier, it is currently a requirement in the majority of states that newly-arrived emergent bilinguals who have been in school for less than one year take the state math test (Wright & Li, 2008); although high-stakes testing accounts for a large portion of academic focus because of the need for all students to pass the test, it is conversely

challenging for emergent bilingual students to pass such assessment targeting native-English speakers. There was significant agreement between the participants on the inappropriateness of these assessments. Leah responded that "testing given in English is unfair for the ELL students who are learning the language. Besides not getting an accurate picture of what students know in terms of the concepts, if students can't read and understand the instructions, how are they supposed to answer it?" Melanie followed this conversation thread with,

> I agree that administering a test in the English language is definitely a bias and a disadvantage to ELL students who are just learning English. ELL students have culture shock when they come to Hawaii as it is, and then schools subject them to all sorts of testing – NWEA, HSA, WIDA, DRA, DIBELS, etc. The lack of background knowledge is another factor that could put ELL students at a disadvantage. Some test creators don't factor in the students' background knowledge. I remember when I first took the test for my driver's licence there was a question about driving/stopping at a railroad track. I'm sorry, but there were no working railroads on our roads 25 years ago, so why would that question be relevant to my driving?

It should be noted that while Hawai'i has a large number of tests required to be administered—including the Northwest Evaluation Association (NWEA), Hawai'i State Alternate Assessments (HSA), World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA), Developmental Reading Assessment (DRA), Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) mentioned here by Melanie—this state is not alone in the high level of testing requirements across content areas and subsequent accountability mandates.

An additional topic of "first mathematics" (Whiteford, 2009) was noted by several participants in particular, with this concept describing "the math [students] bring with them to their new US classroom [and] that students will use to make sense of their new mathematical experiences" (p. 277). Examples include the use of a different base-ten system, a different counting system, or learning how to solve a problem in a markedly different way than is traditionally done in the US (Whiteford, 2009). In response to this, Rachel commented:

> I found this to be very enlightening....It is essential for me to determine what [my students] are thinking mathematically in their first language if I am to help them succeed in the US classroom....[This was] enriching for me because it taught me the necessity to honor cultural sensitivity for the differences in the way that math has been taught to our ELL students before they entered US schools.

Laura followed this with an emphasis on the benefits of teachers knowing their students' prior knowledge and skills and the importance of this in assessment:

> If students are expected to be successful and transition into a new educational system, shouldn't teachers be willing to investigate where they are coming from and what they bring with them?....Imagine teaching someone to drive a stick and then testing them on how to drive an automatic. The test will show that the person cannot drive an automatic but that does not mean that they do not know how to drive a car.

As described by the participants here, "first mathematics" should be provided a place in the current math curriculum and be shown to be valued math skills to all students in the classroom. Alternate ways of knowing can offer unique opportunities for student learning and respect for the education received in the student's home country.

6.3. Developing Cultural Awareness

Hawai'i is one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse states in the US, with pre-K-12 students comprising approximately 10% of the population or 17,800 students (DOE, 2010) and speaking more than 50 languages. Participants have noted that their students are from many predominantly Asia-Pacific countries, including the Philippines, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Samoa, and Tonga, and with this diversity comes a wealth of cultural experience and knowledge from the students, as well as ways of learning and communicating which may not be familiar to teachers in a US context. Participants were also provided with readings relevant to teaching students from Pacific Island nations (e.g., Heine, 2002;

Ratliffe, 2011) to raise awareness of the differences in culture, history and society and the impacts they may have on the prior education of their Pacific Island students. Although a very relevant topic in the context of Hawai'i, in the interest of space it will not be addressed further in this current paper.

An additional theme throughout the discussions and reflections was what the participants learned about their own culture and how it may impact their emergent bilingual students. Rachel acknowledged this by saying,

> I have to practice on a daily basis to set aside my cultural inferences that for many years I have taken for granted. Before I can do this, I must identify what my biases are. For example, I have to be sensitive to all my students' cultural backgrounds when I create story problems. Because my students come from different ethnic groups they have different life experiences. I enjoy listening and learning from their stories. As my students become comfortable in the US classroom setting, I have the opportunity to discover the knowledge each brings with them. This is vital if learning is to take place. I have seen the light in my students' eyes as I try to interpret and incorporate their life experiences into my lessons.

Developing a critical awareness of one's own beliefs and an increased appreciation for the cultures of their students required the participants to engage in critical self-reflection and peer discourse. These insights, as noted here by Rachel, show a keen understanding that developing cultural awareness is possible and why it is important, to the benefit of both teacher and students. She also commented:

> I need to recognize, first and foremost, that my students are faced with the monumental task of learning a new language while learning new math concepts. I must also validate and celebrate each student's individuality. Each student has his or her own background, experiences, knowledge, and needs. I need to "find out who my students are" if I am to help support their learning experience in the U.S. classroom.

Many participants made similar comments, addressing the need to not only acknowledge but encourage and support the inclusion of their students' resources.

6.4. Building Math-Specific Comprehension Skills through Literature

The use of children's literature to improve mathematical understanding has been promoted for several decades (e.g., Moyer, 2000), and in addition to the visual support, "literature motivates students to learn, provides a meaningful context for math, celebrates math as a language, demonstrates that math develops out of human experience, fosters the development of number sense, and integrates math into other curriculum areas" (Whiten & Wilde, 1992, 1995, in Shatzer, 2008, p. 649). Shatzer (2008) supports the use of picture books and other children's literature to promote mathematical thinking and cites Raymond (1995) as noting that "when children's literature and numeracy are connected in an interactive and meaningful way, students will understand the mathematics concepts readily and will sustain the knowledge" (in Shatzer, 2008, p. 650). Gadanidis and Hughes (2011) discuss their view on the importance of *Performing Big Math Ideas Across the Grades* as being "learning activities [which] are designed to have a low mathematical floor (allowing students to engage with minimal mathematical knowledge) and a high mathematical ceiling (offering students opportunities to extend their mathematical thinking, even to concepts and relationships beyond their grade level)" (p. 488). With such activities, the authors feel this can "potentially reduce learning boundaries and offer students the space to be mathematically curious and imaginative in their learning" (pp. 488-489). In direct connection to this, children's literature which addresses big math ideas—such as *The Doorbell Rang* (Hutchins, 1986), where two children decide to share twelve cookies between the increasing number of arriving friends, exploring multiplication and division arrays—can allow for discussions through real-life stories and making "natural links" (p. 490) in meaning, subsequently fostering learning. Through the incorporation of literature into math, it can provide opportunities for students to both learn new concepts and to expand their understanding of what is already known, providing a framework on which to build new concepts and skills. Rachel described her own realization on the important link between math content and the use of literature.

> The strategies for math concept skills as presented in the readings are eye-opening. There is a direct connection between literature with a specific math content and math comprehension. Integrating lit-

erature with math concepts taps into the students' imaginations where the possibilities are endless. For many students, math is just about solving more and more problems. Literature "humanizes" math by presenting math concepts in real-life situations. In the ELL classroom it is essential to capture the students' cultural background and prior knowledge with word problems so that the student has something to hold on to intellectually and emotionally....I am becoming more aware of how much I take for granted. The question about walking in each other slippers was very poignant for me. I must always remember that our ELL students are new to this country where the norms and more are so different.

In using literature to "humanize" math (Shatzer, 2008), students benefit from an engaging and real-life-relevant experience that can improve not only English language acquisition and math content knowledge, but also their confidence in themselves as learners.

A continuing thread across the themes is the impact of the preparation time needed for standardized tests, the inappropriateness of such tests being required of emergent bilinguals, and the challenge of meeting the requirements and outcomes of these tests while encouraging engaging, critical math education. As Rachel noted: "I wish that we had more time in the classroom to employ learning strategies rather than focusing on state exams and test scores. Truly what matters is that our students enjoy learning...[and] develop self-confidence." Relevant to this comment is Laura's awareness of Shatzer's (2008) expectations for her students and that, regardless of language proficiency, it is possible for all students to be regularly challenged in math and be very capable of completing tasks requiring higher cognitive thinking (Heidema & Mitchell, 2012). Laura explained:

What I appreciate most about the article...is the way the teacher did not lower her expectations for students who struggle. Instead she facilitated the exploration of math in a way that she met the students where they were at and assisted them in getting to the level of the standard. I was completely impressed....I aspire to teach at that level.

Laura shows awareness that, as evidenced in the clear examples of Shatzer's (2008) teaching practices, it is not only necessary but very possible to meet all students at their current level of learning while still having high expectations for academic and linguistic success.

7.0. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

As this paper has demonstrated, math is not a universal language and requires educators to specifically address language in addition to academic math content, in particular classrooms with emergent bilingual students. Long-term PD directly focused on the theories and methodologies of teaching emergent bilingual students can provide significant opportunities for educators to engage in critical reflection and peer discourse resulting in raised awareness and transformative learning. With these educators linking what they have learned during the PD to their own experiences and teaching contexts (Garet et al., 2001), they were able to gain substantial insights into both the complexity and also the significant benefits of including language instruction in their teaching. The additional opportunities for shared meaning-making (Hord, 2009) and critical thinking and dialogue further improved transformative learning experiences, with this paper showing examples of the effects on the teaching practices of these educators and students' subsequent engagement and effective learning. In providing examples of how K-12 in-service teachers experienced transformative learning, there are a number of important points that have been addressed.

Participants came to recognize that math is in fact not a "universal language" and instead that the academic linguistic complexity is highly contextualized and requires specific pedagogical strategies to support the simultaneous language acquisition and academic content. In doing so, participants commented on the importance of having this realization and the positive impact it will have on their understanding of their emergent bilingual students and, consequently, on improved teaching practices including a focus on language as well as content. Brown et al. (2009) noted that "one of the most important things that mathematics teachers can do is to be aware of their role as language teachers (Brown, 2007)" (p. 538).

These teachers also took to their classrooms the importance of respecting "first mathematics" by "allow[ing] students to solve problems in ways that are most familiar to them" and "becom[ing] an opportunity for rich mathematical conversation about problem solving," thus helping all students "see that more than one way is

possible to solve a problem and realize that mathematics is more than applying a set of rules" (Brown et al., 2009, p. 536). Participants also gained further awareness of the importance of respecting all students' prior knowledge, which in every classroom must be shown not as deficient but as a beneficial contribution to learning while also recognizing that regardless of the often significant diversity in their classrooms, all students' languages and cultures must be considered as valuable resources and included in learning (e.g., García, 2005; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005).

Additional acknowledgement of the reality that it can take anywhere from four to seven years for academic language to be acquired (Cummins, 1984) was discussed by the teachers and cited as a point of necessary awareness along with the commitment to support long-term language learning for there to be continued student success through the grades. There was also the recognition that expectations must always be kept high because, regardless of current English language proficiency, students are very capable of thinking critically and engaging in high-order thinking, and that when both the language complexity and support from the teachers mirror students' language proficiency levels (Gibbons, 2002, 2009), then the students' ability to engage in critical discussions will be greatly improved.

Overall, these teachers experienced a number of significant instances of increased awareness across a number of themes, those included in this paper being that math can justifiably not be considered a universal language, the complexities of assessment and the presence of cultural bias, the need for continued cultural-awareness development, the benefits of using literature to build math-specific comprehension skills, and strategies for vocabulary development. Of particular importance, however, is how current in-service teachers perceive these themes as being closely tied to their teaching practices and the learning environment of their classroom, and from this how to best meet the needs of their emergent bilingual students.

8.0. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH THROUGH TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

Additional areas that participants would benefit from—particularly in the context of Hawai'i—would be a more detailed focus on readings, in-depth discussions, and more engaged understandings of the cultural differences between the various Pacific Island nations and Hawai'i, with a particular emphasis on education, and providing educators with more information on these populations, addressing stereotypes, and engaging in dialogue on several interrelated areas, including the perceived and actual importance of education to these populations. Ratliffe (2011) has provided a very relevant and accessible article on *Micronesian Voices: Culture and School Conflict* which was provided—due to the already high demands on the teachers to fulfill other course requirements—as an optional reading. This article discusses how "problems related to educating immigrant Micronesian students in American schools can be attributed to the under preparation of students in their home countries as well as cultural conflicts between schools and students and parents...resulting in part from changes related to globalization, immigration, and acculturation" (Ratliffe, 2011, p. 248). Citing the need for further research into this area, Ratliffe (2011) notes this "could include how poverty, English language skills, previous levels of education, demands on families, obligations of students to their families, and goals that students hold for their own educations influence educational effectiveness of schools and programs" (p. 250). Such topics would be important for in-service teachers in Hawai'i to give critical thought to, in relation to both personal and professional biases, as these populations are among the most represented of emergent bilingual students in Hawai'i's schools.

A similar resource which would be of benefit to current and future participants in this specific context of Hawai'i would be the inclusion of materials produced by *Pacific Resources for Education and Learning* (PREL), who "believe in working side by side with Pacific communities to provide the best educational opportunities possible [and who] believe in strengthening culture, increasing literacy, and improving the quality of life in the Pacific region" (PREL, 2002). In response to this mission statement, this organization has provided a large number of resources, including a number of relevance to this course and the student populations currently in Hawai'i's schools, such as the briefing paper *Culturally Responsive Schools for Micronesian Immigrant Students* (2002). The further inclusion of such literature would be beneficial for future educators participating in this and similar course offerings across the content areas and engaging in opportunities for future transformative learning.

9.0. CONCLUSION

There has been well-documented evidence that US schools are continually becoming more linguistical-ly and culturally diverse, with the most significant implications naturally occurring at the classroom level be-tween teachers and students. With today's in-service teachers put in the position of needing to immediately be-come language teachers as well as content area teachers (Brown, 2007), there is a critical need for training through long-term professional development programs. In addition to the creation of such courses, there is the necessity for teacher engagement in critical reflection and discourse with fellow educators who are in a similar position, and from this be provided the space and support for transformative learning to occur. Despite this cur-rent age of educational accountability in the context of NCLB and the pressures of standardized assessments on both educators and students, there is also the potential for educators to be critically reflective learners and prac-titioners, taking what was learned and experienced in this transformative learning opportunity and continuing this combination of reflective practice and dialogue with peers to create opportunities for continued engage-ment. As Mezirow (1991) has noted, the transformative learning process is "irreversible once completed; that is, once our understandings clarified and we have committed ourselves fully to taking the action it suggests, we do not regress to levels of less understanding" (p. 152).

This paper cites the importance of recognizing that because mathematics cannot be considered a "uni-versal language"—instead requiring significant English language knowledge due to its high contextualized lin-guistic complexity—teacher training and professional development must provide opportunities for engagement in learning theories and methodologies to best address the simultaneous acquisition of English and academic math content. This study, however, represented only a small step toward understanding why and how trans-formative learning takes place and what this means for the significant improvement and equitable education of emergent bilingual students. Further work is needed in this area, as well as on how such critical discourse, re-flection, and transformation continue to occur once the PD course is completed. Through engaging in such forms of learning and dialogue, transformative opportunities and subsequent action will continue to occur, with benefits to not only emergent bilinguals but all students within the US education system, both current and fu-ture.

NOTES

1. This program is based on materials developed under a grant from the US Department of Education (T365Z110027), Weol Soon Kim-Rupnow, PI, and the valued support of Dr. Caryl Hitchcock, Center on Disability Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Funding agencies' endorsement of the ideas expressed in this paper should not be inferred.
2. *Emergent bilingual* is used in this paper rather than *limited English proficient* or *English language learner*. This is done intentionally to address the fact that the latter two are "label(s) that define stu-dents[] by what they lack. When students see themselves (and know that their teachers see them) [instead] as *emergent bilinguals*, they are much more likely to take pride in their linguistic abili-ties and talents than if they are defined in deficit terms" (Cummins, in García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. x).
3. All names used throughout this paper are pseudonyms.
4. Although a well-represented theme throughout the course, in the interest of space, the benefits of home language use/translanguaging in the classroom will not be addressed in this paper.

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CARPE DIEM: SEIZING MOMENTS OF CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN A CHURCH-BASED ESL PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

Although much of English language teaching occur in community programs, immigrant centers, and churches (Pennycook, 2004), research of these nontraditional academic contexts have remained underresearched (Morgan, 2002). This study aims to examine the language learning experiences of adult Micronesian immigrants in a church-based program, and to analyze how critical themes emerge, their respective social contexts (Freire, 2000), and how they are turned into critical teachable moments (Pennycook, 2004). While understanding that this study's findings are context-embedded and will represent this program only, I seek to contribute to the general discussion of learning ESL in Hawai'i, and in nontraditional academic contexts.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

While there has been great interest in critical pedagogy in the context of English Language Teaching (ELT), many commentators have pointed out that some aspects of its preferred classroom procedures and materials curriculum design practices are logistically challenging to implement (e.g. Daniell, 1999; cited in Chege, 2009; Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1992; Janangelo, 1993; Usher and Edwards, 1994; cited in Johnston, 1999; Thelin, 2005). Despite criticism, there is a continuously expanding body in the current literature of accounts of critical pedagogy theories being put into practice in the ELT context. From elementary, public school settings (e.g. Cowhey, 2006; Mercogliano, 1998) to post-secondary education (e.g. Shor, 1997) to adult community-based programs (e.g. Morgan, 2002) critical educators have thoughtfully and thoroughly adapted and transformed their classrooms and curriculums to incorporate the ideals and actions of critical pedagogy.

Critical pedagogy, which continues to be heavily influenced by the works of Brazilian educator and activist Paulo Freire, is education for social transformation. Although there is no one critical pedagogy, one recent broad definition is:

> teaching for social justice, in ways that support the development of active, engaged citizens who will, as circumstances permit, critically inquire into why the lives of so many human beings, including their own, are materially, psychologically, socially, and spiritually inadequate - citizens who will be prepared to seek out solutions to the problems they define and encounter, and take action accordingly. (Crookes, 2013, p. 8)

Accounts of critical pedagogy practice in ELT come from many different contexts. Nevertheless, there is something in common among them: unexpected, critical teachable moments where the educators had little planning or control over the themes unexpectedly presented by the students, and yet the educators seized the opportunity to critically engage and raise consciousness (e.g. Cowhey, 2006; Mercogliano, 1998; Morgan, 2002; Shor, 1997). It is important to distinguish between a 'critical teachable moment' and 'teachable moment'. While the latter denotes "that moment when a unique, high interest situation arises that lends itself to discussion of a particular topic" (Lozo, 2005), the former is "when we seize the chance to do something different, when we realize that some new understanding is coming about" (Pennycook, 2004). Critical teachable moment involves more than mere discussion but a critical evaluation and consciousness raising (Freire, 1973).

If critical pedagogy on a large and established scale is difficult to implement, perhaps one way to begin is to identity the critical teachable moments to be found within ELT programs, and build upon them. The question is then "how do we manage to pick up on those moments of potential transformation and turn them into critical moments?" (Pennycook, 2004). Thus, the main objectives of this forthcoming study are:

- To describe how opportunities of potential, critical teachable moments emerge in a church-based, adult English as a Second Language (ESL) program;
- To describe these critical teachable moments' respective social contexts (Freire, 2000);

- To describe how the development of these critical teachable moments take place (e.g. bottom/up vs. top/bottom; student-centered vs. teacher-centered; spontaneous vs. planned).

Additionally, by focusing on adult English Language Learners (ELLs) in a church-based program, this study will contribute to the under researched topic of adult ELLs in nontraditional academic settings. Due to the participants' demographics, this study will also contribute to the call for further research in trying to understand more fully the culture and experience of Micronesian immigrants moving to the USA (Ratliffe, 2010), specifically Hawai'i. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: First, I present selected teachers' accounts of their encounters with unexpected, critical teachable moments in differing educational contexts, followed by a literature review of current research on adult ELLs in nontraditional academic contexts. Next, I offer a brief history and background of the Micronesian immigrants in the United States, especially Hawai'i. The paper concludes with a review of the study's location and participants, and the researcher's positionality, and a discussion of possible outcomes.

2.0. STORIES FROM THE REAL WORLD: SEIZED CRITICAL TEACHABLE MOMENTS

Whether in public elementary classrooms, private language schools, or community-based programs, critical teachable moments are present. Below are a few accounts of educators who have a critical perspective and have shared their accounts of encounters with critical teachable moments. These accounts focus beyond theory and programmatic accounts of practice but on specific, seized opportunities.

Cowhey (2006) reflects on some of the unexpected, critical teachable moments that she experiences in her first and second grade class, one of those moments being the inspiration for the title *Black Ants and Buddhists: Thinking Critically and Teaching Differently in the Primary Grades*. One day during snack time, a student spots black ants under her chair, and a group of students begins to stomp on them until a Buddhist classmate, recently arrived from Thailand, stands up to verbally reject the behavior of his classmates. The Buddhist student asks the other students to stop killing the black ants because "it is not right for us to kill living thing", that the black ants are there to clean up a mess, and that the ants will not bite anyone. Cowhey seizes this seemingly ordinary moment to critically engage her students in the dialogue of why is it "okay" to kill some things, some of the time, for some of the people, such as in war or insects. This topic is then developed into the curriculum as the class explores throughout the year the differences in culture as to why some believe black ants should not be killed, resulting in the students' awareness and sensitivity to each other's cultural needs while still getting their own needs met.

Mercogliano's (1998) walks us through his unexpected, critical teachable moments in an elementary school. The school is the Albany Free School in New York, and is based on open democratic education. The Albany Free School, founded in 1969, is the world's longest running independent inner-city free school. When overhearing some of the students express how upset they were because of the potential closure of a statewide children's theater due to funding, Mercogliano (1998) seizes this opportunity by engaging with the students in the topic. Before offering any suggestions on what can be done, he inquires the students "if there [is] anything they thought they might be able to do about the problem" (p. xvii). It is only after listening to the students' ideas—writing to the governor, making signs and demonstrating in front of the state capitol, contacting students from other schools—that Mercogliano offers the suggestion for the students to meet with the people who actually make the final decision on the theater's funding. And so they do, after working together and deciding which legislators to target, and contacting the press about their intentions. The meetings that followed with the legislators were held with the students and without Mercogliano's presence in a conscious effort to provide the students with the opportunity to indeed actively participate and engage in the process of social transformation. Mercogliano (1998) reflects, "thanks to our efforts and to those of thousands of other concerned citizens across the state, enough of the theater group's funding was ultimately restored for it to keep its doors open" (p. xviii).

In the post-secondary education context, Benesch (2012) describes how she explored the topic "laziness" as her ELL students answered a survey about the use and effectiveness of dictionaries. The question "Overall do you find dictionaries helpful or not helpful?" produced responses such as "R9: Yes, dictionaries is very helpful for me when I amusing. But I always get lazy to open the dictionary" and "R10: No, because I am

too lazy so I just use other words that are similar" (p. 63). Realizing that "the fault [of not using a dictionary] was attributed to the "lazy" student rather than the dictionary itself or with the complexity and slipperiness of vocabulary" (p. 64) and concerned with her students' alleged laziness, Benesch seizes this unexpected, critical teachable moment and engages her class in a discussion about their "busy and complicated lives as young immigrants, including working, going to college, taking care of family members, and trying to manage the emotional complexity of it all" (p. 63). Perhaps here the social transformation lies within the students' self, a predecessor to social change.

ESL adult community-programs are also contexts for seized opportunities of unexpected, critical teachable moments. While teaching ESL to Chinese immigrants in Canada during the Quebec referendum, Morgan (2002) engages the classroom in the topic 'sovereignty' after one of his students—having heard it on the news the night before—asks him what it means. Morgan reflects, "Like many Canadians that morning, I was not sure, and I told him so" (p. 154). What follows is an in-depth discussion of the term and its meanings based on dictionary inquiry and a thought-provoking exchange of its implications based on the students' prior knowledge and experiences though China's reacquisition of Hong Kong. Morgan is a great example of how it is possible to tie the topics inadvertently brought in by the students to the grammar and vocabulary lessons, and ultimately engage in social transformation, "As I found in the lesson on the Quebec referendum, awareness of formal properties of language can contribute to developing critical citizenship skills—perhaps not for all L2 students, but certainly for some" (Morgan, 2004, p. 174).

3.0. ADULT ELLS AND NONTRADITIONAL ACADEMIC CONTEXTS

Adult ELLs have often been researched in traditional academic settings (e.g. Banya & Cheng, 1997; Huang & Tsai, 2003; Kuntz, 1997) although most of them who study English in the United States are served by adult education, community-based, and workplace-based programs. Nevertheless, adult ELLs in contexts other than the traditional academic setting remain largely neglected by the research literature (Han, 2009; Lambert, 2009; Mathews-Aydinli, 2008; Morgan, 2002; Penycook, 2004).

Mathews-Aydinli (2008) proves such neglect with a review of studies within a six-year span from the year 2000. The studies reviewed focused on adult ELLs in government sponsored and/or community-based English language programs. While finding forty-one studies, only twenty-three were published articles and none of them investigated church-based ESL programs. A year later after Mathews-Aydinli (2008) published her review, one study was published investigating language learning in a church-based program. Han (2009) investigated skilled Chinese immigrants in Canada. Han (2009) argues, "minority churches are important, effective, and yet underresearched sites of not only socialization but also of language learning for immigrants and their children" (p. 644).

Since Han in 2009, one other article examines church-based ESL programs. Baurain (2013) reflects on the teacher's experiences and argues that, despite the little research body in the topic of ESL in church-based programs, it is possible to draw parallels between it and community-based programs that are relevant for comparison. In fact, both programs mainly serve the adult population, and the services are mostly provided by volunteers. Nevertheless, aside from the couple of existing denominators between community-based ESL programs and church-based ESL programs, the latter are unique and so is the population they serve. Articles on this topic call for more studies examining the experiences of adult ELLs in church-based ESL programs.

4.0. MICRONESIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

A major population served by adult education in Hawai'i is the Micronesians. In this study, most of the adult ELLs are Micronesian immigrants. Because Micronesians are often underrepresented in the ESL research literature, I provide a brief background of their immigration histories and current circumstances in order to help the reader to better appreciate the struggles faced by these fairly new immigrants.

Micronesia is a region located in the western Pacific Ocean and comprises thousands of small islands making its total area equal to twice the continental United States. Micronesia encompasses the political cultures of Caroline Islands, divided between Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia; Gilbert Islands (Kiribati); Mariana Islands, divided between Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands; Marshall Islands; Nauru; and Wake Island. The Micronesian immigrants represented in this study are mainly from the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), which include Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and Yap. English and Marshallese are the official languages in the Marshall Islands; the FSM has seven official languages: English, Pohnpeian, Woleaian, Yapese, Kosraean, and Chuukese.

The Compact of Free Association between the United States of America (U.S.) and the FSM was established in the early 1980s to "provide for U.S. economic assistance, defense of the FSM, and other benefits in exchange for U.S. defense and certain other operating rights in the FSM, denial of access to FSM territory by other nations, and other agreements" (Compact of Free Association, 2003). The Compact of Free Association also allows Micronesians to live, work, and study in the United States without a visa (U.S. Relations With Micronesia, 2012). Many Micronesians are moving to the U.S. because of its economy of subsistence (US Department of the Interior, 1998), health care facilities lacking basic supplies and medicines (Micronesia, Federated States, 2012), and low educational prospects - 13.6 percent holding a high school diploma (Micronesia, n.d.).

Not unlike many immigrants, Micronesians migrate to the U.S. in search of "better" employment opportunities, medical care, and quality education for their children; and to improve their lives (Graham, 2004; Hezel & Samuel, 2006; Ratliffe, 2010). However, the reality upon arrival and subsequence cultural shock are unexpected, if not debilitating. The lack of knowledge of how to navigate the Hawai'i government system makes Micronesians vulnerable, to say the least. The lack of English proficiency among other factors place Micronesians at the lowest end of job placement, when able to land one. The lack of employment and income may result in temporary residency in homeless shelters. In addition to these issues, Micronesians also face discrimination. Such discrimination comes from all levels of society: from the local population, as illustrated in news articles; to the state government, who recently attempted to limit the number of Micronesians who come to Hawai'i (Blair, 2011).

Nevertheless, Micronesians are quick at establishing networks that serve to bind families together and most often these networks are church-based. According to Hezel and Samuel (2006), "culture and church are the twin ties that bind members of these communities to one another" (p. 7). Christianity's mottos "do good" and "love thy neighbor" allow for these new immigrants to feel welcomed, accepted, secure and confident in interacting with members of the church community because Micronesians and congregation members share a common faith (Ravuvu, 1992).

5.0. FRAMES

5.1. Location

The site of this study is The Christian Church of Honolulu (CCH)[1] located in Honolulu, Hawai'i. In discussing the roles of churches, it is necessary to unveil their history for, as Freire (1984) claims, "we cannot discuss churches, education or the role of the churches in education other than historically. Churches are not abstract entities, they are institutions involved in history" (p. 524). CCH's presence in Hawai'i dates back to 1850 after King Kamehameha III issued an Edict of Toleration allowing the establishment of other faith traditions. In December of 2011, CCH counted more than 70,000 members statewide representing 5% of the United States membership[2].

Recent research on the role of church-based organizations in immigration reveals that church-based organizations can support immigrants' "social inclusion through constructing institutional multilingualism within societal monolingualism" (Han, 2011, p. 383). CCH is an example where multilingualism is embraced in a predominantly monolingual society as it serves as a support system integrating the newly arrived Micronesians into the community through networking with others who arrived prior and share a common language. Often CCH provides some form of welfare to those new arrivals which includes anything from donation of clothing and food, to interpreting services, to skill development workshops, to English as a Second Language (ESL) classes.

CCH is multicultural and multilingual and its Sunday School is a reflection of its diverse congregation. Sunday School is offered in seven languages besides English: Chuukese, Japanese, Korean, Marshallese, Pohnpeian, Spanish, and Tagalog. CCH's ESL classes are open to the members of its congregation and community at large. These classes are provided on a volunteer basis and at no cost to its participants. The classes are held in the room closest to the street entrance. From the door, which is located in the front of the room, one can see the teacher's desk directly ahead and a chalkboard to the right. The student desks are visible to the left; there are two rows of student desks with six matching desks per row. Perpendicular to the chalkboard is a curtained window. There are some visual materials on the walls from the Youth Sunday School. There is no media in the classroom such as computer or overhead projector. The room is clean, organized, and well-lit.

5.2. Participants

The participants include the ESL teacher and students. Although this study highlights the experiences of the students, it is important to recognize the teacher's role. The teacher is a member of CCH congregation who divides her time between volunteer-teaching CCH's two-hour long classes one night a week and her part-time ESL job at a local Adult Community School. Mandi[3] is a female of Asian-Pacific descent whose father was an English a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher. After finishing high school, she moved to Hawai'i to continue her studies and received a certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). She taught ESL in Hawai'i for several years and in Mexico for a couple of years. When Mandi moved back to the U.S., she continued to teach ESL in Texas. A few years later, she went on to Australia to further her education in education. In a university with decades of critical pedagogy orientation (Tinning, 2002, p. 231), she received two Masters degrees in education and adult education. Since finishing her studies in Australia, Mandi has returned to the U.S. and has chosen Hawai'i as her permanent residence.

Most of the students are Micronesian immigrants and the majorities are members of the congregation. They are older, female immigrants from the Marshall Islands and Chuuk in the FSM whose low socioeconomic status, overcrowded housing, heavy family responsibilities, and a desire to improve their English skills are some of the characteristics they share. Although Micronesian, they vary culturally and linguistically in their first languages (L1) competency—Marshallese and Chuukese—and in their levels of proficiency in English. They face both the challenge of becoming competent in a new language and struggle with issues of adjustment and access to services. Ratliffe (2010) points out that although

> Micronesians share many of the characteristics and challenges of other immigrant groups from developing areas of the world, including language, educational, and cultural differences, they are unique because of their island cultures, lifestyles, values, and political affiliations with the USA. (p. 16)

Hawai'i's unfamiliarity with the cultures of Micronesia and Micronesians' unfamiliarity with the local culture has isolated the Micronesian and local communities, but community-based and church-based organizations such as CCH are working to bridge this gap.

5.3. Researcher

This study is largely informed by ethnography and I must acknowledge my positionality in this study. I am a member of a minority group in the U.S.–although most people are surprised to find out due to my fair skin; bright colored eyes; wavy, light brown hair; and "light" English accent. I am an immigrant. I am Latina. I am female, Brazilian, and an ESL speaker. I am also a member of the CCH congregation and therefore considered an insider. Although I have been attending CCH for only six months, I was raised in the CCH faith in the Brazilian metropolis of Rio de Janeiro and in an Amazon village. During my years in an Amazon village, I taught Children's Sunday School and–without knowing there was a word to describe it–I was teaching through the objectives of critical pedagogy. It was not until a few years later while in college that I learned of Freire's Critical Pedagogy and realized I was very much aligned with its principles. Acknowledging my position in this study allows me, the researcher, and the reader to understand that the questions asked herewith are a result of the lens I have.

Moreover, my position in this study is informed by own experience as an immigrant and an ELL. My first experience in the U.S. was during my high school sophomore year. I attended an American high school for six months and struggled during the first three. I had very little knowledge of the English language and so I was placed in a classroom with other students with similar (lack of) English language skills. There was no other Portuguese speaker in the classroom and most of the other students were Spanish speakers. The Brazilian family I stayed with was very kind and patient, and supported my desire to attend the local CCH faith. It was there at the CCH youth program where I finally felt included, part of a community, and made the most progress with my English skills through Bible group study and youth-targeted, social activities.

My experience as an immigrant draws me to the experiences of other immigrants. I am interested in particular in immigrant groups that are most marginalized by society. While living in Arizona, I volunteer-taught ESL in a community-based program which served low socioeconomic status immigrants, mainly undocumented Mexicans. In Hawaʻi, the most marginalized immigrants are undoubtedly the Micronesians. As the state's newest and fastest growing immigrant population, Micronesians face a lot of discrimination and stereotyping. How the participants represent themselves to me is a result of who they are and who I am.

5.4. Data Collection

Data will be collected through participant observation, field note-taking, audio recording, and interview narratives. I will observe the classes and reflect on the seized critical teachable moments as well as missed opportunities of potential transformation. I will interview the teacher in three phases: first, I will elicit her reflection on the lesson without overtly discussing critical teachable moments; then, I will discuss the concept of critical teachable moment and its possibilities of social transformation; finally, I will prompt her reflection on the lesson based on her perceived, seized critical teachable moments. The purpose of the three-phase interview is twofold: one is to stimulate the teacher in becoming more aware of opportunities to critically discuss topics brought by students, and two is to observe whether there is an increase in seizing those opportunities after becoming familiar with the idea of critical teachable moments. I will also interview selected students individually following a similar format to the teacher's three-phase interview. These interviews will be audio recorded for later reference, as needed.

6.0. POSSIBLE OUTCOMES

First, I hope to witness critical teachable moments in the CCH ESL classes. I use the word 'hope' because the purpose of this qualitative study is to investigate rather than to predict; therefore, the expected results discussed in this session are somewhat conservative. This 'hope' is based on the teacher's prior exposure to the principals of and affinity to critical pedagogy; the simplicity and little planning involved in engaging in critical teachable moments; my belief that critical pedagogy's smallest unit-form (critical teachable moments), indeed can be seized regardless of the context as the previously discussed examples of real world accounts illustrate.

While understanding that this study's findings are context-embedded and will represent this program only, the results may contribute to the general discussion of adult ELLs, Micronesian immigrants' experiences, and learning ESL in Hawaiʻi especially in nontraditional academic programs where teachers and students together seek and seize the "small moments to open the door on a more critical perspective" (Pennycook, 2004).

NOTES

1.   The name of the religious organization has been changed to protect its identity and of its members'.

2.   The reference for this data has been omitted in order to prevent the identification of the church, community, and participants.

3.   All names have been changed to protect the identity of the participants.

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LITERARY EXCLUSIONS AMONG GENERATION 1927: AREN'T WOMEN CITIZENS TOO?

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the different social conditions that lead to almost a non-existent female literary voice among the most famous generation of Spanish authors, Generation 1927. As a Spanish graduate student, the absence of these voices has lead me to question and examine what type of literature is being taught in our classrooms and who are those authors. Certainly, there must be a literary body comprised of female writers? Authors like Pilar de Valderrama, Elisabeth Mulder, Rosa Chacel, Josefina de la Torre, Concha Méndez, and Ernestina Champourcin are a few who deserve recognition by including them in our Spanish curriculums.

Almost ninety years ago, a prominent group of Spanish poets and writers arose between 1923 and 1927. They were as famous then as they are today; their names can be found in hundreds of book throughout university libraries as well as public libraries. They have shaped not only the Spanish literature world but have dominated almost every artistic realm known to man. In this research, we study one of those realms, Spanish literature. Currently, Spanish students in the continental United States, as well as Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, and Alaska who have chosen Spanish as their career path. They have one thing in common; they all study one canon for curriculum. Part of this curriculum is comprised of every member from Generation 1927. Whether undergraduate or graduate, our universities have forgotten to mention that there was a well-known community of women writers with high literary qualities, bringing their own ideologies and vision of the world they live in. This is problematic, however, because universities have limited who the students are going to be reading and writing about. As educators, we must look at these issues and ask ourselves, why? What is keeping these women from entering our classrooms? Who is academically in charge of selecting this curriculum? Why, after so many years in Spanish research, do women continue to face exclusions? What steps do we need to take to change this? As we move into our study, these are the questions to be answered, and we will do so by venturing into the past, analyzing the present and asking "how can we change the future of Spanish literature in our universities?" This issue is important because the 1920s were a rather difficult but symbolic time for women to express themselves artistically because they were faced with barriers to publication, and to me, this is a critical consideration that women continue to face.

The purpose of this study is to examine the social exclusion and invisibility that has taken place within the literary world of Generation 1927. We seek to understand the most influential literary generation of its kind, starting with the origin of its name, its characteristics, their founding fathers and how they have shaped Spanish literature from when they first appeared. We also analyze how this body of poets has been incorporated into American classrooms, what students are exposed to, and what the expectations are from every instructor. Secondly, we evaluate the criteria under which these writers are considered to be the canon a literature within their generational representation. As we do, we pay close attention at all of the factors that lead to the exclusion of the female voice and what role society has played in all of this. Finally, we address the change in curriculum and propose a more complete view and representation of what a true "Generación 27" would look like and should look like. This study strives to make a systematic revision within Spanish literature curriculum, hoping to make it possible to refocus current gender inequalities.

As a Spanish undergraduate and now graduate student here at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa, I have been exposed to over six years of Spanish literature, theater, film, poetry and all other forms of creative art; however, ninety percent of this exposure has been comprised of male authors. Quickly I began to notice that this was not only happening at the University of Hawaii but also across the nation, and I wondered: why? Since the Spanish realm of literature is so vast, I chose to concentrate on one of the most prominent generations, Generación 27, not because this is the only generation that has excluded female literacy, but rather for what they celebrated: individual expression. This generation is also known as the "generación de la Dictadura" or the Dictatorship generation after the corresponding time of the Dictatorship of General Primo Rivera from 1923-1929. Luis Cernuda, a prominent member of Generación 27, once referred to it as the generation of 1925. On the other hand, the year 1927 became the final date due to the celebration of the third centenary of Luis Góngora's death, who was and continues to be considered the most prominent Spanish poet of all time (Benot, 9).

To talk about Generación 27 requires a great deal of knowledge about literary movements and, in general, all artistic movements before it. In the 1920s, Primo Rivera's dictatorship along with the Second Republic was a

signal to intellectuals and students alike that there was a need for a collective mentality; this collectiveness gave birth to Generación 27. Those intellectuals and students who rose to the challenge were Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Gerardo Diego, Vicente Aleixandre, Federico García Lorca, Emilio Prados, Dámaso Alonso, Rafael Alberti, Luis Cernuda, and Manuel Altolaguirre (Paz, 21). Comprised of only male members, this group was considered the most prominent literary group in Spain. They shared many cultural ideologies, they lived in the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid, where they were influenced by the avant-garde movement, they were close in age, and were able to publish their writings in magazines like *Litoral*, *Revista de Ocidente*, and *La Gaceta Literaria* just to name a few. Many of them would go on to make a living as professors, editors, and critics following the doctrine of the prominent male figure of Luis Góngora who pretended to recreate an autonomous reality.

In the grand scheme of literary works, there is no doubt that this group of poets and writers have made their mark in Spanish literature, yet one thing is clear: women have been missing from the picture. Why were women excluded during this time? According to the study by the critic Pilar Nieva de la Paz, entitled *Voz autobiográfica e identidad professional: Las escritoras españolas de la Generación del 27*, at the beginning of the new century (1906) women of Finland were the first to achieve the right to vote and were witness to the emancipation of women's rights (Seppälä, 1). Yet it was not until 1920 when the Spanish women began to be referred to as "cuestion femenina" especially within the Anglo-Saxon countries (Paz, 20). This became an inevitable subject of reflection and debate among media across the occident and at the turn of the 20th century, women in Spain begin to have access to superior education, co-educational living, were also given the right to chose a profession, and most importantly, they were integrated into the "Paulatina" life of national politics, which in turn gave the women the right to vote in 1931 (Paz, 20). This last step was vital because it meant that women were now allowed into the public sphere after decades—if not centuries–of occupying the domestic and private spheres. Up to this point, it is easy to see the difficulties the women of those days were faced with and had to overcome, yet, as many of us would imagine, they had something to say after much silence.

This silence was broken by a group of contemporary Spanish women writers and poets such as Rosa Chacel, Concha Mendez, María Teresa de León, Carmen Conde, Zenobia Camprubí, Josephina de la Torre, and Ernestina Champourcin, all whom belong to Generación 27. They were close in age, had similar literary influences and stylistic features with many of the intellectuals of the Generación 27. There was so much exclusion that recently a group of historians and critics have recently emphasized how women's literary voice has been absenct in monographs, anthologies, and history, from precisely the years of Generación 27 (Paz, 21). The key element in the survival of women in the professional literacy world was the friendship many of the women writers shared. For example, when Concha Méndez's first book of poems *Inquietudes* was printed, she remembered feeling apprehensive about the process, "En aquellos años habían muy pocas mujeres que publicaban en España, y este hombre acostumbrado a tener en la familia una mujer escritora, fue cuidadoso" (Paz, 22) ("In those days, there were very few women who published in Spain, but this man, already accustomed to having a woman writer within the family, was very cautious with my work" (translation done by the author of this study)). She believed that if she had not had the close friendship with Rosalía de Castro, who was considered "El modelo de la mujer moderna" (the model for modern women) her book might not have been known to us today. Méndez also found refuge in the painter Maruja Mallo and the Argentine writer Consuelo Berges who to her were the keys to her success in the literary world (Paz, 22). Méndez was a woman who understood how the world of literacy worked; Paz points out that in her effort to support her fellow writers she asked for the support of her husband Manuel Altolaguirre. Méndez was also one of the prominent members of Generación 27 and together at their publishing house *La Verónica* and the journal *Héroe* other female writers such as Carmen Conde and Ernestina Champourcin were able to be published.

Still, the exclusions continued, and our work here is not done. If we are to dig deeper, we must analyze and extract the facts, "como un limón exprimido del todo" or "like a lemon being squeezed from its juices"; part of this difficult squeeze takes us to look into canon issues and perhaps we can get a better understanding of how they get to be nominated into that category. So why do such women continue to be missing from our conversations in university classrooms? The issue of literary canon has been central to both academics and popular discourse from the turn of the 20th century, just like Paz mentioned above. A comprehensive study done by Joan L. Brown and Crista Johnson from the University of Delaware entitled *Required Reading: The Canon in Spanish and Spanish American Literature* point out that from the list of 56 leading PhD granting facilities in the United States, "thirty-nine authors (one female) and 22 male-authored works from Spain along with ten male-authored works from Spanish America were present in 75 percent or more of the lists" (Brown and Johnson, 1). What was more astonishing about their finding was that out of close to 1000 titles appearing, just once in the database demonstrated presence of a single

reading list, therefore "showing little agreement about what constitutes literary value in this field" which has important implications for us, the students and educators (Brown and Johnson, 1).

The overarching question still remains unanswered, does consensus indeed exist for most eras and genres, and, if so, what is our shared literary canon at this time? According to Brown and Johnson, Gourman's list shows the top 40 percent of high-rated graduate programs in the United States and 63 from Peterson's Guide: "twenty-five lists came from institutions of the northeast, nine from the Midwest, five from the Pacific coast, four from the Rocky Mountain region, eight from the south Atlantic area and five from south central states" (Brown and Johnson, 1). After this data was compiled, a series of PhD and MA readings were merged;it was found that women are largely absent from current required reading lists and that from Spain, only one woman writer (Emilia Pardo Bazán) was in 77 percent of graduate readings lists and not quite 50 percent were women authors Santa Teresa and Rosalía de Castro (Brown and Johnson, 5). From Hispanic or Latin American studies, the Chilean and Nobel-prizewinner Gabriela Mistral and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz from Mexico were present in the current reading lists; however, both Brown and Johnson agree that while they were present in 75 percent of the reading lists neither of them reached full representation, meaning they were talked about in class but students were never to be tested about their works or impact they had in literature.

One of the biggest misconceptions when this study began was that perhaps universities look only at classical periods of our top literary history, in this case Generación 27. To our surprise, this was not the case; Brown and Johnson point out that 95 percent or more of the reading lists analyzed were from the classical periods and that "the limited canon that does exist is more of an author cannon than a works cannon" (Brown and Johnson, 6). So, what can we do to change the representation of female literary canon at the University of Hawaii and possibly across the nation? Brown and Johnson had an unexpected finding: their research suggests that for Spanish/Spanish American literature or any other name universities may label them, it appears that "canon formation takes place only in microcosm; the canon for each institution evidently is shaped independently at the departmental level" (Brown and Johnson, 6). They arrived at this conclusion based on the large number of authors' works appearing only once among 56 reading list, and that in fact, an individual language graduate faculty's convictions about canon is exactly what is determining what the graduate reading list should include. Brown and Johnson go on to say that literary uniformity is missing and strong agreement is not widespread. "The presence of authors and works that are so obscure as to be unidentifiable further suggests that faculty members exercise great liberty in compiling graduate reading lists" (Brown and Johnson, 6). If this is true, our faculties' must learn to share a common ground in canon literacy. We know from past experiences that Generación 27 rebelled against the prevailing literature of the period and changed how people viewed society and how they viewed themselves. The Chilean poet and self-proclaimed father of the avant-garde movement known as Creocionismo or Creationism Vicente Huidobro once said, "Crear poesía como la naturaleza crea árboles" or "Make a poem the way nature makes a tree" Perhaps this metaphor comes close to what this study is intending to do, which is to create literature from every facet of nature, including from those who go though the process of procreation, the female. So, what can we do to move forward?

In keeping the unwavering ideologies of Generación, as Thomas Jefferson once said: "On matters of style, swim with the current, on matters of principle, stand firm like a rock" (Applewood, 9). This study refuses to swim the current path of literacy and proposes that we teach our students to embrace, value, and respect, cultural diversity within literature. Thus, it is necessary to create a global conciseness about the current literature situation, expose our students to a comprehensive canon of literacy, and that we move away from what history has taught us: that excluding women's work has been a form of marginalization built into the internal structures of our society. This is 2013; let's remember that in 1870, only 9.6 percent of Spanish women could read and write; according to Shirley Mangini in her *Memories of Women's Voices: Resistance from the Spanish Civil War*, "women were only lectured around women's role as mother and wives" (Mangini, 4). We have come along way, yet, there is so much we can do.

We can start by presenting a revised image of that part of history and rebuilding that bridge in time by incorporating the following female voices into both graduate and undergraduate curriculum. Although, there are considerably many women who deserve to be recognized in this study, due to time and space limitations in this paper, I will limit my selection to merely three authors, though I have already briefly mentioned at least five. This study in no way means to discredit other writers' merits but is purely a selection. One of those figures is Josephine de la Torre, the Canary Island singer, writer and actress who is considered one of the five most prominent women of Generación 27, which has been honored as "la última voz del 27" (the last voice of 27) (Maier, 1). I advocate on her behalf to the extreme literary oblivion she continues to fight; though many of her works have been translated, she

remains almost unknown and little examined, though her writing deserves great merit. Another prominent figure that fought to open the cultural doors to other women was Ernestina Champourcin. Champourcin learned three languages and attained her Bachillerato (what we would consider a high school diploma) at the Instituto Cardenal Cisneros de Madrid (Peréz and Ihrie, 132). One of her biggest physical statements was made after finishing high school when "she refused to attend the university chaperoned" (Peréz and Ihrie, 132). Refusing to follow the customary practices, she went on her own to pursue the literary vocation knowing that this decision might condemn her to obscurity. Her first works to be published were possible thanks to one of the greatest masters of literacy, Juan Ramón Jiménez, to whom she was a friend and disciple. Her contributions and mentorship in the Lyceum Club de Madrid, an organization founded in 1926, left many to wonder how any woman of those times had the energy to fight the misogynistic, patriarchal society (Mangini, 125). Mangini called it "Casino Femenino", and was dedicated to defend women's rights by promoting the incorporation of women in educational and professional circles which made a huge impact on future women writers, especially in Madrid (Mangini, 125). Maria Teresa de Leon recalls the ambiance of the late 1920s in Madrid:

> "Spanish women! I think they moved around Madrid without much of organization, without forming a battlefront except for a few feminist events, almost always seen as a joke by imprudent man...when the International Residence of Young Ladies, directed by María de Maeeztu, had been born and the institute had inaugurated its coed classes, it made the hair of the reactionary prudes stand on end. But women did not find a center until the Lyceum Club appeared" (Mangini, 5)

Finally, we highlight the Catalan writer/poet Zenobia Camprubí, who for the longest time remained behind the shadow of her husband, Juan Ramón Jiménez. A recent study in the newspaper *El País*, entitled *Zenobia Camprubí: una heroína en la sombra* argues that her marriage to him was the end of her career: "Había sacrificado el propio talento literario al de su marido, sin duda más elevado, y en adelante se limitó a enmascarar la amargura que le producían sus continuas depresiones con la propia alegría innata," ("She sacrificed her own literary talent for the one of her husband, which without a doubt, was better than hers, only to later live a miserable life cover by her innate happiness" (El País)). Nevertheless, she studied at the International Residence of Young Ladies in Madrid just like Champourcin and entered the women's intellectual, cultural and literary circle. In August 1936, the year of the Spanish Civil War, she and her mother were exiled first to the United States, then Cuba and later to Puerto Rico. She was able to publish in many North American magazines, taught at the University of Maryland, and had one of her best Spanish works, Rabrindranat Tagore, translated into English (El País).

In conclusion, the lives of these women continue to be a paradigm for the noticeable efforts they made in Spanish literature. They drank from tragic repression and exile; yet, they carved the path for other female writers and that is something we must not forget. From a more globalizing point of view, we need to remember that this study limited its view to literacy exclusions within Generation 1927. Meanwhile, crucial factors such as ethnicity and race were never mentioned. Still, these issues are clearly obstacles that women continue to be vulnerable to and need to be explored.

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BUILDING AUTONOMY IN AN L2 READING COURSE: A REPORT ON ASPECTS OF A CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes aspects of a curriculum development project for an upper intermediate university level ESL reading course. Frameworks of critical literacy and extensive reading are used in an attempt to both fill gaps in the current curriculum and to find ways of building learner autonomy. Two of the gaps that are examined are critical reading skills and fluency practice. A modular approach to materials development also seeks to increase teacher autonomy in the course without reducing the support that pre-made materials can offer teachers.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This is a report on a curriculum development project done in the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The course focused on for this project was ELI 72, intermediate academic reading for foreign students. This particular course was chosen for a three reasons. First, materials development for courses in general was an ELI research priority as articulated by the administration. Second, the current course textbook is out of print, and so new materials are needed urgently for this course. Third, I am the current instructor for this course, and will teach this course again in the fall semester of 2013. In this role, I have a vested interest in developing the curriculum to fit my teaching style and also a degree of control over what changes might be implemented in the course.

While the first area of focus for this curriculum development project was materials development, it became apparent during the process of materials development that the student learning objectives (SLOs) and additional course goals should be reexamined to be sure that the materials matched the stated SLOs and goals for the course. Through interviews and meetings with administration and other teachers a review of the SLOs and additional goals as a need for the project was reaffirmed.

This report is limited to presenting aspects of a larger curriculum development project. Here I focus on the framework for developing materials and SLOs plus additional goals for building learner autonomy in the class. Aspects of critical literacy frameworks and extensive reading are examined for how they might promote learner autonomy while also meeting some of the materials development needs of the course. I introduce some of those materials, and suggest changes for the future SLOs and additional goals.

Curriculum development is always a political process. First of all it is a small "p" political process, as described by Brown (1995). Developing curriculum is never a solitary activity. It involves many different stakeholders who may be pursuing different personal and big "P" political agendas. In order for curriculum development projects to be successful, they must be both defensible and have buy-in from the various stakeholders (Brown, 1995). This project finds defensibility and buy-in from stakeholders by involving them in the process of design. As it is still in preliminary stages, defensibility and buy-in will be further sought as the curriculum changes are piloted in Fall 2013.

This project takes the stance that curriculum development is also big "P" political following the description of curriculum development as a process which privileges certain knowledge over other knowledge (Apple, 2004). When the knowledge of the dominant culture is privileged, it can lead to the reification and hegemony of the dominant culture while marginalizing other cultures (Apple, 2004). This may be especially true in English as a second language (ESL) settings. Consider, for example, the marginalized place of ELI students. Although they are enrolled at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, the courses they take at the ELI are officially categorized by the university as "courses below college level" (University of Hawaii at Manoa Admissions Policies, 2013). Credit is not granted for ELI courses, with the exception of ELI 100. It can be argued that this university level curriculum decision privileges the dominant language (English) and culture by taking a deficit view of language resources rather promoting and emphasizing the linguistic abilities of these students (Cummins, 2003; Wiley & Wright, 2004). If the university's curriculum took the approach of valuing linguistic differences, we could imagine a policy whereby students could earn foreign language credit for ELI classes.

Coming from this understanding of curriculum development as a political process on multiple levels, the materials developed, and the recommendations for updating the SLOs and additional goals of ELI 72, both draw on critical understandings of autonomy and literacy.

2.0. AUTONOMY, EXTENSIVE READING, AND CRITICAL LITERACY

The ELI mission statement states that the institution aims in part, "at the development of autonomous, self-directed, second language learners" (Mission Statement, n.d.). As expressed then in the mission statement, this is a priority for the ELI. Learner autonomy is defined several ways in the literature. Little (2007), defines it broadly as students taking responsibility for their own learning. This is a bit too broad to be useful though, and Littlewood (1996) adds the in the concepts of willingness and ability. That is, students need to be both willing and able to take responsibility for their own learning. Autonomy is seen as desirable from the standpoint that it increases learner motivation (i.e., Dörnyei, 2001). Our job then as teachers desiring to develop autonomous learners could be seen as providing the students with the opportunities for responsibility, while also attempting to increase their willingness to take control of their own learning (or at the very least not to hinder it!).

Numerous studies have been done on the relationship between extensive reading and autonomous learning. While the Extensive Reading Foundation database lists over 25 studies in this area, a few are worth looking at a bit more closely in this report. Mason (2006) found that an extensive reading via a free volunteer reading program succeeded in increasing both TOEFL test scores and autonomous learning in a Japanese university. Mason cautions though that these learners were already experienced learners who were highly motivated, so it is difficult to judge exactly how much autonomy was actually increased.

Another study that was interesting was Wu and Wu (2009), which examined extensive reading in relation to learner autonomy in China. While their findings did not conclude that extensive reading increased autonomy, Day (2011) in his review of this work suggests that this is unsurprising given the importance of the role of the teacher in orienting students towards extensive reading. When that does not happen, one cannot expect autonomous learning to increase. Looking at these studies, we can conclude that although extensive reading provides an opportunity for autonomous learning, it does not on its own guarantee autonomous learning. Again, the role of the teacher in orienting students is key to increasing the willingness of students to take charge of their learning, while extensive reading provides opportunity.

Critiques from critical scholars (i.e., Schmenk, 2005) remind us, however, that "autonomous" is not a universal construct whose definition is known and accepted across cultures. Schmenk (2005) further mentions that if we really want to increase autonomous learning, we should work to raise learners' awareness of their own possibilities and limitations within specific contexts. This is where we can see the need for critical literacy and critical pedagogy in developing perhaps not just learner autonomy, but learner agency.

A critical pedagogy approach to teaching seeks to get away from the teacher fronted "banking" method of instruction and towards a model of problem-posing education in which students direct the learning (Freire, 2000). Several components of critical pedagogy that are useful specifically in language education are given by Crookes (2013) and include negotiated syllabi, using critical content, and participatory materials development among others. This project takes these into consideration when developing materials that might enhance learner autonomy and agency.

In the context of an L2 reading class, the concept of critical literacy (Freire & Macedo, 1987) becomes important. The synthesis model of critical literacy (Janks, 2010) is particularly useful in conceptualizing ways in which curriculum for an L2 reading course might be created to further autonomy and agency. Janks defines the teacher's job as helping students gain access to the dominant literate discourse (English, or even more so academic English in the context of ELI students), but at the same time paying attention and privileging the diversity of cultural and linguistic knowledge our students hold in designing curriculum. By empowering our students through recognizing their talents, and raising a critical awareness that the privileged position of English as the dominant language at the university is socially constructed, we can help them find ways on their own to use their language to challenge this construction and position themselves in ways that allow them more power within this discourse.

3.0. DESCRIPTION OF THE COURSE

In the spring semester of 2013, ELI 72 had eight students. There was only one section of the course offered. In the advanced course, ELI 82, there were three sections with 49 students. ELI 72 usually has lower enrollment in the spring due to fewer students entering the university during spring semester, while ELI 82 may see a boost from students who have passed ELI 72 during the fall semester. Based on previous enrollment for fall, ELI 72 may have twenty or more students in fall 2013, with a possibility of having two sections.

Relatively low enrollment has had several effects on the ELI 72 curriculum and this curriculum development project. First, this declining enrollment means that there are fewer positions available for graduate assistants in the ELI, who normally contribute to curriculum updating projects. Having fewer graduate assistants also means fewer people at the university who have experience teaching ELI 72. This became an issue with this project when seeking advice and input from former teachers who had taught ELI 72 using a different textbook and curriculum than is presently used.

4.0. METHODOLOGY

For this project, information was collected from a number of sources. Formal interviews were conducted with two administrators in the ELI, as well as with three former teachers of ELI 72. Administrators were interviewed first, followed by interviews with the former teachers for ELI 72, one of whom is the current reading lead teacher at the ELI and oversees curriculum projects in that area. Follow up interviews and numerous informal discussions with administration, teachers, and students also helped inform directions.

Buy-in and input to the materials developed and proposed changes to the SLOs and additional goals was sought at both reading curriculum area meetings (in February and April 2013) and one all ELI meeting (in March 2013). Valuable feedback on the project was gained at each meeting and presentation, and some of the proposed changes were approved at the all ELI meeting.

Many other sources of data were also examined for the full project (i.e., textbook reviews, examining past syllabi, gathering syllabi from similar courses taught in different institutions, etc.) that fall outside of the scope of this report.

5.0. FINDINGS

Building learner autonomy as a priority for the ELI became clear in early discussions with the administration. A critical approach to teaching reading and developing reading materials was also welcomed early on in the project. Beyond this, goals for materials development from an administrative perspective included: flexibility (giving teachers choice and autonomy), support (teachers would not have to plan everything from scratch, but would have a textbook or materials to fall back on), easy accessibility for students and teachers, and inclusion of materials that focused on both reading and vocabulary learning strategies.

In discussions with the reading lead teacher, former ELI 72 teachers, and some current ELI 82 teachers, a similar desire for flexibility was brought up. All of the teachers interviewed found numerous problems and shortcomings in the textbook they used (only one used the same textbook currently being used to teach the course). All of the teachers used supplementary materials when they taught the course to help overcome the problems with the textbook, and the development of more, easy-to-use supplementary materials was cited as a need. Two issues that arose that were different from those raised by administers were the need for more authentic texts that students can engage with critically, and for longer texts than the current or previous textbooks offered.

Many of the teachers mentioned that ELI 72 and 82 were difficult to distinguish. Fluency was cited as one main area in which 72 could be distinguished. This was reinforced after reviewing the syllabi of both courses, and the SLOs for both courses online. The first line of the course description for ELI 72 states, "This course is intended to increase fluency, crucial for coping with difficulties that students often encounter in academic reading." Though each teacher approaches their class differently, in the current example class schedule available for new teachers in the online resource room, fluency is currently only addressed though

through one session on reading speed, and two sessions partially devoted to extensive reading through sustained silent reading. Further, there are no SLOs dedicated to fluency, and only one additional goal is dedicated to fluency, reading: "Students will improve their reading rate."

Table 1: Materials Development Desires for ELI 72

Administrators	Teachers
Flexible	Supplementary
Supportive	Authentic
Accessible	Longer readings
Vocabulary strategies	Fluency activities
Reading strategies	Critical reading activities

In meetings with administrators, they were cautiously open to suggestions on updating the SLOs and additional goals. This caution is understandable since I first proposed to reexamine these after less than a month of teaching at the ELI, and after having been told during teacher induction that the SLOs and additional goals were sections of the syllabi that teachers are not allowed to change. While updating these and making sure that they remain valid is a concern for administration, it is not seen as a pressing need. For this reason, my suggestions in this area will be minimal.

Other findings from reviews of textbooks and past syllabi for ELI 72 and 82, collection of syllabi from other teachers of critical reading classes in different contexts, materials shared from other teachers in different locations, and a review of other critical university level ESL/EFL reading classes will not be discussed here.

6.0. MATERIALS DEVELOPED

Adopting a modular approach to materials development for this course meets the desires of both administration for flexible, yet supportive materials, and those of teachers for easily accessible supplementary materials. I will focus in this section on materials I wrote for three modules: critical reading, fluency, and extensive reading. Although I also evaluated different textbooks and chose parts from textbooks for different sections, I will discuss that only in where it applies to these modules in this report.

By "module" I mean units containing activities, lesson plans, or guidelines that are devoted to a certain strategy or skill. I use the *TESOL New Ways in Teaching* series (i.e., Day, 2012) as a guideline for developing these modules and the materials as activity or lesson plans to be included in each module. These are designed to give teachers flexibility in choosing how they approach each area, while at the same time offering choices. The materials I developed do not accompany specific texts, but can be paired with sections from textbooks that will be available to teachers, or will give suggestions on what kind of reading materials might be used.

My materials (Appendix A) do not go into as much detail as those activities included in Day (2012). For example, the level is not defined because they are all for ELI 72. Preparation time, class time, and resources are also not specifically defined because in my experience using modular activity/lesson plans from Day (2012), I adapted or used them in ways that at times made these details inapplicable. I anticipate teachers being able to do the same with my materials. I do include a description of the aim of the activity and a suggested procedure.

One of the other main goals of this approach to materials development, rather than strict adherence to a textbook is that this will give teachers more freedom to review modules, recycle materials, and respond to student needs by taking more time on one module (i.e., comprehension) that students are having difficulties with. The current example class schedule for ELI 72 follows the textbook (Yaworski, 2006) closely, and does not have review sessions specifically built in. Table 2 shows the current modules covered by ELI 72.

Table 2: Current ELI 72 modules

Current ELI 72 Modules
1) Academic habits and skills
        a. Note taking strategies
        b. Study skills and strategies
2) Vocabulary development strategies
3) Reading speed
4) Extensive reading
5) Comprehension strategies
        a. Main idea and supporting details
        b. Implied main ideas
        c. Text patterns
6) Meaning making strategies
        a. Inference
        b. Purpose and tone
        c. Logical reasoning
7) Reading circle

6.1. Critical Reading Materials

Materials developed for a critical reading module cohere less to a separate, standalone module, than they are meant to supplement other modules. The materials (Appendix A) have activities that fit into vocabulary development strategies, fluency, reading circles, and comprehension strategies. Most of the activities in this module might be categorized as "meaning making strategies" given the emphasis on reading as an interactive process with the text and the community.

This module is also closely related to changes that are recommended in the course SLOs and additional goals. Some are guidelines for how to structure a negotiation of the syllabus, or how to shape discussions into more meaningful dialogues. Sections focusing on these are focused both on the social constructed nature of texts, including syllabi, but they are also meant to help build student autonomy in the reading course.

Another component of this module is selecting reading materials that offer critical perspectives on issues. To the greatest extent possible, in a critical reading class, students should have the freedom to choose their own reading texts. In those occasions when the teacher should provide texts though, texts with a critical focus may be selected. *Cultures in Contrast* (Shulman, 2009) is a textbook produced for University of Michigan ELI students that includes a number of texts dealing critically with issues that are directly relevant to the lives of ELI students, using ELI students as main characters and classrooms or university campuses as settings. Other critical readings might include fictional short stories like *The Necklace*, by Guy de Maupassant, which deal with themes like class issues, may also be used. Many of these are freely available online, and may be gathered into a folder in the ELI online resource room on a secure website for future teachers to select from.

My goal in creating this module broadly and overlapping with other modules is to steer the ELI 72 in a more critical direction. This fits my personal teaching philosophy that teaching and learning are political acts. My job is to help learners gain access to the dominant discourse through developing their English literacy, yet at the same time I should attempt to raise awareness to the power structures and inequalities that exist in constructing and maintaining this dominant discourse. By raising awareness and problematizing the way power is constructed through language, hopefully my students will gain not only the ability to read better in English and join academic discourses at North American universities, but they will also gain agency to further empower themselves as they encounter and confront these inequalities. Teachers without a critical inclination may use these materials as they see fit or may skip this module in the future.

6.2. Fluency Materials

As mentioned above, fluency is seen as a key component in ELI 72, but much work can be done with fluency practice and training than is currently done in the course. One of the barriers to this point has been the current textbook. The book, *Getting Ahead: Fundamentals of College Reading* (Yaworski, 2006), is a developmental reading text for L1 readers. The only chapter dealing with fluency, "Reading Speed," gives introductions on topics dealing with the need for increased reading rate, and discusses strategies for improving reading rates, but the rates for L1 readers recommended by the book may discourage L2 readers. Yaworski lists the average reading rate at "251 – 350 wpm" and rapid reading at "351 – 400 wpm" (2006, p. 475). Other studies (listed in Grabe, 2009) show that while it is possible for L2 readers to make significant gains in reading rate, the reading rate of an L1 reader may not be an appropriate target, at least not as it is articulated in a book intended for L1 readers.

Another gap left by the chapter is that there are no readings longer than 650 words with which students can practice. This gap can be filled with supplemental readings from other books or collections of readings for international students, at an appropriate level (i.e., Spack, 1998). Extensive reading also acts to further fluency, but will be discussed more in detail later. Another supplemental book to be considered is *Advanced Reading Power* (Mikulecky & Jeffries, 2007), which is listed as a possible textbook for the course already, but has not been used by any ELI 72 teachers in the past as the main course book. It offers a number of practice timed readings at an appropriate level that have been used in the course previously for work on reading rate. Of particular use in future courses would be the reading rate log which accompanies a number of timed readings. This can be used to catalogue progress made by students throughout the semester.

A goal moving forward is to bring this module to the forefront by having a short fluency component in every lesson in addition to sessions devoted to fluency and extensive reading, as currently exist. A number of studies show the importance of fluency development in L2 reading (see Grabe, 2009) that further support the expansion of this module. Luckily, a great number of resources already exist for fluency practice in Day (2012) and Bamford and Day (2004). Modular lesson/activity plans from these two resources should be made available to reading teachers, but there are some gaps left by these resources though, most particularly oral reading activities.

In developing oral fluency materials, I draw heavily on Rasinski (2003), among others, adapting descriptions of activities in to the modular style used in *New Ways in Teaching Reading* (Day, 2012) that might make them more accessible to teachers. While Rasinski (2003) offers research in favor of oral fluency practice, his book and activities are geared towards elementary aged students. For this reason, I had to further adapt materials to make them appropriate for ELI classes.

6.3. Extensive Reading Materials

Like the fluency module, an extensive reading component to ELI 72 already exists, but may be further integrated into the course as a way to offer students greater fluency practice, greater autonomy, and hopefully an opportunity for what will be pleasurable L2 reading which will encourage them to read more in L2.

Several of the materials in Day (2012) and Bamford and Day (2004) were useful in generating excitement about reading, and as with the fluency module, it is recommended that these resources be available for future ELI 72 teachers. Graded readers were also promoted as an option for something students could record in reading logs, though this was not required and students were free to record whatever they chose in their reading logs, with the expectation of autonomous extensive reading outside of class.

Moving forward, one of the major materials development projects for extensive reading program is the establishment of a language learner library of appropriately leveled graded readers. Efforts have been made on building a learner library before, but were disrupted by teacher turnover. There are several logistics issues that will also need to be sorted out if ELI establishes a learner library. Some issues mentioned by Day and Bamford (1998) include cataloguing and organizing the books, finding a location for the books, establishing a check out system, and displaying the books. Other details to consider include: what information to collect when books are checked out (i.e., number of times checked out – to indicate popularity of a book – condition of the book, etc.), stamping the books with the program's name in order to remind borrowers that the book is from a library, and establishing a system to ensure that books are returned (i.e., warnings and fines if books are damaged or lost).

Decisions on these issues would need to be made by administration, likely with recommendations from reading curriculum area teachers since a resource like this would be shared by more than just ELI 72.

7.0. SUGGESTED SLOs AND ADDITIONAL GOALS

For this report, I will briefly highlight the changes proposed to the SLOs and additional goals. These changes are intended to improve learner autonomy. Guides to introducing the syllabus as a socially constructed interactive text, and to negotiating the syllabus are included in the critical reading modules. More work can still be done to update the SLOs and additional goals.

My first proposal was to include an additional goal that students will understand the social nature of reading as an interactive process. A similar goal appears on ELI writing syllabi. The text of the new additional goal reads:

> Students will recognize that reading is not an individual isolated endeavor, but rather is **cooperative** and involves **interaction** among many people and texts. Students will understand that reading often does not involve one right answer, and will be able to participate actively in the construction of meaning from texts and defend their positions.

Second, I proposed leaving blank spaces on the syllabus under the current SLOs and additional goals for the students to fill in their own goals and SLOs for the course. This was intended to give the students greater autonomy and responsibility in shaping the course to fit their needs. Affective goals (i.e., students will enjoy reading) will be suggested for students to write, but will not be put in print by the teacher at this point.

Finally, I proposed that some sections of the syllabus be left open for negotiation between the students and instructor. Some of the suggested sections that could be negotiated include: assignments (possibly starting from a list of possible assignments from which learners can choose), grade weighting, deadlines, and class policies on late work and attendance. Negotiating does not mean that students full control these policies, but rather that it is decided through a dialogue in which the teacher retains a legitimate expert role in helping establish these sections of the syllabus.

8.0. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

One of my biggest limitations in this project has been not being able to gather information or feedback from students. While I have done this informally in my role as a teacher, it has not been possible to pilot all of the materials I have been developing for this course in a systematic manner. My focus for the next semester will be on developing a participatory action research framework in which to jointly use and review materials I have developed. The parts of this project which have been proposed and approved by ELI administration and teachers will be piloted using that framework in fall 2013.

The materials developed will be added to the ELI online resource room for use by other teachers and future ELI 72 teachers. Further consultations regarding the logistics in building, maintaining, and operating a learner library will be held, though it is anticipated that this project will move forward with the tentative goal of having the library operational by spring semester 2014.

9.0. CONCLUSION

This report has discussed only a part of a larger curriculum development project done for the intermediate academic reading course, ELI 72. A broad framework that views curriculum as a political project in was stated. Two aspects of the project were examined; materials development and a review of the course SLOs and additional goals. These were explored with the goal of increasing learner autonomy, which is a goal of the ELI. Extensive reading and critical literacy in an L2 reading class were both seen as basis through which autonomy could be increased.

In the process of looking at the needs of the program, a greater emphasis on fluency practice was also mentioned. These three areas, critical literacy, extensive reading, and fluency, were discussed in terms of

materials development and example materials were shared. The establishment of a learner library was mentioned as a way to develop extensive reading materials.

Recommendations for changes to the SLOs and additional goals were made using the framework of critical literacy to better match both the needs of the students and to further learner autonomy and responsibility in decision making in the class.

Work on a project like this, while perhaps spearheaded by an individual, is not an individual project and requires constant consultation and input from all stakeholders. In that spirit, this report is only a snapshot of an ongoing and evolving project.

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE CRITICAL READING AND FLUENCY MODULE PLANS

The syllabus as a socially constructed text

The purpose of this activity is for students to understand the syllabus as a socially constructed text that they can interact with rather than a given, static document. This activity is best done following the "Using the syllabus as a reading event" activity (Fischer, 1994) because students will have an idea of what to expect from a syllabus.

Procedure:

1. When making the course syllabus, leave at least two blank bullet points under each section for the student learning outcomes (SLOs) and additional goals for the course.

2. Introduce the SLOs and goals for the course. For the SLOs, discuss how their achievement will be measured or observed. For the additional goals, discuss how they will be approached and hopefully reached during the course (and/or beyond).

3. Have students brainstorm alone what goals they have for the course. SLOs will be dealt with later. Have them compare and share with a partner or in small groups.

4. List some of the goals on the board.

5. Have students choose one or two goals they have for themselves in the course and write them on the syllabus.

6. Record the student goals.

7. A few weeks into the course, revisit this, check in on progress being made by the students. At this point, have them try to translate their goals into SLOs they have for themselves, and think about how they will be able to measure or observe those SLOs.

8. Follow the same procedure as before for developing SLOs. Alone, pairs or small groups, write them on the board.

9. At the end of the semester, check in again and see if students have achieved the goals and SLOs for the course. This could be incorporated into a reflection paper or journal writing activity.

10.

Reading "hidden texts":

This activity is designed to get students to read texts that contain rules that they are subject to, and which may have significant influence over their academic lives, but which are not usually read. The point of this is to raise awareness in students of the different ways in which texts have a socially constructed power, and to examine how that power is used. At the same time, students will practice a number of decoding skills while trying to read these often obscure texts.

Procedure:

1. Select a "hidden text" to examine. Some possibilities at the university level include: instructions on how to file a grievance, the student conduct code, plagiarism policies, professor & student responsibilities and rights, confidentiality policies, mission statements of departments, the ELI, international student services, or student services.

2. Each text offers its own possibilities for different directions. When looking at how to file a grievance, for example, the focus could be on student and professor rights and responsibilities. When looking at plagiarism policies, students could see the difference in policies between the ELI's policy and the UH plagiarism policy.

3. The majority of these texts will be difficult reading for students. After reading, check for comprehension through class discussion, or by using a comprehension worksheet to guide the students' reading.

4. After reading and doing a check for comprehension, discuss different strategies that the students used while they were reading the text. The difficulty level should force them to use a number of different strategies (i.e., skipping unknown words, using a dictionary, skimming for known words/phrases, etc.). Have small groups come up with a list that they then write on the board. The strategies can be discussed then in a full class setting.

5. Have the class (in full class, small groups, or pairs) discuss why these texts are so obscure and difficult to read when they are so important.

6. Discuss and brainstorm strategies for dealing with situations that may require students to engage with a "hidden text" (i.e., caught plagiarizing, needing to file a grievance, choosing a major by looking at departmental mission statements, etc.)

Book Buddies

This activity is adapted from recommendations in Rasinski (2003).
This activity is intended to give students a chance to develop their oral fluency while at the same time interacting as English language readers with a larger community. This activity is a bit more intensive in terms of time commitment than other fluency activities, but the rewards are potentially much larger as well.

Procedure:

1. Make contact with a community organization that may need may have people in need of readers. Organizations in Honolulu to consider might be: retirement homes, preschools, elementary schools (i.e., the university lab school http://www.universitylaboratoryschool.org/), Hawaii Literacy (http://www.hawaiiliteracy.org/), Students helping in the naturalization of elders (SHINE, http://web41.its.hawaii.edu/www.hawaii.edu/servicelearning/agency-directory/176-shine.html), etc.

2. The point is to find a place where ELI students would be welcomed to come and read books aloud to people (i.e., children, seniors, disabled people, or immigrants with lower proficiency, etc.) who may have difficulty reading on their own in English

3. Set up a schedule with the ELI class and the other program, or have students make their own arrangements with teachers or coordinators who have previously agreed to have your students come and read to their populations.

4. Many of the programs, especially pre or elementary schools will have books, but students might be encouraged to bring graded readers or other reading materials that they select when they go to other locations. Connections in those locations may be helpful in giving advice on materials.

5. Have the students keep a journal of their experiences. Another possible follow up would be to have students give an oral report back to the class detailing their experiences, or submitting a written report, or a combination of all of those.

IV. Technology

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT USING AMAZON MECHANICAL TURK

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ABSTRACT

This paper introduces the use of the online crowd-sourcing service Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) as an unconventional but promising recruitment tool for research. The foci of this paper are to discuss the usage of AMT, how we used it for our experiments, and possible problems and solutions.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Finding an adequate number of appropriate participants is a major concern when doing research in applied linguistics (AL) and related fields. Recently, due to the development and maturation of a number of useful software tools, online recruitment and testing has become a viable option. Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) ((https://www.mturk.com/mturk/welcome)) is one such tool that could prove incredibly useful for the AL research community. In this paper we first introduce AMT, then discuss its numerous virtues and useful capabilities. Then we explore some of the pitfalls and potential solutions. We cautiously conclude that AMT could quickly become an enormously useful tool for certain types of research, but even those who may not currently be able to use the service should keep an eye on this quickly developing and potentially transformative space.

1.1. What is Amazon Mechanical Turk?

AMT is an online crowd-sourcing marketplace developed by Amazon.com and first launched on November 2, 2005 ("Amazon Mechanical Turk", 2013). It "is based on the idea that there are still many things that human beings can do much more effectively than computers, such as identifying objects in a photo or video, performing data de-duplication, transcribing audio recordings, or researching data details" ("Amazon Mechanical Turk: FAQs", 2013). After some initial volatility, the service has seen steady growth since launch, and as of January 2011 there were over 500 thousand registered users from over 190 countries ("AWS Developer Forums", 2011).

1.2. Terminology

Tasks on AMT are called *HITs*, an acronym for Human Intelligence Task, and are generally short in length, requiring only a few minutes to complete. Typical HITs include image tagging, audio transcriptions, and survey completion (Paolacci et al., 2010). HITs are loaded onto AMT by *requesters*, employers or researchers, and are completed by *workers*, employees or research participants (colloquially known as Turkers). One important note is that, as of May 2013, requesters must "provide a U.S. ACH-enabled bank account and a U.S. billing address in order to submit a request", and workers can only have money transferred to "U.S. personal bank account or to their Amazon.com account where they can use it to pay for purchases" ("Amazon Mechanical Turk FAQs", 2013). After workers complete a HIT, the requester can then review their work, and has the choice to accept or reject it. If the work is accepted the worker receives a *reward*, a predetermined payment, which can be as low as $0.01 and rarely exceeds $1.00.

2.0. ADVANTAGES

There are numerous practical advantages that make AMT ideal for certain types of online experimentation. First and foremost, recruiting participants is incredibly quick and easy. Next, average rewards are fairly low, resulting in relatively inexpensive participant recruitment costs. Also, track-able workers with unique AMT ID numbers and accompanying statistics have resulted in the development of social norms that support quality work. Finally, there is a large number of participants with demographics closer matching to that of the population as a whole than typical samples taken from university campuses.

2.1. AMT is quick

As soon as a HIT is posted on AMT, it becomes available to thousands of workers, basically removing the usual need to advertise and seek out participants. In this mass exposure lies the power of crowd-sourcing, and the speed of turn-around that it allows is arguably the greatest benefit of using AMT. In the experience of the

authors, for a 10-minute experiment priced at slightly above average rates (discussed below), it is possible to run a 10 participant pilot study in under 2 hours, and a full 100 participant experiment in less than 3 days. This incredible turn-around speed allows for easy piloting and speeds up the experimentation process as a whole.

2.2. AMT is inexpensive

As stated above, rewards on AMT can be as low as $0.01 and rarely exceed $1.00, with the median wage working out to $1.38 an hour (Horton & Chilton, 2010). However, in our research we have chosen to follow Shapiro et al. (2013) and pay our participants rewards that equate to $2.25 an hour (or more for later stages in the cases that an experiment is broken up into multiple HITS, as described in 3.1.2. and 3.2.1.).

2.3. Workers have unique IDs

Each and every worker has a unique AMT identification number. These IDs are tied to an Amazon.com account, and for workers in the US, also a bank account where their rewards are deposited (workers living outside of the US cannot use a bank account, raising issues described below in 3.1). For each and every ID, useful information is available, such as the location of the worker and statistics on how accurately they have completed other HITs. These statistics include total HITs submitted and percentage of the total that have been approved. Once a worker has participated in a requester's HIT, additional statistics and categorization options become available (see 3.1.1.). These statistics, and the fact that requesters actively use them to screen workers, make it more difficult and less worthwhile for a single worker to make multiple accounts, and encourage quality work.

2.4. Demographics

There have been multiple demographics studies of workers on AMT (Ross et al., 2010; Paolacci et al., 2010; Shapiro et al., 2013). The general conclusions are that although U.S. AMT workers are predominately Caucasian, middle-class, and younger and more educated than the general U.S. population, "U.S. workers on Mechanical Turk are arguably closer to the U.S. population as a whole than subjects recruited from traditional university subject pools" (Paolacci et al., 2010, p. 413). Also, it is interesting to note that many workers participate on AMT for non-monetary reasons, "such as entertainment (40.7%) and 'killing time' (32.3%). In fact, 69.6% of the U.S.-based workers reported that they consider Mechanical Turk is a fruitful way to spend free time (e.g., instead of watching TV)" (Paolacci et al., 2010, p. 412). Please see the Appendix for tables and figures with additional demographic information.

3.0. POTENTIAL ISSUES

Especially considering AMT is still an unfamiliar method for recruiting subjects, it is understandable for researchers to have concerns regarding its validity and generalizability (Paolacci et al., 2010). This section will cover two primary issues. First, we will address issues regarding whether or not participants are representative of the desired population, and steps that can be taken to ensure a specific population. Then we will move on to concerns regarding the overall quality of the data, and finish with the question "Is AMT appropriate for ~ [??] research?"

3.1. Are Participants Representative of the Desired Population?

Due to the fact that AMT must be accessed over the internet on a computer, there are inherently multiple segments of the population that will not be represented on the service, most obviously those lacking computers and/or internet access. Another issue is raised due to the restriction of valid bank accounts to those within the U.S. Although workers outside of the U.S. can still receive rewards for completed HITs, they cannot remove the funds from the system and must use them on Amazon.com. In order to get around this, some workers are known to use U.S. bank accounts and fake residency, making it necessary to check IP addresses if the sample population must be absolutely limited to the U.S. Luckily only a small percentage of workers do this, with 97% of responses of self-reported country of residence proving accurate after checking the IP address in a recent study (Rand, 2012).

3.1.1. Qualifications

Although IP addresses should sometimes still be checked, location (inclusive or exclusive) is one characteristic that can be used to pre-screen workers using *qualifications*. Additional standard qualifications available on AMT for screening include HIT approval rate, number of HITs approved, and various types of *Masters* qualifications for workers who have consistently performed well on a certain type of HIT. Also, requesters can create their own qualifications and assign them, with numeric values, to workers. One example from our research is using a grammaticality judgment test in conjunction with a questionnaire to determine if a worker's L1 is English, and inputting their accuracy on the test as the numeric value for a qualification labeled "L1=English". However, one must be careful of making the participant requirements too immediately obvious when creating a HIT. This point of caution is due to the major problem that some workers will lie about their personal characteristics in order to gain access to a HIT. Luckily, the issue can at least be partly solved through careful experiment design and by the use of passive screening (Paolacci et al., 2010).

3.1.2. Passive screening

Passive screening is performed by breaking an experiment up into multiple HITs, sometimes spaced over a couple of days or even weeks. The first HIT is typically a questionnaire or survey, though it can be combined with another part of the experiment (in our case, a grammaticality judgment test). Then, based on the esults of this first HIT, requesters can assign qualifications to those workers that meet the criteria for the experiment, and then invite them to subsequent HITs that are only available to those workers with the assigned qualification. Requesters can limited to contacting workers through AMT using an API, and only after the worker has participated in one of the Requester's HITS. For a tutorial on how to email workers using Boto, a Python interface to Amazon Web Services, please see Mueller & Chandler (2012). Though it requires a bit of extra work, passive screening nicely avoids the issue of workers altering their answers in order to gain access to a HIT, and allows for fact checking in each HIT in the series over a period of time.

3.2. What is the Overall Quality of the Data?

In general, due in large part to qualifications and pre-screening capabilities, the data collected from participants on AMT is of comparable or better quality than traditional web studies, web studies with a purposely built website, and even experiments in the laboratory (Paolacci et al., 2010). However, there are two very important issues that must be considered. First, is the low pay actually a potential problem? And second, are there problems with the complete anonymity of the participants and the fact that they are completely unsupervised?

3.2.1. Is the low pay an issue?

The low cost of finding participants on AMT is one of its major benefits, but is being paid an average of $1.38 an hour actually enough to motivate participants to put forth the effort to accurately complete HITs? Perhaps, according to a study done by Buhrmester et al., (2011), even at low compensation rates, payment levels do not appear to affect data quality, the only drawback appears to be data collection speed. The authors' have found this correlation to be true in our experiments as well. Indeed, in the pilot stage it is important to find a proper balance between pay, length of experiment, and strictness of qualifications, in order to recruit participants within a certain period of time.

3.2.2. Problems with anonymity and unsupervised participants

As true with all web based experiments, one potential problem of AMT is that anonymous unsupervised participants have a tendency to be less attentive than those who come into a lab with an experimenter. However, this drawback is partly solvable through the use of instructional manipulation checks that identify inattentive subjects or catch trials that determine subjects who did not pay close attention and remind them to pay attention (Oppenheimer et al., 2009). Other potential problems such as repeat participants are partly solved by the system of unique IDs that each worker has, but in general, it is important to be careful with experiment design, passively pre-screen workers, and also to keep a database of which workers have done which experiments.

3.3. Is AMT appropriate for research?

Although AMT could prove incredibly useful for certain types of research, there are many more kinds of research for which it just isn't feasible at this point in time. AMT is probably not appropriate for certain types of research if:

(1) The experiment cannot be easily done on a computer over the internet.
(2) The experiment is inescapably excessively long/complicated/boring/etc.
(3) The effect size is small and/or controls must be tightly maintained.

After considering this, the next step is to explore the existing literature. However, although AMT has been around since the end of 2005, it is only within the last 2 or 3 years that researchers have begun regularly using it as a recruitment tool, and numerous gaps in the literature still exist. Due to this lack of maturity, a motto of the authors is 'replicate and extend'. Replications are a necessary step to validate virtually all new methodologies, and AMT is still decidedly in this stage. After tying oneself into the literature with a replication, it is then possible to extend the research in interesting ways.

4.0. CONCLUSION

The take-away message from this paper is that although Amazon Mechanical Turk is still a new technology, and is still quite limited, as using it (and crowd-sourcing services in general) to recruit participants for certain types of research is an incredibly valuable option. It already has multiple key advantages, including speed, low cost, and participant pre-screening options that could make it better than standard web based experiments, and with maturation of the technology and creativity on the part of researchers. Over time, Amazon Mechanical Turk will become viable for a wider variety research. So, if you think there is even a small chance this might work for you, it is definitely worth giving it a try. For the rest, keep an eye on this space; in a couple years who knows what will be possible.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Sample Demographics and Psychiatric/Health History of U.S residents on AMT (Shapiro et al., 2013)

Demographic	Percentage
Age[a]	32.64 (11.63)
Race/ethnicity	
Caucasian or White	83.5
African American or Black	5.2
Hispanic or Latino	4.1
Asian or Asian American	5.9
Native American or other	1.3
Gender (female)	54.0
Sexual orientation	
Heterosexual	91.0
Lesbian or gay	3.6
Bisexual or other	5.4
Currently in a romantic relationship	64.8
Currently married	48.1
Have biological children	37.2
Have stepchildren	5.6
Education	
High school degree or less	13.1
Some college	38.8
College degree	31.8
Some graduate school	5.9
Postgraduate degree	10.4
Employment status	
Employed full-time	38.0
Employed part-time by choice	14.3
Underemployed	8.6
Unemployed by choice	14.7
Unemployed but would prefer not to be	24.4
Household income	
Less than $20,000	20.1
$20,000–$40,000	26.9
$41,000–$60,000	20.5
$61,000–$80,000	15.3
More than $80,000	17.2
Psychiatric and health history	
Ever diagnosed with a psychiatric or psychological condition	21.0
Currently in talk therapy	5.6
Currently taking medication for a psychiatric or psychological condition	12.2
Ever sought treatment for a substance abuse problem	4.3
Ever diagnosed with a chronic illness or physical disability (nonpsychiatric)	16.3

[a] M (SD).

Figure 1. Nationality and gender of AMT workers (Ross et al., 2010)
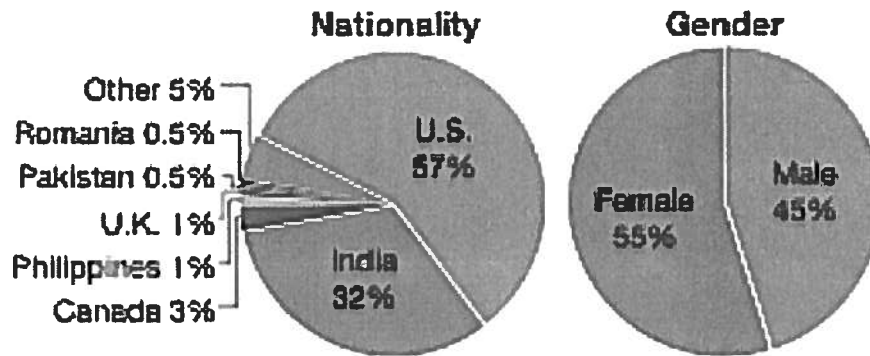
Figure 2. Demographics of AMT workers (Ross et al., 2010)

Age

18-24 yrs	40%
25-30 yrs	22%
31-40 yrs	19%
41-50 yrs	11%
51-60 yrs	8%
60+ yrs	1%

Education

High School	12%
Some College	21%
Associates	8%
Bachelor's	42%
Advanced	16%

Student

Part Time	12%
Full Time	21%

Employment

Unemployed	31%
Part Time	31%
Full Time	38%

Income

< $10k/yr	27%
$10k-$20k/yr	16%
$20k-$30k/yr	12%
$30k-$40k/yr	12%
$40k-$50k/yr	9%
$50k-$60k/yr	5%
$60k-$70k/yr	4%
+$70k/yr	14%

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%   50%
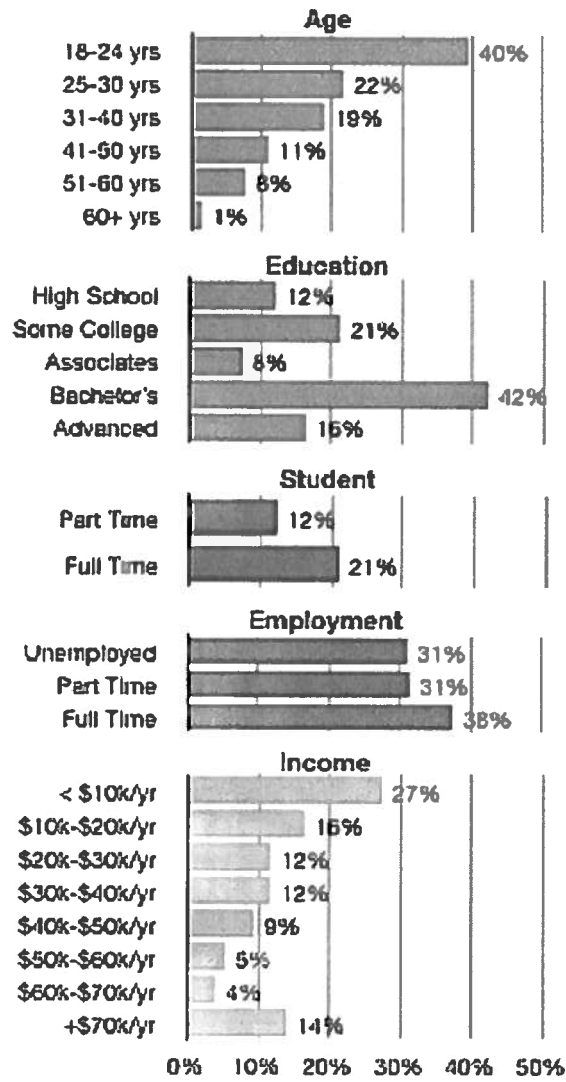
V. Linguistics

KOREAN NOMINALIZERS -*(U)M* AND -*KI*

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the syntactic and semantic properties of Korean nominalizers -*um* and -*ki*. Additionally, this study compares these Korean nominalizers with the gerund and infinitive in English, and finds that Korean nominalizer -*um* and gerunds describe situations or conditions that have already occurred in actual events, while Korean nominalizer -*ki* and infinitives express situations or conditions that have not yet occurred or are potential events.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Nominalization is a grammatical process where an expression is transformed to reflect the properties of a noun. According to Vendler (1967), the device of nominalization changes a sentence into a noun phrase, which later gets placed into another sentence. The newly formed expression with noun-like properties can then be used as a noun in a sentence. In Korean, verbs and adjectives can keep their functions and meanings when they combine with nominalizers, which include words like -*(u)m* or -*ki*, that become noun forms. Both -*(u)m* and -*ki* have similar functions, but they are different in their meanings and limitations.

Most research on Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* has studied them from different perspectives in regards to their meanings, functions, and aspects of transition. There are a few theories suggested by scholars concerning the standard for dividing -*(u)m* and -*ki*.

This paper aims to explain the syntactic properties of Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki*. It also looks at the similar functions between -*(u)m* and -*ki* in Korean and the gerund and infinitive in English. The paper is outlined as follows. First, the historical development of nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* will be observed; then, previous studies on these nominalizers will be examined. Next, discussion of the structural features of these nominalizers will define what the standards are that divide -*(u)m* and -*ki*. The general grammatical characteristics of the gerund and infinitive in English will then be discussed. Lastly, the syntactic features of nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* and the syntactic properties of the gerund and infinitive in English will be investigated and compared. Yale Romanization is used for transliteration throughout this paper.

2.0. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF KOREAN NOMINALIZERS -*(U)M* and -*KI*

Both Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* have appeared in documented records, showing how their function and usages have changed. Historical records show how the distributional features of these nominalizers have shifted from the fifteenth century to the present time.

During the fifteenth century, -*(u)m* was widely found in documents, while -*ki* was rarely used. Syntactically, -*(u)m* has the function of a noun (conceptual thinking) and -*ki* expresses the meaning of movement (materialization), meaning that -*(u)m* could be used more than -*ki*. According to Seo (2002), the nominalizer -*ki* began to appear from the sixteenth century, and as a result, -*ki* reduced the usage of -*(u)m* while expanding the applications of -*ki*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* coexisted and were often found being used in similar contexts. Even though -*(u)m* and -*ki* had maintained a coordinate relationship from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, their functions have clearly separated. By the nineteenth century, both nominalizers became justified in having their own syntactic properties. Therefore, while the historical documents in the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century have more examples of -*(u)m* than -*ki*, the frequency of the use of -*ki* is higher than the frequency of the use of -*(u)m* in the modern-day Korean language. Moreover, the use of -*un/nun/ul kes* has also recently increased, taking the place of the nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki*.

3.0. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON KOREAN NOMINALIZERS -*(U)M* and -*KI*

There are few theories suggested by scholars who are concerned about the standard for dividing -*(u)m* and -*ki*. First, Kwon (1982) states that verbs related with sense, perception, and statement tend to attach with the nominalizer -*(u)m* instead of -*ki*. Also, Lee (1989) claims that nominalizer -*(u)m* expresses completion of action.

Seo (1998) further suggests that *-(u)m* has the meaning of perception of reality while *-ki* has the meaning of action. Hong (1983) points out that nominalizer *-(u)m* is a concrete concept (reality) while nominalizer *-ki* is a generalization of an act (abstraction). The meanings of verbs that go with nominalizer *-ki* are of expectation, decision, and operation. Lee (2000) contributes to this study by indicating that nominalizer *-(u)m* means that something is an established fact and nominalizer *-ki* means it is undecided. Also, Sohn (2004) proposes that the definition of the factive and the non-factive can help clarify the difference between *-(u)m* and *-ki*. Thus, in my opinion, this uniqueness of *-ki* can be explained using the concept of [±existence], as supported by Kim (2005).

Among these studies, I believe that the factive *-(u)m* and non-factive *-ki* (Sohn, 2004) is the most general and abstract conceptualization that distinguishes the two different categories. For this reason, the functions and meanings of *-(u)m* and *-ki* will be discussed in terms of *-(u)m* being factive and *-ki* being non-factive in this paper. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) state that there are two classes of predicates, those that presuppose the truth of their sentential complements (factive) and those that do not (non-factive). These classes of predicates differ in both their syntax and semantics. A syntactic difference that has been frequently noted is that complements to factive predicates are weak islands for extraction. Semantically, factive and non-factive predicates differ in whether or not the truth of their complement clauses is presupposed. The truth of the sentential complement under factive predicates are presupposed, while under the non-factive predicates, the same sentential complement need not be evaluated as true (de Cuba, 2006).

4.0. KOREAN NOMINALIZERS *-(U)M* AND *-KI* VS. GERUND AND INFINITIVE IN ENGLISH

4.1. Syntactic Features of Nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki*

As stated above, the functions and meanings of nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki* have changed due to confused usage up until the nineteenth century. Currently, the usage of nominalizers *-(u)m* and *-ki* is almost entirely separate. In Korean, some predicates combine with only nominalizer *-(u)m*, while others combine with only nominalizer *-ki*. These two Korean nominalizers have also been used under restrictive conditions that include the types of matrix predicates, pre-endings, copula, and particles that may be used with them (Kim, 2005). Seo (2006) found that the limitations are different when Korean nominalizer *-(u)m* or *-ki* functions as a subject or as an object, as illustrated in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. When Korean Nominalizer *-(u)m* or *-ki* Functions as a Subject (Seo, 2006. p.46).

	-(u)m			*-ki*		
matrix predicate	stative predicate	*pwunmyeng -hata*	'clear'	stative predicate	*cohta*	'good'
					swipta	'easy'
					silhta	'unpleasant'
		mattanghata	'appropriate'		*sulphuta*	'sad'
		olhta	'right'		*phikon -hata*	'tired'
		sulphuta	'sad'			
		sinkihata	'marvelous'			
					culkepta	'happy'
	active predicate	*allyecita*	'be known'	*active predicate		
		tulenata	'reveal'			

Table 2. When Korean Nominalizer *-(u)m* or *-ki* Functions as an Object (Seo, 2006. p.46).

	-(u)m		*-ki*	
matrix predicate	*mitta*	'believe'	*cohahata*	'like'
	nukkita	'feel'	*culkita*	'enjoy'
	cucanghata	'assert'	*kitayhata*	'expect'
	sokita	'deceive'	*pilta*	'wish'

kalikhita	'point to/at'	kitalita	'wait for'
alta	'know'	makta	'stop up'
icta	'forget'	swita	'rest'
yathpota	'despise'	kkuthnayta	'end'
sikihata	'jealousy'	sicakhata	'start'
		myenhata	'exempt'

These are just few examples that use these verbs for the nominalizers -(u)m or -ki. One of the characteristics of using the matrix predicates and sentences that use the nominalizer -(u)m is to provide expressions where the situations have already been finished or decided. Also, -(u)m can be used when conditions or states are factual. Sohn (1999) claimed that the nominalizing suffix -(u)m contains the characteristics of 'the act or fact of being/doing' and is used with 'cognitive' words. Another characteristic is that the matrix predicates and sentences with nominalizer -ki are often situations that do not occur or finish. Moreover, nominalizer -ki can be used when the result cannot be known or expected. Sentences demonstrating these characteristics of nominalizers -(u)m and -ki are indicated in (1).

(1)　　a.　na nun [hyeng　　i　　　　sakitanghay-ss-um(/*-ki) ul　　al-ass-ta.
　　　　　 I　 TC brother　 NM　　cheated-PST-NOM AC　 know-PST-DC
　　　　　 'I knew that my brother had been cheated.'

　　　　b.　na nun [ku yeca　　lul　 po-ki(/*-m)] ka　　silh-ess-e.
　　　　　 I　 TC the woman AC　 see-NOM　 NM　　hateful-PST-INT
　　　　　 'I didn't like seeing her.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Sohn, 1999, p. 321)

Sohn (1999, p. 321) summarizes that in general, -(u)m clauses are closely related to facts that describe an event in accuracy, while -ki clauses are considered to be non-factive and describe an event that is yet to be realized.

4.2. Korean Nominalizers -(u)m and -ki vs. Gerund and Infinitive in English

Few matrix predicates are used together with both nominalizers -(u)m and -ki, as illustrated in Table 3. The meaning of these matrix predicates and sentences is related to judgments, decisions, or requests.

Table 3. Matrix Predicates Used Together with Both Nominalizers -(u)m and -ki (Seo, 2006. p. 46).

	both -(u)m and -ki	
matrix predicate	cohta	'good'
	silhta	'unpleasant'
	swipta	'easy'
	calang'ita	'proud'
	kitayhata	'expect'
	palata	'wish'
	kkelita	'mind'
	chenghata	'ask'
	yokwuhata	'demand'
	kwenhata	'recommend'

Furthermore, (2) and (3) are evidence for predicates combining with both nominalizers -(u)m and -ki. In (2a) and (2b), the same predicate aswipta 'deeply regretting' and the same verb stem ttena 'leave' are used.

However, these two sentences have different meanings depending on which nominalizer, *-(u)m* or *–ki*, is used. In the sample sentence (2a), the subject felt sad about a situation that has already occurred, which indicates that her friend is not here in this current situation. The nominalizer *-(u)m* is used for expressing a result the subject already knows and/or has experienced. In contrast, the subject feels sad that she will leave the situation as shown in (2b). However, it is not clear what happens after this circumstance. That is to say, we cannot know whether the subject has left or not based on only this sentence.

(2) a. kunye nun chinkwu ka   ttena-m-i   aswip-ta.
         she   TC   friend   NM   leave-NOM-NM   deeply regret-DC
         'I deeply regret that her friend left.'

     b. kunye nun cip ulo   ttena-ki-**ka**   aswip-ta.
         She   TC   home to   leave-NOM-NM   deeply regret -DC
         'She deeply regrets that she leaves to home.'

Also, both (3a) and (3b) use the same predicate and verb stem, but there is a difference between the two sentences that only applies to nominalizer *-(u)m* or *-ki*. In (3a), the situation has already occurred while the subject writes/speaks the sentence. On the other hand, the subject has a plan to go back to school, but does not want to do this in (3b). The listener has no idea whether the speaker went back to school or not because the nominalizer *–ki* that is applied represents only possibility. That is to say, no one knows if it has occurred or not.

(3) a. na nun hak.kyo lo tolaka-**m**-ul   kkely-ess-ta.
         I   TC school   to go back-NOM-NM   mind-PST-DC
         'I minded that I went back.'

     b. na nun hak.kyo lo tolaka-**ki**-lul   kkely-ess-ta.
         I   TC school   to go back-NOM-NM   mind-PST-DC
         'I minded that I will go back.'

Similar to the above cases of nominalizer *-(u)m* or *–ki*, the English gerund and infinitive can attach to matrix verbs under restrictive conditions which depend on the meaning of the matrix verbs and sentences. The verbs in Table 4 can be followed by the gerund and infinitive.

Table 4. Matrix Predicates Used with Gerund or Infinitive.

	gerund	infinitive
matrix	enjoy	want
verb	finish	hope
	mind	wish
	avoid	expect
	deny	promise
	consider	decide
	dislike	ask
	delay	plan
	suggest	desire
	recommend	manage
	postpone	attempt
	risk	refuse
	resist	offer
	admit	demand

Moreover, the sentences shown in (4) and (5) are examples of the gerund and infinitive.

(4)   a. He enjoys cooking at home.
        b. I suggest going to a restaurant.
        c. She avoids visiting her teachers.

(5)   a. She expects me to join her class.
        b. My friend offers to help me.
        c. I wish to have a new car.

Yule (2000) summarizes information on gerunds and infinitives, comparing their features and meaning as illustrated in Table 5. The gerund tends to describe actual events, where on the contrary, the infinitive suggests a possible event. Therefore, the major difference between the gerund and infinitive is that the gerund is based on true, real, or decided occurrences while the infinitive is related to undecided or future conditions or situations. Among the grammatical properties and semantic notions of gerunds and infinitives, most of these traits are similar to Korean nominalizers -(u)m and -ki.

Table 5. Information on Gerunds Versus Infinitives (Yule, 2000. p. 220).

	Gerund	Infinitive
Features:	more noun-like	more verb-like
	possessive modifier possible	no possessive modifier
	specified agent less likely	specified agent likely
Meanings:	Event	Acts
	more proposition-like	more performance-like
	performer not assumed	performer assumed
	more definite	less definite
	actually happens	possibly happens

On the other hand, some verbs can be used with both the gerund and infinitive. In (6), the two sentences use the same verb and the same stem, but the gerund and infinitive give them entirely different meanings. The subject sent the package and then now remembers it in (6a). Conversely, the subject has not sent the package out yet and has a plan for sending it in (6b).

(6)   a. I remember sending the package.
        b. I remember to send the package.

The following are more sample sentences for giving evidence to show the difference in meaning between the gerund and infinitive. While the subject has already experienced (7a), (8a), and (9a), the subject does not perform the act and nobody knows if it will occur or not in (7b), (8b), and (9b).

(7)   a. I regret talking about it.
        b. I regret to talk about it.

(8)   a. He stopped smoking.
        b. He stopped to smoke.

(9)   a. She tried learning Korean language.
        b. She tried to learn Korean language.

Therefore, I suggest, as shown in the above samples, that the features of Korean nominalizers -(u)m and -ki can be explained through a comparison with the gerund and infinitive in English. Certainly, the features of Korean nominalizers -(u)m and -ki are similar to the gerund and infinitive in English.

First, Korean nominalizer -*(u)m* and the English gerund have many similarities. The nominalizer -*(u)m* and the gerund are related to decided states and to declaration, affirmation, or assertion. The subject believes that the situations or conditions have already occurred under actual events when they use either nominalizer -*(u)m* or the gerund. Also, the similarity between the usage of -*(u)m* and the gerund is that they represent the features of nouns more than verbs. This can be explained by the characteristic that they express an obvious fact or unquestionable evidence.

Second, there are also similar points between the Korean nominalizer -*ki* and the English infinitive. They both express situations or conditions that have not happened yet, as well as potential events. Moreover, the sentences including the nominalizer -*ki* or the infinitive tend to describe hoping, wishing, desiring, prospecting, or anticipation. These abstract and dynamic traits of Korean nominalizer -*ki* and the infinitive are connected with the properties of verbs more than nouns.

Therefore, through previous investigations on the characteristics of Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* and the gerund and infinitive in English, we can imply that nominalizer -*(u)m* and the gerund have many similarities, and that nominalizer -*ki* and the infinitive are jointly owned. Among the various previous studies, the notion of factivity and non-factivity supported by Sohn (2004) could imply and explain many similar characteristics.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This study provided the historical development of Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* and observed previous research on these nominalizers. Also, the paper discussed the standard for dividing -*(u)m* from -*ki*, especially in terms of their factive and non-factive characteristics. Additionally, the syntactic features of nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki* and the syntactic properties of the gerund and infinitive in English were examined and compared through cases of sentences using either -*(u)m* and -*ki* or the gerund and infinitive in English.

By focusing on the sentence structure, I found that the syntactic features are also related to semantic notions. Additionally, Korean nominalizer -*(u)m* and the gerund define situations or conditions that have already occurred in real events. On the other hand, Korean nominalizer -*ki* and the infinitive express situations or conditions that have not occurred yet and prospective actions. According to Sohn (2004), the notion of the factive and non-factive can be applied for clarifying the difference between Korean nominalizers -*(u)m* and –*ki*. Therefore, the meaning or function of Korean nominalizer -*(u)m* and the gerund is shown to be factive, and the features of Korean nominalizer -*ki* and the infinitive are shown to be non-factive.

There are limitations in this study because of its focus on sentences that contain only a few matrix predicates that are used together with both nominalizers -*(u)m* and –*ki*, even though they can be used as subjects in the sentence.

Recently, use of -*un/nun/ul kes* has been increasing, taking over the place of nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki*. In the future, it will become relevant to include discussion on -*un/nun/ul kes* along with the change of the nominalizers -*(u)m* and -*ki*.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Accusative particle
DC	Declarative sentence-type-suffix
INT	Intimate speech level or suffix
NM	Nominative case particle
NOM	Nominalizer suffix
PST	Past tense and perfect aspect suffix
TC	Topic-contrast particle

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AUTOMATIC WORD RECOGNITION IN L2 READING: A COMPARISON BETWEEN A HIGH AND LOW READING COMPREHENSION GROUP

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to investigate the relationship between automatic word recognition and fluent reading with reading comprehension in L2 by replicating Kojima's (2010) study. In this study, thirty Japanese learners of English, equally divided into high and low reading comprehension groups, participated in a lexical decision task measuring automatic word recognition defined by recognition speed, stability (Segalowitz, 2010), and accuracy (Anderson, 2000). The results of this study failed to replicate Kojima's study; even among advanced-level learners the degree of automatic word recognition did not differ from low-level learners.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

All humans conduct parts of their daily life with limited cognitive capacity, such as having breakfast, lunch, and dinner, walking and so on. In doing these activities, you do not use any cognitive resources since the activities are routine and automatized. On the other hand, when you start doing new things, you have to draw on extra cognitive resources. For example, when you drive for the first time, you have to devote attention to many items at once, such as the process of driving itself and the environment around the car. Thus, you may feel very exhausted after parking. However, once you get used to driving, all cognitive resources can be drawn on other actions, such as paying attention to other vehicles around your car. This process is called automatization. This automaticity can play an important role in your daily life.

In the field of applied linguistics, the concept of automaticity has been adopted by researchers who are interested in reading, many of whom focus on the automaticity of the bottom-up process, specifically, word recognition. The reading process consists of two processes: bottom-up and top-down. In general, the bottom-up process is a micro-level process including word recognition, syntactic parsing, and semantic-proposition encoding. On the other hand, the top-down process refers to a macro-level process including background knowledge of genres and structure of texts.

Grabe (1991, 2009) and Grabe and Stoller (2002) have claimed that automatic word recognition can play an important role in fluent reading with comprehension. Once word recognition is automatized, fewer cognitive resources are used, allowing more resources to be focused on reading comprehension. So, automatizing word recognition is a necessary part of reading instruction. However, little attention has been paid to the relationship between automatic word recognition and fluent reading with comprehension. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate whether automaticity of word recognition has a significant impact on reading comprehension in L2 or whether it does not have any influence on reading understanding in L2.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Automaticity

First, it is necessary to describe what automaticity is. Basically, automaticity is a process done with little attention and low effort, in other words, doing activities without thinking about what you are doing.

Schneider, Dumais, and Shiffrin (1984) defined automaticity as "a first, parallel, fairly effortless process that is not limited by short-term memory capacity (STM), is not under direct subject control, and is responsible for the performance of well-developed skill behavior" (p. 1). However, the scientific definition of automaticity still cannot be determined since the definition varies from researcher to researcher (Segalowitz, 2005; Segalowitz & Hulstijin, 2005).

Segalowitz (2010, 2012) has given a comprehensible definition of automaticity for word recognition. According to him, automaticity consists of processing speed and stability. Segalowitz and Segalowitz (1993) explained that skilled word recognition includes both automatic and controlled processes that are blended. Automatic processes operate without interference. That is, the processes have fast and stable characteristics. Controlled processes, in contrast, operate when some decisions are made or some information is evaluated. Thus,

processing speed is slower and varies in execution time compared to automatic processing. So, as controlled processing becomes automatized, the processing will operate faster and more stably.

Segalowitz and Segalowitz (1993), however, argued that fast speed performance does not mean an automatic process. They discriminated between the speed-up of all underlying cognitive processes (quantitative change) and the automatization of them. The speed-up of processing may suggest that underlying cognitive processing just becomes faster whether the processing is automatic or controlled. In order for the controlled processing to be automatized, however, some variable components should become routinized, proceduralized, or eliminated. This qualitative change of underlying cognitive processing is called *restructuring*, and this restructuring is referred to as automatization. Segalowitz and Segalowitz empirically explained these speed-up and automaticity differences by adopting a coefficient of variation (CV), which is the standard deviation (SD) of a person's response time (RT) divided by the person's mean RT. In the case of simple speed-up, the mean RT and SD are reduced while the CV will not decrease. In the case of automatization, however, the SD will decrease at a greater rate than the RT, thus resulting in a low CV. This would show that cognitive processes have become faster and more stable. In sum, from Segalowitz and Segalowitz's study, it can be concluded that the RT and CV are indicators of automaticity.

Kadota (2012) conceptualized automaticity as psycholinguistic competence. Moreover, as Anderson (2000) indicated, practical word recognition abilities for L2 learners lie in word recognition speed and accuracy (AC). Thus, this study takes AC into account, too.

2.2. Empirical Study on the Relationship between Automatic Word Recognition and Reading in L2
Kojima (2010) investigated the effects of word recognition speed, accuracy and stability on two different English-reading proficiency groups, 22 intermediate and 22 advanced Japanese EFL learners, based on reading scores on TOEIC and on four different word frequency levels. To collect RT, CV, and AC, she used an antonym judgment task in which participants were asked to judge whether or not targets were antonyms to primes. She concluded that the more proficient EFL leaners were, the more quickly, accurately, and stably they recognized words. Moreover, high frequency words were recognized more quickly and accurately, but not stably.

In her study, however, there is no relation between reading comprehension and targets used in the antonym judgment task. That is, targets were not chosen from the comprehension test, but a vocabulary list (JACET, 2003). To reveal the relationship between the two, it might be better if targets were from the reading comprehension material. In addition, the task in Kojima's study was an antonym judgment task. This might require more than lexical access, and it might take extra time to judge prime-target pairs, so this could affect RT. Finally, her study did not measure fluency despite the fact that automatic word recognition plays a key role in fluent reading with comprehension. So, she should have measured reading fluency as well.

These points considered, the goal of this study is to replicate Kojima's (2010) study. The research questions are as follows:

1. Does the high reading comprehension group recognize words faster, more accurately, and stable than the low reading comprehension group? (RQ1)
2. Are high-frequency words recognized faster, more accurately, and stable than low-frequency words? (RQ2)

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants
The participants in this study were 30 Japanese learners of English in Hawaii, ranging from nineteen to thirty-five years old. Twenty-one were undergraduate students and nine were graduate students. They were divided into two groups according to their scores on Brown's (1980) cloze test: 15 high reading comprehension students (20-31 out of 50) and 15 low reading comprehension students (7-19 out of 50).

Table 1 shows the mean, minimum, and maximum score, and the SD of the mean score. An independent t-test was used to reveal that the difference in terms of mean score on the cloze test ($N = 15$, $M = 26$, $SD = 3.1$) and a low reading comprehension group ($N = 15$, $M = 14$, $SD = 4.0$) was statistically significant, t (28) =

9.312, $p < .001$, 95% CI [9.46248, 14.80236], 2-tailed. In addition, the effect size for this analysis was found to be a large-size effect ($d = 3.40$).

Table 1. Mean, Minimum, and Maximum Score on the Cloze Test

Groups	Mean	SD	Min	Max
High reading (n = 15)	26	3.1	20	31
Low Reading (n = 15)	14	4	7	19

Note: The highest possible score is 50.

3.2. Procedure

To collect the participants' RT, CV, and AC, a lexical decision task was conducted first. Each participant was tested in a quiet room. They sat in front of the desk and read the instructions on the PC screen. On each trial, fixation points composed of six plus marks (++++++) were presented for 1000ms on the center of the screen. Next, a target word was presented. Participants were asked to press one of two buttons on the keyboard as quickly and accurately as possible to decide whether the target was a real word or a non-word. When the target was a real word, they pressed "M"; for a non-word, they pressed "C." The target disappeared right after participants responded. The measurement of response times was made from the onset of the target until the participants' response. Before the 100 experimental trials, the participants received 10 practice trials. These practice trials never appeared in the experimental trials. The stimuli were randomized for each participant, and the session lasted approximately 5 minutes.

After the lexical decision task, each participant was asked to do a paper-based cloze test (Brown, 1980) to measure their reading comprehension (Chronbach's $\alpha = .801$). The topic of the cloze test was about "Man and His Progress." It consisted of 406 words including 50 blanks. Participants were asked to read the passage quickly to get the general meaning of the passage and to write only one word in each blank in 12 minutes. Contractions and possessives were counted as one word. Exact and acceptable answers were counted together. Incorrect spelling was counted as long as a scorer was able to read it. The maximum score was 50.

To set the time constraint, ten native English speakers took the test to measure how long it took to complete the test. Among these, the longest timing was 12 minutes. This time length was chosen as the time constraint.

Finally, each participant was asked to translate English target words into Japanese to see if they knew the target words.

3.3. Stimuli in the Lexical Decision Task

All 50 target words in the lexical decision task were chosen from the cloze test that measured participants' reading comprehension. These chosen words were not the answers of the cloze test. Among these 50 words, twenty-five words were high frequency words (e.g., 'people') and the remaining were low frequency words (e.g., 'branch') based on Kilgarriff's lemmatized list (Kilgarriff, 1996). This lemmatized list is based on the British National Corpus (BNC) (http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/). The verb 'help,' for example, occurs 51,871 times out of 100 million words in the corpus. The average frequency of high frequency words is 39,817.32 while that of low frequency words is 5,034.48. In addition, 50 nonwords were chose from the English Lexicon Project (Balota et al., 2002)

3.4. Apparatus

In this experiment, all stimuli in the lexical decision task were presented on a 12.1 inch 1600 x 900-pixel monitor on a Panasonic CF-SX2. To collect response times, Super Lab Version 4.5 software, released by Cedrus, was used.

4.0. ANALYSIS

Only the individual mean RT, CV and AC of correct responses of target words were calculated for high and low frequency targets. The RT, CV, and AC of the non-words were not removed from the calculation. The target words that participants did not know in the translation task (1.5%), incorrect responses (5% of the data) and mean response time ± 2 SD (6% of the data) were excluded from the participant analysis. A total of 191 observations were removed with this procedure.

Two-way factorial ANOVAs were conducted for the mean RT and AC. For the CV, because the homogeneity of the data had been violated, a Friedman test (nonparametric test) was used.

5.0. RESULTS

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for the Mean RT, CV, and AC by Groups and Frequency of Targets

Frequency of Targets	Low reading Group			High Reading Group		
	RT (SD)	CV (SD)	AC (SD)	RT (SD)	CV (SD)	AC (SD)
High	643 (24)	0.15 (0.05)	90 (26)	605 (22)	0.15 (0.03)	95 (4)
Low	684 (30)	0.2 (0.09)	88 (25)	650 (26)	0.16 (0.04)	92 (6)

Note. Unit: Milliseconds for RT and percentage for AC

5.1. Response Times

Figure 1 shows the mean RT for groups and frequency of targets. As a result of the two-way ANOVA for RT, the main effect for groups was not found (F (1, 56) = 1.985, p = n.s). A small effect size, however, was observed ($\eta2 = 0.03$). In addition, the main effect of word frequency was not found (F (1, 56) = 2.817, p = n.s). A small effect size, however, was observed ($\eta2 = .04$). Finally, the interaction of groups and word frequency was not significant (F (1, 56) = 0.008, p = n.s). There was no effect size ($\eta2 = 0$).
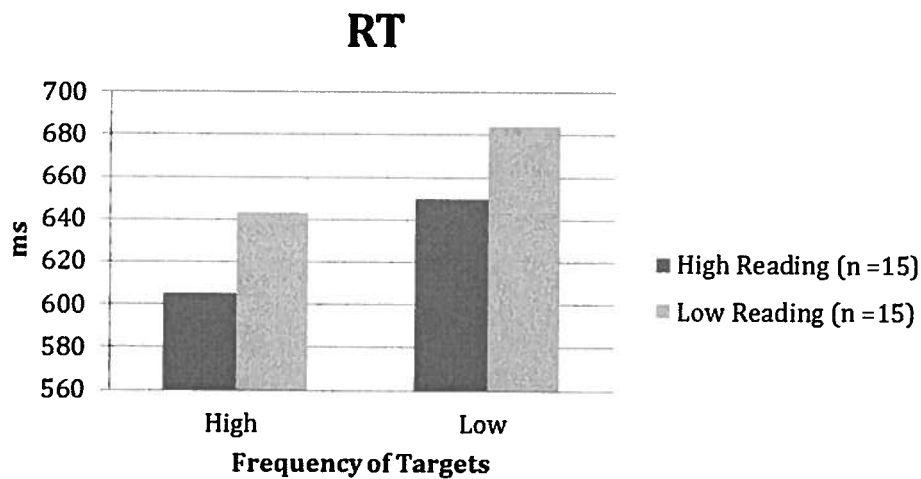
Figure 1. Mean RT by Groups and Frequency of Targets

5.2. Accuracy Rates

Figure 2 shows the mean AC by groups and frequency of targets. The ANOVA for AC rates produced no significant main effect for groups (F (1, 56) = 0.032, p = n.s). No effect size was found ($\eta2 = 0$). The main effect for word frequency was not found (F (1, 56) = 1.729, p = n.s). A small effect size, however, was found ($\eta2 = 0.03$). The interaction of groups and word frequency was not significant, F (1, 56) = 0.032, p = n.s. No effect size was observed ($\eta2 = 0$).

AC
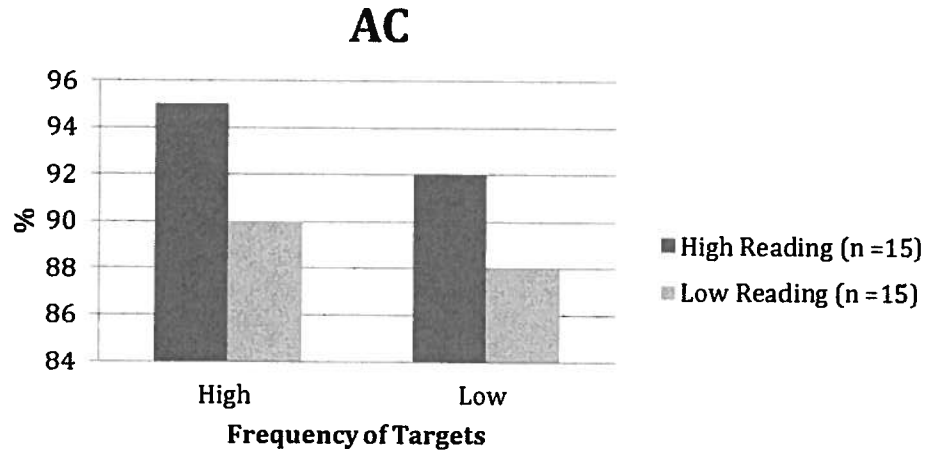
Figure 2. Mean RT by Groups and Frequency of Targets

5.3. Coefficient of Variation

Figure 3 represents the mean RT by groups and frequency of targets. A Friedman test was conducted for the CV scores. The test was not significant (χ^2 (3, N = 15) = 2.956, p = n.s), and the Kendall's coefficient of concordance of .066 indicated no difference in the CV.

CV
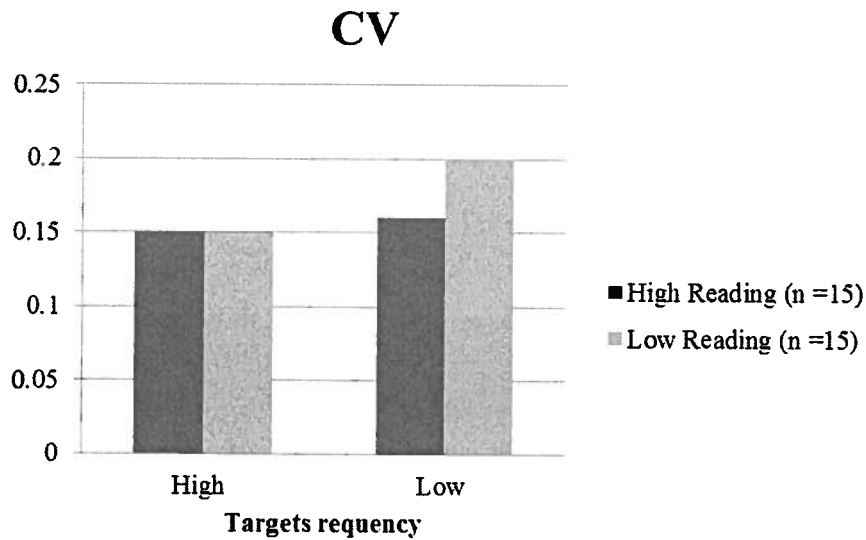
Figure 3. Mean AC by Groups and Frequency of Targets

6.0. DISCUSSION

As for RQ1 ("Does the high reading comprehension group recognize words faster, more accurately, and stable than the low reading comprehension group?"), the results showed that word recognition speed was not different between the two groups. The effect size, however, showed that groups and frequency marginally influenced RT. Similar results were found in the AC. That is, the AC of word recognition was not different between the two groups. The effect size revealed that only the word frequency slightly influenced the AC.

Regarding the CV, the results showed that the low reading comprehension group recognized words as stably as the high reading comprehension group.

For RQ2 ("Are high frequency words recognized faster, more accurately, and stable than low frequency words?"), word frequency was found to have a small effect on the RT and the AC, but not on the CV.

7.0. CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to replicate Kojima's (2010) study. The results of the current study, however, were contradictory to what Kojima found. That is, despite the advanced level of the learners, the degree of automatic word recognition did not differ from the low-level learners. Also, RT, AC and CV were not different across high and low word frequency. This study might indicate that automatic word recognition is not necessarily important in fluent reading with comprehension. It is, however, possible that automatic word recognition is necessary to read passages fluently, not for comprehension. So, to read the passages fluently while comprehending them, other components such as syntactic parsing (word integration) have to be automatized.

In terms of limitations, the sample size was very small for each reading comprehension group in this study. Because of this, a future study will replicate this current study again with more participants.

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APPENDIX A: TARGET WORDS USED IN THE LEXICAL DECISION TASK

Targets

High-Frequency words	Low-Frequency words
people	branch
man	warm
down	skin
many	handle
child	earth
life	winter
end	wood
hand	divide
provide	brain
period	root
walk	tool
several	wild
major	earn
food	bone
common	sharp
fire	camp
wall	meat
picture	creature
serve	chip
act	brilliant
animal	hunt
dead	seed
throw	dig
stone	wander
useful	carry

APPENDIX B: NON-WORDS USED IN THE LEXICAL DECISION TASK

Nonwords	
afed	ecfu
dite	tor
noats	dasp
rarry	vist
gie	plew
ablo	nerry
miotic	fup
vob	yate
dars	cloat
miet	bley
bicel	gern
slits	puzz
toar	sates
tach	woad
diko	croin
gijou	fora
sliss	jame
fulls	mears
sater	loody
higs	luid
rit	borce
flob	gop
careb	gez
lat	crail
bge	wum

LINGUISTIC TRANSFER OF ENGLISH DEFINITE ARTICLE AND JAPANESE MEDIAL DEMONSTRATIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to examine the learnability of the English definite article and the Japanese medial demonstrative. To do so, an acceptability judgment task will be assigned to Japanese ESL learners and American JSL learners. Each learner is predicted to fail to reject the items that the L1 translation equivalent can accept but where the L2 equivalent determiner is not grammatical. If the expected result is observed, the taxonomy that is used in this study may possibly be a good suggestion for instruction when teaching both the English definite article and the Japanese medial demonstrative.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Learnability is the study of the difficulty of learning certain aspects of a second language (L2). The literature presents a large body of evidence to suggest that it is problematic for second language learners (L2ers) to learn L2 target aspects when their first language (L1) counterpart needs to be partially suppressed, a process referred to as preemption. On the other hand, when an L2 target aspect allows for more instances of the L1 counterpart, it is easier to learn the L2 structure. (Gabriele, 2009; Inagaki, 2001). The purpose of this study is to investigate the claims of learnability in the area of identifiability. This proposal will detail the preliminary attempts to research the English definite article, the, and the Japanese medial demonstrative, sono, and the presence of L1 transfer for L2ers of the respective languages.

It has been shown that L2 article systems are hard to acquire for those who do not have an article system in their L1. Even advanced L2 learners tend to show variability in the use of the English article system (Robertson, 2000; Trenkic, 2009; Ionin, Ko, & Wexler, 2004; White, Belikova, Hagstrom, Kupisch, & Özçelik, 2012). Particular focus has been on the acquisition of the English definite article by speakers of article-less languages, for instance, Japanese (e.g., Wakabayashi, 1998; Bulter, 2002; Humphrey, 2007). Such research focuses are important to address in order to understand the system of inter-language that speakers of article-less languages use.

To bridge the difficult gap of understanding articles in an article-less language, concessions are sometimes made. For instance, in traditional classrooms in Japan, one of three demonstratives, *sono* ('that'), is taught as a direct translation of 'the' (Humphrey, 2007). Meanwhile, in some cases, the translation equivalent of the definite article *the* is the demonstrative *sono* ('that') (Kaneko, 2012a; Wakabayashi, 1998). However, there is much evidence to support the perspective that the two are not completely compatible (Kaneko, 2012a; Kaneko, 2012b; Wakabayashi, 1998). Using Hawkin's (1978) taxonomy, Wakabayashi (1998) looked at L1 transfer of Japanese *sono* to English 'the' for Japanese learners of English. Through the use of an article-missing task, he found that participants' use of 'the', in both correct and incorrect responses, was systematic. His study suggests that learners, in their awareness of articles, are strategic in how and when those articles are applied.

The purported systematicity reported in Wakabayashi (1998) can better be explained through the investigation of grammatical awareness by both L1 Japanese leaners of English as well as L1 English learners of Japanese. The Japanese demonstrative *sono* ('that') is a complicated topic in the JFL/JSL context as much as the English definite article is in the ESL context (Niimura & Hayashi, 1994). Both Japanese and English demonstratives can be either deictic or anaphoric. However, it is important to look at anaphoric uses of demonstratives instead of deictic uses of them because deictic uses do not inform us as to what is or isn't identifiable. As Niimura & Hayashi (1996) suggested, Kinsui & Takubo's (1990, 1992) framework appears to be consistent with the functions of Japanese demonstratives. However, it is not clear how anaphoric uses of Japanese demonstratives are taught in JFL/JSL classrooms. Therefore, how JFL/JSL learners conceptualize the Japanese demonstrative *sono* ('that') is not clear. This study, therefore, attempts to explore how JFL/JSL learners understand the anaphoric uses of Japanese medial demonstratives in addition to how EFL/ESL learners understand the uses of the English definite article by looking at transfer effects.

2.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, the functions of Japanese *sono* and English *the* will be defined. In addition, congruent and incongruent definite determination (Löbner, 2011) and Hawkins's (1978) taxonomy will be introduced in order to display the similarities and the differences between the English definite article and the Japanese medial demonstrative. Furthermore, there are three conditions given the similarities and the differences of the two prenominal determiners: (a) Japanese 'sono' is compatible but English 'the' is not, (b) English 'the' is compatible but Japanese 'sono' is not compatible, and (c) Both Japanese 'sono' and English 'the' are compatible.

2.1. What Does the English Definite Article 'The' Do?

The definite article in English is realized as one of the determiners that mark definiteness, which include demonstratives, possessives, and quantifiers (White et al., 2012). Definiteness is a semantic and/or pragmatic term that is closely related to the identifiability of referents in conversation. It refers to the state where both the speaker and the hearer share the identifiability of a unique referent. Specifically, "[a] discourse referent is definite if the speaker intends to refer to it, and expects the referent to be uniquely identifiable to the hearer, too" (Trenkic, 2008, p. 4). For example:

(1)   The Prime minister has just resigned.

In the case of sentence (1), the speaker who gave the utterance to their interlocutor must have intended to refer to one particular individual, and the speaker assumed that the hearer could identify only one person from among all possible interpretations of "Prime minister."

2.2. What Does the Japanese Medial Demonstrative 'Sono' Do?

Japanese medial demonstrative 'sono' is one of three Japanese demonstratives. The other two prenominal demonstratives refer to special orientations like English demonstratives *this* and *that*. The proximal demonstrative *kono* ('this') refers to an object that is close to the speaker. The distal demonstrative *ano* ('that over there') refers to an object that is distant from both the speaker and the hearer. Unlike these two demonstratives, *sono* ('that') refers to a special orientation that is not proximal to the speaker, but is closer to the hearer. When it is anaphoric, *sono* ('that') requires a linguistic antecedent (a referent that exists before *sono*). Greenberg, Ferguson, & Moravcsik (1978) claimed that Japanese *sono* is a definiteness marker, although it does not cover exactly what the English definite article covers. For example:

(2)   Honolulu-wa   mukashi-kara   kankoukyaku-ni   ninnki-ga-aru   basyo
       desu.
       Honolulu-NOM   long ago-from   tourist(s)-by   popularity-TOP-exist   place
       be.
       Sono toshi-wa   itsumo   kannkoukyaku-de   afure-teimasu.
       The city-NOM   always   tourist(s)-with   be full of-PRES
       'Honolulu has traditionally been a popular place for tourists. The city is always full of visitors.'

Sentence (2) is definite given that the speaker intentionally refers to Honolulu. In addition, the speaker can easily presume that the hearer can identify the referent since 'Honolulu' is an antecedent. However, the claim that *sono* is a marker for definiteness has been criticized by providing sentences that *sono* doesn't cover, but English *the* does (Kaneko, 2012a; Kaneko, 2012b). For instance:

(3)   (*Sono)   Roma-houou-wa Poland   shusshin-da.
          (The)   Pope-NOM   Poland   hometown-be.
          'The Pope is from Poland.'

In sentence (3), *sono* is not acceptable even though the speaker intends to refer to the Pope and the Pope is uniquely identifiable by the hearer. It is reasonable to presume that the Pope is identifiable by the speaker since

there is only one Pope. However, *sono* is not acceptable in this context because there is no linguistic antecedent that refers to the Pope.

2.3. Similarities and Differences Between 'The' and 'Sono'

Within the area of research on definite articles, it is customary to come up with a taxonomy that allows us to dissect the L2 learner's interlanguage system. The majority of such investigations that consider L1 transfer have applied Hawkins's (1978) taxonomy that lists eight different uses of English definite articles. However, this taxonomy does not cover the case where *sono* is acceptable and *the* is not. These studies that used Hawkins's (1978) taxonomy have not been able to show clear L1 transfer (Wakabayashi, 1998). Therefore, this study aims to investigate whether or not L1 transfer is observable when judging acceptability of sentences using a new taxonomy. In order to do so, congruent and incongruent definite determination (Löbner, 2011) will be used in addition to Hawkins's eight different uses of English definite articles.

2.3.1. Hawkins (1978) defines eight different types of English definite article uses

According to Wakabayashi (1998), Japanese *sono* ('that') can only use used in *Anaphoric use* and *Associative anaphoric use*. Each type and its example goes as follows:

Anaphoric use.

Maria-wa	sakana-ni	Nemo	to-iu	namae-wo	tsuketa.
Maria-NOM	fish-DAT	Nemo	saying	name-ACC	named.
Kanojo-wa	*sono*	sakana-ni	mai-ban	esa-wo	yari-masu.
She-NOM	*the*	fish-DAT	every-night	food-ACC	give-PRES

'Maria named her fish Nemo. She feeds *the* fish every night.'

Visible situation use. (There is only one salt in the visible situation)

(*?Sono*)	shio-wo totte	kudasai.	
The	salt-ACC	take	please

'Pass me **the** salt, please.'

Immediate situation use.

Soko-ni	haitte-wa	ikenai.	(**Sono*)	inu-ga	iru	kara.
There-in	enter-TOP	no-good.	(*The*)	dog-NOM	exist	because.

'Don't go there. **The** dog will bite you.'

Larger situation use (specific).

(**Sono*)	daitouryo-ga	tsuisakki	yameta
(The)	president-TOP	just	resigned

'**The** President has just resigned.'

Larger situation use (general). (When invited to a wedding)

(**Sono*) buraidomeido-wo	mita-no?
(The) bridemaid(s)-ACC	saw-Q

'Have you seen **the** bridesmaids?'

Associative anaphoric use.

Shinnpuson-wa	amerika	saicho-no	terebi	bangumi	desu.
Simpsons-NOM	America	longest-of	TV	show	be.
Sono banngumi-wa	15-nenn	izyou	tsuzuite-imasu.		
The program-NOM	15-year(s)	more than	continue-PRES.		

'The Simpsons is the longest running TV program in the USA. **The** show has aired for over 15 years.'

Unfamiliar use.

(**Sono*) Ai-ni	iku	beki	hito-wa	watashi-no	yuuzin-no
(The) See-to	go	should	person-TOP	my-GEN	friend-GEN
Bill Smith	da.				

Bill Smith   is.
'The man to go and see is my friend Bill Smith.'

Explanatory use.

Tsuma-to	watashi-wa (*sono) onaji		himitsu-wo	motte-iru.
Wife-and	I-TOP (*the*)	same	secret-ACC	have-PRES.

'My wife and I share **the** same secret.'

Given that both Japanese *sono* and English *the* are compatible in *Anaphoric use* and *Associative anaphoric use*, it can be said that both determiners have commonalities. Nevertheless, Japanese *sono* ('that') cannot have other uses. One could argue that *sono* and *the* are not compatible in this sense. This taxonomy, however, does not deliberate the cases where Japanese *sono* ('that') is acceptable but the English definite article is not. Therefore, in order to take this case into consideration, sentences based on Löbner's (2011) congruent and incongruent definite determination were added to the experimental items.

2.3.2. Congruent and incongruent definite determination by Löbner (2011)

This taxonomy introduces sentence types where Japanese *sono* ('that') is compatible while English *the* is not compatible. For example, there is a sentence type where number marking plays a role (Kaneko, 2012a). Also, there are other cases where English *the* is not compatible, but the English demonstrative *that* is (Kaneko, 2012b).

When number marking plays role. (Compatible with sentence 3 in Appendix A)

Watashi-no	ie-de	katte-iru	niwatori-wa	ichi-nichi	3-ko	
My	home-at	have-PRES	chicken-NOM	one-day	3-CL	
made	tamago-wo	umimasu.	Watashi-tachi-wa	3-nin	kazoku	nanode,
up to	egg(s)-ACC	lay-PRES.	We-NOM	3-CL	family	
because						

mai-nichi	hitori	hitotsu	*sono*	tamago-wo	tabe-rare-masu.
Every-day	a person	one-CL	*the*	egg(s)-ACC	eat-can-PRES.

'The chicken I have at home lay up to 3 eggs a day. Because we are a family of three, each of us can get *the egg/one of the eggs every day.'

English 'that' is compatible. (Compatible with sentence 6 in Appendix A)

Bunngaku-no	jugyo-ni	Hamuretto-ga	hitsuyou-datta	kedo	sono	
Literature's	class	*Hamlet*-TOP	*pro*-need-PAST	but	the	
hon -ga	toshokan-de	kasidashi-chuu	data	no¹.	Dakara	
book-TOP	library-at	circulation-in	be-PAST		*no.*	So

kari-rare-na-katta	nda	kedo,	kekkyoku	shinnpai		
pro-borrow-can-no-PAST	*nda*	but	after all	worry(ies)		
irana-kattan	*nda.*	Otouto-mo	*sono*	hon-wo	motte-ita	*nda.*
Unnecessary-PAST	*nda.*	Brother-too	*the*	book-ACC	have-PAST	*nda.*

'I needed to borrow *The Tragedy of Hamlet* to write a paper for literature class. But the book was in circulation in the library. So I couldn't get it. But guess what. In the end, I didn't have to worry about it because my brother also had *the/that book.'

I have not clearly defined these sentence types based on Löbner's (2011) theoretical definition yet. However, it is clear that there are three conditions of sentences comparing English *the* and Japanese *sono*: sentence type (a) Japanese *sono* is compatible, English *the* is not; sentence type (b) English *the* is compatible, Japanese *sono* is not; and sentence type (c) both Japanese *sono* and English *the* are compatible. Therefore, acceptability judgment items were created based on these sentence types. (See Appendix A, B and C.)

2.4. Learnability: Subset-Superset Relationship

Many studies have successfully made connections to learnability in linguistic transfer (e.g., Gabriele, 2009; Inagaki, 2001). This concept refers to the prediction that it is problematic to suppress certain aspects of a learner's first language without explicit correction when learning the L2. Given there are three sentence types, both EFL/ESL learners and JFL/JSL learners need to preempt their L1 when learning sentence type (a) and sentence type (b), respectively (Figure 1). Therefore it is expected that both of the learners will have difficulty learning English definite articles and the Japanese *sono*. This is important to address because it may speak for the need for more explicit feedback on small aspects that can be revealed by understanding more taxonomy. Also, it is possible to observe that one L1 preemption is easier than the other. However, I need to understand more of Löbner's (2011) semantic categories of nominal phrases or other taxonomy before taking this into consideration.
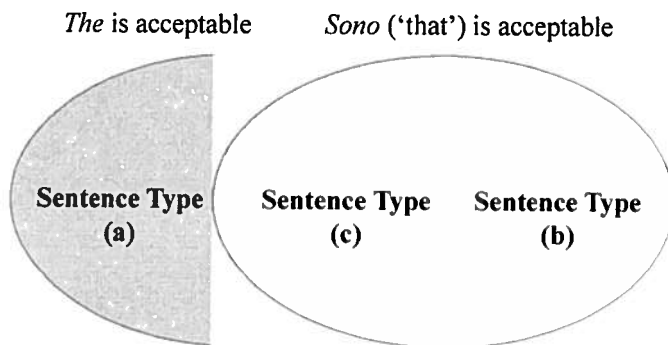
Figure 1. Learnability Superset-subset relationship.

3.0. METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the transfer from both Japanese to English and English to Japanese, six groups of participants will be recruited. Also, through a Cloze test in their L2, their proficiency levels will be tested in order to be able to analyze the learnability of *sono* and *the*.

3.1. Participants

Ten intermediate L2 Japanese learners of English and ten advanced L2 Japanese learners of English will be recruited. In addition, ten native speakers of English who have little knowledge of Japanese will also take the Cloze test and the acceptability judgment task as a control group. These three groups of participants will take a Cloze test in English, and will judge items in English. In order to investigate the other direction of linguistic transfer, ten intermediate American learners of Japanese and ten advanced American learners of Japanese will also be recruited. For the other control group, 10 native speakers of Japanese who have very little proficiency in English will be recruited. These latter three groups will take a Cloze test in Japanese, and will judge items in Japanese.

General language proficiency will be assessed based on the Cloze tests. The Japanese learners of English and the native speakers of English who don't speak Japanese will take an English Cloze test made by Dr. J.D. Brown. (Appendix E). The American learners of Japanese and the native speakers of Japanese who have little proficiency in English will take the Cloze test suggested by Douglas (1994) (Appendix D)

3.2. Items

There will be a total of 50 grammaticality judgment items. These 50 items include: 10 Type (a) sentences that are compatible with *sono* only, 10 Type (b) sentences that are compatible with *the* only, and 10 Type (c) sentences that are compatible with both *sono* and *the* (see Appendices A, B, and C). In addition, 10 correct sentences and 10 incorrect sentences will be added as filler. Unlike the experimental items, the selection of these 20 fillers will not be based on the correctness/incorrectness of the definite article or the medial demonstrative.

3.3. Procedure

Participants will be asked to rate the acceptability of the sentences ranging on a scale of one to four. One is 'it is not acceptable at all,' two is 'it is not quite acceptable,' three is 'it is fairly acceptable,' and four is 'it is completely acceptable.' In addition to the four scales, there will also be an option of choosing 'I am not sure.' For each item, participants will also be asked to correct the sentence if he/she judges it incorrect. They will not be aware of the project's focus on the English definite article and Japanese *sono*.

4.0. EXPECTED RESULT

The expected result is based on the number of accepted sentences of each sentence type, which are displayed in the y-axes below. The bar graph on the left side is the expected result of the EFL/ESL learners and the English native speaker control group. The graph on the right side displays the expected result of both the JFL/JSL learners and the Japanese native speaker control group.

Figure 2 shows how suppressing the use of *the* in Type (a) sentences is more difficult for the Japanese learners than for the English L1 learners to accept the use of *sono*. This prediction is consistent with the argument of the superset-subset relation.
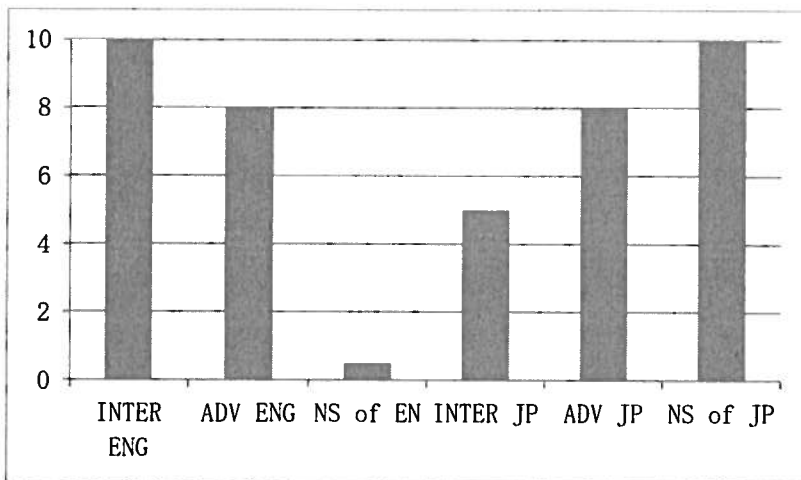
Figure 2. Type (a) sentences: Acceptance of sentence type (a) by L2 learners of English (left) and by L2 learners of Japanese (right)

Figure 3 displays how accepting '*the*' in the context of type (b) sentences is easier for the Japanese learners than it is for the English L1 learners to suppress the use of '*sono*' in the same context.
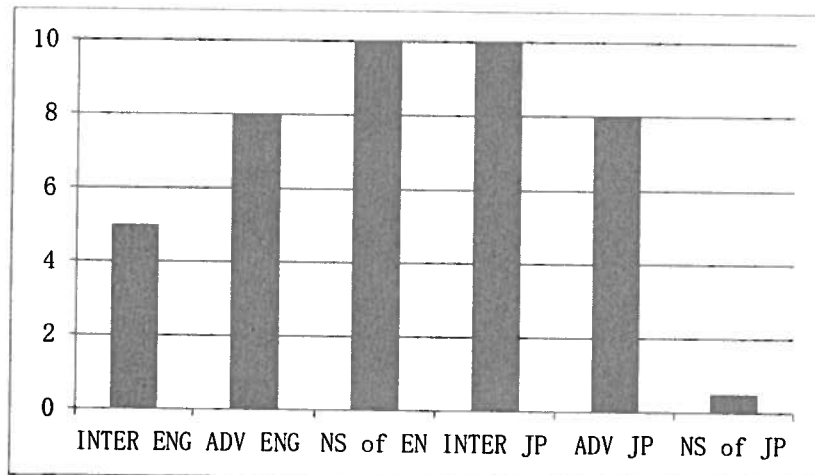
Figure 3. Type (b) sentences

Figure 4 is the expected result for the Type (c) sentences for both JFL/JSL and EFL/ESL learners. It is expected that neither of the learners will have problems accepting these types of sentences since both their L1 and L2 accept the use of *the* or *sono* respectively.
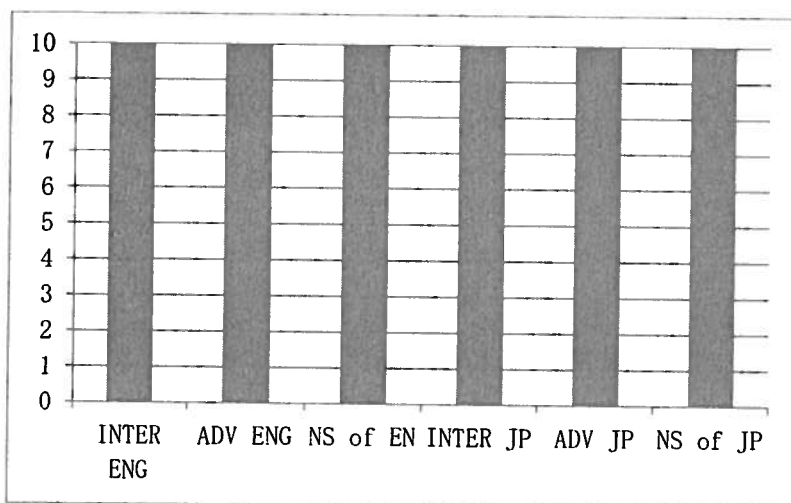
Figure 4. Type (c) sentences

5.0. DISCUSSION AND FURTHER PLANS

As a future plan, I would like to work more on understanding Löbner's (2011) taxonomy and the arguments in the semantic literatures. By doing so I hope to develop and confirm the acceptability judgment items and to better explain the theoretical background part of this project.

If the expected result is observed from this experiment, the theoretical argument of this study potentially contribute to the understanding of how Japanese ESL learners struggle with the concept of the definite article as well as how they have advantages understanding it. Like wise, the adopted theories may explain how English speaking JSL learners have struggles and advantage when understanding what the Japanese medial demonstrative does.

NOTES
1.   In example sentences, Japanese particles were glossed as they are.

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APPENDIX A

Type (a) sentences: *the* is not compatible but *sono* ('that') is compatible.

Cases where singular/plural plays a role.

1.   A: I am baking a lot of cookies tonight. So I'm distributing one per person to my classmates tomorrow.
      B: Can I have *the cookie too?
2.   A: Our coffee shop sells excellent blueberry muffins. However, because of the blueberry shortage this year, we can only sell one of them per person.
      B: One muffin is enough for me. I'll take *the muffin.
3.   The chicken I have at home lay up to 3 eggs a day. Because we are a family of three, each of us can get *the egg every day.

Cases where 'congruent and incongruent definite determination' plays a role.

4.   Toyota is a good company. Every automobile-company recommended *the automobile company.
5.   The pet shop had a really cute Golden Retriever puppy. And my parents said we could only take one. So I picked *the puppy.
6.   I needed to borrow *The Tragedy of Hamlet* to write a paper for literature class. But the book was in circulation in the library. So I couldn't get it. But guess what. In the end, I didn't have to worry about it because my brother also had *the book.
7.   A: Did you see *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*? I have wanted to see it, but I don't know where I can watch it. B: Do you want to come over to my place and watch it? I think Netflix has *the movie.
8.   MacBook is so fast! I know there are faster models like Mac Air, but I really like *the model.
9.   WalMart is my favorite supermarket. I go to *the store every week.
10.   Everyone that bought a novel had already once read a short story written by *the author.

APPENDIX B

Type (b) sentences: English *the* is compatible. Japanese *sono* is not.

11.   Don't go in there, Chum. **The** dog will bite you.
12.   My wife and I share **the** same secrets.
13.   **The** prime minister has just resigned.
14.   (When invited to a wedding) Have you seen **the** bridesmaids?
15.   A: What do you want to do after school today? B: How about seeing **the** sunset?
16.   A: What did you do in your Social Study class? B: We studied how to read **the** world map.
17.   **The** next time you come here, you better bring some beer.
18.   Barack Obama is **the** President of the United States.
19.   Only one student will receive a prize from **the** principal.
20.   Imoto climbed Mt. Fuji. She made it to **the** top.

APPENDIX C

Type (c) sentences: both English *the* and Japanese *sono* ('that') are compatible.

21. Hikaru Utada debuted with a single called "First Love." **The** release was a success.
22. People who read the Harry Potter series have at least once heard of **the** author's name.
23. I saw the moon in the sky yesterday. **The** glow was beautiful.
24. The Brooklyn Bridge was built in 19xx. **The** landmark is very popular among tourists.
25. The University of Hawaii was first built in the 1800s. **The** school has been accepting students since then.
26. *The Simpsons* is the longest running TV program in the USA. **The** show has aired for over 15 years.
27. In 19XX, Apple Computer produced the iPod. **The** company has gone on to produce other great products such as the iTouch, iPhone and iPad.
28. Honolulu has traditionally been a popular place for tourists. **The** city is always full of visitors.
29. "Spot" is Jonh's dog. He has to walk **the** dog twice a day.
30. Maria named her fish Nimo. She feeds **the** fish every night.

APPENDIX D

Japanese Proficiency Cloze Test Sample from (Douglas, 1994)

私は，今 USC という大学で日本語を勉強しています．USC は，ロサンジェルスにある大学（　），フットボールで有名な大学です．（　）は，去年の秋学期に始めました（　），もうそろそろ一年になります．日本語（　）クラスは，月曜日から金曜日まで毎日一時間あります．このクラスでは，（　）のようにしゅくだいがあります（　），毎週金曜日には，テストが（　）．漢字もどんどん出て来て，かなり（　）です．私は，毎日二時間ぐらい，（　）をしたり，ラボに行って（　）を聞いたりしていますが，（　）これでもじゅうぶんでは（　）ように思うこともあります．（　）は，日本語を専攻にする（　）ですから，日本語では，A（　）とりたいと思っています．

　　USC（　）日本語を二年ぐらい勉強してから，（　）へ行って，日本の大学で（　）ぐらい勉強してくるつもりです．日本（　）生活は，とても楽しいそうです．（　）へ行って帰って来た人は，

「（　）は，とても親切で，日本の（　）はとても楽しかった．」と，言っています．

APPENDIX E

English Proficiency Cloze Test Sample

YOUR NAME: _____   PARTICIPANT ID: _____

DIRECTIONS:

1.   Read the passage quickly to get the general meaning.
2.   Write **exactly one** word in each blank. Contractions (example: *don't*) and possessives (*John's* bicycle) are one word.
3.   Check your answers.

NOTE: Spelling will *not* count against you as long as the scorer can read the word.

EXAMPLE: The boy walked up the street. He stepped on a piece of ice.
            He fell ____*down*____ but he didn't hurt himself.

MAN AND HIS PROGRESS

Man is the only living creature that can make and use tools. He is the most teachable of living beings, earning the name of Homo sapiens. _____ ever restless brain has used the _____ and the wisdom of his ancestors _____ improve his way of life. Since _____ is able to walk and run _____ his feet, his hands have always _____ free to carry and to use _____ . Man's hands have served him well _____ his life on earth. His development, _____ can be divided into three major _____ , is marked by several different ways _____ life.

Up to 10,000 years ago, _____ human beings lived by hunting and _____ . They also picked berries and fruits, _____ dug for various edible roots. Most _____ , the men were the hunters, and _____ women acted as food gatherers. Since _____ women were busy with the children, _____

USE OF GENDERED LANGUAGES AMONG PRESCHOOL MALE CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

It has been reported that both boys and girls can produce appropriate gender-based linguistic forms, specifically interactional particles, but its frequency varies depending on the play contexts (Nakamura, 2001). However, given the fact that play activities require specific types of interactional contexts, we could consider that children's use of gendered languages in play activities may be influenced by the "characters" of the play. This study examined their use of gendered languages in non-play contexts. The result showed that the gendered languages were used when the children showed an authority or had a sense of an older sibling.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Many researchers such as Ide (1979), Reynolds (1991), and Okamoto & Sato (1992) have reported that the Japanese language has a significant gender distinction. In the Japanese language, the first person pronouns are distinguished between men and women: *boku* is exclusively used by men and *atashi* is used by women. The gender differences are also seen in speaking, specifically in casual conversations, and Maynard (1997) notes "the most prominent difference between masculine and feminine speech is the use of different interactional particles" (p.73) [1]. Furthermore, men and women are ideologically expected to behave accordingly. With respect to women's ideological behavior, Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2008) indicate that "women should speak quietly (low amplitude) in a high-pitched voice and should use honorifics, certain SFPs [sentence-final particles] like *wa* and *yo ne*, indirect speech act, and the like, because these linguistic items/features express the gentleness, politeness, and refinement which constitute *onnarashisa* 'womanliness', or normative femininity" (p. 89).

Although there are such gender differences in the Japanese language, it does not mean that male and female speech forms are always clearly distinguished. Okamoto and Sato (1992) observed that younger generations of women are more likely to use masculine forms than older generations. This indicates that although women's use of men's languages was considered an "exception" or "inappropriate" thus far, a variety of women's speech styles are now socially accepted. In fact, "there are few linguistic forms that are directly link to the female or male speaker" (Cook, 2008, p. 27). For example, Japanese sentence final particles such as *wa* and *yone* directly index delicate intensity and indirectly index female voice (Ochs, 1992). That is, we choose appropriate forms from a variety of gendered languages based on various social variables (e.g., Yukawa & Saito, 2004).

In the study on children's use of gender-based linguistic forms among Japanese children, Nakamura (1997) exemplified their speech styles while interacting with various people such as peers, mothers, and siblings. She found that both boys and girls can use appropriate gender based linguistic forms such as addressee/reference terms, sentence final particles, polite/honorific forms, and so forth. In terms of gender differences, the boys are more sensitive to using the appropriate gender based linguistic forms (i.e. men's languages), but these forms were significantly seen when their speech partners are their peers. She also conducted a similar study (2001) focusing more on their play contexts and found that a frequency of appropriate gender based linguistic forms by children varies according to the play contexts. For example, the boys used strong and assertive languages during rough and tumble play, but did not use them during moderate play such as store shopping play. Furthermore, it was observed that boys used exclusive feminine forms while playing a role of a woman (Nakamura, 1997). That is, it could be said that children's linguistic behaviors are constrained by situations or determined by play contexts (e.g., Loveday, 1986; Sachs, 1987; Sheldon, 1990, as cited in Nakamura, 2001).

As shown above, children's speech styles in play contexts somewhat differ from those in non-play contexts, specifically when playing a specific role. In Nakamura (1997), for example, both boys and girls used feminine sentence final forms while playing roles of a woman in play contexts such as a pretended play In other words, the feminine sentence final forms are less likely to be used when interacting in non-play contexts.

Nakamura did not specify in what kind of tumble plays the boys frequently used the strong and assertive languages. However, if we assume that it was seen in a superhero play, this may indicate that children's use of the appropriate gender based linguistic forms in play activities may be influenced by "characters" of the play or a fictional identity shifted from their ordinary identity. If their identity shift in the play contexts becomes a component of their use of gendered languages, it is great interest of asking if it will be observed on a basis of their primary identity. Since the boys are likely to be more sensitive to the gendered languages as Nakamura (1997) reported, in this small study, I examine if boys use gendered languages even in a non-fiction/non-play situation. And, since a small number of sentence final forms are directly linked to gendered languages (Cook, 2008), I also observe how these forms are implicated in conversational contexts.

2.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

It seems that the boys are sensitive to using gendered languages and are more likely to produce them during the play activities while interacting with their peers according to the results of Nakamura's studies (1997, 2001). However, given the fact that the selection of speech styles for children are subject to the play contexts, it is insufficient to conclude that their gendered languages are derived based on their ordinary identity. Furthermore, speech partners have not really been paid attention to in the previous studies with respect to their use of gender languages in non-situation/non-play contexts. In this small study, therefore, I examine the following research questions.

1. Do boys use gendered languages in non-play/non-fictional situations?
2. If they do, what is the implication of their use of these languages?
3. Are there any differences in their use of gendered languages according to speech partners?

3.0. METHODS

The data used for this study is the Japanese popular TV show called *Hajimete no otsukai* (My first errand)[2]. The conversations of eight pairs of children were collected: two pairs of boys, four pairs of older brothers and younger sisters, one pair of an older girl and a younger boy, and one pair of an older sister and a younger brother. Among them, there were a total of ten boys, and the age range was from three to five years old. Their conversations on the way to an errand were recorded and transcribed[3]. The linguistic elements in their dialogues such as the selection of interactional particles and the use of intonation at the sentence final positions were mainly observed. The observed gender forms were analyzed to examine how these forms were actually used by the boys. A summary of the boys is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. A Summary of the Target Children.

	Target's Name (age) – Gender	Target's speech partner (age) - Gender – Relationship
1	Shingo (4:9) – Male	Noe (3:4) – Female – Younger sister
2	Kippei (4:6) – Male	Kira (2:10) – Female – Younger sister
3	Tenma (5:3) – Male	Kokoro (4:3) – Female – Younger sister
4	Kazuki (4:5) – Male	Natsume (2:10) – Female – Younger sister
5	Yuki (3:10) – Male	Chiaki (5:10) – Female – Older sister
6	Ryuta (4:4) – Male	Soichiro (4:4) – Male – Friend
7	Soichiro (4:4) – Male	Ryota (4:4) – Male – Friend
8	Gen (3:9) – Male	Beni (4:1) – Female – Friend
9	Issei (4:5) – Male	Tsubasa (4:?) – Male – Friend
10	Tsubasa (4:?)[3] – Male	Issei (4:5) – Male – Friend

4.0. RESULTS

Despite the small number of target children, a variety of gendered languages were observed among the ten boys in the non-fiction/non-play contexts. Although there were individual differences to be seen, quite a few assertive expressions were observed in the conversations regardless of their speech partners. A relatively a large number of imperative expressions were also seen especially when their speech partners were younger sisters or

same-sex friends, although these were not as frequent as the assertive expressions. Interestingly, some of the boys occasionally spoke in a higher pitch as if they were imitating their mothers when the boys were with their younger sisters.

4.1. Assertive Expressions

The boys significantly used assertive expressions and these were often associated with sentence final particles such as *da, zo, yo, dayo,* or *dazo.* These forms were significantly observed in pairs of older brothers and younger sisters, and pairs of boy peers. The following excerpts are to show some examples of the assertive expressions produced by the boys.

(1)   a.   *Iku zo! Ore ga sentoo da!*
           Let's go! I'm a leader!

        b.   *Ya dayo. Dame dayo.*
           I don't like it. It's not good.

        c.   *Mama no tame ni kitan dazo.*
           We've come for our mom.

4.2. Imperative Expressions

The imperative expressions tended to be seen when the boys were interacting with their same-sex friends and younger sisters. The imperative expressions already have a strong tone of voice, but when it is used with the sentence final particle *yo,* it makes it sound more forceful. Some examples produced by the boys are shown below.

(2)   a.   *Mama ni kii-te miro.*
           Ask our mom.

        b.   *Naka haire.*
           Come inside.

        c.   *Kaere yo.*
           Go home.

        d.   *Otoko wa naku na!*
           Don't cry!

4.3. Sentence Final Forms with a Higher Rising Intonation

A rising intonation marks various non-linguistic features such as "uncertainty, question, doubt, and request for confirmation" (Cook, 2008, p. 27) but this kind of prosody also functions indirectly to index feminine voice (e.g., Reynolds, 2001). There were some examples with a rising intonation to be seen in request for confirmation and question but some boys further put a high pitch of the voice. This high tone of the voice was observed only in pairs of older brothers and younger sisters, specifically when the boys were taking care of their younger sisters. The following excerpts are some examples of a higher rising intonation at the sentence final position in the dialogues.

(3)   a.   *Naka-n totte <u>yo</u>.* ↑
           Please don't cry, okay?

        b.   *Koko de yasu<u>mu</u>.* ↑
           Do you want to take a rest here?

        c.   *Kowaku nai <u>desho</u>.* ↑
           You are not afraid, alright?

4.4. Ideological Feminine Expressions

There was only one feminine expression, *tara*, used by the boy. When it precedes a person's name with an emotional tone of voice, it sounds feminine. It is also used to show a speaker's irritation and to prompt somebody to do something. *Tara* was observed in a pair of older brothers and younger sisters. The older brother used it twice when he indicated some impatience with his younger sister's attitude.

(4)   a.   *Nacchan tara.*
            Come on, Nacchan.

      b.   *Demo, Nacchan tara. Nakantoite tte itta noni.*
            But come on, Nacchan. I told you "Don't cry".

5.0. DISCUSSIONS

As shown in the results, the boys produced a lot of assertive expressions and some imperative expressions when interacting with their same-sex friends and their younger sisters. These expressions are often associated with sentence final particles and the particles used by the boys such as *da, zo, yo, dayo,* or *dazo* are likely to be categorized into masculine forms (e.g., Okamoto & Sato, 1992). According to them the imperative expressions are also included in the masculine forms and are considered to be strongly masculine. However, this does not mean that women are not allowed to use these forms. These linguistic features closely relate to social meanings and are not limited to one particular sex (Ochs, 1992). That is, someone is more likely to use masculine forms when showing strong assertiveness or giving a command in certain social situations. In keeping with this, I will discuss an implication of the boys' use of gendered languages with several of the boys empirical utterances.

5.1. Stereotypically Masculine Forms

The assertive and imperative expressions were observed in pairs of older brothers and younger sisters and in pairs of boys. Shingo and Noe, an older brother and younger sister pair, go to buy a birthday cake for their mother. The following excerpt is from the scene immediately after they left their home.

Excerpt 1 (S: Shingo & N: Noe)

1   S: *Iku zo. ore ga sentoo da.*
            'We're off! I'm a leader!'

2   N: *Shingo matte.*
            'Shingo, Wait.'

3   S: *Hajimete no booken nan da. iku zo.*
            'It's our first adventure! Let's go!'

4   S: *Hashi-tte iku zo. Minna mitaini. iku zo.*
            'We're going to run like other people! Let's go!'

5   S: *Iku zo. Ore ga sentoo da.*
            'Let's go! I'm a leader!'

6   N: *Kowai.*
            'I'm scared.'

7   S: *Mama no tame ni kita-n dazo. Sore nara kaere yo.*
            'We've come for our mom! You go home, then!'

8   N: *Yada.*
            'No.'

In this excerpt, Shingo, the older brother, produces four *zo*, three *da*, one *dazo* and *yo*. In line 1 and 5, he says: *Iku zo. Ore ga sentoo da.* 'Let's go. I'm a leader'. Here, his way of speaking clearly indicates that he puts himself at the head and goes ahead. In line 3, while maintaining his strong tone of the voice, he suggests she run: *Hashi-tte iku zo. Minna mitaini. iku zo.* 'We're going to run like other people! Let's go!' In line 6, Noe, the younger sister, becomes scared and says *Kowai* 'I'm scared'. But immediately after that in line 7, Shingo strongly commands: *Mama no tame ni kita-n dazo. Sore nara kaere yo.* 'We've come for our mom! You go home, then!' In this scene, it is obvious that there is a power relationship between Shingo and Noe, and Shingo uses *da, zo, yo,* or *dazo* to show his authority to his sister.

Issei and Tsubasa are friends from the same preschool. The pair is asked by their mothers to buy daily commodities. The following scene is when Tsubasa trips over and cries, and Issei encourages him on the way home from their shopping.

Excerpt 2 (I: Issei, T: Tsubasa)

(Tsubasa trips over and cries)

9	I:	*Tsubasa, naite-n no kana.* 'I wonder Tsubasa is crying?'
10	I:	*Tsubasa. Nani boo-tto hashitte-n da!* 'Tsubasa, why you are running so slowly!'
11	T:	(coughing)
12	I:	*Tore yo. Hai.* 'Take (this). Here you are'.
13	I:	*Doko de koronda.* 'Where did you tripped over?'
14	I:	*Soko no michi no tokoro. Irero.* 'Is the street over there? Put it in'.
15	T:	(coughing)
16	I:	*Moo naku na! Otoko dakara, otoko wa naku na! Sonkuraide.* 'Come on, don't cry! Because you are a man, don't cry easily!'

Even though these two boys are friends, it seems that Issei behaved more wildly than Tsubasa. Actually, they often used the assertive and imperative expressions by using masculine forms, but the frequency of these expressions used by Issei was greater than Tsubasa in this data. In line 10, Issei realized that Tsubasa tripped. He went back to Tsubasa and said: *Tsubasa. Nani boo-tto hashitte-n da!* 'Tsubasa, why you are running so slowly!' in a reproachful tone of the voice with the use of *da*. In line 12 through 14, Issei kindly picked up the belongings that Tsubasa dropped and asked where he tripped. In these scenes, Issei used imperative expressions while kindly helping Tsubasa: in line 12, he says *Tore yo. Hai.* 'Take (this)' and; in line 14, *Soko no michi no tokoro. Irero* 'Is the street over there? Put it in.' Furthermore, in line 16, he got a little frustrated by Tsubasa and he commanded again in a reproachful tone of the voice: *Moo naku na! Otoko dakara, otoko wa naku na! Sonkuraide.* 'Come on, don't cry! Because you are a man, don't cry easily!'

Unlike the pair of an older brother and a younger sister, Issei and Tsubasa's social relationship is equal. They go to the same preschool and are in the same grade. Although they used the assertive and imperative expressions with each other, it did not show authority. Rather, it could be said that it was elicited from their conversational strategy to manipulate phatic and casual communicative interactions. That is, their use of men's languages is not limited to showing authority and its implication differs according to situational contexts.

5.2. Boys' Use of Female Expressions

Prosody may function to distinguish male and female speech styles. For example, Japanese sentence final form, *wa* with a rising intonation is used more by women and with a falling intonation more by men (Reynolds, 2001). In my data, although less frequently, some similar types of prosody were seen among boys, specifically in pairs of older brothers and younger sisters. One example from an older brother, Kazuki, and a younger sister, Natsume, are shown below.

Excerpt 3 (K: Kazuki, N: Natsume)

| 17 | K: | *Tsukareta desho.* |
| | | 'You must be tired'. |

| 18 | N: | *Un.* |
| | | 'Yeah'. |

| 19 | K: | *Kokode yasumoo ka.* |
| | | 'Shall we take a break here?' |

| 20 | N: | *Chotto ocha nomu.* |
| | | 'Do you want some tea?' |

| 21 | K: | *Boku noman.* |
| | | 'I'm fine'. |

| 22 | K: | *Ikou.* |
| | | 'Let's go'. |

| 23 | K: | *Koko de yasumu.* ↑ *Kage no tokoro de yasumoo.* |
| | | 'Do you want to rest? Let's take a break under the shade'. |

In line 17 through 23, Kazuki and Natsume were discussing if they should take a break. Kazuki asked Natsume if she is tired in line 17; *Tsukareta desho*. 'You must be tired'. In line 23, he suggested to stay under the shade of trees; *Koko de yasumu.* ↑ *Kage no tokoro de yasumoo.* 'Do you want to rest? Let's take a break under the shade'. In this scene, a high pitch tone of the voice on the final syllable *mu* in *yasumu* was observed when he talked to his younger sister in a tone of concern. As for the characteristics of usage of female sentence final forms, Nakamura (1997) notes that it is "women's tendency to care-take and respond to the needs of others" (Nakamura, 1997, p. 215). Although he is male, his behaviors and his use of female-like expressions here support a relationship with a role as an older sibling or his sense as an older brother.

In the same pair, there was another scene where the older brother used a typical female form. In the scene, they were walking up the steep path but his younger sister complained of sore legs and started crying on the way to the store.

| 24 | N: | *Ashi ga itai. Ashi ga itai.* |
| | | 'My legs hurt. My legs hurt'. |

| 25 | N: | *Ashi ga itai ki. Yasuu koko de.* |
| | | 'My legs hurt. I'll rest here'. |

| 26 | K: | *Yasuman.* |
| | | 'No. We'll not rest'. |

| 27 | K: | *Hayaku. Nacchan, hayaku. Girigiri.* |
| | | 'Hurry. Hurry Nacchan. We're almost there'. |

28	K:	*Hashitte.* 'Run'.
29	N:	(Starts crying)
30	K:	*Ashi ga itakutemo gaman shite.* 'You got to endure it even if your legs hurt'.
31	N:	*Daddy-chan, daddy-chan.* 'Daddy. Daddy'.
32	K:	*Nacchan <u>tara</u>...* 'Come on, Nacchan'.

Kazuki wanted to run to the shop but Natsume did not feel like moving anymore because of her sore legs. She finally started to cry and called their father's nickname (Daddy-chan). In line 32, Kazuki was at a loss and said *Nacchan tara...* 'Come on, Nacchan.' The expression that he used here indicates speaker's emotion such as irritation. It is used to prompt somebody to do something, and it is often used by women and seen in such situations like the example above. This expression is almost exclusively used by women. It is thought that Kazuki picked it from his mother or some female characters in some TV programs, but he has not realized that it is not an appropriate expression for men. That is, there is a possibility that he used it to show his role as an older sibling because it sounds more adult.

5.3. Use of Gendered Languages and Situated Identities

As discussed above, the boys used the masculine forms when interacting with either their friends or sisters. However, implications of their use of these forms seem to be dependent upon situational contexts: Their strong tone of voice showed an authority to their younger sisters but showed intimacy to their peers. On the other hand, their use of feminine forms was seen only when interacting with their younger sisters. Looking at the scenes where the boys used those forms, a high pitch tone of voice and a typical female form were observed when they perceived their role as an old brother: i.e. when they were taking care of their younger sisters. This variation of speech styles depending upon their speech partners is derived from the speaker's identity. In other words, our identity becomes a factor in speech style choice. As for this identity construction, Zimmerman (1998) terms it as "situated identities" and notes as follows:

> Situated identities come into play within the precincts of particular types of situation. Indeed, such situations are effectively brought into being and sustained by participants engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets (p. 90).

Remember, Shingo showed authority to his younger sister, Noe, in the strong tone of the voice. In that scene, he says: *Iku zo. Ore ga sentoo da.* 'Let's go. I'm a leader'. And Issei, one of a pair of two boys, showed intimacy to his friend Tsubasa by using the masculine forms. On the other hand, Kazuki, a boy from another older brother and younger sister pair, used the feminine form to his younger sister when she got cranky. Given these examples, it is possible to think that Shingo's situated identity was a 'leader,' Issei was a good friend, and Kazuki was a caring older brother. That is to say, they use gendered languages to display a variety of identities.

6.0. CONCLUSION

This was an observation of the use of gendered languages among male preschool children in non-fiction/non-play contexts. Stereotypically masculine forms, assertive and imperative expressions, were seen when they interacted with their younger sisters and their peers. They significantly produced these expressions at the sentence final positions, but it seems that the implication of these forms differed depending on their situated identities: as an authority (showing the authority to their younger sister) or as a friend (using these expressions as a conversational strategy to manipulate phatic and casual communicative interactions when interacting with their peers). Interestingly, although less frequently, they produced moderately feminine forms at the sentence

final positions specifically in pairs of older brothers and younger sisters. Because their use of these forms and caring behaviors tended to co-occur, it is also thought that their sense of identity as an older brother relates to their use of feminine forms.

In this study, however, data collected from pairs of children were limited to boys, and it lacked a variety of speech partners. For future study, therefore, I need to observe girls' use of gendered languages and their implications according to various situational contexts and speech partners' attributes.

NOTES
1. Interactional particles can occur either in the middle of or at the end of sentences. On the other hand, sentence final particles are limited to the sentence final positions.
2. Japanese popular TV show. It has aired since 1991 and broadcasts twice a year. The main concept of this TV program is of a short journey by small children who go on an errand for the first time. Small microphones are hidden in a small bag that the children carry, which records their natural conversation, and the cameramen are disguised as townspeople.
3. His exact age is unexplained but his school year is the same as his partner.

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SEMANTICS OF *COM*

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ABSTRACT

Jurafsky (1996) argues there are universal tendencies in semantic change. He observes a paradox where diminutives convey more than just a sense of attenuation, but also that of intensification. *Com* has gone through the same process and the core semantic of *com*, 'low on a scale', came to mean 'something measurable' through the process of generalization or semantic bleaching. Furthermore, with a pragmatic intervention, *com* has acquired the new meaning 'high on a scale'. As a result, the core meaning of *com*, 'a little', has bifurcated to now encapsulate both the deepened meaning of 'minimal' and its new contrary meaning.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Traugott and Dasher (2002) argue that "the direction of semantic change is often highly predictable, not only within a language but also cross-linguistically" (p. 4). In his study on the semantics of diminutives—including English *little*, French *petit*, and Japanese *chotto*, which are equivalents of Korean *com* as morphological diminutives—Jurafsky (1996) argues that there are universal tendencies in their semantic changes. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) argue that the diminutives cannot be simply listed in the lexicon or grammar with the single abstract meaning 'small' and that other senses are derived by contextually based inferences when the diminutive is used. Inference gradually becomes conventionalized as the literal meaning of the morpheme (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994; Heine, Ulrike, & Friederike, 1991; Traugott & König, 1991). Jurafsky (1996) observes that cross-linguistically there is a paradox that diminutives can cover not only the sense of attenuation but also that of intensification. In addition, words meaning 'a little' generally develop to function like English 'please' cross-linguistically (Matsumoto, 2001). In Greek, the diminutive suffixes such as *-aki* are also used to make the utterance friendly and informal (Sifianou, 1992). In Awtuw, the diminutive suffix on a personal pronoun is used to show sympathy for the referent of the suffixed pronoun (Jurafsky, 1996). In Japanese, *chotto* 'a little' also has expanded to become a speech act qualifier (Matsumoto, 2001). These universal semantic tendencies of diminutives are the result of a unidirectional semantic change: from subjectivity into intersubjectivity. The meaning of a word acquires subjectivity first and intersubjectivity afterward. In other words, the meaning change occurs from the more physical, specific, and real-world toward the more abstract, general, and qualitative. Traugott and König (1991) suggest three tendencies in how meaning becomes more removed from the external world and more subjective or evaluative:

1. External situation → internal situation (evaluative, perceptual, cognitive)
2. External/internal situation → textual/metalinguistic situation
3. External/internal/textual situation → more speaker's subjective belief state

Com acquired subjectivity and intersubjectivity through the same mechanism. The semantics of *com* shift from the real-world domain 'a little' to the linguistic or textual domain of 'semantic hedges', weakening the locutionary force, to the metalinguistic domain 'metalinguistic hedges', weakening the illocutionary force. It extends into the pragmatic domain as *com* has acquired intersubjectivity.

2.0. SEMANTICS OF *COM*

The Standard Korean Language Dictionary (2008) by the National Institute of the Korean Language defines *com* as an adverb with five meanings, as follows. All the example sentences are taken from the dictionary.

First, *com* is the contracted form of *cokum* in terms of degree or amount.

(1)   a.   mwulken-kaps-i ***com***   pissa-ta.
                  item-price-NM   a.little   be.expensive-DC
                  'The price of the item is a little expensive'.

b.   emeni-ka   *com*   phyenchanh-usi-nkes   kath-ta.
      mother-NM   a.little be.sick-SH-RL thing   be.like-DC
      'Mother seems to be a little bit sick'.

Second, *com* is the contracted form of *cokum* in terms of duration.

(2)   *com*   nuc-ess-sup-ni-ta.
      a.little   be.late-PST-AH-IN-DC
      'I am a little bit late'.

Third, *com* is inserted in a request or when seeking agreement in order to make it sound softer.

(3)   a.   son   *com*   pilly-e   cwu-sey-yo.
            hand   *com*   lend-INF   give-SH-POL
            'Give me a hand, please'.

      b.   ikes   *com*   tu-sey-yo.
            this   please   eat-SH-POL
            'Please eat some'.

      c.   mwues   *com*   mwulepo-p-si-ta.
            something   please   ask-AH-IN-DC
            'Let me ask you something, please'.

      d.   kuman   *com*   ha-y!
            no.more   please   do-IM
            'Stop doing it, please'.

      e.   ka-l   kil-i   kwu-man-li-la-ney,
            go-PRS road-NM   nine-ten.thousand-unit.of.distance-QT-APP
            ppalli *com*   ka-sey.
            Fast   please go-PR
            'We have such a long way to go, please let's hurry'.

Fourth, *com* indicates the situation is tolerable in a question or an ironic statement.

(4)   nalssi-ka   *com*   chwuw-eya   kitong-ul   ha-ci.
      weather-NM   *com*   be.cold-should   movement-AC   do-SUP
      'I can move only if the weather is only a little bit cold. (I cannot move if the weather is too cold)'.

Fifth, *com* denotes *elmana* 'how much/many' in a question or an ironic statement.

(5)   a.   twul-i   kulehkey   saicohkey   cinay-ni
            two-NM   so   in.amity   get.along-because
            com   coh-unya?
            com   good-Q
            'Isn't it nice that you two get along well?'

      b.   kongpwu   calha-ko   mal   cal   tul-uni
            study   do.well-and   words well   listen-because
            com   hwullyungha-yyo?
            com   be.great-POL
            'Isn't it great that he is good at studying and obedient?'

The first and second meanings are the pure propositional meaning of *cokum*, and they can be translated as 'a little' or 'a few' in English. *Com* can qualify duration or amount of measurable things or the degree of

states. When *com* is used as 'small amount, short duration, or low degree', it is synonymous and interchangeable with *yakkan* 'a little'.

(6) a. Small amount
         sokum-ul   *com*   neh-usey-yo.
         salt-AC   a.little   put-SH-POL
         'Please put a small amount of salt'.

     b. Short duration
         sikan-i   *com*   nam-ass-nuntey   mwe   ha-lkka?
         time-NM   *com*   leave-PST-but   what   do-PRS-Q
         'There is a little time left, what should we do?'

     c. Low degree of a certain condition
         ecey-pota   nalssi-ka*com*   chwuw-e-cy-ess-eyo.
         yesterday-than   weather-NM   *com*   be.cold-INF-become-PST-POL
         'The weather became a little colder than yesterday'.

The meaning of *com* 'a little' intensified, and it has come to carry the connotation of a minimum amount. The negative polarity item, *comchelem* 'rarely', is lexicalized from a noun *com* and a particle *chelem* 'like'. The quantity expression in a negative polarity item is called a "minimizer," which denotes "some minimal quantity or extent" (Vallduvi, 1994, p. 263). In other negative polarity items such as *cokumto* 'at all', *hanato* 'even one', or *hanbento* 'never once', the root nouns *cokum*, *hana* 'one', and *hanben* 'once' are the minimizers, and they all have the meaning of 'minimum'. The fact that *com* is the minimizer in *comchelem* shows that *com* also has the meaning of 'minimum'. These negative polarity items carrying the meaning of 'minimum' can only be used with negative expressions as in (7).

(7) a. ku-nun   **comchelem**   keki-ey ka-ci   an-h-nun-ta.
         he-TC   rarely   there-to go-NOM   not-do-IN-DC
         'He hardly ever goes there'.

     a'. *ku-nun **comchelem**   keki-ey ka-n-ta.
         he-TC   rarely   there-to go-IN-DC

     b. pesu-ey pi-n   cali-ka   **hanato**   eps-ess-ta.
         bus-in be.empty-RL   seat-NM   even.one   not.exist-PST-DC
         'There was not an empty seat in the bus'.

     b'. *pesu-ey   pi-n   cali-ka   **hanato**   iss-ess-ta.
         bus-in   be.empty-RL   seat-NM   even.one   exist-PST-DC

     c. na-nun   **hanpento**   kyelsekha-n   cek-i   eps-ta.
         I-TC   even.once   be.absent-RL   time-NM   not.exist-DC
         'I have not missed a single class'.

     c'. *na-nun   **hanpento**   kyelsekha-n   cek-i   iss-ta.
         I-TC   even.once   be.absent-RL   time-NM   exist-DC

While *com* has deepened its meaning of 'a little' to 'minimum', it also seems to have expanded its semantics beyond something related to *little* in quantity. The third definition of *com* in the Standard Korean Language Dictionary (2008), "*com* is inserted in a request or when seeking agreement in order to make it sound softer," is already a well-recognized function of *com* as a hedge. But this function is not limited to requests or seeking agreement but can be applied to other sentence types also, in order to tone down the force of expression. Yoo (2010) argues that in terms of semantics, the original form *cokum* is [+measurability] whereas *com* is [-measurability]. In other words, *com* acquired subjectivity and has meaning beyond modifying something measurable. Likewise, Lee (1998) points out that *com* can be used as a modal adverb as well, in

which it is again different from *cokum* or *yakkan* 'a little'. That is, *com* is semantically related to measuring amount, duration, or degree and is used as an approximative, or "semantic hedge" as well. Jurafsky (1996) observes that diminutives are used for approximation, or weakening of adjectival or verbal force, cross-linguistically. In the following examples, *com* cannot be replaced with either *yakkan* 'a little' or *manhi* 'many/much', which denote amount, duration, or degree. On the other hand, it can be replaced with modal adverbs such as *ceypal* 'please', *amwuccolok* 'as much as one can', *pwuti* 'by all means'. Even when *com* is omitted from the example sentences, the propositional meaning of the sentence doesn't change since *com* only expresses the modality of the speaker.

(8) a.   malssum   *com*   mwut-keyss-sup-ni-ta.
            words   *com*   ask-will-AH-IN-DC
            'May I ask you something?'

     b.   kuman   *com*   ha-y.
            to.that.extent.only   *com*   do-IM
            'Stop it.'

     c.   ppalli   *com*   ka-p-si-ta.
            fast   *com*   go-AH-RQ-PR.
            'Please go faster'.

     d.   *com*   kamanhi iss-e.
            com   still   be-lM
            'Stay still.'

     e.   kongpwu   *com*   ha-y.
            study   *com*   do-lM
            'Do your study'.

     f.   mwul   *com*   cwu-si-llay-yo?
            water   *com*   give-SH-will-POL
            'Water, please'.

In this type of usage, *com* has acquired intersubjectivity and extends into the pragmatic domain. Kay (1987), in his research on the semantics of hedges, argues that "hedges don't merely modify the extent to which an argument is a member of a category; a hedge involves the performance of an extra speech act" (p. 71). Jurafsky (1996) explains that this kind of metalinguistic hedge is commonly represented by the diminutive cross-linguistically. Metalinguistic hedges modify "the metalinguistic content of an utterance, that is, they contain a second speech act which comments on the sentence or its content" (Mendoza, 2005, p. 166). Jurafsky (1996) argues that "this pragmatic type of hedge is often used in an extended way to soften or weaken the illocutionary force of the entire utterance" (p. 557) instead of "focusing on its propositional content" (p.556).

The fourth definition of *com* in the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (2008) is: "*com* indicates the situation is tolerable in a question or an ironic statement." It provides the following sentence as an example. Here, *com* can be replaced with *ecikanhi* 'fairly; tolerably' or *pothong-ulo* 'ordinarily'.

(9)   nalssi-ka   *com*   chwuw-eya   kitong-ul   ha-ci.
      weather-NM   *com*   be.cold-should   movement-AC   do-SUP
      'I can move only if the weather is tolerably cold'.

Fifth, *com* denotes *elmana* 'how much/many' in a question or an ironic statement. The dictionary provides the following example sentences. Here, *com* can be replaced with *pothong-ulo* 'ordinarily'.

(10) a. twul-i   kulehkey   saicohkey   cinay-ni
          two-NM   so   in.amity   get.along-because
          com coh-unya?
          com good-Q
          'Isn't it nice that you two get along well?'

      b. kongpwu   calha-ko   mal   cal   tul-uni
          study   do.well-and   words well   listen-because
          com hwullyunghay-yo?
          com be.great-POL
          'Isn't it great that he is good at studying and obedient?'

As seen from the fourth and fifth definition in the dictionary, the meaning of *com* seems to have been expanding beyond a reliance on its propositional meaning 'a little'. Researchers like Cwu (2000), Kim (2009), and Yoo (2010) also observe the meaning change of *com*. Yoo (2010), in her study on the semantic changes in reduced forms, observes that the intended meaning of *cokum* and *com* are the same for both but *com* alone has gained the new meaning of intensification. Cwu (2000) and Kim (2009) argue that *com* means *manhi* 'many/much' in many cases. Their claim seems to be promising and *com* seems to be undergoing a gradual change to obtain this new meaning.

A native speaker of Korean might think that *com* does not always mean 'a little' or work as a semantic or metalinguistic hedge. I conducted a short survey on an internet cosmetics community board where Korean women in their 20s and 30s participate. First I asked what the meaning of this sentence is: *ku yeca-nun elkwul-i com yepputa* 'that lady's face is *com* pretty'. And I gave them two choices: (1) *ku yeca-nun elkwul-i yakkan yepputa* 'that lady's face is a little bit pretty' and (2) *ku yeca-nun elkwul-i manhi yepputa* 'that lady's face is very pretty'. A total of 22 people answered, and nine people chose (2). Two of the nine commented that *com* means *kkway* 'fairly, pretty', and two commented that when you say *kongpwu com haci*, 'be good at studying' or *mommay com toyci* 'be in good shape', *com* is added to emphasize the statement. Ten people didn't choose anything, but left comments. Seven people said that it means 'her face is on the side of being pretty'. Two people commented that it means *yeyppucanghata* 'be on the pretty side'. One person said it can be both.

Interested in these results, I asked about the meaning of another sentence: *ku salam-un ton-i com issta* 'that person has *com* money'. I gave them two choices: (1) *ku salam-un ton-i yakkan issta* 'that person has a little money' and (2) *ku salam-un ton-i manhi issta* 'that person has much money'. A total of 15 people replied and 14 people chose (2). Among them, eight left comments saying *com* here emphasizes the meaning, and five said it is equivalent to *kkway* 'fairly, pretty'. The one who didn't answer (2) didn't choose (1) either, but said the meaning was 'he at least doesn't have debt'.

I also found an interesting question on the same internet community board:

(11) 'ton   *com*   pe-n-ta'la-nu-n   phyohyen,
      money *com*   earn-IN-DC be-DC-IN-RN   expression
      elma   cengto-la-ko   sayngkakha-sey-yo?
      how much   extent-be.DC-QT   think-SH-POL
      'How much money do you think the expression "make a little money" means?'

The person elaborated: "If you make more than two million won a month, can it be called *ton com pe-nun cengto* 'level of making much money'?" and "If you are a graduate from a prestigious university, how much will be the *ton com pe-nun swucwun* 'standard of making much money'?" There were 15 replies. One person replied:

(12)   **com**   pe-n-ta-la-ko   ha-myen   cal   pe-n-ta-nun
       com   earn-IN-DC-be.DC-QT   say-if   well   earn-IN-DC-RN
       iyaki   kath-ase   welswu   opayk   isang
       talk   be.like-because monthly.income five.hundreds   or.more
       'Since it sounds like one "makes a lot of money" when one says "make a little money," it would be more than five million won (approx. $4,500) a month'.

All others agreed except one person who said "more than ten million won (approx. $9,000) a month."

Cwu (2000) provides two sentences as evidence that *com* has this new meaning. (8a) is a sentence with *cokum* and (8b) is exactly the same except that *cokum* is substituted with *com*. However, (8b) sounds unnatural, and she argues that this is because *com* has the meaning of 'much'.

(13)   a.   Yengmi-nun   pap-ul   **cokum** mek-nuntey   sal-i   ccin-ta.
            Youngmi-TC   meal-AC   a.little eat-but   fat-NM   gain-DC
            'Although Youngmi eats only a little, she still gains weight'.

       b.   *Yengmi-nun   pap-ul   **com** mek-nuntey   sal-i   ccin-ta.
            Youngmi-TC   meal-AC   a.little eat-but   fat-NM   gain-DC
            'Although Youngmi eats only a little amount of her meals, she still gains weight'.

Not only can *com* be understood with the new meaning of 'much/many' or intensification because of the speaker's intonation or through the creation of new forms like *ccom*, but *com* is already used frequently with the new meaning among native speakers of Korean, although it hasn't been lexicalized. How did the meaning 'a lot' develop from the referential meaning 'a little'? What is the mechanism that leads to such semantic change? I begin by considering how generalization, or semantic bleaching, plays a role in linking these two paradoxical senses. The referent meaning of *com* can be rephrased as "low on some scale" (Jurafsky, 1996, p. 554). The scale can be "a scale of amount," "a scale of duration," or "a scale of degree." That is to say, the core semantics of *com* is related to something gradable or measurable. By the mechanism of generalization, *com* loses the meaning 'low' and becomes more abstract and generalized. The result becomes less specific and can be applied to a wider range of contexts while it continues to include the original meaning of "related to something gradable or measurable." A similar mechanism has led the diminutive to gain extremely abstract, vague semantics in many languages (Jurafsky, 1996).

Through such a mechanism, *com* acquires the opposite meaning 'a lot' and becomes a contronym, that is, a lexical item that "can be subject to opposite sense at the micro-level" (Karaman, 2008). Kronasser (1952) and Meid (1979) argue that language change results in the occurrence of contronymy in natural language. There are five different kinds of contronymy according to the type of opposition that occurs between two related senses of a single form at a micro-level: contronymy of incompatibility, contronymy of antonymy, contronymy of complementarity, contronymy of reversivity, and contronymy of conversivity. *Com* is a type of contronymy of antonymy, which has "the features of gradability" (Lutzeier, 1995, p. 81). At the macro-level, antonymous relationships consist of adjectives that are opposites. At the micro-level, a lexical unit is a case of contronymy of antonymy if it can be subjected to gradation and if it consists of at least two senses, which are contradictory within one aspect. For example, the English adverb *quite* expresses two meanings, 'to the utmost or most absolute extent or degree' and 'a little or a lot but not completely', as seen in the following examples. Both meanings take place within the aspect of 'evaluative state' (Karaman, 2008).

(14)   a.   The two situations are quite different.

       b.   He is quite attractive but not what I'd call gorgeous.

One mechanism for the emergence of contronymy is through polysemy, where a single word acquires different and ultimately opposite senses. Some polysemies may be harmonic with each other but others may be strongly disharmonic (Traugott & Dasher, 2002, p. 54). Contronymy is the result of the disharmonic polysemies. Traugott and Dasher (2002) argue that semanticization of a polysemy comes from the appearance of an item in a "new" context in which the earlier meaning of the item would not make sense. Frequency is one of the factors that condition such change. Repetition is one of the factors behind emancipation and bleaching

through the process of habituation (Haiman, 1994). In other words, acquiring subjectivity and then intersubjectivity, *com* as a hedge has evolved into a signal that indicates that the speaker is intensifying something, whether it is the locution or illocution of the utterance. Since intensifying is the opposite end of the scale, *com* has the sense of 'high on scale'. This pragmatic intervention leads to semanticization of *com*'s polysemy and it eventually makes *com* a contronym. The process can be illustrated thus:

[low on a scale]   >   [low]
                   >   [on a scale]   >   [high on a scale]

There are expressions like *cip-i com salta* 'have a wealthy family' or *com issta* 'be wealthy', where *com* doesn't mean 'a little property' but 'a lot of property', as in the following examples.

(15)   i   hakkyo-nun   tunglokkum-i   pissa-se   cip-i
       this   school-TC   tuition-NM   be.expensive-because   house-NM
       com   sa-nun haksayng-man   tani-n-ta-ko   ha-n-ta.
       com   live-RL student-only   attend-IN-DC-QT   say-IN-DC
       'They say that only those students whose families are rich can go to this school because the tuition is very expensive'.

(16)   ku   os   ip-unikka   ne   *com*   iss-e   poi-n-ta.
       those   clothes wear-because   you   *com*   possess-INF   look-IN-DC
       'You look rich in those clothes.'

In the beginning, people were likely to use *com* as a hedge when talking about someone's wealth, as in *cip-i com cal salta* 'have a wealthy family' or *ton-i/caysan-i com manhi issta* 'be wealthy', because such comments can be a face threatening act in Korean culture. Through high frequency and repetition, the sense of *cal* 'well' or *manhi* 'much' seems to have been carried over to *com* so that *com* acquired the meaning of 'high in scale' and finally became almost like an idiom.

3.0. CONCLUSION

The core meaning of *com* is 'a little', and it has developed in two directions so that it now includes the deepened meaning of minimal and the new contrary meaning. I have shown that *com* with non-subjective semantics gains new meaning through subjectification and intersubjectification. The semantics of *com* is not enough to explain its functions at the discourse level because *com*, with its high frequency, has already gained intersubjectivity and is used for qualifying interactions of speaker and addressee.

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STUDY ON KOREAN CONSONANT PHONEMES IN THE SYLLABLE-FINAL POSITION IN KOREAN DRAMA

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ABSTRACT

Using 54,735 syllables collected from the scripts of two kinds of Korean dramas, the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position were analyzed both in spelling and pronunciation bases. The nine phonological rules that may affect syllable-coda consonants were applied to the colloquial texts in the scripts and each pronunciation was manually checked. For the calculation of phoneme and syllable frequencies, SynKDP 1.5.5, a corpus-analyzing program, was used.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to provide information on the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position in Korean colloquial texts. Information on phoneme frequencies in a colloquial style of language is one of the fundamental knowledge components of the language and it gives a clue to understand its sound system. This is beneficial especially for Korean as Foreign Language (KFL) learners whose mother tongue does not have any or fewer phonemes at the end of syllable.

Although there are altogether nineteen consonant phonemes in Korean, only seven consonants may occur in the syllable-final position when they are pronounced[1]. Comparing previous data on frequencies of Korean consonants in colloquial texts (Park, 1971) to his own data in Korean drama (K-drama) and news scripts converted to the actual pronunciation form, Byun (2001) says the most prominent discrepancy between the frequencies of consonant phonemes in spelling and pronunciation existed in the final consonant. In fact, the number of syllables with a final consonant appeared as 35% of the total 171,824 syllables in Byun's study, whereas it was 68% of the total 77,898 syllables in the Park's data. The result of Byun's study may be partially supported by Shin (2010). She analyzed the frequencies of Korean phoneme and syllable units using 47,401 entries from the Yonsei Korean Dictionary. As a result, the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable final position accounted for 34.2% (57,248 units) in the total of 290,131 phonemes. In addition, the frequencies of phoneme /n/ and /ŋ/ appeared in relatively high compared with other /k/, /t/, /l/, /m/, and /p/ phonemes.

Taking these results carefully into account in this study, I investigated the relationship between spelling and pronunciation in Korean by focusing on the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position. According to Byun's study, the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position decreased by 33% in pronunciation from Park's data in spelling. However, this number was calculated from different materials in two different studies. Therefore, in the following analysis, the same colloquial texts in the same material are examined and compared. I also analyzed if there was any significant change of the frequencies of each of the seven consonant phonemes after some inevitable phonological rules were applied.

2.0. METHODS

2.1. Materials

As the study material, I chose the scripts used in two different K-dramas. In order to analyze colloquial texts that may be spoken frequently by native Korean speakers in everyday conversation, six episodes from two K-dramas were selected. These were SBS Drama '*Kutay Wuseyo* (You Smile)' and KBS Drama '*Nay Ttal Soyengi* (My Daughter Seo-young)'. The details about the study material are shown below.

Table 1. Materials.

Title of Drama	Released Year	Episode
Kutay Wuseyo (You Smile)	2009	17, 18, 19
Nay Ttal Soyengi (My Daughter Seo-young)	2012	2, 3, 4

2.2. Procedures

Using 54,735 syllables collected from the scripts of K-dramas above, the frequencies of consonant

phonemes in the syllable-final position were analyzed. For the calculation of phoneme and syllable frequencies, SynKDP 1.5.5[2] (named *Kkamccaksay* in Korean) was used. Pronunciations of all the scripts were manually checked and there were nine phonological rules that may have affected the consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position. Phonological rules applied to the scripts are as follows.

Table 2. Applied Phonological Rule[3].

Phonological Rule	Rule
Coda neutralization	/p, p^h, (p')/ → [p]
	/t, t^h, (t'), s, s', c, c^h, (c'), h/ → [t]
	/k, k^h, k'/ → [k]
	when unreleased (i.e., in the environ. of C, #, +)
Nasalization	C other than /l/ → nasal in the environ. of __ [+nasal]
Liquidization	/n/ → [l] in the neighborhood of /l/
Palatalization	/t/ → [c]
	/t^h/ → [c^h] in the environ. of __ (h)i, (h)j
Consonant cluster simplification	CC → C in the environment of C, #, +
Pre-tense/ aspirate reduction[4]	/p, t, k, s/ → ø
	in the environ. of __ homorganic tensed or aspirated C
/h/-aspiration	Lax stop + /h/ → aspirated stop
Resyllabification	V(C)C. + (G)V → V(C).C(G)V
/h/-reduction	/h/ → ø in the environ. of __ ending or suffix

Note: V = vowel, G = glide, C = consonant, # = word boundary, + = compound boundary.

3.0. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

There were a total of 54,735 units of syllables found in the colloquial texts in the study materials. On the basis of spelling, there were 20,787 units of the syllables with a final consonant that accounted for 38% of the total syllables. After the phonological rules are applied, the frequencies of the syllables decreased to 15,487 units accounted for 28.3% of the total. In other words, the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position reduced approximately 10% in pronunciation. In spelling, there were 24 kinds of syllable-coda consonants found in the materials, including double consonants. Among the total of 11 kinds of double consonants in Korean, two of them, *lph* and *ls*, were not found. As shown in Table 3, the most frequently appeared consonant is *n* with 6,685 units, which accounted for 32.16% of the total syllable-coda consonants, followed by the consonant *l* with 3,776 units, which accounted for 18.2%. On the other hand, the most frequently appeared double consonants was *nh* with 292 units, followed by *ps* with 241 units and *lh* with 48 units.

Table 3. Frequencies of Syllable-coda Consonants.

Ranking	Letter	Frequency	Frequency (%)	Ranking	Letter	Frequency	Frequency (%)
1	n	6685	32.16%	14	ph	137	0.66%
2	l	3776	18.17%	15	t	122	0.59%
3	ng	2479	11.93%	16	lh	48	0.23%
4	m	1749	8.41%	17	ch	40	0.19%
5	ss	1547	7.44%	18	kk	38	0.18%
6	k	1508	7.25%	19	lm	19	0.09%
7	p	880	4.23%	20	nc	12	0.06%
8	s	458	2.20%	20	lp	12	0.06%
9	h	353	1.70%	21	lk	5	0.02%
10	nh	292	1.40%	22	ks	1	0.00%
11	ps	241	1.16%	22	lth	1	0.00%
12	th	201	0.97%	Total		20787	100.00%
13	c	183	0.88%				

In order to compare the frequencies of consonant phonemes in spelling and in pronunciation, the Coda neutralization rule was applied to syllable-coda consonants other than *n*, *l*, *ng*, *m*, *p*, *t*, and *k*, and the Consonant cluster simplification rule was applied to double consonants. With regard to double consonants *lk* and *lp*, which can be either /l/ or /k/, /l/ or /p/ depending on the stem and ending, I checked each of the words to choose which phoneme should be pronounced. As shown in Table 4 below, the order of phoneme ranking is almost the same between spelling and pronunciation although its units and percentage of frequency are different. The one thing which showed significant difference in its frequency is phoneme /t/. The frequency of phoneme /t/ decreased from 15.4% in spelling to 2.2% in pronunciation. As indicated in Table 2, phoneme /t/ can be a neutralized sound of seven phonemes at the maximum, whereas phoneme /k/ or /p/ neutralizes only two or three phonemes. This must have made the frequency of phoneme /t/ increase in spelling. However, when it is pronounced in an accentual phrase, phoneme /t/ in the syllable-final position is often alternated based on the phonological rule. Considering these facts, phoneme /t/ in the syllable-final position seems to be susceptible to sound alteration.

Table 4. Frequencies of Consonant Phonemes in Spelling and in Pronunciation.

Ranking	Phoneme	Frequency	Frequency (%)	Ranking	Phoneme	Frequency	Frequency (%)
1	n	6697	32.22%	1	n	6560	42.36%
2	l	3838	18.45%	2	l	3023	19.52%
3	t	3196	15.37%	3	ŋ	2544	16.43%
4	ŋ	2479	11.93%	4	m	1668	10.77%
5	m	1768	8.51%	5	k	724	4.67%
6	k	1551	7.46%	6	p	627	4.05%
7	p	1260	6.06%	7	t	341	2.20%
Total		20787	100.00%	Total		15487	100.00%

Note: Spelling.   *Note:* Pronunciation.

Figure 1 indicates the frequencies of consonant phonemes in spelling. As shown in the graph, phoneme /n/ had the highest frequency with 32.2% and the other phonemes decreased gradually in the following order:, /l/, /t/, /ŋ/, /m/, /k/ and /p/. The sum of the frequencies of phoneme /n/ and /l/ accounted for 50.7% of the total phonemes, whereas the phoneme /m/, /k/, and /p/ were just 22.1% of the total.
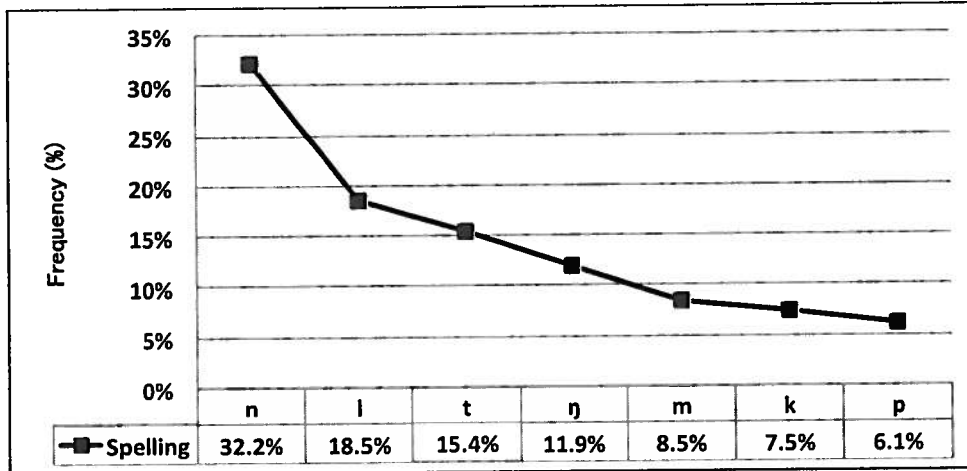
Figure 1: Frequencies (%) of Consonant Phonemes in Spelling.

Table 5 shows the syllables that have more than 50% cumulative frequency in spelling. Although there were a total of 782 kinds of syllables found in the study materials, only 50 kinds of syllables occupied half of the total number of syllables. According to my observation, function words such as topic particle *nun*, conjunction *myen*, or negation *an* seem to cause the high frequency of the phoneme /n/. These are ranked in top five. The syllables in gray in the table are mostly function words. Also, the syllables *hayss* or *hal* are composed of function and content words.

Table 5. Syllables More Than 50% of Cumulative Frequency in Spelling (Total: 782).

	Syllable	Frequency	Frequency (%)	C. Freq. (%)		Syllable	Frequency	Frequency (%)	C. Freq. (%)
1	nun	1009	4.85%	4.85%	26	ken	147	0.71%	36.35%
2	myen	475	2.29%	7.14%	27	sin	146	0.70%	37.06%
3	han	441	2.12%	9.26%	28	sang	144	0.69%	37.75%
4	an	391	1.88%	11.14%	29	canh	144	0.69%	38.44%
5	ceng	387	1.86%	13.00%	30	seng	137	0.66%	39.10%
6	in	344	1.65%	14.66%	31	coh	132	0.64%	39.74%
7	mal	342	1.65%	16.30%	32	kath	131	0.63%	40.37%
8	tul	340	1.64%	17.94%	33	lam	131	0.63%	41.00%
9	um	339	1.63%	19.57%	34	nan	128	0.62%	41.61%
10	man	329	1.58%	21.15%	35	cin	127	0.61%	42.22%
11	iss	323	1.55%	22.71%	36	kan	126	0.61%	42.83%
12	ul	285	1.37%	24.08%	37	ess	125	0.60%	43.43%
13	il	255	1.23%	25.30%	38	lul	124	0.60%	44.03%
14	eps	224	1.08%	26.38%	39	cen	123	0.59%	44.62%
15	hayss	213	1.02%	27.41%	40	tang	119	0.57%	45.19%
16	cip	207	1.00%	28.40%	41	kum	117	0.56%	45.75%
17	keyss	198	0.95%	29.35%	42	lang	111	0.53%	46.29%
18	sayng	194	0.93%	30.29%	43	lem	110	0.53%	46.82%
19	cang	182	0.88%	31.16%	44	cal	107	0.51%	47.33%
20	al	180	0.87%	32.03%	45	em	106	0.51%	47.84%
21	mek	154	0.74%	32.77%	46	kyeng	104	0.50%	48.34%
22	nim	150	0.72%	33.49%	47	com	104	0.50%	48.84%
23	hal	150	0.72%	34.21%	48	ton	99	0.48%	49.32%
24	hyen	150	0.72%	34.94%	49	leh	97	0.47%	49.79%
25	mos	149	0.72%	35.65%	50	pen	97	0.47%	50.25%

Note: C. Freq. = Cumulative Frequency.

In the next analysis, I applied the previously discussed nine phonological rules to the study material above and calculated the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the actual pronunciation. As Table 6 indicates, the nine rules were applied 7,001 times in total[5]. If one syllable had more than one phonological rule applied (i.e., /mac.nun/ 'correct' →[mat.nun] "Coda neutralization" →[man.nun] "Nasalization"), each rule was counted as one unit. As shown in the table below, resyllabification was the most frequently applied rule (applied 3,907 times), and it represented 55.8% of the total. After resyllabification, pre-tense/ aspirated reduction was second with 11.9% and nasalization was third with 10.5%.

Table 6. Frequencies of the Nine Phonological Rules Applied.

Phonological Rule	Frequency	Frequency (%)
Resyllabification	3907	55.81%
Pre-tense/ aspirate reduction	833	11.90%
Nasalization	733	10.47%
/h/-aspiration	588	8.40%
Consonant cluster simplification	426	6.08%
Coda neutralization	330	4.71%
/h/-reduction	112	1.60%
Palatalization	47	0.67%
Liquidization	25	0.36%
Total	7001	100.00%

Figure 2 shows the frequencies of consonant phonemes in pronunciation. As pictured in the graph, phoneme /n/ is overwhelming (exceeding 40% of the total) among seven phonemes. Compared with spelling, the frequencies of nasal sound /ŋ/ and /m/ are relatively higher, but the phoneme /k/, /p/, and /t/ are extremely low, less than 5%. The sum of phoneme /n/ and /l/ account for 61.9% of the total phonemes whereas phoneme /k/, /p/, and /t/ are just 10.9%.

	n	l	ŋ	m	k	p	t
Pronunciation	42.4%	19.5%	16.4%	10.8%	4.7%	4.0%	2.2%
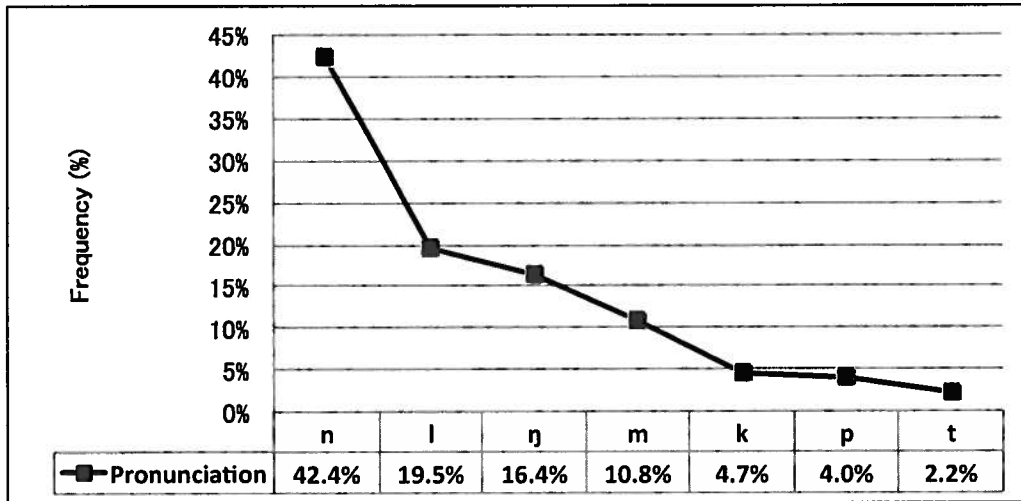
Figure 2: Frequencies (%) of Consonant Phonemes in Pronunciation.

In the comparison of the frequencies of consonant phonemes between spelling and pronunciation, phoneme /n/ is 10.1% higher in pronunciation than in spelling. On the other hand, frequency of phoneme /t/ is significantly lower in pronunciation compared with spelling.
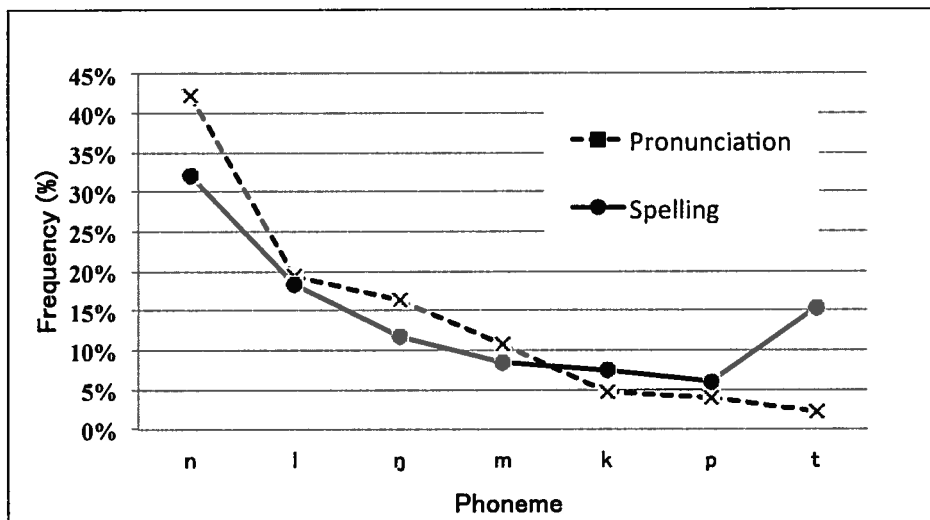
Figure 3: Frequencies (%) of Consonant Phonemes in Spelling and in Pronunciation.

In order to determine the basis of the increase of phoneme /n/ in pronunciation, frequency of the syllables in pronunciation were also analyzed. The syllables that have more than 50% of cumulative frequency in pronunciation are shown in Table 7. There were a total of 689 kinds of syllables found in the study material, but only 44 kinds of syllables occupied half of the total number. The syllables in gray indicate the syllables that

have a nasal sound in the syllable-final position. Among the 44 syllables in the table, 32 syllables have a nasal sound in the syllable-final position, and out of these 32 syllables, 17 syllables have the phoneme /n/. Such high frequencies of the syllables with a nasal sound seemed to raise the number of phoneme /n/ in pronunciation.

Table 7. Syllables More Than 50% of Cumulative Frequency in Pronunciation (Total: 689).

	Syllable	Frequency	Frequency (%)	C. Freq. (%)		Syllable	Frequency	Frequency (%)	C. Freq. (%)
1	nun	1061	6.85%	6.85%	23	sin	122	0.79%	36.64%
2	mjʌn	469	3.03%	9.88%	24	kɯn	121	0.78%	37.42%
3	han	411	2.65%	12.53%	25	taŋ	119	0.77%	38.19%
4	an	395	2.55%	15.08%	26	hal	118	0.76%	38.96%
5	cʌŋ	345	2.23%	17.31%	27	lʌm	115	0.74%	39.70%
6	man	334	2.16%	19.47%	28	laŋ	111	0.72%	40.41%
7	mal	250	1,61%	21.08%	29	kɯm	109	0.70%	41.11%
8	ʌp	218	1.41%	22.49%	30	lɯn	107	0.69%	41.80%
9	sɛŋ	183	1.18%	23.67%	31	kan	106	0.68%	42.48%
10	in	182	1.18%	24.85%	32	com	105	0.68%	43.16%
11	caŋ	168	1.08%	25.93%	33	kjʌŋ	104	0.67%	43.83%
12	lɯl	160	1.03%	26.96%	34	cal	104	0.67%	44.50%
13	tɯl	150	0.97%	27.93%	35	lʌn	101	0.65%	45.15%
14	hjʌn	149	0.96%	28.90%	36	cʌn	94	0.61%	45.76%
15	il	148	0.96%	29.85%	37	kaŋ	92	0.59%	46.36%
16	ʌm	140	0.90%	30.75%	38	kʌl	87	0.56%	46.92%
17	kʌn	138	0.89%	31.65%	39	nɯl	85	0.55%	47.47%
18	nan	137	0.88%	32.53%	40	cip	84	0.54%	48.01%
19	nim	133	0.86%	33.39%	41	s'ɯm	83	0.54%	48.54%
20	cin	129	0.83%	34.22%	42	sɯn	80	0.52%	49.06%
21	sʌŋ	127	0.82%	35.04%	43	sil	80	0.52%	49.58%
22	saŋ	126	0.81%	35.86%	44	kɯl	78	0.50%	50.08%

Note: C. Freq. = Cumulative Frequency.

4.0. CONCLUSION

In this study, the frequencies of consonant phonemes in the syllable-final position were analyzed both in spelling and pronunciation bases. A total of 54,735 units of syllables were found in the study materials. In spelling, there were 20,787 units of the syllables with a final consonant that accounted for 38% of the total syllables and the number of syllables decreased to 15,487 units (28.3%) after the application of nine phonological rules. Comparing the frequencies of consonant phonemes in spelling and in pronunciation, the order of phoneme ranking is almost the same between spelling and pronunciation; however, the frequency of phoneme /t/ shows a significant difference. The phoneme /t/ decreased from 15.4% in spelling to 2.2% in pronunciation. On the other hand, the frequency of phoneme /n/ increased 10.1% in pronunciation.

NOTES

1.   For instance, tensed consonant *ss* never be pronounced when it comes to the end of the syllable. As illustrated in (1) and (2), consonant *ss* is resyllabified as the onset of the following syllable, which is when it is followed by a vowel or is nasalized when followed by a nasal consonant.

(1) *ye.ki yey.ppun ko.yangi.ka iss.e.yo* [jʌ.gi.jɛ.p'ɯn.ko.yaŋ.i.ga.i.s'ʌ.jo] 'There is a pretty cat here'

(2) *ye.ki yey.ppun ko.yangi.ka iss.nun.dey.yo* [jʌ.gi.jɛ.p'ɯn.ko.yaŋ.i.ga.in.nɯn.dɛ.jo] 'There is a pretty cat here...'

2.   SynKDP (Synthesized Korean Data Processor) 1.5.5 is a corpus-analyzing program developed in South Korea.

3.   Refers to Shin and Cha (2003) and Sohn (1999)

4.   Pre-tense/ aspirated reduction is applied to an alveo-dental, palatal, velar or fricative stop in the syllable-final position when it is followed by a homorganic tensed or aspirated consonant. For instance, /k/ in the first syllable in /hak.kjo/ 'school' is deleted as /hak.kjo/→[hak.k'jo]→[ha.k'jo] and the second /c/ in /cəc + so/ 'milk-cow' is deleted as /cəc + so/→[cət.so]→[cət.s'o]→[cə.s'o]. Although both of the pronunciations, [hak.k'jo] and [ha.k'jo], [cət.s'o] and [cə.s'o] are accepted in Standard Pronunciation Rule in South Korea, Shin (2003, 2010) claims that pronunciations such as [hak.k'jo] or [cət.s'o] cannot be observed in native Korean speakers' natural speaking because those are the pronunciations in the middle of process. Therefore, I applied Pre-tense/ aspirated reduction rule to the materials in this study.

5.   Table 6 indicates the number of the phonological rules applied only to final consonants. For instance, /hak.kjo/ 'school' goes through two phonemic alterations /hak.kjo/→[hak.k'jo] "Tensification" →[ha.k'jo] "Pre-tense/ aspirate reduction". However, since the tensification rule is applied to an initial consonant in the second syllable, it is excluded in this study.

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CO-CONSTRUCTION IN FEMALE CONVERSATIONS IN JAPANESE

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ABSTRACT

Though there has been a recent interest in the study of co-construction (Sacks, 1992), a universal definition has yet to be made. Appeals to syntactic definitions have been implemented (Lerner, 1991; Ono and Yoshida, 1996), but there are some indications that this may not be entirely appropriate when describing Japanese discourse (Hayashi, 1999). By observing pair-conversations, this study expands what co-construction is, and when and how it is used.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Beginning with Sacks's (1992) work, the idea that not only is conversation in general a collaboration between participants, but that there are actually instances of co-produced utterances, has become an area of increasing interest to researchers. This is because it showcases the listener's ability to comprehend what the speaker is saying, and then make a suggestion of a possible outcome for the speaker's current utterance. Though this co-production is generally confined to describing syntactic completion of an utterance by multiple speakers (Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Ono & Yoshida, 1996; Sacks, 1992), this may not be able to fully describe all instances of co-produced speech, especially in languages where the sentential structure may make it more difficult to produce syntactic co-construction.

In languages such as English where the verb comes in the middle of the sentence, it is easier for listeners to infer where the speaker is going with their current utterance based on clues such as the tense of the verb, and whether it is positive or negative. As the verb generally comes at the end of the sentence in Japanese, it has led some researchers (e.g. Ono & Yoshida, 1996) to believe that it is more difficult for Japanese speakers to collaboratively produce speech. While this may be true from a purely syntactic perspective, the listener may have additional indications of what the speaker is going to say based on shared background knowledge, the tone of the speaker's voice, as well as facial and other physical indications. This is just part of the pool of resources that the listener may have access to, and which could allow for collaborative speech. Indeed, the amount of these resources that that the listener has access to may partially determine how much co-production occurs during the course of the conversation.

In Ono and Yoshida's (1996) study of Japanese co-construction, one of the factors that may have decreased the amount of co-production they observed, was their definition of co-construction. They defined it purely syntactically with the stipulation that if the listener's utterance can be considered to be a syntactically complete utterance on its own, then it does not constitute a collaborative production with the speaker's utterance. Though this is one way of defining co-construction, it severely limits the scope of collaboratively produced speech. In effect, it says that the speaker and listener cannot co-construct some kinds of complex sentences. This can be observed in one of their examples which they consider not to be co-construction:

(1)   a.   Example 1
        Y: *bokutachi no uwasa o kiite ne*
              '*hearing a rumor about us*'

              nde konaku natta toka
              '*(she) did not come or something*'

        T: *henna yatsura ga orude toka itte*
              '*Saying there are strange people (there).*' (Ono & Yoshida, 1996, p. 20)

Though, as Ono and Yoshida point out, T's utterance can be considered to be a distinct, and syntactically complete, utterance, it is clearly a continuation of Y's non-exhaustive list, which is marked by *toka*, and so it could also be considered an instance of co-construction.

Though Ono and Yoshida's (1996) study found co-construction to occur somewhat rarely in conversation, this is counter to what previous researchers (i.e. Maynard, 1990) have suggested, and so it may be

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beneficial to reexamine cooperatively produced speech in Japanese. The first thing that must be done is to reexamine the definition of co-construction. Co-construction literally means "to construct, or make, something together," in this case speech. From this perspective, co-construction is any time that the "speaker" and the "listener" work together to fully, or partially, produce an utterance.

Something else which needs to be considered is whether or not there is a difference in the way that men and women use co-construction. McConnell-Ginet (1989) notes that studies of single-sex conversations seem to indicate that women regard conversation as a cooperative exchange, whereas men tend to view it as a competition (42). This being the case, we would expect to find more co-construction in conversations between women, than in conversations between men. In an example given by Millar (1967), we can see an extreme example of how an interaction between two women can starkly contrast a similar interaction between two men:

(2)   a.   Example 1

A: *ma:, gorippana oniwa degozaimasu wa ne:. shibafu ga hirobiro to shiteite, kekkou degozaimasu wa ne:.* 'My, what a splendid garden you have here—the lawn is so nice and big, it's certainly wonderful, isn't it?'

B: *iie, nan desu ka chittomo teire ga yukitodokimasen mono degoza:masu kara, mo: nakanaka itsumo kirei ni shiteoku wake ni wa mairimasen no degozaimasu yo.* 'Oh no, not at all, we don't take care of it at all any more, so it simply doesn't always look as nice as we would like it to.'

A: *a:, sai degozaimasho: ne:. kore dake ohiroin degozaimasu kara, hitoto:rioteire   asobasu no ni date taihen degozaimasho: ne:, demo, ma:, sore demo itsumo yokuoteire ga yukitodoite irasshaimasu wa. Itsumo hontoni okireide kekko: degozaimasu wa.* 'Oh no, I don't think so at all—but since it's such a big garden, of course it must be quite a tremendous task to take care of it all by yourself ; but even so, you certainly do manage to make it look nice all the time : it certainly is nice and pretty any time one sees it.'

B: *iie, chittomo sonna koto gozaimasen wa.* 'No, I'm afraid not, not at all...'

(Lakoff, 1990, p. 124-125)

The male equivalent of which would be, "*ii niwa da na.* 'It's a nice garden, isn't it?' (Lakoff, 1975; 63)" which would be met with a nod or grunt indicating acknowledgement or polite denial, and that would be the end of it. Lakoff (1975) notes that it is not the content of the women's speech which is important, but rather the way in which it is said, and number of times which something can be repeated. This idea of repetition will be explored later as it can come in the form of partial co-construction.

Another thing which needs to be taken into consideration is the relationship between the speakers. Though Maynard (1990) notes that collaboration among speakers is important in Japanese conversations in general, how much more important is it when the participants are friends? Indeed, one of the restrictions against the use of co-construction in Japanese proposed by Ono and Yoshida (1996) revolved around a pragmatic constraint against intruding on the speaker's private territory. Though this might be partially true, depending on the relationship between the participants, there may be common territory between the speakers, as well as a decrease in the severity of such a prohibition against co-constructing information from the speaker's private territory. Thus we would expect to find more instances of co-constructed speech in conversation between friends than in conversation between strangers. This being the case, we ought to find the most instances of co-construction in conversation between female friends, and the least in conversation between male strangers.[1]

Based on these hypotheses, this study has two goals: First, to examine if there is a difference between the number and type of co-constructions used in dyadic conversations between female strangers, and the number and type of co-constructions used in dyadic conversations between male strangers. Second, to examine if there is a difference in the number and type of co-constructions in dyadic conversations between women who are strangers, and women who are friends.

2.0. DATA

This study uses a corpus of approximately two and a half hours of data spanning three different sources: four pair conversations among strangers chosen at random from among the data collected by Ehara in 1983 for an ethnomethadological study, two male-to-male conversations, and two female-to-female conversations, each lasting approximately half an hour; one female-to-female conversation between two friends, which was collected by Reynolds in 1986 which lasted about 15 minutes; and another female-to-female conversation between friends collected by Shakely in 2012 lasting about 11 minutes. All of the participants are college students around twenty years of age, and were given no particular prompt for their conversations. Analysis of Ehara's and Reynolds's data is based on the transcriptions of their recordings, and the analysis of my data is based on my transcription from the recording of the conversation.

3.0. ANALYSIS

By searching the data for instances of co-construction as being any time that the speaker and listener work together to produce speech, three general forms of co-construction were observed:

1. Sentential Completion
2. Word Supplementation
3. Repetition

For the rest of this section, we will look at instances and frequency of these instances of collaboratively produced speech. In an attempt to quantitatively analyze the instances of co-construction found in the corpus, this study will compare the number and types of instances of co-construction found in these conversations with the number of turns[2] between participants. This will allow for both the comparison of conversations of different durations, and of different lengths[3].

3.1. Co-construction as Sentential Completion

This type of co-construction includes syntactic completion of the speaker's utterance by the listener, but it also includes instances where the meaning of the current speaker's statement is based on the context of the previous speaker's statement. For example:

(3)   a.   Example 1

        1.   A→ F1: *tabun beekinpauda sukunakute:* <aa> *fukuramanakatta kara ...*
'Maybe there wasn't enough baking powder because it didn't expand...'

        2.   A→ F2: *anmari/*
'It didn't really (expand)?'

        3.   F1: *un dakara hontoo ni*(hehehe) *chiccha...* <hehehe> *nanka nanka* dough *tabeteru kanji.*
'Yeah, so it was really (hehehe) small, well it was like eating dough.'

<div align="right">(Shakely, 2012)</div>

In this excerpt, F1 is telling F2 about the trouble that she had making steamed bread. In line two, F2's says *"anmari"* which simply means 'not really, or not very,' which does not make any sense by itself; however, the meaning of her statement is actually: *"anmari fukuramanakatta/"* 'It didn't really expand?' The *fukuramanakatta* here comes from F1 statement in line 1, and so it is only in co-production with F1 utterance in line 1 that F2 utterance in line 2 is understandable.

In an excerpt from Reynold's (1986) data, we can see another example of co-construction through sentential completion. What makes this instance of co-construction so interesting is that it spans four turns.

b.   Example 2
    1.   A→F2: *u:n.. hawai wa soo iu koto wa nai:?*
            'Yeah. Does Hawaii have that kind of thing?'

    2.   F1: *hawai?*
                 'Hawaii?'

    3.   F2: *un*
                 'Yeah'

    4.   A→F1: *hawai wa.. nai mitai. Ya, ma:, ne, puraibeeto no <un> ano: gakkoo n naru to*
    5.   B →   *tama ni sono:, ano yappari [aru keredo ne?*
                 'It doesn't seem like Hawaii has (them). Well, umm, you know, when you get
                 in to private <yeah> um schools, sometimes there are those, um, you know,
                 they usually have those (things)?'

    6.   B/C→F2: *[inta | [intavyuu*
                 'Inter | interviews'

    7.   C→F1: *[intavyuu toka, koo, ne, shiken toka, aru*
    8.   *kedo, nihon ni... kuraberu to, ne:, mata, zenzen, chotto chigau deshoo*
                 'Things like interviews, and also, you know, tests or something, but if you compare it
                 to Japan, you know, again, (they're) sort of completely different right?'

    9.   F2: *u:n*
                 'Yeah'

Here again, as with example 1, F1's utterance at the start of line four is not understandable without referring
back to F2's statement on line one. "*hawai wa nai mitai*" literally means 'It seems like Hawaii does not exist.'
While this is grammatically correct, pragmatically it would seem to be an awkward statement. By referring
back to F2's statement, "*Hawai wa soo iu koto wa nai:?*" it becomes clear that there is an implied "*soo iu koto
wa*" 'that kind of thing' in F2's statement on line four, which makes it actually mean 'Hawaii doesn't seem to
have that kind of thing.' As all of F2's statement apart from the *mitai*, 'seems like,' comes from F1's utterance,
this is also an instance of co-construction through repetition which will be covered in section 3.3.

3.2. Co-construction through Word Supplementation

The next form of co-construction we will discuss is co-construction through word supplementation.
Quite simply this is when the listener supplies a word that the speaker is searching for. In line five of excerpt
two, we can see through F1's uses of hesitation marker *ano* and the vowel-filler in *sono:* that she's struggling to
come up with the word that she wants. In line six we see that F2 suggests the word *intavyuu* 'interview' as the
word that F1 was looking for, and then F1 accepts it as a possible answer in line seven. And because F1
overlaps f2's second try at saying the word *intavyuu*, this can actually be considered another instance of word
supplementation.

This next example shows a very clear case of word supplementation:

(4)   a.   Example 1
    1.   →F2: *[chotto ano nani? masshu | masshu janai no poteto furaido poteto no <n>*
    2.   →   *nan to nan tte yu n dake nanka tsubutsubu mitaina nan tte yu no yatu*
                 'Wait, it's umm, what? Mashed, not mashed potatoes, it fried potatoes. What,
                    what is it called, it's looks kind of lumpy, what's it called?'

    3.   →F1: *hasshudo [poteto*
                 'Hashedbrowns'

    4.   F2: *[Ah! aa sososososo[soso*

'Ah! Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah.'

5.   F1: [*n? ...*oh, *hontoo?*
           'What? Oh, really?'

6.   F2: *unn*
           'Yeah.'

7.   F1: *atezuppo de*[*itta no ni*
           'Even though I said it as a guess.'(Shakely, 2012)

In line one, F2 tries to produce the word that she is looking for on her own, and then goes on to describe the type of potatoes that she is thinking about. Then based on F2's description of the potatoes, in line three F1 is able to correctly infer the word that F2 was looking for.

3.3. Co-construction through Repetition
This is more of a partial form of co-construction. By appropriating words or phrases from the previous speaker's turn, the current speaker is able to produce their own utterance.

(5)   a.   Example 1
                1. A→   F2: *ano::/ nanka ano:: burekkufasuto /*
                         'Umm, well um, (the) breakfast'

                2. A/B→F1: *menyu /*
                         'menu'

                3. B→   F2: *unnn <un> menyu de, nanka kurowassan ni <un> ano: dekai kore gurai*
                             no kurowassan ni
                         'Yeah <ah> on (the) menu, well the croissants are <yeah> umm, (the) croissants are about this big'
                4.   F1: *unn*
                         'Ahh'

                5.   F2: *etto chizu to hamu... to ... ka /*
                         'Um, there is cheese and ham among others.'

                                                                            (Shakely, 2012)

In lines one and two of this excerpt, there is another instance of co-construction through word supplementation, but in lines two and three, this becomes an instance of repetition. F2 takes the *menyu* provided by F1 and incorporates it into her sentence which is a continuation of her sentence from line one.

Another example of this type of co-construction can be seen in excerpt 5:

        b.   Example 1
                1. →F1: *sore wa kekkoo omoi*
                     'That (F2's croissant) is pretty heavy.'

                2. →F2: *omoi*
                     'Heavy'

                3. F1: ha[haha
                     'Hahaha'

                4. →F2:   [*omokatta nanka nanka sono rumumeeto no hito ni:: /*
                          'It was heavy. But, but, that roommate...' (Shakely, 2012)

After F2 describes the ham and cheese croissant that she had for breakfast, F1 tells her that it is pretty heavy, and in line two, F2 agrees and repeats that it is *omoi*, but then in line four she takes up the idea of *omoi* again, and this time changes it to the proper past tense as she had already eaten the croissant in question at this point. In this way, F2's utterances in both lines two and four are directly co-constructed from what F1 says in line one.

3.4. A Quantitative Analysis of the Data

Here we will examine a quantitative analysis of the instances of these various types of co-construction as found in the corpus.

Table 1. Number and Percent of Turns Containing Co-construction.

		Number of Turns	% of Turns Containing Co-con.
Male Strangers	Ehara M1	387	4
	Ehara M2	348	3
	total	735	4
Female Strangers	Ehara F1	402	7
	Ehara F2	435	4
	total	837	6
Female Friends	Reynolds	128	18
	Shakely	218	8
	total	346	13

In this first table, we can see that on average, female conversations between strangers (6%) uses about fifty percent more co-construction than male conversations between strangers (4%), and that female conversations between friends use more than double the amount (13%) of co-construction than female conversations between strangers (6%).

Table 2. Percent of Turns Containing Co-construction through Sentential Completion.

			% of containing Sent. Completion	
		Number of Turns	Turns	Total Co-con.
Male Strangers	Ehara M1	387	2	56
	Ehara M2	348	2	67
	Total	735	2	60
Female Strangers	Ehara F1	402	3	48
	Ehara F2	435	1	24
	Total	837	3	61
Female Friends	Reynolds	128	5	26
	Shakely	218	3	35
	Total	364	4	30

From table 1, we can see that there are instances of co-construction through sentential completion in all three types of conversations, but that women use slightly more than men (one percent of turns), and female friends use slightly more than female strangers (one percent of turns). However, we can see that in conversation between strangers regardless of the gender, co-construction is used on average as sixty percent of the total number of co-constructions used, whereas in the conversations between female friends it only averaged half of that at thirty percent.

Table 3. Percent of Turns Containing Co-construction through Word Supplementation.

			% Containing Word Supplementation	
		Number of Turns	Turns	Total Co-con.
Male Strangers	Ehara M1	387	0	6
	Ehara M2	348	0	0
	total	735	0	4
Female Strangers	Ehara F1	402	0	0
	Ehara F2	435	0	0
	total	837	0	0
Female Friends	Reynolds	128	2	13
	Shakely	218	1	20
	total	346	2	16

In table 2 we can see that in general co-construction for the purpose of word supplementation primarily occurs in conversations between friends (only one instance occurred between strangers). This may be due to a larger pool of shared information between the participants for them to reference, such as common topics of discussion and common history. That being said, it still only accounts for sixteen percent of the instances of co-construction in conversations between female friends.

Table 4. Percent of Turns Containing Co-construction through Repetition.

			% Containing Repetition	
		Number of Turns	Turns	Total Co-con.
Male Strangers	Ehara M1	387	2	38
	Ehara M2	348	1	33
	total	735	1	36
Female Strangers	Ehara F1	402	4	52
	Ehara F2	435	3	77
	total	837	3	61
Female Friends	Reynolds	128	11	61
	Shakely	218	5	50
	total	346	7	56

In table 3, we can see that there is a significant difference between the three types of dyadic conversations. In the conversations between strangers, the percent of turns containing repetition in the female conversations was triple (three percent) that of the male conversations (1%), and in the conversations between female friends (7%) it more than doubled the amount found in the conversations between female strangers (3%).

In the conversations between strangers we see as similar pattern in the percent of total co-constructions which used repetition, where this type of co-construction was used in female conversation (61 %) about double the amount that it was used in male conversation (36%). Interestingly, on average, the percentage of co-construction containing repetition remains relatively equal between female strangers (61%), and female friends (56%).

Table 5. Percent of Turns Containing Various Forms of Co-construction.

			Percent of Turns Produced Containing:		
		Number of Turns	Sentential Completion	Word Supp.	Repetition
Male Strangers	Ehara M1	387	2	0	2
	Ehara M2	348	2	0	1
	Totals	735	2	0	1
Female Strangers	Ehara F1	402	3	0	4
	Ehara F2	435	1	0	3
	Totals	837	3	0	3
Female Friends	Reynolds	128	5	2	11
	Shakely	218	3	1	5
	Totals	346	4	2	7

From table 5, we can see that in conversation between male strangers, there seems to be a tendency to use about twice the amount of co-construction through sentential completion, and through repetition. In female conversations between strangers, they seem to evenly produce these two forms of co-construction. However, in female conversations between friends, there seems to be a significant tendency to make co-production through repetition.

Additionally, there is more co-production of every type in the female conversations between strangers versus the male conversations between strangers, and again there are more instances of every type of co-construction in the conversations between female friends versus the other two categories.

4.0. CONCLUSION

In this study, we have examined several instances of co-construction in Japanese, identified three different instances (for sentential completion, word supplementation, and repetition), searched for differences between how men and women use co-construction, and for differences in how co-construction is used between female friends compared to female strangers. Overall we found that the data supports the supposition that female speech tends to be more cooperative than male speech (McConnell-Ginet, 1989). This was exhibited through the fact that women tend use more co-construction than men, and in general, based on this small sampling, that they use it about fifty percent more often. In addition to this, we found that women who are friends seem to use it about twice as often as women who are not friends.

This study also showed that instances of co-construction through word supplementation are primarily limited to conversation between female friends, it is quite possible that there are similar instances of this form of co-construction in conversations between male friends, but as that is outside of the scope off this data, it is a question for future research.

We were also able to see that though female strangers tended to use co-construction for sentential completion and repetition relatively equally, in conversations between female friends, there is a much more frequent use of co-construction through repetition.

5.0. ADDITIONAL RESEARCH

To further studies in this area, further data collection would be necessary, due to the limited number of participants in this study, any individual variation in the use of co-construction would have significant impact on these current results. Additionally, to limit the variables affecting the production of co-construction, it might be better to have all conversations about the same length. Though as this still cannot guarantee equal production of speech between dyads, it will still probably be necessary to observe instances of co-production per number of turns.

Also, as previously mentioned, by gathering data on conversations between male friends, we would be able to observe if there are any general trends in the instances of co-construction in conversation between strangers versus conversation between friends.

6.0. APPENDICIES

Table 6. Transcript Conventions.

Symbol	Meaning
[/]	the point where overlapping speech starts/ends
=	"latched" speech
::	lengthened syllable
|	false start
(...)	inaudible speech by the speaker
...	Pause
< >	overlapping speech by the listener during the turn of the speaker which does not seek to take the floor (usually backchannels)
/	rising intonation
*→	indication of collaboratively produced speech within the line.
	*In discourses which contain multiple instances of co-construction, the linked lines of co-construction are marked with matching letters.

Table 7. Number of Instances of All Types of Co-construction Found in the Data.

		Number of Turns	Syntactic	Lexical Sup.	Repetition	Total
Male	Ehara M1	387	9	1	6	16
Strangers	Ehara M2	348	8	0	4	12
	Totals	735	17	1	10	28
Female	Ehara F1	402	14	0	15	29
Strangers	Ehara F2	435	4	0	13	17
	Totals	837	28	0	28	46
Female	Reynolds	128	6	3	14	23
Friends	Shakely	218	7	4	10	20
	Totals	346	13	7	24	43

NOTES

1. This is assuming that we are looking primarily at more casual conversations, and excluding how power-relationships, such as between teachers and students, or bosses and employees, affect the production of co-construction in Japanese.

2. In this study, a turn boundary is marked by the speaker relinquishing the floor, and therefore overlapped backchannels produced by the listener do not count as a new turn.

3. The pair conversations between women tended to be longer than the conversations between men collected over the same period of time.

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PRELIMINARY RESULTS: PHONETIC VARIATION AND PERCEIVED LOCALNESS IN HAWAI'I

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents pilot data from a perception study designed to examine how different phonetic realizations of certain linguistic variables impact listeners' perceptions of speaker Localness in Hawaii. Speakers' original tokens of words containing /oʊ/ (as in 'show') and /aʊ/ (as in 'house') were synthetically manipulated to create monophthongal and diphthongal guises for each of these target vowel segments. Preliminary results indicate that listeners rate unseen speakers as significantly more Local-sounding when /oʊ/ is presented as monophthongal rather than diphthongal, but that monophthongal versus diphthongal realizations of /aʊ/ do not appear to significantly affect ratings of perceived speaker Localness.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

A large body of previous work has shown that different realizations of phonetic features can hold social saliency, and are used by listeners to construct perceived identity and categorize interlocutors into social groupings (e.g. Campbell-Kibler, 2007; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). Such work on the indexical meanings associated with particular phonetic variables increases our understanding of the role that speech can play in negotiating unfolding social interactions. This type of work is particularly important in shedding light on how identity and social characteristics are linguistically projected and perceived. The present study builds on this body of work in examining how perceptions of Localness in Hawai'i are socially indexed to phonetic features of Hawai'i English (HE).

Much has been written about the Local insider vs. Haole outsider dichotomy that exists in Hawai'i (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 1987; Rohrer, 2008). To be 'Local' is generally to have been born and raised in Hawai'i, and to identify closely with the encompassing supra-culture of the Hawaiian Islands. This is set in contrast to the 'Haole' identity, which generally refers to outsiders (particularly white outsiders) who come from the mainland, and identify more with a mainland-type culture. Work by Ohnuma (2002) and Fenton (1979) among others suggests that projection of a Local identity is particularly salient in social interactions in Hawai'i, and that perceived Localness is required to gain entry into certain social situations. Little work has been done however in exploring this Local identity from a linguistic perspective. Examining what role speech can play in the perception of Localness can help us better understand how Local identity is constructed and understood in Hawai'i. Exactly which speech characteristics index Localness however have yet to be experimentally determined.

Previous work by Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) has suggested that realizations of phonetic features of the local vernacular dialect which differ substantially from those of the 'standard' dialect may take on second-order (and third-order) indexical meanings, and can function as overt markers for perceived Local identity. In light of this, a logical starting place to look for phonetic features that index Localness in Hawai'i is in those features of HE that have been found to differ substantially from those in the majority of mainland English varieties.

One such potential feature is pronunciation of the /oʊ/ vowel segment, as in the word "show." Following Wells' (1982) lexical sets, this vowel segment is referred to below as GOAT. While in the majority of mainland English dialects GOAT is traditionally diphthongal, Kirtley, Drager, Grama and Simpson (under review) report that GOAT in Hawai'i English tends to be monophthongal, with little movement from onset to offglide in either F1 or F2. An unpublished study by Rosenberg-Jones (2012) suggests that monophthongal realizations of GOAT may indeed be linked to perceptions of Localness. In a matched guise experiment, Rosenberg-Jones found that Local listeners attributed aspects of Localness and Local culture significantly more to talkers in the monophthongal GOAT guise than to talkers in the diphthongal GOAT guise.

Another potential feature linked to perceptions of Localness in Hawai'i is the realization of the /aʊ/ vowel segment, as in the word "house". Again following Wells' (1982) lexical sets, this vowel segment is referred to below as MOUTH. Kirtley et al. (under review) note a unique and marked pronunciation of MOUTH for speakers of Hawai'i English. They characterize the typical HE pronunciation of MOUTH as having a retracted

nucleus and reduced movement along F1, resulting in a largely monophthongal vowel quite different from realizations of MOUTH in most mainland varieties. While no experimental work has yet been done examining MOUTH as a potential marker of Localness in Hawai'i, such monophthongal realizations of MOUTH have been reported to function as linguistic markers of local identity in other regional English varieties (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008).

The aim of the current study is to examine the effect that different phonetic realizations of GOAT and MOUTH have on perceptions of 'Localness' for Local listeners in Hawai'i. By presenting participants with tokens of GOAT and MOUTH which have been manipulated to be either more monophthongal or more diphthongal, it is possible to examine the effects these different variants have on perceptions of Localness. While much of the previous sociophonetic literature has focused on social characteristics indexed by a single linguistic variable, recent work (e.g. Levon, 2007) has suggested that listeners use constellations of phonetic cues to form social judgments, and that these judgments can vary based on the combination of cues presented. In light of this, the current study presents participants with the monophthongal variants of GOAT and MOUTH both individually and in tandem. It is expected that participants will characterize talkers as least Local when neither variable is presented in the monophthongal, Hawai'i English-like guise, more Local when only one of the variables is presented in the monophthongal guise, and most Local when both target variables are presented in the monophthongal guise. Following this principle, it is expected that talker background (whether original stimuli are spoken by Local or non-Local talkers, regardless of manipulation) will also have a significant effect on perceived Localness, as there are likely other cues to Localness present in the speech of Locals beyond the target variables of this study.

2.0. METHODOLOGY

A within-subjects matched guise design is employed in which participants hear four different versions (experimental conditions I-IV) of two target sentences containing the target variables GOAT and MOUTH. The target sentences used in this study are listed below. The words containing the target variables are in bold. Both target sentences received an 8 out of 10 or higher when rated along with the filler sentences for naturalness by 7 (non-Local) native speakers of English.

(1)   "He's a **scout** for the **show**"

(2)   "He'll **go** if we **pout**"

Participants hear each of the eight target stimuli spoken by two different talkers, resulting in a total of 16 target stimuli (2 target talkers x 2 target sentences x 4 experimental conditions). The four conditions for each sentence differ only in the realizations of the GOAT and MOUTH vowel segments contained within the sentence, which were synthetically manipulated to be either monophthongal or diphthongal, according to the scheme in table 1 below.

Table 1. Breakdown of GOAT and MOUTH Variants by Condition

Condition	MOUTH	GOAT
I	Diphthongal	Diphthongal
II	Diphthongal	Monophthongal
III	Monophthongal	Diphthongal
IV	Monophthongal	Monophthongal

Participants are randomly assigned to one of four versions of the experiment. In two differently ordered versions, participants hear target talkers H1 (a 32 year old female who grew up in Hawai'i) and M1 (a 25 year old female who grew up on the mainland). In the other two differently ordered versions, participants hear target talkers H2 (a 24 year old female who grew up in Hawai'i) and M2 (a 25 year old female who grew up on the mainland). A breakdown of talker attributes and experimental version is given in table 2.

Table 2. Talker Attributes

Talker	Talker Background	Age	Sex	Experimental versions
H1	Local	32	Female	1 & 2
H2	Local	24	Female	3 & 4
M1	non-Local	25	Female	1 & 2
M2	non-Local	25	Female	3 & 4

GOAT and MOUTH vowel segments of the original sentences spoken by the target talkers were synthetically manipulated using the Akustyk package in the software program Praat. To synthesize the monophthongal variants, average F1 and F2 values for GOAT and MOUTH of female speakers of HE reported by Kirtley et al. (under review) were input into the basic synthesis function of Akustyk. Average reported values from mainland varieties were tested in synthesizing the diphthongal variants as well, however none of the resulting syntheses sounded natural. For this reason, the researcher manipulated the talkers' original tokens, using the same software package, to be as diphthongal as possible while still sounding natural in order to create the diphthongal variants. Post-synthesis spectrograms of target sentence 1 for talker H1 in the 'all diphthongal' and 'all monophthongal' guises (conditions I and IV) are presented below in figures 1 and 2. The target variables MOUTH and GOAT (in the words "scout" and "show") are outlined by bold, dashed lines.
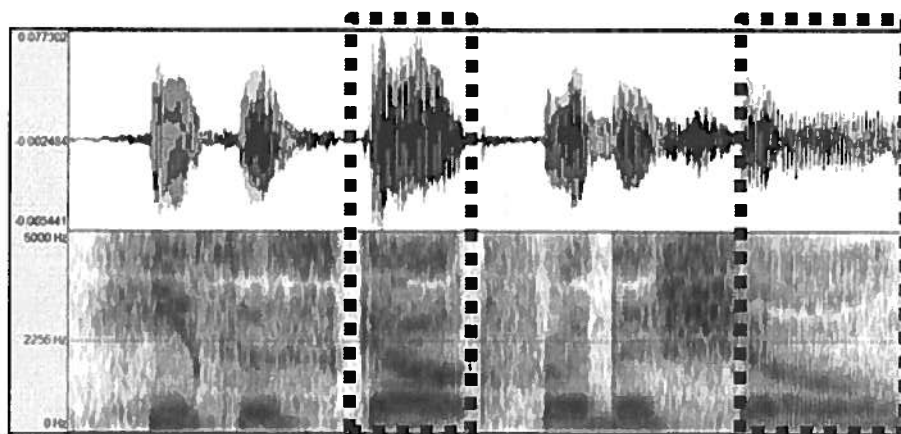

Figure 1. Spectrogram of Talker H1, Condition I (All Diphthongal), Target Sentence 1: 'he's a scout for the show.'
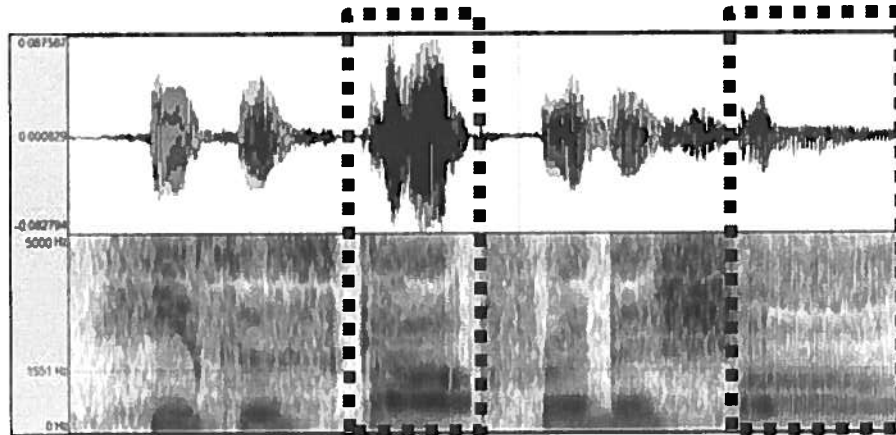
Figure 2. Spectrogram of Talker H1, Condition IV (All Monophthongal), Target Sentence 1: 'he's a scout for the show.'

The 16 target stimuli are presented in pseudo-random order to participants along with 32 unrelated filler stimuli of comparable length that do not contain either of the target variables. Filler items were pronounced by eight filler talkers of varying backgrounds, ages, and sexes. The only constraint on the order of stimuli presentation was that target items not appear immediately adjacent to one another.

After presentation of each sentence, participants are prompted to make judgments about the social characteristics of the talker. Participants respond to 6 judgment questions using a Likert scale type rating system by entering a number 1-7 on their keyboard. The questions that participants are asked after each sentence presentation are listed below:

(1)   How friendly does this person seem? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being the least friendly and 7 being the most friendly.

(2)   Does this person seem Local? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being not at all Local and 7 being definitely Local

(3)   Does this person seem more laid-back, or more high-strung? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being the most laid back and 7 being the most high-strung

(4)   How well educated does this person seem? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being the least educated and 7 being the most educated

(5)   Does this person seem sporty? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being the least sporty and 7 being the most sporty.

(6)   Does this person seem like s/he is from the mainland? Please respond by entering a number 1-7, 1 being not at all from the mainland and 7 being definitely from the mainland.

Questions 2 and 6 were designed to counter balance each other, and examine perceptions of Localness associated with each talker. Questions 1, 3, 4, and 5 are filler questions, not directly related to the goal of examining perceptions of Localness.

The target participant pool for this experiment is Locals who have spent the majority of their life in Hawai'i, and are thus presumably intimately familiar with potential phonetic cues to Localness. Participants take part in this experiment online. An internet link is supplied which they follow to begin the experiment. Before the experiment begins, instructions are displayed directing participants to adjust the volume of their computers to suitable listening levels and informing them of the experimental procedure.

For each stimulus set, participants first see a written version of the upcoming auditory stimulus displayed on screen. After clicking through, participants then hear the accompanying auditory stimulus, followed by a visual display of the first of the six judgment questions. After answering the first judgment question, participants hear the auditory stimulus repeated, after which the second judgment question is displayed on screen. Participants hear and respond to all six questions in a given stimulus set in this manner. Questions are presented in random order for each stimulus. Upon answering the last question for the last stimulus set, participants are shown a closing statement thanking them for participation in the experiment. Participants' responses are then sent to the server hosting the experiment and collected for analysis.

3.0. PILOT RESULTS

The experiment outlined in section 2 is currently in process, and has not yet been completed at the time of this writing. Before full implementation of the experiment however, a small pilot study using the same methodology was undertaken to test the procedures and software used. This section presents the results of that pilot study, which have yielded some suggestive trends. These results must however be treated with caution, as the sample size was quite small (n=6) and all participants were non-Local students; all but one in a university graduate linguistics department. Only results from ratings of Localness (question 2 above) are reported here. Ratings of 'mainland-ness' (question 6) were also examined, and were found to behave similarly (but conversely) to ratings of Localness in all analyses.

An ordered regression model, shown in table 3, was fit to the data with Localness rating as the dependent variable and Condition and Talker Background as independent variables.

Table 3. Ordered Regression Model

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr (>|t|)
(Intercept)	4.7324	0.3903	12.124	<2e-16 ***
Condition_II	1.1034	0.5382	2.05	0.04268 *
Condition_III	-0.1379	0.5382	-0.256	0.7982
Condition_IV	0.8966	0.5382	1.666	0.09855 .
TalkerBackground_nonLocal	-1.6479	0.5037	-3.272	0.00143**

Note: Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Conditions II and IV (both with monophthongal GOAT) were rated as more Local sounding than condition I (shown as the intercept, with diphthongal tokens of both vowels), as expected. Contrary to expectations, condition II was rated as more Local sounding than condition IV, and condition III was actually rated as slightly less Local sounding than condition I. However, neither of these trends reaches significance. To further understand these results, it is necessary to analyze the impact that the GOAT and MOUTH variables have individually on ratings of Localness. ANOVA tests treating Localness ratings as the dependent variable and GOAT and MOUTH as binary (diphthongal or monophthongal) independent variables returned a significant effect for GOAT but not for MOUTH, shown in table 4.

Table 4. ANOVA Results

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr (>F)
GOAT	1	33.1	33.14	7.35	0.00785 **
MOUTH	1	0.9	0.86	0.191	0.66327

Note: Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

In light of this, we can conclude that it is the presentation of GOAT in the monophthongal guise that drives the significant and near significant differences from the intercept in conditions II and IV, and why condition III, in which only MOUTH is presented as monophthongal, does not significantly differ from the intercept.

Table 3 also shows significantly lower Localness ratings overall for talkers of non-Local background. To examine this further, the data were subset into ratings for Local and non-Local talkers, and the calculations from table 4 were repeated. Results are reported in table 5 and discussed in the following section.

Table 5. ANOVA Results Using Subset Data

	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	Pr (>F)
goat.Local	1	8.8	8.76	2.177	0.143
mouth.Local	1	0.3	0.26	0.065	0.8
goat.nonLocal	1	54.45	54.45	15.113	0.00118 **
mouth.nonLocal	1	1.25	1.25	0.347	0.5636

Note: Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

4.0. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Two significant effects on perceived Localness can be deduced from the pilot data presented in section 3: talker background, and GOAT-guise (monophthongal or diphthongal). Overall, Local talkers were rated as significantly more Local-sounding than non-Local talkers. Participants also rated voices as significantly more Local-sounding overall when GOAT was presented as monophthongal rather than diphthongal. These results are in keeping with expectations. Unexpectedly however, although monophthongal GOAT tends to increase Localness ratings of both Local and non-Local talkers, this effect only reaches significance when presented in the speech signal of a non-Local talker. Upon reflection, this is likely due to an unexpected ceiling effect present for Local talkers resulting from other cues to Localness present in their speech. Local talkers were overwhelmingly rated as Local, regardless of condition, and were most often rated as a 5 or above in condition I (in which both variables were diphthongal). Non-local talkers however were almost exclusively rated as a 1 or a 2 for Localness in condition I. Because of the difference in ratings in condition I, participants could only increase ratings of Localness for Local talker stimuli by 2 or 3 points on the scale in the other conditions, whereas they could increase ratings of Localness for non-local talker stimuli by up to 5 or 6 points in the other conditions. Put simply, non-Local talker stimuli had a higher potential for increase in Localness ratings from condition I to the other conditions than did Local talker stimuli. Thus it seems likely that monophthongal GOAT does serve as a cue to localness regardless of talker background, but that cues to localness present beyond the target variables mask this effect in part for Local talker stimuli.

Contrary to expectations, it appears from these results that MOUTH does not serve as a cue to Localness. As a result, the expected cumulative boost to Localness ratings when both variables were presented as monophthongal (condition IV) does not occur. However, one must bear in mind that the pilot participants were not local to Hawai'i, and thus not part of the target participant population. These pilot participants do not partic-

ipate in the Local identity, and have not been exposed to Local speech for more than a few years. It should therefore be expected that these pilot participants would be less sensitive than participants of the target population to such in-group delineating phonetic cues.

Upon completion of the main study, currently underway, it is expected that the trends seen in the pilot data for GOAT will largely hold true. Contrary to the trends in the pilot data however, it is expected that MOUTH will indeed serve as a cue to localness for the target participant population, as they are expected to be more sensitive to and perceptive of such cues. However, the results presented here indicate that perhaps the local variant of MOUTH does not serve as a *major* phonetic cue to Local identity, and that other target variables should be explored in subsequent studies.

While suggestive, more data needs to be gathered to confirm the trends apparent in the pilot data. In order to more fully understand the way Local identity is perceived in Hawaiʻi, more research is also needed to identify additional phonetic variables as well as paralinguistic and grammatical variables that listeners associate with such an identity. Production data from a variety of contexts must also be weighed in order to examine not only how Local identity is perceived, but also performed and projected.

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A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF CROSS LANGUAGE PRIMING

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to use syntactic priming to investigate two areas of linguistic study that are currently the subject of much debate: children's knowledge of the passive syntax, and the status of the Mandarin *bei* construction as a true passive. In this experiment, cross linguistic priming is used in conjunction with a picture description task in order to elicit production of the passive syntax in Mandarin and English. Current pilot work on adults shows that the passive can be primed cross linguistically between English and Mandarin, suggesting that their underlying syntactic structures are indeed analogous.

2.0. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1. Children and Passives

For decades, it has been a well-established fact within the field of linguistics that children's acquisition of the passive syntax is delayed (Brown, 1973; de Villiers & de Villiers, 1973; see Deen, 2010 for an overview). Recently this position has been called into question. A number of new studies are suggesting that children do indeed have knowledge of the passive syntax. In 2005 a study by Karen O'Brien, Elaine Grolla, and Diane Lillo-Martin showed that children do in fact understand long passives. Three years later, a study by Bencini and Valain presented evidence that children as young as three years old could produce passives. A 2009 study of three year old Sesotho children provided more evidence of children's knowledge of the passive syntax (Demuth et al., 2012. Most recently, Messenger, Branigan, McLean, and Sorace (2012) used syntactic priming to elicit passive constructions from young children.

Many of these studies used novel methods to investigate children's knowledge of the passive syntax. O'Brien et al. used a Truth-Value-Judgement Task (Crain & McKee, 1985) and added a third character to satisfy the felicity condition of the by-phrase (O'Brien et al, 2005). Demuth, Moloi, and Machobane (2009) asked patient-focused questions such as 'What is happening to the boy?' to elicit a passive response from Sesotho children. Both Bencini and Valain (2008) and Messenger et al. (2012) used syntactic priming to elicit production of the passive syntax in young children. The use of these novel methods suggests that children's previous difficulties with passives may have been a product of the task itself, rather than a reflection of the child's syntactic capabilities.

2.2. Cross Linguistic Priming

In addition to being used to elicit production of the passive in young children, syntactic priming has been used in cross linguistic applications. Cross linguistic priming has been demonstrated (Hartsuiker, Pickering, & Veltkamp, 2004; Loebell & Bock, 2003; Fox Tree, & Meijer, 1999) usually in terms of priming structural configurations from one language to the other. A well-established assumption is that if a structure is able to be primed, then the subject is able to access an abstract representation of that structure (Bock, 1986). And in the case of bilinguals, that abstract structure must be consistent between the two languages (Bock, 1986).

Hartsuiker et al.'s 2004 study tested cross linguistic syntactic priming of the passive in Spanish English bilingual adults. A researcher described pictures to the subject, using Spanish, and the subject described subsequent pictures in English. Three types of Spanish primes were given: active sentences, passive sentences, and object-verb-subject constructions. Subjects produced more passives after being primed with a passive, than with active sentences. There was no statistical difference between the active sentences and the OVS constructions, suggesting simple ordering is not enough to cause priming; the prime and the target must share an abstract syntactic structure. Through these studies and others, cross linguistic priming has been established as a method for eliciting equivalent syntactic structures across languages.

2.3. Formation of Mandarin Passives

The basic passive structure in Mandarin employ the periphrastic strategy, using the passive markers bei, gei, rang, and jiao. Cantonese, on the other hand, uses only bei to mark passive constructions. The current

study focuses on the usage and structure of the passive marker bei in Mandarin. Mandarin passives occur in both short and long forms, similar to English. Mandarin long passives include the downgraded agent as in (1b), while the short passives (1a) do not.

(1)   a. Mandarin short passive:

        Zhangsan bei da-le
        Zhangsan BEI hit-PERF
        "Zhangsan was hit."   (Data from Her, 2009)

        b. Mandarin long passive:

        Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le
        Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF
        "Zhangsan was hit by Lisi."   (Data from Her, 2009)

In these cases, *bei* functions as a passive marker with no real lexical meaning, similar to English *be* or *get* passives. As O'Grady (2012) points out, Mandarin passive structure relies on positioning within the sentence to mark the optional oblique agent. In passives marked with *bei*, the agentive NP is directly preceded by *bei*.

(2)   a. Lisi bei (Zhangsan) qifu guo.
           Lisi receive (Zhangsan) bully ASP
           "Lisi was bullied (by Zhangsan)."   (Data from O'Grady, 2012)

Although Mandarin places the downgraded agentive NP directly following *bei*, *bei* does not serve as a preposition like 'by' in English.

2.4. The Debate Over Chinese Passives

Recently much attention has been paid to the passive construction of various Chinese languages, including Mandarin. A debate exists in the literature over the status of the passive *bei* structure in Mandarin. Many syntacticians present compelling evidence that the *bei* construction of Chinese languages is a true syntactic passive (; Cheung, forthcoming; Her, 2009; Koopman, 1984; Travis, 1984). One criterion for passives is that there must be a corresponding active sentence which is a thematic paraphrase. In a recent working paper, Antonio Cheung provides examples from Cantonese which demonstrate the passive construction with *bei*, and the corresponding active structures.

(3)   a. Jau   jan   hoi-zo   din si
           INDEF person open-PFV TV
           "Someone switched the TV on."   (Data from Cheung (forthcoming))

        b. Din si hoi-zo
           TV   open-PFV
           "The TV is on."   (Data from Cheung (forthcoming))

        c. Din si bei jan hoi-zo
           TV BEI person open-PFV
           "The TV has been switched on (by someone)".
                                                (Data from Cheung (forthcoming))

One theory, supported by Lisa Lai Shen Cheng (1987) and others, states that the *bei* construction in Mandarin is not a syntactic passive at all, but rather an 'adversity marker'. Another argument put forth is that *bei* is a biclausal structure where *bei* is the main verb which takes an event compliment and an experiencer external argument (Hashimoto, 1987; Wei, 1994; see Huang, 1999 for an overview) In addition it is argued that the *bei* construction of the long and short passives is not the same, but two separate constructions (Huang, 1999).

3.0. GOALS OF THE CURRENT STUDY

The current study seeks to replicate the picture description priming task used by Messenger et al. (2012), and to use cross-linguistic syntactic priming to elicit production of the passive syntax in both children and adults. Since priming has been shown to be effective in both investigating syntactic correlates cross linguistically, and as a method for eliciting children's production, it is the natural method to investigate children's knowledge of passive syntax, as well as the structure of the Mandarin *bei* morpheme.

Priming the passive in any language context will demonstrate the subject's knowledge of the passive syntactic structure. If the *bei* construction in Mandarin is a true passive, it should be able to prime and be primed by the analogous structure in English. In addition to cross-linguistic priming, the current study will seek to replicate the findings of Messenger et al. (2012) in English as well as Mandarin.

4.0. METHODS

4.1. Subjects

The experiment was first piloted on adult speakers of Mandarin and English: three L1 Mandarin L2 English speakers, and two L1 English L2 Mandarin speakers. All five subjects were highly proficient in both languages, attending graduate school in English, with the L2 Mandarin speakers having studied abroad in Taiwan. Child data collection is ongoing.

4.2. Stimuli

This study used a total of twenty-four sentences, each with a matching picture. All of the sentences involved reversible transitive verbs, with two animal characters. Care was taken to avoid scenarios which could be influenced by real world knowledge (such as a lion frightening a monkey). The sentences and corresponding pictures were developed and translated with the aid of a native speaker of Taiwanese Mandarin, with attention to naturalness and the ability of the verb to function as a passive. All pictures and sentences were normed with native English and Mandarin speakers for naturalness.

These items were then arranged into pairs: one prime and one target picture. Of these twelve pairs, six of the primes were active sentences such as "the bear hugged the monkey", and six were passive sentences such as "the giraffe was washed by the bear". Of the six passive primes, three were actional verbs (theme-agent constructions such as kick, hug, etc) and three were non-actional verbs (experiencer-theme constructions such as see, hear, etc). Care was taken in the selection of pairs so as not to have the same or similar verb as both the prime and the target. In keeping with Messenger et al. (2012) none of the target pictures depicted any experiencer-theme (non-actional) scenarios.
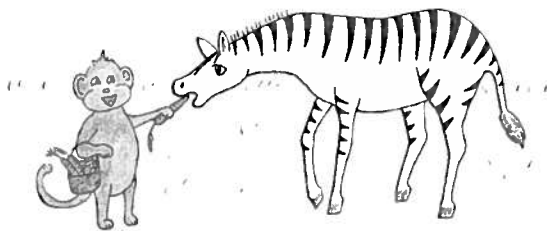
Prime: The zebra was fed by the monkey.
       Banma bei houzi wei-le.
       Zebra PAS monkey feed PERF
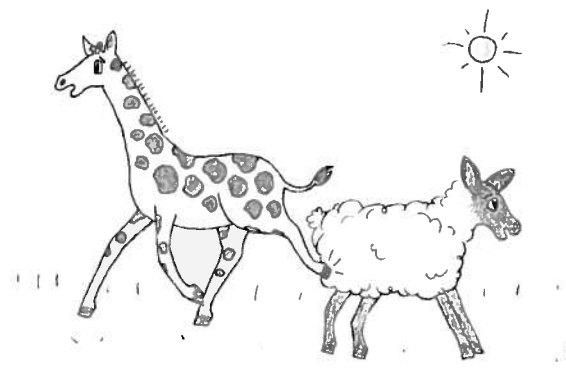
Passive Response: The sheep was kicked by the giraffe.
       Yang bei changjinglu ti-le.
       Sheep PAS giraffe kick-PERF

Active Response: The giraffe kicked the sheep.
       Changjinglu ti-le yang.
       Giraffe kick-PERF sheep

4.3. Procedure

The test item pairs were arranged semi-randomly into a "storybook" for presentation to the subjects. Different storybooks were developed for the different language contexts, in order to provide subjects with item pairs which were more natural in the target language, as well as to avoid item repetition and subject boredom. The story was presented as "Yesterday at the Zoo", in order to place the task in a past tense context and avoid the infelicitous use of the present progressive passive "the cat is being fed by the dog", which was judged to be unnatural in Mandarin. The subject was instructed to respond in the target language. When testing children, two puppets (one English speaking and one Mandarin speaking) will be used to ensure a response in the desired language.

Responses were coded as either active or passive. Mandarin responses were only coded as passive if they included use of the passive morphology *bei* which is optional in Cantonese, but obligatory in Mandarin (Lau & Deen, forthcoming).

5.0. RESULTS

Preliminary results indicate that priming does indeed occur cross linguistically between Mandarin and English. Subjects were more likely to produce a passive when primed with a passive, as opposed to when primed with an active (24 passives produced following passive primes, vs 10 produced following active primes).

Although priming did occur cross linguistically, priming occurred more often from English to Mandarin than from Mandarin to English (57% vs 28%). Priming also occurred more frequently from Mandarin to Mandarin than from English to English. Taken together, this suggests that subjects may be more comfortable producing complex syntactic structures such as the passive in their native language.

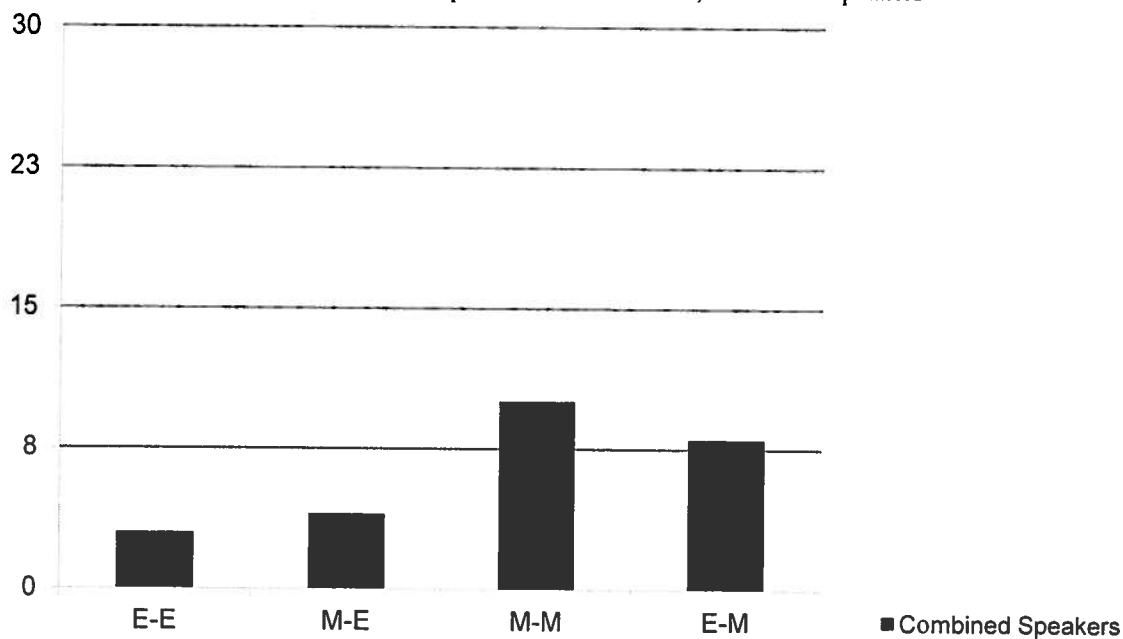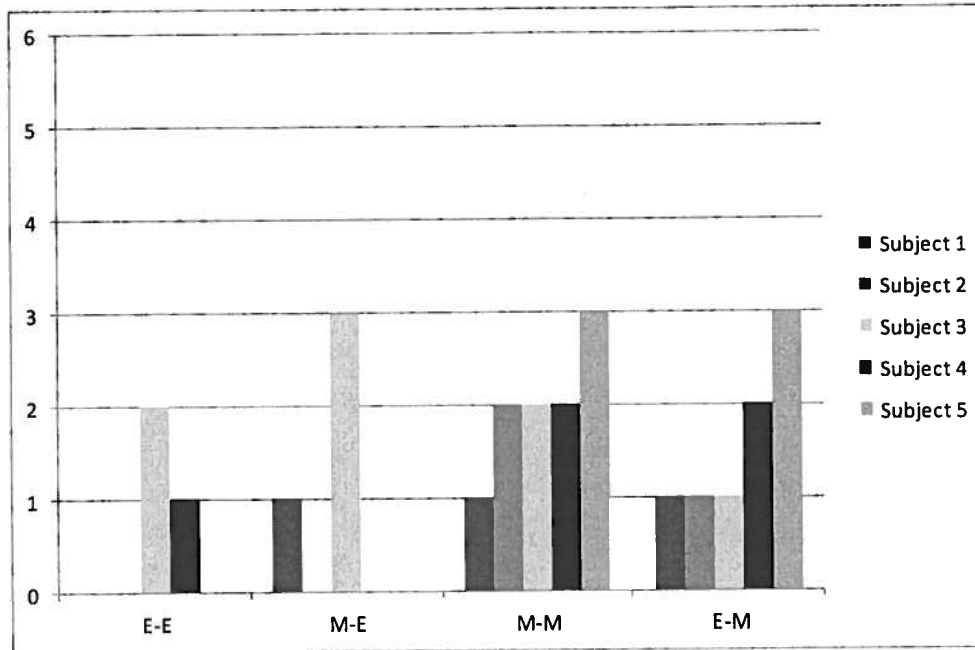Table 1. Passive Response to Passive Prime, Combined Speakers

Table 2. Passive Response to Passive Prime

Although the current data set is small, testing is ongoing, and it is the belief of the researchers that with greater numbers of subjects, a trend will emerge. We believe that we will continue to find the passive being primed cross linguistically, both from Mandarin to English, and English to Mandarin. With a more balanced subject pool, the current preference for Mandarin targets should disappear, and results should show relatively equal priming in both cross language conditions. If the subject pool remains unbalanced, the results are expected be reflective of that fact.

6.0. ISSUES WITH THE CURRENT STUDY

There are several issues with the current study that need to be resolved before further testing can be conducted. In some cases, subjects chose to respond in the progressive rather than the perfective. This was particularly the case with second language speakers of English. Perhaps the past tense context of the task was not made clear enough, in which case more measures should be put in place to stress that the events depicted took place in the past.

In addition, more diverse test items should be developed (e.g., a greater variety of characters and situations) in order to decrease repetition and avoid subject boredom, especially when dealing with children. Piloting this experiment on adults has helped to identify some of the issues that can be fixed prior to running the study on children.

7.0. OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER STUDY

While there are a few flaws with the current pilot study, the methodology used here holds potential. Once the above mentioned issues are resolved, further study should be conducted on a larger number of subjects. In keeping with Messenger et al. (2012), the age range of the subjects should be expanded to include children as young as three years of age. Testing should continue with adult subjects, in order to establish a stronger control group against which to judge the child data. The adult subject pool should be expanded to include more balanced bilinguals (where possible) as well as heritage speakers of Mandarin who are dominant in English.

In keeping with the methodology of both Bencini and Valain (2008) and Messenger et al. (2012), the current study did not present any target items depicting an experiencer-theme scenario. In further study however, introducing non-actional targets could be very informative, as these types of constructions have been judged to be more difficult for children (Gordon & Chafetz, 1990; Sudhalter & Braine, 1985).

Since it has been found that experiencer-theme conditions were able to prime theme-agent conditions in children (Messenger et al., 2012), it stands to reason that children should be able to produce non-actional passives. With careful attention to the design of the target images, further testing could easily include non-actional targets which children should be able to produce. Piloting these items on adult subjects first will help to exclude any images which are conceptually difficult.

Testing should also be expanded to include use of the English "get" passive. The "get" passive in English has been judged to be more adversarial than the "be" passive used in the current study. Cross linguistic priming of the English "get" passive and Mandarin *bei* structure can help to further investigate the claim that the Mandarin *bei* construction is an adversity passive.

The current study should also be expanded to investigate the Cantonese language. Like the *bei* structure in Mandarin, the status of Cantonese passives is currently under debate. Unlike English and Mandarin however, the 'by' phrase is not optional in Cantonese. Testing in Cantonese could provide a basis for comparison with the Mandarin data collected here.

In conclusion, the pilot study described here has provided a useful foundation for further exploration of the status of the Mandarin *bei* construction, as well as children's knowledge of the passive syntax. Data collection is ongoing, and these results will be updated accordingly.

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KOREAN L2 VOCABULARY ACQUISITIONS: MULTIMEDIA LEARNING AND WORD WRITING [1]

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ABSTRACT

This study is the compilation of the two investigations regarding the effects of multimedia learning and word writings on Korean L2 vocabulary acquisition. The first experiment investigated effectiveness of three types of inputs - 1) Text & Picture (TP), 2) Text & Audio & Picture (TAP) and 3) *enhanced* Text & Audio & Picture (eTAP) inputs. The result showed that the TAP input was the most effective with significant difference to the TP input (p-value 0.03). In the second investigation, the effect of word writing was investigated. The result showed that word writing was effective with significant difference (p-value 0.0066).

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Vocabulary

Vocabulary is a central part of language learning. Knight (1994) described vocabulary learning as probably the single most important aspect of second language learning. Other researchers such as Coady (1993), and Laufer and Bensoussan (1982), shared the same idea, and described vocabulary knowledge as the best predictor of and fundamental to reading comprehension and language fluency. In addition, many foreign language instructors and students cite vocabulary acquisition as their number one priority (Knight, 1994). However, despite the consensus of opinion and many research findings that recognize the importance of vocabulary learning, vocabulary instruction has been neglected in classroom teaching. Sadly, this phenomenon results in learners teaching themselves new words without any aids because they are either unaware of effective vocabulary strategies or not equipped with appropriate tools to use those strategies.

This study seeks to investigate the effects of multimedia learning and word writing on Korea L2 vocabulary acquisition. This current paper is a compilation of two investigations. The first experiment was about the effectiveness of three types on input - 1) Text & Picture (TP), 2) Text & Audio & Picture (TAP) and 3) *enhanced* Text & Audio & Picture (eTAP) inputs. The second investigation was about the effectiveness of word writing. The researcher chose these two methods because they are relatively easy to implement and also reflects the most common way of how second language learners study target vocabularies. The ultimate goal of this study is to provide foreign language learners and instructors with vocabulary strategies that have been empirically proven as effective.

1.2. Framework

Mayer (2001) defines multimedia as "the presentation of materials using both words, which include printed and spoken text, and pictures" (p. 2). He states that multimedia learning has advantages because materials are presented in two channels, auditory/verbal channel and visual/pictorial channel instead of one channel. He also argues that these two types of input complement each other to facilitate learning of verbal and non-verbal information.

Mayer (1997, 2001, 2003) proposed and developed the cognitive theory of multimedia learning. The theory claims that optimal learning occurs when both verbal and visual inputs are provided simultaneously. For example, learners will acquire words more effectively if words are presented with text and pictures instead of text alone. The multimedia learning theory makes three important assumptions (Mayer 2001). The first assumption, which is derived from Paivio's dual coding theory (Pavio 1986 as cited in Chen 2006) and Baddeley's model of working memory (Baddeley 1999 as cited in Mayer 2001), is the dual channel assumption. "The dual channel assumption is that humans possess separate information processing channels for visually represented material and auditorily represented material (p. 46)." The second assumption refers to human's limited capacity to process information. Mayer stated that "humans are limited in the amount of information that can be processed in each channel at one time" (p. 48). Therefore, only selected information will be processed. The third assumption is that "humans actively engage in cognitive processing to construct a coherent mental representation of their experiences" (p. 50).

Dual channel assumption posits two channels for new information. They are auditory/verbal channel and visual/pictorial channel. Figure 1 describes the two channels of cognitive theory of multimedia learning. The top row shows the auditory/verbal channel and the bottom row shows the visual/pictorial model.

Perceptions of new information are made through sensory modalities, and those perceptions are interpreted as belonging to two categories, verbal for speech or writing and non-verbal for pictures. According to Sadoski and Paivio (2001), these two systems can be activated independently or by each other, which implies that non-verbal images can activate the verbal information process. For example, textual input such as the word, *moca* ('hat') will be processed in the visual channel since it enters through the eyes, however, a native Korean speaker can covert that text into sounds that will be processed through the auditory channel.
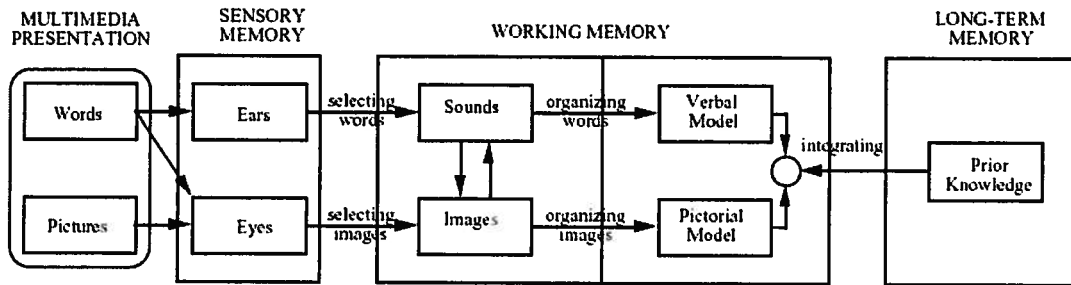

Figure 1: Cognitive Theory of Multimedia Leaning Model (Mayer 2001, 2003).

2.0. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Numerous studies have investigated the effects of multimedia annotation in vocabulary acquisition. The findings of these studies are categorized and reviewed by the type of inputs in the following sections

2.1. Text and Picture Input

Meanings of words can mainly be given in two text forms. One will just provide the meaning and the other will give the meaning in examples or contexts. Hulstijin's 1992 study (as cited in Chen, 2006) on adult L2 Dutch learners showed that providing a single synonym was more effective than providing context for learners to figure out the meaning. Prince (1995), who examined the role of the mode of presentation in learners' L2 proficiency, found that more items were remembered when words were presented in translation than when they were presented in context. Coady (1993) also claimed that the best text input for learning word meaning is just to provide the meaning in the L1 in the simplest manner.

Chen (2006) cited Kellogg and Howe (1971) and Terrel (1986, cited in Kost, Foss, & Lexini., 1999) to show the benefits of using pictures or visual images in learning new words. In Kellop and Howe's study, the effects of written words and pictorial input on oral acquisition were compared, and the faster learning was facilitated with pictures (Chen, 2006). Other studies such as Chun and Plass (1995, 1996), Plass, Chun, Mayer, and Leutner (1998), Kost et al. (1999), and Al-Seghayer (2001) consistently provide evidence for the effectiveness of dual presentation of vocabulary annotations (text + visual aids) for vocabulary learning.

Al-Seghayer (2001) and Chun and Plass (1996) examined the effects of text-video input on vocabulary acquisition. The results from both studies showed that text-video inputs were not as effective as text-picture inputs.

2.2. Audio Input

Previous studies have provided somewhat mixed findings about audio inputs in vocabulary learning. Svenconis and Kerst (1995), cited in Chen (2006), claimed that audio input is helpful, whereas Yeh and Wang (2003) stated that audio input is rather a distracting factor in vocabulary acquisition. Chun and Plass (1996) also found that audio input is not useful because subjects in the experiment rarely used audio input as a retrieval cue.

Despite controversial findings from previous studies, it is obvious that audio or phonological memory is related to vocabulary acquisition. Speciale, Ellis, and Bywater (2004) showed that phonological learning capacity determines vocabulary learning. Hu and Schuele (2005) found that students with poor phonological awareness may be slow in learning words because they may have difficulty constructing pronunciation for new words. Even in Yeh and Wang's (2003) study, the authors stated that the finding of the ineffectiveness of audio input is limited to L2 learners of Chinese.

2.3. Orthography

Numerous researchers have claimed that orthography errors are mainly caused by the writing does not always reflect how the word is actually pronounced (Berkel, 2004; Lee, 2007; Nicholas, Debski, & Lagerberg, 2004; Park, 2008). As a remedy, explicit instruction of language-specific phonetic rules has been suggested. Lee (2007) conducted error analysis on 131 English-speaking heritage learners of Korean. He claimed that spelling errors due to "writing as it sounds" were the most frequently occurring type of error, and suggested explicit instruction on pronunciation rules in classroom settings (p. 358). Park (2008) also advocated explicit instruction because learners go through the process of analogy to correctly spell words. Nicholas, Debski, and Lagerberg (2004) investigated the effects of Skryba, a program that offers orthography aids to improve spelling skills for native Russian-speaking learners of a second language. The program is designed to provide visual aids for learners to see English phonetic patterns more easily, because auditory input is not sufficient or is hard for beginning level learners to comprehend. The commonality among these studies is that they suggest that learners tend to write words as they sound and that they advocate instruction on language-specific rules as a solution.

Regarding the types of errors that English speaking Korean L2 learners make, numerous studies found similar results. Kim (2001) conducted spelling errors analysis and found that the most frequently occurring error was distinguishing consonants among plain, aspirated and tensed sounds such as *c, ch, cc*. In vowels, misspelling between *ay* and *ey* were the most frequent error. Shin (2007) also revealed the similar result. He claimed that 31% of the errors are from the three series consonants and *ay/ey* was the most erroneous type.

Barcroft (2006) investigated effects of word writing such as "simply copying target words" (p. 489) on vocabulary learning including spelling acquisition. The study was conducted on 46 Spanish students at the second semester beginning level, who were asked to write 24 new words. The study showed the negative effect of writing on immediate test and 2-day delayed test. He claimed that copying target words "exhausted processing resources" (p. 488), and that no processing resources were available to learn the word form and meaning.

3.0. RESEARCH DESIGN

As mentioned earlier, this paper summarized the findings of two experiments. Section 3.1 shows the result of the investigation about effectiveness of three types of input –text and pictorial (TP) input, text, auditory and pictorial input (TAP) and *enhanced* text, auditory and pictorial input (*e*TAP) input. Section 3.2 describes the findings about effects of word writing.

3.1. Multimodal Input

Participants were randomly assigned to three groups and asked to learn 20 words through different methods. Group 1, the TP group, learned new words with textual and pictorial input while Group 2, the TAP group, learned through textual, pictorial, and auditory input. The last group, Group 3, the *e*TAP group, learned new words with enhanced textual, auditory, and pictorial input. The immediate post-test for meaning recognition and spelling production was conducted. Then short survey for background information was collected.

3.1.1. Research questions

Based on the cognitive theory of multimedia learning, the researcher formulated the following research hypotheses.

1. Group 2 (textual, auditory, and pictorial input, hence TAP group) and Group 3 (enhanced textual, auditory, and pictorial input, hence *e*TAP group) will score higher than Group 1 (textual and pictorial input, hence TP group) on a meaning test and a spelling test.

2. The *e*TAP group will outperform the other groups on the meaning test and the spelling recognition test.

3. The differences in scores among the groups will be greater on the spelling production test than on the meaning recognition test because the TAP method should be particularly effective in production tests, according to Salem (2006).

3.1.2. Research procedures
The participants in the study were in the first semester of a beginning level Korean course. All participants volunteered for the test and they were told that participation was not mandatory. The researcher received approval from the Human Subject and Institutional Review Board (IRB) to recruit participants for the experiment. The researcher visited the classrooms for the announcement of recruitment. Extra points were given for participation. Fifty-two subjects participated in the investigation.

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of the three groups and asked to show up for the experiment. There were two assigned time slots for each group and the participants must show up at one of the assigned time slots.

During the experiment, the pretest was first conducted on 20 words that were asked to study later. Then, participants were asked to study 20 words by using one of the three types of input. Each word was shown 45 seconds for the first rotation and 15 seconds for the second rotation. The data was collected through (1) tests of meaning recognition and spelling production, and (2) short questionnaires for background information of participants. The test and background questionnaires are provided in Appendix A and Appendix B, respectively. In the first section, ten questions were given in a multiple choice format. Subjects had to choose the correct meaning in English for the question word, which was given in Korean. The second section also contained ten questions but subjects had to translate English words into Korean with correct spelling. The spelling section was graded with two different scoring systems: whole word scoring (WWS) and consonant vowel scoring (CVS). In the whole word scoring system, each word receives 1 point or 0 points. If the whole word is spelled correctly with no spelling errors, 1 point was given whereas no point was given if it contained any errors. In the consonant vowel scoring system, 1 point is given to each correctly placed consonant or vowel. For example, the word *chik* 'arrowroot' has total of four possible points. The scoring system is a revised version of that used by Barcroft (2004). WWS reflects how vocabulary quizzes are graded at the researcher's university, where all instructors of KOR 101 agreed that no partial points would be given on vocabulary quizzes. However, the researcher believed that WWS does not fully measure the effects of the inputs, so CVS was also used. For example, in the WWS, if a participant spells *chik* ('arrowroot') as *cik*, he still receives 0 point although s/he remembered three out of four strokes correctly. CVS addresses this situation. The sentence ender *da* was not included in either scoring system because all verbs and adjectives end with it.

3.2. Word Writing
In this experiment, which was conducted one year after the Section 3.1 experiment, the participants were asked to write target words repeatedly with *e*TAP inputs to learn new words and its effectiveness was investigated. Most of the research procedure was the same as that of Section 3.1 investigation except that this experiment was a within-subject design. 42 subjects were asked to study 18 words using both strategies. The participants were required to study first 9 words with *e*TAP input but without word writing then study latter 9 words with *e*TAP input plus word writing (eWTAP). The scores from each section were compared for analysis. The researcher hypothesized that the scores from eWTAP section would be significantly higher than those from the *e*TAP section in both scoring systems. This experiment did not contain meaning recognition testing, because the result from the first experiment proved that it was not necessary.

4.0. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Multimodal Input

The meaning recognition test produced unexpected results. Out of 52 participants, all except three had perfect scores. Those three participants missed just one question each. There were six subjects whose scores were not used for data analysis because they dozed off during the experiment. They still received perfect scores on the meaning recognition test. However, their spelling production test scores were extremely low. In addition, most of the participants were able to finish the meaning recognition test in less than five minutes. For the spelling production test, the TAP group scored highest. The eTAP group scored second highest, and the TP group scored the lowest.

An ANOVA test was conducted and a significant difference was found only in the WWS. Critical F (2, 33) value at level .05 is 3.30. The result was 3.7928. The TAP group scored highest on the spelling test with a mean of 4.07, whereas the eTAP group ranked second with a mean of 3.46. The control group (TP group) had a mean score of 1.86. The total possible score was 10. A post-hoc test was conducted to show which groups had significant differences. The result indicates that there was a significant difference only between the TP group (Gr. 1) and the TAP group (Gr. 2). No significan difference was observed in CVS system. However, similar pattern was observed. The TAP group scored highest 28.82, and the eTAP group scored 24.69. The TP group scored lowest, 19.46.

4.2. Word Writing

The result for the second experiment was also surprising. Although the word writing was found effective, its effect was not as effective as as the researcher hypothesized, because significant results were only observed in the CVS (consonant vowel scoring system). In WWS (whole word scoring system), significant results were not observed (P-value: 0.297); whereas significant results were observed in CVS (P-value: 0.0066)

4.3. Discussion

As discussed in the results section, the TAP group and the eTAP group outperformed the TP group. These findings provide positive evidence for the effectiveness of auditory input that contradicts the findings of Yeh and Wang (2003), and Chun and Plass (1996). In fact, auditory input was found to be very helpful in spelling acquisition. The only significant difference was found between the TP group and the TAP group. However, this result accounts for production skill only, because the scores of all three groups were virtually the same on the meaning recognition test. The results also confirm Salem's (2001) claim that TAP input is particularly helpful to production skills.

The researcher had hypothesized that the eTAP group would score the highest, but the TAP group actually scored the highest. This may be explained by the second assumption of Mayer's cognitive theory of multimedia learning. The theory assumes that humans have limited capacity to process information. Enhanced text inputs could have been overwhelming for the participants to process in the time given in the experiment and may have produced negative effects on spelling acquisition. In the experiment, 12 out of 20 words were enhanced with PowerPoint effects and they were shown in different colors. This finding may imply that the quantity of enhanced input must be controlled to be effective, otherwise enhanced input may hinder learning.

Individual learning style seems to have had a critical role in the experiment. Those who are not visual or auditory learners must have not been much affected by pictorial or auditory input. Two participants commented that they were not visual learners and only textual input was really helpful for them. Perhaps this explains why the eTAP group had a lower SD (standard deviation) than the other two groups. Text needs to be enhanced to have any effects for non-visual learners. In addition, the researcher also analyzed if there were any heritage related issues in the result out of curiosity. There do not seem to be any heritage issues involved. In fact, the highest score in each group was from a non-heritage student.

The significant difference was observed in WWS for the multimedia input investigation, which was the first investigation, whereas the significant difference was only observed in CVS for the word writing investigation. It seems that effects of pictorial input and word writing canceled each other's effects. Although it is only the researcher's assumption, the learners might have stored the entire word forms, in which all consonants and vowels are in proper places. As result, significant difference is observed in WWS. However,

this entire word form can be distorted as the learners pay more attention to individual consonants and vowels as the learners actually write out the words. This might have resulted in producing significant difference only in CVS.

5.0 CONCLUSION

In this study, Mayer's cognitive theory of multimedia learning (1997, 2001, 2003) was adopted to investigate effects of multi-modal inputs on word acquisition. The researcher formulated three hypotheses. The first hypothesis, that the TAP group and the *e*TAP group would outperform the TP group, was true. However, the second hypothesis, that the *e*TAP method provides the most effective input, was proven wrong. An uncontrolled quantity of enhanced input hindered learning. Regarding the third hypothesis, the TAP input was indeed more effective on spelling production than on meaning recognition.

The investigation confirmed the hypothesis that the word writing is effective which contradicted Barcroft (2006)'s result. However, the word writing strategy seems to be used with caution because it may deplete information processing resources that it may ended up in hindering learning. It is the resercher's plan if the word writing without pictorial input may facilitate word learing with more efficiency.

Vocabulary learning, especially spelling acquisition, is often left out in classroom instruction for reasons such as lack of time. As a result, learners are left to teach themselves new words. The researcher believes many foreign language learners still rely on the rote memory method to learn new words, although numerous effective vocabulary strategies, including mnemonic devices and multimodal input strategies such as the TAP method, are available. In other words, students are not equipped with appropriate tools that are easily accessible to them. Also, considering the extreme difficulty of spelling acquisition compared to meaning recognition, the TAP method can have profound effects on word acquisition for second language learners.

NOTES
1.   This is a revised version of my paper resented at the ATTK Conference in 2012.

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APPENDIX A (Multimodal Input Experiment)

Test
(1) Pretest
Write the most appropriate translation.

1. 송곳:
2. 배기구:
3. 갑판:
4. 접수 :
5. 모방하다:
6. 그루:
7. 국보:
8. 지게:
9. 쪼다:
10. 대면하다:
11. 법원:
12. 매표소:
13. 침입하다:
14. 내과:
15. 편찮다:
16. 쥐:
17. 초면:
18. 후미:
19. 끊다:
20. 거위:

(2) Post test

I. Choose the most appropriate translation.

1. 대면하다
       a) to confront face to face   b) to be awkward
   c) to cook   d) palace

2. 배기구
       a) exhaust pipe b) volleyball c) machine d) fruit

3. 후미
       a) to move s b) to smell c) the tail end   d) seasoning

4. 거위
       a) duck b) chicken c) bird d) goose

5. 송곳
       a) ice pick   b) tree   c) screw d) rest area

6. 그루
       a) counter for rice   b)counter for tree
       c) to unite   d) to scatter

7. 초면

      a) candle light   b)meeting for the first time

      c) to candle   d) to estimate

8. 침입하다

      a) to invade   b)to attack   c) to penetrate   d) to pound

9. 쪼다

      a) to scare   b) to peck   c) to run away   d) to shrik

10. 모방하다

      a) to be warm   b) to imitate   c) to align   d) to reserve

II. Write following words in Korean as much as possible.

1.   National treasure:
2.   Ticket office:
3.   Internal medicine:
4.   Carrying rack:
5.   To distressed:
6   Arrowroots:
7.   Court:
8.   Foredeck:
9.   To sever:
10.   To register:

APPENDIX B

(1) Background Information Questionnaire

Korean Language Background Questionnaire

Q1. Did you take the Korean placement test?
   □ Yes, I was placed in KOR_____   □ No

Q2. What is your first or strongest language?
□ English   □ Korean   □ Chinese   □ Japanese
□ Other (specify)_____

Q3. Check if your parents, grandparents, or anyone else in your immediate/extended family is a native speaker
      of Korean.
□ Mother   □ Father   □ Maternal grandparent(s)   □ Paternal grandparent(s)
□ Other (specify)_____

Q4   List the following information for any previous Korean studies elsewhere (e.g., high school,
      intermediate/elementary school, Korean language school, private language institute, private tutor, etc).

School 1:_____(school name) in
□ Hawaii / □ Korea / □ Mainland US / □ Other (specify)_____

      Number of years taken:_____
      Most recent year taken:_____

School 2:_____(school name)
in □ Hawaii / □ Korea / □ Mainland US /
□ Other (specify)_____

Number of years taken:_____
Most recent year taken:_____

Q5. Have you lived/stayed in Korea for a month or longer?
□ No
□ Yes (For _____[length of the stay], from year_____ to year _____

Q6. Have you made short visits to Korea (less than a month)?
□ No   □ Yes (How often?_____ Last visit to Korea?   Year_____)

Q7. Any suggestions or comments

APPENDIX C (Word Writing Experiment)
Pre - test

1. 송곳	1. 배기구
1. 갑판	1. 접수
1. 모방하다	1. 그루
1. 국보	1. 지게
1. 쪼다	1. 대면하다
1. 법원	1. 매표소
1. 침입하다	1. 내과
1. 쥐	1. 초면
1. 후미	1. 거위

Post-test

Test

Translate following words into Korean. Write as much as you remember. Even if all you remember is the first consonant, please write it down.

1. exhaust pipe:
2. internal medicine:
3. ice pick:
4. foredeck:
5. arrowroots:
6. meeting for a first time:
7. to imitate:
8. goose:
9. counter for tree:
10. to register:
11. carrying rack:
12. to invade:
13. national treasure:
14. tail end:
15. to meet face to face:
16. court:
17. ticket booth:
18. To peck:

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Takafumi Fukushima's primary academic interest is L2 reading theory and teaching. Based on psycholinguistic research, Takafumi is seeking for better ways to improve Japanese EFL learners' L2 reading proficiency, and is also interested in the relationship between a willingness to communicate and L2 speaking anxiety. It is important for learners to reduce their L2 speaking anxiety to become fluent L2 speakers.

Jennifer Holdway is a graduate student in the Department of Second Language Studies. Her research interests focus on language policy and planning from a critical, engaged, social-welfare-driven approach, K-12 language and literacy education across the content areas, and providing professional development for pre- and in-service teachers.

Megumi Jinushi is an MA student in the Department of Second Language Studies, specializing in Second Language Acquisition. Her current interests mainly lie in linguistic relativity and corpus linguistics. Most of her research questions were motivated by her personal experience of being an ESL student. She is interested in dissecting cognitive and linguistic differences between native speakers and advanced second language learners of various languages. She has also served as the Computer vice-president of the Second Language Studies Student Association.

Shaun Kindred is a first year graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's Department of Linguistics. After getting his BA in Japanese in 2003, he studied and worked in Taiwan and Japan for a few years before returning to UHM. His interests are in language revitalization, the use of technology for revitalization, and the indigenous languages of Japan and Taiwan. He speaks Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and some Okinawan (*uchinaaguchi*) and French.

Nobuo Kubota was born in Japan and moved to Hawai'i in 2004. While currently a PhD student in Japanese Language and Linguistics, Nobuo has earned a BA in Computer Science (Japan, 2003) and Second Language Studies (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2008), as well as an MA in Japanese Language and Linguistics (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2010). Nobuo's research interests include language and gender.

Priscila Leal is an Advanced Graduate Certificate student in the Department of Second Language Studies. She received her MA in Curriculum and Instruction of English as a Second Language from Arizona State University. Priscila attended the Federal University of Para in Brazil, her home country, where she received her Licentiature in Portuguese. Priscila is interested in language, power, and identity, and in underserved English language learners and nontraditional academic contexts.

Hye Seung Lee was born and raised in Seoul, Korea. After receiving a BA in French language and literature at Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea, Hye Seung received an MA in Area Studies, focused on Japanese Studies at Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies in Seoul, Korea. Coming to Hawaii to study Korean linguistics, Hye Seung started from the MA and is currently ABD in Korean Linguistics, as well as teaching Korean courses at UH.

Sumire Matsuyama joined the PhD program in Korean Studies at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in August 2011. She graduated with an MA in Korean Culture and Education from Korea University in Seoul, Korea, in February 2011, and a BA in English Communication from Ehime University in Ehime, Japan, in March 2000. Her research interests are in Korean Phonology and Pedagogy.

Eve Millett graduated magna cum laude from the University of Hawaii at Mānoa in December 2012 with a double major in French and Ethnic Studies. She is currently a student in the Master of Arts program in French at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa.

Yuzuko Nagashima was born in Sapporo, Japan. She obtained her undergraduate degree in political science at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and is continuing her education in Hawaii by pursuing a master's degree in second language studies. Her research interests include language and identities, as well as language policy and planning with an ethnographic approach. Outside of her school life, she enjoys playing the piano, swimming, and meditation.

Jenna Pak is a fifth generation part-Korean who was born and raised in Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i. A graduate from 'Iolani School, she recently received her MA from the Department of Second Language Studies. Jenna's research interests include sociolinguistics, particularly discourse analysis, social interaction, and Hawai'i Creole, or Pidgin. Her current project encompasses Hawai'i Creole linguistic landscapes, a collaboration with Local colleague Lisa Houghtailing.

Colleen Patton is an MA student in the Language Documentation and Conservation stream of the Department of Linguistics. While an undergraduate student at the University of Iowa, she developed an interest in North African contemporary history, specifically the struggles of the indigenous Berber populations to receive linguistic and cultural recognition in Algeria and Morocco. Colleen's present research interests are in language documentation and language maintenance throughout Polynesia and in the United Kingdom.

Ryan Peters is a student in the Second Language Studies MA program. Before coming to the University of Hawai'i he lived in Japan for almost 5 years teaching English and studying Japanese. He is particularly interested in understanding SLA as an emergent process of a dynamic system, and is currently researching lower level learning processes using Amazon Mechanical Turk to recruit participants.

Blanca Pruitt is a Spanish Literature major graduating with a Master of Arts in the spring of 2014. Her student life revolves around her military career, her fiancé David Comito, her Ohana, and her close friends (Ms. Upham, Ms. Lozano, Ms. Tootoo, Mrs. Waldron, Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Fuller). She is passionate about education and community service. In her free time, Blanca likes jumping out of airplanes, snorkeling, scuba diving, hiking and cruising on her bike.

Samantha Rarrick is pursuing an MA in Linguistics with a focus in Language Documentation and Conservation. She is especially interested in working with the languages of the Pacific and expects to continue to conduct linguistic research in this region after earning her degree.

Melody Ann Ross holds a BA in Linguistics from the University of Texas and is currently pursuing her PhD in Linguistics from the University of Hawai'i. Her primary academic interests are minority language documentation and sociolinguistics in Timor-Leste, language and educational policy, and language attitude assessment methodologies and their applicability to sustainable, community-driven language documentation initiatives in Timor-Leste, Papua New Guinea, and other multilingual communities.

Max Shakely is originally from Littleton Colorado, and came to Hawai'i in 2006 to study Japanese as an undergraduate. In 2011, he graduated from UH Mānoa with a Bachelors of Philosophy and a Bachelors of Japanese. Following that, he entered into the Master's program at UH Mānoa, and is graduating with a Master's degree in Japanese linguistics in the spring of 2013.

Sean Simpson is a master's student in the Linguistics Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His area of concentration is language documentation and conservation, with a particular focus on the intersection between sociolinguistics and endangered language research. Sean is currently involved with several projects exploring the dialect of Hawai'i English, led by Dr. Katie Drager, and serves as the Project Coordinator under Dr. Lyle Campbell for the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages*.

Claire Stabile was born and raised in the Los Angeles area, where she attended UCLA and majored in Linguistics. After graduating Claire began her Master's degree at UH Mānoa, and was then admitted to the PhD program. Her research interests include bilingualism, language acquisition, syntax, and heritage languages. In her free time, Claire enjoys spending time outdoors. An avid backpacker for over ten years, her goal is to hike the John Muir Trail in California.

Jason Bumyong Sung is currently a PhD student majoring in Korean Linguistics with the EALL Department. His topics of interest are L2 vocabulary acquisition and particle ellipsis.

Tomoka Wesely is an MA student in Second Language Studies at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She received her BA in Psychology from the University of Nebraska (Lincoln). Currently she is working on a project with Dr. Luca Onnis. The project is about sequential learning, and it involves Amazon Mechanical Turk for participant recruitment.

Gordon West is currently an MA candidate in Second Language Studies at UH where he is also a GA instructor in the English Language Institute. He worked previously as an EFL instructor in Seoul, Korea teaching K-8. His main interest is in using critical pedagogy to address social justice issues through language education. A secondary interest is using collaborative research to advocate for positive social change and equality.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

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Brittany Wilson is an MA student in the Department of Linguistics, studying language documentation and conservation. She has a BA in Linguistics from the University of Arizona, and her research interests include the languages of mainland southeast Asia, and endangered sign languages. She is a current co-director of the Language Documentation Training Center, a student-run organization helping students document their own endangered languages.