Proceedings 2015

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

"In A Word"

University of Hawai'i, Mānoa

edited by Samuel Aguirre, Emily Gazda Plumb, & Kristyn Martin

Past proceedings in this series are archived in
http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/9195

CONTENTS

IV. TECHNOLOGY

PREFACE

Samuel Aguirre, MA student in Second Language Studies
Emily Gazda Plumb, MA student in Second Language Studies
Kristyn Martin, MA student in East Asian Languages & Literatures

The Nineteenth Annual Graduate Student Conference of the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa was held on Saturday, April 18, 2015. As in past years, this conference offered the students in the six departments across the college, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies, the opportunity to come together and build a stronger community across the college by sharing their work with one another. This annual conference provides an opportunity for students to become socialized into academic practices, such as presenting at a conference and producing a paper for publication in these proceedings. It also allows students to take on various roles in the academic community, as all conference chairs, proceedings editors, coordinators, and volunteers for the conference are themselves graduate students.

The theme for this year's conference was "In a Word," which captured a basic component that runs through the College of LLL since words are essential to the work students do in each of the departments that form the College. The conference opened with a motivating address from Dean Jeffrey Carroll, which was followed by a poignant and provocative keynote from LLL's own kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui. Presentations followed from a group of 20 graduate students, who shared their research with approximately 80 attendees from the UH community.

The conference was chaired by Samuel Aguirre (SLS), Emily Gazda (SLS), Scott Kaʻalele (ENG), Kristyn Martin (EALL), Lenisi Pasi (ENG), and Andrew Rouse (SLS). They were supported by the guidance and conference advisory of Jim Yoshioka, the Events Coordinator for the College of LLL, Dr. Lucía Aranda, the director of the Center for Interpretation and Translation Studies housed in the College of LLL, and Karin Mackenzie, the Director of the Office of Community and Alumni Relations for the Colleges of Arts and Sciences. Further support for the conference was provided by the College of LLL, the Colleges of Arts & Sciences Alumni Association, and the National Foreign Language Resource Center. Student volunteers from several departments in the College of LLL helped make the conference a success by giving their time to help organize, plan, and run the conference, including moderating presentations, managing registration, and providing technical support for the presenters.

We would like to give a big mahalo to all of the student volunteers and everyone who participated in both the conference and the compiling and editing of the proceedings. In addition to, we thank Dean Carroll, Jim Yoshioka, Lucía Aranda, Karin Mackenzie, and everyone else who helped advise throughout the process of the conference and proceedings publication. Of the 20 student presentations at the conference, 6 presenters submitted their papers for publication in the proceedings. We are grateful for this response and for the help of our copy editors who worked over the summer to provide feedback and helped prepare the papers for publication.

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

Honolulu, 2015

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

I KA 'OLELO KE OLA: IN THE WORD IS LIFE
Dr. Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui, Department of English

ABSTRACT

"I ka 'Ōlelo ke Ola: In the Word is Life" references a well-known Hawaiian proverb, "I ka 'ōlelo ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo ka make, in words are the power of life and death." It refers to the value of words, spoken and written, and how we must take great care with words because they have the power to heal or destroy. As scholars of literatures, languages, and linguistics, perhaps we have the ultimate responsibility and privilege of using words to enhance our disciplines and heal the world when we deploy them responsibly and effectively. Thus our scholarship as the crafters and caretakers of words is the heart of the humanities as a whole, and of global importance.

Dr. Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui is a Kanaka Maoli nationalist, scholar, aloha 'āina advocate, poet, and visual artist born in Kailua, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu and raised in Kaipuha'a (Wailua Homesteads), Puna, Kaua'i. She is an associate professor in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa where she specializes in Hawaiian and Oceanic literatures, place-based writing, and indigenous literacy. She is a former Ford Foundation pre-doctoral and doctoral fellow, and a Mellon Hawai'i post-doctoral fellow. Her artwork, poetry, and short fiction in Hawaiian and English have been internationally published and translated. She is also a founding and chief editor of 'Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal, featuring Native Hawaiian writers and artists. Her first book, *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hi'iaka*, was published by the University of Minnesota Press in 2014.

I. Language Learning and Pedagogy

CRITICAL READING IN AN ESL CLASSROOM

Jessica Fast, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

Critical reading, a subfield of critical pedagogy, advocates the reading of texts within their social and historical contexts, while also considering the perspective of the author and the voices of those excluded from the text. Although this approach helps to illuminate the hidden meaning of texts for students (Wallace, 2003), rarely has it been used in second language English for Academic Purposes contexts. This paper explores the implementation of a critical reading module in such a course, as well as its effects on student perceptions of critical reading concepts.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

One of the most pertinent skills for students studying English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is the ability to read texts actively. Within the context of my own EAP reading class, I have chosen to define active reading as critical reading, a technique for reading texts by which students can actively engage with not only the content of a text, but also its meaning and perspective. At the university where I teach, the EAP classes for matriculated, English as a second language (ESL) students are housed within the English Language Institute (ELI). The institute divides classes into three curriculum areas: listening/speaking, writing, and reading. Further, each area is divided into two levels: intermediate and advanced. The students in my class (also the participants in this project) were at the intermediate reading level. This was the context within which I implemented my two-week critical reading (CR) module. During this course I attempted to introduce elements of CR to begin the process of having students think about texts through a critical reading framework.

In the research that has been done thus far, very few studies exist on critical reading courses or coursework, and I have found little to no research that addresses CR executed within a second language EAP context. It is that gap that this project attempts to help fill. In this study, I look at the nature of critical reading and the limited examples of systematic implementation of critical reading coursework, particularly in EAP classes. I will also describe how I carried out critical reading in my class as a focused two-week module, as well as the possible effects this project had on students' attitudes towards critical reading concepts and techniques.

2.0. DEFINITIONS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CR

References to critical reading have been present in the literature for quite some time. Robinson (1964) traces the history of the term back to the 1940's, with US specialists Gans in 1940 and De Boer in 1946 using it to refer broadly to the selection of material relevant to a particular problem and the synthesis of findings. Critical reading has since taken on a more sociopolitical meaning in the work of Catherine Wallace. Currently at the University College London Institute of Education, Wallace (2014) has written extensively about the theory behind and the application of critical reading. I have therefore drawn heavily upon her work in the shaping of this study. In her book simply entitled *Reading*, Wallace (1992) begins to set up the basic underlying element of CR: that texts need to be analyzed within their historically- and socially-situated contexts. A more technical summary of CR would be that it is the practice and process by which a reader situates texts within a larger social context in order to examine what the text assumes about the reader and how it interacts with the reader, usually via dominant discourses. Critical reading is inherently about the use of texts, not just the passive reading of them (Wallace, 2003). Therefore, the reading process needs to be dynamic and dialogic. Reading texts as more than just what the words explicitly say, and looking instead at what is meant by the words within a larger social situation allows students to see how texts orient them as readers in a certain way. Further, it helps illuminate how that orientation likely supports the dominant discourses of a society. Thus, CR is a way of reading that illuminates how language is used in context and the purposes for which it is being used.

In order to understand how critical reading may be implemented in the classroom, I first look at the historical traditions it comes from and its relationship to the greater field of critical pedagogy. Although the term *critical reading* has been used since at least as early as the 1960s, it did not start taking on a political meaning until later with the advent of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Wallace (2003), CR can be thought of as a pedagogical offspring of the CDA tradition, advocated particularly by Fairclough (1989). He worked to examine discourses in terms of what they said

about power relationships and the oppression of particular groups who did not possess voices present within dominant discourses. Language, then, is a type of discourse to be analyzed in terms of how power—and dominant discourses—operate through it. In response to this, two pedagogical practices emerged which worked to translate CDA into the classroom. One of these applications is Critical Language Awareness (CLA), which "saw its goal as raising students' awareness of how the uses of language in all its realizations serve to perpetuate dominant discourses and the ideologies they encode" (Wallace, 2003, p. 2). The other is critical reading.

3.0. FEATURES OF CR

One aspect essential for understanding how CR operates is the orientation that reading is inherently an interactive process. The notion of "text in context" (Wallace, 2003, p. 12) is a central tenet of CR. This concept also helps to situate critical reading within what literary theory contributes, and also leaves out, about the relationship between reader, text, and the text's author. Barthes (1967) is famous for coining the term *la mort de l'auteur*, or "the death of the author." This means that once a text has left the hands of its writer, the interpretation of its meaning is left entirely up to the reader; authorial intent no longer applies. This, however, does not account for CR's notion that reading is inherently interactive; instead, Barthes posits that meaning is made only by the reader, not the author. Fish's (1970) reaction to this was his affective stylistics, a type of reader response criticism which claims that meaning cannot exist outside of a reader's experience. However, this also fails to address the interactivity of meaning-making between text and reader. Instead, it leaves too much open to the interpretation of the reader and ignores the social situation in which a text exists, was written in, and places the reader. In contrast, critical reading addresses the gap that exists in literary theory and criticism. Within CR, although authorial intent does not override reader interpretation, the social and historical contexts of the text are necessary in order to understand what perspective the text is trying to advocate and how it positions the reader. Further, although readers have the freedom to accept or reject texts based on their own experiences, some objective guidelines for analysis are required in order to consider the situation in which the text exists and to integrate perspectives of other readers into one's own interpretation. Thus, CR requires readers to look outside of their own experiences and respond to texts accordingly.

This critical space takes into account both these perspectives. First, it allows for the perspective of the author, without giving overt control to unthinking acceptance of what an author may have 'meant.' Second, it considers the perspectives of readers, tempered by the acknowledgement and analysis of the greater social situation in which a text exists and what it has to say in regards to the reader beyond whether a reader simply 'likes' the text or not. It is in this middle space that readers can interact critically with texts since texts themselves do have meaning and do put forward ideologies.

If one is to understand CR as Wallace does, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is also a vital component (Halliday, 1994). This grammar provides readers with the terminology necessary to think about and discuss texts critically. One of the most important aspects of the relationship between Halliday and Wallace is the concept of hidden meaning. Halliday's grammar divides language use into four levels: (a) obvious logical anomalies, (b) lexical effects, (c) outer grammar such as function words, and (d) cryptogrammar, or concealed level. Wallace (2003) concentrates on this last level— that of hidden grammar—as a useful one since one goal of critical reading pedagogy is "to offer means of raising these more hidden elements to greater consciousness or kinds of noticing" (p. 32). It is this hidden level of meaning then that guides the process of CR, although Wallace allows for a variance in the depth of analysis. For readers, there is often a lack of knowledge about metalinguistic terminology that can be successfully utilized during critical reading to express what the reader is gleaning from the text. Thus, it is important to supply learners with terminology in order for them to articulate responses to the types of questions CR raises. Such inquiry, utilized in order to uncover the hidden meaning of texts, requires some level of sophisticated command of vocabulary, and in this, Halliday's grammar is also helpful because it supplies terminology that students can learn and use as they work through texts using CR processes.

3.1. Student Relevance of CR Topics

For CR to be effectively implemented in classrooms, it is essential for the topics of readings to be relevant to students. In this way, it is easy to see the connection between critical pedagogy and CR. In order for CR to be effective, "reading texts should preferably be about topics near to home, topics that draw ready responses from students, and topics which students are able and ready to demonstrate a degree of critical commitment" (Toh, 2011, p. 44). If critical pedagogy is "teaching for social justice" (Crookes, 2013, p. 10), then CR is congruent with that aim because although CR does not require the same kind of action-response that critical pedagogy does, it is a way for language learners to develop tools which allow them to identify power dynamics within language and situate themselves within those interests (p. 28). Crookes further stresses the importance of students bringing in their own material to class or raising issues relevant to themselves, therefore working to shape the content of the course itself, as a vital component of successful critical pedagogy (p. 57). Without

student involvement in the negotiation of course material, whether this be choosing texts, or suggesting topics for discussion if more teacher input is still required, a course ceases to be *critical*.

This element of student relevance connects to place-based pedagogy. This point is especially salient in light of this study's participants' expressed interest in issues related to Hawaiʻi. In connecting an orientation to place-based education with critical pedagogy, Gruenewald (2003) emphasizes both approaches' interest in topic student-relevance. He states that instead of being opposed to each other, the two actually have much in common. Used together, they can foster an even more powerful action response to ecological issues and also the geographic situations in which students exist. "Like critical pedagogy, place-based education aims to empower people to act on their own situationality" (p. 8). Further, they can be seen as stronger as a pair because place-based education's call for localized action complements critical pedagogy's recognition that experience has a geographic dimension (p. 9). A marriage of place-based education and critical pedagogy is enlightening for critical reading in that issues relevant to the situations of students and the social inequalities they see in the world around them can serve as compelling texts to which students can apply critical reading processes. Ignoring the geographic location in which critical reading takes place would be to ignore the broader social context in which texts (and their readers) exist— something that is not allowed in critical reading. Thus, an awareness of what place-based pedagogy has to offer in terms of recognizing and appreciating the spaces in which critical processes occur strengthens the framework of critical reading itself.

3.2. CR in the Classroom

In addition to exploring the theoretical and historical framework in which CR exists, it is also important to explore how it has been implemented in classrooms. From a practical, pedagogical perspective, it is important to distinguish critical reading from critical thinking. Especially when attempting to implement it in an L2 classroom, most students' familiarity with the term *critical* correlates only with the notion of critical thinking. Because of this, the differences between the two concepts need to be explained to students before successful CR can take place. Wallace (2003) distinguishes between a weak view of the term *critical*, and a stronger one. In the weak view, critical is taken "to mean a preparedness to question and reflect on the meaning and uses of language," whereas the strong view "draw[s] attention to the ideological bases of discourses as they circulate both in everyday life and within specific texts" (p. 98). In this framework, critical thinking can be viewed as isolated and focused on identifying the faults, merits, and overall quality of a particular line of argumentation. In contrast, critical reading is meant not to spot gaps in logic, but instead is concerned with the interpretation of texts and the identification of the power relationships that are present within them, both at a micro, textual level, and at a more macro, societal one. Thus, it becomes more beneficial to adopt the strong meaning of *critical*.

Some examples of implementation of CR includes Wallace's "Critical Reading" course, described in detail in *Critical Reading in Language Education* (2003). In her 1999 article which summarizes that same course, she identifies three pedagogical principles that she used to drive her class: (a) empowerment as a long-term project, (b) commonality, not difference, and (c) not opposition, but resistance (p. 103–4). Additionally, other researchers have also attempted to implement CR in less longitudinal ways in various EFL classroom contexts. Toh (2011) describes his leading a class of Japanese college students through CR. He did this by introducing metalinguistic terminology for students to use, and also by choosing topics that were of interest to his students, such as a news report about the recent death of an apprentice sumo wrestler. Students were encouraged to relate the articles to their own experiences and opinions, and through this process they raised very important, critical questions. They connected the event to broader problems they identified in the cultures of sumo specifically, and sports and Japan more generally. Also in an EFL context, Teo (2014) looked at CR with a secondary school classroom in Singapore. The study explains critical literacy as having two parts: first, critical reading equips students to make the familiar strange and deconstruct ideologies, whereas writing makes the strange familiar by building up new possible equitable worlds. Teo designed and implemented a critical reading and writing project that aimed to have students recognize dominant ideologies present in texts and to reflect on their own worldviews. The students examined and analyzed advertisements and the stereotypes at play within them. Critical reading enabled students to envision a more egalitarian worldview where stereotypes are rejected in order to exert some control over the larger social context in which those assumed categories so often exist.

Another idea central to a critical pedagogy orientation is the notion that teachers are students as well. This originated in Freire's (2000) rejection and replacement of the banking concept of education with problem-posing education. In this view, teachers are not seen as depositors, but rather as "teacher-students" (p. 61). They become participants in the classroom space. They are not seen as the sole keepers of knowledge, but rather as contributors to collective learning alongside the students. Together, teachers and students can work to solve relevant problems, such as inequitable social structures. Successful education, then, does not happen unless there is this sense of cooperation, as "education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and

students" (Freire, 2000, p. 53). Shor (1999), explaining the contrast of critical literacy with Vygotsky's concept of "zones of proximal development," states that critical literacy works to advance all parties involved in the class—both teachers and students. Whereas Vygotsky's theory focuses only on advancing the students, critical literacy, with critical reading subsumed within, facilitates "*all* participants in a critical process [to] become redeveloped as democratic agents and social critics" (Shor, 1999, p. 12, emphasis original). This shift in the roles for both teachers and students more evenly divides the responsibility of imparting knowledge in the classroom, thereby balancing the distribution of power and, by extension, mirroring the process of creating more equitable societies.

However, although critical reading has a solid foundation in historical traditions and theories, there are few examples of CR being implemented in a systematic way in actual classes. Wallace's (2003) course was specifically for high-achieving English students, as an optional, elective summer course. It was offered at a university in England, and many of the students came from European countries. Toh's (2011) attempt was a short one, done in an EFL context, as was Teo's (2014), which was more a critical literacy project, rather than critical reading-specific coursework (see also Perales Escudero, 2013). Shor's (1999) courses also implemented critical literacy as a whole. Marshall and Davis (2012) describe critical reading practices done in an adult education class. However, none of these studies report on critical reading done methodically in an EAP course in an ESL context. Therefore, this study attempts to address this gap in the existing literature and propose some possible lesson plans and ideas for implementing such a critical reading project.

4.0. METHODS

4.1. Participants

The participants in this study were students in an intermediate level reading class, known as "Intermediate Academic Reading." At the time of the two-week critical reading module, there were ten students in regular attendance. Characteristics of these ten students, including gender, level, L1, major, and number of semesters in university are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of Participants.

Participant	Gender	Level	L1	Major	Semesters
A	Male	Undergraduate	Japanese	Media	1
B	Male	Undergraduate	Japanese	American Literature	2
C	Male	Undergraduate	Japanese	Travel Industry Management	1
D	Male	Undergraduate	Korean	Marine Biology	1
E	Male	Graduate	Farsi	Engineering	2
F	Female	Undergraduate	Japanese	Travel Industry Management	1
G	Female	Undergraduate	Japanese	Travel Industry Management	1
H	Female	Undergraduate	Korean	Mathematics	2
I	Female	Undergraduate	Korean	Travel Industry Management	2
J	Female	Graduate	Russian	Architecture	1

There was a balanced number of male and female students. Eight were undergraduates, and two were graduate students. A majority (five) had Japanese as their L1, while three had Korean, and the remaining two, the graduate students, had Farsi and Russian as their L1s. The students had a variety of different majors, although 40% were studying Travel Industry Management (a popular major for international students at the university). Finally, all students were in their first or second semester at the university.

4.2. Procedures

Before beginning the critical reading module, I developed and administered a short questionnaire in order to get a preliminary idea about student attitudes towards critical reading concepts. This served as a pretest (the same questions were administered after the module as a posttest to gauge changes in attitudes). This questionnaire also contained a section to mark the kinds of topics the students were interested in, since an important aspect of CR is that topics be relevant to students. In addition to nine provided topics in the questionnaire, chosen to reflect issues of concern in critical pedagogy and pedagogy of

place, there was space for students to provide additional topics they may want to discuss. However, only three students took advantage of this space. The top three topics students chose were: international affairs (8); issues in Hawai'i (6); and the environment (6). The latter two easily went together, and also lent themselves well to a pedagogy of place. Most of the reading material selected for the module, therefore, pertained to one or both of these two topics.

The class met for 75 minutes, twice a week. For a two-week module, that meant four class periods, or 300 minutes devoted to critical reading (excluding regular class activities of extensive reading and timed reading practice). I planned the module to come at a time in the semester when we were addressing the reading strategy of *purpose and tone* in the textbook, as these were necessary concepts for critically reading a text. Thus, the class experienced a smooth transition into the concepts of critical reading. The two-week module was divided into four class periods. The overall plan for the module was designed to move from teacher-directed to student-directed application of critical reading concepts. The activities of each day are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Description of Critical Reading Activities by Day

Day	Summary of Lesson Plan and Activities	Homework
1	Introduction to Critical Reading presentation	CR reading
	Why is this technique important?	Write two discussion questions
	Follow-up from 'purpose and tone'	
	Mauna Kea reading, CR questions in groups	
2	Computerized translation reading	Read article about mining companies in Guatemala
	"The Believing and Doubting Game	
	• Freewrite why you believe author; discuss	
	• Freewrite why you doubt author; discuss	
	Try to see both perspectives	
3	CR reading discussion questions handout; discuss student questions about technique	In pairs, pick a topic
	Guatemala article: CR questions discussion	Each person will bring an article to class on same topic
	• Problematizing; offering solutions	
4	Pairs trade articles that they brought; compare/contrast perspectives on same topic	
	Answer CR questions about articles	
	Brainstorm possible other perspectives the topic could be talked about besides the two represented	

4.2.1. Day one

On the first day, I prepared a presentation explaining the basic definition and tenets of critical reading to introduce the concepts, which were new to many of the students. These slides introduced the basic questions Wallace (2003) says should be asked of any text: (1) what is the topic; (2) who is the author and intended audience; (3) why is the topic being written about; (4) how is the topic being written about; and (5) what other ways to talk about the topic are there. For our first attempt at critical reading together as a class, we applied each question to an image and text of a current e-cigarette advertisement. This allowed students to try out the questions and concepts of CR with a medium they were already familiar with.

After the introductory presentation, we applied the same questions to a short text. Students read silently and then worked in small groups to answer the questions, thereby engaging in several levels of interactive reading, such as constructing meaning together with other readers. The text presented a very clear, albeit fairly one-sided, perspective. It was thus not difficult for students to identify the why (purpose) and how (tone) of the text, as well as to identify other ways the topic might be presented. The difficulty of this task came from a lack of familiarity with thinking about texts in such a way. For homework, I assigned an essay about critical reading, hoping to give students a chance to become more familiar with the concepts, and asked them to each write two discussion questions about the text. These questions were used for an activity on Day Three. Although two students were absent for this first lesson, all ten students were present in class for the remaining days of the module.

4.2.2. Day two

On the second day of the module, we used one article to focus on examining the perspective of two potential audiences: both those readers who support the author's perspective and those who disagree. Part of critical reading is to examine who the intended audience of a text is, and to think about the text in terms of how the intended audience would react to the author's perspective. One way to practice this is by using the "Believing and Doubting Game." Originally developed by writing theorist Peter Elbow, this activity is designed to stimulate thinking more deeply and in new, challenging ways about a topic (Bean, Chappell, & Gillian, 2004). The believing game lets students take in new ideas, whereas the doubting game allows students to reject those same ideas. Thus, each is the reverse of the other, and they work together in developing strong readers by having them practice looking at an issue through different perspectives.

In order to try the Believing and Doubting Game, I gave students an article about simultaneous translation technology. After reading the article, I kept time and asked students to freewrite for five minutes about why they believed the author's arguments and viewpoints. For this phase of the activity, students were only allowed to write about positive, persuasive aspects of the text. They could draw on logic, their own experiences, or other knowledge. After freewriting, they discussed in small groups of three what they had written about and why they could believe the author's perspective. In the second phase, students were to freewrite for five minutes about why they doubted the author's arguments and points of view. In contrast to the first freewrite, they were only allowed to write about negative aspects of the text and why the author's perspective should not be believed. Again, in addition to flaws or gaps in argumentation, they could also draw on personal experiences or other knowledge. After freewriting, students again discussed in their small groups their reasons and ideas for doubting the author's views. In conclusion, after examining both sides of the texts, students discussed which perspective (believing or doubting) they held at the end of the activity, as well as if it was different from the one that they originally held before the activity.

Student comments on this activity, given orally at the end of the class, can be summarized by saying that it was difficult for them to switch entirely from one mode to another, because reactions and reflections to texts usually involve a synthesis of both believing and doubting at the same time. However, they did comment that it was a useful exercise because they do not always have the luxury of supporting their own opinions on a topic. They also felt that understanding the viewpoint of those opposite their own was helpful when it came to understanding texts and how they relate to the larger context. For homework on this day, students turned in the discussion questions they had written about the CR essay. They were also assigned the reading of an article that would be used for discussion on Day Three.

4.2.3. Day three

The focus of the lesson for the third day was twofold: first, to address the discussion questions about CR the students had generated from the first day's homework; second, to add the concepts of problematizing and solution creation to the five basic CR questions we applied to texts. The first objective of the lesson worked to move the module more towards a student-directed class, as the questions were both created and answered by the students. For the second half of the lesson, I assigned

the article and created the CR question worksheet to be used along with the article. Since the lesson was created half by the students and half by myself, the third day marked a transition in the module from totally teacher-directed to more student-directed content and tasks.

The first CR activity of the lesson was to address the questions students had written regarding CR and how to do it. I had collected them at the end of the second lesson, combined similar questions into single questions, and rewrote them to be clearer and so no one's exact question would be seen by the other students. Although the questions were anonymous, I thought this would make students less nervous about what they wrote. After compiling the questions, there emerged five main questions that students were asking: four (#1-4) were concerned with the nature, purpose, and use of critical reading itself, and one (#5) concerned a vocabulary item from the essay. The questions were:

1. Can critical reading be used with different genres, including textbooks?

2. How does critical reading help us understand a text?

3. Does a reader need special skills or background knowledge to do critical reading?

4. What advantage(s) does critical reading have over non-critical reading, if any?

5. What does the word "nature" mean in context of this article?

Students got into small groups and used their own ideas to come to answers together (they could also refer to the essay on which they based the questions). As a class we then went through each question, with each group contributing their own answers to the questions. By having a chance to reflect on the process and value of CR and being able to discuss these with other students, the ideas of CR became more solidified in students' minds and also as a collective process of reading texts interactively.

The discussion about CR itself then led into the application of CR to the assigned article. The same five CR questions were provided on a handout; however, I added additional questions that addressed problematizing and offering solutions to those problems. I did this not only by identifying the topic of the article, but also by identifying the inherent problems or conflicts that exist in that topic. Students also brainstormed some possible solutions to these conflicts.

To prepare for the last class day, I had students break into pairs by choosing their own partners, and instructed each pair to pick one general topic that they were interested in. I recommended they chose social or controversial issues, but the topic choice was left entirely to them. Their homework was for each person to find and bring to class an article related to the topic they had chosen with their partner. We would spend the last CR class day using these two articles to compare and contrast perspectives on the same topic, as well as brainstorming possible other ways to talk about the topics. This assignment encouraged both a move towards a more student-directed lesson, as well as the utilization of student-relevant and student-chosen texts.

4.2.4. Day four

The final day of the CR module was an almost entirely student-directed class period. Each student brought a paper copy of the article s/he had found about the topic chosen with their partner. The five topics chosen by the student pairs were: ecotourism, global warming, tourism, the movie industry, and women's rights. For that lesson, students split into their pairs and exchanged articles. Each read their partners' article, then together worked through the usual CR questions, as well as additional questions that addressed how to compare, contrast, synthesize, and look beyond the two perspectives offered by the articles they chose. An important tenet of CR is to think about the different ways and perspectives a topic can be written about, and by supplying two perspectives themselves, students were encouraged to be creative in thinking about third or other ways that their topic of choice could be presented in a text. Each pair then orally reported their discussion to the whole class.

5.0. FINDINGS

Effects of the CR module on students' reading and reading attitudes can be seen from the posttest questionnaire in both closed and open-ended questions. The four-point Likert scale questions show quantitatively the change in student attitude towards CR concepts from before the module to after. Some open-ended questions also offer insight into the effect the module had on students.

5.1. Likert-scale Questions

The pre- and post-test questionnaire contained six questions designed to gauge student attitudes towards the features of CR. Means, standard deviations, and change from the pre- to posttest for each question can be seen in Table 3. The largest change in mean is seen in questions 14 and 15 (see Appendix). This indicates that after the critical reading module, students came to enjoy more texts that challenge their ideas (#14) and texts that introduce new perspectives (#15). Posttest standard deviations indicate that there was less variance in student answers than in the pretest, hence after the module students were more consistent in their responses to the critical reading questions.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Changes for Critical Reading Pre-test and Post-test Questions.

Question #	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15
Pre-test Mean	3.2	2.85	2.1	3.1	2.9	3.4
Post-test Mean	3.2	2.75	2.1	3.15	3.05	3.55
Change	0	-0.1	0	0.05	0.15	0.15
Pre-test SD	0.63	0.58	0.32	0.74	0.74	0.52
Post-test SD	0.42	0.42	0.32	0.67	0.6	0.5
Change	-0.21	-0.16	0	-0.07	-0.14	-0.02

Note: *SD = standard deviation*

5.2. Open-ended Questions

In addition to the six Likert-scale questions, I included two open-ended questions. One was the same on both the pre- and posttests, while the other was only on the posttest and explicitly asked students to reflect on how their attitudes towards critical reading had changed over the course of the class.

5.2.1. Pretest

The first open-ended question was on both the pre- and posttests. This question asked students if they thought they knew how to read a text critically. Pretest responses indicate that one of two things: either students did not believe that they knew how, mostly attributed to a lack of comprehension, or there was a conflation of critical reading with the application of general reading strategies. Pretest comments reveal that students were unclear as to what was meant by the term *critical* in connection to reading, and although they believed that they were learning to become better readers through the class material, they expressed some room for improvement in being able to read a text beyond simply comprehension.

5.2.2. Posttest

For the first question regarding if students believed they knew how to read critically, on the posttest all ten responded that they had learned some strategies for doing so. In contrast to the pretest responses, students revealed a deeper understanding of the term *critical* as separate from the comprehension of a text and the application of reading strategies. Perhaps the most insightful response noted that "I don't think I know everything of how to read a text critically but I learned some process." This comment implied that the two-week critical reading module had done its job: to introduce students to CR without overwhelming them with the concepts and processes.

The second open-ended question was only on the posttest. This asked students to reflect on how their attitudes toward critical reading had changed as a result of the module. Students answered this question in various ways. Some students referred to specific strategies or activities practiced in class that helped them read critically. Other students explained

more specifically that their attitudes had changed in regards to appreciating and understanding the perspectives of others. Both types of comments represent the dialogic process of critical reading, and they help to illuminate the effect the module had on the students. It seems that it worked to encourage them to use strategies learned in class with other texts and to give them a way of thinking about and recognizing the value of perspectives other than their own. This was echoed in the Likert-scale question results, as the questions addressing these constructs showed the biggest change from the pretest. Thus, students seem to have learned to welcome new, challenging perspectives when reading texts.

6.0. CONCLUSION

This process of implementing a two-week critical reading module in an EAP course represents an event that has rarely been documented in the existing literature. Critical reading encourages students to look at not only what the author is saying in a text and what the author aims to convey to the intended audience, but also how their own experiences resonate with the perspectives both put forward and left out of the text. As part of a non-dominant group, international student perspectives are often not acknowledged in texts, so the process of working to uncover a text's hidden meaning is an especially pertinent one for them, in that their perspectives and experiences often differ from mainstream ones. By attempting to introduce CR concepts and practice working with texts using CR processes to my intermediate reading students, I hoped they would learn to recognize the value in interactive, dialogic reading practices. Student feedback seems to suggest that this goal was achieved.

However, there were some limitations to my project. First, two weeks is not a very long time to try and introduce a technique as complex as critical reading. A more longitudinal look at its effects and the progress students make in both reading skills and attitudes towards critical concepts would be needed to gain a more holistic view of how critical reading could be used in an EAP reading class. Additionally, some of the activities I designed for this module became a little rushed during the lesson, when I did not leave enough time for both a thorough reading of the text and a thorough discussion. More class periods to complete the module would have allowed further engagement with and practice of CR concepts. Further, informal student feedback during class indicated that although they acknowledge and understand the value of critical reading, doing so creates more work for them. Many of them struggle to read and comprehend texts in English in general, and asking them to participate in answering critical questions about texts is another step that they see as extra work. The perspective and workload of students should be kept in mind while designing a critical reading curriculum, in that tasks should be challenging, but not so challenging that they require so much effort on the part of students such that critical reading becomes demotivating for students and prevents them from wanting to read texts. Thus, a balance needs to be struck between critical reading tasks that are challenging for students' level but also achievable. Ensuring that topics are relevant and engaging for them is one way to encourage students to put extra effort into doing critical reading.

Even with these limitations, I believe this experience of attempting a critical reading module was a beneficial one for both myself as a developing critical teacher and for the students as developing critical readers. Students seemed to have developed a sense for using critical reading questions to help analyze texts, as well as an appreciation for acknowledging the perspectives of authors, those left out, and those of other students. In this sense, the module can be said to have been successful in that students experienced a dialogic, interactive approach to reading and learned to recognize the value in partaking in that kind of critical reading process.

APPENDIX

Likert-scale questions from Table 3:
Q10) The author's perspective is an important aspect to consider when reading texts. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

Q11) I think about social contexts when I read texts. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

Q12) When I read a text, I don't think about my relationship to the text. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

Q13) I enjoy reading texts that share my perspective and experience. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

Q14) I enjoy reading texts that challenge my ideas. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

Q15) I enjoy reading texts that introduce a new perspective on issues. (Circle one)

STRONGLY DISAGREE   DISAGREE   AGREE   STRONGLY AGREE

WORKS CITED

Barthes, R. (1967). The death of the author. *Aspen, 5+6*.

Bean, J. C., Chappell, V., & Gillian, A. (2004). *Reading rhetorically: Brief edition*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.

"Catherine Wallace." (2014). Retrieved from http://www.ioe.ac.uk/staff/LCCN_88.html

Crookes, G. (2013). Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis. New York: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum. (Originally published 1970).

Fish, Stanley. (1970). Literature in the reader: Affective stylistics. *New Literary History*, *2(1)*, 123–162.

Gruenewald, D. (2003). The best of both worlds: A critical pedagogy of place. *Educational Researcher*, *32(4)*, 3–12.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: E. Arnold.

Marshall, S., & Davis, C. (2012). A conceptual framework for teaching critical reading to adult college students. *Adult Learning*, *23(2)*, 63–68.

Perales Escudero, M. D. (2013). Teaching intercultural awareness in the English as a foreign language classroom: A case study using critical reading. *Intercultural Education, 24(3)*, 251–263.

Robinson, H. M. (1964). Developing critical reading. In. J. Downing (Ed.), *The first international reading symposium* (pp. 249–261). London: Cassell.

Shor, I. (1999). What is critical literacy?. In I. Shor and C. Pari (Eds.), *Critical literacy in action* (pp. 1–30). Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook.

Teo, P. (2014). Making the familiar strange and the strange familiar: A project for teaching critical reading and writing. *Language and Education*, *28(6),* 539–551.

Toh, G. (2011). Facilitating critical reading in the teaching of English for academic purposes in a Japanese EAP classroom. *TESL Reporter*, *44(1/2)*, 42–50.

Wallace, C. (1992). *Reading*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallace, C. (1999). Critical language awareness: Key principles for a course in critical reading. *Language Awareness, 8*(2), 98–110.

Wallace, C. (2003). *Critical reading in language education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

CROSS-CURRICULAR CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN A MULTILINGUAL MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM

Samuel Aguirre, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

The State of Hawai'i, along with many other states in the U.S., is filled with elementary classrooms that have great diversity of languages and cultures (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Based on a Freirean approach of critical pedagogy and past experiences of teachers who have implemented critical pedagogy in their classrooms (Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010; Ayers, Kumashiro, Meiners, Quinn, & Stovall, 2010; Freire, 2011), this paper seeks to outline a cross-curricular approach to critical pedagogy for the multilingual multicultural classrooms of Hawai'i. The paper consists of defining critical pedagogy in multilingual multicultural settings, presenting teaching experiences and approaches to critical pedagogy, and compiling resources that can be used to implement critical pedagogy across academic subjects. Since each academic subject has its own needs and goals, a careful examination of the overarching topic is taken in order to facilitate collaboration among teachers and prioritize the education of language minority students in a setting that supports critical pedagogical practices. Based on student-driven curriculums of English learners, classroom materials with critical pedagogy at their core are presented as resources for critical education.

1.0. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

Today more than ever, public school systems in the United States serve diverse populations of students, many of whom are English learners (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). These changes in the linguistic varieties of the U.S. population are increasingly leading to advocacy for the implementation of education programs that support academic development through English as well as other languages (Batt, 2008; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Palmer, 2011; Téllez & Varghese, 2013). However, Colleges of Education and Teacher Preparation Programs that serve culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students continue to lack in the implementation of pre-service teacher curriculums that fully promote multilingualism and both culturally and linguistically responsive teaching (Batt, 2008; Gándara, 2015; Téllez & Varghese, 2013; Wetig, 2009). The lack of acknowledgement and support for linguistically diverse students also creates an environment that is detrimental to student learning. Furthermore, the valuing of some languages and cultures over others can lead to oppression for students from minority backgrounds.

Critical pedagogy, understood mainly for its ability to encourage the learner to develop self-thought and self-efficacy, is a factor that is many times overlooked in elementary education (Crookes, 2013; Freire, 2011; Reza-López, Huerta Charles, & Reyes, 2014). Critical pedagogy tends to create paths of liberation for its learners. Among language minority students, there exists a great need to be able to develop critical consciousness to become agents of change and advocates of equitable education (Fitts & Weisman, 2010; Hones, 2002). The same can be said about teachers. If teachers have the appropriate training to work with CLD students, they will be able to promote change and equity in their classrooms through the instruction of academic content. Therefore, teacher preparation programs that work with future teachers of CLD students should incorporate methodologies of critical pedagogy that promote critical development for all children, while making use of all the linguistic repertoires that students bring to the classroom. From this point of view, critical pedagogy can provide a variety of teaching tools and strategies that teachers can incorporate into their everyday lessons and classroom practices. Furthermore, the extent to which teachers can integrate critical thought in their classrooms can lead to the empowerment of their students and an increase of self-efficacy and performance.

In order to address the need of multicultural education programs that simultaneously increase critical awareness among CLD students, pre-service teachers should receive adequate tools to serve as supporters of academic content, multilingual and multicultural practices, and critical pedagogy that empowers students. This

paper addresses the need for pre-service teachers of CLD students to engage in the process of crafting critical pedagogy into the creation and delivery of lesson plans and activities that promote both critical awareness and multilingual multicultural education. Furthermore, resources and ideas for authentic learning, authentic assessment, and cross-curricular pedagogy are shared as a starting point towards the development of a full curriculum that can best support pre-service and in-service teachers to become critical multilingual educators.

2.0. MULTILINGUAL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Many bilingual education programs in the U.S. are situated in ideologies that support English-only instruction in academic settings and the linguistic diversity of CLD students is ignored (Palmer, 2011). As Batt (2008) points out, many teachers do not receive sufficient preparation in their teacher education programs to be able to effectively work with CLD students in the U.S. For example, most teachers of students learning English as a second language may only relate to their students' experiences based on their time learning a foreign language in high school. The truth is that CLD students do not learn a second language in the same manner that English-speaking high school students learn a foreign language. Furthermore, students learning a foreign language in high school are many times not allowed to use English because of fear of interference in the acquisition of the foreign language (Busch, 2010). This practice is many times what leads teachers to fall victims of believing that if their CLD students use their home languages, they will have a harder time acquiring proficiency in English. However, research has shown that it is essential for teachers to draw on students' prior linguistic experiences to support the acquisition of English, particularly when the purpose is for students to succeed academically and socially (Herrera, & Murry, 2011; Gándara, 2015; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). In order to truly serve CLD students, teachers need to shed their own experiences learning foreign languages and try to relate to their students' language acquisition process.

There are, in fact, a number of erroneous beliefs that teachers have about CLD students in their classrooms. Research has shown that if these misconceptions of CLD students are not addressed before pre-service teachers enter the classroom, as teachers, their actions will reinforce their negative assumptions (de Courcy, 2007). According to Busch (2010), after completing just one course of culturally and linguistically responsive teaching of English as a second language, teachers elicit a noticeable change in the way they perceive the process of learning and the rigors that come with it, particularly for CLD students. Tang, Lee, and Chun (2012) further argue that cultural beliefs and experiences of teachers affect the way in which they perceive CLD students. In some instances, developing an understanding of working with CLD students leads to the promotion of multilingual multicultural advocacy in the classroom (Batt, 2008; Busch, 2010; de Courcy, 2007; Gándara, 2015; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Palmer, 2011; Tang, Lee, & Chun, 2012). Therefore, if pre-service teachers were to part-take on a series of courses on the aspects of multilingual education of CLD learners as part of their teacher preparation coursework, they would be much better equipped to work in American classrooms where diversity of languages and cultures is the norm.

3.0. CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

There are a variety of approaches to critical pedagogy, but it is many times understood as a model of instruction in which the learner develops the ability to think for him/herself, to question information by not taking it for face value, and a space in which the teacher serves as a guide and co-learner with students (Crookes, 2013). Critical pedagogy has been around for a long time, however, the methods of instruction implemented, and later reported, by Paulo Freire (2011) are many times seen as the turning point in bringing critical pedagogy to the forefront of learning practice and instruction. Among the pedagogical practices that Freire (2011) instituted is a problem-posing approach to education, one in which the learner acquires knowledge by engaging and finding solutions to problems rather than by listening to oratory from a teacher. Furthermore, Freire (2011), who based his teaching approach on the theory that students are not empty of knowledge and that their pre-scholarly life-experiences bring expertise to the classroom, argued that students were to be met at their academic level of knowledge and taught in a manner in which they became the centers of attention. In this scenario, the teacher's role

is that of a guide and co-learner, rather than one of an omnipotent adult that knows everything and has nothing to learn from his/her students. These beliefs, along with other critical practices of Paulo Freire, created the foundations to an education movement that increases the role of the student and creates spaces where the teacher is a co-learner and the student is an explorer of learning.

Even though some might have negative perceptions of critical pedagogy because of the way in which it defies the status quo, this particular aspect is what makes critical pedagogy so engaging and rewarding, providing an opportunity for participants (both teachers and students) to fight for equity through education (Crookes, 2013; Hones, 2002). A movement towards freedom and equitable education is quite necessary, particularly among CLD learners in the U.S., where speaking a language other than English can often lead to bullying and negative experiences in the school system. As Hones (2012) argues, bilingual youth need to engage in critical awareness of their circumstances in order to challenge their living, social, and financial aspects of life. The lack of critical pedagogy in the lives of CLD students places them at a disadvantage. Without the development of critical thinking, a sense of creation, engagement, and learning through community values, while challenging society in a culturally and socially responsive manner, bilingual and multilingual CLD youth become the victims of discrimination (Hones, 2012). The CLD youth are only one of the many groups in society that need to increase their critical awareness in order to fight for equity in education and other aspects of society.

4.0. CREATING BRIDGES BETWEEN MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Inequality in education, particularly when dominant languages are prioritized in multilingual education programs, is certainly one of the problems that the U.S. education system faces (Wetig, 2009). The action of promoting English-only instruction or prioritizing popular languages over minority ones can be classified as discriminatory towards speakers of minority languages. Therefore, given the goals of critical pedagogy, implementing a critical perspective alongside multilingual education is a necessary action in the multilingual multicultural classroom to create emancipatory awareness among CLD students, their peers, and their teachers. Furthermore, the implementation of critical practices in multilingual education can lead to dialogues with community members outside the confines of the school.

Research by Fitts and Weisman (2010) has shown that teachers interested in teaching bilingual (and to an extent, multilingual) education are often activist-minded individuals that already have a sense of awareness of the needs of CLD students and the discrimination they face in English-only schools. This sense of advocacy, as reported by both Fitts and Weisman (2010) and Téllez and Varghese (2013), when nurtured in critical pedagogy practices during the pre-service teacher preparation coursework, can lead to higher awareness, the creation of advocacy, and projects of change among multilingual teachers, their peers, and the community serving the elementary school. Furthermore, the extent of gaining awareness and creating advocacy should not be limited to teachers that are already interested in multilingual education, but to all teacher candidates that will serve CLD students upon entering the field of education. The implementation of critical pedagogy practices alongside multilingual education courses for pre-service teachers is an initial step that can lead to equitable education in school systems across the board. Not to mention that receiving coursework on critical pedagogy can empower any pre-service teacher and will lead to strong advocates once they enter the schools.

Once teachers of CLD students begin implementing critical pedagogy in their practice, change is inevitable. The changes that can arise among CLD children and youth can lead to the development of strong identities as speakers of two or more languages. Hones (2002) addresses the lack of critical pedagogy in the middle school and high school years among CDL youth. He concludes that the lack of student exposure to critical practice limits the abilities of bilingual youth to engage in dialogue that can lead to advocacy and change (Hones, 2002). The lack of student self-thought due to the absence of a critical mind can also be considered a disservice by education systems that should be prioritizing student's needs. Therefore, it is important that teachers are able to work effective with

CLD students so that every child and youth can find value in their linguistic diversity and their individual cultural and linguistic identities.

The fact of the matter is that most teachers of CLD students are not fully equipped to develop and implement critical pedagogy in their classrooms. The development of critical awareness and a strong identity as multilingual educators should begin in the teacher education programs (Reza-López et al., 2014). On research by Reza-López et al. (2014), it was found that CLD students lacked the resources to address racial differences across cultures due in part to a lack of critical consciousness and both culturally and linguistically responsive learning. If teacher preparation programs do not fully prepare teachers to engage their students in critical consciousness raising and on becoming culturally and linguistically responsive, then a culture of education develops in which teachers are unable to meet the needs of their students. Over time, this disservice leads to a system of education where learning critically and becoming empowered through linguistic diversity becomes a privilege of students under a few highly qualified teachers and the norm is for students to learn without finding liberty and freedom in the process. Thus, creating a sense among many CLD students that their linguistic repertoires are not valuable and leading to a system of education that lacks in preparing them for successful careers.

In the areas of foreign language instruction and special education, research has also shown that providing pre-service teachers with an opportunity to fully engage in the process of teaching CLD students and critical pedagogy provides them with an opportunity to better serve their student population by teaching in a culturally responsive manner and providing opportunities that lead to social change (Fox & Diaz-Greenberg, 2006; Goldstein, 1995). Regarding teacher preparation programs of foreign language teachers, Fox and Diaz-Greenberg (2006) show that pre-service teachers should be provided with an opportunity to learn about the development of bilingual (and multilingual) students. The acquisition of a foreign language will look different depending on the language backgrounds of the students. Therefore, foreign language teachers can use students' existing language repertoires to help in the acquisition of a new language. Furthermore, the implementation of critical pedagogy in a foreign language classroom allows teachers to engage their students properly in cultural matters that require cultural sensitivity.

Additionally, teachers working with students that have learning disabilities can take part in the development of critical-multilingual education instead of curriculums that focus only on learning disabilities (Goldstein, 1995). As teachers work with students that have special needs, they can focus on the specific learning needs of the students while providing emancipating curriculums that can empower students and their families. The impact of these curriculums can lead to stronger advocacy towards equitable education between special education programs and mainstream programs. In other words, teachers should provide ample opportunities to discuss critical topics with their students with disabilities because their education will also impact the education of the family and others attached to students with special needs. Also, by creating opportunities for students to engage with their linguistic repertoires to enhance their learning, teachers can help validate the students' identities and their home languages (Goldstein, 1995).

5.0. DEVELOPING CRITICAL CROSS-CURRICULAR PEDAGOGY FOR THE MULTILINGUAL MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM

Given the current diversity in U.S. classrooms and the needs for teachers that allow students to embrace their linguistic abilities while also developing a critical mind that will help them succeed in the future, it is essential to implement teacher preparation coursework on multilingual education and critical education so that pre-service teachers can obtain the tools they need in order to be highly qualified teachers in their diverse neighborhoods. Given the lack of both multilingual programs that allow students access and development of their multilingual repertoires and the absence of critical pedagogy from most elementary classrooms, the following is a series of recommendations and guidelines that can help pre-service and in-service teachers develop both methods of working with multilingual students and methods of implementing critical pedagogy in their classroom practice. It should be

noted that all of the suggestions should be interpreted as options that will help teachers engage their students in critical multilingual multicultural education and it is understandable that not all will be effective for all teachers. Furthermore, teachers might be able to develop their own strategies and guidelines based on the particular needs of their students and the communities in which they serve.

The benefits expected from the implementation of these suggestions can have a positive effect in the development of pre-service and in-service teachers and the future development of their CLD students. It is essential to consider the effects that these recommendations will have in the future of teachers that are critically minded and linguistically and culturally responsive. Better qualified teachers in the areas of cultural and linguistically responsive teaching and critical pedagogy will provide opportunities for CLD students to develop strong identities and become active participants seeking their own liberation and that of others in similar circumstances. It will also increase the awareness and respect of CLD students among the general population of students since they will develop alongside their peers.

5.1. Authentic Learning

Part of developing a critical curriculum also means making sure that the learning is authentic to the needs of students. In contrast to standardized methods of instruction and one-size-fits-all education, authentic learning revolves around the needs and lifestyles of the students, creating more opportunities for active engagement and academic development. Teachers should be able to assess their students' interests, strengths, and areas of need as part of developing authentic approaches to education. With these three components in mind, teachers can develop lesson and unit plans that are tailored to their students.

Developing authentic learning is harder to do when teachers are foreign to the experiences of their students. Therefore, in order to develop curriculum conducive of authentic learning, teachers must experience the life of their students. This idea may sound troubling to some teachers, since many school cultures perceive classroom experiences as separate from students' home life. Some school communities might even see a teachers' interaction with the students' community and life as overstepping the teacher-student relationship. However, as teachers, it is in our best interests to learn about our students, their struggles, and the many factors that affect their development in the classroom. In order for educators to fully understand their students and develop authentic learning experiences, they must be willing to go beyond the confines of the classroom and understand students' life experiences.

To develop authentic learning, teachers can begin bridging the gap between classroom and home life through parent and community surveys. Teachers can send home-surveys with their students so that parents can provide insights of the child's life at home. Surveys should also be given to students with the intention of understanding their particular perceptions of life outside and inside the classroom and to develop a greater sense of the students' interests. Furthermore, teachers should also try to get to know the neighborhood and the environment surrounding the school. To do this, teachers can do small tasks, like reading the local newspaper or going to local restaurants or shops during breaks to have casual conversations with members of the community. Visiting a local place one a week can have a big impact on the understanding of the neighborhood. More engaged teachers can become members of local community boards, volunteer at the local library from time to time, or create small social events with members of the community. Every bit of interaction that teachers have with the community in which their students learn and live, will provide them with insights into student behavior, attitudes, interests, and learning styles.

Taking the necessary steps to develop authentic learning in the classroom can sound like a daunting idea. However, teachers should keep in mind that this is an ongoing process and not something that needs to be done all at once. Ideally, teachers should begin to create connections with the community, the neighborhood, and parents the summer prior to the start of the academic school year. If that is not possible, and if home-surveys fail, engaging with students is the best way to get to know them. This can be done through in-class activities that allow students to

express themselves and what they think of their community through writing, reading options, or the arts. An additional option is to have insightful conversations with parents during parent-teacher conferences or via phone when necessary. Once the teacher tries out a few of the above mentioned strategies with a group of students, it will be easier to get to know the next group of students since the background knowledge of the teacher will only increase with time. Also, making connections with students and their families can create strong relationships that may prove beneficial if when working with siblings or family members of the initial group of students.

In regards academic achievement, authentic learning can always be tied back to academic standards. Many schools have curriculums that are provided to teachers at the beginning of the school year. Through ample communication with their principal, teachers can seek permission to mold the curriculum to meet the needs of their students. This practice means taking the existing curriculum and using it as a guide rather than a manual for developing and implementing lesson plans. Teachers can develop similar lesson plans as the ones suggested on the curriculum so that students are still meeting academic goals and standards. Most of the time, teachers just have to change a component of the content or the implementation craft in order to make the curriculum authentic and still abide by the district and school guidelines.

Implementing authentic learning provides opportunities for students to be themselves and strengthen their ties to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. By having an understanding of students' learning interests, teachers can develop and implement lesson plans that embrace the uniqueness of every child while still providing them with ample opportunity to be critical of their surroundings. Furthermore, by getting to know the local neighborhood and the needs of the students, teachers can bring community topics into the classroom, making the learning authentic and meaningful to the students. Many times, being aware of local stories and issues can allow for learning to expand beyond the classroom because students can discuss their academic learning through stories that they hear at home, on the news, or on the streets. Engaging students to learn while still being able to care about their individuality and personal interests can create meaning learning experiences that cannot be evoked when using prescriptive methods of instruction.

5.2. Authentic Assessment

Authentic assessment should go hand in hand with authentic learning. In contrast to authentic learning, authentic assessment mainly refers to the student being evaluated on the content that he/she has been learning and in a similar process in which the information was presented. In other words, student learning should be measured using a tool that directly ties to the learning process and academic content acquired by the students. For example, if students were learning a lesson on new vocabulary words by looking up the definitions, it would be unwise for the teacher to assess the students' ability to apply the vocabulary to a range of scenarios. The appropriate assessment for this example would be to give the students a list of the vocabulary words and have them write the definition. If the teacher wants to assess the students' ability to apply the vocabulary by using it in a sentence, then this activity should be part of the learning process, which in this case would mean going beyond just learning vocabulary words and their definitions. Even if the academic content remains the same, authentic assessment should reflect the learning process as well. This does not mean that the teacher should not assess the students' ability to apply learned material in new ways. This can certainly be done, as long as it is observed as the students' ability to extend their learning beyond the instruction and not as an evaluation of the learned material itself.

As part of developing authentic assessment, teachers should ask themselves: (1) how did I teach the content? (2) What tasks did I have my students complete? (3) In what ways did my students learn to use the content? (4) What aspects of the content did I focus on the most? (5) From the students class work, can I expect them to be able to apply the academic content? (6) How much time did we spend learning about the content? Using the answers to these questions can allow teachers to check if their assessment is measuring what the students learned and in the same process. Once the assessment has been developed, teachers should put themselves in the students' shoes and

try completing the task. If the assessment lines up with what the students learned and the process in which they learned it, then it is an authentic assessment that will measure the students' acquisition of academic material.

While developing authentic assessment, the teacher should also vary the assessment tool. Many times, we think of tests when we think of assessment. However, assessment tools can vary and they don't always have to be based on paper and pencil. There will be times when assessment will be oral to measure the use of new academic content in a spoken form. Other times, it might require the students to create a product to show their understanding. Making sure that the assessment type aligns with the instruction and that it covers all of the students' learning is the best way to make sure that it is authentic.

Furthermore, when working with tests or quizzes, it is essential for teachers to vary the degree of questions. Assessment should begin with straightforward questions of what the students learned, including applications of the content. The questions should be detailed enough to help teachers find gaps in the students' learning. Tests should also vary from multiple choice, to true/false, to short and long response answers. Allowing for students to show their learning in multiple ways will allow them ample opportunities to show that they fully understand and can apply the material. Assessment should also expand into opportunities that measure higher-order thinking skills by posing questions that will push the students to apply the concepts and be critical of their learning. This can be done by posing arguments or counter arguments to academic content students learn and having them take a position and develop an argument for to their position. If students are too young to complete this in writing, the teacher can have oral assessments and challenge the students to be critical about their learning and to develop their own opinion and stance on what they have learned.

Returning to the fact that many schools have set curriculums with assessments at the end of the chapter or book, teachers should take caution and be aware that if they craft the content of textbooks to make it culturally and linguistically responsive while also aligning it with students' backgrounds and interests (i.e. making the content authentic), then the assessment should also be adjusted to meet the changes to the implementation. This can seem intimidating to teachers since it sounds like a lot of time and work will go into developing assessments for their students. However, once teachers have done it once, they will themselves develop the necessary skills to develop authentic assessment more effectively. Not to mention that if lessons are taught in a similar fashion the following school year, teachers will be able to reuse the assessments developed the first time. Additionally, teachers do not need to reinvent the wheel, but rather to take the assessments provided by their curriculums and shape them into authentic tools that assess students' learning.

5.3. Cross-curricular Education

When developing cross-curricular education, it is essential that teachers are open to new ideas and are proactive in making connections between what students are learning with them and with other teachers. Teachers that work in elementary classrooms where they teach several subjects (reading, writing, history, math, science, etc.) will have an easier time developing cross-curricular lesson and unit plans because they oversee most of the teaching across different subjects. In the case of teachers that only teach one subject, they will have to create partnerships with fellow teachers so that their content lines up with that of the content students will see in other classrooms.

For teachers that provide instruction in all subjects, developing cross-curricular education can begin by merging the academic content of two subjects. Aligning the language arts and reading curriculums so that the same academic content is discussed in both is relatively easy. Teachers can adopt one theme for a 3-5 week unit and can teach academic skills by using the same theme. Allowing students to see the same academic content in both reading and writing will help them to develop an in-depth understanding of the content as they learn and apply both writing and reading skills that align with curriculum standards. Once the teacher develops a good sense of cross-curricular education, more subjects can be added to theme.

Teachers that only see the instruction of one subject should begin by looking for fellow teachers that teach the same group of students and that teach on a subject related to their own. For example, to make the development of curriculum easier, the teachers in mathematics and the sciences should partner up together, and the teachers of social science and humanities will find themselves with more similarities to bridge their curriculums. Once the initial connections are made and the teachers feel confident enough to expand to other subjects, they can develop curriculum planning committees to develop and implement cross-curricular pedagogy that will tie all of the students' learning into a single topic or theme.

With time and practice, teachers can expand the themes and curriculum to target needs of the school and the surrounding community, making the curriculum authentic. Expanding to include student's personal lives and experiences in the classroom will also provide a space for culturally and linguistically responsive teaching and critical pedagogy. Opening the doors to community topics and teaching these through cross-curricular methods of instruction will engage students in all of the different subjects, since they will be learning about topics that directly impact them. They will also be able to bring in their cultural perspectives and create a space in the classroom where their culture and language become valuable resources for learning. Furthermore, students will be able to develop deep and conclusive understandings of their communities while at school. Bridging the gap between home and community life and the academic development of children and youth will help develop their engagement with critical topics that they are passionate about. Allowing the students to pose questions from which cross-curricular topics can develop will also maintain their attention and increase their critical mindedness of the topics they study.

5.4. Teacher Resources

Many of the resources that teachers will use will come from material that is already available to them and from their experiences teaching. In other words, implementing culturally and linguistically critical-responsive teaching cannot be done with the use of prescriptive books. Rather, curriculum textbooks should be used as guides towards developing and implementing the education that our students deserve. Most teacher resources are developed with an average student in mind. The truth is that our students are not average and each of them brings a diversity of ideas, experiences, and personalities into our classrooms. Therefore, as proficient teachers, we should always aim for creating an academic environment that is conducive of learning and that embraces our students' diversity.

That being said, here is a short list of teacher resources that can help in the development of teaching curriculums for culturally and linguistically diverse students and that can also lead to critical awareness in the learning process:

- *Listening To and From Students: Possibilities for Teaching, Learning, and Curriculum* by Brian Schultz (2011)
- *Spectacular Things Happen Along the Way: Lessons from an Urban Classroom* by Brian Schultz (2008)
- *To Teach: The Journey, in Comics* by William Ayers and Ryan Alexander-Tanner (2010)
- *Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis* by Graham Crookes (2013)
- *Mastering ESL and bilingual methods: Differentiated instruction for culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students* by Socorro Herrera and Kevin Murry (2011)
- *Making Content Comprehensible for English Learners: The SIOP Model* (4th Edition) by Jana Echevarria, MaryEllen Vogt, and Deborah Short (2012)
- *Assessing English language learners: Bridges from language proficiency to academic achievement* by Margo Gottlieb (2006)

6.0. CONCLUSIONS

Given the diversity of our schools, it is essential that our pre-service and in-service teachers have the necessary development and resources to implement culturally, linguistically, and critical responsive teaching in our schools. Implementing cross-curricular education that is based on students' interests, needs, and abilities can become a gateway to increasing the cultural, linguistic, and critical development of students. Furthermore, all teachers should be able to develop and implement methods of instruction that promote the academic growth of students as they also develop critical mindedness and self-advocacy, particularly among students of minority backgrounds. As discussed in this paper, the implementation of culturally and linguistically responsive teaching is not impossible. If teachers are able to develop a concrete understanding of what it means to be culturally responsive and promote students' linguistic diversity in the classroom, they can engage their students in discussions that can promote the understanding of differences among racial and ethnic divides. Promoting critical curriculums is also key to targeting the social differences that students face in and outside the classroom.

Critical pedagogy and teaching with a cultural-linguistic lens can appear troubling for some teachers. However, all teachers can become experts in these topics by getting to know their students and molding existing curriculums to their favor. In many schools, keeping students engaged in the learning process is difficult because the topics and themes discussed in textbooks are very different to the real experiences of students. Therefore, in order to create spaces where students can engage with their learning, teachers need to craft and shape curriculums to meet the students needs. Making the curriculum fit the students rather than forcing the students to fit the curriculum is key in increasing students' interest and engagement with their academic content.

By using a cross curricular approach, teachers can increase the time and exposure that students have to academic topics, enabling students to develop full and critical understandings of their learning. In addition, by bridging the school-home gap, teachers can increase students' critical understandings of their communities and turn the school into a space where students learn and acquire academic skills while also developing critical consciousness that can help them be successful in their future.

WORKS CITED

Ayers, W., & Alexander-Tanner, R. (2010). *To teach: The journey, in comics*. New York, NY: Teachers College
        Press.
Ayers, W., Kumashiro, K., Meiners, E., Quinn, T., & Stovall, D. (2010). *Teaching toward democracy: Educators as
        agents of change*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
Batt, E. G. (2008). Teachers' perceptions of ELL education: Potential solutions to overcome the greatest
        challenges. *Multicultural Education,15*(3), 39-43.
Busch, D. (2010). Pre-service teacher beliefs about language learning: The second language acquisition course as an
        agent for change. *Language Teaching Research, 14*(3), 318-337.
Crookes, G. V. (2013). *Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis*. New York, NY: Routledge.
de Courcy, M. (2007). Disrupting preconceptions: Challenges to pre-service teachers' beliefs about ESL
        children. *Journal Of Multilingual And Multicultural Development, 28*(3), 188-203.
Echevarria, J. J., Vogt, M. J., & Short, D. J. (2012). *Making content comprehensible for English learners: The SIOP
        model* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Pearson.
 Fitts, S., & Weisman, E. (2010). Exploring questions of social justice in bilingual/bicultural teacher education:
        Towards a parity of participation. *Urban Review, 42*(5), 373-393. doi:10.1007/s11256-009-0139-9
Freire, P. (2011). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (30th Anniversary ed.). New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Fox, R., & Diaz-Greenberg, R. (2006). Culture, multiculturalism, and foreign/world language standards in U.S. teacher preparation programs: Toward a discourse of dissonance. *European Journal Of Teacher Education, 29*(3), 401-422. doi:10.1080/02619760600795270

Gándara, P. (2015). Rethinking bilingual instruction. *Educational Leadership, 72*(6), 60-64.

Gándara, P., & Hopkins, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Forbidden language: English learners and restrictive language policies*. New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Goldstein, B. C. (1995). Critical pedagogy in a bilingual special education classroom. *Journal Of Learning Disabilities, 28*(8), 463-75.

Gottlieb, M. (2006). *Assessing English language learners: Bridges from language proficiency to academic achievement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.

Herrera, S. G., & Murry, K. G. (2011). *Mastering ESL and bilingual methods: Differentiated instruction for culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students* (Second ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.

Hones, D. F. (2002). In quest of freedom: Towards critical pedagogy in the education of bilingual youth. *Teachers College Record, 104*(6), 1163.

Palmer, D. (2011). The discourse of transition: Teachers' language ideologies within transitional bilingual education programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal, 5*(2), 103-122.

Reza-López, E., Huerta Charles, L., & Reyes, L. V. (2014). Nepantlera pedagogy: An axiological posture for preparing critically conscious teachers in the borderlands. *Journal Of Latinos & Education, 13*(2), 107-119. doi:10.1080/15348431.2013.821062

Schultz, B. D. (2008). *Spectacular things happen along the way: Lessons from an urban classroom*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Schultz, B. D. (Ed.). (2011). *Listening to and from students: Possibilities for teaching, learning, and curriculum*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Tang, E. L., Lee, J. C., & Chun, C. K. (2012). Development of teaching beliefs and the focus of change in the process of pre-service ESL teacher education. *Australian Journal Of Teacher Education, 37*(5), 90-107.

Téllez, K., & Varghese, M. (2013). Teachers as intellectuals and advocates: Professional development for bilingual education teachers. *Theory Into Practice, 52*(2), 128-135. doi:10.1080/00405841.2013.770330

Wetig, S. (2009). Bilingual education -- Meeting the needs of multilingual learners. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin, 75*(4), 29-32.

II. Language Use and Culture

INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CONVERSATION

Ok-sim Kim, Department of East Asian Languages & Literatures

ABSTRACT

Studies of demonstratives have developed from speaker-centered proximity/distance frameworks to interaction-based frameworks that bring the addressee to the center of analysis. Applying dynamic and interactional frameworks such as 'indexical framework' (Hanks 1992), the notion of 'sphere' (Enfield, 2003; Laury, 1997), and the concept of Focus (Strauss, 2002), to the examination of the interactional functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in naturally occurring conversation, this study reveals that each demonstrative type utilizes a different process of expressing and emphasizing the speaker's emotion or attitude.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Demonstratives play an important role in the creation of coherent connections in discourse. They have drawn the attention of many Korean and Japanese researchers, who have established a theoretical framework for study (e.g., For Korean: K. Chang, 1980; S. Chang, 1984; Kim, 1982. For Japanese: Hinds 1975; Kamio, 1990; Kinsui and Takubo, 1990; Kuno, 1973; Kuroda, 1979). Most of these works have been conducted using researcher-created sentences or written discourse, and focus mainly on the referential function of the demonstratives. However, both discourse functions as well as referential functions are crucial to the study of demonstratives (Lakoff, 1974; Schiffrin, 1987; Hopper & Traugott, 1993/2003).

Taking into consideration the referential function of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in established research, this study explores how Korean and Japanese speakers use demonstratives in actual conversation. As many researchers have stated in discourse-oriented studies (Cheshire, 1996; Enfield, 2003; Hanks, 1992; Laury, 1997; Strauss, 2002), the choice of a demonstrative is determined by the accessibility of the referent in the discourse. They also claim that the meaning of a demonstratives is not static, but rather dynamic and changeable depending on the interaction type. By analyzing demonstratives found in naturally occurring Korean and Japanese conversation, this study further examines how a speaker chooses a demonstrative to indicate her/his emotion or attitude in order to effectively involve the addressee in the discourse. I hope that this comparative study will also provide an interesting cross-linguistic perspective in the use of Korean and Japanese demonstratives.

2.0. MORPHOLOGICAL FORMS OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE DEMONSTRATIVES

Korean and Japanese demonstratives express a three-way deictic distinction. There are three basic morphemes; *i* 'this', *ku* 'that', and *ce* 'that over there' in Korean, and *ko-* 'this', *so-* 'that', and *a-* 'that over there' in Japanese. Generally speaking, the choice of one form over the other in deictic use is determined by the relative distance of an entity from the speaker and/or the addressee. For example, the proximate *i* or *ko-* 'this' is used when an entity is close to the speaker, the medial *ku* or *so-* 'that' when an entity is close to the addressee, and the distal *ce* or *a-* 'that over there' when an entity is far from both the speaker and the addressee.

Compared to Japanese, Korean demonstratives comprise a more complex grammatical relationship. The three morphemes *i*, *ku*, and *ce* themselves are determiners (e.g., *i chayk* 'this book', *ku kabang* 'that bag', *ce saram* 'that person over there') that can also combine with various elements, such as other words or morphemes, to form complex words including pronouns (e.g., *i-kes* 'this', *ku-kes* 'that', and *ce-kes* 'that'), adverbs (e.g., *i-lehkey* 'like this', *ku-lehkey* 'like that', and *ce-lehkey* 'like that'), adjectives, and verbs (e.g., *i-lehata* 'be/do like this', *ku-lehata* 'be/do like that', and *ce-lehata* 'be/do like that') (Lee, 1994; Nam & Ko, 1985/1993; Shin, 1993; Sohn, 1999). Korean demonstratives, especially the medial *ku*, which is most frequently used as an anaphor, are used to form various conjunctive adverbs, as in *ku-liko* 'and', *ku-lentey* 'however', *ku-lenikka* 'therefore', *ku-lemyense* 'while', and *ku-leyse* 'so' (Sohn, 1999, 2009).

The Japanese demonstratives *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* are bound morphemes, and are therefore used in the formation of words. Each group of words will henceforth be referred to as the *ko*-series, the *so*-series, and the *a*-series.

(1)   ***Kono*** hon wa watashi no   desu.
        This book TC   I   thing be (POL)
        "*This* book is mine."

(2)   ***Sore*** wa nan desu   ka.
        That TC what be (POL) Q
        "What is *that*?"

(3)   ***Koo***   shi-ta   hoo ga   ii   desu yo.
        Like this do-PST way NM good POL IP
        "It's better to do it *in this way*."

3.0. ANAPHORIC FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES

In previous research on demonstratives, there are at least two categories of reference types: spatio-temporal deixis, or exophora (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Lakoff, 1974), and discourse deixis (Fillmore, 1982), or endophora (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). On one hand, the exophoric use of demonstrates refers to items that are identifiable via situation rather than through linguistic cues. The endophoric use of demonstratives involves a spoken or written textual reference (i.e., anaphora and cataphora).

Because Korean and Japanese demonstratives contain a great deal of referential meaning which influences their discourse functions, these traditional analyses of exophoric and endophoric use of demonstratives are crucial to this study. In the following sections, I will explore how Korean and Japanese demonstratives are used anaphorically in written and spoken discourse.

3.1. Anaphoric Functions of Korean Demonstratives

Korean demonstratives *i*, *ku*, and *ce* are used deictically to identify an item in speech, while only *i* and *ku* can be used anaphorically (K. Chang, 1980; S. Chang, 1984; Kim, 1982). According to Chang (1984), neither *i* nor *ce* are normally used for anaphoric reference, while *ku* is used without restrictions. However, *i* may be used to add vividness to speech situation as in (4):

(4)   Anaphoric function
                Kim ChelSwu-lul   *ku.nal   cheum*   *manna.ss.eyo.*
                Kim Chel-swu-AC   that day first time   see. PST. POL
                i/ku   *salam-un*   *nay-ka*   *nwukwu-n ci*
                this/that   person-TC   I-NM   who-RL NOM
                cheum-pwuthe   *al-ko-iss.ess. eyo.*
                First time-from   know-and-being.PST. POL
                "I met Kim Chel-swu on that day for the first time. This person (already) knew who I was
                from the beginning."   (modified from Chang, 1984, p. 131)

In (4), the antecedent of *i* or *ku salam* 'this/that person' is *Kim Chel-swu*. In this situation, either *i* or *ku* can be used, but each comes with different connotations: *i salam* is used as if the person were present in the discourse situation, while *ku* is used as a genuine anaphora. In other words, *i* renders the utterance more vividly, while *ku* indicates the speaker's objective stance about the referent.

Cataphors function similarly to anaphors, except that the antecedent of a cataphor appears in a later unit rather than a prior unit. The cataphor refers to propositions expressed by a larger unit such as a clause, a sentence, or a paragraph and its use is mostly restricted to *i*. According to Chang (1980), this function is generally used when the speaker refers to a referent or utterance only known to her/him. In other words, the use of demonstrative *i* indexes the speaker's territory.

The anaphoric (or cataphoric) function, especially of *ku*, is not limited to a specific referent mentioned in the surrounding discourse – it can include conceptual knowledge that the speaker and the addressee share. *Ku*, in its deictic use, refers to what is proximal to the addressee, and the information marked by *ku* is what is accessible to the addressee. Therefore, *ku* is used to refer to something about which the speaker and the addressee share knowledge. Korean researchers (K. Chang, 1980; S. Chang, 1984; Kim, 1982; Lee, 1994) call this use "conceptual deixis," emphasizing the non-existent referent in the surrounding discourse. The example in (5) illustrates this concept.

(5)   Conceptual use
            Cinan cwu-ey   *hamkey   swul   masye.ss.te.n*   **ku/*i/*ce**   *chinkwu*
            Last week-on   together alcohol drink.past.RT.RL **ku/*i/*ce**   friend
            mali.ya,   *cokum   isangha-n   chinkwu kath-te-n-tey?*
            speaking of. INT   A little   strange-RL   friend   look like-RT-RL-but?
            "Speaking of the friend who (you and I) drank alcohol together with, he seemed to be a little
            strange."   (modified from Lee, 1994, p. 458)

In (5), the speaker refers to *ku chinkwu* 'that friend' based on the speaker's belief that the addressee will recognize the friend because of their past shared experience, and therefore uses the demonstrative *ku* to mark the shared nature of their knowledge about the referent.

The demonstrative *ce*, which primarily functions as a deictic, may carry a conceptual meaning when it is used with a bound noun related to time, as in *cepttay* (*ce* + *ttay* 'time') 'recent time' (Chang, 1984). However, it does not have the same connotation as its Japanese equivalent *i-ttay* and *ku-ttay* also both refer to a time prior to the utterance, with *i-ttay* carrying a connotation of vividness of the past event or state (Chang, 1984, p. 235). However, *ku-ttay* may also refer to a future time of which the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge while *cepttay* refers to a past time when the speaker and the addressee had a shared experience.

3.2. Anaphoric Function of Japanese Demonstratives

Research differs as to how the anaphoric function of Japanese demonstratives is understood. In this section, I will review the rules and constraints regarding how Japanese anaphoric demonstratives operate, based on studies by Kuno (1973) and Kuroda (1979).

Kuno (1973) argues that the *ko*-series is used anaphorically "for indicating something as if it were visible to both the speaker and the hearer at the time of the conversation, and thus it imparts vividness to the conversation" (p. 288). In other words, the anaphoric *ko*-series is used conceptually as if the referent is visible by both the speaker and the addressee. According to Kuno, however, there are two restrictions on the anaphoric *ko*-series. First, the addressee cannot use the anaphoric *ko*-series to indicate the same referent that the speaker has already referred to with the *ko*-series. Furthermore, if it is established that both interlocutors know the referent, the *a*-series must be used instead.

Unlike the *ko*-series and the *a*-series, Kuno (1973) states that it is used anaphorically for a referent that is "not known personally to either the speaker or the hearer or has not been a shared experience between them" (p. 290). In other words, if one of the interlocutors lacks knowledge of the referent, both interlocutors must use the *so*-series. Kuno (1973) also claims that the anaphoric *a*-series is only used for referents that both the speaker and the addressee know personally or with whom they have shared experience. Based on Kuno's claim, regardless of how many times a referent comes up in a conversation, it can never be referred to by the *a*-series if both of the interlocutors have known the referent prior to the conversation.

However, Kuno's (1973) claims about anaphoric demonstratives are not without critiques (Hinds, 1975; Kamio, 1990; Kinsui & Takubo, 1992; Kuroda, 1979). For example, Kuroda (1979) discusses the difference between *so*-series and *a*-series demonstratives as a matter of the speaker's choice between conceptual knowledge and direct knowledge. To illustrate this, Kuroda uses examples, such as the one shown below, in which the *a*-series is permitted even though the speaker knows that the addressee has no knowledge of the referent:

(6)   Japanese anaphoric demonstratives
             Boku wa   Oosaka de Yamada Taro to-iu   sensei ni   osowa-tta-n da- kedo,
             I   TC   Osaka in Yamada Taro called teacher to learn-PST-NOM be-but
             kimi mo   sono/ano   sensei   ni   tsuku to ii yo.
             you also   teacher to study if good SFP (sentence final particle)
             "I learned from a teacher named Taro Yamada in Osaka. You should study under ***that*** teacher, too."
                                                                         (modified from Kuroda, 1979, p. 101)

Based on Kuno's definition of anaphoric demonstratives, the speaker could use only *sono sensei* 'that teacher' for (6) because the addressee lacks knowledge of the referent. However, Kuroda (1979) claims that even if the speaker knows that his addressee does not have any knowledge of Yamada, he has the option of using the *a*-series *ano sensei* (that teacher) to refer to him. Kuroda (1979) argues that, in this situation, the speaker has a choice of presenting the referent either conceptually using the *so*-series or as a person he has direct experience with using the *a*-series (p. 101). Therefore, Kuroda claims that the *so*-series is used for entities that the speaker wishes to discuss conceptually, while the *a*-series is used for entities with which the speaker has direct experience.

Based on both Kuno's (1973) and Kuroda's (1979) studies, the Japanese *so*-series is used to refer to entities conceptually, but not if knowledge of them is shared between the speaker and the addressee, while the *a*-series is used to refer to entities that the speaker has direct experience with, and shares knowledge with the addressee.

3.3. Anaphoric Functions of Demonstratives in Korean and Japanese

The previous sections have reviewed some of the previous literature on anaphoric demonstratives in Korean and Japanese, revealed some noteworthy similarities and differences. First, the proximal *i* and *ko*-series are similar, in that they are used to refer to a conceptual item as if the referent were visible to both the speaker and the addressee. Thus, the anaphoric use of *i* and the *ko*-series lends vividness to an utterance.

Second, the medial demonstrative *ku* and *so*-series are typically used as anaphors, referring to a previously mentioned entity. However, the Korean demonstrative *ku* is also used to refer to an item that the speaker and the addressee have shared knowledge, a characteristic that can be seen in the distal demonstrative *a*-series in Japanese. The Korean *ku* is understood as a metaphoric extension of the deictic use of *ku*, which refers to an item close to the addressee, so the item is known not only by the speaker, but also by the addressee.

In Japanese, the *a*-series is used when both the speaker and the addressee know the referent very well and/or the speaker has direct experience with the referent. It is curious how the Japanese *a*-series can be construed for mutual reference by speaker and addressee, giving a sense of closeness to the speaker despite its deictic use of indexing distance from both the speaker and the addressee, whereas the Korean distal *ce* demonstrative is mostly restricted to its deictic use without any implication of commonality.

In sum, the anaphoric functions in Korean and Japanese are different in terms of shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee, while the deictic uses of *i*, *ku*, and *ce* and the *ko*-series, *so*-series, and *a*-series are essentially the same. It is crucial to understand the difference because the referential meaning or the anaphoric function of an item is closely related to its discourse functions (Lakoff, 1974; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Schiffrin, 1987). In the following sections, I will discuss the functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in discourse and examine how the different uses of anaphoric functions in Korean and Japanese affect their discourse functions.

4.0. EARLY WORKS ON DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CONVERSATION

Many researchers have noted that demonstratives not only function as a reference, but also contain a discourse function, to express the speaker's emotional and cognitive proximity/distance (Fillmore, 1982; Lakoff, 1974; Lyons, 1977). Lakoff (1974) defines three major uses of the English demonstratives *this* and *that* as indicators of spatio-temporal deixis, discourse deixis (e.g., anaphora and cataphora), and emotional deixis.

Among the three uses, the emotional deixis indicates the speaker's emotional involvement in the subject matter of the utterance. For Lakoff, *this* implies psychological proximity between the speaker and the referent; *that* enables the speaker and addressee to relate to each other spatially and psychologically, creating emotional solidarity. The emotional connection created between interlocutors when using specific demonstratives can also be perceived as "involvement" that maintains smooth and interactive discourse (Chafe, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 1989). According to Tannen (1989), involvement is "an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words" (p. 12). She claims that involvement is produced and maintained through the use of various discourse strategies, ranging from the repetition of phonemes, words, and phrases, to the frequent use of images and attention to detail. These devices elicit the interlocutors' involvement by highlighting and enhancing the coherence.

Suh and Hong (1999) and Suh (2000, 2002) touch upon the issue of discourse involvement in the study of Korean demonstratives. According to Suh and Hong (1999), the proximal *i* 'this' marks the speaker's involvement in what s/he is saying. The referent marked by *i* is not shared knowledge with the addressee, rather, it is new information that belongs to the speaker. The speaker describes the referent as if it were visible and near to the speaker. It can also express the speaker's subjective feelings, such as surprise, antipathy, or suspicion. On one hand, the referent marked by *ku* 'that' indicates a shared knowledge between the interlocutors. The use of *ku* implies that the speaker has a desire for interpersonal involvement between herself/himself and the addressee (Suh & Hong, 1999; Suh, 2000, 2002). In this use, *ku* contrasts with the demonstrative *ce*, which does not actively invite the addressee's involvement in the utterance.

The discourse function of the Japanese demonstrative *a*-series has been noted in some literature (Cook, 1993; Hamaguchi, 2001; Kitagawa 1979; Kitano, 1999). Kitagawa draws upon Lakoff's (1974) "emotional deixis," and argues that *a*-series are more effective than its English counterpart/equivalent *that* in establishing solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. Unlike *that* in English, *a*-series demonstratives refer to an item from a psychological perspective equally distant from the speaker and the addressee.

Cook's (1993) sociolinguistic study on the Japanese demonstrative determiner *ano* 'that' as a pause filler touches on various discourse functions in face-to-face Japanese discourse contexts. She proposes that the filler *ano* is an affect marker and functions to align the speaker and the addressee on the same side with respect to an entity visible to them. This "alignment" contrasts with other demonstrative determiners *sono* 'that' and *kono* 'this' in that the speaker places herself/himself and her/his addressee in opposition. According to Cook, *ano*, as an indicator of a new conversation or turn, functions to elicit the addressee's cooperation by aligning the speaker and the addressee. This can bring the addressee to the speaker's side, and so make it easier to involve the addressee's cooperation.

The early works on discourse functions of demonstratives are based on interactions between participants in spontaneous discourse. Contrary to the traditional proximal/distal distinction framework, these works have focused on the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee in using demonstratives.

5.0. INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES

The term 'interactional function' in my research title emphasizes that the speaker uses demonstratives mainly for interaction, which is situation-bound and is constantly changing during ongoing interaction. There are also many cross-linguistic studies that focus on the use of demonstratives from a more dynamic perspective, but for current research, I adopt the frameworks that Naruoka (2006) employed.

On the study of Japanese demonstratives, Naruoka (2006) illustrates how Japanese demonstratives express and emphasize the speaker's emotion and attitude in discourse, using highly interactional and dynamic frameworks. According to Naruoka, the speaker intensifies her/his emotion toward the referent inside the speaker's sphere by using *ko*-series demonstratives. For example, when the speaker shows antipathy toward a referent, the speaker's feeling toward the referent is effectively expressed as if s/he were in the speech situation. As for the *a*-series, Naruoka states that the use of *a*-series demonstratives establishes solidarity between the speaker and the addressee, leading both to see the referent from the same viewpoint. Thus, the speaker can

effectively express solidarity via the use of *a*-demonstratives. Naruoka (2006) also finds that unlike *a*-demonstratives, the use of *so*-demonstratives refer to an object that is outside of the speaker's sphere but inside the addressee's sphere. She claims that this often expresses a speaker's strong negative emotion or attitude, such as antipathy, feeling of insult, or counterview.

In order to describe the process of expressing emotion or attitudes, Naruoka (2006) employs Hanks's (1992) 'indexical framework' and the interactionally defined notion of the speaker's and addressee's spheres proposed by Laury (1997) and Enfield (2003). Hanks (1990, 1992), in his study of Mayan deixis, proposed the notion of an 'indexical framework', applying the notion of 'figure and ground' (Talmy, 1978) in order to explain the relationship between the referent and the indexical ground. He emphasizes that the use of deixis is projected into this 'indexical framework', and that the choice of demonstratives is motivated by different indexical frameworks, which is flexible and continuously changes during the course of interaction. The flexible nature of this indexical framework helps to explain the motivation behind a speaker's choice of demonstrative used in discourse.

In addition to these studies, Strauss' (2002) study of Focus provides a highly interactional and dynamic framework in the study of demonstratives. In the framework of Focus, which Strauss (2002) defines as "the degree of attention the hearer should pay to the referent" (p. 135), the addressee is brought as a major factor that influences the speaker's choice of demonstrative. She identifies *this* to be the high Focus member of demonstratives, which can also indicate negative emotions such as "opposition, confrontation, separateness or independence" (p. 135) between interlocutors whereas *that* and *it* are respectively medium and low in Focus, and tend to show solidarity between interlocutors.

As we have seen, studies of demonstratives have developed from speaker-centered proximity/distance frameworks to interaction-based frameworks that bring the addressee to the center of analysis. Relative distance from the speaker can be extended to fit more dynamic and interactive perspectives in actual conversation. For this study, I analyzed demonstratives found in naturally occurring conversations of Korean and Japanese. Four native language pairs were formed with two close friends in their twenties. Applying dynamic and interactional frameworks (Enfield, 2003; Hanks, 1992; Laury, 1997) and the concept of Focus (Strauss, 2002), this study explores how effectively the speaker uses demonstratives to emphasize her/his emotional and cognitive stance in involving the addressee in the discourse.

6.0. INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN KOREAN AND JAPANESE CONVERSATION

6.1. Korean Demonstratives

6.1.1. *I*-type demonstratives

I demonstratives are frequently used to refer to an object that is located near the speaker, but can also be used to point out a referent that is inside the speaker's sphere, as shown in the following example from Korean data I collected In (7-c), *i saram* 'this person' is neither referring to a person who is close to where the speaker is located, nor a person in the speech situation. The person who the speaker is referring to is, in fact, her boyfriend. . In this case, *i saram* 'this person' indicates that the referent is inside the speaker's sphere, and emphasizes the speaker's direct involvement toward the referent. In this context, the speaker's different choice of demonstrative, for example, *ku*, would signify that the person is not in the speaker's sphere and is described objectively, as if he is not directly involved with the speaker. *I* demonstratives the high Focus member (Strauss, 2002) in that the use of *i* effectively directs the addressee's attention to the referent that is located in the speaker's sphere and greatly urges the addressee to seek out the referent.

(7)   *I* demonstratives
      a.   A: *Ku, elmana   manh-a,   oykwuk-eyse   kongbwuha-ko*
                      That, how much   a lot-INT   foreign country-in   study-and
      b.   *tule-ka-n   salam-tul,   kensel   epchey-tul*
                      enter-go-RL   people-PL   construction   company-PL

There are many, that, people who studied abroad and went back, construction companies,

c. B: *ung, kuntey ettehkey ha-l-ci-nun na-to **i salam**-uy*
    Yes, but how do-PRS-whether-NM I-also this person-GEN

d.   *pyuche pullayn-ul moru-n-da.*
    Future plan-AC do not know-IN-DC
    Yeah. But even I don't know **this person**'s future plan, how he will manage.

e. A: *ung, kyeysok   yekise sa-l ke-n ci, ani-myen*
    Yes, continuously here live-PRS thing-RL whether not-if
    Yeah, he will live here, or

f. B: *ee, nay-hanthey-man mwule-pw-ass-ketun,*
    Yes, I-to-only   ask-see-PST-you know

g.   "I love Hawaii so much", ***il-ayss**-ketun.*
    I love Hawaii so much, like this-PST-you know

h.   *Kunikka tangcang mwut-nu-n-key   kekise sal-ko siph-eyo?*
    Then immediately ask-IN-RL-thing   there live-and want-POL

i.   ***Ilehkey** ttak mwut-nu-n ke-la.*
    Like this just ask-IN-RL thing-INT
    Yeah, he asked me, and then I said **like this**, I love Hawaii so much.
    Then, he right away asked me "do you want to live there?" He asked me **like this.**

In Korean, *i*-type demonstratives are also frequently used to mark quotations, as in (7-g) and (7-i), *ir-ayss-ketun* 'I said like this, you know' and *ilehkey* 'like this'. In my data, *ilehkey* is the most frequently used demonstrative form among the *i*-type demonstratives. *Ilehkey* is used both anaphorically and cataphorically to quote an utterance metioned in both previous and later units respectively. The use of *i* demonstratives provides vividness, as if the statement was just made at the time of speech, and emphasizes the speaker's feelings by presenting the object explicitly and closely to the speaker. According to my data, *ilehkey* is frequently used cataphorically, placing the main focus utterance in a later unit. This effectively elicits the addressee's attention and involvement in the discourse by maintaining an interactive and vivid conversation.

6.1.2. *Ku*-type demonstratives

In my data of Korean conversation, the determiner *ku* is the most frequently used demonstrative. It may be due to its anaphoric function to quote a previously mentioned utterance. On one hand, written discourse is relatively context-free such that it does not involve direct interaction with the readers and it can be read anywhere at any time by anyone. On the other, spoken discourse is more context-sensitive, and demonstratives are used by individual speakers according to their preferences and the situations in which they speak (Chafe & Danielewicz, 1987).

The demonstrative *ku* frequently occurs in contexts in which the addressee can successfully identify the referent. In Example (8), B is asking A about someone's well-being, but has a momentary difficulty formulizing her name. Instead of referring to the referent by her name, he uses noun phrases, such as *kyay* (the short form of *ku + ay*) 'that child', and *ku salam* 'that person'. The use of *ku* indicates that the speaker believes that the addressee can identify the referent. Thus, A's attention is greatly paid to the referent and tries to figure out whom B is talking about in (8-h). The use of *ku* in (8-h) confirms that the referent has already been shared.

(8)   *Ku* demonstratives

a. B: *yocum **kyay, ku salam** an poi-tay?* h
     recently that child, that person not be seen-Q
    I can't see that child, that person recently.

b. A: *nwuku?*
    Who
    Who?

c. B: *Icumi-n-ka?*
    Izumi-Q

		(I guess she is) Izumi?
d.	A:	*Icumi nwuna?*
		uh, Izumi sister?
		Sister, Izumi?
e.	B:	*ung, an poi-cyo?*
		yes. not be seen-Q
		Yes, you don't see her, do you?
f.	A:	*ani, pwa-ss-nuntey, na.*
		no, see-PT-but, I
		No, I saw her.
g.	B:	*hakkyo tanye-yo?*
		school attend-Q
		She comes to school?
h.	A:	*ung, way* **ku** *nwuna hantey-to kwansim i-ss-ess-e?*
		yes, why that sister to-also interest have-PS-Q?
		Yes, why, are you also interested in her?

Ku-type demonstratives are also used to express the speaker's negative emotion or attitude toward the addressee and/or the referent, In Example (9), A and B are talking about their mutual friend Kaori, who is a fan of a famous K-pop singer. In the excerpt below, B has just heard from A that Kaori visited the K-pop singer's house. B is incredulous at this information because it is not usual to be able to visit a famous person's house so easily. This is demonstrated in (9-g) : B uses *kurehkey* as an adverb in conjunction with *swipkey*. This function as a sort of intensifier indicates the speaker's negative reaction to Kaori's story.

(9)   *Kurehkey*

a.	A:	*mwusun, mwusun hessoliha-na sayngkakhay-ss-nuntey*
		What what talk non-sense-FML think-PST-but
b.		*Onul ttak manna-se mwul-e-pwa-ss-e.*
		Today just meet-and ask-INF-see-PST-INT
c.		*Kunikka, ku khonsethu chesnal mayn chesnal cip-ulo*
		Then, that concert first day very first day house-to
d.		*chac-a-ka-ss-tay.*
		Search-INF-PST-QT
		I thought what a ridiculous story she was telling. Today when I saw her, I asked her (about it). Then, (she said) she visited his house on the first day of concert.
e.	B:	*ani, cip, i, acik manhi an yumyengha-n ay-n-ka pwu-ci?*
		No, house this yet a lot not famous-RL child-RT-NOM seem-SUP
		Well, house, well, he is not famous that much, is he?
f.	A:	*Khei phap ta al-ki-n al-ci.*
		K-pop all know-NOM-NM know-SUP
		People know K-pop, but
g.	B:	*kuntey ettehkey cip-kkaci* **kulehkey** *swipkey ka-nya?*
		But how house-to like that easily go-PLN
		Then, how could she visit his house so easily?

According to Suh (2002), unlike the English word *very*, which merely intensifies the meaning of the item being referenced, the Korean *ku* requires "some additional conversational inferences to be drawn" (p 152). It emphasizes that the speaker's view differs from what the speaker assumes the addressee's view to be. From this, it seems that *ku* demonstratives refer to an object outside of the speaker's sphere, and inside the addressee's sphere. Thus, when a speaker cannot understand the interlocutor's behavior, the use of a *ku* demonstrative places the behavior outside of the speaker's sphere and inside of the addressee's sphere. This expresses the speaker's strong negative feeling toward the addressee and her/his behavior.

6.1.3. *Ce*-type demonstratives

As seen in the earlier literature review of Korean demonstratives, distal *ce* is very rarely used for anaphoric reference. There are only four instances of *ce* demonstratives throughout my data. They are the place demonstrative pronoun, *ceki* 'that place'. They are used as a pause filler to fill the time gap for upcoming utterances. *Ceki* also appears with other discourse markers, such as *ku* 'that' and *mwe* 'what' as in *ku ceki* and *mwe ceki*. They are used when the speaker initiates the utterance or change the topic of the conversation.

6.2. Japanese Demonstratives

6.2.1. *Ko*-series demonstratives

Ko-series demonstratives are frequently used to refer to time, places, and things. For example, *kono* 'this', when used with a temporal term, refers to the near past or present, but not future. They are frequently used when the speaker wants to hold the floor focusing a topic in utterance and are used when a speaker talks about her/his own personal experience that is unknown to other participants. Similar to Korean *i*-type demonstratives, Japanese *ko*-series demonstratives are high Focus (Strauss, 2002) in that it greatly urges the addressee to seek out the referent.

6.2.2. *So*-series demonstratives

Throughout my Japanese data, *sore* 'that' is the most frequently used demonstrative. *So*-series demonstratives were used anaphorically in most cases, but they were also used to express the speaker's negative feelings, which supports Naruoka's (2006) claim. Among *so*-series demonstratives, the adjectival demonstrative *sonna* 'that kind of (noun)' was almost always used for this function.

(10)   *Sonna*
   a.   A: *kyookasyo mo shinka   shi-teru tte   koto   da   yo.*
               Textbook also evolution do-being QT fact COP IP
               That means that textbooks also have made improvement, you know.
   b.   B: n*e, kirimanjaro ga   no-tte-ta   yatsu ne.*
               IP Kilimanjaro NM   put-being-PST thing IP
               I see, the thing (music book) that had a Kilimanjaro song in it.
   c.   A: *nani   are?*
               What   that
               What is that?
   d.   B: *ta ta ta ta ta.*
               (humming) La la la la la
   e.   A: *shir-an,   **sonna** no.*
               Know-not   that kind of thing
               I don't know, **that kind of** thing (song).
   f.   B: (laughing)
               (laughing)
   g.   A: *gomen   **sonna** uta   wa   shir-an.*
               Sorry   that kind of song TC know-not
               Sorry, but I don't know **that kind of** song.
   h.   B: *atta-n-da yo.   kirimanjaro   tte yuu no   ga*
               existed- NOM-COP   IP   Kilimanjaro QT say NOM   NM
               We had it. The song called Kilimanjaro, you know.

In Example (10), A and B are talking about the textbooks that they used in elementary school In a previous excerpt, they talked about a music textbook, and B says that it had the Mt. Kilimanjaro song in it in (10-b). However, A shows her sarcastic attitude to B saying *nani are?* 'what is that?' in (10-c) and *shira-n, sonna no* '(Osaka dialect) I don't know that kind of thing' in (10-e). By using *sonna no*, the speaker pushes the referent into the addressee's sphere (Naruoka 2006). This expresses the speaker's strong feelings toward the addressee such as ridiculing, contemptuousness, critical, and often threatening.

In the situation, speaker A shows her non-committal attitude in order to avoid specifying the referent saying, *gomen, sonna uta wa shira-n* '(Osaka dialect) sorry, but I don't know that kind of song' in (13-g). SAccording to Naruoka (2012), the use of *sonna* expressing the speaker's non-committal attitude consequently can be interpreted as both the speaker's negative evaluation and a humble attitude. In this case, *sonna* expresses the speaker's negative feeling. By employing *sonna* 'that kind of thing' rather than *sore* 'that' or *sono* N 'that N', the speaker can express different attitudes toward the addressee and/or the referent. As Naruoka (2012) suggests, a speaker chooses not only from the *ko-, so-,* and *a-*series, but also various other demonstrative forms in order to indicate her/his emotions or attitude.

6.2.3. *A*-series demonstratives

In Japanese, *a*-series demonstratives are also frequently used to refer to a referent that the speaker and the addressee have a shared knowledge. As Kamio (1995) and Kuroda (1979) claim, however, *a*-series demonstratives are also used to indicate the speaker's experience.

Throughout my data, *a*-series demonstratives are frequently used as devices to elicit the addressee's attention despite the lack of shared knowledge between interlocutors, especially in the context of asking questions such as *are shitteru* 'do you know that ?' Because *are* anaphorically indicates shared knowledge between the interlocutors, the questions that use *are* effectively involves the addresee to the discourse.

(11)   *Are*
      a.   A :   *un.   **are**   shi-tteru ?*
                   Yes. that know-being
                   Yes. Do you know **that**?
      b.   B :   *nani?*
                   what
                   What is it?
      c.   A :   *hato, hato ga   naze   annani   hueta no ka.*
                   Dove dove NM why   like that increase NOM Q
                   Doves, why they have increased.
      d.   B :   ***are** yaroo.   kekkonshiki   no   yatsu yaroo.*
                   That perhaps   wedding ceramony GEN thing perhaps
                   Isn't it **that**? Those are the things for wedding ceremonies.
      e.   A :   *nande   shi-tte-n   nen.*
                   Why   know-being-NOM IP
                   How do you know that?
      f.   B :   *sonna (no)   shi-tteru wa.   Dare ga   yu-tot-ta.*
                   That kind of thing   know-being IP someone NM say-being-PST
                   I know that kind of thing. I heard someone talking.
      g.   A :   *watashi desu.*
                   I   COP (POL)
                   It was me.
      h.   B :   *Saya, Saya-chan   nandomo   yut-tot-ta.*
                   Saya, Saya-VOC   several time   say-being-PST
                   Saya, Saya was saying several times.

The addressee's response of *nani ?* 'what is it?' in (10-b) reveals that her attention is focused upon the following discourse. *Are* in *are yaroo?* '(Osaka dialect) isn't it that ?' as in (10-d) emphasizes the referent is known even to the addressee. However, the questioner A did not seem to expect that the addressee B knew the answer, as shown by A's reply of *nande shitten nen* '(Osaka dialect) how do you know ?' in (10-e). If the use of *are* in (10-a) is shared knowledge, A's response in (10-e) 'how do you know (that)?' does not make sense. The strategy to elicit the addressee's attention using *are*, however, ends in failure by B's simple answer, *sonna (no) shitteru wa* 'I know such a thing' in (10-f).

6.3. Discussion

Through the examination of the interactional functions of Korean and Japanese demonstratives in naturally occurring conversation between two close friends in their twenties, I have found that each demonstrative utilizes a different process of expressing and emphasizing the speaker's emotions or attitude. *I*-type and *ko*-series demonstratives points to a referent inside the speaker's sphere. This expresses the speaker's strong emotion (such as affective/negative feeling) toward the referent by creating a context in which the referent is near the speaker, even when it is physically not. In my Korean data, *i*-type demonstratives are frequently used to mark someone else's talk. The use of *i*-type demonstratives provides vividness, as if an utterance were just made at the time of the conversation. Throughout my data, the participants used both *i type* and *ko* series demonstratives to place a strong focus on a particular referent in the current situation in order to stress the speaker's emotions such as, affection, surprise, or antipathy. I also found that 'here-space' (Enfield, 2003) marked by *i*-type and *ko*-series demonstratives, which deictically refers to an item near the speaker, is flexible not only according to the speaker's psychological closeness but also in contexts where the demonstratives are used.

Korean *ku*-type and Japanese *so*-series demonstratives are very important linguistic devices that are used to make cohesive connections in discourse because spoken discourse has context-dependent characteristics. The Korean *ku*-type demonstratives place a referent close to the addressee, which enables the addressee to access the referent easily and provides common ground between interlocutors. *Ku*-type demonstratives often involve the addressee in the discourse and elicits the addressee's attention to the discourse, effectively ensuring the solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, *so*-series demonstratives, defined as the space of the addressee (Naruoka, 2006), locates the referent outside of the speaker's, but close to the addressee's sphere. *So*-demonstratives in my data are used anaphorically in many instances, but they may also have been used for the purpose of expressing the speaker's negative feelings. By pushing a referent toward the addressee's sphere, this often expresses the speaker's negative emotion or attitude toward the addressee and/or the referent.

Korean *ku*-type demonstratives are also used to indicate the speaker's negative emotion by evaluating the addressee's behavior or idea, although not many instances are found in my data. In the use of adjectival demonstratives, *kulen* and *sonna* are comparable. As Naruoka (2012) suggests, the use of *sonna* shows the speaker's non-committal stance to avoid specifying the referent, which often conveys the speaker's negative emotion as well as humble attitude. *Sonna* N 'that kind of N' in my data is used to express the speaker's strong negative feeling such as criticizing, teasing, and ridiculing. On another hand, Korean *kulen ke(s)* 'that kind of thing' in my data expresses the speaker's humble attitude rather than any negative emotion. By expressing the speaker's uncertain and unconfident attitude in regards to the referent, it is often perceived as the speaker's modest and humble attitude toward the addressee, while seeking interpersonal involvement.

Korean *ce*-type demonstratives are found in only four instances in my data. They are used as pause fillers, which has multi-functions such as formulating an idea, searching for an appropriate word, starting a new topic, requesting something, and reducing the intensity of the face-threatening act. They function as hesitation markers, so they are rarely used in interactional conversations between close friends. Korean *ce*-type demonstratives are similar to the Japanese *ano*. Both are used in the context of initiating a conversation or a new turn, grabbing the addressee's attention, starting a new topic, making a request, and disagreeing with others. Thus, the use of *ce*-type demonstratives in the surrounding contexts is indispensable in order to achieve the social goal of smooth interaction and to mitigate the face-threatening act.

Japanese *a*-series demonstratives have an interactional function similar to Korean *ku*-type demonstratives, in that they indicate not only the shared information, but also the emotional connection between the speaker and the addressee. However, in my data *a*-series demonstratives are used not only to refer to a referent with which the speaker and the addressee share a common ground, but also to indicate the speaker's direct experience as Kamio (1995) and Kuroda (1979) claim. I also found that *are* is used to refer to a referent when the speaker and the addressee do not share common ground. In these cases, the *a*-series demonstratives are often used anaphorically. Among *a*-series demonstratives, *are* 'that' is frequently used for this function, as in *are shitteru* 'do you know that?', *are yaroo ?* and 'isn't it that ?' An interesting finding about *are* 'that' is its frequent use of non-canonical word order. For example, in the phrase *nani are* 'what is that ?', *are* often appears

in the latter portion of the utterance. According to Ono and Suzuki (1992), this non-canonical word order is employed when expressing the speaker's emotion, rather than indicating the referent. Thus, the frequent use of *are* in my data functions not only to enhance the cohesion of the discourse, but also to enhance psychological cohesion between the interlocutors by confirming a shared emotion with the referent.

7.0. CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated Korean and Japanese demonstratives in naturally occurring conversations, focusing on their interactional functions. This paper has also explored how traditional approaches to the study of demonstratives, which rely on relative distance from the speaker, can be extended to fit more dynamic and interactive perspectives in actual conversation. Through applying dynamic and interactional frameworks such as 'involvement' (Tannen, 1989), 'indexical framework' (Hanks, 1990, 1992), the notion of 'sphere' (Enfield, 2003; Laury, 1996), and the concept of Focus (Strauss, 2002), this study illustrates that there is a close relationships between interactional functions and the choice of demonstratives. It also suggests that the interactional meaning comes about through various sources, including psychological closeness/distance, contexts, and conventionalized politeness strategies appropriate to each language, as well as various derivational forms of demonstratives and (non-canonical) word order.

WORKS CITED

Chafe, W. L. (1982). Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 35-53.

Chafe, W. & J Danielewicz (1987), "Properties of Spoken and Written Language," in R. Horowitz and S.J. Samuels, eds., *Comprehending Oral and Written Language*. San Diego: Academic Press, 83-113.

Chang, K. (1980). Cisie 'i, ku, ce'uy uymi pwunsek [Semantic analysis of demonstrative i, ku, and ce]. *Ehak. Yenkwu, 16*(2), 167-183.

Chang, S.-J. (1984). Cisi-wa coung [Deixis and anaphora in Korean]. *The Journal of Hangul [Korean Language], 186*, 115-149.

Cheshire, J. (1996). That jacksprat: An interactional perspective on English *that*. *Journal of Pragmatics, 25*(3), 369–393.

Cook, H. M. (1993). Functions of the filler *ano* in Japanese. In S. Choi (Ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* (Vol. 3, pp. 319–338). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Doi, T. (1971). *Amae no koozoo [The anatomy of dependence]*. Tokyo: Koobundoo.

Enfield, N. J. (2003) Demonstratives in space and interaction: Data from Lao speakers and implications for semantic analysis. *Language 79*(1), 82-117.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M., & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Hamaguchi, T. (2001). *Co-construction of meaning in intergenerational family conversations: A case of the Japanese demonstrative pronoun are.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation).

Hanks, W.F. (1992). The indexical ground of deictic reference. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-76.

Hinds, J. (1975). Interjective demonstratives in Japanese. *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics, 8*, 19–42.

Hopper, P., & Traugott, E. C. (1993/2003). *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kamio, A. (1990). *Joohoo no nawabari riron: Gengo no kinooteki bunseki [Theory of territory of information: Functional analysis of language]*. Tokyo: Taishukan.

Kim, I.-W. (1982). Cisiuy pwunlyuwa cisisa 'i, ku, and ce'uy ssuim [Taxonomy of Korean deixis and the use of *i, ku*, and *ce*]. *Hangul [Korean Language], 178*. 53-87.

Kinsui, S., & Takubo, Y. (1990). Danwa kanri riron kara mita Nihongo no shijishi [A discourse management of the Japanese demonstrative expressions]. In the Japanese Cognitive Science Society (ed.), *Ninchi kagaku no hatten [Advances in Japanese cognitive science vol.3]*. Tokyo: Kodansha, pp. 85-115.

Kitagawa, C. (1979). A note on sono and ano. In G. Bedell, E. Kobayashi, & M. Muraki (Eds.), *Explorations in linguistics: Papers in honor of Kazuko Inoue* (pp. 232–234). Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Kitano, H. (1999). On interaction and grammar: Evidence from one use of the Japanese demonstrative *are* ('that'). *Pragmatics, 9*(3), 383–400.

Kuno, S. (1973). *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Kuroda, S.-Y. (1979). *(KO)/SO/A ni tsuite. Eigo to Nihongo to [About ko, so, a in English and Japanese]*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Lakoff, R. (1974). Remarks on 'this' and 'that'. *Chicago Linguistics Society, 10*, 345–356.

Laury, R. (1996). Conversational use and basic meaning of Finnish demonstratives. In A.

Lee, K.-G. (1994). Deixis, anaphor and the history of Korean 'kureha-', *Linguistic Journal of Korea, 19*(2), 455–488.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maynard, S. (1997). *Japanese communication: Language and thought in context.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Nam, Ki-shim and Ko, Yong-kun. 1985; 1993: *Pyocwun Kwuke Munpeplon*. Seoul: Thapchwulphansa.

Naruoka, K. (2006). The interactional functions of the Japanese demonstratives. *Pragmatics* 16, 475-512.

Naruoka, K. (2012). Toward meanings of expressive indexicals: The case of Japanese demonstratives *konna/sonna/anna*. *Journal of pragmatics 22*, pp. 1-18.

Ono, T. & Suzuki, R. (1992). Word order variability in Japanese conversation: motivations and grammaticization. *Text* 12, 429--445.

Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shin, C.-y. (1993). Kwu.eeyseuy cisieuy yongpepey tayhaye [The discourse function of deixis]. *En.e yenkwu [Korean Language Research], 29*(3), 363-381.

Sohn, H.-M. (1999). *The Korean language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sohn, H.-M. (2009). The semantics of clause linking: A cross-linguistic typology. In R. M. W. Dixon & A. Y. Aikhenvald (Eds.), *Explorations in linguistic typology* (Vol. 5, pp. 285–317). New York: Oxford University Press

Strauss, S. (2002). This, that, and it in spoken American English: A demonstrative system of gradient Focus. *Language Sciences*, *24*, 131-152.

Suh, K.-H. (2000). Distal demonstratives as fillers. *Language Research, 36*(4), 887–903.

Suh, K.-H. (2002). An interactional account of the Korean demonstrative *ku* in conversation. *En.e.wa En.ehak (Language and Linguistics), 29*, 137-158.

Suh, K.-H., & Hong, J. H. (1999). "Ikey palo ku-ke-ya": Wenkun cisi-eyse thaytocisi-lo ["This is it": From spatial to speaker-stance deixis]. *Discourse and Cognition, 6*(2), 1–22.

Talmy, L. (1978). Figure and ground in complex sentences. In J. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language* (pp. 625-649). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Tannen, D. (1989). *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LIVING MOʻOLELO FOR YOUNG ADULTS: STORY, LANGUAGE, AND FORM IN "OF NO REAL ACCOUNT"

Caryn Kunz Lesuma, Department of English

ABSTRACT

Through its use of traditional and contemporary forms, Bryan Kuwada's short story "Of No Real Account" introduces new and particularly younger readers to the archive of Hawaiian and Pacific (hi)stories. In the story, Kuwada makes extensive allusions to people and places in existing mo'olelo. For younger readers, these references constitute an opportunity to explore their origins, rendering the story a portal to the greater archive of ʻolelo Hawaiʻi and moʻolelo; this increases engagement with and appreciation for the greater archive of moʻolelo within the rising generations by fostering an active participation in experiencing and learning traditional stories, language, and culture.

For those familiar with moʻolelo,[1] the well-researched, culturally rich allusions in Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada's short story "Of No Real Account" provide a humorous recollection of beloved cultural stories and history. The story revolves around Keaka, a would-be hero whose blundering attempt to end a drought on Oʻahu results in endless rain. With the help of his friend Liko and the magical duck Kamanuwai, he works to find a solution to the problem. Throughout the story, Kuwada uses Hawaiian words to reference people, places, and events in existing Hawaiian and Pacific moʻolelo that generate instant recognition in readers who are already acquainted with the tales. At the same time, these intertextual connections are also useful for readers unfamiliar with Hawaiian language, culture, and history as a means to mobilize the vast repository of moʻolelo. Through its intertextual layering of traditional and contemporary forms and language, "Of No Real Account" plays a critical role in introducing new and particularly younger readers to the greater archive of Hawaiian moʻolelo and Pacific cultural stories. Acknowledging the value of this story for adolescents is critical, as Kuwada notes that resources are available for both young children and adults to engage with moʻolelo, but "there are no versions of our moʻolelo explicitly aimed at those in these in-between generations, especially if they are not already avid readers" ("Mana in the Mundane" 108). If examined as a story for adolescents, "Of No Real Account" begins to fill the generational dearth in narratives for young adults and underscores the need for more stories like it within Hawaiian storytelling practices.

In order to contextualize the significance of Kuwada's story within the literary tradition of Hawaiian moʻolelo, it is helpful to draw upon Hawaiian scholar Brandy Nālani McDougall's political and cultural framework of "living moʻolelo." McDougall conceptualizes living moʻolelo in two ways. One is embodied in the phrase "ola i nā moʻolelo," which she defines as readers' enactment of moʻolelo that requires "knowing our Hawaiian moʻolelo and incorporating their lessons so that we may become the kanaka maikaʻi—the heroes and heroines—of our own stories, and that we define what that is" (McDougall). While an analysis of "Of No Real Account" that engages ola i nā moʻolelo reveals important mobilizations of this practice, in this paper I will focus on how Kuwada's story engages with McDougall's second definition of living moʻolelo, what she terms "ola nā moʻolelo," or the idea that the stories themselves are alive. McDougall describes the enactment of this concept as "our kuleana to make sure that the stories live, to understand, know, and further a continuum of moʻolelo....This means retelling old moʻolelo and creating new moʻolelo" (McDougall). "Of No Real Account" participates actively in this continuum as a new moʻolelo that alludes frequently to older, existing moʻolelo.

I see Kuwada's story working as ola nā moʻolelo in two distinct ways. First, it is a modern moʻolelo that utilizes modern genres and storytelling conventions to tell a new story with new characters who overcome unique problems. At the same time, it draws heavily on the archive of existing Hawaiian and Pacific moʻolelo to furnish secondary characters as well as events, places, and language. This intertextual blending of traditional and modern genres, styles, and narratives is what makes "Of No Real Account" a living story, and it is important to note that the

allusions enliven the existing moʻolelo, as well. This essay explores a few of the allusive and generic intertextual links found in "Of No Real Account" and the ways in which these links constitute the story as a portal into the continuum of moʻolelo for young readers.

In creating his own compelling and unique moʻolelo, Kuwada makes extensive allusions to existing moʻolelo. These allusions range from the well-known pan-Pacific demigod Māui to the lesser-known Kūlanihākoʻi and his ʻumeke filled with water in the sky. Kuwada also uses Hawaiian rather than English terms for animals, plants, and places. While this intertextuality functions at different levels for different audiences, the unfamiliarity of many of these references for younger readers constitutes an opportunity to explore their history. This allusive approach differs from the more common practice in folk and fairy tale literature to rewrite or "retell" the tales from a different perspective or in a more modern style. The retelling approach, which has been studied extensively, provides an alternative to earlier versions of the tale or, in extreme cases, even erases other versions.[2] Kuwada's allusive approach inserts references within an entirely new tale, while simultaneously rewriting those allusions within the fantastic framework of the moʻolelo. As a result, a fuller understanding of the tale becomes impossible without knowledge of these allusions for contextualizing, historicizing, and comparative purposes. The compelling nature of these allusions prompts younger readers to revisit familiar references as well as seek out unfamiliar tales, an inclination Kuwada facilitates by recasting moʻolelo as both entertaining and accessible.

Throughout the story, Kuwada uses non-English words to describe places and things that prompt readers to look outside the text for more information without alienating them from the text. To aid readers, he provides context clues to help them decipher a word's meaning, as in the first sentence: "The damned tīwaiwaka wouldn't stop chirping. Even worse was the amused glint in the fantail's eye" (1). Because it is described as "chirping," the tīwaiwaka is most likely a bird, an interpretation confirmed for readers in the second sentence, which explains that it is a type of fantail. However, much of Kuwada's language use provides only minimal context clues. One example occurs when news of Māui's death reaches Hawaii, and

> The eerie sound of abject sorrow could be heard coming from each house in every single kauhale throughout the entire string of islands. The drought had caused kalo to shrivel and rot in stagnant loʻi….Even fishing was affected as the lack of fresh water running into the sea depleted the populations of ʻamaʻama and awa. Still, they put aside their own troubles for an entire anahulu to grieve for their greatest son. (1)

Here, context clues only allow for a general understanding of each non-English word: thus a kauhale is possibly a group of houses, kalo must be a type of plant that grows in water, and ʻamaʻama and awa must be types of fish. However, what kind of grouping of houses (city, village, homestead?), plant (root, flower, edible, decorative?), or fish (color, size, shape?) is left unexplained. Similarly, anahulu must mark the passage of time, but how much time is impossible to tell without access to the word's definition. In this way, a full understanding of an unfamiliar word requires the use of a dictionary, but the inclusion of context clues keeps the language of the story from becoming too obscure or difficult for a less experienced reader.

Several intertextual figures in "Of No Real Account" also prompt readers to either compare Kuwada's allusion to their existing knowledge or to explore an unfamiliar reference. As when employing non-English words, Kuwada provides context clues in the form of a brief backstory or summary when alluding to existing figures in moʻolelo, but does not give the entire story. Extensive references to the demigod Māui are a good example of how allusions function in several different ways in the story. Māui is already popular and familiar to many youth as a pan-Pacific figure, marking a point of reference and departure for the new story.[3] Kuwada counts on readers' familiarity with Māui's exploits in order to humorously recast perspectives about him within the framework of "Of No Real Account." In the story, Keaka is jealous of Māui's accomplishments, wishing that he were the hero revered by all of Oceania. Alluding to some of Māui's most famous deeds, Keaka complains that Māui "hogged all of the really prestigious heroic deeds, such as fishing the islands from the sea and snaring the sun," and is disappointed

when waking up from a dream where "he had dreamt that he was Māui, and it was he who pushed up the sky, and he who took the secret of fire from that old mud hen, Kaʻalaenuiahina" (2-3). These references to existing (and popular) stories about Māui allow Kuwada to contribute to the archive of Māui moʻolelo by adding the backstory to one of Māui's most celebrated feats, snaring the sun. Keaka claims that Māui is perhaps not as hero-worthy as he is perceived to be by accusing him of dishonesty. Keaka tells Liko and Kamanuwai that "it was my idea to snare the sun, but he stole it from me and did it first!" by tricking Keaka into delaying his quest (7-8). While this specific account differs from other versions, it is humorously in keeping with Māui's broader reputation as a trickster. Keaka's perspective on Māui thus functions as a "fractured" fairy tale[4] that recasts Māui's exploits while simultaneously resonating intertextually with the greater archive of Māui tales. This invites a comparison to (and possible revisitation) of existing Māui narratives.

Kuwada's engagement with Māui moʻolelo is also important because it activates intertextual links among Hawaiian moʻolelo as well as other Pacific stories about Māui. The story begins not in Hawaiʻi, but in Aotearoa, drawing on a Māori account of Māui's death that does not exist in the Hawaiian tradition. Readers in Hawaiʻi are less likely to be familiar with Māui's death-by-vagina at the thighs of Hine-Nui-Te-Po in Aotearoa, which similarly piques interest in existing versions of the story. This account also appeals to adolescent curiosity about sexuality, which is often suppressed or banned in Western contexts.[5] While framing Māui's death at the beginning of the story is important to establish plot (Keaka must now fill Māui's heroic shoes), alluding to a non-Hawaiian Māui narrative places the story within the context of the greater Pacific storytelling tradition. Widening readers' point of reference beyond a single cultural tradition is important because it locates them as part of the broader network of Oceania.

In addition to placing readers within the broader Oceanic tradition, Kuwada makes specific references to less familiar but engaging figures and places in Hawaiian moʻolelo to foster the development of Hawaii-specific cultural knowledge. For example, Keaka's quest to solve the drought (and then flooding) on Oʻahu revolves around Kūlanihākoʻi, whose ʻumeke in the sky holds the world's rain. Kuwada's engagement of this moʻolelo exposes readers to Hawaiian cultural understandings of the relationship between humans and nature. For the trader Keaka and Liko meet in the marketplace, "there's not much we can do" about Kūlanihākoʻi's choice to withhold water; in response, Keaka decides that "if Kūlanihākoʻi refuses to let any water flow out of his giant ʻumeke, I say we just make him" (4-5). Keaka's arrogance in trying to force Kūlanihākoʻi to release some of his water (by breaking a hole in the bottom of the ʻumeke) causes an even more dire problem: endless rain. It is not until Keaka humbles himself—literally by using his bottom to plug the hole—that he is able to find a solution to the problem.

Another less-known figure who plays an important role in the story is Kamanuwai, a giant duck who is tied to Kunawai Spring in existing moʻolelo. When Keaka remembers the story of Kamanuwai, he is convinced that the duck is the key to getting close enough to fix the hole in Kūlanihākoʻi's cracked ʻumeke. Liko disagrees, objecting, "'But that story happened hundreds of years ago! That means Kamanuwai would be hundreds of years old! And ducks don't live that long.'….Keaka was not swayed in the least. "If the story lives on, Kamanuwai must live on," he said resolutely" (6). This is a powerful example of ola nā moʻolelo within the story itself. As part of the continuum of moʻolelo for Keaka, it provides the knowledge he needs to solve his problem. As a more obscure figure for readers of "Of No Real Account," Kamanuwai's inclusion also functions as an invitation to learn more about him intertextually, as he is old and retired within the framework of Kuwada's story, and very little information is given about his youthful adventures.

Kamanuwai's story also illustrates the criticality of place within Hawaiian moʻolelo. Kuwada consistently grounds his story in real places, using the Hawaiian names for wahi pana, or storied places,[6] to guide readers through the physical landscape of the narrative. Keaka lives in Honoʻuliʻuli and travels to Kou, the equivalent of a big city. They then travel to Waolani to find Kamanuwai. In between, they stop at several other specifically named beaches, harbors, and springs. Unfortunately, all of these very real place-names may not register as familiar to most readers, because settler colonial discourses over the years have renamed these wahi pana.[7] Kuwada's narrative is valuable in reclaiming the erased histories of these places, and readers who look them up will find rich moʻolelo

connected with each one. However, one difficulty with the erasure of knowledge of these wahi pana is that they may appear to casual readers as simply made-up names that are part of the fantastical framework of the story. For those readers, the hope is that they will take cues from the language and story allusions and also research place; however, within an educational setting, Kuwada's activation of these lesser-known place names and figures can potentially play an important role in reclaiming culturally relevant stories and locations that have been largely erased by settler colonialist rhetoric.

While the power of these references is apparent, the key to youth engagement with these allusions lies in the form of the story: Kuwada isn't simply recreating a traditional moʻolelo, most often characterized by dense prose, unexplained behavior, and formal tone. Instead, Kuwada weaves in tropes and stylistics from contemporary fantasy and young adult literary traditions such as the magical quest and coming of age along with elements of slapstick humor, metacommentary, and informal language. This intertextuality of genre is critical in the appeal of this story for younger audiences, as Sarah Herz and Donald Gallo argue that young readers often aren't developmentally ready to engage overly "literary" writing right away—particularly if they are already reluctant or disengaged readers. Instead, they should be given high quality literature that engages them directly in order to help them "bridge" the gap into adult and classic literature (18-20). In structuring the story using intertextual forms familiar to young readers, the unfamiliarity of the allusions becomes less obstructive. To accomplish this, Kuwada argues for a multiplicity of forms, claiming that "the diversity and variation among our stories is the very thing that gives them their mana, or power. This means that in order to re-empower our moʻolelo, we have to insure that they exist in various versions, styles, and forms, both elite and mundane." ("Mana in the Mundane" 109). For Kuwada, these more "mundane," or "low-brow" forms, such as comics or short stories with modern idioms and humor, are the key to engaging young people with moʻolelo.

Exposure to language and stories in an accessible format invites young readers to read more formal versions of the moʻolelo. Kuwada's goal is to use these stories to "show these young Hawaiians that there are stories out there 'for them'. If they seek out these moʻolelo, they might possibly become interested in interacting with other Hawaiian forms, whether they be books, newspapers, songs, dances, etc., and perhaps moʻolelo like these…can even invite Hawaiian youth (and those of us who feel young at heart) to enjoy reading again" ("Mana in the Mundane" 116). In this way, "Of No Real Account" acts as a portal between familiar, contemporary tone and structure and more traditional storytelling language and forms. Conceptualizing this idea as a portal is more productive than Herz and Gallo's model of a bridge, because while a bridge begins and ends at a fixed point, a portal (specifically in the sense of the internet) "provides access to a number of sources of information and facilities, such as a directory of links to other web sites, search engines,…etc" ("portal").[8] Rather than starting and ending at predetermined points, as a bridge implies, a portal allows for movement and exploration in any direction and with varying levels of depth, allowing the user (reader) to engage with the material within and beyond the point of entry at her own pace.

Kuwada's activation of more modern storytelling forms engages younger readers. In the introduction to the story, Kuwada states,

> I read a lot of fantasy and science fiction to relax from all of the other reading that we do as grad students, and I thought it would be neat to have a story that fit into those genres a little more. I wanted a story that maybe seemed a little lighter and more accessible than some of the heavy duty translations that we work on, but was still well researched and hopefully on solid ground culturally. (iii)

In structuring "Of No Real Account" as a short story that also participates in conventions of young adult literature and fantasy, Kuwada is consciously attempting to reach readers who might find more "heavy duty" literary work daunting. At the same time, infusing this "more accessible" form with culturally responsible content creates a new intertextual form that appeals to broader audiences for both entertainment and educational value.

Two elements that are particularly prevalent within young adult literary tradition[9] are the theme of coming of age and its oft-accompanied trope of the magical quest. For Keaka, both of these elements present themselves: first, he must overcome his jealousy of Māui and desire to be admired by all as a hero, and in order to learn this lesson, he goes on a magical quest. At the end of it, we see his maturity: despite having successfully completed his quest, "Keaka knew no one would ever tell his story. Wadding up barkcloth to plug a hole the size of his fist wasn't a heroic way to solve a problem, and in the end it didn't even make that good of a story, but it was done. Keaka walked over to the next compound to help them with their sweet potato mounds, softly singing one of his favorite songs about Māui" (10). Keaka's newfound humility is a function of understanding that "'Well, that's not how Māui would have done it, but I think you saved the day'" (9-10). In other words, he is capable of being a hero, but he doesn't need to be recognized as one to be happy. Keaka starts his journey with a highly individualized desire for personal recognition, but it is important to note that his coming of age is realized when he finds peace in the communal act of helping others with their farming, an activity more culturally aligned with Hawaiian values. This example illustrates the intertextual relationship between modern storytelling conventions and cultural integrity.

While a full analysis of the different ways Kuwada engages form is impossible to complete here, an important aspect of the story that deserves mention is humor. Humor functions on several levels in "Of No Real Account," but I will touch briefly on two of them. The first is on the level of plot, where we see it manifest in slapstick humor. In the first scene of the story, "Hine Nui Te Po rolled over and snuggled back to sleep, with a great and resounding snapping shut of her thighs, ending humankind's quest for immortality, along with the life of its greatest hero" (1). Here, the irony of Māui's ignominious death during an intensely serious quest is made humorous by Hine Nui Te Po's "snuggly" unconcern. Similarly, Keaka's solution to the problem of endless rain at the climax of the story is not only silly, but embarrassing:

> He braced himself mentally and physically for the sudden acceleration that would signal the beginning of his fall through the large hole he had made in the ʻumeke. Keaka almost gasped out all of the air in his lungs in surprise when he came to an abrupt halt, a sharp pain on his rear end. He reached down to feel the source of the pain on his buttocks. It took him a moment to realize what had happened. His butt had plugged the hole (9).

These repeated physically silly and exaggerated events create a humor that is accessible and attractive for younger readers because it mirrors their own feelings of awkwardness during adolescence by making the characters and their situations more relatable.

Humor also operates at the level of language. Kuwada frequently employs sarcasm, such as when Keaka's mother turns out to be Māui's biggest admirer, so much so that the jealous Keaka moves out of the house; "as it turned out, however, since his mother loved him so much, she decided to add his house…to her gossip tour" about Māui (2). Much of the sarcasm comes from Liko, Keaka's best friend and sidekick. He constantly questions Keaka's actions and motives; for example, when Keaka decides to seek out Kamanuwai, "Liko and Keaka did not know how long it would take to find Kamanuwai—if he still lived, as Liko made sure to point out—so they packed their extra malo and enough food and water to last them a few days. They also packed offerings of food for the duck—which probably didn't exist, Liko pointed out again" (6). When they find Kamanuwai, Liko's dumbfounded reaction is similar to what might occur on a television sitcom: "'Duck! Duck exists! Duck exists!' Liko stammered" (7). This informal tone runs throughout the story, marking moments of more formal tone as worthy of criticism. When Keaka reaches Kou, Liko humorously calls attention to his unrealistic language:

> Keaka drew a great breath and replied, "Fear thee not, my doubting and inquisiturient compatriot. I shall ruminate henceforth on this present dilemma and return forthwith with a fitting stratagem to resolve the conundrum and—"
> "Why are you talking like that?" interrupted Liko loudly.…
> "Don't heroes talk like that?" Keaka asked somewhat sheepishly.

"Nobody talks like that. Can we just figure out a plan?" (4-5)

The humor in this instance is in the story's self-awareness of language. Vanessa Joosen theorizes this type of metacommentary in which a story responds to and enacts criticism about itself by creating not just a dialogue between texts, but also a dialogue between texts and criticism. As a result, criticism responds to ideas in tellings and retellings, while retellings often find inspiration in scholarship, "motivated by the wish to spread critical ideas to a wider audience" (3). In this case, Kuwada creates humor by mocking the elevated, overly-formal language of heroic epics. These examples are a tiny sampling of the various ways in which Kuwada weaves modern form and language with cultural stories and practices to create an accessible and entertaining story that invites young readers to engage with other moʻolelo.

In addition to promoting a look back at existing stories on the moʻolelo continuum, the intertextual connections in "Of No Real Account" may also encourage young readers to look forward on the continuum by contributing their own moʻolelo. Lawrence Sipe's research on children and fairy tales in the classroom[10] suggests that "as children's literary understanding is enriched by the web of meanings created by intertextual connections, their own writing may increase in complexity and cohesiveness" (349). Sipe found that looking at several versions of a tale simultaneously resulted in students "so in control of the schema of [the tale] that they are able to suggest creative plot alternatives" (347). In other words, the more connections between moʻolelo readers make, the more likely they are to contribute their own versions of moʻolelo to the continuum.

Kuwada's seamless intertextual blending of story, language, and form in "Of No Real Account" provides a living example of one way in which McDougall's ola nā moʻolelo can work to keep stories and storytelling alive. In addition to providing numerous intertextual links back to existing moʻolelo, Kuwada's tale also provides one example of what "new" moʻolelo on McDougall's continuum can look like. As a scholar of young adult literature, I see a great need for stories that engage youth culturally and educationally, particularly those within the Hawaii/Pacific region or those of Hawaiian descent outside the region (although of course it also has value for readers beyond these audiences). "Of No Real Account" and stories like it have the potential to increase engagement with and appreciation for the greater archive of moʻolelo within the rising generations, particularly because it fosters an active participation in experiencing and learning traditional stories, language, and culture. It is also exciting to consider mobilizing stories such as "Of No Real Account" as heuristics that promote self-directed research and learning in young scholars. Such engagement is crucial, especially when it both forwards traditional knowledge and inspires the creation of new knowledge, both of which are required in order to ensure that nā moʻolelo will live forever.

NOTES

1.   Drawing on Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert's Hawaiian Dictionary, kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui explains that "moʻolelo is a term which encompasses a wide variety of meanings, including oral and written sources of history and all forms of story, including folklore, myth, legends and history. It is derived from the term moʻo ʻōlelo ("succession of talk"), clearly demonstrating a close relationship between oral and written transmission of knowledge" (15).

2.   See Bacchilega, hoʻomanawanui, Do Rosario, and Zipes.

3.   Versions of Māui's exploits can be found in popular music, comics, art, and movies, making him a figure commonly encountered throughout the Pacific. Notable examples are Del Beazley and Mel Amina's song "Maui, Hawaiian Sup'pa Man," popularized by singer Israel Kamakawiwoʻole, and Robert Sullivan's graphic novel *Maui: Legends of the Outcast*. Māui is well-known enough that a Disney animated film featuring him is forthcoming in 2016 (*Oh My Disney*).

4.   Fractured fairy tales were made popular as a segment of the *Rocky and Bullwinkle Show*, which parodied

well-known folk and fairy tales. According to D. K. Peterson, a fractured fairy tale "not only spoofs individual tales but collectively skewers contemporary American culture, the entertainment industry, and fairy-tale conventions" (372).

5.   Eleanor Woods argues that teens are curious about sexuality during puberty, and should be exposed to reading materials that satisfy that curiosity. Finding it in books is important "because teens and adults find bodily changes awkward to discuss, [so] the subject is often avoided in the home; teens will devour any information they can get from library materials" (Woods par. 2).

6.   Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert define wahi pana as "place known/made famous through story, and/or the stories attached to it" (377).

7.   For more extensive discussion on the overwriting of place in Hawaiʻi, see Bacchilega.

8.   Kuwada also conceptualizes mundane forms of storytelling as "gateways of sorts that would simultaneously allow readers to seek out new moʻolelo or demand that they be made more accessible and in various forms." (117). This is a more useful conception than a bridge, but I suggest that the intertextual dynamism afforded by an internet web portal with its limitless links and multidirectionality might also be a valuable analogy.

9.   Because it is constantly changing, defining young adult literature has proven elusive; Karen Coats admits that "a persistent obstacle to the study of YA literature…is the lack of a clear demarcation of the field" (322). However, general themes, such as coming of age, are apparent within books designated as YA.

10.   While Sipes' research focused on younger children (in Kindergarten, first, and second grade), the same concepts extend to older children and teens.

WORKS CITED

Bacchilega, Cristina. *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Print.

Coats, Karen. "Young Adult Literature: Growing Up, In Theory." *Handbook of Research on Children's and Young Adult Literature,* eds. Shelby Wolf, Karen Coats, Patricia Enciso, and Christine Jenkins. London: Routledge, 2007: 315-329. Print.

Do Rozario, Rebecca-Anne C. "Australia's Fairy Tales Illustrated in Print: Instances of Indigeneity, Colonization, and Suburbanization." *Marvels & Tales*. 25.1 (2011): 13-32. *Project MUSE*. Web. 15 Dec. 2014.

Herz, Sarah K. and Donald R. Gallo. *From Hinton to Hamlet: Building Bridges Between Young Adult Literature and the Classics*. 2nd ed. Westport: Greenwood, 2005. Print.

hoʻomanawanui, kuʻualoha. "Moʻolelo as Social and Political Action: Responding to Jack Zipes (De-Disneyfying Disney) and Waziyatawin (From the Clay We Rise)." International Symposium *Folktales and Fairy Tales: Translation, Colonialism, and Cinema*. University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. Honolulu, HI. 23-26 Sept. 2008. Web. 8 Dec 2014.

Kuwada, Bryan Kamaoli. "Finding Mana in the Mundane: Telling Hawaiian Moʻolelo in Comics." *Anglistica.* 14.2 (2010): 107-117. Web. 12 Nov. 2014

--. "Of No Real Account." *Hawaiʻi Review*. Ka Leo O Hawaiʻi, May 2014. Web. 12 Sept. 2014

"Maui, Hawaiian Sup'pa Man - by Del Beazley & Mel Amina." *huapala.org*. n.d. Web. 15 Dec. 2014.

McDougall, Brandi Nālani. "Ola (i) Na Moolelo: Living Moolelo: Brandy McDougall at TEDxManoa." *YouTube*. YouTube, 25 Oct. 2012. Web. 7 Oct. 2014.

Peterson, D. K. "Fractured Fairy Tales (1959–1964)." *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales*. Ed. Donald Haase. Vol. 1. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008. 372-373. *Gale Virtual Reference Library*. Web. 13 Dec. 2014.

"portal, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2014. Web. 15 December 2014.

Pukui, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert. *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev and enl. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1986.

Sipe, Lawrence. "A Palimpsest of Stories: Young Children's Construction of Intertextual Links among Fairytale
        Variants." *Reading Research and Instruction*. 40.4 (2001): 333-352. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 8
        Dec 2014.

Sullivan, Robert. *Maui: Legends of the Outcast*. Auckland: Godwit Publishing, 2000. Print.

"Walt Disney Animation Studios Announces 2016 Film: Moana!" *Oh My Disney*. Disney.com. 15 Nov. 2014. Web.
        10 Dec. 2014.

Zipes, Jack. *Fairy Tale as Myth/Myth as Fairy Tale.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983. Print.

III. Linguistics

THE SYNTACTIC POSITION OF THE JAPANESE SFP *NE* AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE JAPANESE CLAUSAL STRUCTURE

Ryan Hughes, Department of East Asian Languages & Literatures

ABSTRACT

Japanese Sentence Final Particles (SFPs) have been analyzed for their pragmatic usages (Hideki, 2011; Katagiri, 2007). There has not been much syntactic analysis of them. This paper analyzes one SFP, *ne*, and argues its location in sentence structure within the Minimalist Program of syntax. Based on Ross (1970), this paper argues that *ne*, occupies a structural position that is above the Complimentizer Phrase. Following Ross (1970) I call this level the *Speech Act* level. Realized items of this level are rare, however, evidence suggests that in languages with SFPs, such as Japanese, there are realized elements in that level.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Japanese is a language rich with elements that can be used to mark various things, such as modality, mood, judgment, etc. One of these elements is the Sentence Final Particle (SFP). SFPs are particles that appear at the end of a sentence and convey various communication functions such as expressing assertion, question, confirmation, assent, inhibition and exclamation (e.g. Katagiri 2007). There are many different SFPs in the language that are used to express these different functions.

The specific particle that I will be analyzing in this study is *ne*. *Ne* is a particle that is generally attached to a sentence when the speaker is attempting to seek some sort of agreement or confirmation from the addressee. *Ne* has been described as "used to express the hearer's information, that is, use of '*ne*' indicates that the sentence expresses what the speaker believes that the hearer knows or believes." (Katagiri, 2007, p. 1315). Another definition of *ne* that has been offered is "it seeks the addressee's agreement and confirmation, and is viewed as the equivalent to English tag questions." (Hideki, 2011, p.3).

Much analysis has been given to these SFPs with regards to their pragmatic and sociolinguistic functions (e.g. Cook, 1992; Hideki, 2011; Katagiri, 2007; Maynard, 1993) but very little has been said about their position in the structure of Japanese sentences. It is the goal of this paper to investigate the sentence final particle *ne* and to posit where it is located in the syntactic structure of Japanese. The reason *ne* has been selected as the focus of this study is that it has been found to be the most frequently occurring of the SFPs in Japanese (Maynard 1993). This paper will only discuss *ne* but it is likely that other SFPs are also located at the same structural position. However, because of the very diverse usages and discourse functions attached to these particles, this paper does not claim that all of them behave or are located in the same place.

Recent studies into levels of syntactic structure that are believed to be above the CP serve as the underlying motivation for the analysis that will be given in this paper. Based on the distribution of *ne* and its co-occurrence with a set of elements to be discussed, this paper will argue that SFPs such as *ne* are located in a level of syntactic structure often referred to as the Speech Act level. This level was first introduced by John Ross (Ross 1970) but was seemingly abandoned. Recently other works such as Haegeman (2014), Speas and Tenny (2003) and Yim (2015) have revisited this idea and expanded upon it in order to account for elements seen in other languages, such as the discourse particle *yo* in Korean (Yim 2015). Following these works, I argue for the existence of the Speech Act domain in syntax and that it is within this domain that *ne* (and possibly other SFPs) is located within Japanese syntax. Important implications of this conclusion for our understanding of the structure of Japanese sentences are that this would introduce a new level that is not normally considered part of syntax.

The organization of this paper is as follows: In section 2 I will introduce data that show the placement of *ne* in simple Japanese sentences. Although *ne* can appear in a great many types of simple sentences in Japanese, there are certain environments in which the *ne* may not occur. In Section 3 I will introduce data that show the placement of *ne* in complex sentences in Japanese. What is particularly worthy of note with regard to complex sentences in Japanese is that *ne* does not seem to be embeddable in any environment. In Section 4 I

will discuss what conclusions can be derived from the placement of *ne* observed in the previous sections. Section 5 will introduce two alternative analyses of SFPs. One argues that SFPs occupy the CP domain of Japanese (Ueda, 2009). I will briefly introduce this proposal and provide arguments against it. I will then introduce the Speech Act theory (Ross, 1970), which has been adopted by Yim (2015) to analyze SFPs in Korean, and provide initial arguments for it as the correct analysis for *ne* (and possibly othr SFPs). In Section 6 I will provide addition arguments for the Speech Act analysis of the SFP *ne*. Section 7 discusses some implications of the proposed analysis of the SFPs and concludes the paper.

2.0. INTRODUCING JAPANESE SFPS

Sentence final particles (SFPs) usually appear at the end of a sentence, as their name implies. They are used to serve a discursive purpose(s) in the sentence. Importantly, SFPs do not alter the propositional content of sentences at all. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(1)   taroo-ga ki-ta
        T-NOM come-NPST.
        'Taroo came.'

(2)   taroo-ga   ki-ta   wa
        Taroo-NOM   come-PST   WA
        'Taro came.'

(3)   taroo-ga   ki-ta   zo
        Taroo-NOM   come-PST   ZO
        'Taro came.'

In these sentences the propositional content is identical, "Taroo came." What is different is what is indexed by the speaker between the two utterances using SFPs in examples 2 and 3. The SFP *wa* is used to index a feminine sound. (Petersson, 2009; Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012) The SFP *zo* is used to index masculinity. (Teshigawara & Kinsui, 2012)

Thus these elements are used to enrich the discourse by adding indexical implications without altering the propositional content of the utterances at all. There are many of them in the language that can be used for many different reasons and multiple SFPs can co-occur in a sentence. *Ne* is the specific SFP that will be analyzed in this paper as it is one of the most frequently used in Japanese (Maynard, 1993). Although other SFPs will not be analyzed as thoroughly, it is likely that they exist in the same location in the syntactic structure of Japanese.

3.0. *NE* IN SIMPLE SENTENCES

Japanese is a head-final SOV language. As such SFPs usually follow the tense of the final verb in sentences. *Ne* can follow almost all verbal conjugation endings.

(4)   a.   taroo-wayoku   benkyoo   su-ru   ne
                Taroo-TOP   well   study   do-NPST   NE
                'Taro studies a lot.'

        b.   taroo-ga   moo   ni   jikan   benkyoo   shi-ta ne
                Taroo-NOM   already two   hours   study   do-PST NE
                'Taro already studied two hours.'

        c.   taroo-ga   benkyoo   shi-te   i-ru   ne
                Taroo-NOM   study   do-GER   aux-NPST   NE
                'Taro is studying.'

As seen in examples 4 a and b, *ne* can follow both the past and non-past tense markers as well as the tense marker after the auxiliary verb *i-ru,* which is part of aspectual construction that denotes imperfect aspect

(Narrog, 2010). *Ne,* as well as other SFPs, never follows directly after the verb but attaches to the tense morpheme or some other morpheme that may follow after that.

In addition, examples 5 through 7 below show that *ne* can also follow hortative verbal morphemes as well as verbal copulas in the language. Example 5b shows *ne* following the copula *des* whereas example 5c shows *ne* following the alternate less formal verbal copula *da*.

(5) a. ik-oo   ne
         go-HOR   NE
         'Let's go.'

     b. soo   des-u   ne
         right COP-NPST   NE
         'That's correct.'

     c. soo   da   ne
         right COP.NPST   NE
         'That's correct.'

Ne can also follow other sentence final elements in Japanese sentences aside form verbs and verbal copulas. For example, the conjunctions *kedo* and *kara* can both appear at the end of a sentence, and when they do *ne* must follow them.

(6) a. kyoo   nomikai   ni   ik-u.   ashita   tesuto
         da   kedo   ne.
         today   drinking.party to   go-NPST   tomorrow   test
         COP.NPST   but   NE
         'I am going to the drinking party tonight. Even though there is a test tomorrow.'

     b. *kyoo nomikai   ni   ik-u.   ashita   tesuto da
         ne   kedo.
         today drinking party   to   go-NPST   tomorrow   test   COP.NPST
         NE   but
         ('I am going to the drinking party tonight. Even though there is a test tomorrow.')

(7) a. gaishutsu-wa   yame-te   ok-oo.   ame-ga   fut-te
         i-ru   kara   ne.
         go-out-TOP   stop-GER   aux-HOR   rain-NOM   fall-GE
         kara   ne.
         aux-NPAST   because NE
         'I will give up on going out today because it is raining.'

     b. *gaishutsu-wa   yame-te   ok-oo.   ame-ga   fut-te
         i-ru   ne   kara
         go-out-TOP   stop-GER   aux-HOR   rain-NOM   fall-GER
         aux-NPAST   because
         ('I will give up on going out today because it is raining.')

As seen in examples 6a and 7a it is possible to follow the tense marking of a verb of a sentence with a conjunction such as *kara* or *kedo*. When these conjunctions are present, *ne* may still occur, but it will occur after the conjunction and cannot be directly following the verb as can be seen in examples 6b and 7b. Thus, the *ne* seems to occupy the most outside position and always is attached to the last element of a sentence.

Ne can also follow a verb that is in its gerund form.

(8)   mi-te   ne
         look-GER   NE
         "Watch (this)."

This form, when addressing a second person, is used to create a request. *Ne* may follow this sort of construction. It is worth noting here that this formation behaves differently from imperative forms. For example, the verb in this example does not create a request that requires immediate action, such as an imperative might, but rather requests the addressee to do something at a later time.

The case is similar with adjectives and adjectival nouns.

(9)   kore-wa   muzukashi-i   ne
         this-TOP   difficult-NPST   NE
         'This is difficult.
(10)   koko-wa   shizuka   da   ne
         here-TOP   quiet   COP.NPST   NE
         'It's quiet here.

Example 9 shows the SFP *ne* with an adjective. The SFP attaches to the final tense morpheme of the adjective, in this case *i*. Just like the case with verbal elements, SFPs never attach directly to the adjectives but always follow their tense morphemes. Example 10 shows *ne* following a sentence with an adjectival noun. In this case the SFP attaches to the copula of the sentence, which is again the final element of the sentence.

These examples that we have examined so far show that *ne* is able to follow almost any final element in the Japanese language in simple sentences. However, there are environments where *ne* cannot appear. *Ne* cannot appear attached to a verb in imperative form.

(11)   a.   yasai-o   tabe-ro
                 vegetables-ACC   eat-IMP
                 'Eat your vegetables!'

         b.   *yasai-o   tabe-ro   ne.
                 vegetables-ACC   eat-IMP NE
                 ('*Eat your vegetables.')

(12)   a.   ik-e
                 go-IMP
                 'Go!'

         b.   *ik-e   ne
                 go-IMP   NE
                 'Go!'

Examples 11 and 12 show that *ne* cannot attach to a verb when it is in imperative form. However, this seems to only be a problem with the SFP *ne* and not with other SFPs. The problem is likely because the meaning of *ne*, seeking agreement, is incompatible when paired with the forceful sound of an imperative form. Imperatives are used to convey order and demands of the addressee and not to seek shared information from them. This with *ne* creates a pragmatic contradiction. Other SFPs, such as *yo*, may follow imperatives.

(13)   ne-ro   yo
         sleep-IMP   YO
         'Go to sleep!'

Example 13 shows that some SFPs may follow imperatives, such as *yo*. So it is not that SFPs may not occur with imperatives, but some constraint on *ne* specifically that prevents its occurrence with imperative verb forms.

However, as mentioned earlier, it is worth pointing out that *ne* may follow the gerund form verbs that create requests as well as the more polite versions of these requests that utilize *kudasai* (please). Below the example from 8 is restated as 8a, along with a new similar example, now labeled 8b.

(8) a. mi-te   ne
         look-GER   NE
         'Watch (this).'

     b. tabe-te   kudasai   ne
         eat-GET   please   NE
         'Please eat this.'

The content of these requests is similar to the orders given in imperative forms, however the requests forms seen in 8a and 8b show a weaker force to addressee than the imperatives forms, requesting as opposed to demanding/commanding. This will be discussed further in section 6.

4.0. *NE* IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

As mentioned, *ne* is seen at the end of a sentence attached to a verb, copula, or adjective. One might expect to see it in the same position in embedded sentences. However this is not the case. Sentences with *ne* cannot be embedded except for cases of direct quotation of speech. I will now show evidence of this in examples using:

(14) i. CP complements of verbs such as iw- (say)
      ii. relative clauses
      iii. conjoined sentences

In Japanese, there are several items, such as *to*, which are generally regarded as complementizers, that are attached to sentences when they are embedded within a complex sentence. However, these items cannot follow *ne* or other SFPs (15c) nor can they precede them (15d).

(15) a. taoo-ga   it-ta   ne.
          Taro-NOM   go-PST   NE
          'Taro went.'

      b. taroo-ga it-ta   to   omot-ta.
          Taro-NOM   go-PST   COMP   think-PST
          'I thought Taro went.'

      c. *taroo-ga   it-ta   ne   to   omot-ta.
          Taro-NOM   go-PST   NE   COMP   think-PST
          ('*I thought Taro went.')

      d. *taroo-ga   it-ta   to   ne   omot-ta
          Taro-NOM   go-PST   COMP   NE   think-PST
          ('*I thought Taro went.')

In fact, examples 15a though 15d show that *ne* cannot precede or follow *to*. A similar grammaticality contrast occurs in instances of relative clauses. As can be seen in (16b) below, inside relative clauses there is no item similar to *to* that is used as a complementizer.

(16) a. senshuu   ano   honya-de   hon-o   kat-ta   ne
          last.week   that bookstore-at   book-ACC   buy-PS NE
          '(We) bought a book at that bookstore last week.'

    b.   taroo-ga   senshuu   kat-ta   hon-o   yon-da   ne

	taroo-ga	senshuu	kat-ta	hon-o	yon-da	ne
b.	Taro-NOM	last.week	buy-PST	book-ACC	read-PST	NE

'Taro read the book he bought (we) bought last week.'

	*taroo-ga	senshuu	kat-ta	ne	hon-o	yon-da.
c.	Taro-NOM	last.week	buy-PST	NE	book-ACC	read-PST

('Taro read the book (we) bought last week.')

Examples 16a through 16c show that *ne* can attach to *katta* (bought) when it is the matrix verb in sentence 16a, but not when it becomes part of a relative clause as seen in 16c. When the final *ne* is removed from the verb *katta* (bought) as in 16b, the resulting sentence is grammatical. However, when the *ne* remains in place as in 16c then the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. *Ne* could still be attached to the sentence seen in 16b if it is added to the final verb to the sentence, *yonda* (read). This shows that it is the embedded position that creates the ungrammaticality.

Another position that disallows *ne* is at the end of a sentence that is conjoined to another sentence.

(17)	a.	senshuu	ano	honya-de	hon-o	kat-ta	ne
		yesterday	that	bookstore-at	book-ACC	buy-PST	NE

'(We) bought a book at that bookstore last week.'

	b.	senshuu	hon-o	kat-ta	kedo	yoma-na-katta
		last.week	book-ACC	buy-PST	CONJ	read-NEG-PST

'I bought a book last week, but I didn't read it.'

	c.	*senshuu	hon-o	kat-ta	ne	kedo	yoma-na-katta
		last.week	book-ACC	buy-PST	NE	CONJ	read-NEG-PST

('*I bought a book last week, but I didn't read it.')

	d.	*senshuu	hon-o	kat-ta	kedo	ne	yoma-na-katta
		senshuu	book-ACC	buy-PST	CONJ	NE	read-NEG-PST

('I bought a book last week, but I didn't read it.')

Example 17a shows that when the first clause of the sentences in 17b though 17d is not joined to another sentence *ne* may follow it. However, when the sentence is connected to another clause, if the *ne* is kept as in 17c or 17d, the result is an ungrammatical sentence. It is possible for the *ne* to appear after the final verb *yomanakattai* (didn't read) and still make a grammatical sentence. Thus the presence of *ne* itself is not what causes the grammaticality problem, but rather the act of embedding it in another sentence causes the ungrammaticality.

In sum, *ne* can follow almost all sentence final position elements. The only exception to this is *ne* cannot follow imperative morphemes *-e* and *-ro* (examples 11b and 12b) *,* which is only a constraint on *ne* specifically and not SFPs in general as mentioned. However, when one sentence becomes embedded in another because of a relative clause or as a complement with a CP, *ne* cannot appear in the subordinate clause. Similarly, when two sentences are joined together with a conjuction, *ne* cannot appear attached to any non-final verb. This is interesting because as seen in example 6a, *ne* can connect to a conjunction such as *kedo* when it is located as the last element of a sentence, but *ne* cannot follow *kedo* when it appears in a non-final position. Thus we can see that *ne* can never be embedded nor appear in any non-final positions. The ungrammaticality seen in the above examples is as a result of *ne* appearing in non-final positions and not a result of the elements to which *ne* is attached.

5.0. TWO HYPOTHESES FOR THE POSITION OF *NE*

The previous section illustrates that *ne* can follow almost any sentence final element of a sentence. However, the use of SFPs leads to ungrammaticality in embedded contexts, whether they involve a CP complement of a verb or relative clauses. Additionally *ne* cannot appear following a verb of a non-final clause in a conjoined sentence. Thus *ne* always follows the tense of the final verb of the final clause of a sentence or
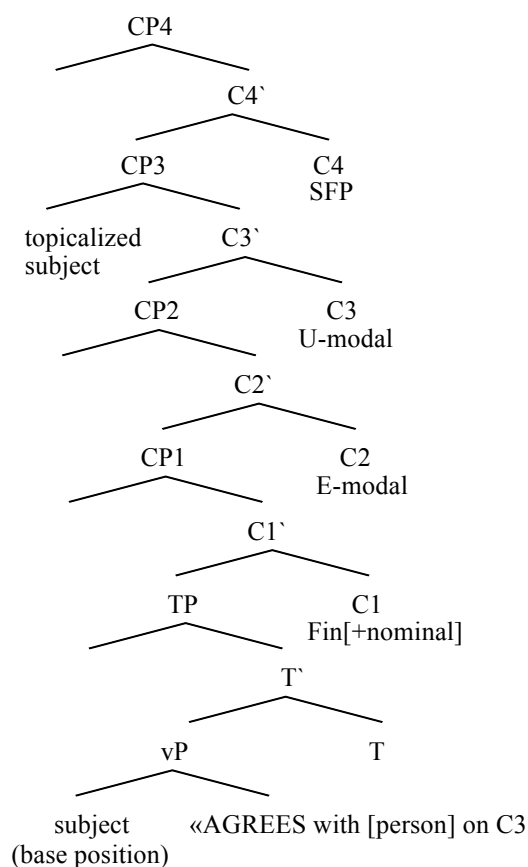
some other element that also follows the tense of the final clause verb (*kedo* in example 6). This suggests that *ne* and other SFPs must exist in the level of structure higher than the TP.

There are two alternative approached to SFPs that have been proposed in the literature: the CP analysis (Ueda 2009) and the Speech Act Phrase analysis (Yim 2015). In what follows, I will review these two alternative approaches and provide initial empirical and theoretical motivations for adopting the Speech Act Phrase analysis for the analysis of *ne*.

5.1. The Multi-Layered CP Approach

One analysis regarding the position of SFPs that has been offered thus far is by Ueda (2009). Following the work of Rizzi (1997), Ueda argues that Japanese has a complex multi-layered CP. The study claims that Japanese has four levels in its CP and, importantly, Ueda suggests that SFPs belong to the highest of these levels, referred to as C4. A chart of this can be seen below (Ueda 2009).

 (18)

```
                        CP4
                      /     \
                            C4`
                          /     \
                    CP3            C4
                  /     \          SFP
          topicalized    C3`
          subject       /    \
                    CP2           C3
                  /     \         U-modal
                      C2`
                    /     \
               CP1           C2
             /     \         E-modal
                  C1`
                /     \
            TP            C1
          /     \        Fin[+nominal]
               T`
             /     \
         vP            T
       /     \
   subject    «AGREES with [person] on C3
 (base position)
```

Under the Ueda (2009) analysis, C1 is the layer where "typical" CP items are found, such as *to*, which was discussed earlier, and the question particle *ka*. There are arguments that some of these elements could be nominals, specifically the particle *ka* (Fukui 1995) and thus it was labeled with the ±nominal. The second C, C2, is where so-called "E-modals" (epistemic modals) are argued to be. These are certain modal elements in Japanese, such as *syoo* as in the verbal copula *desyoo,* which is labeled as a 'presumption' marker. C3 is where "U-modals" (utterance modals) are posited to be. These are modal elements similar to the modals in C2, but the key difference being that these modals were not embeddable. Examples of these modals are given as volitional verbal morphemes such as (*y)oo* in a form such as *tabeyoo* (let's eat/I will eat).

In the Ueda (2009) system, C4 is said to be the domain of the SFPs. The SFPs are only argued to be at this highest position mainly because of their tendency to follow after the other two modal elements in C3 and C4, and the fact that they, like the modal elements of C3, are not embeddable. It should be mentioned that the

focus of Ueda (2009)'s argument was not on the SFPs in particular, but rather on the CP structure of Japanese. As such there is not a very detailed argument for why the SFPs are argued to be where they are.

Ueda (2009)'s CP4 analysis of SFPs is problematic for the following reasons. Rizzi (1997) is supposed to be the foundation from which this analysis is based, however the elements that Ueda (2009) proposes constitute the multi-layered CP are very different from those that were proposed by Rizzi (1997).

In this respect, Ueda's (2009) proposal sharply contrasts with the work of Saito (2012) which also analyzed the CP structure of Japanese. Saito (2012) is also based off the research of Rizzi (1997), but he concludes very different things from Ueda. Interestingly, Saito also proposes that Japanese has a complex CP composed of four different levels; however the four levels are defined very differently from Ueda. Saito argues that the four levels of CP in Japanese are "finite," "topic," "force," and "report." Saito (2012)'s proposal seems much more consistent with what a CP is generally believed to be.

Each of these items does not correspond to a verbal morpheme as in Ueda (2009)'s approach, but correspond to different particles that are often analyzed as complementizers Suzuki (2000). For example the particle used for the "force" C is said to be *ka*, and the particle for the "report" C is said to be *to*. If CPs are multi-layered among different languages, the null hypothesis seems to be that these layers have comparable functions among different languages, just as TPs are expected to have comparable functions in different languages.

Additionally, Saito (2012)'s proposal of the CP system for Japanese is recursive as the complex CP system proposed by Rizzi (1997) is as well. The system proposed by Ueda (2009) is not, as the higher two Cs, C3 and C4, are not embeddable and therefore not recursive. Thus, the analysis by Saito (2012) of the CP system in Japanese seems much more consistent with traditional interpretations of CP systems.

However, the analysis of the CP system offered by Saito (2012) does not make any mention of SFPs being a part of it. So we are still left with the question as to where the SFPs can fit into the syntactic system of Japanese.

It could be possible that the system proposed by Saito is compatible with the system proposed by Ueda. This would imply that the 4-level system of Cs from Saito would all occur at the C1 level in Ueda's interpretation, and the C2, C3, and C4 of the Ueda (2009) system would still exist above the Saito (2012) system. However, this would leave us with a very large and complex CP system in Japanese that would actually encompass seven different levels of C. The idea of having such a large CP system itself should be troubling, but things become even more complicated when the fact that then we would have a CP system that seems to have two very different functional purposes. The lower four levels, based off Saito (2012), would be CPs that are used to create embeddable recursive compliments. The upper three levels, the C2, C3, and C4 from the Ueda (2009) analysis would be composed of elements of verbal morphology and SFPs which are used to impose a type of discursive function onto the sentence. Thus we would have a very large CP system that seems to be trying to accomplish two very different things in two very different ways. If we have two very different functions being accomplished by two very different types of linguistic items, then it is probably better to conclude that they are in fact two different items entirely and not all belonging to the same domain. Thus, I do not believe that such an unwieldy system should be accepted.

5.2. The Speech Act Theory

There is another theory that offers a possible location for SFPs that does not claim they are in the CP. Recently, work has been done by some linguists, e.g. Haegeman (2014) and Speas and Tenny (2003), Yim (2015), that claim that there is another potential level in syntactic structure above the CP. This analysis is based on the work of Ross (1970) who argued that there was a level of syntax higher than the CP that was called the "Speech Act" level in syntax.

This level of syntax is used to contain certain elements of syntax that are unstated in the utterance itself, elements related to the speech act itself, but that are generally understood or implied between the speakers participating in the discourse.

The example that Ross (1970) offered to explain this was given with the sentence "Prices slumped." Traditional syntactic analysis of this sort of sentence was very simple and looked something like Figure 19.

(19)

```
              S
            /   \
          NP     VP
          |      |
        Prices   V
                 |
               Slumped
```
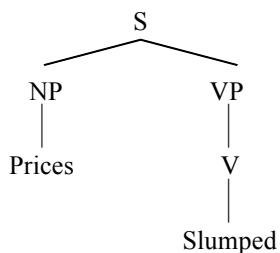
Figure 19: Ross' Simple Structure (Ross, 1970, p. 224).

However, Ross argued that there was another level to the syntactic structure of such a sentence which carried more information about the type of utterance that was being produced. He claimed that the true syntactic structure of this type of simple declarative sentence was actually the following: +
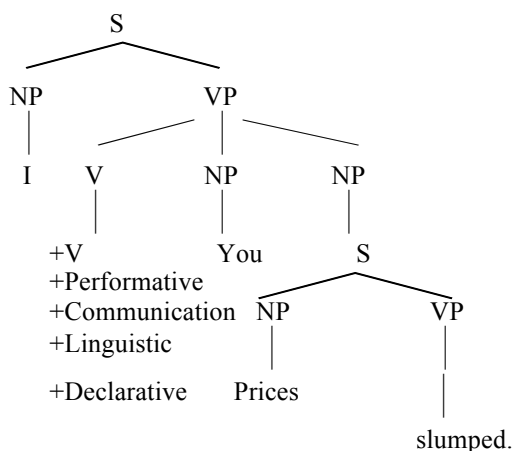
(20)

```
                    S
                  /   \
                NP     VP
                |    / | \
                I   V  NP  NP
                    |   |   |
                   +V  You  S
              +Performative   / \
              +Communication NP   VP
              +Linguistic    |    |
              +Declarative Prices slumped.
```

Figure 20: Ross' Speech Act Structure (Ross, 1970, p. 224).

Essentially, the declarative sentence that was realized as "Prices slumped" was actually a smaller embedded sentence within a larger structure, but no elements of the matrix structure were realized with any phonetic elements. This argument came about as an attempt to explain the idea of sentences being used to perform "speech acts." Austin (1962) had argued that some sentences were performing actions. However, Austin (1962) proposed that only certain types of verbs were capable of doing this. Sentences such as "I christen this ship The U.S.S. Credibility Gap," were argued to be inherently different from sentences such as "Prices slumped," in that the first sentence was said to be performing an action. Austin (1962) argued that this was because verbs like *christened* where inherently different from verbs such as *slumped* in that they were performative verbs, performing a speech act. However, Austin (1962) claimed that other verbs, such as *slumped* did not perform a speech act. He called verbs that did not perform speech act, like *slumped,* constative verbs, as opposed to performative verbs.

Ross (1970) argued that all declarative sentences were performing a speech act, not just one class of verbs, but that the perfomative verb was not always explicitly realized in the surface structure of the sentence. Thus he developed the structure shown above in 20, and claimed that, "... declarative sentences ... must also be analyzed as being implicit performatives, and must be derived from deep structures containing an explicitly represented performative main verb." (Ross, 1970, p. 223).

Following this, in the structure in 20 above, 'Prices slumped' begins as an embedded sentence within a larger sentence. The matrix verb in 20 is blank, but it could be understood as something similar to "I tell you prices slumped," creating the main clause "I tell you" with the subordinate clause of "prices slumped."

However, when the sentence is finally realized phonetically, nothing except the embedded clause ends up being pronounced. The matrix clause verb is a blank verb with a +Performative feature, the "explicitly represented performative main verb." The blank matrix verb also has three other features, +Communication, +Linguistics, and +Declarative which are used to describe the type of speech act the sentence is performing. These features are all co-existing together as features of the blank performative verb.

In English, there seems to be no element which is ever phonetically realized that exists in the Speech Act domain. It is possible that this lack of phonetic realized elements is what led to this proposal being considered entirely theoretical and not explored very much further until recent studies. However, recent work by Yim (2015) has proposed that certain elements in Korean may actually be evidence of phonetic realization of items in this Speech Act level.

Yim (2015) analyzed the behavior of the particle *yo* in Korean and noticed that it exhibits the following set of behavior:

(21)   a. sentences with *yo* are unembeddable
         b. *yo* is attached to the final element of a sentence, and
         c. *yo* could follow elements it normally could not be attached to in abbreviated sentences (such as when the final verb was dropped from the sentence)

The above list of behavior makes it seem as if the particle was not contained in the CP of Korean. Yim (2015) then concluded that *yo* was positioned in a level above the CP, which he believes to be the Speech Act level following the work of Ross (1970). Yim based his analysis on an updated structural interpretation of Speech Act theory that was based off the work of Haegeman (2014) and Speas and Tenny (2003). The structure that he argued for is displayed below.
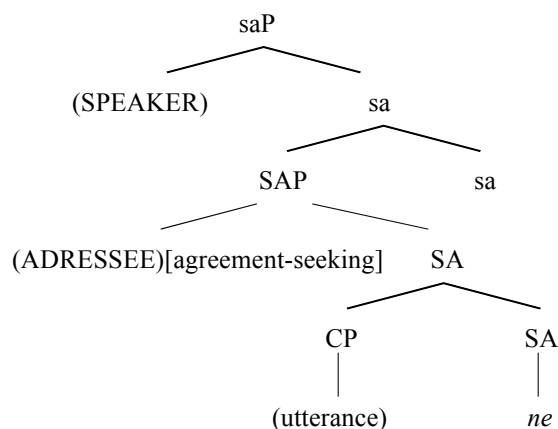
(22)
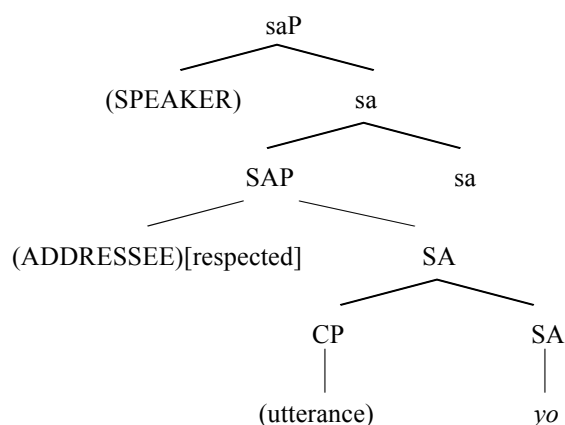
In this structure, the speech act domain is no longer conceptualized as being a sentence with the utterance as its subordinate clause, such as in the Ross (1970) model, but is now a structural layer with its own unique heads that makes up the highest layer of a sentence.

The SA and sa in this structure stands for "Speech Act." In this structure, the SAP level is related to the addressee, for example features of the speech act related to the addressee appear in the specifier of SA position. Similarly, the saP is related to the speaker and features of the speech act related to the speaker appear as the specifier to the sa head above the SAP formed beneath. Normally, there would be no phonetically realized elements in this domain. However, Yim proposed that the particle *yo* would be located under the SA head, making it a phonetically realized element within the speech act domain. He stated the CP of the utterance would be taken as its complement.

In Korean, the SFP *yo* is only used in sentences where respect is being shown to the addressee. Thus, there is a [respected] feature that appears as the specifier for the SA head. So in this case, respect towards the addressee is part of the speech act of this sentence. Depending on the content of the utterance there may be other speech act features as well, and there could also be a speech act relevant to the speaker which would appear under the sa head. For example is the speaker was making a request to a person that he was also showing respect to, we would see both a [respect] and a [request] feature in this position. However, in Yim's example nothing is occurring there.

I propose that a model similar to that of Yim (2015) can also be used to explain the position of *ne* in Japanese. I believe the structure would appear as follows, with *ne* located under the SA head and an [agreement-seeking] feature as the specifier of the SA head in place of the [respected] feature that Yim (2015) proposed.

(23)

```
                        saP
                       /    \
               (SPEAKER)     sa
                            /   \
                         SAP     sa
                        /    \
    (ADRESSEE)[agreement-seeking]   SA
                                   /   \
                                 CP     SA
                                 |      |
                            (utterance)  ne
```

As mentioned earlier, the SAP level is where we find features related to the speech act with regards to the addressee. As *ne* is used to encode an agreement-seeking speech act towards the addressee this is the level that we find it located, under the SA head, and we find the agreement-seeking feature in its specifier position. Under this theory, other SFPs in Japanese would also appear in this level of syntax. For example, the previously mentioned *yo*, which will be described in more detail further on, would likely also be under the SA position as it encodes a speech act feature towards the addressee as well.

It is also possible that some particle could be located in a different position, such as under the sa head if they encoded a speech act that was related to the speaker and not the addressee. However, this will not be explored further within the current analysis of *ne*.

In what follows, I present supporting arguments for the Speech Act analysis of the SFP *ne*.

6.0. EMPIRICAL ARGUMENTS FOR THE SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF THE SFP *NE*

From the data given above, what needs to be accounted for in any explanation of *ne* is the inability for *ne* (and other SFPs) to occur in an embedded context as well as *ne*'s incompatibility with imperative sentences. In what follows, I argue that, while the multi-layered CP explanation given by Ueda (2009) might be able to explain the unembeddability, it does not explain the incompatibility with imperative sentences. I will then argue for the Speech Act theory analysis of *ne* by demonstrating how it can account for both of these problems.

6.1. Unembeddability Of *Ne*

The Ueda (2009) analysis does not actually address the unembeddabiliy of SFPs directly at all. It does however give evidence that items from its C3 level of CP, referred to as "utterance modals" are unembeddable. As the SFPs are proposed to be located above the C3 level in that analysis, in the level of the C4, it can be reasonably assumed that they are also supposed to be unembeddable, as elements lower than them, the utterance modals of C3, cannot be embedded. However no data or explanation for this is explicitly given in Ueda (2009).

The Speech Act domain itself has been argued to not be embeddable since it was first theorized by Ross (1970). In his own words he says, "Every declarative sentence has one and only one performative sentence as its highest clause" (Ross, 1970, p.252). The performative sentence that he mentions is the Speech Act domain of syntax as it was known when he originally created the theory. The unembeddability of the Speech Act domain is a core element of what the domain is theorized to be. Each utterance has a unique speech act that it performs and thus can only have one Speech Act level which cannot be embedded into any lower clause. Thus, the unembeddability of an element of this domain is completely consistent with how it has always been theorized to behave.
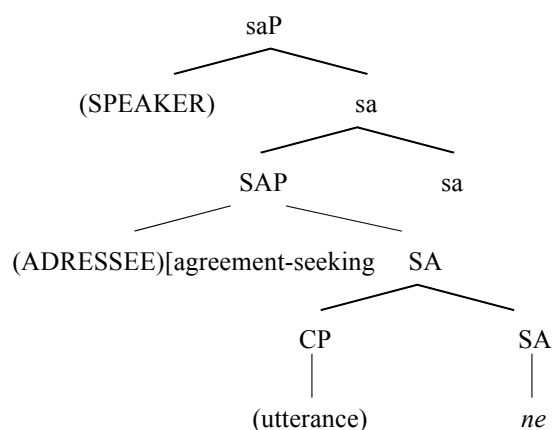
6.2. The Ban On Imperatives

On the second issue, the incompatibility of *ne* with imperative verbs, it has been shown that SFPs in general are not incompatible with imperative forms, as *yo* is possible, so the issue is only with the specific SFP *ne*.

The Ueda (2009) analysis does not mention this incompatibility. In its current form, there is no evidence that it has a way to account for this incompatibility. The current framework of the Ueda (2009) simply says that SFPs are located in the C4 position above the C3. There is no mention that there are environments in which certain SFPs cannot follow certain other elements of the sentence, such as *ne*'s inability to follow imperatives. Thus, the Ueda (2009) analysis seems to be insufficient in its ability to explain the problem with *ne* and imperatives.

However, the Speech Act theory can account for this problem. In the Speech Act framework, I argue that the SFP *ne* is located under the SA head, similar to *yo* in the Yim (2015) model for Korean. It takes the CP of the utterance as its complement. I argue that there is are selectional restrictions on what types of CP can be taken as the complement to SFPs.

(24)

```
                              saP
                          ╱        ╲
               (SPEAKER)            sa
                                ╱        ╲
                             SAP           sa
                         ╱        ╲
   (ADRESSEE)[agreement-seeking    SA
                                ╱      ╲
                             CP          SA
                             │           │
                        (utterance)      ne
```

Under this theory, each SFP would encode the sentence with some speech act that it performs. In the case of *ne*, this would be an agreement-seeking feature. I argue that the CP that the SFP takes as its complement within the Speech Act domain must be compatible with the type of speech act that is encoded by the SFP. The forceful propositional content of an imperative is incompatible with the agreement-seeking Speech Act encoded by the *ne*. Thus, the resulting sentence is unacceptable.

However, as illustrated in examples 8a and 8b in section 3, *ne* is compatible with request forms. These forms, though similar, are different than the imperative forms (demands/commands vs. requests) and are thereby not incompatible with *ne*.

Other SFPs encode different types of speech acts and thus can be compatible with imperatives. For example, as discussed earlier, the SFP *yo* is compatible with imperatives.

(25)   ne-ro   yo
           sleep-IMP   YO
           'Go to sleep!'

Yo is an SFP that is described as: "*yo* is used to express the speaker's information, that is, use of *yo* indicates that the sentence expresses what the speaker knows or believes. " (Katagiri, 2007, p.1315). Thus, *yo* does not encode an agreement-seeking action onto the sentence. Instead, it encodes something that could be called an "assertion" speech act onto the sentence. This type of speech act is not incompatible with the propositional content of an imperative utterance, and thus results in an acceptable sentence.

7.0. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the evidence presented above, I have argued that the Speech Act analysis accounts for the distribution of *ne* in Japanese better than the multi-level CP analysis proposed by Ueda (2009). Although this analysis leads us to acknowledge a different layer to syntax that is not accepted by many in the field, the alternative theory is unable to explain the incompatibility of *ne* with imperative sentences whereas the Speech Act theory is able to explain this.

If we do accept the existence of SFPs in the Speech Act level of syntax, then it is also possible that other elements of the language may also be located in that domain. I make no claims as to this in this paper as that research has yet to be done, but it may be that some of the items that Ueda (2009) concluded were in the very complex CP of her analysis may also be located within the Speech Act domain.

8.0. FUTURE RESEARCH

Finally, there are some interesting empirical observations concerning SFPs that are outside the scope of this paper. While this paper has focused on analyzing *ne* and arguing that it as well as possibly other SFPs are located in the Speech Act domain of syntactic structure. These SPFs can actually appear in sentence medial positions.

(26)   kore-wa   ne   kinoo   kat-ta.
           this-TOP   NE   yesterday   buy-PST
           'This, I bought it yesterday.'

In fact, *ne* can even appear multiple times at sentence-medial position within a single sentence.

(27)   kore-wa   ne   kinoo   ne   kat-ta
           this-TOP   NE   yesterday   NE   buy-PST
           'This, yesterday, I bought it.'

These were not discussed in this paper as it is currently not clear if these particles and SFPs are actually the same items even though they are often realized in phonetically similar forms. For example, there exists a sentence medial *ne* as well as the sentence final position *ne*, as seen above in example 16. However, the function of this *ne* seems to be different than that of the *ne* that appears in sentence final position. As mentioned in Section 1, sentence final *ne* is used to seek confirmation or agreement with the listeners. Sentence medial *ne* on the other hand seems to be used to create a sort of focus on the element that it is attached to. The medial particles still attach to the end of a word or phrase, but unlike the SFPs they seem to be within a larger sentence.

Further research into these particles is also necessary as they are another element of Japanese syntax that has only been scarcely analyzed.

WORKS CITED

Austin, J. L. (1975). How to do things with words (Vol. 367). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cook, H. M. (1992). Meanings of non-referential indexes: A case study of the Japanese sentence-final particle ne. *Text-Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, 12(4), 507-540.

Fukui, N. (1995). *Theory of projection in syntax*. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.

Haegeman, L. (2014). West flemish verb-based discourse markers and the articulation of the speech act layer. *Studia Linguistica*, 68(1), 116-139.

Han, C. H. (2001). Force, negation and imperatives. *The Linguistic Review*, 18, 289-325.

Han, C. H., & Lee, C. (2007). On negative imperatives in Korean. *Linguistic inquiry*, 38(2), 373-395.

Hideki, S. (2011). *The Japanese sentence-final particles in talk-in-interaction*. Amsterdam. John Benjamins Publishing.

Katagiri, Y. (2007). Dialogue functions of Japanese sentence-final particles 'Yo'and 'Ne'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(7), 1313-1323.

Maynard, S. K. (1993). *Discourse modality: Subjectivity, emotion and voice in the Japanese language* (Vol. 24). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Narrog, H. (2010). The order of meaningful elements in the Japanese verbal complex. *Morphology*, *20*(1), 205-237.

Petersson, A. (2009). The Final Particle wa in Japanese: Stereotypes vs. reality. (Bachelor Thesis) Lund University.

Pizziconi, B., & Kizu, M. (2009). *Japanese modality: exploring its scope and interpretation*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.

Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar,* 281-337. Springer Netherlands.

Ross, J. R. (1970). *On declarative sentences. Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, 222-272.

Saito, M. (2012). Sentence types and the Japanese right periphery. *Discourse and grammar: from sentence types to lexical categories* Berlin. Walter de Gruyter. 147-175.

Speas, P., & Tenny, C. (2003). Configurational properties of point of view roles. *Asymmetry in grammar*, *1*, 315-345.

Suzuki, Satoko. (2000). Japanese complementizers: Interactions between basic characteristics and contextual factors. *Journal of pragmatics*, 32(11), 1585-1621.

Teshigawara, M., & Kinsui, S. (2012). Modern Japanese "role language"(Yakuwarigo): Fictionalised orality in Japanese literature and popular culture. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 5(1), 37-58.

Ueda, Y. (2008). Person restriction and syntactic structure of Japanese modals. *Scientific approaches to language*, *7*, 123-150.

Ueda, Y. (2009). The right periphery in the Japanese CP. *Scientific Approaches to Language*, *8*, 95-118.

Yim, C. (2015). The unembeddable discourse particle -yo in Korean and syntax-pragmatics mapping. (Unpublished).

THE FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN MANDARIN TUTORING SESSIONS

Ding Wang, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on results of a study of the functions of language alternation in Mandarin tutoring sessions. Findings show that tutor and tutee alternate language in order to engage in or disengage from current communicating frame, real talk, and tutoring talk. Language alternation also functions as a fallback method when the tutee fails to express himself in Chinese. Further discussion on whether the language alternation phenomenon is translanguaging will be provided towards the end of this paper. This paper adds to our understanding of the functions of language alternation in Chinese tutoring sessions.

1.0. TUTORING SESSIONS AND CHINESE TUTORING SESSIONS

In this study, the functions of language alternation in one Mandarin tutoring session will be the subject of analysis. The classic sequence used in classroom teaching is IRF (initiation, response, feedback) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) and IRE (initiation, response, and evaluation) (Mehan, 1979). Tutoring sessions additionally use collaboration to improve the quality of responses and feedback to evaluate understanding of the response (Graesser, Person, & Magliano, 1995). These two additional steps make the tutoring sessions more individualized and efficient. Because of individualization and efficiency, many language institutions provide tutoring sessions to enhance their students' target language ability. Seo (2008) found that tutoring session talks have characteristics that are associated with institutional talk and ordinary conversation. She further describes tutoring sessions to be an informal form of institutional talk that is arranged to achieve institutional goals or a multi-topic free-flow talk between two people.

Different institutions have different goals for Mandarin tutoring sessions. In general, Mandarin tutoring sessions take place when a Mandarin learner and an expert set up an environment in order to have a conversation that aims to improve the Mandarin learner's Mandarin skills. According to Seo's (2008) study, ESL tutoring sessions have the traits of both ordinary conversation and institutional talk. Tutors and tutees interact without lesson plans but at the same time deal with the tutees' linguistic errors. The traits of ESL tutoring sessions also apply to Mandarin tutoring sessions. Although Mandarin tutoring sessions are within the realm of teaching, the settings are not as formalized as in classroom teaching. Students and teachers are not restricted to a particular language lesson frame like they are in the classroom. Tutoring sessions are category bound events (Sacks, 1992). This means that one party's presence in tutoring sessions is recognized as a learner/novice speaker of the target language (TL). The other party's presence is as a tutor/expert speaker of the TL (Kasper, 2004). Although it is not necessary for the tutor to be a native speaker of the TL and the novice to be a nonnative speaker of the TL, for my research the tutors are native speakers and the tutees are nonnative speakers. In this project, I would like to analyze the function of the language alternation of the tutor and the tutee in a Mandarin individual tutoring session. The two reasons that I focus on language alternation in Mandarin tutoring session are: first, although studies have been done regarding tutoring sessions, few studies are done on Chinese tutoring sessions. Studies on tutoring sessions are mainly done in ESL tutoring sessions. Seo (2010) discovered that when initiating a repair, gestures function similarly to verbal 'open class' repair initiators, such as 'huh' in ESL tutoring sessions. Belhiah (2009) found that embodied movements could be a sign of tutor and tutee engaging in or disengaging from tutoring. Tutors and tutees also communicate current frames of dominant orientation using gestures, and the gestures, in general, remain unchanged until they move out from the current frame of orientation. Second, language alternation in classroom settings has been researched comprehensively. Cheng (2013) suggests that in the Chinese language class she studied, the teacher

59

change to the students' L1 in order to achieve a range of communicative and pedagogical ends. When the student's orientation diverged from the teacher's pedagogical focus, the teacher used CS as an instructional practice to engage the student, adjust her orientations, and make relevant the institutional character of the classroom. When a mutual orientation was present in interaction, the teacher transferred to English to clue repair and evaluate learner performance. During this process she stepped out from her role in the interaction with the students and went back to her institutional role as a language teacher. Teacher and student's language alternation is a constitutive interactional practice and the teacher and student accomplish foreign language teaching and learning through it. Sampson (2012) compared code-switching and English only in EFL classes at a Colombian language school. This study was undertaken to decide whether the official "English-only" policy in place in this and other classrooms was pedagogically justified. Results suggest that code-switching may not necessarily be connected to ability level and serves multiple communicative and learning purposes. This indicates not only that total proscription of L1 is ill-advised, but that the mother tongue can be usefully exploited for learning, for example when performing contrastive analysis. Arnfast and Jorgensen (2003) investigated the use of code switching in first-year learners of Danish. They found that code switching appears as a skill used in early attempts of playing with the languages involved in the conversation. First-year Danish learners use code-switching as a communication, learning, and social negotiation strategy. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2005) discovered that code-switching is a fallback method when the students' L2 failed them. Teachers and students also contextualize the interactional meaning of their utterance through code-switching. The only study I have found that relates to both language alternation and tutoring session is Kasper's (2004) study on German conversation for learning activities. Kasper found that tutees would request target language from the expert using their L1, English. I am writing this paper with the hope that I can take an initial step to fill this gap by studying the function of language alternation in Chinese tutoring sessions.

2.0. DATA SETTING AND DATA TRANSCRIPTION

I have set my research site in a North American university. Mandarin classes in this university are separated into elementary, intermediate, and advanced level Mandarin. Each student is assigned to have one tutoring session every other week. Each session has one tutor and one student. One tutoring session lasts for twenty minutes. The goal of the tutoring sessions in this institution is to guide students to conduct a conversation with the teacher, ideally all in TL. Students can choose the topics they want to talk about or ask for teachers' help on a certain aspect of Mandarin, such as pronunciation or grammar. In order to maximize the efficiency of tutoring sessions, students are required to prepare a topic or decide which aspect they need help with prior to coming to tutoring sessions.

The data in this paper is taken from one recording of elementary level Chinese individual tutoring sessions. I have followed Jefferson's (1994) transcription style and a three-line transcription (original Romanized transcription, literal translation, and meaning translation). If a turn was too long to fit in one line and required splitting, then the Romanized sound translation and the literal translation were placed after each line and the final translation offered after the last line of the turn. Supplementary to the recording, I also asked the tutors for a copy of the target grammar points that they focused on in the respective week of class in which the recordings were made.

One of the findings of this study echoes what Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005) found on language alternation functions as a fallback method when students fail to express themselves with their L2. The other finding is that language alternation changes the frame that the speakers were engaged in at that moment. Discussion about frames and tutoring sessions are presented in the following section.

3.0. FRAMES AND TUTORING SESSIONS

Hymes (1974; as cited in Tannen, 1993) claimed that 'frames' are 'means of speaking.' A hearer must know which frame he/she is in in order to interpret the utterances. Tannen and Wallat (1987; as cited in Tannen, 1993) suggested that since each frame entails a different ways of behaving, there is a potential conflict between each frame. For example, in a dentist office interaction study, the examination sequence was interrupted when the dentist stopped and answered a patient's questions. In the case of language tutoring sessions, actually in all language classes, the participants' roles as teacher and student can be evoked at any moment (Seo, 2008). In other words, all the target language that comes from the teacher's/tutor's mouths and goes into the student's/tutee's ears can potentially be model speech, which the student/tutee can use even if the teacher's/tutor's intention is not always teaching. Therefore, all interactions in tutoring sessions can be potentially considered as teaching and learning activities. However, just as tutors do not consider all content to be teaching, tutees similarly do not consider every interaction as learning. Therefore, being in a tutoring session does not imply that the participants only stay in the teaching-learning frame. Frame change is then detectable in tutoring sessions. The problem is how shall we name the frames. Due to the fact that tutoring sessions have the traits of institutional talk and conversation, naming the two main frames as 'institutional talk' and 'ordinary conversation' is inappropriate and unclear. 'Real talk' and 'tutoring talk' will be used for the names of the two main frames in my project. 'Real talk' refers to talk that does not prioritize language practice and does not deal with linguistic errors. 'Tutoring talk' refers to talk that aims at language practice and deals with linguistic errors.

4.0. DATA ANALYSIS

Example 1: This is the beginning of the tutoring session. T invited S to come in.

```
01    T:    °Hao° (.4) lai(.4) qingzuo.
            alright  come   please sit
            Alright, come in, please take a seat.
02    S:    Hao(0.4). ((unclear speech))
            OK
            OK, ((unclear speech))
03          Uh(.5) Can I say (.4) ni(.6)ni  zenme(.3)[zenmeyang?
                                   you  you how          how
            Uh, can I say 'how, how are you'?
04    T:    [zenmeyang?
               how
               how
05    S:    Ni  zenmeyang?
            you how
            How are you?
06    T:    Wo henhao, ((door slam))(.9)ni  zenmeyang?
            I  very good              you how
            I'm very good, how are you?
07    S:    Uh(.4)Wo ye  henhao
            I  also very good
            Uh. I'm very good too.
```

In this example, T invited S to come in to his office and sit down. S would like to greet T. However, S was not sure how to greet in Chinese. Therefore S changed to his L1, English, and asked whether he could use 'Ni zenmeyang (how are you)' in this situation. Similar to the findings in Kasper's (2004) study, S was requesting target language from the expert (T) with his L1. T of course understood the student's question. However, T did not respond to this question directly with 'yes, that's right' or 'no, you should say...'. He only confirmed that it was the correct way of greeting by repeating the correct form, 'Ni zenmeyang (how are you),'

in line 4. S's question was uptaken, but his language choice was not aligned to by T. Here we can see how T and S were engaged in a real talk frame (lines 1 and 2) and then changed to tutoring talk (line 3 and 4). After this S started a new greeting sequence in Chinese and changed the frame of the conversation back to real talk.

Example 2: Prior to this example, S and T were talking about S's friends. After learning that S's friends have visited the campus and that they liked it, T asked why S's friends liked the university. This question was not included in this example because it was given many turns prior to this example.

```
01    S:     Tamen zai
                  they  at
02    T:     Mm
03    S:     Uh(.4)Meiguo
                     America
             Translation for line 1 and 3: They in America...
04    T:     gongzuo?
                   work
             work?
05    S:     °Um°Uhn:: xue¹ [(hhh)]
                            study
                            study
06    T:     [eng::], °hao °°zai ° (.)xuexi
                        good  at        study
             Eng:: Good, at, study.
07    S:     xuexi
             study
             study
08    T:     Eng, ((door slam)) you say "xuexi", ok?
09    S:     xuexi
             study
             study
10    T:     If there is no(.) object you have to °shu(.) you° you
11           have to say "xuexi".
12    S:     xuexi
             study
             study
```

In this example, S made a mistake in line 5. 'Xuexi' and 'xue' both mean 'to study' in Chinese. However, in this situation 'xuexi' must be used instead of 'xue' (please see Note 1 for further explanation). T corrected the student implicitly in line 5 by just giving the correct form, 'xuexi.' After that S repeated the correct form in line 7. However, since S did not give any acknowledgement markers (Jefferson, 1984), it was difficult for T to decide whether the student repeated because he was self-correcting or whether he was just parroting what the teacher fed to him. In order to make sure that S understood the difference between the two forms of 'to study,' T made it more explicit. He achieved this by switching to the student's L1 and pointing out that S should use 'xuexi' (line 6). After this he also explained the grammar rule for using 'xuexi' in S's L1, English (line 10). From this example we can see how L framed the conversation as tutoring talk by giving the correct form followed by a detailed explanation in English (lines 6, 8, and 10). A similar example came out later in the video (Example 3). However the tutee was the one who initiated the frame shift in this example.

Example 3: After the tutee answered T's question, 'what are your friends doing in America,' T asked S to repeat his answer one more time because T was not satisfied with S's fluency. S repeated his answer in this example.

```
01          S:      Tamen zai(.)Meiguo(.4)[xuexi
                    they   at   America    study
                    They study in America
02          T:      [°x::uexi°
                     study
                     study
03          S:      Tamen(.)buzai(.)meiguo(.4)gongzuo
                    they    not at America    work
                    They do not work in America.
04          T:      Mm:: hao(.)na(.)ta°>mende<° yingwen haobuhao
                         good  then their       English good not good
                    Mm, good, then is their English good?
05          S:      Wait(.)why can't I say
06          T:      Mm
07          S:      Tamen(.4)buzai²°>instead of<° mei°za-°(.)
                    they     not at             hasn't at
08                  °not°(.)you say
09          T:      Mm
10          S:      buzai(.)instead [of      not at
11          T:       [yeah
12          S:      mei(.)°zai°
                    hasn't at
```
Translation for line 5,7,8, 9,11:
S: Wait, why can't I say 'they are not' instead of 'they haven't. You say 'they are not' instead of 'they haven't.
```
13          T:      Uh: hao(.)meizai(.3)past event
                    OK   hasn't at
14          S:      Ok
15          T:      past experience
16          S:      OK OK
17          T:      but >we are talking about< current status
```
Translation for line 13, 15, 17:
T: Uh, OK, 'hasn't at' is used in past event and past experience. But we are talking about current status.
```
18          S:      OK
```

Prior to this example, T had asked S what his friends were doing in America. S had also answered that his friends were studying in America. Unsatisfied with S's fluency when answering the question, T asked S to repeat his answer one more time. After repeating his answer, T encouraged S to talk more about his friends by asking whether his friends' English was good. However, S had a question about the two negation forms, 'bu' and 'mei.' Therefore, in line 5, we can see that S did not give the second pair part of T's question. Instead, S interrupted the sequence and changed to English to explicitly seek the answer to his question (why he has to use 'buzai' instead of 'meizai' in this situation). T also aligned with S's language choice by answering the question in English to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the problematic form. From this example, we can again see how S reframed the conversation from real-talk to tutoring-talk using his L1.

Example 4: T guided S to say the sentence: 'although they are from the UK, however[3] their American English is very good.' The first part of this sentence is not included in this example because S and T also worked on pronunciation mistakes in those turns. Those turns are not relevant to the focus of this paper and therefore were not included.

```
01          T:     ke::[shi
                   however
            however
02          S:     [keshi(.7)tamen::(.5)de(.4)                  yingwen
                    however   they       procession marker English
            However, their English
03          T:     Mei[guo::(.)yingwen]
                   American    English
            American English
04          S:     [Meiguo::(.)yingwen]
                   American   English
05                 henhao(('henhao' is mispronounced))
                   very good
            Translation for line 4, 5: American English is very good.
06          T:     Henhao=
                   very good
            Very good
07          S:     =henhao (('henhao' is pronounced correctly))
                    very good
             Very good
08          T:     °dui°=
                   correct
            Correct
09          S:     =I need to learn that(.3)henhao
                                            very good
                                         Very good
10          T:     Dui[::
                   correct
            Correct
11          S:     [°<I just have to>° = ((S pointing to his head))
12          T:     =henhao
                    very good
             Very good
13          S:      henhao
                    very good
             Very good
14          T:      Mm::
```

In this example, T was collaboratively finishing a sentence with S. The content and the grammar forms of the sentence were not problematic. However, S experienced pronunciation difficulty at this moment. S had pronounced 'henhao (very good)' incorrectly in line 5. T immediately corrected him in line 6. S fixed the problem in line 7. This was not the first, but at least the fifth time in this session that he had made this mistake. Frustrated, S told T that he needed to learn the pronunciation of 'henhao' (line 9). He also implied that he should remember it by pointing to his head when saying 'I just have to' (line 11). Here we can see S was no longer engaging in language practice but a casual chat with T, communicating with L about his feelings in his L1.

Example 5: Prior to this example, S told T that he likes New York City. T asked why S likes New York City. S answered the question in this example.

```
01        S:      You(.6)haochi(.)de                       cai
                  have   tasty    modifier marker dish
                  Have tasty food.
02        T:      Shenme?(.7)Niuyue    niupai?
                  what         New York steak
                  What? New York steak?
03        S:      ((exhale laugh)) °Niuyue° oh(.)uhn(.3)Niuyue   niupai
                                    New York             New York steak
                  New York, New York steak.
04        T:      Mm::
05        S:      He uhm(.6)French cai and French dish
                  and               dish
                  And French dish
06        T:      Mm hao
                     OK
                     OK
07        S:      France de  °de° cai
                         modifier marker modifier marker dish
                  French dish
08        T:      Hao(.)Fa::guo cai
                  OK    French   dish
                  OK French dish
09        S:      Fa::guo cai
                  French  dish
                  French dish
10        T:      uh, ok you °>do know how to<° say that(.)OK?
```

In this example, T and S talked about why S likes New York City. S told T that New York has tasty food, such as New York steak and French dishes. However, S forgot the Chinese word for 'French.' When his L2 failed him, unlike in Example 1, S did not interrupt the on-going sequence and request the target language form from T. Instead, he chose to sacrifice the consistency of the language choice and used the English word 'French' and finished his sentence (lines 5 and 7). T gave him the word for France/French in Chinese (line 8). T also reminded S that he knows how to say French in Chinese (line 10), changing the frame from tutoring talk to real talk. What is worth noticing is that by telling S that he knows how to say that word in Chinese, T showed disapproval of S's language choice. T indirectly reminded S that the maximum use of Chinese was encouraged in tutoring sessions and he should not have used English in this situation. It seems that S was not aware of the language preference because he switched freely between the two languages to express himself in lines 5 and 7. But is this the real case? S's repair in line 7 proved that S actually understood that the maximum usage of TL was preferred in tutoring sessions. S said French dish in line 5. Then he replaced 'French' with 'France de (modifier marker)' in line 7, which literally means 'French'. S was aware that the maximum usage of TL was strongly encouraged in the program. He made the repair in line 7 to indicate that the only Chinese word he forgot was the country's name, but he still remembered that he could add a modifier marker to a country's name to make it a modifier. He was showing the teacher that he was trying his best to use as much Chinese as possible.

5.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From the analysis above, we can see similar findings on the functions of language alternation in Chinese tutoring session as in other studies. Example 1 is an example of the tutee requesting target language form from the tutor (Kasper, 2004) using L1. Example 2 and 3 are examples of tutor-initiated and tutee-initiated explanation of complex content (García & Wei, 2014). In Excerpt 4, S temporarily paused the practice and communicated with T about his current thought process in L1, along with embodied gestures. The last example, Excerpt 5, is an example of the tutee's L2 failing him and the chang to L1 as a fallback method to express a

complete meaningful sentence. However, T did not approve of S's language choice and reminded S that he knew how to say the word in Chinese, implying that he should use Chinese more. In general, English was used when there was confusion about the target form, when student's deficiency in L2 hindered his ability to express himself, and when the teacher attempted to orient the student back to the main goal of the tutoring sessions. All of these actions move the frame of the tutoring session either from tutoring talk to real talk or from real talk to tutoring talk.

Now, since term choice is a heated topic,I would like to spend more words on term choice, about why I chose not to use the term *translanguage*, and whether the language alternation phenomena that exist in the studied tutoring session can be even considered as translanguaging. Early scholars have defined bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism as terms that refer to a plurality of autonomous language(as cited in García & Wei, 2014). They believe that different languages are stored in different part of the brain and thus are represented by different neural networks in bilingual, multilingual, and plurilingual brains. Bilinguals, multilinguals, and plurilinguals access these different neural networks when using different languages. The language they use 'add-up' to whole autonomous languages. Therefore, the going back and forth between or among languages is considered as the user's deficiency in language ability. However, Cumming (1979; as cited in García & Wei, 2014) raised a hypothesis that two languages are not stored in different parts of the brain, and each language's proficiency does not behave independently of the other. Neurolinguistic studies of bilinguals have confirmed this hypothesis with the result that when one language is being used, the other language remains active and can be easily accessed (García & Wei, 2014). The meaning of the term translanguaging has been expanded from 'a pedagogical practice of alternate languages for the purpose of receptive or productive use' to the complex language practices of plurilingual individuals and communities as well as the pedagogical approaches that use those complex practices(as cited in García & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging differs from code-switching in that translanguage does not simply refer to the shift between the surface representation of languages but between multiple discursive practices that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire. Translanguaging makes the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories and cultures visible. It places the speaker at the center of the interaction (García & Wei, 2014).

To answer whether the language alternation phenomena that exist in the studied tutoring session can be considered as translanguaging, we need to find out whether T and S were conducting a conversation in two languages without restrictions. Unfortunately, the data in this study suggests a negative answer to the question. The nature of language learning has restricted tutoring sessions as activities that prefer TL to L1. In this specific session that I studied, the preference for using the target language lowered the participant's interest in using languages other than the target language. The inequality of languages in language classes/tutoring sessions restricts participants' language choice, thus disabled the participants freedom of shifting between, or among languages. Participants that translanguage in interactions have to be able to conduct a conversation freely with languages that are comprehensible to both parties. In other words, one important aspect of translanguaging is that the sequence of an interaction should not be interrupted because of language alternation. However, we can see that from Excerpt 1 to Excerpt 4, whenever there is a language alternation, the sequence of the interaction is interrupted. The only time that S conducted a turn using translanguage (Excerpt 5, line 5) was later repaired by him to a form that contained a higher percentage of TL. S's language alternation, deemed unnecessary by T, was also discouraged by T. Although the tutor in my data discouraged the tutee's language change in Excerpt 5, he did not criticize or discourage the student for changing languages in other situations. The tutee also did not show hesitation when using English to express himself or to ask questions. This suggests that although the program encourages the maximum use of target language, tutor and tutee have a certain freedom to use the tutee's L1 to communicate. In the exampless we can also see how language alternation enhances understanding of the target language form in a short time, increasing the efficiency of the tutoring session. Therefore, it is worth our time to reconsider the usefulness of target language only policies in programs that strictly implement such policies.

This paper adds to our understanding of the functions of language alternation in Chinese tutoring sessions. Further research can be done on testing the generalizability of the result of the current study.

NOTES

1. There are two ways of saying 'to study' in Chinese. One is 'xue,' as S produced in line 4. The other is 'xuexi,' as T said in line 5. When there is no object following the verb 'to study,' one should use 'xuexi' instead of 'xue' unless the object of the verb 'to study' is clear to the listener. In the situation in Excerpt 2, S did not give enough information about the object of the verb 'to study.' Therefore, he should use 'xuexi' or 'xue' something, such as 'xue Yingwen' (study/learn English).
2. 'Bu' and 'mei' are both negation markers in Chinese. However, 'bu' is used to negate general situations. 'Mei' is used to negate past events and past situations.
3. Unlike in English, it is grammatically wrong in Chinese to use 'although' without 'however.'

APPENDIX

Transcription symbols:

[	overlapping talk starts
]	overlapping talk ends
(.)	micro pause less than 2/10 of a second
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
((word))	researcher note
˚word˚	quieter than the surrounding talk
<u>word</u>	words that are emphasized
=	contiguous utterances, no gap between two turns
::	prolongation of the preceding sound
-	cut off
<word>	speech delivery that is slower than the surrounding talk
>word<	speech delivery that is quicker than the surrounding talk

WORKS CITED

Arnfast, J. S., & Jorgensen, J. N. (2003). Code-switching as a communication, learning, and social negotiation strategy in first-year learners of Danish. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 13*(1), 23-53.

Belhiah, H. (2009). Tutoring as an embodied activity: How speech, gaze and body orientation are coordinated to conduct ESL tutorial business. *Journal of pragmatics, 41,* 829-841.

Cheng, T. P. (2013). Codeswitching and participant orientations in a Chinese as a foreign language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, *97*(4), 869-886.

García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Graesser, A. C., Person, N. K., & Magliano, J. P. (1995). Collaborative dialogue patterns in naturalistic one-to-one tutoring. *Applied Cognitive Psychology, 9*, 495–522.

Jefferson, G. (1984) Notes on a systematic deployment of the acknowledgement tokens "yeah"; and "mm hm". *Paper in Linguistics, 17,* 197-216.

Kasper, G. (2004). Participant orientations in conversation-for-learning. *Modern Language Journal*, *88*(4), 551-567.

Liebscher, G., & Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2005). Learner code-switching in the content-based foreign language classroom. *Modern Language Journal*, *89*(2), 234-247.

Mehan, H. (1979). 'What time is it, Denise?': Asking known information questions in classroom discourse. *Theory into Practice, 28*(4), 285-294.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Sampson, A. (2012). Learner code-switching versus English only. *ELT Journal, 66*(3), 293-303.

Seo, M. S. (2008). *A conversation-analytic study of repair practices in one-on-one ESL tutoring*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois at Urban Champaign, Champaign, IL.

Seo, M. S. (2010). A conversation analytic study of gestures that engender repair in ESL conversational tutoring. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *42*, 2219-2239.

Sinclair, J., & Coulthard, M. (1975). Towards an analysis of discourse. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, D. (1993). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp.14-56). New York: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, D., & Wallat, C. (1993). Interactive frames and knowledge schemas in interaction: Examples from a medical examination/interview. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp.14-56). New York: Oxford University Press.

IV. Literature

AN ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTIVITY AND THE COLOR LINE IN NELLA LARSEN'S *PASSING*

Janet J. Graham, Department of English

ABSTRACT

Epidermally ambiguous subjects uniquely interpellated by the color line and their experiences with "passing" call racial designations into question. In Nella Larsen's *Passing*, alterations in Clare Kendry's racial subjectivity and the affect such changes produce reflect the legal, ideological, performative and normative realities of race and gender in the United States under Jim Crow. An analysis employing U.S. legal definitions of race and the theoretical work of Louis Althusser, Judith Butler, Michel Foucault and Patricia Hill Collins clarifies Larsen's awareness of the intersubjectivity of race and the complexities of African American women's subjectivity regarding racial, gendered, and class-based positionality.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of passing for white in America emerged during slavery and a literary use of passing came from this history, but passing as a trope has been productive as a way of suggesting a dichotomy between appearance and reality at play in Nella Larsen's 1929 novella entitled *Passing*. However, an emphasis on this reading predominates in criticism of her work to the point of viewing passing as a kind of masquerade. This is unsatisfactory as it fails to consider shifts in subjectivity apropos to race. After rejecting the logic of deception, it is tempting to interpret passing in the novella as a way of completely deconstructing race, but a considered reading of it must incorporate the ways in which the one-drop rule legally and normatively defined race in the United States. After considering these issues of interpretation, I will argue that an examination of the lived experiences of Clare and Irene in the novella *Passing* communicates the tension between the legal framework of Jim Crow and self-determination for epidermally ambiguous female subjects amplified by contrastively employing Althusser on interpellation and inter-subjectivity, Foucault on normativity, Hill Collins' matrix of oppression, and Butler on performativity. This analysis reveals the complexity of Larsen's exploration of intersubjective performativity within normative and interpretive parameters of race, gender and class in *Passing*.

2.0. THE HISTORY OF PASSING AND THE COLOR LINE

The color line upheld racial slavery in the United States and it remained intact as the practical foundation of post-emancipatory power relationships of racial hierarchy. According to F. James Davis, the United States is a hypodescent society, "meaning that racially mixed persons are assigned the status of the subordinate group," and the law reinforced this subordination. One of these laws is known as the one-drop rule, a legal and normative precedent. The implication of the one-drop rule is "that one single drop of black blood transforms a person into a black person" (Wehnert 7). Put another way, in America "a black is any person with any known African black ancestry" (F. J. Davis). The legal formation of the one-drop rule was defined in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), which was also the legal precedent for the Racial Integrity Act of 1924. "Homer A. Plessy argued that he was seven-eighths white and one-eight black and thus, for all legal purposes, should be accorded all the rights and privileges of a white citizen" (T. Davis vii). The decision of the Supreme Court denying his claim, "maintained the legitimacy of 'separate but equal' public facilities and institutions for non-white citizens" (T. Davis vii), using the same legal logic as the one-drop rule that defined race in a way that would preserve the racial integrity of whiteness from the epoch of American slavery. The legal code reinforced by social norms and tradition created a situation in which passing for white became potentially attractive to epidermally ambiguous subjects to avoid being "assigned the status of the subordinate group and thus, experience disadvantages and hindrances" (Wehnert 7), of Jim Crow and its legacy of racial slavery. Desegregation in education was dismantled when *Brown vs. The Board of Education* (1954) struck down "separate but equal." while *Loving vs.*

Virginia (1967) redefined interracial marriage bans as unconstitutional. These changes in constitutional law made passing less advantageous, though neither dismantled the color line nor the basic American hypodescent concept of race. For this reason, *Passing* remains relevant for further investigation into the subjectivity and experience of biracial women specifically and African Americans generally based on what Fanon referred to as "a racial epidermal schema" (112).

Among the first written references to passing for white were in runaway slave wanted posters. Looking white would have been a distinct advantage for slaves trying to escape. The following example reveals the absurdity of slaveholder logic in equating slavery with black subjectivity:

> Captain Maryyat cites a Virginia advertisement of 1838, offering a $50
> reward for the recovery of the runaway George and describing this man in
> his twenties in the following way: '*Said boy* is in a manner *white,* would be
> passed by and taken for a white man. His *hair* is long and straight, like that of
> a white person.' (Sollors 255)

The man referred to in this advertisement could be considered white, but because he is a slave, the advertisement depicts his white appearance as a sort of illusion. The young man is a slave, so in the eyes of the law, he must be black. By the early 19th century, blackness had been connected to slavery (Haney López 165). Also, as slavery was passed down matrilineally, the master most likely knew the young man's mother to be a slave and therefore, to be black.

Sollors explicates the typologies and scenarios of passing (250-1), but does not mention the possibility that passing may involve an altered subjectivity as in the case of Shirley Taylor Haizlip's family who crossed the color line in 1916 and, according to Shirley Taylor Haizlip, 'were black people who had become white" (T. Davis xxv). If people previously considered black become white, their crossing of the color line shows a point at which race cannot be detected visually or epidermally. In the logic of the one-drop rule lies the means to resist it, but only by becoming white.

3.0. SUBJECTIVITY AND NORMATIVITY OF THE COLOR LINE

The success of people who crossed the color line is the point at which race cannot be differentiated, but that success does not eliminate the reality of the color line. Though Irene passes for white when it is convenient and Clare permanently crosses the color line, thereby resisting racial discrimination, race still defines them legally and subjectively. In other words, they are interpellated by the American ideology of race. According to Althusser, "ideology hails or interpellates individuals as subjects" (49), and as epidermally ambiguous African American subjects, Irene and Clare are particularly hailed by the color line because the possibility of transgressing it activates the necessity of the ideology of the one-drop rule. According to Althusser, there are two primary meanings of subjectivity, free and subjected. With a free subjectivity, a subject is "a centre of initiatives, author of and responsible for its actions" (Althusser 56). In the other sense, a subject is "a subjected being, who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission" (56). Both kinds of subjectivity can be identified in Larsen's depiction of Irene and Clare in that they are subject to the law of the color line absolutely while at the same time they express a certain degree of agency by crossing the line, Irene occasionally and Clare more permanently. Nevertheless, race in the law remains central to their self-definition because the one-drop rule and the ideology of race force the choice of one racial identity.

In contrast to Althusser, Foucault finds ideology "difficult to make use of" and takes issue with the notion that ideology is something opposed to the truth because it implies in this distinction that there is some independent truth ("Truth and Power" 60), a position he opposes. In response to Althusser, a raced subject does

not have to accept the ideology of racism to be subject to it through the law. For Foucault, the concept of racism is an example of biopower: "It is a matter of taking control of life and the biological process of man-as-species and of ensuring that they are not disciplined but regularized" (*Society Must be Defended* 247). In this way, power is exerted at the biological level primarily through normativity. Racism is an instrument of biopower, and, as Foucault explains, "Racism is bound up with the workings of a State that is obliged to use . . . the purification of the race, to exercise its sovereign power" (*Society Must be Defended* 258). The function of the one-drop rule is to define race and racial purity legally and through social norms. To illustrate this process in *Passing*, Irene implicitly accepts the logic of one-drop based on her belief that Clare is black because she has some black ancestry when Irene thinks, "No, Clare Kendry cared nothing for the race. She only belonged to it" (Larsen 52). Though one may resist a subordinate designation by passing if one is willing to transgress laws and social norms, the schema of racial differentiation cannot be dismissed entirely because one must be a race and live by the norms pertaining to that racial group to maintain that designation.

Foucault's reasoning on normativity can be illustrated through an examination of the Rhinelander case, which Larsen specifically references in the novella (101), using Jean Nisetch's analysis. In this case, Alice Jones Rhinelander's race was on trial because she married Leonard Rhinelander, a white man who sued her for an annulment, claiming that she tricked him into thinking she was white when he married her. The defense proved that "it was impossible for her to have deceived her husband because her 'race' was visibly apparent" (Nisetch 345). Though the case wasn't based on the one-drop rule because interracial marriages were legal in New York (Nisetch 346), the prosecution used its logic along with sexual stereotypes ascribed to black women by "portray(ing) her as a dark seductress" (Nisetch 348) to make a case that Leonard was deceived about Alice's genealogy when she married him. The evidence in Alice's exposed body and the determination of her race as visibly apparent was based on a subjective evaluation of her skin color by the gaze and evaluation of the white men of the jury. Nisetch, who analyzes a number of important themes related to subjectivity and normativity in this case, explains that Alice most likely didn't think of herself as a black woman, though Nisetch indicates that Alice didn't testify to this. Notably her sister, who had also married a white man, defined herself as white. When reporters looked into Alice's background it turns out that some people thought of her as black and others considered her to be white. Though her subjectivity was not clearly delineated racially, the case was about apparent blackness, so the court demanded a clear determination of a race, reinforcing a normative 'either-or' logic of race. In fact, Nisetch brings forth evidence that Leonard realized Alice had black relatives. Asked if it mattered if his father knew he was "married to the daughter of a colored man, Leonard replied, 'Oh yes, it means my wife's happiness and mine' " (Nisetch 358). This conversation supports the claim that his family's disapproval caused him to seek an annulment rather than any deception on Alice's part. Leonard was bowing to the pressure of social norms, which in many ways, functioned as law in 1920's New York. Both the trial's occurrence and its outcome indicate the function and strength of social norms within juridical practice regarding race at the time.

A banning or avoidance of interracial marriage is an attempt at regularizing sexual behavior as within one race with the aim of racial purity. Foucault explains that, "sexuality exists at the point where body and population meet. And so it is a matter for discipline but also a matter for regularization" (*Society Must be Defended* 251-2). As a norm or law, the one-drop rule expresses a goal of protecting the privilege of whiteness by maintaining racial integrity. In terms of biopower, the one-drop rule and its juridical application in cases involving interracial marriage reinforce a taboo against miscegenation as a way of preserving power within a racially based hierarchy. If a black woman, defined as black by the one-drop rule, self identifies as white and marries a white man, defined as not having any black relatives, their children are assumed to be white, provided they look the part. From the perspective of racist ideology and white privilege, racial integration in marriage is problematic as it theoretically undermines whiteness. By marrying and having a child with a white man under the pretense that she is also white, Clare risked identification as black based on the skin color of her progeny. As Gertrude, a light skinned acquaintance of Irene and Clare self identified as black and married to a white man,

states, "They [white people] don't know like we do, how it might go way back and turn out dark no matter what colour the father and mother are" (Larsen 36). Clare and John's daughter Margery appears white and only thinks of herself as white. Therefore, by marrying a white man and having an apparently white child with him, knowing that she has African ancestry, Clare subverts the twin projects of patriarchy and racism that seek to control women to ensure certainty of race through parentage.

4.0. PERFORMATIVITY AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY IN NELLA LARSEN'S *PASSING*

Larsen situates her psychological analysis of Clare and Irene in the context of contemporaneous legal and normative influences on racial and gender formation to show what happens to racially ambiguous female subjects who become either black or white through their choice of spouse. For a subject like Clare who identified with all of her ancestry, the law made it impossible for her to maintain a non-divided identity. It is precisely this situation that Clare had to contend with in striving for self-definition. There are a number of options for categorizing Clare as a subject. She could be, as most critics and Irene seem to believe, an African American subject posing as a white subject. Irene asserts on a number of occasions that Clare is cynically passing for white because she seems to be exactly the same person Irene knew as a young black girl. Once they become reacquainted, she tells Clare, "In a way, you're just the same" (Larsen 18). Irene finds herself rather pleased to observe Clare's "polite insolence . . . which some acquire with riches and importance," and realizes that Clare, "hadn't gotten it by passing herself off as white. She herself had always had it" (Larsen 28). Irene may assume Clare is passing as a cynically calculated move to get what she wants because Irene does not observe Clare in white society. Irene opines, "She seems satisfied enough. She's got what she wanted" (Larsen 44). Irene feels that Clare is simply rejecting her blackness as something inconvenient. Her understanding does not penetrate to Clare's wounded or interpellated subjectivity partly because she represses her connection or similarity to Clare.

On the other hand, perhaps Clare sees herself as white in the same way Alice Jones or Haizlip's family members may have regarded themselves. Other possibilities include the formation of a biracial subjectivity or a predominant and public white identity with a foreclosed black subjectivity. According to Judith Butler, "Freud distinguishes between repression and foreclosure, suggesting that a repressed desire might once have lived apart from its prohibition, but that foreclosed desire is rigorously barred, constituting the subject through a certain kind of presumptive loss" (*Psychic* 23). The effect produced by Clare's aunts of making her live the experience of a white girl publicly may have been one of consolidating her white subjectivity, but says little about her psychic life under these conditions. One imagines she might have been confused between this new subjectivity and the one she was forming before her father died. Clare is white outside of her great-aunts' home by their design, yet lives a subjected black existence in their house. It seems that she forecloses on a black subjectivity she is made to despise at the point when she elopes with John. Clare's analysis supports this conclusion. "It [religion], they, made me what I am today. For, of course, I was determined to get away, to be a person" (Larsen 26). This wording makes it sound very much like her African American identity became abject in her subject formation as an adult. As Butler explains, "Social categories signify subordination and existence at once" (*Psychic* 20). In support of Butler's claim, Clare realizes that she must fit into certain social categories in order to establish herself in society. What Butler calls foreclosure might also be viewed as an extremely conflicted version of Duboisian double consciousness. Du Bois defines double consciousness as "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others." He continues, "one ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings . . . whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Du Bois 38). Though she chooses and performs a public white American identity, the abiding presence of a Black self-identification emerges later in the novella.

That marriage to a white man is Clare's means of escape from double consciousness or a biracial identity based on her white appearance and physical beauty also points to her interpellation as a woman. There is, then, another sense of seeing oneself through others. There is the white gaze, but also the male gaze. Clare exists within different communities based on how she is viewed by whom, a self that exists in "the eyes of others" (Du Bois 38). To borrow Althusser's trope of hailing again, patriarchy calls out to the female subject, declaring that she can only alter her social position through the aid of a man. Marriage was the main vehicle of social mobility for women and marrying into a rich or upper class family with the required social outcome of producing identical, or at least similar, upper middle class offspring was the goal of upwardly mobile young black and white women alike. According to Wall, all of the female characters in *Passing,* "like Clare, rely on a husband for material possessions, security, and identity. Each reflects and is a reflection of her husband's social status. Clare's is merely an extreme version of a situation they all share" (125). She has simply married up, but in doing so, has also crossed the color line because a few of her ancestors were black. Clare's choice puts her in the category of passing mainly because of the racist ideology of the one drop rule that defines her as black and entails an injunction against her marriage to a white man.

A number of feminist theorists of color have sought to articulate a corollary to Duboisian double consciousness for women of color in part by expanding on Althusser's work on interpellation to include multiple interpellation, finding Anglo American feminist theories inadequate to the task because they are essentially constructed in opposition to white men. Alarcón suggests women of color need feminist theory in which "multiple-voiced subjectivity is lived in resistance to competing notions for one's allegiance or self identification" (366). Henderson, drawing from Bakhtin's dialogic notions of voice, concurs, stating that the writing and theory of African American women contains, "not only a relationship with the 'other(s),' but an internal dialogue with the plural aspects of self that constitute the matrix of black female subjectivity" (3). In "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," Frances Beal focuses on African American women as "economically exploited and physically assaulted". Rejecting middle class white capitalist norms of femininity, Beal explains that a woman who stays at home to take care of her offspring becomes "a satellite to her mate" and "reduced to a biological function." Beal and Hill Collins both identify Sojourner Truth, a former slave, as an early African American Feminist theorist who clearly articulated the ways in which the American social construction of the category of 'woman' depended upon racist, sexist and classist definitions. Recommending an intersectional paradigm of analysis focused primarily on gender, race, and social class to reveal a matrix of oppression at work, Hill Collins explains, "Thus, by using intersectional paradigms to explain both the matrix of domination and Black women's individual and collective agency within it, Black feminist thought helps reconceptualize social relations of domination and resistance" (229).

Hill Collins' matrix of domination plays out in *Passing* in a number of crucial ways. Clare's subjection and resistance based on class and race can be briefly outlined to illustrate the force of this theme in the novella. Though Clare had a connection to Irene's family, she was an outsider to the upper middle class African American community she was surrounded by because her mother was absent and her father was a janitor. Her outsider status meant she wasn't fully integrated into the black community. She was criticized by other girls for her "having way" (Larsen 20), a way of saying she was acquisitive, but it is likely that she developed this characteristic as a result of her feelings of socioeconomic inferiority to her peers. "You can't know, 'Rene, how, when I used to go over to the south side, I used almost to hate all of you. You had all the things I wanted and never had had" (Larsen 26). In this statement, Clare is lamenting the fact that she never had the same money and status, but she is also grieving over her lack of a family, a connection to other African American people, or a fully formed African American subjectivity. To avoid poverty when her father dies, she goes to live with her white great-aunts. To escape from racial subjection at their hands as a beautiful, light-skinned woman, she marries a white racist. Through this intersectional analysis advocated by Hill Collins, it becomes clear that class differentiation within the African American community and the racism of the white community simultaneously exerted their influences upon Clare. She is multiply interpellated as black by whites and poor by the black

community. All of these factors influence her eventual decision to pass as a way to acquire wealth and family, but at the expense of the opportunity to become part of an African American community through her relationships with other African Americans. Though Irene judges Clare for her life choices as being disloyal to the race, Irene also passes on occasion. Though it can be gathered that Irene's hair is dark and she has olive skin to Clare's "ivory mask" and golden hair, the most significant difference between them, pointing to their interpellation as women, is that Irene married a man that "couldn't exactly pass" (Larsen 37). Her reference to her husband's skin color is a euphemism that highlights his lack of whiteness. The public persona each woman performs is essentially predicated upon the communities she is connected to through marriage.

Applying Larsen's psychological analysis to Irene, her behavior stems from repression and a concern for following the norm, yielding fear and anxiety. Irene is predominantly interpellated as an upper middle class African American woman who prides herself on her gentility and dedication to her family more than she feels subjected to racism, possibly because she represses her experience of it. Though her husband Brian hates living in America because of its racism, she is insensitive to his predicament. "She knew, had always known, that his dissatisfaction had continued, as had his dislike and disgust for his profession and his country" (Larsen 58). Though she knows that he has never been happy staying, she is not willing to move overseas. "Though she didn't want him to be unhappy, it was only in her own way and by some plan of hers for him that she truly desired him to be so" (Larsen 61). This passive aggressive control over her husband is evidence of the agency she exerts as a woman within a sphere of action considered socially acceptable for her. Further evidence of her lack of connection to the black experience of oppression in America is that she believes she can still protect her children from racism, even though a white man has already called one of her sons a racial epithet. Brian exclaims, "What was the use of our trying to keep them from learning the word 'nigger'; and its connotation? They found out, didn't they? And how? Because somebody called Junior a dirty nigger" (Larsen 103). Irene asks him, "Is it stupid to want my children to be happy?" (104). Brian replies, expressing his feelings about being made to stay in America, "I wanted to get them out of this hellish place years ago" (Larsen 104). Though this is a crucial topic, Irene suppresses its importance as she dismisses Brian's critique of American racism, focusing instead on her desire for emotional control over her family as an affirmation of her security within her domain.

Despite legal and social pressures to maintain a stable ethnic identity, fissures emerge that disrupt and alter Clare and Irene's precarious subjectivities which are revealed to the reader in momentary glimpses through dialogue, letters, Irene's voice, and the narrator's comments. In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler argues "performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate 'act' but rather as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (2). Sexual or racial subjectivities must be reiterated or performed and this leaves them open to disruption. In reference to sex, Butler notes, "This instability is the *de*constituting possibility in the very process of repetition, the power that undoes the very effects by which "sex" is stabilized, the possibility to put the consolidation of the norms of "sex" into a potentially productive crisis" (10). By substituting race for sex, this statement can be used to explore the productive power in the disruption of Clare and Irene's subjectivities as epidermally ambiguous subjects in how they each react to being ironically interpellated as black by Clare's racist husband John Bellew.

"That time in Chicago" (Larsen 11) is the primary event of disruption in the narrative for both Clare and Irene, occurring a few days after they chance to meet again twelve years after Clare disappeared. The racist outburst of John Bellew that Clare and Irene experience together functions as a catalyst for a disruption in the subjectivities of both women. Thinking Irene and Clare are white, John Bellew expresses his hatred for African Americans in front of them and tells Irene that his nickname for Clare is "Nig". It must be construed that John Bellew has repeatedly called Clare "Nig" and expressed his hatred of African Americans throughout their married life. The violence of his language citationally keeps Clare's black subjectivity foreclosed. It reiterates her aunts' interpellative treatment of her, causing her to repeatedly reject her connection to the African

American community. However, when his racism is revealed in Irene's presence, Clare experiences a rupturing pain associated with the self she had foreclosed in order to perform her white identity. It is a moment that represents nothing less than what Butler terms the "disruptive return of the excluded" (*Bodies* 12) in that the desire for the foreclosed part of self can be denied no longer. This rupture leads her to seek Irene's society and visit Harlem with increasing regularity. Referring to the scene with Bellew, Irene and Gertrude, Clare reveals, "It just swooped down and changed everything" (Larsen 67). At this point, Clare claims that without Irene's society she would be alone, but she goes even further to state that no one can really understand her situation because they are free, assumedly through a fully integrated subjectivity despite their racial designation or possibly an acceptance of their position in a racially divided society. Ironically, even the lack of choice might be considered more freeing to Clare because in this moment, Clare is hailed by the color line. Because of segregation, she still cannot exist socially as biracial and it is not a simple matter to reject the whiteness that has characterized her subjectivity publicly for so many years. She crossed the color line to white and is subject to its norms, so crossing back over the line to black might destroy her family and expose Clare to physical and psychological danger.

In Irene's case, it is more difficult to ascertain the effect of Bellew's outburst. It doesn't completely change her subjectivity, but it does seem to destabilize her sense of security and challenge her considerable ability to repress her desires and emotions. In the face of Bellew's racism, Irene indicates the difficulty she had in repressing first her laughter and then her anger while her sympathy for Clare seems to be simultaneously heightened. "At least she hadn't the mortification and shame that Clare must be feeling, or, in such full measure, the rage and rebellion that she, Irene, was repressing" (Larsen 42). Whereas Irene viewed Clare as a race-traitor before this event, now she sees her as black and therefore part of her community, which means that Irene again essentially accepts a one-drop view of Clare's identity. Significantly, Irene chooses to protect Clare, which brings them closer, but it is also probably one of the first times Irene has, albeit ironically, been personally hailed by white racist ideology. She suggests she wants to avoid, "Any repetition of a humiliation as galling and outrageous as that which for Clare Kendry's sake, she had borne 'that time in Chicago.' Once was enough" (Larsen 51). Here she both acknowledges its effect while seeking to avoid another instance of it. Later, Irene contemplates disassociating from Clare because she thinks her husband is in love with her, but realizes she would have to sacrifice the race embodied in Clare to get what she wants. "It was, she cried, enough to suffer as a woman without having to suffer for the race as well. It was a brutality and undeserved" (Larsen 98). This is a rare moment in the text in which Irene directly admits to distress based on her race and gender. To save her marriage she imagines she would have to expose Clare's deception to Bellew, which would be a clear betrayal of everything Irene has always stood for, as it would mean putting Clare, a friend she defines as an African American subject, in the path of white hate.

Though Irene finds Clare compelling as a friend, her relationship with Clare is conflicted and poses dangers to Irene socially. The relationship is conflicted because Irene represses virtually all of her feelings including those of desire or affection for Clare, but Irene also finds Clare selfish and envies her for her beauty and passionate nature. Her distrust of Clare may also stem from their involvement in a bourgeois capitalist economy of relationships, where women trade in beauty for status and economic security, which puts them in competition with each other. Their relationship is clearly dangerous to Irene because she risks being judged by her peers for inviting Clare, who is defined as a white woman, into the African American community. Additionally, the association drags her into danger from white racism. When Bellew sees Irene with Felice, a friend with dark skin, her public association with her friend demarcates her, and Clare by association, as black by racist America (Larsen 99, 111). Bellew's racist definition of blackness contrasts sharply with Irene's self-definition as a black woman and the significance she invests in her belonging to the African American community. Bellew's conclusion that Clare is black misses all the subtleties of her subjectivity. His racial recognition is hateful and threatening to both women and, therefore, dangerous.

In his discussion of subjectivity, Althusser explains that the "duplicate mirror-structure of ideology ensures . . . the subjects' recognition of each other" (Althusser 54-55), referencing inter-subjectivity. At various points in the novel, Irene and Clare are identified by differing racial designations by the same characters. The intersubjective identification of racial designations is certainly determined by legal and social norms pertaining to contact between people defined as black or white. To elaborate, in the first encounter between Irene and Clare as adults in the Chicago hotel restricted to whites, Irene notices Clare examining her. They are both passing for white at this moment. Clare is looking at Irene so closely because she recognizes Irene as her friend from childhood. However, Irene doesn't recognize Clare partly because, in her white surroundings, she assumes Clare is a white woman. When Clare approaches her and identifies her as 'Rene, Irene wonders, "What white girls had she known well enough to have been familiarly addressed as 'Rene by them? The woman before her didn't fit her memory of any of them. Who was she?" (Larsen 17). The rules of segregation created the expectation that everyone in the hotel should be white, so it is only when Irene hears Clare laugh that she identifies her as an old friend and as a black woman. As Butler notes, "What qualifies as a visible marking is a matter of being able to read a marked body in relation to unmarked bodies, where unmarked bodies constitute the currency of normative whiteness" (*Bodies* 125). The norms of segregation marked bodies through association. For example, Bellew thought Irene was white when he saw her with Clare; however, when he sees her with Felice he identifies Irene as black. It is due to the norms of social segregation that being seen in public with a person who has dark skin on equal and friendly terms automatically associates one with blackness. This mindset led Bellew to associate Irene with blackness. That this conclusion extends to Clare is a demonstration of the strength of Bellew's legally and normatively constructed belief in the absolute separation and distinction of race implicit in Jim Crow and the one-drop rule. In contrast, the phenomenon of white people visiting clubs in Harlem created a temporary suspension of the social norms of separation, making the marking of bodies less clear. Though Hugh Wentworth assumes Clare is white, he can't be sure in the interracial context of the Harlem club. Irene tells Hugh about the difficulty she encountered in identifying the race of a white woman who frequented Harlem. "I'd met her four of five times, in groups and crowds of people, before I knew she wasn't a Negro" (Larsen 77). This contrastive illustration serves to reinforce the normative aspects of the inter-subjective identification of race and the ways in which segregation marked bodies. This juxtaposition allows Larsen to communicate that the designation within a racial epidermal schema is defined inter-subjectively while fluctuations in recognition further suggest sociological and performative components to racial identification.

5.0. CONCLUSION

To conclude, *Passing* observes and reveals how the interplay of race, gender, and social class construct specific subjects who respond divergently to similar pressures in a particular time and place. Patriarchy and racism are ideological and, according to Althusser, interpellate subjects while, for Foucault, they are biopolitical instruments that biracial women interact with and are governed by in the case of the one-drop rule. For Clare, race is experienced in the law as an "Absolute Subject" along the lines of Althusser's analysis of interpellation. Though she must become one race in order to have a social existence, she risks this existence to resist the totalizing effect of racist ideology on her subjectivity. For Irene, norms of race, gender, and class largely determine how she sees herself and others, supporting Foucault's suggestion that racism is internalized normatively. At the same time, Irene's relationship with Clare tempts her to transgress norms that benefit her. Though race dominates the novella, Larsen anticipates a more dynamic concept of race posited by Haney López as, "an ongoing, contradictory, self-reinforcing, plastic process subject to the macro forces of social and political struggle and the micro effects of daily decisions" (165). In Larsen's hands the phenomenon of passing is employed in a way that complicates a monolithic view of race. "In the novel, Larsen challenges the conception of race as visually perceptible, yet she refuses to establish race as entirely performative, either. Instead the dueling concepts of race as a physical fact and as a social construct remain inextricably connected" (Nisetch 357). Hill Collins usefully observes, "Just as intersecting oppressions take on historically specific forms that change in response to human actions – racial segregation persists, but not in the forms that it took in

prior historical eras – so the shape of domination itself changes" (228). To characterize the contemporary shape of domination for American subjects, a color line in the USA which ideologically privileges whiteness and European descent is perpetuated in normative 'either or' subjectivity. Contemporary social reality with regard to a racial epidermal schema may appear to differ from the days of Jim Crow in that interracial marriage is socially acceptable and racial segregation is illegal, yet the processes involved in forming racial subjectivity have not changed significantly.

WORKS CITED

Alarcón, Norma. "The Theoretical Subject(s) of This Bridge Called my Back and Anglo-American Feminism." *Making Face, Making Soul, Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color.* Ed. Anzaldúa, Gloria. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Book, 1990. Print.

Althusser, Louis. *Ideology and Ideological Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation).* 1970. Pdf.

Beal, Frances. "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female". 1969. *The CWLU Herstory Website Archive.* Web. Accessed 13 Nov. 2014.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex".* London: Routledge, 1993. Print.

Butler, Judith. "Introduction." *The Psychic Life of Power.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. Print.

Davis, F. James. "Who is Black? One Nation's Definition." *Frontline: Jefferson's Blood.* WGBH Educational Foundation. Web. Accessed 19 Nov. 2014.

Davis, Thadious. "Introduction." *Passing.* 1997. New York: Penguin, 2003. Print.

Du Bois, W.E.B. "Of Our Spiritual Strivings." *The Souls of Black Folks.* 1903. Boston: Bedford St. Martins, 1997. Print.

Fanon, Frantz. "The Fact of Blackness." *Black Skin, White Masks.* 1952. Trans. Markmann, L. Charles. New York: Grove Press. 1963. Print.

Foucault, Michel. "17 March 1976". *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975-1976.* Trans. Macey, David. New York: Picador, 2003. Print.

Foucault, Michel. "Truth and Power." *Foucault Reader.* Ed. Rabinow, Paul. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. Print.

Haney López, Ian F. "The Social Construction of Race." *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge.* 2nd ed. Ed. Delgado, Richard and Stephancic, Jean. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000. Print.

Henderson, Mae G. "Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics and Dialectics and The Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition." 1989. African American Literary Theory: A Reader Ed. Napier, Winston. New York: New York University Press, 2000. Print.

Hill Collins, Patricia. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment.* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000. Print.

Larsen, Nella. *Passing.* 1929. New York: Penguin, 2003. Print.

Nisetch, Rebecca. "Reading Race in Nella Larsen's *Passing* and the Rhinelander Case." *African American Review.* 46.2-3 (Summer Fall 2013): 345-361. Web. Google Scholar. Accessed 15 Nov. 2014.

Sollors, Werner. "Passing; or, Sacrificing a *Parvenu." Neither Black Nor White Yet Both*: *Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print.

Wall, Cheryl. "Nella Larsen: Passing for What?" *Women of the Harlem Renaissance.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. Print.

Wehnert, Kathleen. *Passing: An Exploration of African-Americans on their Journey for an Identity along the Colour Line.* Hamburg, DEU: Diplomica Verlag, 2010. ProQuest ebrary. Web. Accessed 10 November 2014.

BRAVE NEW WORLDS: A REPARATIVE READING OF (POST)COLONIAL *TEMPESTS*

Chase Wiggins, Department of English

ABSTRACT

Late in the 20th century, sympathy for Shakespeare's Caliban coalesced into a post-colonial reading of *The Tempest*. Such readings have since stagnated, and are no longer ideologically robust. This paper begins with a discursive analysis of the Caliban-centric post-colonial *Tempest*, as well as its more recent critiques. Reading *The Tempest* within the context of contemporary struggles for decolonization, I argue, requires engaging with neo-colonialism, settler colonialism, and other power differentials as represented in *The Tempest*. I end with a reparative reading of the text to model how such a framework might be employed within modern literary and anti-colonial discourses.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

As David Lindley notes in his introduction to The New Cambridge Shakespeare's (NCS) 2002 edition of *The Tempest*:

> Since Shakespeare's text was restored in the nineteenth century, replacing the unambiguously comic Caliban of Dryden and Davenant's adaptation which dominated the eighteenth-century stage, audiences have found it difficult to resist some degree of sympathy for Caliban, and reviewers have complained at representations which failed to bring out the suffering and pathos the part can sustain. (Lindley 33)

Over the past two centuries, this sympathetic response to Caliban's situation has gradually broadened in scope and gained increasing prominence among viewers, adaptors, and critics alike. Particularly prevalent towards the latter half of the twentieth century, this shift reached a new height finally coalescing into something of a mandated methodology – an approach which can broadly be described as a (post)colonial[1] theoretical framework[2] – for interpreting Shakespeare's *Tempest*. The work of such critics as Ania Loomba, Martin Orkin, Jerry Brotton, and Steven M. Almquist, along with the work of authors and playwrights such as Aime Cesaire, represents but an exemplary fraction of the vivacious critical and creative (post)colonial discourses surrounding *The Tempest*, which collectively led to a widespread conviction that such readings were the only way to seriously and responsibly engage with Shakespeare's text. In introducing their 1998 *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin articulate some of the ways in which Shakespeare is viewed as inextricably linked with issues of colonialism:

> Both Shakespeare and colonialism have left their imprint on cultures across the globe… [Shakespeare] became, during the colonial period, the quintessence of Englishness and a measure of humanity itself. Thus the meanings of Shakespeare's plays were both derived from and used to establish colonial authority. (1)

And further outline the effect this link has had on criticism of Shakespearean texts:

> In recent years, both Shakespearean scholars and critics working within post-colonial studies have increasingly begun to scrutinize the ways in which the colonial and racial discourses of early modern England might have shaped Shakespeare's work, and also the process by which Shakespeare (in performance and study) later became a colonial battlefield. (2)

Indeed, by the turn of the millennium, failure to recognize these connections and mobilize (post)colonial theory within academic discussions of *The Tempest* was largely viewed as negligent at best, and an active collusion with hegemonic colonialist forces at worst.

The very early twenty-first century[3], however, has seen the rise of yet another move in the academic discourse around both Shakespeare's *Tempest* and (post)colonial frameworks in general, this one questioning both the validity and efficacy of the (post)colonial *Tempest's* position as the only legitimate interpretation of the text. "If [*The Tempest*] is a play about colonialism," Lindley quips further along in his introduction, "Prospero is a very odd colonist indeed. He did not choose to voyage to his island, has no interest in founding an outpost of Milan, and no desire to turn the riches of the island which Caliban has made known to him into tradable commodities" (39).[4] Lindley, although he does not explicitly state it, seems to be in favor of this move away from (post)colonial *Tempests* in that he only spends a scant 11 pages out of an 83-page introduction briefly discussing colonial and postcolonial renderings of *The Tempest*. Further, in a 2005 essay, Reed Way Dasenbrock speaks more broadly to trends within (post)colonial treatments of Shakespeare when he posits, "The stress on contestation, on writing back, found in postcolonial theory does not do full justice to postcolonial literature… to rewrite a text means necessarily to have a complex set of attitudes toward the model one is rewriting; contestation alone in my view does not ever fully explain the traffic between the original and the rewrite" (104). Just as contestation does not form the totality of (post)colonial approaches, it could be argued that the stress on (post)colonial interpretations in general does not do full justice to the depth and breadth of meaning available in Shakespeare's work. I expand upon Dasenbrock's position in asserting that an exclusive focus on Caliban-as-enslaved-indigenous-figure and his relationship to Prospero-as-colonizer – as most (post)colonial readings of *The Tempest* have centered on – does not do full justice to the potential explanatory power of contemporary (post)colonial studies in interpreting not only *The Tempest*, but also the lived realities of historical, political, and socio-economic formations which are the legacy of colonialist practices around the globe. It is within the context of this far-from-settled scholarly debate that I must situate my own work.

Ultimately, what I argue for in this essay is neither a capitulation to either side of the debate, nor reconciliation between the two sides as the debate currently stands. Instead, I maintain firstly that (post)colonial readings of *The Tempest* have fallen far out of date with important contemporary trends in (post)colonial studies writ large, and suggest that an updated reading is necessary in order to render discussions of *The Tempest* relevant within the modern political landscape and current discourses around colonialism and indigeneity. Secondly, I hope to illustrate that a reparative framework towards recognizing the potential for myriad, sometimes disparate, readings of *The Tempest* is a far more useful model than would be any successful unmasking of Prospero as purely a colonial oppressor or definitively proving that Shakespeare's *Tempest* has nothing at all to do with colonialism. In the effort to create such an interpretive framework, I would like first of all to clarify what precisely is (or was) meant by the term (post)colonial during the height of the (post)colonial *Tempest's* ubiquity as an interpretation throughout the 1990s and very early 2000s. After outlining this socio-historical context, I must turn my attention to the growth of new and expanded perspectives that have occurred within (post)colonial studies, largely rendering previous post-colonial readings of *The Tempest* outdated and far less useful for contemporary scholars and activists. Finally, once I have refined an updated (post)colonial reading of the *Tempest*, this essay moves to reenvision the very terms of the debate around (post)colonial *Tempests* within a reparative framework, capable of understanding critical interpretations as more akin to adaptations than absolute truth; one which prioritizes avenues for healing over laying bare the evils of the world and which focuses on collaboration more than laying claim to a definitively correct interpretation of a text. In other words, I am wondering what it would mean to approach the text of *The Tempest* from a place of love rather than contention: to forgive its sordid history of colonialist entanglements and to channel the passionate debates around the text, its adaptations, and the politically charged social contexts surrounding them, in order to make new meanings rather than reveal old hurts.

2.0. HISTORICIZING THE POST-COLONIAL[5] *TEMPEST*

As well as presenting a collection of essays that usefully model various ways one might explore (post)colonial themes within several Shakespearean works, Loomba and Orkin's *Post-Colonial Shakespeares* provides readers with a succinct crash course in (post)colonial theory in general, and how it came to dominate the study of Shakespeare at one point. I should pause briefly to note that the scope of this project is not so broad as to encompass a full-scale Foucauldian discursive analysis of (post)colonial literary theory. Rather, this essay seeks to assemble a suitably robust working definition of (post)colonial theory as it relates to Shakespeare and more specifically, *The Tempest*. Towards this more focused end, I primarily utilize Loomba and Orkin's collection as sufficiently representative – though by no means all-encompassing – of the various ways in which

(post)colonial theorists working in and around the last decade of the twentieth century were engaging with Shakespearean texts.

A formative event for the emerging field of post-colonial studies was "the collapse of formal empires [which] accelerated critiques of imperial and colonial philosophies, ideologies and aesthetics, both from within so-called metropolitan societies and, most vitally, from once-colonized ones" (Loomba and Orkin 2). Rather than the critical field rising out of the need to challenge colonialist ideology per se, early post-colonial studies seems to have been given the space to develop and rise to prominence only after political self-determination had ostensibly been granted to formerly colonized peoples. Nonetheless, as Loomba and Orkin note, the potent political critique of dominant hegemonic narratives coming from historically marginalized groups such as "the lower classes and castes, women, colonized people, homosexuals and others," in their insistence "that ideological and social practices are interconnected, indeed that they constitute each other … have made possible a new kind of literary criticism, where history does not just provide a background to the study of texts, but forms an essential part of textual meanings" (Loomba and Orkin 2-3). Because Shakespeare has long occupied a privileged position as a cornerstone of the Western literary canon – a position which, in the hands of colonialist politics and ideology, became understood as a mark of civilization itself – and because within post-colonial theory "texts are seen as fundamental to the creation of history and culture … reinterpreting Shakespeare's plays became, at least for some critics, part of the business of reinterpreting and changing our own world" (Loomba and Orkin 3). Given post-colonial literary theory's focus on challenging colonialist histories through a close examination of the role literature plays in not only reflecting but actually creating lived experience, Shakespeare's monolithic status within Western literature, and finally the topical correlations in *The Tempest* that actively lend themselves to such interpretations, it is perhaps no surprise that few other texts have presented quite such a fertile ground for early post-colonial readings.

Most post-colonial criticisms and creative re-workings of *The Tempest*, especially those situated in North America, Africa, and the Caribbean, have centered on the character of Caliban. For many literary and social critics, it is not particularly difficult to find parallels between Prospero's treatment of Caliban and the dispossession and exploitation of colonized peoples and their labor (a staple of colonial ventures), or indeed even the dehumanization which became the lynchpin of the West African slave trade and the American system of chattel slavery. "This island's mine by Sycorax my mother,/ Which thou tak'st from me" (New Cambridge Shakespeare 1.2.332-3), begins one of Caliban's most closely scrutinized and often cited speeches in aid of (post)colonial interpretations. Throughout the speech, Caliban outlines in rather damning terms the conditions of his first contact with Prospero and Miranda. Much of what Caliban describes, particularly his account of the aid he initially gave Prospero and the education he received from Miranda, is consistent with the history and fairly standard tactics of many European colonial ventures. Critics of colonialist practices looking to highlight Caliban's inherent humanity are able to point to his love of music and the poetry of his language as he describes the wondrous qualities of the island or even, one might argue, as he laments the abject misery of his position and curses Prospero out of sheer frustration. For actors and adaptors, key questions include how best to portray a sympathetic Caliban and how to visually represent Caliban so as to make explicit his connection to indigenous peoples, while avoiding the reification of dominant racialized narratives and stereotypes. Representations of Caliban range from the hideously monstrous, to the overtly ape-like, to the utterly (one might almost say pedestrian by comparison) human. While there have certainly been a wide variety of approaches regarding representing Caliban on stage, in crafting a sympathetic Caliban-as-colonized-subject for a (post)colonial adaptation, one can easily imagine that a likely place to start would be in granting Caliban a nobler form than many traditional productions–and to a large extent, Shakespeare's text itself–typically seem to afford him.

As these representative perspectives illustrate, it is possible to broadly summarize the post-colonial literary theory of the mid-to-late twentieth century as temporally rising after the dissolution of most formal colonial arrangements and methodologically concerned with the ways representations in literature actively shape social and political realities, aimed at examining and dismantling hegemonic colonialist ideologies. Towards that end, early post-colonial readings of *The Tempest* were largely concerned with representations of Caliban-as-colonized-subject and his relationship with Prospero-as-colonizer. This is not, however, to imply that there was from the outset a homogenous, or even coherent, post-colonial approach to interpreting Shakespeare – or that one exists even now, for that matter. A broader debate, active then and in many ways still resonating now, was over the name of the discipline itself. Although they ultimately do not provide a rationale for their usage of it, Loomba and Orkin admit that:

> In fact, the very popularity of the term 'post-colonial' has become fairly controversial. Because the hierarchies of colonial rule are reinscribed in the contemporary imbalances between 'First' and 'Third' World nations, it is debatable whether once-colonized countries can be seen as properly 'post-colonial.' (14)

That they chose to pluralize Shakespeare in the title of their volume itself indicates Loomba and Orkin's awareness that modern, and indeed even classical[6], constructions of Shakespeare-as-author have always been multi-faceted, if not outright schizophrenic, and that his texts have always been mobilized in various, sometimes contradictory, ways in relation to post-colonial studies. Great care and specificity is therefore required in outlining one's critical framework in relation to this history. "Most contributors to this volume," Loomba and Orkin assure readers, "share this concern to locate both themselves and the Shakespeares they analyze" (14). In crafting an updated (post)colonial reading of *The Tempest*, I must likewise take up this concern and firmly position both myself as a scholar and the Shakespeare(s) I seek to analyze within contemporary (post)colonial academic discourses and related political struggles.

3.0. LOCATING A (POST)COLONIAL *TEMPEST*

"Hawai'i is a society in which the indigenous culture and people have been murdered, suppressed, or marginalized for the benefit of settlers…." –Haunani-Kay Trask

"If you've got them by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow." –Theodore Roosevelt

      Two major contemporary publications – the selected works of Epeli Hau'ofa, entitled *We are the Ocean*, and *Asian Settler Colonialism*, a collection of essays edited by Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura – provide a solid groundwork upon which I may situate my own scholarship as broadly functioning within (post)colonial discourses coming out of Oceania, and myself as occupying the position of a settler-scholar in Hawai'i. The paradigm shifts within (post)colonial theory reflected in these works further serve as the basis for my own attempts to forge an updated reading of *The Tempest*. What these works have in common– besides a spatial and temporal proximity that is perhaps not coincidental – is that they both engage more recent shifts in (post)colonial discourses towards expanding our understanding of how various colonial formations create distinct lived experiences and likewise, how these different formulations leave specific legacies on previously colonized lands and peoples, all of which require a wide variety of strategies for attaining anything more than a superficial decolonization.[7]

      One such colonial formation has come to be known as settler colonialism. Fujikane and Okamura's *Asian Settler Colonialism* builds upon the foundational work of (post)colonial theorists such as Patrick Wolfe, who urges us to think of colonization as a persistent set of structures rather than a singular event, and Lorenzo Veracini, who somewhat humorously articulates the difference between traditional colonialism and settler colonialism as the difference between telling an indigenous person that they suddenly work for you now, versus simply telling them to go away altogether. Haunani-Kay Trask's powerfully succinct definition of a settler society, quoted at the beginning of this section, is also quoted towards the beginning of Fujikane and Okamura's collection, as their project is to bring settler colonial critiques into the context of Hawai'i and examine the ways that Asians occupy the position of settler colonists on the islands, a formation which itself functions within the larger sphere of hegemonic U.S. imperialism. My reliance on Fujikane and Okamura's particular treatment of Asian settler colonialism is twofold. Primarily, as I will discuss in greater length shortly, I shall illustrate how the distinct features of settler colonial formations, particularly Asian settler colonialism in Hawai'i, share striking parallels with the situation on the island upon which *The Tempest* is set. Most notably, analyzing settler colonial formations within *The Tempest* serves to complicate the relationships between Ariel, Prospero, and Caliban, which is typically presented as a standard imbalance of power caused by a binary opposition between colonizers and the colonized. Further, as an Asian settler scholar in Hawai'i, the choice was perhaps an obvious one – my increasing awareness of, and grappling with, the realities of my position as a settler colonist in these islands – has greatly influenced the shape and tenor of my efforts, and I hope that the reparative work enabled by this reading will be around the damage that institutions of settler colonialism cause to each of our individual humanities (colonized and colonizers alike) just as much as it is about the text of Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

Hauʻofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" featured in the collection *We Are the Ocean*, illuminates another newly expanded perspective[7] within (post)colonial studies: revealing and critically examining the persistence of economic and sociopolitical imbalances of power maintained between formerly colonized lands and peoples and former colonizing countries on a global scale. Speaking on the large spheres of national, regional, and geo-political governance, Hauʻofa notes that all across Oceania, "much that passes at this level concerns aid, concessions, trade, investment, defense, and security, matters that have taken the Pacific further and further into dependency on powerful nations" (27). What Hauʻofa described back in 1993 was precisely the set of relations that has come to be called neo-colonialism: a revised, economically-based ideology which has persisted in ensuring that the global balance of power has not shifted overmuch – colonialism's ideological Holy Spirit, so to speak, which lingers, invisible but not unfelt, long after the main body of formal colonialism has been broken. It is an ideology that simultaneously creates and depends upon the colonization of the mind as much as control of global capital. "According to this [neo-colonial logic]," argues Hauʻofa, "the small island states and territories of the Pacific, that is, all of Polynesia and Micronesia, are too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres [sic] of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations" (29). While Hauʻofa is certainly not the only (probably not even the first) scholar to critically engage neo-colonialist ideologies in present day Oceania, what I find compelling about his work is that he is able to couple his critical understanding and critique with a love and generosity of spirit that I find immensely reparative. It is therefore not only from Hauʻofa's critical perspective that I draw, but I also seek to emulate the grace and healing that accompany his work.

4.0. CALIBAN SETTLER COLONIALISM AND DECOLONIZING ARIEL'S MIND

When read alongside the work of current of (post)colonial theorists such as Hauʻofa, Fujikane, and Okamura, the colonial tale told by *The Tempest* becomes something more than the story of Caliban's woes as colonized subject, more than a narrative which reveals the horrors of colonization, engendering sympathy for the colonized and perhaps urging a few members of Western audiences to become kinder, gentler colonists. A reading strategy such as I am proposing here opens up the possibility for a closer examination of the intricate web of (post)colonial positionalities which bind Caliban, Ariel, and Prospero together. Merging settler colonial and neo-colonial practices with a reading of *The Tempest*, I argue, reveals an indigenous Ariel locked into a mind-colonizing system of neo-colonial dependence upon Prospero's good will; a Caliban who, though undeniably oppressed, is also a settler colonist himself; and finally a monolithic, though still human Prospero, under whose carefully constructed hegemony all of these relationships are structured. Further, the insights of Hauʻofa et al. can facilitate a reading of Shakespeare's text that also helps create a space for real world decolonization and reparative practices.

The period of first contact between indigenous peoples and Amer-European colonizers is generally considered to be an important, even pivotal, era to study within (post)colonial discourses, though one must be careful to neither trivialize nor romanticize the state of pre-contact societies. Questions of first contact are also central to my reading of *The Tempest*, and I shall begin my analysis at the point of the reader's first contact with Prospero, Ariel, and Caliban. Act 1, scene 2 firmly establishes, to my mind, the fact that Ariel alone can claim indigenous status on the unnamed island. The dialogue between Ariel and Prospero in this scene clearly lays out a timeline that demonstrates that Ariel, airy voyager that he is, had discovered the island truly inhabited and was settled there at least long enough to meet Sycorax. Prospero describes conditions after Sycorax's death saying "Then was this island–/ Save for the son that she did litter here, / A freckled whelp, hag-born – not honored with / A human shape," (NCS 1.2.281-4) which Ariel confirms by his first-hand account. Ariel's characterization as a spirit lends heft to a reading of Ariel as representative of the colonization of the mind and his frequent association with the elements, particularly air and water, does not necessarily preclude him from having a strong connection to his island. Polynesians, for instance, were and still are a voyaging people able to simultaneously hold a deep appreciation for both the sea and the islands which jointly constitute the totality of their domain. Furthermore, Ariel's full twelve years of imprisonment within an oak knot would, I think, sufficiently bind him in a very literal way to the land. This same exchange informs readers of Caliban's position in relation to the land. Despite Caliban's contestation that the island was given to him by his mother, we are told that Ariel was already present when Sycorax arrived on the island by way of her exile from Algiers. Ariel, therefore, can be considered the indigenous figure, while Caliban is, by definition, a first generation settler colonist born on what can most accurately be considered Ariel's island. Prospero's appearance on the island,

then, constitutes a second contact for Ariel, which marks his transition from under the yoke of the formalized colonial power of Sycorax into the neo-colonial, colonized-mind relationship we observe between Ariel and Prospero.

Prospero's respective dealings with Ariel and Caliban serve as further parallels by which we can compare and contrast colonial and (post)colonial formations. It is interesting to note that one tactic which Prospero and Miranda employ in both relationships is to remind Ariel and Caliban of how they were much lesser beings before the civilization-bringing interventions of Prospero and Miranda. Prospero torments Ariel with the memory of being locked in an oak knot for a decade and does not hesitate to remind him that it was Prospero alone who was able to free him. Similarly, Miranda berates Caliban and belittles his agency, claiming "I pitied thee, / Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour / One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage, / Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like / A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes / With words that made them known" (NCS 1.2.353-8). Besides this striking similarity, Prospero's treatment of Caliban can best be described as overtly violent enslavement, whereas Ariel is treated with something approaching warmth, in an effort to invite collusion and ensure that Ariel does not seek to topple the status quo.

Rather than ignore each other when not forced into open conflict through Prospero's machinations, it would be far more productive for Ariel and Caliban to repair their broken relationship – which is broken, in large part, as a result of actions and power dynamics first established by Sycorax, and then reinforced under Prospero's regime – and find common cause in resisting the dominant hegemony embodied in Prospero. Just as Asian settler colonialism functions within the larger context of capitalist, white, heteropatriarchal U.S. imperialism, so too does the brunt of any tension between Ariel and Caliban settler colonialism occur as a result of Prospero's hegemony. As Fujikane, Okamura, and Hau'ofa all point to in various ways, inter-ethnic collaboration goes a lot farther towards improving lived conditions than inter-ethnic conflict over a piece of the American pie.

In many ways, my critical intervention ultimately has less to do with performing an academic autopsy on *The Tempest* than it does with producing a lively adaptation (of sorts) of the text. I align myself with Vanessa Joosen in this regard, building off of the way she envisions fairy tale criticism as a creative, reflexive, intertextual process in order to argue that the process of crafting Shakespearean criticism is a thoroughly creative process as well as a scholarly one, much more akin to adaptation than dissimilar. I am far less concerned with definitively *proving* that the text reflects settler colonial and neo-colonial realities (or can at least be read as doing so) than I am with putting the text into *conversation* with Hau'ofa's formulation of neo-colonialism and Fujikane and Okamura's work on Asian settler colonialism.

5.0. ON TRUTH, JUSTICE, AND A REPARATIVE WAY

What happened is that some of our philosophers got off base. And one of the greatest problems of history is that the concepts of love and power have usually been contrasted as opposites–polar opposites–so that love is identified with a resignation of power, and power with a denial of love . . . What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive, and love without power is sentimental and anemic. Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is love correcting everything that stands against love.   –Martin Luther King Jr.

What Antjie Krog, in her experimental memoir *Begging to be Black*, describes as most remarkable about the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is not the fact that truths were spoken. Crimes were readily admitted to before the Amnesty Commission and a great deal of time was spent proving that these crimes were politically motivated, eventually revealing a massive system of racial oppression and general corruption which had seeped into nearly every level of local and national government all the way down to interpersonal relationships – the kind of thing which would leave all but the most seasoned and skeptical of paranoid readers dumbfounded. Instead, what Krog is most affected by is her understanding of what she imagines to be a specifically African forgiveness-as-reparative-process, which Krog describes as "an interconnected act that makes a changed relationship possible, a future, a new way of being" (212). Similarly, what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argues is most enabling about literary criticism is not the ability to uncover evidence of bigotry, hurt, or systemic oppression, all or none of which may rightly be present in a given piece of literature. Sedgwick refers to such attempted readings as operating within a hermeneutics of suspicion, or paranoid reading. Sedgwick draws extensively upon Melanie Klein's work on paranoia to develop an alternative

to paranoid reading which Sedgwick terms reparative critical practices. Paranoid reading, according to Sedgwick, breaks literature down into an endless torrent of dangers. However, through reparative critical practices, "it is possible in turn to use one's own resources to assemble or 'repair' the murderous part-objects into something like a whole–though, I would emphasize, *not necessarily like any preexisting whole*" (128, italics in original document). Once a reader is satisfied with the new assemblage, the text becomes a point of identification for the reader and provides for a sense of security rather than heightened danger. Such readings, in other words, allow readers to envision better worlds, and in so doing, provide the hope that such worlds are obtainable. Another name for the process, which Sedgwick also borrows from Klein, is love. I embrace Sedgwick's methodology and argue that if we take seriously the notion that if literature, whether by design or misappropriation, may have played a role in establishing colonialism as we now know it, we must take equally (if not more) seriously the hope that through reparative criticism, literature may also hold the capacity to facilitate reparative and healing processes. Perhaps literature, in fact, represents one of our only viable options for doing so.

What my project represents, then, is my own attempt to take seemingly disparate discourses' various proximities to, and engagements with, *The Tempest*, and weave them into something like a whole. To assert that Shakespeare was somehow able to accurately predict settler colonial formations and the intricate web of global economic neo-colonial dependencies and wove them into his play either in support of, or as a critique of, said policies, is not only beyond the scope of this project, but would also be to fall quite deeply into the flawed logic of the intentional fallacy. We must nonetheless properly historicize Shakespeare and his works and admit that colonialism was a salient contemporary issue at the time of his writing, and, times being what they were, that Shakespeare was much more likely to be in favor of British colonial ventures than critique them, if indeed he thought about them as anything other than new and exciting at all. Likewise, simply working to unmask the shadowy forces, colonialism's literary foot soldiers, who have sought long and hard to solidify real world political formations through fictional parallels, or even to shine criticism's light upon previously unspoken biases present in a text feels to me less important than generating a reading which can speak to contemporary solutions as much as historical problems.

6.0. A CONCLUSION

My (post)colonial reading of Ariel and Caliban's positionality within Prospero's colonial hegemony need not, perhaps should not, itself become the new hegemonic discourse around these characters or the text as a whole, superseding all previous readings. To again draw from Sedgwick's reparative framework, there are a great many ways in which my reading would function best beside, rather than in conflict with, previous post-colonial readings and even readings which focus on other aspects of the play altogether. A reading of *The Tempest* as Shakespeare's swansong where Prospero-as-Shakespeare is more concerned with authorship and creativity than colonial domination, or examinations of the play's staging, adaptation, and reception histories can all function as vibrant pieces of a larger coherent discourse, rather than isolated and incompatible sub-discourses. What I hope to signify, while still applying appropriate academic rigor, is that mine is simply one way of exploring *The Tempest*, which for those who need it, may go a long way towards repairing a damaged relationship with the text and open up space for further conversations rather than more jousting over interpretive supremacy. My softer, more passionate hope is that this reading, this way of reading, may go at least some small way towards repairing the humanity and relationships of all those lives that have been damaged by the violence of colonization and (post)colonial apparatuses in all of their forms.

NOTES

I draw a distinction between post-colonial/postcolonial and (post)colonial, which I believe reflects the ongoing debate over the terminology used to describe the framework, which I will discuss in greater detail in a later section. In brief, I consider post-colonial/postcolonial to be older, interchangeable terms for the field of study, which positions the discipline as literally coming after the colonial period, and which problematically glosses over the fact that not only are some people still locked in overt colonial formations, but not all people have experienced 'moving past' the history of colonization in the same way. In my own writing, I elect to use the signifier (post)colonial in order to reflect some of these complexities and situate my work within the most current discursive trends, but will use post-colonial/postcolonial in direct quotes or when specifically referring to earlier formulations of the framework.

1. I use terms such as framework, interpretation, and discourse more or less interchangeably in naming the set of (post)colonial approaches to creating meaning (approaches is another one). I also use the terms discipline, field of study, and theory to describe a codified set of (post)colonial tenets with academic practitioners, such as it is.

2. I do not mean to imply a strictly delineated break from (post)colonial frameworks merely based on the turn of the century. Certainly (post)colonial readings of *The Tempest* persist well into the first decade of the century, though it is perhaps worth noting that there has been an apparent sharp decline in such readings roughly since 2006. Further, debates around (post)colonial studies more broadly pre-date the turn of the century, and are still alive and well in 2015.

3. It is interesting to note that even in his attempt to mock the notion of Prospero-as-colonizer, Lindley quietly but explicitly cedes control of the island to Prospero, referring to it as "his (Prospero's) island". This would seem to actually reinforce the validity of the colonial formation which Lindley seeks to diminish.

4. See M. Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet* (Oxford: 1992) for a comprehensive analysis of the contemporary British social and political context surrounding Shakespeare's initial mobilization as a symbol of British literature, and as a mark of civilization the world over as the figure of Shakespeare-as-author eventually expands beyond British domesticity and becomes enmeshed with colonial warfare across the globe.

5. Decolonization has become increasingly utilized as a term describing the end goal of (post)colonial studies: the liberation, physically and mentally, literally and metaphorically, of formerly colonized lands and peoples. For a particularly compelling example, see Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'O's *Decolonizing the Mind*.

6. I refer to this as a newer perspective because the collection itself came out in 2008, and most of the essays featured in it were not widely published until the 2000s. It should be mentioned, however, that Hauʻofa had been theorizing these (post)colonial perspectives, giving talks on them, and publishing iterations of them since at least the early 1990s.

WORKS CITED

Dasenbrock, Reed Way. "Imitation versus Contestation: Walcott's Postcolonial Shakespeare." *Callaloo* 28.1 (2005): 104-13. *Project MUSE*. Web. 20 Nov. 2014.

Dobson, Michael. *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992. Print.

Fujikane, Candace, and Jonathan Y. Okamura. *Asian Settler Colonialism from Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi*. Honolulu: U of Hawaiʻi, 2008. Print.

Hauʻofa, Epeli. *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*. Honolulu: U of Hawaiʻi, 2008. Print.

Hutcheon, Linda. *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Kidnie, Margaret Jane. *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009. Print.

Krog, Antjie. *Begging to Be Black*. Cape Town, South Africa: Random House Struik, 2009. Print.

Loomba, Ania, and Martin Orkin. *Post-colonial Shakespeares*. London: Routledege, 1998. Print.

Loomba, Ania. *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*. New York: Oxford UP, 2002. Print.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.

Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*. Ed. David Lindley. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print. The New Cambridge Shakespeare.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi*. Honolulu: U of Hawaiʻi, 1999. Print.

Veracini, Lorenzo. "Introducing Settler Colonial Studies." *Settler Colonial Studies* 1.1 (2011): 1-12. *Project MUSE*. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387-409. *Project MUSE*. Web. 15 Nov. 2014.

Zito, George V. *The Sociology of Shakespeare: Explorations in a Sociology of Literature*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. Print.

V. Technology

GENERALIZATIONS AND EPISTEMIC AUTHORITY: ONLINE ANONYMOUS ADVICE GIVING IN JAPANESE

Olivia Cassetta, Department of East Asian Languages & Literatures

ABSTRACT

Research in the field of computer-mediated communication has demonstrated the influence of the online medium on the act of advice-giving (Locher, 2006; Morrow, 2012). The following study on advice-giving examined data collected from an online version of the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun*. In the section labeled *danjyou* 'men and women', users can anonymously seek advice concerning a particular relationship problem. This study focused on advice-giver posts containing generalizations from sixty topics chosen at random and correlating advice messages. This study was able to demonstrate how advice-givers used generalizations in lieu of personal experiences in order to establish epistemic authority for giving advice in an online, peer-to-peer, anonymous context.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Conveying personal thoughts, feelings, and information through online mediums has become commonplace in the daily lives of many individuals. Studies in the genre of computer-mediated communication have emerged in response to this seemingly ubiquitous mode of discourse and have examined various forms of online resources for dialogue including exchanges on advice columns (Bolander, 2012; Eisenchlas, 2010; Locher, 2006, Morrow, 2012; Placencia, 2012; Schmidt, 2007). The purpose of this paper is to examine advice-giving within the online context established by *Yomiuri Online*, which permits communication between anonymous users relating to an individual's highly personal matter: relationships. In particular, this study is interested in how advice-givers are able to construct advice in Japanese in a way that is perceived as acceptable to a stranger over the internet. Researchers have famously argued that the Japanese language in particular is indirect and polite, with the incorporation of mitigating devices such as honorifics and addressee terms in face-threatening situations (Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1989; Okamoto, 1999). Thus, giving advice over the internet in Japanese regarding personal matters can be described as unusual and perplexing. This study hopes to shed light on this phenomenon, investigating the degree to which communicating through the online medium has allowed for a shift in Japanese social practices.

In discussing how advice-givers are able to accomplish the act of advice-giving in the online forum, *Yomiuri Online*, this paper will employ Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. Brown and Levinson posit that advice-giving is a face-threatening act (FTA). Thus, in examining the act of advice-giving, previous research studies have incorporated Brown and Levinson's theory to analyze advice-giving in online, anonymous contexts in English and Japanese (Locher, 2006; Morrow, 2012). I will be focusing on an aspect of advice-giving that is particularly salient in the realization of advice in an anonymous, peer-to-peer, online sphere: epistemic authority. Researchers examining advice-giving in this context have demonstrated that advice-givers cite previous experience(s) with the subject of an advice-seeker's query in order to establish credibility for providing advice (Morrow, 2012; Placencia 2012). Instead, this study aims to demonstrate the strategy of incorporating generalizations for establishing authority when giving advice in *Yomiuri Online*. Through the examination of excerpts from advice-giver posts, this paper will reveal how advice-givers used generalizations to simultaneously construct an authoritative stance for assessing the advice-seeker's described situation, and to appeal to the intersubjectivity between the advice-giver and advice-seeker.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is common practice for individuals to look to others for advice when faced with a problem. Consequently, the act of advice-giving has been studied within many different languages, contexts, and disciplines (DeCapua and Dunham, 1993; Locher, 2006; Morrow, 2012; Placencia, 2012; Searle, 1969). Searle (1969) asserts that, when speaking a language, a speaker is "performing acts according to rules" (p. 22). He categorized "advising" as one of these completed speech acts or illocutionary acts, which speakers perform in talk. Searle outlines three conditions that need to be met by the speaker in order for the speaker to successfully perform a speech act: preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions. The sincerity condition is "… what the speaker *expresses* in the performance of the act [and the] preparatory condition [is what] he *implies* in the performance of the act" (p. 65). Lastly, the essential condition is what the speaker *says* in performing the illocutionary act. In advising, Searle argues that all of these conditions involve the speaker's belief that the advice given is in the "best interest" of, or will "benefit" the hearer (p. 67). Consequently, Searle describes advising as "…not trying to get you to do something in the sense that requesting is. Advising is more like telling you what is best for you" (p. 67). Thus, in accomplishing the illocutionary act of advising, Searle emphasizes the notion of advice-giving as a product of the advice-giver's genuine belief that giving advice will help the advice-seeker.

Drawing upon Searle's description of "advising," Locher (2006) posited that giving advice is "… [to] offer an opinion about how to solve a particular problem and by doing so [implies] that the suggested course of action is beneficial to the advice-seeker" (p. 3). With the aim of understanding the strategies used for giving advice, Locher examined an online advice column called *Lucy Answers*, which was administered by a health program at an American University. In analyzing the linguistic realizations of advice-giving, Locher conducted a qualitative content analysis and determined the content structure of advice. One part of the qualitative content analysis included categorizing Lucy's discursive moves. Advice was one of the discursive moves identified, and was differentiated from assessment moves and providing one's own experience. Advice moves were determined syntactically as declarative, interrogative, and imperative forms. In contrast with advice moves, Locher (2006) argued that assessment moves were those in which, "…the questioner's particular situation is mentioned and evaluated… [and] is thus an adoption of the questioner's text" (p. 63).

Locher then examined advice-givers' "relational work" (p. 52), which developed from Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, advice-giving is characterized as a face-threatening act (FTA), and researchers studying advice-giving in Western and non-Western contexts have supported this claim (Locher, 2006; Morrow, 2012; Wierzbicka, 2012). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the act of giving advice may "threaten the addressee's negative face want by indicating that the speaker does not intend to avoid impeding the hearer's freedom of action" (p. 66). They also argue that advice-giving can be threatening to the advisee's positive face because the advice-giver's image of the advice-seeker may not coincide with the advice-seeker's positive face. Locher (2006) defined relational work as how the advice-giver "…tries to account for the fact that he or she is committing a face-threatening act by counseling the advisee" (p. 52). She categorized different types of relational work strategies for mitigating the face threatening act of advice-giving, and found that advice-givers used bonding, boosting, criticizing, empathizing, hedging, praising, and humor (p. 116). Furthermore, she ascertained that one discursive move, such as advice, can have occurrences of more than one of these strategies for accomplishing relational work.

In this study, advice-giving occurs between "users" on the online site, *Yomiuri Online*, created by the popular Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun*. The online medium of this discourse context has been shown to have an impact on advice-giving (Locher, 2006; Morrow, 2012; Placencia, 2012). Placencia (2012) studied online advice in Spanish, generated through a service by Yahoo called Yahoo! Respuestas (Yahoo Answers). Placencia argued that the instantaneousness of the online world fosters a more equal relationship between the advice-seeker and advice-giver. The absence of authority figures in editing the content of the posts and/or in

controlling the format of the posts contributes to the informal nature of communication within these types of blogs.

Morrow (2012) investigated advice-giving in Japanese on a website called *Rikon,* where individuals requested advice from anonymous peers on the topic of divorce. The explicit linguistic forms used for giving advice in Japanese were directives, first person volitional forms, and most frequently, interrogative forms. Morrow did not find any occurrences of imperatives and asserted that the use of imperatives can be very threatening to recipients and are generally avoided" (268). Morrow also found that advice-givers used *to omoimasu* '[I] think' often, and argued that this was the advice-givers' use of hedging in advice messages. Thus, Morrow asserted that by using these face saving strategies, advice-givers on *Rikon* supported Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness.

In addition, Morrow (2012) found that advice-givers were generally empathetic, and demonstrated how advice-givers referenced the advice-seekers' social roles as a means of encouragement (e.g., 'please keep on taking care of him as his wife') (p. 270). Morrow argued that expressing empathy and referring to social roles might be correlated to the Japanese cultural values of *omoiyari* (empathy) and *uchi/soto* (in-group/out-group), suggesting that the cultural values tied to the advice-givers' native language is an important factor in the strategies used for advice-giving. Morrow also found that advice-givers often provided his or her experience in relation to the advice-seeker's query. He asserted that by providing a personal experience with the topic described, advice-givers were establishing credibility for giving advice. Furthermore, he argues that advice-givers needed to establish credibility due to their peer and non-expert status on the *Rikon* site. Morrow's (2012) study presented support for Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness in the context of advice-giving in Japanese, and asserted that advice-givers referenced personal **experience**(s) with the topic of the advice-seeker's query for demonstrating authority for giving advice. The goal of this study is to expand upon Morrow's research of advice-giving in Japanese, in which many of the users who participated in the *Rikon* forum had experience with divorce and therefore, could reference personal experience(s) to establish credibility. In the next section, I will be introducing generalizations as a strategy used by advice-givers for demonstrating authority and expressing speaker stance within the forum *Yomiuri Online*, which contains more varied topics within the broad category of relationships.

2.1. Generalizations as a Tool for Marking Speaker Stance

Generalizations have been discussed as a powerful resource for individual stance-taking (Scheibman, 2007). Stance refers to "…expressions of position and attitude that are relevant both to individual speakers (their subjective uses) and to relational activities among participants (their intersubjective uses)" (Scheibman, 2007, p. 211). The notion that generalizations are produced collaboratively between speaker and hearer, and are inherently both subjective and intersubjective, was demonstrated through Scheibman's analysis of generalizations found in segments of 10 conversations taken from both the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English and unpublished transcripts. Scheibman focused on generalizations containing general subjects that identified classes. These general subjects included *they*, *you*, *one*, and plural and singular lexical noun phrases. She identified two characteristics behind the influence of generalizations in talk: "(1) they make reference to (and assess) general classes, (2) which gives them broadening, or inclusive, functions…" (p. 213). For example, Scheibman demonstrated how the generalization "the people I work with, sometimes are stupid" was used by the speaker to concurrently evaluate and strengthen his or her stance (p. 114). In expanding the class to "people" as opposed to citing particular employees, Scheibman argues that the speaker is "implicitly augmenting its evidential weight or appeal in interaction" (p. 114). Furthermore, she argues that the group of people the speaker refers to as "the people I work with…" is a common class that is referenced by American people, eliciting hearers to "…fill in and elaborate the meaning of this expression" (p. 114). Thus, Scheibman posits that stance-taking is not only an individual's position in relation to a topic, but can also be an individual's attitude towards other speakers and social norms. In addition, stance can be demonstrated through aligning or

even dissociating from a particular group. In this way, Scheibman discusses generalizations as inherently subjective and intersubjective; generalizations were subjective in that they can express an individual's personal evaluation, yet also intersubjective by drawing upon shared beliefs that help in the construction of a unified evaluation between the speaker and the hearer.

The way in which advice-givers use generalizations as a tool for establishing credibility for evaluating the advice-seeker due to the advice-giver's shared status as a non-expert, while at the same time creating an intersubjective space with the advice-seeker on an online forum developed by *Yomiuri Online* will be examined in this study. The term generalization will be defined as a linguistic resource used by advice-givers to "… evaluate [advice-seekers], demonstrate solidarity with [advice-seekers] and authorize opinions… [these statements] are naturally broadening and inclusive… typically [indexing] commonly held beliefs…" (Scheibman, 2007, p.112). The aim of this study is to explore how advice-givers are able to utilize generalizations for expressing authoritative stance within the context of advice-giving in Japanese, which has not been examined in previous studies.

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The previous literature has indicated that advice-giving is a face-threatening act, and Japanese advice-givers have been argued to use mitigating strategies for giving advice even in the online context. Morrow (2012) asserted that advice-givers engaged in face-saving strategies, such as hedging, for weakening the directive force of advice-giving within the Japanese online environment, which supported Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (p. 276). As a consequence of the online medium and peer-to-peer status of advice-giving and receiving, Morrow argued that advice-givers offered their own experiences with an advice-seeker's problem in order to establish credibility for giving advice. The website examined for this study also involved Japanese online advice-giving between peers. However, differing from Morrow's study which presupposes that the advice-givers have had experience with divorce simply by participating on the website *Rikon,* the theme for advice-giving in this study was "relationships." Due to the variability in topics within the broad category of relationships on *Yomiuri Online,* it was not as certain whether the advice-giver had a similar experience with the advice-seeker's problem. Therefore, this research study aims to answer the following research questions:

3.1. Research Questions

1) How do advice-givers use generalizations for expressing authoritative stance and accomplishing the act of giving advice on a matter that is highly personal and specific to an anonymous advice-seeker within an online forum?

2) In an online forum, do generalizations reduce or worsen the face threat generated by the act of advice-giving?

4.0. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data was retrieved from the online version of *Yomiuri Online* from the period of August to September 2012. In the section labeled *danjyou* (men and women), users can anonymously post a question regarding a problem with a spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend, and solicit advice from the general public. Although other categories of advice-giving are available on this site, only posts within this category were analyzed. The original advice-seeker post and the corresponding advice-giver posts are saved in an online archive and are accessible to the online community. Underneath the advice-seeker's post, there is an option to share the particular article via social media and other platforms. There are no restrictions as to who can or cannot post a query as an advice-seeker. Advice-seekers who post on this site did not reveal their real names, and instead used pen names and were assigned a unique user identification number.

Sixty advice-seeker posts were chosen at random, which included the first 20 advice-giver posts that correlated with each advice-seeker post. Following Scheibman's (2007) study on generalizations in English, this study will present a qualitative analysis of advice-giver posts involving generalizations in Japanese. In particular, the group of generalizations involving general subjects in the form of a lexical noun phrases (plural or singular) were the focus of this study. Therefore, from the sixty advice-seeker posts, a total number of 31 posts containing general subjects and demonstratives were identified and chosen for analysis.

5.0. ANALYSIS

General characteristics of advice-giving in *Yomiuri Online* were determined based on Morrow's (2012) study of online advice-giving in Japanese. In line with Morrow, advice-seeker posts will be termed 'problem message' and advice-giver posts will be termed 'advice message'. Consistent with Morrow's findings, directives, interrogative forms and first person volitional forms (i.e., hortatives) of advice-giving were found respectively:

(1)   a.   *Shinyou dekinai nara wakarete kudasai.*
               If you can't trust [him] please break up.

        b.   *Mou ichido hontou ni kare de ii no ka yoku kangaete mitara dou desyou ka?*
               How about [you] really try to think hard one more time about whether or not this guy is good [for you]?

        c.   *Jinsei no benkyou dai to omotte kyanseru ryou haratte yamemasyou.*
               Think about it as your life learning experience, let's pay the cancellation fee and quit.

In contrast to Morrow's study, there were also occurrences of imperative verb forms found within the data.

(2)   a.   *Goryoushin no iu toori yametokinasai.*
               Do as your parents say, stop.

        b.   *Jibun de kangaenasai*
               Think for yourself.

In addition to the explicit linguistic forms for giving advice in Japanese that are identified above, (action + *hou ga ii*) '(action) is better [to do]' was also found for proposing the best course of action to the advice-seeker:

(3)   a.   *Dakara sassa to kekkon shita hou ga ii yo.*
               Therefore, it is better to get married quickly.

The findings above demonstrate examples of advice-giving in Japanese that do not incorporate mitigating devices for reducing the face-threat of giving advice, and appear bald on record. In particular, contrasting with Morrow's (2012) assertion that "…directives framed as imperatives can be very threatening to recipients and are generally avoided…" usage of the imperative verb form by advice-givers in the *Yomiuri Online* forum were identified in this study (p. 268). In the next section, I will analyze the types of generalizations used by advice-givers for expressing speaker stance.

5.1. Generalizations In Japanese

The generalizations discussed in this section involve general subjects in Japanese. In order to apply Scheibman's study of generalizations of English to generalizations in Japanese, the demonstratives *konna/sonna/anna* (this sort of/that sort of) and *kouiu/souiu/aiiu* (this type of/those type of) when used in conjunction with noun phrases will be proposed as generalization markers as in the following examples that were seen in advice-giver posts:

(4)   a. ***Sonna ningen*** *shinyou dekinai kara.*
            Because you cannot trust **that sort of human being**.

        b. ***Souiu hito*** *wa daiji ni saremasen.*
            That type of person will not be valued.

The inclusion of these demonstratives as generalization markers in Japanese aligns with the examples presented in Scheibman's study (e.g., *those guys* and *these women*).

        The excerpts presented below are segments of advice-messages demonstrating the use of generalizations for expressing advice-giver stance. Excerpt (5a) is taken from an advice message written to an advice-seeker who lied about her age to her now fiancé:

(5)   a. *Kare wa kekkon aite ga nansai no ojyousan ka, touzen oya ni tsutaeru desyou.*
            Mou itteru kamo ne.
            Kare dake nara mada shi mo, kare oya ni made nenrei wo itsuwatte puropoozu saseta toshi ue onna to omowaremasu yo.
            Kekkon yurushite morae nai desyou ne. ***Sonna ningen*** *shinyou dekinai kara.*
            Kare ga oya ni iu mae ni kuitomenai to ne (warai).
            'Naturally, he will tell his parents how old his marriage partner is, don't you think?
            He probably already told [them].
            Not only by him, but even by his parents, you will be thought of as the older woman who lied about her age.
            [His parents] will probably not forgive the marriage because **that sort of person** can't be trusted.
            Before he tells his parents, you should stop him (laugh).'

        In the problem message, the advice-seeker states that because her boyfriend proposed, she can no longer hide her real age. She then describes her feeling of worry and asks for advice in regards to the timing or situation in which she should tell her fiancé the truth so that he will forgive her. In constructing his or her response, the advice-giver does not adhere to the advice-seeker's request. Rather, the provided advice refers to the fiancé's parents, which appears in the last line of the advice message as, "Before he tells his parents [you lied], you should stop him…". This advice pertained to taking precautionary measures against the parents finding out about the advice-giver's action instead of finding the best means for confessing to her fiancé. Thus, the advice-giver alludes to the judgment of the fiancé's parents whom concurrently represents the societal norm and validates the advice-giver's opinion, and then subsequently provides off-record advice in the form of advice + *nai to* 'ought to do advice'.

        Prior to providing this advice, the advice-giver expresses his negative stance towards the advice-seeker's action of lying about her age by stating that the fiancé's parents will perceive the advice-seeker as "the older female who lied about her age and was proposed to." The advice-giver uses the parents' disapproval as a vehicle for subjectively conveying his or her evaluation in regards to the advice-seeker's action of lying. By referencing the opinion of parental figures, whose role is familiar to both the advice-seeker and advice-giver as to evaluate the actions of children, the advice-giver establishes an intersubjective space for providing personal disapproval of the advice-seeker's action. Following this evaluation, which is also the advice-giver's imagined reality in the event that the advice-seeker were to confess to her fiancé, the advice-giver invites the advice-seeker to agree with *desyou ne* (Yoshimi, 1999). After expressing his or her subjective stance regarding the advice-seeker's described actions, the advice-giver establishes an intersubjective stance with the advice-seeker within the talk in order to deliver advice that will be "heard" as authoritative to the advice-seeker. The generalization, *sonna ningen shinyou dekinai kara* 'because that sort of person cannot be trusted', fulfills this role and unifies the advice-giver's subjective evaluation of the advice-seeker with the intersubjective advice appealing to the advice-seeker.

The subject noun phrase *sonna ningen* 'those people' is identified by the advice-giver as people who cannot be trusted. In this example, those people who cannot be trusted refers to people who lie, or implicitly, the advice-seeker, who belongs to this class of people because she admitted to lying about her age in the problem message. The demonstrative *sonna* 'that sort of,' which I argue to be a generalization marker in Japanese, has been shown to connote a negative attitude on behalf of the speaker (Naruoka, 2012). Consequently, *sonna* expresses the evaluative stance of the advice-giver towards the advice-seeker. *Sonna* is also deictic, connoting shared-ness of this information with the advice-seeker. Therefore, in this generalization, the advice-giver is able to demonstrate his or her personal or subjective stance through the use of *sonna,* as well as a shared or intersubjective stance through broadening the scope to people (*ningen*). By broadening the class to people (*ningen)*, the advice-giver is able to gain authority for evaluating the advice-seeker by introducing a belief that is shared through societal norms which places a value upon "telling the truth".

This example contrasts with Scheibman's (2007) study, which presented generalizations that were centered on people that were not present in the course of the conversation. The online medium presents a forum in which the advice-giver can negatively evaluate the advice-seeker through providing bald on record assessments of the advice-seekers, or by implicitly referring to the advice-seeker within a generalization containing an evaluation. In this excerpt, the generalization was demonstrated as a powerful tool, inviting the advice-seeker to share the advice-giver's evaluation, and identify herself as a person within a group of people being negatively evaluated. In the online sphere, this highly face-threatening act was able to occur, but still involved the advice-giver establishing a unifying stance with the advice-seeker in order for the advice to be considered valid and related to the reader's concern. The effort undertaken on behalf of the advice-giver to produce an intersubjective stance with the advice-seeker was demonstrated from the deictic *sonna* and referencing the group *ningen* 'people' whom the advice-giver and advice-seeker have shared knowledge about. Although, *sonna ningen* 'those people' was a group of people constructed by the advice-giver specifically oriented for evaluating the advice-seeker as indicated by *sonna*, in referencing a broader group of people, the generalization also conveyed an authoritative stance. Consequently, in contrast with Morrow's (2012) study, in the online context of *Yomiuri Online,* advice-givers were able to express this authoritative stance without providing a personal experience demonstrating familiarity with the topic. In lieu of a personal experience, the advice-givers drew upon information that was shared between advice-giver and advice-seeker.

The advice-giver in excerpt (6a) constructs advice for an advice-seeker who describes negative interactions with a co-worker whom she also has romantic feelings for:

(6)   a.   *Dakedo watashi nara kare mitai na hito to wa tsukiaitakunai ka na?*
                Futsuu kinmu jikan ni douryou aite ni sonna koukousei mitaina nori de kotoba o hasshi wa shinai.
                Shigoto no TPO ga nattenai otona no jikaku no nai hito nante syouraisei nai kara.
                'But, if it were me I probably wouldn't date a person like him.
                Generally during work hours [one] does not utter a word to a coworker in that kind of high school like way.
                The likes of a person who does not have the idea of TPO [time, place, or occasion] for work and doesn't recognize him/herself as an adult who doesn't have future prospects.'

After describing her love interest's behavior at work, the advice-seeker requested advice-giver opinion(s) in regards to whether or not his actions were an expression of his hatred for her. In contrast with the previous example, the advice-giver accepts the advice-seeker's request and provides his or her perspective on the advice-seeker's situation. Although the advice-seeker did not explicitly request for the advice-giver to propose a beneficial course of action, the advice-giver self-selected himself or herself to inform the advice-seeker of how she should proceed in her interactions with him in the future. This move, evaluating the advice-seeker's future interactions, is potentially face-threatening to the advice-seeker's negative face because the advice-seeker may feel that the advice-giver is inhibiting her freedom of action.

The advice was provided implicitly to the advice-seeker in the line, *dakedo watashi nara kare mitaina hito to wa tsukiaitakunai ka na* 'but if it were me, I probably wouldn't want to date a person like him'. The advice-giver conveys her "inner feelings" in this utterance using the particle *na* (Maynard, 2005, p. 859). In expressing that he or she personally would not date him, the advice-giver offers implicit advice to the advice-seeker, which is that the *advice-seeker,* should not be interested in dating "a person like him" (*kare mitaina hito)*. Since the advice-seeker did not explicitly request for advice-giver responses as to whether she should or should not be interested in her coworker, this implicit advice can also be considered unsolicited advice. After providing this advice, the advice-giver then provides an evaluation of the love-interest's actions in the next line and asserts, "During normal working hours [one] does not utter a word in that kind of high school like way." In this line, the advice-giver is referring to the man described by the advice-seeker. The advice-giver's attitude towards the advice-seeker's love interest can be ascertained as negative through the use of the demonstrative *sonna* 'that kind of' and from the characterization of his actions as "high school like" (*koukousei mitaina*) during "work hours" (*roudou jikan).*

In the last line of the advice message, the advice-giver produces the generalization, *"Shigoto no TPO ga nattenai otona no jikaku no nai hito nante syouraisei nai kara"* 'The likes of a person who does not have the idea of TPO [time, place, or occasion] for work and doesn't recognize themselves as adults doesn't have future prospects'. TPO has been defined as "[the] time, place or condition designating standard propriety of speech, dress and behavior" (Honna, 1995). This generalization allows the advice-giver to connect his or her previous evaluations of the advice-seeker's love interest that are subjective, with shared notions of acceptable actions for *otona* 'adults' that are intersubjective. In introducing the class *hito* 'person', the advice-giver uses the discourse strategy of broadening. Scheibman (2007) asserts, "If a speaker's claim can be considered true for a larger class of entities or situations, then there is an assumption that the claim is stronger than it would be…" (p. 129). Thus, as Scheibman argues and as shown in the previous example, by broadening the class to *hito* 'person', which refers to both the man the advice-seeker is inquiring about as well as other people who do not have the idea of TPO, the advice-giver establishes an authoritative stance. In this case, by broadening the class to *hito* 'person', the advice-giver establishes authority for providing advice to the advice-seeker, which involves the negative evaluation of the advice-seeker's love interest. The advice-giver expresses his or her evaluative stance of the advice-seeker's love interest through *nante* 'the likes of'. Suzuki (1998) asserts that *nante* is used when the degree of incorporation is low or when the "… the speaker is psychologically distanced from the information," and outlines particular conditions that are met when *nante* is used. One condition involves information that is "… disputed or disapproved by the speaker" (p. 433). Without the inclusion of *nante* in the advice-giver's generalization, the utterance becomes a direct declarative statement: "A person who does not have the idea of TPO for work and doesn't recognize him/herself as an adult does not have future prospects." Thus, the advice-giver references a notion regarding the type of behavior appropriate at work between coworkers in order to gain authority for making an evaluation of the advice-seeker's love interest. The evaluative stance of this utterance is conveyed by the use of *nante,* which aligns with the aforementioned utterances containing bald on record negative evaluations of the advice-seeker's love interest.

As shown in this excerpt, generalizations can be used to gain authority not only for evaluating an advice-seeker's action such as lying as in excerpt (5a), but also, from the advice-giver's perspective, for being interested in the wrong partner. Again, this is particularly face-threatening to the advice-seeker for the reason that the advice-giver is indicating a gap in the advice-seeker's maturity in understanding this facet of the problem, which was not identified by the advice-seeker in the problem message. In addition, this excerpt demonstrated another resource for expressing evaluative stance that is not a demonstrative, which was *nante*. *Nante* revealed the advice-giver's personal subjectivity under the guise of the authoritative stance established in broadening the class and referring to the notion of TPO, evidencing a particular orientation of the generalization towards the advice-seeker. Furthermore, if this generalization was left out of the advice message, the negative evaluation regarding the advice-seeker's love interest's lack of TPO could still be ascertained through the

description of his actions as "high school like during work hours." However, the generalization appearing at the end reveals a specific move on the part of the advice-giver within the online interface. This generalization appeals to the advice-seeker's attitude regarding the person she likes and is oriented towards establishing intersubjectivity, occurring in conjunction with the advice-giver's presentation of unsolicited advice, while also directing her towards the advice-giver's solution of discontinuing her interest in him.

Except (7a) was an advice message written for an advice-seeker whose boyfriend had an affair with a younger female at work:

(7) a. *Jibun ga kou dakara, souiu aite ga tsuitekuru.*
Baka na otoko to iru yori hitori de ita hou ga ii, to iu kigai aru   jyosei wa,_taisetsu ni sare masu.
Demo, sou ieru jyosei wa, kouiu otoko o erabanai shi, motto hayaku ni mikiri to omoimasu.
Jibun o daiji ni shiteiru jyosei wa, aite kara daiji ni sareru.
(hitori ni naritakunai kara) "kouiu atsukai demo ii" to iu no wa jisonshin ni kaketa jyoutai. Souiu hito wa daiji ni saremasen.
'Because you are this way, that kind of partner accompanies [you].
Women with backbone who would rather be alone than be with a stupid boy will be valued.
But women who can say this will not choose a boy like this, and I think will abandon him more quickly.
A woman who values herself, will be valued by her partner.
(Because I don't want to be alone) "Even this type of treatment is okay" is a situation with a lack of self-respect. That type of person will not be valued.'

The advice-seeker expressed a feeling of anguish from trying to mend a relationship with her unfaithful boyfriend. The advice-seeker asked the advice-giver(s), had they been in her situation, if they would have ended the relationship. Instead of complying with the advice-seeker's request and providing the confirmation that she sought, the advice-giver reformulates the request to be a matter of ascertaining why the advice-seeker was in that particular situation to begin with.

The advice that was given to the advice-seeker was provided in the generalization, "*Jibun ga kou dakara, souiu aite ga tsuitekuru*" 'That type of partner accompanies [you] because you are this way'. *Souiu aite* 'that type of partner' refers to the advice-seeker's boyfriend and indexes a group of partners that accompany a person that is "like this" (*kou)*, the advice-seeker. This generalization encompasses the advice-giver's central advice-giving point or theme, which is for the advice-seeker to recognize that *she* is the person who is responsible for attracting that type of partner. Similar to the function of the deictic *sonna* 'that sort of' in excerpt (9), the deictic *kou* is used as a mechanism for inserting the advice-giver's evaluative or subjective stance within the utterance. *Kou* expresses the advice-giver's subjective stance because the deictic indexes something that is closely connected to the advice-giver. However, the characteristics that *kou* is comprised of cannot be determined prior to reading the subsequent lines asserting the types of characteristics that the advice-seeker is not; the advice-giver described women who were valued by others, and created a contrast by indicating that *kou* pertained to women who were not valued because they allow their partners to treat them poorly because they do not wanting to be alone. *Kou* functions not only as an evaluative marker, but also as a placeholder for subsequent subjective expressions of the advice-giver's evaluative stance toward the advice-seeker.   The realized advice, then, is for the advice-seeker to realize that she is a woman who does not value herself, and until she starts valuing herself, she will attract that type of partner.

This type of advice is particularly face-threatening for the advice-seeker, in which the advice-giver explicitly asserts that he or she is able to ascertain, from reading a problem message online, the personal characteristics of the advice-seeker more clearly than the advice-seeker herself. In contrast with excerpt (5a) and excerpt (6a), this generalization, which asserts that the advice-giver knows "who the advice-seeker is," is produced in the first line of the advice-message prior to referring to any sociocultural norms for grounding the

generalization. Rather, the deictic *kou* is expanded upon after this bald on record move made by the advice-giver. Thus, in the absence of face-to-face interaction, the online medium permits the advice-giver to compensate for turns that may normally be produced by the other party participating in the talk. The advice-giver is able to construct a stance between himself or herself and a presumed advice-seeker who is reading his or her advice message. Thus, rather than simply providing straightforward declaratives throughout the advice message, the advice-giver is able to draw the advice-seeker into the talk through the use of the deictic *kou,* and implicitly refer to notions of valuing oneself afterwards for establishing a joint stance with the advice-seeker. Despite the online context for talk, the generalization allows for the advice-giver to actively accommodate the advice-seeker's stance, yet at the same time, direct the order in which the advice is realized.

6.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Advice-givers employed generalizations for implicitly evaluating advice-seekers' described actions and thoughts towards a particular subject and situation, and were able to authoritatively direct the advice-seeker towards what he or she believed to be the best course of action. Authority for giving advice was accomplished by broadening the scope from the subject of the advice-seeker to the subjects of *ningen* or *hito* 'people', which expanded the advice-giver's domain for evaluating the advice-seeker's query and also validated the advice-giver's claim by referring to communal knowledge regarding *ningen* or *hito*. Evaluative stance was expressed through the deictics *sonna* and *kou* and the colloquial expression *nante* under the cover of authoritative stance provided by the structure of generalizations or the broadening of classes and references to normative views of behavior. Normative views relating to behaviors of telling the truth, reflecting maturity in the workplace, and valuing oneself were shown in this study. Referencing social norms within generalizations permitted the advice-giver to "gain ground" on a topic that he or she may have known nothing about prior to reading the problem message. Advice-givers were shown to restructure advice-seeker queries, while also seeking to create a unified stance with the advice-seeker; the advice-givers created this unified stance on their "own terms" in a self-directed order in lieu of face-to-face interaction, yet constructed talk accommodating an advice-seeker who was not present. Furthermore, this study was able to demonstrate the extent to which advice-givers engaged in exceptionally face-threatening acts in Japanese, which can be described as unusual given the previous literature characterizing Japanese speakers to often use mitigation devices in face-threatening situations.

The behavior of Japanese users on *Yomiuri Online* is indisputably attributable to the online medium that affords anonymous individuals the ability to access another individual's problems and provide his or her judgment. In communication studies, anonymity has been argued to be a key factor in the manifestation of unusual participant behavior. The social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE) has been used to explain behavior in online contexts where anonymity is present (Reicher, 1995). SIDE posits that anonymity is one of the characteristics in a social context that can lead to deindividuation or "loss of self in the group" (Reicher, 1995, p. 16). Reicher (1995) states, "where manipulations of visibility reduce cues of interpersonal difference while increasing cues to collective similarity, then personal identity will become less salient. Consequently, adherence to group norms will increase" (p. 16). Thus, from the perspective of communication studies, it can be argued that the advice-givers oriented towards collective norms including those about gender such as in excerpt (7a), in which the advice-giver provides advice relating to becoming a woman who values herself.

However, from a linguistics viewpoint, the type of discourse that was achieved by the advice-giver that mutually expressed evaluative stance, but was also inclusive of the advice-seeker, resulted from the careful construction of talk in which anonymity can only be described as a contributing factor. The type of talk constructed by the advice-giver within these excerpts can be described as a pseudo-collaborative shift, in which the advice-giver constructs his or her response as if the advice-seeker were present to collaborate in the realization of advice. Overstreet and Yule (1997) investigated non-lexicalized categories within telephone conversations that were constructed through the use of general extenders. General extenders were defined as

"… a set of clause-final expressions of the form conjunction + noun phrase that extend otherwise grammatically complete utterances… and that are nonspecific in their reference" (p. 87). Examples of general extenders included "*and stuff (like that)*, *and everything*, *and what have you*" (p. 87). These expressions were argued to be "locally contingent" and were heavily restricted by the context in which they appeared. Overstreet and Yule (1997) argued that speakers used general extenders in order to "… convey an assumption of shared knowledge and to invite the recipient to provide any additional information as needed to identify the referenced category… general extenders appear to be indicators of an assumption of intersubjectivity" (p. 95). Drawing on Overstreet and Yule's notion of locally contingent categories, the generalizations produced by the advice-givers within this study can be described as restricted to appearing in the particular advice message within the *Yomiuri Online* forum. This study showed that advice-givers reconstructed the advice-seeker's query, but appealed to intersubjectivity through expressions of evaluative stance involving mechanisms such as deictics, as if the advice-seeker were present. However, rather than two parties (the advice-giver and the advice-seeker) negotiating the categories in the realization of advice, the advice-giver unilaterally categorizes a particular subject through the use of the generalization, which can be likened to a general extender. Therefore, in confronting a face-threatening act in the online sphere, the advice-giver enters a world created by the advice-seeker within the problem message, and provides advice after reinventing the categories presented by the advice-seeker. Whether or not the advice-seeker aligns with the category made by the advice-giver cannot be verified, which is why the advice-giver's move can be described as unilateral.

In conclusion, Overstreet and Yule's notion of locally contingent categories within talk provides valuable insight into the generalizations employed by advice-givers in *Yomiuri Online* that cannot be adequately explained by the SIDE model. Advice-givers assume a certain degree of shared knowledge with the advice-seeker and restructure the advice-seeker's query or proposed category based upon this assumption. In face-to-face interaction, participants may engage in negotiation towards the reclassification of these categories in pursuit of the result of realized advice. However, in the online sphere, the advice-giver attempts to interject his or her stance within a space that was previously established by the advice-seeker. For the advice-seeker and the advice-giver to inhabit a shared world within this online sphere, the advice-giver must carefully create advice that is able to draw the advice-seeker into his or perspective that is also based on a commonality inherently found between two strangers.

7.0. APPENDIX

(1)   a.   Advice-seeker post in excerpt (5a)
恋人に年齢を偽ったままプロポーズされ困っています
私は34歳の小柄で童顔な会社員です。
30歳の彼と合コンをきっかけに付き合っています。
彼は私を20代と勘違いし、ガンガンアプローチしてきました。
私も自分の年を28歳と偽り、彼との交際と楽しんできたのですが半年後、彼から正式にプロポーズされたのです。
驚きと嬉しさとうしろめたさと…まるで篠原涼子の歌みたいな気持ちでOKはしたものの、本当の事を言えず、困っています。
もし、本当は34歳って言ったら、彼は怒って私から去ってしまうかもと思うと怖くて切り出せないのです。
かと言って、結婚するのですからこのまま年を隠し続けることもできません。彼に嫌われず、どのようなシチュエーションで、タイミングで真実を話して許してもらえばいいのか悩んでいます。
アドバイスをお願いします。
Koibito ni nenrei o itsuwatta mama puropoozusare komatteimasu
Watashi wa 34 sai no kogara de dougan na kaisyain desu.
30 sai no kare to goukon o kikkake ni tsukiatteimasu.
Kare wa watashi o 20 dai to kanchigai shi, gan gan apuroochi shitekimashita.
Watashi mo jibun no toshi o 28 sai to itsuwari, kare to no kousai o tanoshindekita no desu ga hantoshigo, kare kara seishiki ni puropoozu sareta no desu.
Odoroki to ureshisa to ushirometasa to… maru de Shinohara Ryoko no uta mitai nakimochi de OK wa shita mono no, hontou no koto o iezu, komatteimasu.
Moshi, hontou wa 34 sai tte ittara, kare wa okotte watashi kara satte shimau ka moto omou to kowakute kiri dasenai no desu.
ka to itte, kekkon suru no desu kara kono mama toshi o kakushi tsuzukeru koto mo dekimasen. Kare ni kirawarezu, dono you na shicyueesyon de, taimingu deshinjitsu o hanashite yurushite moraeba ii no ka nayandeimasu.
Adobaisu onegaishimasu.
'I am worried because I was proposed to while I had lied about my age to my lover
I am a 34 year old, petite, baby-faced company worker.
I started dating a 30 year old man after a joint party.
He also misunderstood [my age as] 20's, and aggressively approached me.
I also lied about my own age as 28 years old, and I started enjoying exchanges with him, and after half a year he officially proposed.
Surprise and happiness and feeling guilt… it was a feeling just like the Shinohara Ryoko song and I said OK without saying the true thing, and I am worried.
If I said I was actually 34 years old, when I think he might get mad and leave me I am so afraid that I can't start talking.
Having said that, because we are getting married I cannot continue hiding my age like this.
I am worried about the right timing and situation to tell him the truth so he does not hate me and will forgive me.
Please give me advice.'

(1)   b.   Advice-giver post in excerpt (5a)
はぁ・・・
自業自得ですね。
この期に及んで「どのタイミングで・・」なんてタイミング計ってる場合じゃないですね。
この期に及んでまだ自分の保身ですか？
一刻も早く言う！それが誠意です。

ただでさえ不誠実で失礼な事してるんだから、それくらい自覚したら？
一刻も早く白状する。それ以外にないでしょ。
これ、彼が親に話していたら更に大変なことになりますよ。
自業自得です。
彼は結婚相手が何歳のお嬢さんか、当然親に伝えるでしょう。
もう言ってるかもね。
彼だけならまだしも、彼親にまで「年齢を偽ってプロポーズさせた年上女」と思われますよ。
結婚許してもらえないでしょうね。そんな人間信用出来ないから。
彼が親に言う前に食い止めないとね(笑)
Haa…
Jigoujitoku desu ne.
Kono ki ni oyonde "dono timingu de…" nante timingu hakatteru baai jyanai desu ne.
Kono jiki ni oyonde mada jibun no hoshin desu ka?
Ikkoku mo hayaku iu! Sore ga seii desu.
Tada de sae fuseijitsu de shitsurei na koto shiterun dakara, sore kurai jikaku shitara?
Ikkoku mo hayaku hakujyou suru. Sore igai ni nai desyo.
Kore kare ga oya ni hanashiteitara sara ni taihen na koto ni narimasu yo.
Jigoujitoku desu.
Kare wa kekkon aite ga nansai no ojyousan ka, touzen oya ni tsutaeru desyou.
Mou itteru kamo ne.
Kare dake nara mada shi mo, kare oya ni made nenrei wo itsuwatte puropoozu sareta toshi ue onna to omowaremasu yo.
Kekkon yurushite morae nai desyou ne. Sonna ningen shinyou dekinai kara.
Kare ga oya ni iu mae ni kuitomenai to ne (warai).
'Huh?
[You] are paying for your mistakes right?
At this time, it is not the situation to measure things such as, "what timing…"
At this time [it is] still your own self protection?
As soon as possible quickly say it! That is sincere.
Why don't you at least recognize that you are doing something simply dishonest and impolite?
At one moment quickly confess. There isn't anything other than that right?
If he tells his parents this, it will be an even more terrible thing.
Naturally, he will tell his parents how old his marriage partner is, don't you think?
He probably already told [them].
Not only by him, but even by his parents, you will be thought of as the older woman who lied about her age and made him propose.
[His parents] will probably not forgive the marriage because that sort of person can't be trusted.
Before he tells his parents, you should stop him (laugh).'

(2)   a.   Advice-seeker post in excerpt (6a)

私は嫌われているのでしょうか？
会社に好きな人います。
彼は私に冷たいというか、意地悪なんです。
私が落ち込むようなことを言ってきて、落ち込んでいる私を見て横で爆笑してたり、みんなの前で「向こういけー」とか平気でいいます。
遊びにいくのも私がメンバーに入っていると嫌だから行かないそうです。
話しかけてもいやそうにして「10秒でおわらせてー」っていって10かぞえて、「はいー終了ー」とか言って、私の困った顔みて笑います。
仕事で機嫌の悪いときは話しかけても無視することも度々あります。
でも、出張にいくときに、○○買ってきてっていうと買ってきてくれたこともありました。それも素直にはくれませんでしたが。。

好きな人からそういう態度をとられ、すごく落ち込んでしまって、1度、彼に「そういうのはすごく悲しいからやめてほしい。キライならはっきりそう言ってほしい」ってって言ったんです。そのときは無視されてしまいました。
でも、数日たって、「少しだけなら優しくしてもいい。でも、本当に少しだけ」って言われました。
キライだけど、流石にひどいとおもったから少しだけ優しくしてもいいっておもったんですかね？
彼は私のことキライなんでしょうか。。
Watashi wa kiwareteiru no desyou ka?
Kaisya ni suki na hito ga imasu.
Kare wa watashi ni tsumetai to iu ka, ijiwaru nan desu.
Watashi ga ochikomu you na koto o itte kite, ochikondeiru watashi o mite
yoko de bakusyou shitetari, minna no mae de "mukou ikee" to ka heiki de
iimasu.
Asobi ni iku no mo watashi ga menbaa ni haitteuiru to iya da kara ikanai sou
desu.
Hanashi kakete mo iyasou ni shite "10 byou de owarasetee" tte itte
10 kazoete, "haii syuuryou" toka itte, watashi no komatta kao mite
waraimasu.
Shigoto de kigen warui toki wa hanashi kakete mo mushi suru koto mo tabi
tabi arimasu.
Demo, syuccyou ni iku toki ni ○○ kattekite tte iu to katte kite kureta koto mo
arimashita.
Sore mo sunao ni kuremasendeshita ga…
Suki na hito kara souiu taido o torare, sugoku ochikonde shimatte ichido, kare
ni "souiu no wa sugoku kanashii kara yamete hoshii. Kirai nara hakkiri sou
itte hoshii" tte ittan desu. Sono toki wa mushi sareteshimaimashita.
Demo, suujitsu tatte, "sukoshi dake nara yasashiku shitemo ii. Demo, hontou
ni sukoshi dake" tte iwaremashita.
Kirai dakedo, sasuga ni hidoi to omotta kara sukoshi dake yasashikute mo ii
tte omottandesu ka ne?
Kare wa watashi no koto kirai nan desyou ka?
'Am I being disliked?
There is someone I like at work.
He is cold towards me, or rather, he is mean to me.
He says things that make me feel down, he sees me who is down and on the side he is laughing hard, and in front of everyone says, "go over there" unconcernedly.
Even when we go out if I am in the group it seems he doesn't go because he doesn't like it.
Even when I talk to him he says, "finish in 10 seconds," counts to ten and says things like, "okay, end" and laughs at my bothered face.
But, when he goes on business trips if I say can you buy ○○, he has bought ○○ for me.
That too he did not give it to me nicely…
To take attitude from someone [you] like, I became super down, and one time to him I said, "that type [of stuff] is really sad, please stop. If you hate me I want [you] to please frankly say so". At that time he ignored me.
But, after a few days, he said, "it's okay if it's just a little nicer. But really just a little".
He hates [me] but, he thought it was very cruel and thought if he was just a little nicer it would be enough right? He hates me right?'

(2)   b.   Advice-giver post in excerpt (6a)
その彼子どもだね
たぶん貴女に気があるから気を引こうとしてちょっぴり意地悪しているんだと思う。
本当に嫌いなら口に出さないけど無関心にただ社交辞令として淡々と相手にする位で意地悪な事なんて言わないし仕事上でしか相手にしないよね。

だけど私なら彼みたいな人とは付き合いたくはないかな？
普通勤務時間内に同僚相手にそんな高校生みたいなノリで言葉を発しはしない。
仕事のTPOがなってない大人の自覚の無い人なんて将来性ないから。
Sono kare kodomo da ne
Tabun anata ni ki ga aru kara ki o hikou toshite cyoppiri ijiwaru shiteirun da to omou.
Hontou ni kirai nara kuchi ni dasanai kedo mukanshin ni tada syakoujirei toshite tan tan to aite ni suru kurai de ijiwaru na koto nante iwanai shi shigoto jyou de shika aite ni shinai yo ne.
Dakedo watashi nara kare mitai na hito to wa tsukiaitaku wa nai kana?
Futsuu kinmu jikan nai ni douryou aite ni sonna koukousei mitai na nori de kotoba hasshi wa shinai. Shigoto no TPO ga nattenai otona no jikaku no nai hito nante syouraisei nai kara.
'That guy is a child isn't he?
I think he probably has feelings for you and is trying to get your attention and he is being a little mean to you.
If he really hated [you] he wouldn't say it, he would just associate with you politely and dispassionately, won't say mean things and only associate with you at work.
But, if it were me I probably wouldn't date a person like him.
Generally during work hours [one] does not utter a word to a coworker in that kind of high school like way.
The likes of a person who does not have the idea of TPO [time, place or
occasion] for work and doesn't recognize him/ herself as an adult who doesn't have future prospects.'

(3)   a.   Advice-seeker post in excerpt (7a)
              彼氏が会社の25歳年下の子と浮気してました
              ６年付き合い、昨年の12月に同棲を始めた彼氏（46歳）の彼氏が会社の新人の子と浮気しました。
              私は34歳です。
              同棲してからうまくいかなくなり、家事もろくに手伝ってくれない彼に嫌気がさし、冷たい態度をとっていたところを癒してくれたのだと思います。
              LINEの画面を開いてるのを見て発覚。
              お互い別れる気はなく、やり直そうということになったのですが、その後も仕事だと言ってアナ雪を見に行き、毎日メールしていました。
              やり直すと言った２日後にはメール再開していました。
              彼の会社には女子が４人しかいません。
              発覚してから半年経った今も一緒にいます。
              もうしてないと言いますが、信じるにもツライ状況です。
              それでも好きで一緒にいようと頑張っているつもりですが、相変わらず家事は言われないとほとんどしません。
              アナ雪見に行った日は、倉庫で作業して汗かいたから風呂洗ってと帰り際に電話があり、掃除しました。
              今考えても、虚しいです。
              ちなみに、謝られたことはありません。
              どうしていいのかわかりません。
              昔のように仲良くしたいのに、責めてしまいます。
              みなさんなら、こんな状況別れますよね？
              でも一人になって生きていけるか不安です。
              未だに 一言も謝らなかったこと、連絡先を消すのを、仕事で必要だからと言って消そうとしなかったこと、私の前で25歳も下の子とヤッタんだなぁと嬉しそうに言ったこと、吐きそうです。
              Kareshi ga kaisya no 25 sai toshi shita no ko to uwaki shitemashita
              6 nen tsukiai, sakunen no jyuunigatsu ni dousei o hajimeta kareshi (46 sai) no kareshi ga kaisya no shinjin no ko to uwaki shimashita.

Watashi wa 34 sai desu.
Dousei shite kara umaku ikanakunari, kaji mo roku ni tetsudattekurenai kare ni iyaki ga sashi, tsumetai taido o totteita tokoro o iyashite kureta no da to omoimasu.
LINE no gamen o hiraiteru no o mite hakkaku.
Otagai ni wakareru ki wa naku, yarinaosou to iu koto ni natta no desu ga, sono go mo shigoto da to itte, ana yuki o mini iki, mainichi meeru shiteimashita.
Kare no kaisya ni wa jyoshi ga yonin shika imasen.
Hakkaku shite kara hantoshi tatta ima mo issyo ni imasu.
Mou shite nai to iimasu ga, shinjiru ni mo tsurai jyoukyou desu.
Sore demo suki de issyo ni iyou to gambatteiru tsumori desuga, aikawarazu kaji wa iwarenai to hotondo shimasen.
Ana yuki mi ni itta hi wa, souko de sagyou shite ase kaita kara furo aratte to kaeri giwa ni denwa ga ari, souji shimashita.
Ima kangaetemo munashii desu.
Chinami ni, ayamareta koto wa arimasen.
Doushite ii no ka wakarimasen.
Mukashi no you ni nakayoku shitai no ni, semeteshimaimasu.
Minasan nara, konna jyoukyou wakaremasu yo ne?
Demo hitori ni natte ikite ikeru ka fuan desu.
Imada ni hito koto mo ayamaranakatta koto, renraku saki o kesu no o, shigoto de hitsuyou dakara to itte kesou to shinakatta koto, watashi no mae de 25 sai mo shita no ko to yattan da naa to ureshisou ni itta koto, haki sou desu.
'My boyfriend had an affair with his company's younger 25-year-old employee
Dating for 6 years, my boyfriend (46 years old) who I started living with December of last year had an affair with his company's new worker.
I am 34 years old.
After we moved in together it didn't go well, he didn't help enough with housework and [I] was tired of it, and I think when [he] was taking cold treatment it was healing for him.
[I] looked at the LINE picture that was open and I detected [it].
We both don't have the feeling to break up, and it has become something [we] want to start over, but after that though [he] said its work, he went to see Frozen and was texting [her] every day.
At his work there is only four females.
After I detected [the affair], a year has passed and right now we are still together.
[He] says [he's] not seeing her anymore, even though I believe him it's still a painful situation.
Even so, I like [him] and the plan is to do my best to be together but, still most of the time [he] doesn't do any housework unless I tell [him].
As he was leaving, the day he saw Frozen, he said, "because I was doing work in the storage and I was sweating, wash the bathtub" and I cleaned [the bathtub].
Even when I think about it now, I feel empty.
By the way, he never apologized.
Why it's okay, I don't understand.
Even though I want to get along like before, I end up blaming [him].
If it were you, you would break up right?
But, if I become alone, I am worried if I can live.
The part where even to this day not a single word of apology, the part where in deleting the previous contact, he didn't delete because he said he needed it for work, the part where in front of me he said he had sex with a 25 year old girl happily, I feel I am about to throw up.'

(3)   b.   Advice-giver post in excerpt (7a)
            ここが問題なんだ。
            一人になって生きていけるか不安です
            ここが相手をつけあがらせる。
            自分の下に置いて、コントロールしようとする男が寄ってくる。
            だって、何したって１人でいるよりマシって許してくれるんだもの。こんな都合のいい女いないよ。

優しくしなくても、浮気しても、１人で生きて行けないから許してくれるんでしょ。や
りたい放題じゃないの。
昔は仲が良かったというのも、彼はあなたがこういうタイプだと知らなくて、大事にし
ないと去ってしまう「普通の女性」だと思ってたんでしょう。
ところが違った。だから、彼が持ってる悪い部分が爆発してる。
男女は組み合わせ。
自分がこうだから、そういう相手が付いてくる。
バカな男といるより１人でいたほうがいい、という気概がある女性は、大切にされます。
でも、そう言える女性は、こういう男を選ばないし、もっと早くに見切り付けてると思
います。
自分を大事にしている女性は、相手から大事にされる。
（１人になりたくないから）「こういう扱いでもいい」というのは自尊心に欠けた状態。
そういう人は大事にされません。

Koko ga mondai nan da.
Hitori ni natte ikite ikeru ka fuan desu
Koko ga aite o tsukeagaraseru.
Jibun no shita ni oite, kontorooru shiyou to suru otoko ga yotte kuru.
Datte, nani shitatte hitori de iru yori mashi tte yurushite kurerun da mono. Konna tsugou no ii
onna inai yo.
Yasashikunakute mo, uwaki shite mo, hitori de ikite ikenai kara yurushite kurerun desyou. Yaritai
houdai jyanai no.
Mukashi wa naka ga yokatta to iu no mo, kare wa anata ga kouiu taipu da to shiranakute, daiji ni
shinai to satte shimau "futsuu no jyosei" da to omottetan desyou.
Tokoro ga chigatta. Dakara, kare ga motteru warui bubun ga bakuhatsu shiteru.
Danjyo wa kumiawase.
Jibun ga kou dakara, souiu aite ga tsuitekuru.
Baka na otoko to iru yori hitori de ita hou ga ii, to iu kigai aru jyosei wa, taisetsu ni sare masu.
Demo, sou ieru jyosei wa, kouiu otoko o erabanai shi, motto hayaku ni mikiri to omoimasu.
Jibun o daiji ni shiteiru jyosei wa, aite kara daiji ni sareru.
(hitori ni naritakunai kara) "kouiu atsukai demo ii" to iu no wa jisonshin ni kaketa jyoutai. Souiu
hito wa daiji ni saremasen.

'This is the problem.
"But, if I become alone, I am worried if I can live".
This is what your partner takes advantage of.
[You] attract men who want to control and put others beneath [them].
After all, no matter what [he] does, rather than being alone, you say you will wait and forgive him.
There is not a convenient woman such as this.
Even if [he] is not nice, even if he cheats, because you can't be alone, you forgive him don't you?
Isn't it as much as he wants?
Even saying that [you and him] got along, he didn't know you were this type of woman; and he
thought you were a "normal woman" and he thought if he didn't take care of [you] you would end
up leaving him.
On the contrary, it was different. Therefore, the bad part he has is exploding.
Men and women match each other.
Because you are this way, that kind of partner accompanies [you].
Women with backbone who would rather be alone than be with a stupid boy will be valued.
But women who can say this will not choose a boy like this, and I think will abandon him more
quickly.
A woman who values herself, will be valued by her partner.
(Because I don't want to be alone) "Even this type of treatment is okay" is a situation with a lack
of self-respect. That type of person will not be valued.'

WORKS CITED

Bolander, B. (2012). Disagreements and agreements in personal/diary blogs: A closer look at responsiveness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *44*(12), 1607-1622.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). Some universals in language usage. *Studies in interactional socio-linguistics* (Vol. 4). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DeCapua, A., & Dunham, J. F. (1993). Strategies in the discourse of advice. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *20*(6), 519-531.

Eisenchlas, S. A. (2011). On-line interactions as a resource to raise pragmatic awareness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(1), 51-61.

Honna, N. (1995). English in Japanese society: Language within language. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *16*(1-2), 45-62.

Ide, S. (1989). Formal forms and discernment: two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic politeness. *Multilingua, 2*(3), 223-248.

Locher, M. A. (2006). *Advice online: Advice-giving in an American internet health column* (Vol. 149). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Limberg, H., & Locher, M. A. (Eds.). (2012). *Advice in discourse* (Vol. 221). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Matsumoto, Y. (1989). Politeness and conversation universals—observations From Japanese. *Multilingua*, *8*(2/3), 207-221.

Morrow, R. P. (2012). Online advice in Japanese: Giving advice in an Internet discussion forum. In H. Limberg, & M.A. Locher. (Eds.) *Advice in discourse* (Vol. 221) (pp.255-279). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Naruoka, K. (2014). Toward meanings of expressive indexicals: The case of Japanese demonstratives *konna/sonna/anna*. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *69*, 4-21.

Okamoto, S. (1999). Situated politeness: Manipulating honorific and non-honorific expressions in Japanese conversation. *Pragmatics 9* (1), 51-74.

Overstreet, M., & Yule, G. (1997). Locally contingent categorization in discourse. *Discourse Processes*, *23*(1), 83-97.

Placencia, E. M. (2012). Online peer-to-peer advice in Spanish Yahoo! Respuestas. In H. Limberg, & M.A. Locher. (Eds.) *Advice in discourse* (Vol. 221) (pp. 281-305). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Scheibman, J. (2007). Subjective and intersubjective uses of generalizations in English conversations. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). (2007). *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (Vol. 164) (pp. 110-137). John Benjamins Publishing.

Schmidt, J. (2007). Blogging practices: An analytical framework. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *12*(4), 1409-1427.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Suzuki, S. (1998). *Tte* and *nante*: Markers of psychological distance in Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *29*(4), 429-462.

Wierzbicka, A. (2012). "Advice" in English and Russian: A contrastive and cross-cultural perspective. In H. Limberg, & M.A. Locher. (Eds.) *Advice in discourse* (Vol. 221) (pp. 309-332). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Samuel Aguirre, *Second Language Studies*
Samuel is interested in multilingual multicultural language policy and education programs in the context of the United States. He is an advocate of minority languages and social justice. His interest in critical pedagogy and multilingual multicultural language practices can be seen in his daily work with policymakers and community leaders in Hawai'i.

Olivia Cassetta, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Olivia Cassetta studied at the University of Michigan as an undergraduate student and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in East Asian Studies and Political Science. Currently, she is a Masters student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the East Asian Languages and Literatures Department studying Japanese linguistics. As a Masters student, she conducted research on heritage language learning and sentence final particles with a focus on Japanese language pedagogy.

Jessica Fast, *Second Language Studies*
Jessica Fast is a second-year MA student in the Department of Second Language Studies. Her background includes a BA in English, with a concentration in TESOL, and three years experience teaching in Japan. Currently, she works in the English Language Institute as a graduate assistant and serves as the Lead Reading Teacher. Her interests include curriculum development, assessment, English for academic purposes, and critical reading. Her goals include exploring how these varying interests can interact within the classroom. Presenting at this conference and copyediting for the proceedings have both helped to bring her closer to that goal.

Janet Graham, *English*
After ten years of teaching English for Academic Purposes in Abu Dhabi, Hanoi, and Astana, Kazakhstan and travelling throughout Asia and Latin America with her partner, Janet Graham is pursuing a PhD in English in Literary Studies. A research focus on critical ethnic and diasporic literature of the Americas is emerging from eclectic reading habits. When not studying, she is grateful for the joys of teaching English 100, snorkeling, and observing gold dust day geckos.

Ryan Hughes, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Ryan Hughes is a first year PhD student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He is studying Japanese syntax and works analyzing the location of final particles in the structure of simple and complex Japanese sentences. These items are largely neglected in syntactic studies. He is also interested in the syntactic structures of other conversational style elements, as they are also not commonly analyzed in syntax.

Ok-sim Kim, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Ok-sim Kim is a doctoral student of Korean Linguistics (ABD) in the East Asian Languages and Literatures Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, where she received her MA in Japanese Linguistics in 2007. Her study focuses on important features found in Korean and Japanese discourse, such as discourse markers.

Caryn Lesuma, *English*
Caryn Lesuma is a PhD student in English Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her research interests include children's and young adult literature, folklore, and Pacific literature. She has written about reading pedagogy in Locutorium, and her other pedagogical interests include technical writing, composition studies, and multimodal writing.

Ding Wang, *Second Language Studies*
Ding Wang is an MA student in the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her focus is to study Mandarin tutoring sessions from a conversation analytical aspect. Prior to coming to UH, she received her first MA degree in Psychology of Education from Teachers College at Columbia University. She then worked as a Chinese lecturer at Princeton University for three years. Ding has taught elementary Chinese to advance Chinese language courses.

Chase Wiggins, *English*
Chase Wiggins is a second-year MA candidate in the English Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. As a literary scholar who firmly believes in the reality-shaping power of words, much of Chase's research focuses on mobilizing literature towards dismantling settler colonial formations, and the process of developing allyship with Kanaka Maoli communities.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Samuel Aguirre, *Editor*
Second Language Studies
Samuel is interested in multilingual multicultural language policy and education programs in the context of the United States. He is an advocate of minority languages and social justice. His interest in critical pedagogy and multilingual multicultural language practices can be seen in his daily work with policymakers and community leaders in Hawai'i.

Emily Gazda Plumb, *Assistant Editor*
Second Language Studies
Emily's research interests lie primarily in bilingual education and social justice, and when she is not trying to read the entire library, you can find her teaching in the English Language Institute or playing in the ocean.

Kristyn Martin, *Assistant Editor*
East Asian Languages and Literatures
Kristyn is a PhD Student in Japanese Language and Linguistics. Her research focus is on Japanese television, sociolinguistics, and multimodality in media. She also enjoys translation, writing, and tea.

ABOUT THE COPYEDITORS

Reuben Closson, *Linguistics*
Reuben M. Closson is a graduate student in Linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He graduated from Regis University in Denver, Colorado with a Bachelor of the Arts in Iberian Studies in 2013. Reuben has studied in Argentina and Brazil, and plans on returning to both in order to document endangered languages in the future. Reuben was happy to copyedit papers for this conference, since he is obsessed with minute detail.

Jessica Fast, *Second Language Studies*
Jessica Fast is a second-year MA student in the Department of Second Language Studies. Her background includes a BA in English, with a concentration in TESOL, and three years experience teaching in Japan. Currently, she works in the English Language Institute as a graduate assistant and serves as the Lead Reading Teacher. Her interests include curriculum development, assessment, English for academic purposes, and critical reading. Her goals include exploring how these varying interests can interact within the classroom. Presenting at this conference and copyediting for the proceedings have both helped to bring her closer to that goal.

Reginald Gentry, *Second Language Studies*
Reginald Gentry has Bachelor degrees in Communication Studies and Spanish, and a Master's Degree in Second Language Studies. His research interests are program evaluation and language assessment.

Dustin Hampton, *Linguistics*
Dustin Hampton has a Bachelor's degree in Linguistics with a minor in German from Florida Atlantic University. He is currently in the MA program in Linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He is interested in Austronesian and Polynesian languages, Indo-European comparative linguistics, and language documentation. Dustin hopes to work with different endangered language communities to help document and preserve linguistic

diversity for future generations. Copyediting for these conference proceedings was an enlightening experience that exposed him to fascinating scholarship he may not have had the opportunity to read otherwise.

Chloe Honbo, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Chloe Honbo completed her undergraduate education at Georgetown University, where she studied Japanese and Pre-Engineering. Currently, she is in her third semester at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa as a Japanese Linguistics graduate student in the department of East Asian Languages and Literatures. Although undecided on her concentration, her interests lie in the syntactical phenomenon of scrambling and the sociolinguistics field. After graduation, she hopes to continue her education in law, and, in conjunction with her background in Japanese, enter the growing eSports scene in Japan.

Brooke Jones, *English*
Brooke Jones is an English MA student in creative writing at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa.

Jennifer Monje, *Second Language Studies*
Jennifer Monje is an Assistant Professor in a public university in the heart of Manila, Philippines, the University of the City of Manila. She has an MA degree in Comparative Literature, which she hopes will complement her MA in Second Language Studies, if she gets to finish her course work in May 2016. She is interested in language policy and planning, linguistic landscapes, and translanguaging.

Hilson Reidpath, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Hilson Reidpath is a Japanese Literature MA student in the East Asian Languages and Literature at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa focusing on Okinawan literature and history.

Maggie Sood, *Linguistics*
Maggie Sood is a newly admitted student working towards an MA in Linguistics with a focus on Language Documentation at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. She is originally from Louisiana but recently moved to Hawaiʻi from San Diego. She likes hiking, traveling, and all things Latin American. Maggie can speak English, Spanish, and a little bit of Hindi.

Crystel Sundberg, *English*
Crystel Sundberg-Yannell is currently pursuing an M.A. in English at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa with a concentration in Creative Writing.

Maho Takahashi, *Linguistics*
Maho Takahashi is an MA student at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, where she is majoring in Linguistics with a concentration in English and Japanese syntax. Her interest in language began when she lived in Italy from 1999 to 2005, when she got exposed to Italian, English, and Japanese. She then entered Waseda University (Tokyo, Japan) and majored in International Liberal Studies. When she was a sophomore, she studied abroad for a year in New York, where she taught Japanese language as a Teaching Assistant. She also worked as a part-time English tutor in Japan for more than 4 years. With her culturally diverse background and experience of teaching languages, she aspires to be a textbook writer of English after completing graduate studies. Maho is also a Student Affiliate at the East-West Center.

Monica Vidal, *Second Language Studies*
Mónica Vidal's research interests are diverse and varied: she has looked at identity in Spanish as a Heritage Language Classrooms, the stances people take about the languages in their linguistic family trees, stylization and authenticity in a multi-sited family, and in general, the transmission of languages within multi-sited and multi-cultural families through discourse analysis and in particular, interactional sociolinguistics. She is interested in how successful language transmission is discursively treated and what it means to be 'successful' to the members of these families. She hopes that her research will help inform teacher education in the field of Heritage Language pedagogies.

Mai Yamamoto, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Mai Yamamoto is an MA student in Japanese Language and Linguistics in the East Asian Languages and Literatures department. Her research interests include sociolinguistics, language and identity, and language ideology.

109

Liulin Zhang, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*
Liulin Zhang is a PhD student of Chinese Language at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. She received her MA in Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (TCSL) from Wuhan University, China. Her research interests include cognitive linguistics, construction grammar, semantics-syntax interface, and Chinese pedagogy.