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Selected Papers from the Twentieth College-Wide Conference for

Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

"Celebrating Voices – past • present • future"

University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa

edited by Amber Camp & Daniel Holden

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PREFACE
Amber Camp, PhD student in Linguistics
Daniel Holden, MA student in Second Language Studies

The Twentieth Annual Graduate Student Conference of the College of Languages, Linguistics & Literature (LLL) at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa was held on Saturday, April 23, 2016. As in past years, this conference offered the students in the six departments within the college, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies, the opportunity to come together and build a stronger community across the college by sharing their work with one another. This annual conference provides an opportunity for students to become socialized into academic practices, such as presenting at a conference and producing a paper for publication in these proceedings. It also allows students to take on various roles in the academic community, as all conference chairs, proceedings editors, coordinators, and volunteers for the conference are themselves graduate students.

As the twentieth iteration of this conference, it was the perfect opportunity to celebrate all the outstanding achievements of LLL graduate students. This year's conference theme, "Celebrating Voices—past · present · future," reflected not only our goal of celebrating these achievements, but also our intent of making this the biggest conference yet. The conference opened with a motivating address from Dean Jeffrey Carroll, followed by an inspirational keynote by Dr. Samrat Upadhyay, who earned his PhD in English from UH Mānoa in 1999 and went on to become a successful author and the Martha C. Kraft Professor of Humanities at Indiana University. A special addition to this year's program was talks delivered by three featured speakers: Dr. JD Brown, Dr. Christina Gerhardt, and PhD candidate Kim Compoc. All of these invited speakers are recipients of the LLL Research Awards granted for excellence in scholarship and research at the senior faculty, mid-career faculty, and dissertation levels. A fourth LLL Research Award recipient, PhD candidate Katie Gao, was unavailable to speak at the conference. Throughout the day, 35 graduate student presentations were delivered to 136 attendees -- the highest number of attendees since the inception of the conference. Also included in the day's events was a group poster presentation that showcased the work of an entire class of motivated undergraduate students, SLS 408: Bilingual Education, led by their instructor Mónica Vidal.

The conference was chaired by Samuel Aguirre (SLS), Amber Camp (Linguistics), Harry Hale (EALL), Kirsten Helgeson (Linguistics), and Daniel Holden (SLS). We were supported by the guidance and conference advisory of Jim Yoshioka, the Events Coordinator for the College of LLL, Dr. Shoichi Iwasaki, Professor of Japanese in the EALL department, and Karin Mackenzie, the Director of the Office of Community Relations for the College of LLL. Further support for the conference was provided by the College of LLL, the Colleges of Arts & Sciences Alumni Association, the Francis and Betty Ann Keala Fund of the University of Hawaiʻi Foundation, 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, we thank Dean Carroll, Jim Yoshioka, Shoichi Iwasaki, Karin Mackenzie, and everyone else who helped advise throughout the entire process. Finally, we are grateful for the help of our copy editors who worked over the summer to provide feedback and helped prepare the papers for publication: Britton Brooks, Reuben M. Closson, Stewart Curry, Reginald Gentry, Michael P.K. Harris, Chiyeon Hwang, Lana Marie Kisner, Eric Lauritzen, Rebecca Lee, Daniel Lin, Jennifer Y. Lopez, Amy Newman, Constance Nicks, Melody Ann Ross, Kenichi Shinkuma, Maggie Sood, Bonnie Windham, and Crystal Jing Zhong.

Of the 35 student presentations at the conference, 10 presenters submitted their papers for publication in the proceedings. We hope you enjoy the papers and that, while each of the papers is representative of an already rich and diverse community, these proceedings contribute to an even stronger trans-departmental collective identity.

Honolulu, 2016

PLENARY HIGHLIGHTS

CELEBRATING GRATITUDE: AN ODE TO THE FORCES THAT MAKE A WRITER
Dr. Samrat Upadhyay, Indiana University

ABSTRACT
Many forces come together to create a writer. In my keynote speech, I will chart my international trajectory, from Nepal to Ohio to Nepal to Hawai'i to Indiana, and the influences that have guided and sustained my artistic endeavors. With a focus on gratitude, my presentation will touch upon my liberal arts education, the role of teachers, as well as the importance of my time at the University of Hawai'i in launching my literary career. The history of Nepal, my country of origin, will be a crucial aspect in this expression of gratitude. I will explore how the personal and the political have come together to shape my literary oeuvre.

Dr. Samrat Upadhyay

Samrat Upadhyay is the author of *Arresting God in Kathmandu*, a Whiting Award winner; *The Royal Ghosts*, which won the Asian American Literary Award; *The Guru of Love*, a *New York Times* Notable Book and a *San Francisco Chronicle* Best Book of the Year; and *Buddha's Orphans*, a novel. His work has been translated into several languages. He has written for the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and has appeared on BBC Radio and National Public Radio. A recipient of an NEA Creative Writing Fellowship in 2015, Upadhyay is the Martha C. Kraft Professor of Humanities at Indiana University. His most recent novel, *The City Son*, was shortlisted for the PEN Open Book Award. Dr. Upadhyay received his PhD in English from UH Mānoa in 1999.

2016 LLL EXCELLENCE IN RESEARCH AWARD PRESENTATIONS

Dr. JD Brown

Dr. James Dean ("JD") Brown is currently Professor of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He has spoken and taught courses in many places ranging from Australia to Venezuela. He has published numerous articles and books on language testing, curriculum design, research methods, and connected speech. Brown's most recent books are: *Mixed methods research for TESOL* (2014 from Edinburgh University Press); *Cambridge guide to research in language teaching and learning* (2015, edited with C. Coombe from Cambridge University Press); *Teaching and assessing EIL in local contexts around the world* (2015, written with S. L. McKay from Routledge); and *Introducing needs analysis and English for Specific Purposes* (2016 from Rutledge).

Dr. Christina Gerhardt

Christina Gerhardt is Assistant Professor of German at the University of Hawai'i, where she teaches 20th-century German literature, culture and film. She has finished two book manuscripts: *Critique of Violence: The Trauma of Terrorism,* and *Nature in Adorno*, both under review; as well as two edited volumes, *1968 + Global Cinema;* and *Climate Change, Hawai'i and the Pacific*, also both under review with university presses. Professor Gerhardt has received grants from the Fulbright Commission and the DAAD. She has been a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University and at Columbia University, and a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Free University in Berlin. Previously, she taught in the Department of German at the University of California at Berkeley. Her articles and reviews have been published in *Cineaste*, *Film Quarterly*, *German Studies Review*, *New German Critique*, and *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*.

Kim Compoc

Kim Compoc is a doctoral candidate in the English department. Her research interests include Filipin@ American Studies, Literature and Colonialism, and Feminist theory. The title of her dissertation is: "(Im)perfect Allies: Decolonizing Hawai'i from a Filipino Perspective." She has been published in *SPAN: Journal of the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies* and *Asian American Culture: From Anime to Tiger Moms*. She is also the recipient of a 2011 pre-doctoral Ford fellowship. Before starting graduate school, she was active in a number of community-based organizations including: Maui Filipino Working Group, Talking Stories, and Mediation Services of Maui. She is now active with Women's Voices, Women Speak, and is a founding member of Decolonial Pin@ys.

BREAKING GROUND:
OBVIATION AS A KEY TARGET FOR ASSESSING THE ACQUISITION OF SAULTEAUX, A DIALECT OF OJIBWE

Ryan E. Henke, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

The Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe, an Algonquian language indigenous to North America, represents essentially unexplored territory in the field of language acquisition. As such, this paper aims to accomplish two goals: 1) Outline the state of acquisition research relevant to Saulteaux; and 2) Propose the grammatical phenomenon of obviation as a prime target for assessing the acquisition of Saulteaux. Perhaps nothing is more typologically rare and definitively Algonquian than obviation, and a full acquisition of Saulteaux entails a mastery of obviation. This paper provides a broad review of the phenomenon as well as suggestions for moving forward.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

As a dialect of a polysynthetic Algonquian language indigenous to Canada, Saulteaux represents essentially unexplored territory in the field of language acquisition. Obviation is an integral grammatical characteristic of any Algonquian language, and obviation interacts with features such as gender, number, and transitivity to affect inflectional morphology for both nominals and verbs. Full acquisition of Saulteaux entails a mastery of obviation, but very little is known about the acquisition of obviation in Saulteaux or any other Algonquian language. This proposal reviews the state of language acquisition research relevant to Saulteaux, and it identifies the grammatical phenomenon of obviation as a prime target for assessing the acquisition of Saulteaux.

2.0. SAULTEAUX

This proposal focuses on Western Ojibwe (ISO 639-3 code ojw), which is primarily called *Saulteaux* by its speakers and the people who study it (e.g., Cote, 1982; Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Cote 2012; Logan 2001). As such, Western Ojibwe will be referred to here as Saulteaux. Saulteaux is the name of both the people and their language (as noted by Steinbring, 1981; Voorhis 1976; and others), which is primarily spoken in Saskatchewan and Manitoba (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Valentine 1994). Saulteaux is a dialect of Ojibwe, an Algonquian language spoken across a large swath of Canada from eastern Saskatchewan to western Quebec as well as throughout parts of Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin in the northern United States (Rhodes & Todd, 1981; Valentine, 1994).

With such a wide geographical range, Ojibwe has a lot of variation between its dialects (Valentine, 1994). It is not easy to find a definitive list of these dialects, but reputable sources (e.g., Rhodes & Todd, 1981; Valentine 1994; Valentine 2001) agree on at least seven: Saulteaux, Northwestern Ojibwe, Southwestern Ojibwe (a.k.a. Chippewa), Severn Ojibwe (a.k.a. Oji-Cree), Ottawa/Odawa, Eastern Ojibwe, and Algonquin. Ojibwe dialects are most effectively distinguished from each other by morphological considerations, such as the forms of various verbal suffixes (Rhodes & Todd, 1981). However, phonological differences between dialects also exist. For example, the first-person verbal prefix /ni-/ is often reduced to a syllabic nasal in Saulteaux, but it is completely lost in Northwestern Ojibwe (1981).

It is difficult to get a good sense of the language vitality of Saulteaux, because most survey approaches (e.g., Langlois & Turner, 2011; 2014) categorize Ojibwe people together as a group instead of analyzing individual bands or speakers of particular dialects. This means that reliable language numbers only exist for Ojibwe as a whole. Ojibwe is the third-most spoken of Canada's indigenous languages, with 19,275 First Nations people primarily living in Ontario or Manitoba reporting Ojibwe as their mother tongue in 2011 (Langlois & Turner 2011; 2014). Even more people—23,880 to be exact—claim conversation-level speaking ability in Ojibwe (2014). This is unsurprising, because of recent upswings in Ojibwe language revitalization efforts (see *Section 3* below). Despite this ostensible reason for optimism, however, the fact remains that the population of L1 Ojibwe speakers is aging and diminishing, and use of Ojibwe in the home is generally in decline (Norris, 2006). This mirrors circumstances across Canada: Young people are learning indigenous languages as second languages rather than mother tongues (Norris, 2006; 2007).

3.0. THE STATE OF THE LITERATURE

Before discussing any measures of acquisition in Saulteaux, it is necessary to first get a picture of the state of relevant research in language acquisition. Canada presents an interesting paradox: Recent years have seen a surge of interest in Indigenous languages in both Canada and the United States, leading to efforts such as immersion education and language nests (noted by Daigle, 2007; Fulford, 2007; Hermes & Bang, 2014; Hermes et al., 2012; King & Hermes, 2014; Linn et al., 2002; and others), but *very little research has been done on the acquisition of indigenous languages in Canada* (also observed by Ball, 2009). This is especially problematic in the area of L2 acquisition. As Peter et al. (2008) explain:

> … very little research has been published on the acquisition of Native American or First Nations languages by second language learners, despite the fact that these languages are for the most part being learned as second languages (p. 168).

This lack of research presents a problem not just for linguistics but for other areas focusing on language and literacy development. For example, recent work centered on speech pathology (e.g., Anderson, 2015; Ball, 2009; Kidd, 2014; Peltier, 2011) has repeatedly called for culturally and linguistically appropriate tools for assessing speech and language development in children, especially when identifying delays and disorders.[1] This mirrors contemporary calls to include indigenous perspectives and epistemologies into language education and revitalization efforts more generally (e.g., Hermes & Bang, 2014; Hermes et al., 2012; King & Hermes, 2014).

Of course, Algonquian languages like Saulteaux are famously polysynthetic (see overviews like Mithun, 2001 or Teeter, 1973 for more on this point). This raises another important problem: As noted by others (e.g., Brittain et al., 2007; Rose & Brittain, 2011), the field of language acquisition has produced *very little work on any polysynthetic languages*. In fact, it took until 2014 for the first cross-linguistic survey of how children approach the acquisition of polysynthetic systems (Kelly et al., 2014). As this survey notes, the traditional focus in acquisition studies on non-polysynthetic languages entails significant problems. For example:

> ... an implicit assumption in this research is that cognitive-based findings regarding more isolating languages are likely to hold across all languages, despite the fact that many of the world's languages are vastly different in prosodic structure, lexical forms and especially the notion of what constitutes a word (2014, p. 53)

This is not to say that acquisition research on polysynthetic languages is completely nonexistent, but it is completely underrepresented. There has indeed been notable work on the L1 acquisition of Eskimo-Aleut languages (e.g., Allen & Crago, 1992; Allen, 2007; Fortescue & Olsen, 1992), and a much smaller body of work has approached acquisition in polysynthetic languages such as Cherokee (e.g., Peter & Hirata-Edds, 2006; Peter et al., 2008), Georgian (Lomashvili, 2015), Mohawk (Mithun, 1989), and Navajo (Courtney & Saville-Troike, 2002). See Kelly et al. (2014) and Brittain et al. (2007) for a more thorough discussion of these studies and a larger list of references. However, not one of these languages belongs to the Algonquian family. As such, they provide no direct insight into specifically Algonquian matters of language acquisition.

Unfortunately, the lack of research in indigenous Canadian and polysynthetic languages extends to the acquisition of Algonquian languages in general (Brittain et al., 2007; Ottmann et al., 2007; Quinn, 2011). The bulk of work in Algonquian has come from a single source: the Chisasibi Child Language Acquisition Study (CCLAS), which began in 2004 at Memorial University in Canada (visit *www.mun.ca/cclas/*). CCLAS revolves around an L1 study of two small cohorts of children growing up speaking Northern East Cree in the community of Chisasibi, Quebec (Brittain et al., 2007). Importantly, it constitutes the first attempt to delineate a baseline for the development of any Algonquian language (2007). In a little more than a decade, CCLAS has produced a robust body of work into various aspects of Northern East Cree, including the acquisition of stress (Swain, 2008; Rose & Brittain, 2011), consonants and syllables (Thornburn, 2014), intransitive verb inflection (Terry, 2009; Rose & Brittain, 2011), as well as passives and unaccusativity (Johansson, 2012a; 2012b).

Although vastly important, the efforts of CCLAS highlight two important problems. First, CCLAS represents an outlier situation by studying L1 acquisition when most Indigenous languages in Canada are learned as an L2. Second, CCLAS is a deep, focused dive into one dialect of one Algonquian language. It does not look into other Algonquian languages like Ojibwe or their dialects.

Compared to a thorough longitudinal effort like CCLAS, *almost nothing has been done on acquisition in Ojibwe*. As Kidd (2014, p. 4) explained when she searched for acquisition research on Odawa, "there remains no published research to date on acquisition of the Odawa dialect of Ojibwe, despite the fact that Ojibwe has one of the largest indigenous language populations in Canada." Of all the Ojibwe dialects, it seems that only Oji-Cree has seen any real treatment. There has been a handful of studies from the 1980s (e.g., Upper & McCay, 1987) as well as a single, more recent conference paper (Hack & Mellow, 2007) on the acquisition of that particular dialect. Mellow (2010) also discusses acquisition in Oji-Cree, but his piece is more or less a general admonition to de-colonize acquisition studies by employing an emergentist—as opposed to a generativist—approach. Altogether, of course, this is all a very limited body of work. Moreover, the studies from the 1980s in particular are both relatively old and difficult to acquire.

Outside of linguistics, I could find only one effort specifically aimed at Ojibwe acquisition: Kidd (2014) developed an Odawa-dialect word list intended for speech pathologists working with Odawa children. It is possible that at least some Ojibwe-language schools and programs have produced acquisition assessments of their own, but these are not readily available to the public. For example, an Oji-Cree educational center's website (Kwayaciiwin, 2014) makes mention of some vocabulary and phonological assessment tools, but I could not find a way to access them.

This lack of work in Ojibwe applies to the Saulteaux dialect. As far as I can tell, the only research involving Saulteaux acquisition is Anderson's (2015) evaluation of English-centric, standardized speech and language assessments used to screen Saulteaux and Northern Ojibwe children for risks before they enter kindergarten. However, Anderson's work occupies a much different place than a linguistic study of acquisition. As such, it appears that *no research has been done on either L1 or L2 acquisition of Saulteaux*.

4.0. CHOOSING A TARGET FOR ASSESSMENT

Since language acquisition in Saulteaux is unexplored territory, a research effort needs to pick a place to start. Following the lead of studies by the likes of Warner (1996, cited in Housman et al. 2011, but inaccessible for this proposal), Peter et al. (2008), and Heaton and Xoyon (2015), this proposal suggests measuring language acquisition by looking at grammatical phenomena that are specific to the language in question. For example, one could explore the acquisition of a variety of classic Algonquian phenomena (Mithun, 2001; Teeter 1973), such as any of the following:

1. Contrastive vowel length
2. "Flexible" word order (see Dahlstrom, 2013; Meyer, 2013; or Sullivan, 2012 for more on this topic)
3. Animate vs. inanimate gender distinction, which affects nominals and verbs
4. Obviation, a marking on nominals and verbs that distinguishes between third persons
5. Inclusive/exclusive plural person distinction
6. Four verb categories, determined by transitivity and animacy of the arguments involved
7. Direct vs. inverse voice marking, which interacts with the Algonquian person hierarchy

One could also begin with a specifically Ojibwe phenomenon: The *fortis-lenis* distinction in obstruents, which are contrasted in various ways by Ojibwe dialects (Valentine, 1994). Saulteaux phonology, of course, includes this distinction (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Cote, 2012; Logan, 2001; Voorhis, 1976).

All of these phenomena deserve exploration. This proposal, however, suggests focusing on obviation. A fundamental part of any language is its basic coding strategy, and obviation interacts with gender, number, transitivity, and more. It is also an essential component of inflectional morphology for both nominals and verbs. As such, a mastery of obviation is critical for a full acquisition of Saulteaux. Furthermore, obviation remains unexplored by existing acquisition research. The CCLAS studies have not looked at obviation specifically and deeply, although obviation has been a component of explorations of the acquisition of verbal morphology (e.g., Johansson, 2012a; Johansson, 2012b; Terry, 2009). Clearly, the acquisition of this essential component of Saulteaux grammar requires much more in-depth study.

5.0. OBVIATION IN SAULTEAUX: A (VERY) BRIEF OVERVIEW

Obviation is a classic Algonquian phenomenon that has attracted a lot of attention in linguistics (see Dahlstrom, 1991; Dryer, 1992; Grafstein, 1981; Junker, 2004; and many others). In fact, obviation has been called "one of the most salient features of Algonquian syntax" (Rhodes, 1990, p. 101). In technical terms, obviation marks disjoint reference of third persons within a phrase, clause, sentence, or even across sentences (Rhodes, 1990; Valentine, 1994). More plainly put, obviation is a system of marking that distinguishes between third-person arguments in a particular discourse environment. In this environment, one of these arguments is designated as *proximate*, and all other third-person arguments are designated as *obviative*. As such, many Algonquianists have traditionally described obviation as a strategy for foregrounding a particular topic or focal point (see Dahlstrom, 1991; Logan, 2001; Valentine, 2001; and others). Obviation thus involves the interaction of both syntax and discourse (Dryer, 1992; Rhodes, 1976; Rhodes, 1990; Valentine, 1994). In Saulteaux, for example, an argument typically receives the proximate designation because it is the most topically prominent in that discourse environment; when the focus changes, the designation can switch to a different argument (Cote, 2012; Logan, 2001).

In their obviation strategies, Ojibwe dialects vary considerably from each other (Valentine, 1994). For example, all dialects overtly mark obviation on animate nominals (Rhodes, 1990), but only Algonquin and Severn Ojibwe allow for inanimate nominals to be overtly obviated (Valentine, 1994). Furthermore, Ojibwe dialects like Odawa have no number distinction for obviation, giving singular and plural nominals the same obviative suffix (Rhodes, 1990). Other dialects—such as Saulteaux—use different marking for plural and singular obviative nominals (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Logan, 2001; Valentine, 1994).

5.1. Singular vs. plural nominals

Obviation primarily manifests in suffixation on nominals and verbs. Because Saulteaux is a polysynthetic Algonquian language, nouns inflect for a variety of categories, including person, gender, and number (Valentine, 1994). In accordance with the Algonquian person hierarchy (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Logan, 2001), Saulteaux has four persons: *2*, *1*, *3 proximate* (abbreviated here as PROX), and *3 obviative* (abbreviated here as OBV). All nominals are marked for gender as either animate or inanimate, and number is either singular or plural, which also includes an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the 1.PL (Cote, 2012; Voorhis, 1976). As mentioned, Saulteaux differs from many Ojibwe dialects in distinguishing between singular and plural obviative nominals: The suffix /-an/ attaches to the singular and /-ah/ attaches to plurals (Logan, 2001, p. 66). In (1), adapted from Cote (2012), the proximate singular is unmarked while the proximate plural gets a regular plural suffix *-yak*; the obviative forms take *-yan* for the singular and *-yah* for the plural:

(1)	apinōcī	apinōcī-yak	apinōcī-yan	apinōcī-yah
	child	child-PL	child-SG.OBV	child-PL.OBV
	'child'	'children'	'child'	'children'

Unlike some Ojibwe dialects, Saulteaux marks obviation overtly only on animate nominals (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Logan, 2001; Voorhis, 1976). Inanimate obviative nominals do not receive overt marking, but as (9) shows, they do trigger obviative object agreement on the verb.

5.2. Possessed nominals

As mentioned, obviation comes into play whenever two or more third persons appear in the same discourse context. For example, a third-person noun possessed by a third-person noun requires obviative marking (Cote, 1982; Logan, 2001). Kinship terms involve obligatory possession (Cote, 1982; Logan, 2001), which brings obviation into play: In (2), a son possessed by a first person receives no obviative suffix, contrasting with sons possessed by third persons.

(2)	ni-kosihs	o-kosihs-an	o-kosihs-ah
	1-son	3-son-SG.OBV	3-son-PL.OBV
	'my son'	'his son'	'his sons'

(Adapted from Scott, 1995, p. 38; Voorhis, 1976, p. 21-1)

Possession and obviation in Saulteaux have some potentially tricky aspects, though, because it appears that *possessors* may also be marked as obviative: Grafstein (1981, p. 91) claims that "obviation of a possessor is, at least to some extent, optional" in Saulteaux. Grafstein puts forth the following two grammatical examples involving three third-person arguments (*John*, *Mary*, and *Mary's sister*), in which the possessor 'Mary' is not obviated (3) and where she is obviated (4). Because 'Mary' is obviated in (4), the additional obviative argument Mary's sister receives what Grafstein describes as a "further obviative" marking (glossed here as FURT.OBV).

(3)   John   o-gikēnim-ā-an   Mary   o-misēh-an
        John   3-know-DIR-OBV   Mary   3-sister-SG.OBV
        'John knows Mary's sister.'

(4)   John   o-gikēnim-ā-an   Mary-an   o-misēh-ini
        John   3-know-DIR-OBV   Mary-SG.OBV   3-sister-FURT.OBV
        'John knows Mary's sister.'
        (adapted from Grafstein 1981: 90-91)

Grafstein's two examples are referenced in other discussions of obviation (e.g., Dryer, 1992; Valentine, 1994), but it seems that no research has looked much more in depth at the further obviative in Saulteaux. For example, Logan (2001, p. 56) remarks that the further obviative is "highly marked" but does not go into detail about how it plays out in possessive constructions. Thus, the issue of a further obviative marker involved in possession requires additional research. Nonetheless, this does not impede the proposal set forth here, but it is something to bookmark for future description and incorporation into assessing language acquisition.

5.3. Multiple third persons

More generally, obviation is also involved in predications with two or more third persons. Because Algonquian languages are pro-drop, often the only indication of a referent is the agreement that it triggers on the verb (Rhodes, 1990). In both (5) and (6), the proximate subject *she* is omitted but triggers the third-person prefix on the verbs while the obviative object is overt and triggers agreement suffixes on the verbs.

(5)   o-wāpam-ā-n   āntēkw-an   pōnī-nit   mēnikan-ink
        3-see-DIR-OBV   crow-SG.OBV   stop-OBV   fence-LOC
        'She saw a crow on top of the fence.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p.168)

(6)   "ānīn   šikwa   kīn?"   ot-in-ā-n   āntēkw-an
        how   now   you   3-ask-DIR-OBV   crow-SG.OBV
        '"How are you?" she asked the crow.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 168)

Going much further into the details of obviative inflection on nominals is beyond the scope of this proposal, but this illustrates the basic principles at play.

5.4. Intransitive verb inflection

Obviation also affects verbs. The verbs in Algonquian language exhibit even richer inflectional possibilities than nominals. As in other dialects of Ojibwe (Rhodes, 1976), Saulteaux intransitive verbs agree with their subjects in person, number, gender, and obviation (Cote, 2012; Voorhis, 1976). In the morose examples in both (7) and (8), the subject is a third-person noun obligatorily possessed by a third person—with possession marked by a person prefix on the verb—and thus each subject carries an obviative suffix. Moreover, the obviative subjects in (7) and (8) trigger agreement suffixes on their respective intransitive verbs.

(7)   o-hsēyēns-an   kān   kī-ayā-hsī-wan
        3-grandchild-SG.OBV   no   PST-be-NEG-OBV
        'Her grandchild did not live.'   (Adapted from Cote, 2012, p. 149)

(8)   o-tānikōpicikan-an   kī-panātiši-wan
        3-greatgrandchild-SG.OBV   PST-pass.away-OBV
        'Her great-grandchild had died.'   (Adapted from Cote, 2012, p. 149)

As mentioned, Saulteaux does not overtly mark obviative inanimate nominals, but their status as obviative arguments is evident in agreement on the verb. In (9), *-hkāt* 'leg' is an obligatorily possessed body part (Logan, 2001), with possession indicated by the prefix *o-*. Because *-hkāt* is possessed by a third person, it is necessarily obviative; because it is an inanimate noun, it does not receive an obviative suffix. However, it does trigger an obviative suffix on the verb:

(9)   mihci–nīwēmon–ini   i   o-hkāt-ēns

        just-it.is.dangling-OBV   DEM   3-leg-DIM

        'It was just dangling, his little leg.'   (Adapted from Cote, 2012, p. 165)

5.5. Transitive verb inflection

Transitive verbs with animate objects, of course, are even more complex than intransitives: They inflect to agree with both subjects *and* objects (Cote & Klokeid, 1985; Cote, 2012; Voorhis, 1976). Subject agreement in (10), which has a pro-drop subject, is italicized and bold, and object agreement is in plain bold.

(10)   *o*-wāpam-ā-**n**   o-ōhkōy-an
         3-see-DIR-OBV   3-grandmother-SG.OBV
         'She sees her grandmother.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 172)

The direct/inverse voice system (also known as *direction*) is a classic Algonquian characteristic (described by Bakker, 1996; Dahlstrom, 1991; Dryer, 1992; O'Grady, 2013; and many others). Obviation in Saulteaux interacts with direction, which manifests as a marking on verbs that encodes the thematic roles of their arguments (Cote & Klokeid, 1985). Direction is based on the Algonquian person hierarchy: *2 > 1 > 3 proximate > 3 obviative*. Action going down the hierarchy (e.g., a higher person acting upon a lower person) triggers a direct suffix on the verb, as with the proximate subject and obviative object in (11).

(11)   o-wāpam-ā-n   o-ōhkōy-an
         3-see-DIR-OBV   3-grandmother-SG.OBV
         'She sees her grandmother.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 172)

Conversely, action up the hierarchy triggers an *inverse* suffix. The obviative possessed subject in (12) acts upon a pro-dropped proximate object, which necessitates an inverse suffix on the verb:

(12)   o-ōhkōy-an   ot-ani-sikinihkēn-iko-n
         3-grandmother-SG.OBV   3-away-by.the.arm-INV-OBV
         'Her grandmother takes her by the arm.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 172)

5.6. Ditransitive verbs

Finally, obviation behaves in an interesting way when more than one object is involved in a predication. In Saulteaux double object patterns, the obviative marking goes on the *primary* object (the goal) (Cote & Klokeid, 1985). Example (13) illustrates this well, with the primary object Okinīns taking the obviative suffix *-an*. Notice that *mīnēnsan* 'blueberries' in an inanimate noun and thus cannot take an obviative suffix, but it also fails to trigger PL.OBV marking on the verb.

(13)   ihkwē   ot-ahsam-ā-n   Okinīns-an   mīnēns-an
         woman   3-feed-DIR-SG.OBV   Okinīns-SG.OBV   blueberry-PL
         'The woman feeds Okinīns blueberries.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 169)

Example (14) illustrates the same pattern: The nominal obviative suffix goes on the primary object 'Mary' while the verb's obviative agreement matches the number and animacy of 'Mary', not the ten dollars.

(14)   John   o-kī-awih-ā-n   mitāhswāpik   Mary-an
       John   3-lend-DIR-OBV   ten.dollars   Mary-SG.OBV
       'John loaned ten dollars to Mary.'   (Adapted from Cote & Klokeid, 1985, p. 46)

5.7. Summary

As this brief overview attests, obviation is a complex but vital part of Saulteaux grammar. To summarize, obviation makes a prime target in assessing the acquisition of Saulteaux for four major reasons:

1. Obviation is a typologically rare and characteristic phenomenon in Algonquian languages, with no grammatical analog in English (presumably the L1 for this proposal's population of interest).
2. The form and function of obviation varies not only across Algonquian languages but between various Ojibwe dialects.
3. A full acquisition of Saulteaux entails a mastery of obviation, which is obligatory in integral and common contexts like possession or speaking about more than one third-person argument at a time.
4. The acquisition of obviation has not been explored in Saulteaux or any other Ojibwe dialect. It has also not received full attention for any other Algonquian languages.

6.0. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR MOVING FORWARD

This proposal has identified obviation in Saulteaux as a prime target for a language acquisition study. At this point, one must decide where to begin. Plotting a specific course of action with a full methodology is beyond the scope of this proposal, but a few suggestions may prove useful for planning next steps.

6.1. Choosing a population

First, a specific population must be selected for investigation. Assuming that Saulteaux, like other Indigenous languages of Canada, is mostly acquired as an L2, perhaps a good place to start is with a community where Saulteaux language courses are taught in school. There is at least one community in Alberta (not named here, to respect the privacy of the community) where Saulteaux is taught to high school students, and there may be other communities teaching the language to even younger children in school.

6.2. Measuring Saulteaux input

With a target population in mind, the next step needs to be assessing the Saulteaux input these children receive—specifically, constructions involving obviation. This includes language input both inside and outside the school. Inside the school, assessments would include sampling in-class speech from the language teacher as well as from the students. As Housman et al. (2011, p. 16) note, it is especially important to assess the input from the teacher because "the oral proficiency level of teachers in the classroom is directly related to the language development and proficiency of the students." It would also be helpful to assess any language-teaching materials, as this could provide an additional source of language input as well as insight into metalinguistic approaches to teaching obviation. The speech of students, of course, should also be measured outside the classroom, as for example, in interactions with each other on school grounds or out in the community. The same goes for assessing the Saulteaux input children may or may not be receiving in the home.

6.3. Assessing Saulteaux comprehension and production

Only once an input assessment has been carried out can measurements of both the comprehension and production of obviation be pursued. This should include assessing native speakers from the community, in order to establish a baseline for comparing the acquisition of obviation by the Saulteaux students. Such a comparison can follow a model similar to Warner's 1996 study (cited in Housman et al., 2011), which compared adult native speakers of Hawaiian to children learning Hawaiian as a second language through immersion. As this proposal also aims to do with Saulteaux, Warner examined grammatical phenomena specific to Hawaiian and not found in English in order to assess acquisition of key linguistic features. Creating such an assessment to compare native speakers with L2 learners will require the construction of stimuli and an entire experimental protocol. The examples in Section 5 above may prove useful for creating such stimuli.

Of course, one must also decide exactly where to begin with obviation. Does it make sense to assess obviation across the range of grammatical contexts described in Section 5? If so, there are a lot of variables to manage. Consider a sentence like (12), which is repeated below:

(12)   o-ōhkōy-an   ot-ani-sikinihkēn-iko-n
        3-grandmother-SG.OBV   3-away-by.the.arm-INV-OBV
        'Her grandmother takes her by the arm.'   (Adapted from Logan, 2001, p. 172)

The correct comprehension or production of (12) entails mastery of several aspects of obviation. This includes at least the following:

1. Animate third persons possessed by third persons get an obviative suffix.
2. This suffix differs for SG and PL forms.
3. The obviative argument must trigger verb agreement.

Beyond just obviation, however, a listener or speaker must understand several more aspects of Saulteaux morphosyntax. This includes but is not limited to:

4. Kinship relations entail obligatory possession.
5. A possessed argument like grandmother receives a prefix.
6. The pro-dropped subject still triggers a prefix on the verb.
7. The verb gets an INV suffix to show that the obviative argument is acting upon the proximate argument.
8. Switching the word order technically would not change the meaning of the sentence, but it may violate pragmatic preferences.

Clearly, this is an entire suite of interacting variables that would require a tremendous amount of knowledge and scientific finesse to control to any manageable degree.

Therefore, perhaps it would be best to begin with what seems to be the simplest scenario mentioned in Section 5: a third-person noun possessed by a third-person noun. Of course, care should be taken to limit constructions to just two third-person arguments, in order to avoid complication involved with the rare further obviative marking observed by Grafstein (1981). Examples such as (2) which is repeated below, may prove useful for this purpose.

(2)   ni-kosihs   o-kosihs-an   o-kosihs-ah
        1-son   3-son-SG.OBV   3-son-PL.OBV
        'my son'   'his son'   'his sons'
        (Adapted from Scott, 1995, p. 38; Voorhis, 1976, p. 21-1)

In examples like (2), a much more limited number of factors are in play than in (12). A listener or speaker needs to demonstrate competency of fewer linguistic aspects, such as:

1. Kinship relations entail obligatory possession.
2. A possessed argument like son receives a prefix.
3. Animate third persons possessed by third persons get an obviative suffix.
4. This suffix differs for SG and PL forms.

Therefore, the comprehension or production of obviation with possessed nominals may constitute a better place to start than, say, transitive or ditransitive constructions. However, it still entails an appreciable level of complexity that must be carefully controlled by the researcher. For now, sketching out many more details is beyond the scope of this particular proposal.

In the end, with the opportunities identified here, this proposal may prove useful for taking advantage of unique opportunities and moving forward with assessing the acquisition of Saulteaux. With luck, this could be a springboard for years of fruitful research in not just Saulteaux but across a range of languages.

NOTES

1.   Linguists (e.g., Mellow & Begg 2014), of course, have also pointed out the need for language assessment tools not based upon Indo-European languages, as such tools should take into consideration the linguistic characteristics of their targets.

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PLACE-BASED LANGUAGE LEARNING USING MOBILE TECHNOLOGY: RE-DESIGNING A MALL GAME FOR HELP

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ABSTRACT

By utilizing a combination of theories of place-based learning and MALL, the research team at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa was able to design its own version of an augmented reality game to be implemented in the Hawai'i English Language Program (HELP). After analyzing both in-game data and conducting a series of post-game interview data with both students and administrators, the game, Guardians of the Mo'o, was deemed to be successful in achieving its initial design goals and was given support to possibly become part of the regular HELP curriculum, pending modifications.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

As the world continues moving into the 21st century, it is important for educators to be able to keep up with the changing world, and the advances being made in technology. Though classroom learning and textbook literacy remains an integral part of the traditional schooling world, teachers must build their own awareness of the new literacies that are developing throughout the world (Gallego & Hollingsworth, 1992). Educators working in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have recently begun integrating various tools associated with the term "Web 2.0" and more specific online language learning tools into the classroom (Steel & Levy, 2013). While this has been an excellent first step, 21st century educators must also be thinking about the emerging literacies that are being developed by their students every day in online virtual spaces and on their mobile devices.

As more and more language students are able to use their mobile devices and integrate themselves in educational online environments, language teachers could be playing more of a role in guiding these students in how they use this new technology and presenting them with the affordances of having such devices both inside and outsides the classroom (Thorne, Black, & Sykes, 2009; Steinkuehler & Squire, 2014). In fact, some educators have already been focusing on combining ideas of place-based learning in conjunction with mobile technology in order to create language-learning experiences that extend beyond traditional classroom situations (Holden & Sykes, 2011; Zheng & Newgarden, 2012).

However, as these educators find new and interesting ways to implement new original ideas into their classes, they must also take care in their integration by looking more closely at their student perceptions of these new additions to the curriculum. In doing so, language instructors can better understand what students can gain from participating in these projects, particularly using mobile technology.

The purpose of this paper is to look more closely at how a recently implemented place-based augmented reality English-language game using mobile technology will become a full month-long course in an intensive English language program in Hawai'i. Since the actual program development aspects of this project are quite unique and ongoing, the paper will be split into two sections: the first iteration of the game's development, and the second iteration (ongoing) of the new course's development. For both iterations, aspects of the needs analysis, the overall goals of the project, the materials development, and their evaluation will be addressed.

2.0. FIRST ITERATION: GUARDIANS OF THE MO'O

2.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INITIAL GAME DESIGN

Since the early 2000s, computer technology has become more and more prevalent in classrooms, and many researchers in SLA have been attempting to use technology more effectively for the benefit of students. One of the

most documented recent trends in SLA has been in Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), with studies done in new literacies (Leu, Kinzer, Coiro, & Cammack, 2004), vocabulary instruction (Chiu, 2013), telecollaboration (Guth & Helm, 2010), and glossing frequency (Taylor, 2014).

However, due to the many variations on research that are able to fall under the CALL umbrella, commentary done in the area has often used broad terms, like "Web 2.0", and lacked specificity when making distinctions between technology itself and tools (Steel & Levy, 2013, p. 307). Steel & Levy (2013) conducted their own research in this area and attempted to find out what kind of technology was being used by undergraduate foreign language students at the University of Queensland in 2011. According to their study, 82-85% of the students were using online dictionaries and web-based translators, 69% of the students were using YouTube regularly, and 50-60% of students were using social networking sites, mobile applications (apps), and online language learning games.What is of particular interest is that these students were using these technologies both inside and outside of the classroom (p. 313).

Taking into the account that the most popular tools were being used by students in the language classroom context, it is notable that each of the tools mentioned can be and are often used on mobile devices. Due to the advent of the smartphone and other mobile computing devices, this has led researchers interested in CALL to also look more closely at Mobile Assisted Language Learning (MALL) as well (Squire & Dikkers, 2012). In terms of variation and potential, the use of MALL in language learning contexts has been explored in areas such as listening (Huang & Sun, 2010), speaking (Kukulka-Hulme & Shield, 2008), vocabulary (Wu, 2015), and digital language learning games (Cornillie, Thorne, & Desmet, 2012). Due to the introduction of such language learning games, like Duolingo, the idea of gamification in the classroom has been becoming more popular (Squire & Dikkers, 2012).

In accordance to the research that has been done in CALL and MALL in the realm of language learning, games afford language learners with unique social experiences; due to the fact that these learners will have multiple opportunities to interact with each other in various ways during a gameplay session, it is much like the SLA theories in interaction and task-based language learning (Ellis, 2003). Players must be able to adeptly understand the situation that they are facing within the given moment, seek out additional information to prepare themselves for a challenge, and then take action. This new kind of environment promotes different communication tactics, and allows for in-game consequences when there is a clear distinction between success and failure.

In consideration of games as language learning environments, Sykes & Reinhardt (2012) outline the following key terminology as such: language is defined in terms of Halliday's (1978) notion of social-semiotic practice, and game as something that is often "rule-bound with internal reward systems" and it may include imaginative/creative experiences along with problem-solving (p. 7). Sykes & Reinhardt (2012) go on to discuss the importance of social interaction in terms of SLA by using the lens of systemic functional linguistics. The authors discuss how gaming can produce "ideational interactions" about games (p. 36) and "interpersonal interactions" through and around games (p. 38), but perhaps more importantly for this study, they explain how games create a social context that creates opportunities to negotiate for meaning.

Due to the awareness of emerging opportunities that gaming can provide, there has been varying levels of CALL research that has been done in the area of massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPG) as outlined in Cornillie, Thorne, & Desmet (2012). The authors explain the process in which they conduct searches on "language learning" and "CALL" within the academic journal databases, concluding that while there has been a steady amount of game design research since the 1980s, there has been a significant increase in the amount of research being done in game theory, experimental research, and pedagogy. They explain the appeal for language learning researchers and MMORPGs could be due to the following:

Gaming environments, MMOs in particular, seem to present useful sites for investigating whether learners are oriented towards outperforming themselves and/or others, whether they are driven by mastery goals, and with which learning patterns these goals are associated (p. 250).

Taking this one step further, Zheng, Bischoff, & Gilliland (2015) conducted a CALL study in which their two participants took part in a MMORPG called World of Warcraft (WoW) and each of the participants (one native English speaker and one native Japanese speaker) was asked to work together during the gameplay to accomplish a quest. While the focus for the participants was not on the idea of language learning itself, the researchers were interested in what would happen "in the wild" (Hutchins, 1995), meaning how would the participants react to language interactions (both visual and verbal), especially considering the virtual world that they were engaged in. The researchers explain: "Cognitive and communicative activities are equally dependent on other individuals and artifacts or tools" (p. 776).

However, what if language learners did not have to necessarily enter a completely virtual world in order to receive the same benefits as outlined above? Due to the convenience of readily available mobile technology, these devices can be used along with the theory of place-based learning to create an entirely new experience for language learners.

2.2 COMBINING MALL AND PLACE-BASED RESEARCH

Just as there has been an increase in MALL-related research, there has also been a push for place-based education as well, in order to better situate learners in the space around them. In Holden & Sykes (2011), the researchers designed and implemented their own augmented reality game inside a high school Spanish classroom with the goal of placing Spanish learners in real-world situations, building intercultural competence. The researchers' theory was that many language students are ill-prepared for situations that require them to speak their target language because much of their practice was done in a classroom environment (imaginary world), and their assessment is based on language gains made in this controlled environment. If the students are unable to produce their target language outside of the classroom, then it must be seriously considered that this style of assessment is somewhat invalid in the sense that there is a mismatch between the needs and the assessment (Warschauer, 2007). This indicates a need for additional language support where a semi-structured activity that focused on social interaction could fill in the missing gap.

With this point in mind, Holden & Sykes (2011) designed their mobile app game to place the students in real-life contexts in order to challenge students to work together to succeed in an uncontrolled environment. Because of the affordances of mobile devices, which are able to customize our understanding of place within the moment, students have the opportunity to bring more of themselves to that place by researching information dynamically, according to their interests (Squire, 2009). In other words, the students could draw on both their classmates to solve the language tasks as well as use the mobile technology to try to solve problems as well.

2.3 THE CONTEXT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I'S MALL EXPERIMENT

Based on a strong belief in the benefits of place-based and mobile language learning, as well as a goal to include student feedback into their research design, the research team at the University of Hawai'i decided to design their own augmented reality MALL game, officially titled Guardians of the Mo'o to be played on the upper campus of the university by a target population of English language learners.

At the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa campus, the Second Language Studies (SLS) department runs an intensive English language program by the name of HELP (Hawai'i English Language Program). These students typically stay in Hawai'i for only a three to six month period.Their primary goal is to improve their English to an appropriate level to attend university in the United States. The HELP facility is located on the lower campus near the sporting facilities. Due to the layout of academic buildings, HELP students are removed from the daily academic

culture of life on the upper campus. The program itself is short-term; students are typically in the classroom for five to six hours daily from Monday to Thursday, and have a lot of homework to do for each class, leaving fewer opportunities for the students to use their improved language abilities in real contexts in Hawai'i.

One of the key benefits for the target learners, who mainly come from overseas, is that they are placed within an Engish as a Second Language (ESL) environment and there are language learning opportunities available to them within the greater Honolulu area as opposed to an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context. However, from preliminary research conducted, it seemed that the majority of these types of students often did not take advantage of the linguistic landscape, and frequently grouped together with classmates from the same country in order to speak their native languages outside of the classroom. The MALL game is designed to present an alternative to this typical trend and create more opportunities for language learning in a local context.

In addition to this, the "comprehensible output hypothesis" developed by Swain (1985) was taken into account. Swain believed that language learning occurs when the language learner is faced with a gap in their linguistic knowledge in their second language. After noticing the gap or language mistake, the language learner then tries to modify their output to complete a more successful interaction. Because they have to re-formulate their ideas in the moment, the learner could end up learning a new aspect of the language which has not been acquired in more formalized settings.

3.0. NEEDS ANALYSIS

In order to understand the needs of our target students at the outset of the project, especially in terms of their technology usage patterns as well as their daily English learning experience, an initial survey was conducted, as well as two rounds of group interviews.

3.1. INITIAL SURVEYS

Multiple-choice "opinion surveys" with a few additional short answer questions were sent out in early March 2015 to HELP administrators for approval (Brown, 1995, p. 50). The original intent was to have as many HELP students from various classes as possible fill out the survey fully. However, HELP administrators quickly responded to the research team by saying that there were too many questions on the survey and that they were only willing to accept five multiple choice questions in total for the students to answer.

The research team revised their original survey to only include five multiple choice questions. They received a small amount of responses compared to the actual number of students in the program. The data that was collected from the initial surveys was actually discarded in the end. However, the researchers used the contact information from the students who completed the surveys. The students were recruited for group interviews conducted in mid-March.

3.2. GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH HELP STUDENTS

The research team originally contacted around ten HELP students to conduct interviews with them, but were only able to secure three in the end. Unfortunately, the research team tried to schedule their interviews during HELP's finals week and subsequent Spring Break, reducing the amount of willing participants. Group interviewing style was ultimately decided upon to try to provide a more natural atmosphere, despite an awareness that group interviewing can ultimately produce different answers than one-on-one interviews (Brown, 1995, p. 49).

In the first interview, one Japanese student was interviewed by three researchers in an unstructured style and in the second interview, two Japanese students were interviewed by four researchers in a similar style. Both of the group interviews were conducted in the office of one of the researchers and took approximately 45 minutes for each session.

During these interview sessions, the participants confirmed the initial theories that the researchers had in regard to how HELP students relate to technology as language learning tools and their experience with the surrounding campus life.

3.3. INTERVIEWS WITH ADMINISTRATORS & THE PRIMARY RESEARCHER

In order to evaluate the expectations of the key stakeholders in the SLS MALL project, a series of interviews were conducted with all those that would be directly affected and inherently interested in the outcomes of the project. To that end, Graham Crookes, the Second Language Studies department chair, and Joel Weaver, the Director of HELP, were interviewed to gain a deeper understanding of the administrative perspective. After that, an interview was conducted with Dongping Zheng, who was the primary researcher on this project.

For each stakeholder, their expectations are similar with slight differences. For the administration, they are looking for a project that can be implemented rather quickly, which also measures language gains for assessment and presentation purposes. For Zheng, she saw the project as another stepping-stone to developing more advanced systems of real-world language acquisition using design-based and ecological research methods. She does not necessarily prioritize the student subjects to produce language gains by way of traditional assessment, but would rather have those students open their minds to the affordances of learning language in unstructured settings (Zheng, 2015).

3.4. GOALS OF THE PROJECT

Taking into account the expectations of the administrators, the needs analysis done with the three HELP participants, and the desires of the research team themselves, three goals in designing and implementation of the game were developed: 1) the students were expected to be exposed to the affordances of learning (English) language using technology in real-life contexts; 2) the game was designed to expose the students to physical sites and important cultural areas of the university's upper campus, enhancing the students' understanding and value of the local area; and 3) multiple types of language challenges were built into the gaming structure for the students to overcome, as well as the creation of opportunities for students to use language with "real people" in unscripted situations.

3.5. MATERIALS

As for the materials that were developed for Guardians of the Moʻo, the game itself was considered the essential material. The research team developed a game that contained ten quests, each of them containing various language challenges for the students to overcome to complete the game. During the gameplay, the students were asked to follow the storyline of aiding the sick Moʻo goddess and visit six culturally significant locations on the University of Hawaiʻi's upper campus, including the Japanese Garden, Thai Pavilion, and Center for Korean Studies. In order to succeed in completing the game, the students were asked to work together to solve the challenges, leading to multiple endings within the game. The challenges included reading comprehension, elements of critical thinking, writing short answers to questions, and speaking to at least one librarian in Hamilton library.

It is important to note that, at this stage, the materials were developed with the aforementioned three goals in mind. The storyline, the locations visited, and the key points of the story were constructed to fit the initial needs identified by both the students and administrators. At this point, the researchers were in the stage of "pre-use evaluation [which] involves making predictions about the potential value of materials for their users." (Tomlinson, 2003, p. 23)

3.6. PARTICIPANTS

The total number of participants were three male and four female college-aged students from HELP. Participants received no compensation or extra credit for their participation; however, they were allowed to leave their regularly scheduled HELP courses early in order to participate with the researchers in the early afternoon. The recruitment process was carried out in one of two different ways: 1) participants had expressed interest in volunteering during the initial survey stage of the project, or 2) they were asked to participate on the day of the scheduled gameplay sessions by their HELP instructors.

The students ages ranged from 19–24 years old, with the median age being 21.3. Of the seven students who played the game, they were allowed to choose their own partners or groups that they wanted to work with. As a result, two groups were formed as follows: Group 1 consisted of two male Korean students, one female Korean student, and one female Japanese student, and Group 2 consisted of one Korean male student and two Korean female students.

3.7. PROCEDURE DURING THE GAMEPLAY SESSIONS

On April 28th and May 1st, the student groups were scheduled to play the game, which included time for pre-game orientation and post-game group interviews. Group 1 participated on April 28th while Group 2 participated on May 1st. Each group took approximately two and a half hours to complete the game.

On gameplay days, each student group was accompanied on their gameplay sessions by two members of the research team at all times. After giving verbal and written consent during the orientation, each student group was recorded by one video camera and one digital audio recorder for the entire gameplay session, and the same equipment was used for the post-game group interview. In addition to this, each student group was given an iPad with the game app downloaded to the hub screen and the students were also given the freedom to download additional versions of the app to their iPhones as well during their orientations. However, each of the student groups independently decided to play the game using only the main iPad as the source of information.

For the students to progress through the game, they had to physically move from one new location to another new location around the upper campus area. At each new space they arrived at, there was a new challenge or task that needed to be completed in order to advance to the next stage.

3.8. FIRST ITERATION EVALUATION

Due to the fact that Guardians of the Moʻo was assessed positively by students during both the in-game sessions and the post-game interview sessions, it seemed that the proposed benefits of the project that had been outlined, based on initial student needs analysis at the outset of the project, were validated. Because the students were provided with multiple opportunities for interaction throughout the game in a semi-structured, open-world setting, they were able to engage in dynamic interactions to solve the challenges they faced, as well as decide if they wanted to speak to strangers in order to receive extra help.

As a result, the research team believed that they were able to achieve positive outcomes from the initial design goal since the students were able to confirm their theories about the three proposed goals. A report was made to both the administrators at HELP and the SLS department in early May 2015.The administrators were happy with the initial results, but felt that Guardians of the Moʻo in its current form was far too long to be a module. The key point of criticism was that administrators would be willing to continue to support the project as long as it was significantly modified to suit the HELP curriculum needs.

4.0. SECOND ITERATION: "COMMUNICATION PRACTICE" COURSE PROPOSAL

Based on the positive feedback received, the research team spent one year doing an analysis of all of the data that was collected in order to better understand how the game could be implemented in theHELP curriculum.

Originally, both the administrators in the SLS program and HELP had expressed interest in the Guardians of the Moʻo game becoming a module in a more typical class in the HELP curriculum, with a guided teacher's manual for HELP instructors. The game itself was not meant to be the focus of the class, but rather something extra that could be built in to supplement student learning. It did not necessarily have to fit perfectly into the curriculum of a course's textbook, but it had to make sense to the instructor and the students, as well as having some element of assessment after the gameplay had ended.

4.1. NEEDS ANALYSIS FOR THE SECOND ITERATION

After outlining their plan and feeling confident about the newly discussed module plan, the research team scheduled a meeting with HELP administrators to discuss it, which was conducted on March 9, 2016.

The research team explained their vision for the LS311 course, but they were surprised to learn that the HELP administrators did not share the same vision for the course. During that meeting, HELP Assistant Director Christine Guro expressed the point that HELP teachers have "a lot of freedom in setting their own curriculum" and students "have certain expectations about their courses when they sign up" (Guro, 2016). As Brown (1995) stated in reference to a needs analysis, "Learners are, in a sense, clients and their needs should be served" (p. 20). Therefore, it was decided that devoting a large amount of time to a new game would be risky in the regular curriculum.

As an initial test of the new game design, the HELP administration was willing to allow one to two classes to spend time on the game and even then, that would be contingent on teacher support. At this stage, the research team recognized that their needs analysis may have been perhaps too narrow, as they spent a large amount of time focusing on what they felt the students needed, and had not considered what the HELP administration or teachers may have wanted.

Despite this, the research team decided that they would still proceed and modify the original game to two modules in order for it to fit within the existing HELP curriculum logically. The team's intention was to meet with the HELP instructors scheduled to teach the course and then confer once again with HELP administrators.

4.2. HELP'S "COMMUNCATION PRACTICE" COURSE

However, during a follow-up meeting with HELP administrators conducted on April 29th, 2016, the situation in regard to the game's implementation had changed rather suddenly. According to the administration, they were willing to take a chance on an "experimental curriculum" during their Summer Session II program (Weaver, 2016). This was due to the fact that during the Summer Session II's scheduled courses, there was going to be a large influx of students from South Korea who would only be staying in the program for a month. Since these students would not be obligated to take classes in the regular curriculum in the immediate future, there was "more room for innovation" (Weaver, 2016).

As a result, two members of the research team were selected to become instructors of the new "Communication Practice" course, which (at the time of the study) is currently scheduled as the last class of the day for HELP students during Summer Session II. The course to is scheduled run from July 5th to July 29th (Monday through Friday) from 12:55pm–2pm. Two sections of the course will be opened at the 300 level (intermediate level) in order for both instructors of the research team to teach the class at the same time to different groups of students. The intermediate level was chosen for this course because of the English level of the story and the tasks were originally designed with intermediate level of student in mind.

In regard to the goals and objectives of the course, they are still in the process of being developed. As Brown (1995) explained, "The process of defining goals makes the curriculum developers and participants consider, or reconsider, the program's purposes with specific reference to what the students should be able to do when they leave the program" (p. 72). Therefore, it was decided that new course must have an overall theme (such as cultural diversity) to tie the curriculum together, and HELP administrators would collaborate with the researchers to develop appropriate Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs).

In this case, the game itself will not be the only component of the class, but rather, the need for the gaming aspect of the course must be clear logically. As previously mentioned, it is important to the administration that the students must also be evaluated on what they have learned in some form, whether the assessment is via essays, tests, or final presentations on the experience.

Though the goals of the program and the content are still in the initial negotiation phase, the research team has already prepared a preliminary outline of what the learning outcomes will be for the first three weeks of the course below:

Table 1. Proposed Outline of the "Communication Practice" Course.

Week	Topic	Reading/Videos	Assignments
1	Cultural Diversity	Individual Freedom	Journals
2	History's Importance	American Education	Journals
3	Integration of local culture	Hawaiian Culture	Journals

Based on this outline for the research team's proposal, it is clear that the focus from the original game design will be shifted towards a more holistic look at understanding cultural diversity and improving intercultural communication skills. This will be the main goal of the program with more specific objectives constructed through a negotiation between the research team and HELP administrators. As explained in Brown (1995), "When [objectives] are a result of faculty cooperation and consensus building, objectives stand a much better chance of success. Without goals and objectives, a program may have no clear purpose and direction" (p. 105).

4.3. MATERIALS DESIGN FOR SECOND ITERATION

As the course shifts into a focus on diversity and intercultural communication, the research team has taken care in keeping the following points outlined in Nelson (1995) in mind:

> Examples of effective intercultural communication skills include (1) describing, not
> evaluating, behavior; (2) being open to new ideas; (3) accurately perceiving differences
> and similarities between between other cultures and one's own; and (4) being empathic
> toward people from other cultures...ESL/EFL textbook writers can also develop materials
> that teach students the skill of culture learning by creating activities that teach student
> strategies for learning about other cultures (p. 29).

The course will now focus on presenting students with ideas about diversity as an abstract concept before giving more concrete and local examples, and then finally asking the students to recognize their own experiences of dealing with diversity through playing the game.

The original game will be modified into three shorter gameplay sessions (two recycled from the original and one new) during the first three weeks of the course. The storyline of the Moʻo will be stripped away or modified in favor of shorter quests with very specific tasks. The three tasks will be outlined as followed:

4.3.1. WEEK #1 – DISCOVERING CULTURAL DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS

The students will use the class time to physically walk to the Japanese Garden on the upper campus with the game downloaded on their iPad or iPhone. The students will have the following three tasks to complete in the garden: 1) Talk to a virtual character and learn the historical and cultural meaning of the tea house in the garden; 2) Walk around the garden and learn about a historical event that occurred there; 3) Write their interpretation of what the garden symbolizes on their mobile device.

4.3.2. WEEK #2 – HISTORY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I

The students will use the class time to physically walk to the Varney Circle fountain on the upper campus with game downloaded on their iPad or iPhone. The students will have the following three tasks to complete there: 1) Talk with an NPC and learn about the history of Varney Circle 2) Discover and reflect on the meaning of a Hawaiian "tiki" (students will be asked to take a photo of the tiki as well); 3) HELP students should interview other students walking near Varney Circle about why this meaningful architecture on campus should be protected.

4.3.3. WEEK #3 – USING LOCAL CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE TO SOLVE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

The students will use the class time to physically walk to Paradise Palms on the upper campus with the game downloaded on their iPad or iPhone. The students must use Hawaiian words and orient themselves to the campus in order to complete this final quest. The students will have the following two longer tasks to complete: 1) Students virtually pick up a picture of an antique chest outside Paradise Palms, with a riddle included as a clue. A pop-up will have information that is triggered once they move into the radius of the Korean Center where the physical chest is located; 2) the Korean Center has a magnificent collection of traditional Korean artwork and artifacts, so the students have to rethink their own culture using a different viewpoint and also present what they have learned.
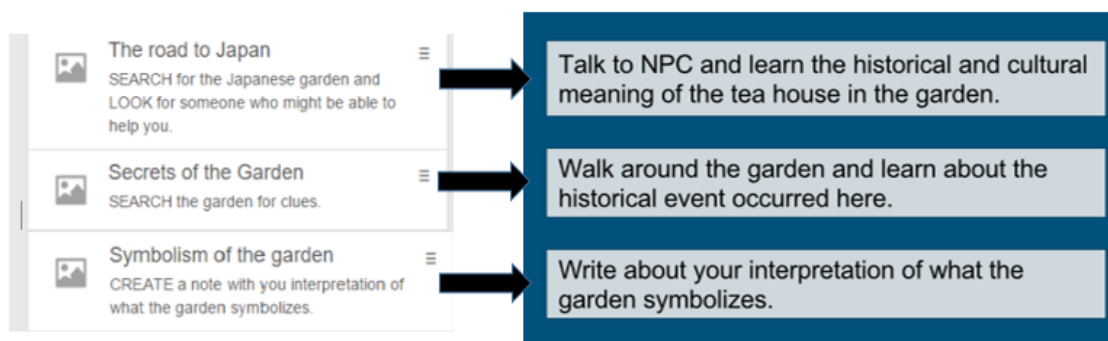
Figure 1. Example of what students may see on their iPad or iPhone for Week #1.

In addition to the materials that are being created, the research team will also be selectively adapting materials in order to create a course packet of reading for the students at the beginning of the course, which will also be relevant to the goals of the eventual syllabus. According to Brown (1995), "[I]f the needs analysts favor the communicative approach, the units of analysis will tend to be the speech acts, functions, interactional moves, and turn familiar to practitioners of discourse and text analysis" (p. 141). Therefore, the course will need to have significant readings in mind, as well as smaller group activities leading up the actual gameplay.

These activities will be negotiated along with the student learning outcomes and student evaluation methods, with the HELP administration in June before the start of the actual course begins in July.

4.4. DATA COLLECTION DURING THE TEACHING PHASE

During the course itself, the research team has already received approval to do continued data collection during the classroom and gameplay portions of the class. The researchers both intend to use video cameras and digital recorders to do on-camera observations (Brown, 1995, p. 195). The researchers will primarily be interested in collecting qualitative data from individual students since it "may turn out to be crucial to the actual decisions made in a program", but quantitative data will prove to be quite interesting for this iteration since the numbers of students playing the game will presumably be much higher. (Brown, 1995, p. 231).

4.5. EVALUATION OF THE COURSE

The researchers will be interested, in particular, to know how the materials affected the course and what may need to be revised for future iterations of the course. Post-game evaluations will be particularly important for the longevity of the course in the way the Tomlinson (2003) describes: "[they] can measure the short-term effect as regards motivation, impact, achievability, instant learning, etc., and it can measure the long-term effect as regards durable learning and application" (p. 25). As this course will be the first time that the game has been implemented into the HELP program in a meaningful way, course evaluations will be essential in understanding how students truly felt about these experiences.

In addition, the researchers will work each week during the course on creating a Teacher's Guide for both the HELP administration and for future HELP instructors who may be interested in teaching the course. This guide will effectively serve as a way to explain the basics of the course and to provide technical support to teachers using an augmented reality game for the first time (Brown, 1995, p. 188).

5.0. CONCLUSION

Based upon course feedback by students and the researchers' own evaluations based on data, HELP administrators and the research team will have to assess the overall effectiveness, efficiency, and the attitudes of the students toward the program. If the research team was able to develop a program about cultural diversity that supports the existence of augmented reality as an enhancement to learning and satisfies the intended learning outcomes, there is enough evidence to support that this program may very well be a successful, new addition to the regular HELP curriculum in the future.

Through the process of game creation in the first iteration to its revision in the second iteration, the research team has come to understand the importance of collaboration in not only assessing the needs of the students, but also the needs of the administration and target teachers. In developing this new curriculum, it has become clear that researchers and administrators must make their expectations clear when working together in order to create a solid partnership that is advantageous to both parties.

It is true that there is still a lot of work to be done in developing the new "Communication Practice" course for the HELP Summer II curriculum. Theresearchers have seen the importance of being able to make modifications to their existing game in order to orient students to this new style of learning. In fact, the initial perceived challenges surrounding the HELP curriculum became an asset for the researchers in their ongoing re-design, and their close ties with the current HELP administration will continue to result in fruitful feedback until the game itself becomes a viable course option for future HELP students.

In conclusion, program development can be a lengthy process that requires continuous feedback from all of the stakeholders involved in the project. Researchers cannot and should not attempt to create a curriculum that only serves their own analytic needs, but must consider what is appropriate for the students, teacher, and administrators within their current context. However, because of the connections and observations that the MALL research team

have made over from the initial game design to its becoming a new course, there is a strong indication that the team had taken the steps necessary to develop their course organically and successfully.

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THE VERY REAL EFFECTS OF AN ILLUSIONARY CIRCUIT SYSTEM: USING TONI MORRISON'S *THE BLUEST EYE* TO CONTEMPLATE BLACK EXISTENCE WITHIN WHITE SUPREMACY

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White supremacy resembles the inner workings of a clock. Its ideological structure is made up of pieces; each piece moves at a specific rhythm. The pieces depend on each other in order to maintain the life of the clock. Although all pieces are necessary for the clock to function properly, some pieces are seen as more important than other pieces. In the white supremacist paradigm, Black individuals are considered to be minor pieces even though their bodies are crucial in the maintenance of white supremacy[1]. White supremacy needs Black bodies that are void of metaphysical existence because white supremacists intend to fill that void with a constructed idea of the Black existence. This constructed idea is meant to oppose the desired idea of white existence. In a properly functioning white supremacist system, Black people need to be recognized as non-human, unknowledgeable, homely, etc., so that white people are seen as human, intelligent, beautiful, etc. However, these characteristics imposed onto Black individuals make up the constructed, mythologized idea of Black individuals. Who Black individuals are, in the eyes of white supremacy, opposes who they are in actuality. However, Black consciousness seeks for recognition in the white supremacist system. If white supremacists will only see Black people as non-beings, the ontology of the Black self becomes problematized. This clash of ideas contributing to one being, or one group of beings, is what renders being Black, in this system, a problem.

I aim to discuss the self-consciousness, or the lack thereof, of Black individuals in order to demonstrate how an authentic awareness of the self is complicated. Their ontological explanation is an idea created by white supremacy; therefore, it is deceptive. Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* figuratively exposes the white supremacist paradigmatic social structure in which Black people must be aware of a white supremacist idea of themselves while also being aware of their actual self. However, the awareness that they have of their being is invalid in the white world; therefore, according to W.E.B. Du Bois, they have "no true self-consciousness" (38). In Morrison's text, Pecola becomes aware of her "twoness" as a young Black girl (Du Bois 38). Morrison demonstrates how these different views become deep-rooted in the Black experiences of living in a white world.

In following G.W.F Hegel's philosophy of how an individual achieves self-consciousness, many Black scholars expose the falsified and idealistic white supremacist ideological workings that create a Black ontological explanation. The scholars discussed in this essay have one commonality: discussing the problem of being Black surrounded by white. They don't discuss this in a way that alludes to Black people being a problem at their core, but address the issue of existing as a problem in the eyes of white supremacists. In "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," Du Bois opens with the perplexity of being considered a "problem" in the white world, and experiencing the problem others have towards him as a Black man (37). Frantz Fanon, in "The Fact of Blackness," discusses the truncation of the Hegelian "process of Recognition" (Hegel 111). Because this process is cut short for Black people, their self-consciousness, or their "understand[ing] of being [B]lack," is made unattainable. This is especially so in an anti-Black society that is built on an ideological infrastructure that makes use of ideological beings (Hegel 111, Fanon 82). Fred Moten responds to Fanon in his work, "The Case of Blackness" by considering the "black pathology," or the mental, social, and linguistic abnormalities, of Black people in this system that serves as a backdrop to all Black philosophy (177). He notes that all explanation of Black existence must incorporate the idea of simultaneously living as "irreducibly disordering, deformational force" while "being [an] absolutely indispensable . . . component. . . to [the] normative" function of white supremacy (Moten 180). In other words, the problem with being Black is that one's body is needed to support a system that disregards and has no understanding of its significance.

This "twoness" that Black people feel comes into realization when one "meet[s] the white man's eyes" (Du Bois 38, Fanon 83). It is as if the infamous white gaze looks past Black individuals because for white supremacist

there is nothing to see. Pecola, as a young girl, experiences this realization of her "double self" in the presence of Mr. Yacobowski, a white immigrant (Du Bois 39). Pecola, initially, isn't quite sure what causes Mr. Yacobowski's vision to "hesitate and hover" before her; she's not quite sure why she is "nothing to see" to this white man (Morrison 48). She thinks maybe this lack of recognition is because she's young girl and he's an adult, "but she has seen interest, disgust, even anger in grown male eyes," which suggests some sort of human recognition (Morrison 49). Through a process of elimination and realization, Pecola is able to understand that this "fifty-two-year-old white immigrant store-keeper" could not possibly "*see* a little black girl" (Morrison 48, emphasis original). Morrison figuratively demonstrates the Hegelian "process of Recognition," but shows how this process is truncated for Black individuals existing in a white world (Hegel 111). Ideally, according to Hegel, for an individual to "become certain of itself as the essential being," that individual must be able to recognize and be recognized; one has to "put themselves into the other" (111). However, in this white supremacist world, it seems as though only white individuals can attain self-consciousness. According to Fanon, when it comes time for Black individuals to "move towards the other" in order to "put themselves into the other," the white individual "disappears" (84, Hegel 111). This is the experience of Black people: they are unable to know who they are because white supremacists, posing as the "other," will not recognize them as beings worth experiencing. White supremacists will not allow Black people to supersede them, to experience them.

This process is the "total absence of human recognition" (Morrison 49). Because of this lack of human recognition, Fanon asserts that there is "no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (83). Fanon points to an interesting dynamic that plays into the idea of Black people as problems. In order for this white supremacist system to maintain a "normative order," not only "must the [B]lack [individuals] be [B]lack," which points to the actual being inside of the Black body, "[their] metaphysics," must also "be [B]lack in relation to the white [individual]." Fanon assertion points to the white supremacist creation of the Black idea, which is "woven…out of a thousand details, anecdotes, stories," that embodies an object rather than a being (Moten 178, Fanon 82-83). Pecola is not seen because the created idea her body holds makes her "blackness…distaste[ful]" in the white world (Morrison 49). However, it is not actually her being that's repulsive, but it is this idea of her being, "her blackness," that white supremacy has created for her that "accounts for, that creates, the vacuum edged with distaste in white eyes" (Morrison 49). This created definition is what Fanon asserts that Black individuals cannot "resist" (83).

Moten suggests that Fanon's "ontological resistance" becomes complicated for the Black individual in the white world (Fanon 83). He asks how an individual can create a new ontological explanation when this "being… neither [exists] for itself nor for the other" (Moten 179). That is, if Pecola rejects the ontological explanation that white supremacy has given her while still not receiving recognition, then into whom can she place her "ambiguous" self (Hegel 112)? This causes a reliance on the idea of Blackness constructed by white supremacy. In order for people to be aware of themselves as anything at all, they must recognize another force. According to Hegel, self-consciousness begins by acknowledging the other being as different, but "at the same time…not distinct, or in their opposite significance" (Hegel 111). That is, the two forces that oppose one another, although opposite, must acknowledge that they are similar in being. The initial self must identify the other force with differentiating characteristics; however, these two forces cannot be held too far apart because the initial being must place itself into the other being because it must see itself in the other. On her walk to the grocery store, Pecola notices the "inanimate things" around her and notes that these things are what she can "experience" (Morrison 47). Black individuals are not recognized in this white world because they are seen as objects, and therefore, they may see themselves as objects because they can only complete the process of recognition with objects. The anti-Black, white supremacist system makes sense of nonsensical activities. Blacks are seen as objects, and thereby see themselves as objects. The acting out of this logic is as absurd as someone holding a conversation with an actual object. However, white supremacy forces Pecola and other Black people into this absurd position. Pecola's "[B]lackness" has made her a perpetual object in the eyes of whiteness (Morrison 49). She's "sealed into objecthood" that causes her "bodily schema… to burst apart" and to be "put together again by another self" (Fanon 82-83). Fanon's metaphor gives way to the idea of Blackness as it replaces the metaphysical Black individual. The essence of Pecola has "burst" into

pieces in the presence of Mr. Yacobowski. White supremacy puts her back together in a disfigured, non-human form. The white gaze takes the Black individual's body, distorts it by creating a new identity for the Black individual, and this new identity relates more to an object than a human. This constant separation, which is based on an idea and not a fact, is what perpetually truncates the process of recognition in the white world.

Morrison's text shows the concreteness of the system in which Mr. Yacobowski is embedded. It's the same system that obstructs Pecola when she is not aware of her position. Black self-consciousness exists and is created for white self-consciousness. Morrison demonstrates this system to be man-made with socially constructed identities with the use of the sidewalk that has a crack in the shape of a "Y." This can be seen as foreshadowing, as Pecola walks on the concrete path to see Mr. *Y*acobowski (Morrison 48, emphasis mine). Being a white man, although an immigrant, he sees himself as privileged over Pecola. His self-consciousness as a white man is embedded in the system, and Pecola as a young Black girl must learn early on how to walk within the system because, if she isn't careful or watchful, "her sloughing step [will make] her trip over that" crack (Morrison 47). On one hand, the text suggests that only white supremacists are a part of the concrete workings of the system. They are the only ones recognized as significant, as actual beings, rather than objects. On the other hand, the text suggests that Mr. Yacobowski is a "crack" in the system, which suggests that his self-consciousness is just as inauthentic as Black self-consciousness (Morrison 47). Whites are recognized as permanent components of the system, and others have to walk around and watch their step. Morrison covertly exposes the fallacious ways one attains self-consciousness in the white supremacist system. Moten asserts that Black people are "dangerous" because this presumed idea of the Black individual serves as a "supplement" for the "normative" functions of this system (Moten 180). White supremacists need Black bodies with this particular disfigured idea internalized so that they can perpetually have the advantage. The way of the system contradicts itself, rendering it fallacious. It makes Black people internalize this "objecthood" and, thus renders them insignificant while also ignoring the case that the role given to Black people is an important role to the success of white power (Fanon 82). Although Black people serve as a receptacle to place the ideal image of what white supremacists want Black people to be, and thereby take away the actual existence and reduce them to objects, white supremacists still need a receptacle to place an inferior idea into so that they can, thereby, be superior, which not only points to the "fixed" appearance of the system but also the ideological construction based on false ideals (Fanon 82).

Pecola, with an innate, individualistic understanding, sees "dandelions" as "pretty" flowers (Morrison 47). However, "grown-ups…call them weeds" (Morrison 47). This shows the construct of ideology and how one comes to internalize the white supremacist Black idea as valid. The internalization of these unnatural ideas begins at childhood. When Du Bois first became aware of his "twoness," he was a youth (38). The maintenance of this system requires the installation of these false ideas at a young age, so that acceptance of the constructed, man-made system appears natural and "fixed" (Fanon 82). It makes it so that this internalization becomes stronger through experience, as the older adults have accepted and proclaimed matter-of-factly that these beautiful flowers are weeds.

With this internalization, white supremacy can keep a "nice…yard…like Miss Dunion…. Not a dandelion anywhere" (Morrison 47). At least, this is the ideal. However, the fallacious idea of Black people is needed, so rather than discarding the weeds once they are pulled, they use them for consumption. "But they do not want the yellow heads;" they don't want the actual essence of Blacks; "only the jagged leaves," they only need their body to perpetuate this system. The roles destined for Black people are not true to their individuality, for their individual selves don't have a chance to be recognized. After the interaction with Mr. Yacobowski, Pecola agrees with the adults and accepts that these once "pretty" flowers are "*are* ugly. They *are* weeds" (Morrison 50). Morrison shows how some Black individuals may have come to accept their subordinate position, as if "the master had said, 'You are ugly people…' [and] 'Yes,' they had said, 'You are right'" (Morrison 39).

In the anti-Black, white supremacist system, there seems to be no acceptance for the Black individual as an actual being. Du Bois speaks of a much needed reconciliation, a "merge[ing of] his double self into a better and truer self" (Du Bois 39). Wanting to reconcile Black blood with American experience when there seems to be no desire

for Black blood in the white world seems like wishful thinking. But even this non-acceptance of a much-needed being produces a paradox. Using the Hegelian process of recognition, in order for whites to obtain self-consciousness, they must put themselves into the other—Black people. However, white individuals place themselves into a constructed idea, the idea of Blackness, then the "return *into... self*," the second supersession, is based off of a fallacious idea; therefore, white self-consciousness is just as fallacious and constructed (Hegel 111). Many Black thinkers have noted the lack of ontological explanation, and thus resistance, when considering Black individuals in the white supremacist system; however, according to Hegel, because the white gaze "return[s] *into itself*" after "experiencing" a created idea, white self-consciousness is illusionary (Hegel 111). The very real effects of the white supremacist system function by way of an illusionary circuit. The realization of this paradox is the experience of existing as a problem.

NOTES

1.   My capitalization of Black, and only Black, is political and intentional.

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"I SEE US ALL": PURSUING RADICAL HUMANISM IN TRANSNATIONAL COALITIONS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In light of the increasingly hostile and violent efforts to quell public criticism and intellectual debate regarding the Israeli state, it has become all too apparent how dangerous it is to stand in solidarity with Palestine and even acknowledge Israeli settler colonialism. Yet, in 2014, when state-sanctioned violence in both the U.S. and Israel led to the crises of Ferguson and Gaza respectively, there was an emergence of Black-Palestinian solidarity. Responding to Robin D. G. Kelley's question of how to "build on...different kinds of oppression as well as different identities...rather than in spite of them" as well as his assertion that central to universal liberation is "building unity by supporting and perhaps even participating in other people's struggles for social justice," in this paper, I analyze the video released by the organization, Black-Palestinian Solidarity entitled "When I see them, I see us" ("Identity Politics"). I work from the understanding that, in dominant representations, both Black and Palestinian people are forced by the state into an extreme dichotomy of existing as a threat to national security or not existing at all. I utilize the Levinasian notion of the "face" to argue that, with respect for the uniqueness of struggles and varied histories, "When I see them, I see us" directly responds to such representations by combining a heterogeneous range of photographs with poetry to not only juxtapose ongoing struggles against transnational state-sanctioned violence, but to also firmly assert Black and Palestinian humanity, to force the viewer to recognize each group's face and realize their role as complicit within multiple axes of power.

2.0 THE LEVINASIAN FACE AND THE POLITICS OF MOURNING

Throughout much of his work, Emmanuel Levinas proposes an ethical model of the "face" that is premised upon the idea that we come to understand ourselves through witnessing the Other. He denies the reader any singular definition of what the face is, but mentions that the face is not limited to a literal human face and "cannot be comprehended, that is, encompassed" (*Totality* 194). Rather, the face is where the subject's "epiphany is produced" meaning that recognition of the Other's face conveys what is human about us, that which gives us our humanity; significantly, in bearing witness and "in gaining access to [the Other] I maintain myself within the same" (*Totality* 194). And while "the face speaks to me and thereby invites me to a relation incommensurate with a power exercised, be it enjoyment or knowledge," the exposed face is considered an invitation to an act of violence (*Totality* 198). Indeed, as Levinas notes:

> The first word of the face is the 'Thou shalt not kill.' It is an order. There is a commandment in the appearance of the face, as if a master spoke to me. However, at the same time, the face of the Other is destitute; it is the poor for whom I can do all and to whom I owe all. ("Ethics" 89)

As this interaction demonstrates, the Other conjures fear and anxiety that may lead to aggression; ethics, then, becomes a matter of quelling said emotions in an effort to prevent them from becoming fatal actions. While the Hegelian concept of recognition asserts that we are given meaning by virtue of our relation to another, the face, as Levinas suggests, *is* meaning in and of itself. Consequently, the face, our humanity, is not something that can be "seen," but signifies a purely ethical relation between ourself and the Other, which is why it is impossible to murder the face and yet kill the Other. As I will soon argue, the Levinasian concept of the face is central to understanding the Black and Palestinian activists' decision to reject being framed as statistics and continually force us to look upon their face, that is, their humanity.

In *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, Judith Butler elaborates on the Levinasian notion of the face to discuss the political value of mourning and question the means by which we assess human lives as worthy of grief. By transposing the face to a contemporary cultural context, she asserts that we can begin to understand how dominant representations of demonized groups purposely conceal the face and work to conjure imagery of terrorism. Indeed, as Butler notes, the facelessness of these people "authorize us to become senseless before those lives we [as U.S. citizens, she implies] have eradicated" (XVIII). She claims that "each

of us is constituted politically in part by virtue of the *social* vulnerability of our bodies—as a site of desire and physical vulnerability, as a site of a publicity at once assertive and exposed" (Butler 20, emphasis mine). Butler's insights into the way "[w]e're undone by each other" premise her argument that our forms of relationality may provide the basis for an ethical political practice (23). If we are unable to recognize some lives as grievable—in the U.S., usually Black lives, and in the context of Israel, always Palestinian lives—it becomes clear, then, that our inability to mourn ensures that we "lose that keener sense of life we need in order to oppose violence" (Butler XVIII-XIX). And so, in an effort to attain the keener sense of life Butler mentions, those who are most vulnerable to facelessness *must* be thrust into the public view and recognized not as monolithic symbols that conjure national fear and anxiety, but as what they are: human.

What seems optimal, then, is a radical humanist approach, which begins from an understanding of our shared humanity, to go back to Levinas, our face. In 1893, Anna Julia Cooper wrote that a stand needs to be taken "on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether of sex, race, country or condition" (Cooper). This radical humanist outlook is the very principle that motivates Black-Palestinian solidarity, as their formal statement declares that this coalition, specifically the video, aims to "assert our humanity—and to stand together in an affirmation of life and a commitment to resistance" ("About"). And while the video's script proclaims that "We respect the uniqueness of our struggles / and our varied histories," there is a mutual understanding that the state of Israel, like the U.S., is based upon a colonial domination ensconced in issues of race (Morales-Williams, Kanazi, and Bailey). As Kelley suggests, we must grapple with how "self-love...can be [an expression] of racial and class solidarity" ("Identity Politics"). Rather than concern ourselves with what our allies can do for us, we need only recognize that, as human beings, and especially as U.S. taxpayers, we have a moral obligation to not look away, to be critical of foreign policy that profits off oppression, and to stand in solidarity with those on the receiving end of state-sanctioned violence. While ending the illegal occupation of Palestine and dismantling the legacy of slavery within the U.S. appear to be the immediate goals of Black-Palestinian solidarity, they are certainly not the end goals, as they acknowledge that "no one is free until we all are free" ("About").

3.0 REJECTING FACELESSNESS

"When I see them, I see us" throws into sharp relief how faceless Palestinian people in particular have become in the Western imagination and dominant media representations. Upon a quick Google search of the keywords "Palestinian children," I found that some of the first suggested additional search terms included "suffering," "arrested," and "guns." Even though I opted to search just "Palestinian children," without any of Google's algorithm generated suggestions, the image results largely comprised of grief-stricken children, alone, sitting in or attempting to climb out of the destruction of their homes; Israeli soldiers violently confronting or arresting young boys; and even incredibly graphic photographs of children covered in blood, or murdered. Google's suggested additional search terms and the results ultimately generated speaks not only to what searches are popular, but also what users find most interesting, as an image's click rate also plays a large role in which images are displayed first and how prominently. That users of Google view, and even seek out, such representations of Palestinian children comes as no surprise when we consider how they are portrayed in the mass media. In a CNN article entitled "Palestinian toddler's death sparks protests; teen killed," most of correspondent Ian Lee's coverage of the murder of seventeen year old Laith Fadel Khaldi and toddler Ali Saad Dawabsha is set in the destroyed family's home, with Lee choosing to highlight the incinerated bed. Significantly, he does not mention Khaldi or Dawabsha by name, nor does he ever allude to the perpetrator of the crimes. The video that accompanies the article limits its depiction of Palestinian civilians to invisibility or literal facelessness, as it includes a grieving mass of people, the most prominently featured of which have their faces concealed within their hands; those who have perished, or are in critical condition, in body bags at the hospital; those who walk amongst brush fires in the background, while in the foreground, Lee speaks; and perhaps most significant is the photograph of the affected family, severely burnt around the edges, and so creased and damaged as to render the faces of the mother and children nearly unintelligible. By choosing to represent Palestinian people as literally faceless, as burnt or damaged beyond intelligibility, or relegate them to the background of a shot's composition, it becomes clear that even within depictions that are meant to be sympathetic, work is being done to limit Palestinian people to grief-stricken victims and tragic backdrops upon which Western narratives are told.

Comprised entirely of still photographs, both of activists and those who have lost their lives to state-sanctioned violence, "When I see them, I see us" directly combats representations such as CNN's, by making the face of Black and Palestinian people its focus. The video features Umi Selah, Dina Omar, Samantha Masters, and Remi Kanazi narrating a poem written by Mari Morales-Williams, Remi Kanazi, and Kristian Davis Bailey. It is carefully timed to work alongside an incredibly heterogeneous range of photos, not limited to the black-and-white portraits of activists with signs, but including selfies, school portraits, and photographs taken both casually and professionally. "When I see them, I see us" firmly rejects the facelessness both groups are relentlessly subject to by declaring that "We are not statistics / we are not collateral damage / we have names and faces" (Morales-Williams et al). To this end, one of the first photos shown depict a Black woman taking a selfie with a young Palestinian child holding up the universal sign for peace; by using this photo to commence the visual statement of solidarity, the video immediately establishes that, within this alternative space, Black and Palestinian people will be able to position themselves in photographs for once, and have control of how they are represented.

As a way of displaying the single face of an individual, "When I see them, I see us" emphasizes the individual's role as a member of a family, thereby simultaneously conjuring many other faces. Appealing to one of the most compelling ideological state apparatuses—the family—the video's poetic script begins by remembering not only the names of the lives lost to state-sanctioned violence, but also the forms of relationality these people held with their families. The narration recalls forty-three year old Eric Garner as a "Father of six. Grandfather. Friend" and forty-five year old human rights worker Hashem Abu Maria as a "father of four" (Morales-Williams et al.). This narration is paired with the black and white portraits of activists protesting the system that ensured these losses, highlighting the many forms grief can take and the many places from which they arise. It must be noted that grief, of course, is not limited to the family members who are most severely impacted by the loss of a loved one. As Butler notes, "there are others out there on whom my life depends, people I do not know and may never know" (XII). By displaying grief for and mourning the Other, the video demonstrates Butler's theory that to recognize lives as worthy of grief can lead to an ethical political practice. Indeed, the closing statements of the narration go so far as to envision the keener sense of life Butler mentions: "I see hope, strength, love / a place where our children can dream / I see a road, a partner, a *family* / a world where we can rise and be seen" (Morales-Williams et al., emphasis mine). By seeing past dominant representations and looking upon the Other's face, we are not only able to grieve, but also recognize ourselves and our own humanity in bearing witness to another. We gain an ability to mourn that allows us to imagine non-violent futures and move towards the keener sense of life that is grounded in the very self-love Kelley suggests we base our expressions of solidarity on. This work, however, remains impossible until the actual face of the Other, not the one designed and marketed for Western purposes, makes its way into and settles within the Western imagination.

4.0 DISPLAYING SURVIVANCE

The photos of the activists with signs are tinted black and white in an effort to emphasize the few color photos used, almost all of which depict the reality of life under siege, and are thereby used to juxtapose the ongoing violence in both the U.S. and Palestine. While the narration remembers the lives stolen, color photos of signs used to protest the murders in the U.S. of Trayvon Martin, Kendra James, and Ayana Jones are shown, as well as six portraits of murdered Palestinian children who go unnamed. The next color photos used coincide respectively with the script's lines of "stopped and frisked / searched at checkpoints," one of which depicts a Black man wearing a shirt in support of Palestine being escorted away by the police, and another of a mass of Palestinian people, secured within a cage, waiting to be searched at a checkpoint (Morales-Williams et al.). The video's use of juxtaposition by way of color photos occurs again when a photo of a black woman getting arrested by a white police officer is immediately followed by a young Palestinian boy being violently detained by an Israeli soldier (while the video's script reads, "when I see them, I see us"), and once more when we witness two instances of Black and Palestinian people confronting, or being confronted by, the heavily militarized police force in their respective locations (while the video's script reads "We say no to all forms of oppression / in U.S. cities or on Palestine's streets") (Morales-Williams et al.). The juxtaposition of similar situations that occur both in the U.S. and Palestine elucidate to the viewer that the logics of violence used against Black and Palestinian people by the U.S. and Israel, respectively, are distinct, yet interrelated. Beyond the links that are readily visible, we must also acknowledge the fact of complicity for U.S. taxpayers, whose

money is used to fund the distribution of weapons in Israel, and also that the increasingly militarized U.S. police force receives training within Israel (Atshan and Moore 702). And while the comparison clearly establishes a number of parallels, demonstrating how we are "caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny," it also alludes to the many disparities, so as to no appropriate another's struggle or conflate it with one's own (King).

The video's use of color photos becomes complicated, however, when we consider that they are not limited to depictions of violence, but begin and end "When I see them, I see us" with the survivance of Black and Palestinian people. The very first image of "When I see them, I see us" is unaccompanied by any narration and depicts a young Black woman and a young Palestinian boy staring directly into each other's faces. Significantly, both are smiling, suggesting that the fear and anxiety conjured upon gazing at the Other was successfully quelled, thereby allowing the two to bear witness to each other's humanity. By the end of the video, the color photos serve a different function, as they depict both Black and Palestinian people not just surviving, but thriving in their respective locations. Whereas both groups are so often depicted as victims of their environment—be it rubble, the Wall (often euphemistically called the West Bank barrier), or more broadly speaking, the respective states—one photo relegates its oppressive barrier to the background through making its focus a young Black woman posing triumphantly in the foreground, while another portrays Palestinian youths jumping above, around, and next to a decimated wall. These photos directly contest the dominant representations running rampant in the mass media, and force the viewer to acknowledge the faces of Black and Palestinian people rendered invisible. "When I see them, I see us" refuses dominant society's desire to define Black and Palestinian people solely through statistics of devastation and the tragic ways they are victimized and subject to death; rather, the video places its focus on the much-needed alternative narrative, that is, how both groups live and thrive.

Nevertheless, despite the emphasis placed on survivance, "When I see them, I see us" concludes in black and white with Alice Walker building upon the video's title, holding a sign that states, "When I see you, I see us all." Though the narration never vocalizes any deviation from the repeated statement, "When I see them, I see us," the phrase progressively develops within the video through the signs held by the Baha Men and Walker. Starting with the title, "When I see them, I see us" is developed into "When you see them, you see us" and finally "When I see you, I see us all" (Black-Palestinian Solidarity). The statement begins internally as dialogue occurring between Black and Palestinian people, and then moves outwards by implicating the viewer into the conversation, inviting them to recognize the shared humanity of both groups. The final statement marks the viewer's full inclusion into the dialogue, as they are now the Other upon which the speaker gazes. And though the Other, in this context, has long ignored the face's statement, "Thou shalt not kill," and has reacted both violently and aggressively, the speaker recognizes this Other's humanity, thereby seeing a reflection of herself. This forces viewers to understand that they, too, are part of the "us" and, consequently, are implicated into the ongoing struggle against state-sanctioned violence. That the video decides to conclude on the note of "When I see you, I see us all" rather than an empowering ending of survivance is crucial, as it denotes that the struggle is, indeed, ongoing. As the opening statements of the poem indicates, "Every 28 hours a black life is stolen / by police or vigilantes in the U.S. / Every two hours, Israel killed a Palestinian child / in its attack on Gaza last summer" (Morales-Williams et al.). Optimistic though it may be at some points, "When I see them, I see us" is firmly grounded in the facts of illegal occupation and racism. It demands immediate attention to the egregious frequency of violence against Black and Palestinian people, and so implores its viewer to action. By calling upon all humanity to recognize that we all possess a stake in the liberation of Black and Palestinian people, "When I see them, I see us" reveals that, by virtue of being human, it is the viewer's ethical and moral obligation to not look away from Black and Palestinian faces and stand for justice.

By shifting focus away from the popular narrative of how Black and Palestinian people die, "When I see them, I see us" attempts to reorient dominant representations to how both groups live and thrive. For too long, we, as consumers of mass media, have looked in the direction of the Other only after it has been subject to aggression and violence. In order to build coalitions out of love and an understanding of our shared humanity, as a way of pursuing the end of illegal regimes and state-sanctioned violence, solidarity cannot be premised upon the idea that the dehumanization and oppression of another is a given. As a settler of mixed Asian descent living within a system of local Japanese structural power in Hawaiʻi—another occupied territory, wherein the indigenous population is aggressively kept from their ancestral lands—these recent expressions of Black-

Palestinian solidarity have forced me to reflect on my privilege and what I am doing—or rather, *not* doing—to stand with struggles waged against occupation and racism. It has demanded that I reflect upon the ways in which the ongoing struggles in Hawaiʻi are deeply woven to those on the continental U.S. and in Palestine by the thread of increased militarization and illegal occupation. For too long, I have naively believed the most convenient truth that Palestine is not my struggle to undertake, and far too distant from my everyday reality to be bothered with. But as "When I see them, I see us" has clearly shown me, and hopefully others, is that we cannot afford to opt for convenience at the expense of others, that the injustices occurring hourly across the U.S. and in Palestine directly threaten justice everywhere. By forcing viewers to confront the face of Black and Palestinian people, and by displaying their expressions of grief, we can see Butler's vision actualized, that is, how affect can give way to an ethical political practice. We see that it is our ethical and moral duty to not look away from the ongoing struggle, and most significantly, the faces of the many Others out there—who we do not know, and may never know—upon which our own humanity is intrinsically bound.

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SETTLER COLONIALISM AND NEW AGE COMMERCIALIZATION OF FALSE INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

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ABSTRACT

Using New Age boxed sets of spiritual guides and tarot-like cards, this paper examines the appropriation of indigenous, particularly Kanaka Maoli[1], spiritual and cultural practices by New Age spiritualists. In promulgating the "authenticity" of a settler-invented psycho-religious system named Huna, New Age practitioners continue to reinforce colonial claims to land through the simultaneous erasure of Kanaka Maoli identity, practice, and presence.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In "Displacing Pele in Cyberspace: 'Translating' Pele in Cyberspace," ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui examines the practice of New Age spiritualists misappropriating Hawaiian spiritual and cultural practices in a way that reinforces settler colonialism and erases Native identity, practice, and authority (396). Though these practices in question specifically examine the misrepresentation of Pele on online goddess websites, ho'omanawanui contends that this appropriation in cyberspace extends settler colonial agendas that continue to displace and fracture indigenous claims to land. These websites are one manifestation of New Age spiritual and cultural appropriation; the publication of spiritual guides and tarot-like cards are other products of this New Age reinterpretation of indigenous knowledge.

Examples of such products, which will be examined in this paper are, *Mana Cards: The Power of Hawaiian Wisdom* by Catherine Kalama Becker Ph.D., and *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards* by M. Lucy Wade Stern. In addition to analyzing the representations of authentic Native Hawaiian cultural and spiritual knowledge in these commercialized products, attention will also be paid to the foundational, and settler-invented ideology of Huna that these spiritual guides invoke in order to authenticate author and product claims of indigeneity. The misapplication and reinterpretation of this constructed belief system by New Age spiritualists generalizes the "real, tangible, [and] genealogical connection to 'āina" (ho'omanawanui 410), as well as participating within a discourse of sufficiency—as posited by Puakea Nogelmeier—which not only cites work from a limited pool of Hawaiian scholars, but also validates the writings of non-Hawaiians about non-Hawaiian beliefs as authentically Hawaiian. Lastly, the combination of Hawaiian, Native American, and Hindu concepts as universally-accessible guiding principles continues to complicate the deep connections of (hi)story, culture, language, and place to indigenous peoples.

2.0. NATIVE AMERICAN SPIRITUALITY AND THE NEW AGE MOVEMENT

In "Plastic Shamans and Astroturf Sun Dances: New Age Commercialization of Native American Spirituality," Lisa Aldred explains that those involved in the New Age movement, which first emerged in the 1980s, "romanticizes an 'authentic' and 'traditional' Native American culture whose spirituality can save them from their own sense of malaise" (329). However, the consumption of "authentic" products and experiences, which are birthed from a capitalist consumer culture, are often composed of "an eclectic amalgam of beliefs and practices…[that are] often hybridized from various cultures" (Aldred 330). Equally troubling is the appropriation of indigenous concepts and spirituality, typically from white middle class Euro-Americans, to ground New Age epistemologies. Additionally, Andy Smith points to the historical and social structures of white discourse that often overpower Native American voices (Aldred 336), but benefit—usually financially— from such private, entrepreneurial pursuits. The private and individualized consumption of New Age products,

in turn, creates a paradox: in search of refuge from a dreary and disconnected modern world, New Age "individuals are more likely to withdraw into their own private realms to seek self-confirmation, gratification, and even express countercultural practices and desires" (Aldred 339), rather than turning outward to community entities.

The privatization and consumption of indigenous knowledge parallels the privatization and consumption of land, from which Native Americans and Kanaka Maoli alike have been dispossessed by the hegemonic American Western ideology of private land ownership. Settler colonial scholar Patrick Wolfe argues that settler ownership of indigenous land should be understood as "a structure not an event" (388). Within this structure of settler colonialism, hoʻomanawanui contends that New Age spiritualists misappropriation and misrepresentation of indigenous cultural knowledge on the web create "a complementary component to settler colonialism in the geophysical space of the 'real world'" (396). I would argue that the publication of New Age materials such as tarot-like cards and spiritual guides continues to fracture Hawaiian claims to land and identity. The fractures between indigenous peoples and lands are one form of New Age elision. Another form is the validation of non-indigenous ideologies as authentic to a Native people.

3.0. THE ORIGINS OF HUNA "AUTHENTICITY"

Each of the products examined in this paper draws heavily from the constructed psycho-religious belief system called Huna. Developed by Max Freedom Long in the early 20th century, Huna is described by Long as "an ancient and secret system of workable magic, which, if [a person] can learn to use it as did the native magicians of Polynesia and North Africa, bids fair to change the world" (1). As exemplified in this quote, Long traces the "origins" of Huna to tribes in Northern Africa on the speculations of a retired English journalist, William Reginald Stewart, in which "Hawaiian words used by the kahunas were...[similar to] those which had been used to describe the magic in Africa" (21–22). To bridge the connection between these disparate places, Long and Stewart purport that psychic visions by kahuna, in Africa, prompted these secret tribes to seek lands in the Pacific that would better protect the secrecy of Huna practices. Under the protection of the uninhabited Polynesian islands, the kahuna were allowed to continue their secret ways until the arrival of Calvinist missionaries in 1820. The adoption of more Christian ideal, therefore, plunged Huna even further into secrecy, until Long deciphered the secret code by analyzing root words within the Hawaiian language.

What underscores this "retracing" of Huna epistemology is the assertion that early kahuna practitioners originated from Northern Africa—not the Hawaiian Islands. In grounding the origin of the "ancient Hawaiian belief system" of Huna with the migration of religious practitioners from Africa, Kanaka Maoli are understood to be of North African descent, and therefore have no indigenous claim to ʻāina. This repositioning and reimagining of Kanaka Maoli origin makes the exploitation and erasure of Native land claims paramount in order to validate Huna lore. Despite the erasure of indigenous presence, certain traditional knowledges of the now absent Native are included. As New Age writers continually draw upon the perceived authenticity of distinctly Hawaiian Huna practices, Kanaka Maoli are also recognized by the settler colonizer as an indigenous and exoticized Other. However, these are only surface recognitions, as New Age spiritualists continue to disseminate misinformation while simultaneously ignoring indigenous calls for sovereignty. The erasure of indigenous connectedness to land is one form of erasure. Additionally, kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui explains that this neglect solidifies "colonial claim to and control over lands, peoples, and cultures." Contemporary New Age spiritualists were then able to fulfill Long's desire to develop a workable belief system that is accessible to many, by incorporating Huna ideology into their own commercial works. In doing so, another point of erasure emerges as questionable sources of information are continually cited in order to validate author authority over Huna authenticity.

Contemporary spiritualists, noted in numerous citations by Becker, are Serge Kahili King Ph.D. and David Kaonohiokala Bray, have continued to validate the teaching of Huna as an ancient and authentic

Hawaiian belief system. In *Urban Shaman*, King extols the virtues of shamanism—particularly Hawaiian shamanism—and describes Huna as the philosophy which "teaches that all the power that creates [a person's] experience comes from [a person's] own body, mind, and spirit" (74). King's assertion mirrors the personalization and privatization of other New Age practices as Huna only benefits the individual, not a collective. However, from all outward appearances and available research it appears that non-Hawaiian writers have authored these texts. Though indigeneity does not, and should not, serve as the sole determiner of who carries and transmits "authentically" Hawaiian information, the trend of New Age, non-Hawaiian writers engaging with and disseminating such knowledge is problematic for many reasons, the first being that these writers tend to claim a proximal or intimate relationship with Hawaiian elders, who, in turn, offer "sacred" knowledge to the writer. This alignment grants the New Age writer the authority to make public cultural knowledge that has been kept hidden from the masses., This assertion is further punctuated since Long has translated Huna to mean "secret"—and that kahuna are "keepers of secrets" (King 29)—the sharing of secret knowledge is made all the more potent when, under the guise of overall public benefit, the New Age writer disobeys ethical conventions and disseminates such information for mass consumption. The New Age writer then constructs a liberator identity, while indigenous peoples are cast as restraints.

This process of making secret knowledge public has been acknowledged by King, whose claims of authenticity comes from a relationship with his adoptive Hawaiian father and his biological father's adoptive Hawaiian siblings (20). King's wording sidesteps any direct acknowledgment of himself as a non-Hawaiian practitioner/writer, but he is still able to present himself in a way that validates his position amongst Hawaiians through their historical ties to kahuna responsibilities. These peripheral references mirror Aldred's emphasis that a number of typically Euro-American New Agers claim mentorship from an authentic indigenous figure (331) in order to support claims of authenticity. Furthermore, King writes the following about his role as a Hawaiian shaman:

> Today, however, the great healing, metaphysical, and shamanic traditions of Hawai'i are being kept alive primarily by the same race that almost destroyed them completely. Without the audience of white mainlanders, even the few Hawaiian teaching *kahunas* would have virtually no one to teach. A Hawaiian *kahuna* friend of mine told me that the Hawaiians won't return to the ancient *Huna* lore until enough whites say that it is good. And another Hawaiian *kahuna* attending one of my lectures to hear what this *haole kahuna* was saying ended up confirming what I had learned and giving me his blessing for sharing it, while at the same time expressing the strange feelings it gave him to hear this knowledge so openly taught after so many years of suppression [emphasis in original]. (33–34)

Here, King briefly acknowledges the devastation brought by early Christian settlers, but then uses this notation to praise the "audience of white mainlanders" (33). For, if it were not for their enthusiasm, currently practicing kahuna would not have an interested audience, as Hawaiians are uninterested in the ancient lore until "enough whites say that it is good" (33). King's depictions, not so subtly, chastise Hawaiians for their ignorance, while simultaneously affixing the responsibility of verification and preservation on haole kahuna and pupils. King's reasoning continues the settler practice of silencing Hawaiian presence and resembles what ho'omanawanui asserts is "the structure of settler colonialism that intends to [erase] Native identity, practice, and authority" (396). Though Huna is a belief system constructed by a white settler, and therefore has no basis in traditional Hawaiian ideologies, King's descriptions recognizes Hawaiian presence, but only within two limited frameworks—Either as secret practitioners who are categorically unwilling to share Huna knowledge, or as part of an uninterested and ignorant populace. Both configurations strips Hawaiians of visibility, conveniently removes them from the discussion, and tempers the possibility for naysayers to draw attention to cultural inconsistencies.

4.0. HAWAIIAN AUMAKUA CARDS AND MANA CARDS

In addition to ostensibly "speaking for the Native," these New Age practitioners also assume an authoritative role on the basis that so few people, indigenous or not, provide insight into spiritual practices. Long explicitly wrote about the dearth of available literature regarding kahuna and Huna concepts, and further claimed that texts which did delve into such forays were contradictory, muddled, or missed "entirely the basic mechanisms of which [he] reports" (27). Modern authors of New Age texts also either refer to uncontextualized or unnamed Kanaka Maoli cultural figures or largely cite the works of other New Age writers in conjunction with respected Hawaiian sources. The former is evident in the introduction to *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards*. Published in 1996 by M. Lucy Wade Stern, this boxed set containing 36 cards and informational guidebook was channeled to Stern after dreaming about "the characters [that] appear in these cards and [hearing] their sounds" following Hurricane Iniki (1). Through researching "ancient Hawaiian legends in books and by speaking with KAHUNA trainees [emphasis in original]," Stern eventually understood the meaning of these channeled messages (1). Throughout the remainder of the text, Stern continues to refer the knowledge of a generalized community of kahunas or cultural practitioners, and does not provide any other sources to contextualize her teachings or interpretations. The lack of referential material creates the assumption that Stern, through her previous consultations, adequately grasps kahuna knowledge and Hawaiian cultural practices.

The validation of earlier and contemporary New Age writers is evident in *Mana Cards: The Power of Hawaiian Wisdom*, published in 1998 by Dr. Catherine Kalama Becker. The set of 44 cards and accompanying guidebook seek to "connect [a user] with the wisdom found in Hawaiian symbols and stories," to "increase a user's mana," as well as "to explore a user's spiritual path or relationships, clarify goals, and manifest dreams" (1). Additionally, Becker notes that the cards may be used to learn about Hawaiian culture (1). As "sacred tool[s] for divination," (1) the additional 195-page book explains various ways and reasons for the arrangement of cards, as well as a chant, a teaching, and an interpretation to help the reader contextualize the meaning of pulled cards. Though Becker's text heavily cites various sources—unlike Stern's text—the sources from which Hawaiian cultural and spiritual knowledge is drawn largely comes from Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian New Age writers, such as the previously discussed Serge Kahili King. The most heavily cited Hawaiian writer is Mary Kawena Pukui, whose collection of ʻōlelo noʻeau is often used as chants, and whose definitions of Hawaiian words are used to help clarify Hawaiian terms. However, aside from the problematic application of Hawaiian proverbs as chants to "activate [the card's] message" (Becker 1), the sparse references to culturally and academically significant work by Hawaiians feeds into what Puakea Nogelmeier refers to as a "discourse of sufficiency." Defined by Nogelmeier as "the long-standing recognition and acceptance of a small selection of Hawaiian writings from the 19ᵗʰ century as being sufficient to embody nearly a hundred years of extensive Hawaiian auto-representation" (1–2), a discourse of sufficiency only examines and refers to the small pool of primary material written by canonical writers such as David Malo and Samuel Kamakau. Though active in the mid-twentieth century, due to her recognition as a celebrated and widely published Hawaiian scholar, I would argue that Mary Kawena Pukui is also amongst a collection of newly canonized Hawaiian writers. Therefore, her extensive inclusion by Becker gives the work an air of authenticity.

However, Becker also heavily sites the work of another Hawaiian writer—Patrick Kaʻanoʻi. In his work, *The Need for Hawaiʻi: A Guide to Hawaiian Cultural and Kahuna Values*, Kaʻanoʻi is a self-described entertainer, composer, and founder of a Hawaiian Philosophical organization called The Huna Hanauma Society. Again, the connection to the Huna psycho-religious tradition continues. Additionally, the majority of his publications engages with and supports the problematic notions and teachings of Huna. Alongside other sources on Huna, and in conjunction with sources from other New Age writers, the inclusion of Pukui's writing no longer gives off the air of Hawaiian authenticity, but rather is employed in a manner that acknowledges just enough Hawaiian culture to help authenticate claims by Huna writers.

In addition to the problematic information within each set's accompanying guidebook, the illustrations on the cards also demonstrate problematic representations of Hawaiians and Hawaiian concepts. For example, in the *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards*, Hawaiians are depicted as either nude or partially clad. In many instances, Hawaiian women are drawn bare-breasted, sometimes with strategically placed lei covering their breasts. The image of the Hula card is particularly interesting as it depicts a bare-breasted woman with arms in the air, perhaps demonstrating some form of dance, while a male figure blows a conch shell in the background. However, her appearance resembles that of a hippie, as a red headband ornaments her long brown hair and her right hand clasps a circular object that resembles a tambourine. Additionally, the card of Hoʻomana, described as "the god of weather and earth interacting" (Stern 74), depicts an image that resembles the faces of *moai* on Rapa Nui—a recognizable icon of another Polynesian culture.

Likewise, the illustrations of women in the *Mana Cards* continue to mirror the nakedness or near-nakedness of women in the *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards*; however, such representations are much more sexualized as these women are portrayed as slim entities that are posed in seductive ways. For example, Pele is depicted as a slim, female figure rising out of a lava flow—in what appears to be Halemaʻumaʻu crater. As the flaming lower half of her body forms into a slim, bare-breasted female figure, her long blue hair cascades down as she slightly arches her back and thrusts her breasts upward toward the sky. Though an addendum of illustrated images in the guidebook describes the rationale behind the inclusion of each image on the card, the image of Pele follows the type of exoticized and sexualized imagery employed on many of the goddess websites studied by hoʻomanawanui (406). In addition to these problematic representations of women, the *Mana Cards* also demonstrate the hybridization of various cultures that routinely occur in New Age ideology. Centered against a rounded white background, a physically fit Hawaiian man seems to levitate above rippling, blue waters as he sits crossed-legged. His upward facing palms gently rest on each knee. As he sits with a blank expression, wisps of energy radiate from his palms and bald head, while several plants surround him in the foreground. In this manner, his pose is reminiscent of a typically Hindu meditational pose as wisps of energies (chakras) radiate from his body. With these depictions, Kanaka Maoli are drawn in a manner that fits into a mold that will most actualize New Age Huna teachings.

5.0. CONCLUSION

Both the *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards* and the *Mana Cards* boxed sets are available for purchase, priced at $29.95 and $36.50, respectively. Though the *Hawaiian Aumakua Cards* do not advertise additional resources that may be purchased, *Mana Cards* come with a publicity card, which displays contact and purchase information as well as a brief statement regarding additional workshops and seminars available to users. Additionally, a statement at the bottom of this card indicates that a portion of the proceeds will go toward the preservation of Hawaiʻi for future generations. However, in neither the boxed set nor on the product website is there any indication as to if or where these proceeds are indeed funneled. While collected funds are said to ensure the preservation of Hawaiʻi—often a chief concern for Kanaka Maoli—the *Mana Cards* do not account for the significance of place to indigenous peoples let alone any other users of such a product. After a description of *ʻaloha ʻāina* [*sic*], Becker posits that a user "may connect with this source through the cards or directly" as the source of *ʻaloha ʻāina* is in "the spirit of Hawaiʻi Nei" (4). Becker's reasoning, therefore, extols that anyone who channels the spirit of Hawaiʻi Nei will invariably experience and come to know the notion of *ʻaloha ʻāina*. However, aloha ʻāina encompasses far more than spirituality, as it is love for the land, and has been associated with many political and social movements for sovereignty. As Kanaka Maoli are genealogically connected to land—as described in the Kumulipo—the reclamation and protection of ʻāina from the control of settler capitalism is of significant import for many.

New Age misappropriations of indigenous spirituality are so often steeped in the insidiousness of commercialization as it "has a way of trivializing…the purchase of spiritual meaning," and threatening "indigenous peoples in terms of cultural survival" (Aldred 345). For Kanaka Maoli, ho'omanawanui has raised pointed concerns that such misappropriations of Hawaiian knowledge and spirituality affirm settler colonial claims to land, as well as trivializing the significance of native, genealogical connections to place. However, when this misappropriated knowledge is attached or borne from an invented and settler-produced belief system, one that often claims to be more authentic and more traditional than other forms of indigenous knowledge, the products that are produced in relation to this constructed ideology further fracture Kanaka Maoli claims to land and representational agency. Furthermore, as these Euro-American practitioners continue to produce and claim more authentic cultural identities over indigenous peoples, settler colonial structures will continue to hinder efforts towards the cultural and political sovereignty of Hawaiians.

NOTES

1.   Throughout this paper I will refer to the indigenous, Native peoples of Hawai'i interchangeably as Kanaka Maoli or Hawaiian.

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THE CASE OF OG: FOCUSING ARGUMENTS IN WESTERN SUBANON

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ABSTRACT

The issue of Philippine voice systems and morphosyntactic alignment is a controversial one and it has implications not just for typological descriptions of languages but also for the theories of grammatical relations and voice. This paper analyzes the alignment system of one Philippine language: Western Subanon, showing how the focused argument in the language triggers both morphological agreement and syntax. Providing a description of how the language works is important for more theoretical issues.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The voice system of Philippine languages has been the subject of much debate due to the fact that they do not work like nominative-accusative languages or ergative-absolutive languages; they seem to form a third system, referred to by many different labels, such as Philippine-voice, symmetrical voice, and focus system. Although attempts have been made to fit them into a nominative or ergative framework the issue is far from solved. In this paper, I describe how the focus system works in Western Subanon, a less-studied Philippine language. I show what can be focused in the language, and what parts of the grammar focused arguments trigger. I do not argue directly for any particular analysis of the language; rather, I attempt to explore how the focus system in Subanon works with the hope that this description could provide useful information to the debate in future work.

In Section 1.1 I briefly lay out how Western Subanon clauses work. In Section 2, I describe the focus system in Western Subanon. In Section 3, I briefly discuss the possibility of ergative-type alignment in the language. In Section 4, I show how the verbal morphology of the language is triggered by the focused argument, and in Section 5 I show how the syntax of the language is triggered by the focused argument, as well, with the one exception of agents in relative clauses in theme-focus sentences. Finally, in Section 6 I conclude with some general observations and suggestions for further research.

As this is a less-studied language, there are gaps in the data. Although I have tried to keep my examples as paradigmatic as possible, I do not have data for all structures. I address these gaps when relevant.

1.1. Western Subanon

Western Subanon is an Austronesian language spoken in the Southern Philippines by about 125,000 people (Lewis, Paul M: 2016) in Mindanao. It is part of the Central branch of the Philippine language subfamily. It generally has VSO basic word order, or Verb Agent Theme, although there is some flexibility in word order. The verb can take a number of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that agree with the focused argument of the clause and also show aspect, intentionality, and number. In this section, I illustrate the word order, tense, aspect, mood (TAM), and oblique marking of the language, all of which interact with focus.

In example (1), the verb is first, followed by the agent *gotow* 'man'. The theme *saging* 'banana' is at the very end of the sentence, followed by a determiner *kitu'*.

VSO (Verb Agent Theme)
(1) k<in>an   nog   gotow koyon og   saging kitu'
     <TF.REA>eat   NFOC   man   that   FOC   banana DET
     'The man ate the banana.'

Subanon does not have true tense, only mood. There are two moods, realis and irrealis. As shown in (2a) and (2b), realis (here marked with the prefix *mig-*) can be used for both present and past actions, while irrealis (here marked with the prefix *mog-*) can be used for future actions, among other things.

(2a)   mig-dupi' kolabung
        REA-rain yesterday
        'It was raining yesterday.'

(2b)   mig-dupi' numunkoni
        REA-rain   now
        'It is raining now.'

(2c)   mog-dupi' boloma'
        IRR-rain   tomorrow
        'It will rain tomorrow.'

        In general, the language avoids transitive sentences, which is a common feature of Philippine languages (Mithun:1994). Mithun observes that Kapampangan, another Philippine language, avoids certain transitive structures by using existential constructions or lexical items when possible. In (3), the word 'necklace' has become a verb, as shown by the *<in.um>* infix.

(3)   m<in.um>olom   og   libun   koyon
        <AF.REA>necklace FOC   woman DET
        The woman is wearing a necklace (lit: The woman is necklacing)

There is one oblique marker *sog* for all common nouns, whether the semantic role of the oblique is goal, location, or benefactive. In (4a) the goal *bata'* 'child', the recipient of *bulakbulak* 'flower' is marked with *sog*. In (4b), the location *banku* 'chair' is marked with *sog*.

(4a)   pig-bogoy   nog   libun kitu' og   bulakbulak kitu' sog   bata'
        TF.REA-give NFOC woman DET   FOC flower   DET   OBL   child
        'The woman gave the flower to the child.'

(4b)   m<in>ingkud=u   sog   banku
        <AF.REA>sit=1SG   OBL   chair
        'I sat in (a) chair.'

The equivalent oblique marker for proper nouns and pronouns is *diani* as seen with a proper noun in (5a) and a pronoun in (5b).

(5a)   b<in>ogoy   ni   uan   **diani molia** og   sin   koni
        <AF.REA>give   NFOC juan   OBL   maria FOC money DET
        'Juan gave Mary the money.'

(5b)   mog-unut=u   **diani ka**   sombuangan
        IRR.AF-go=1SG   OBL   2SG   Zamboanga
        'I'll go with you to Zamboanga.'

One confounding thing about Subanon is that there is much polysemy and homophony as well as complex phonological changes. *nog* (and its equivalent *ni*) has other functions in addition to being a case marker, including being a complementizer (seen in relative clauses) and a genitive. In (6a) *ni* is used as a genitive to show that Maria is the possessor; in (3b) *nog* is a genitive marker with *gotow* 'man'; and in (6c) *nog* is used as a partitive marker, to show that it is all *of* the books. I gloss *nog* in (6c) as genitive as well because cross-linguistically genitives and partitives tend to be related.

(6a)   og   gayam ni   molia
        FOC dog   GEN molia
        'Maria's dog'

(6b)   og gayam nog gotow
        FOC dog GEN man
        'the man's dog'

(6c)   og   lam nog libru
        FOC all   GEN book
        'All of the books'

2.0. FOCUS IN SUBANON

The focus system in Subanon is similar to the focus systems of other Philippine languages. Focus is shown by a case marker, *og*, and verbal agreement. There are three basic categories of focus: theme, agent, and locative. Theme-focus clauses are the most pragmatically neutral transitive sentences but agent-focus, transitive sentences are also very common, at least with common nouns. Locative-focus includes goals, locations, and benefactives (in terms of thematic roles). Syntactically, this category consists of noun phrases that are marked as obliques, with *sog* and *diani* for common nouns and proper nouns, respectively. Locative-focus is more limited than theme-focus and agent-focus and depends more on the semantics of the sentence; not everything can be focused. In order to be a true focus sentence, it must retain the verb-initial word order of the language; sentences that front the noun phrase to show focus work differently. Non-focused arguments are marked with *nog*. I refer to the focused argument as the default argument in order to avoid more confusing terms such as subject, but my use of default argument corresponds to Foley's use of pivot (Foley and Van Valin: 1984).

Intransitive sentences as in (7a) are agent-focus by default because there is only one argument, the agent. Example (7b) shows a theme-focus sentence. The theme *soda'* 'fish' is marked with *og* and the agent *libun* 'woman' is marked with *nog*. (7c) shows an agent-focus sentence. Now the agent *libun* 'woman' is marked with *og* and the theme *soda* 'fish' is marked with *nog*. The verbal morphology has changed to show that the sentence is agent-focus.

(7a)   Intransitive
        l<**in.um**>anguy   **og   bata'**
        <AF.REA>swim   FOC child
        'The child swims/swam.'

(7b)   Theme Focus
        s<**in**>aluy   nog   libun   koyon   **og soda' koyon** kolabung
        <TF.REA>buy   NFOC   woman   DET   FOC fish   DET   yesterday
        'That woman bought <u>that fish</u> yesterday.'

(7c)   Agent Focus
        s<**in.um**>aluy   **og   libun   koyon**   nog   soda' koyon kolabung
        <AF.REA>buy   FOC   woman   DET   NFOC   fish   that   yesterday
        '<u>That woman</u> bought that fish yesterday.'

        Locatives (NPs normally marked as obliques) can also be focused in certain cases. (8a) is a theme focus sentence and the goal, *bata'* 'child' is in an oblique, marked with *sog*. (8b) and (8c) both show locative focus, with a goal and location respectively. In (8b), the goal is the focused argument; it is marked with *og*, while the other two arguments (agent and theme) are both marked with *nog*, the non-focused marker. The verb in (8b) takes the suffix *-an*, the locative-focus marker, in addition to the *<in>* infix. In (8c), the location *pontad* 'beach' is being focused. As in (8b), the verb *-titi* 'grill' takes the suffix *-an* to show locative-focus in addition to the prefix *pig-*. Again, the other two arguments (agent and theme) are marked with *nog*.

(8a)   Theme Focus: Default
        pig-bogoy   nog   libun   kitu'   **og   bulakbulak kitu'**   sog   bata'
        TF.REA-give   NFOC   woman   DET   FOC   flower   DET   OBL   child
        'The woman gave the <u>flower</u> to the child.'

(8b)   Locative Focus: Goal
        b<**in**>ogoy-**an**   nog   boliyan   **og   libun   non** nog   bulakbulak
        <TF.REA>give-LOC   NFOC   priest   FOC   woman   his   NFOC   flower
        'The priest gave a flower to his <u>wife</u>.'

(8c)   Locative Focus: Location
        pik[1]-titi'-**an**   nog   gina'   **og   pontad** nog   soda'
        TF.REA-grill-LOC   NFOC   mother   FOC   beach   NFOC   fish
        'Mother grilled fish on the <u>beach</u>.'

3.0 ERGATIVITY

        Much of the debate concerning Philippine languages centers on how to classify the focused arguments: as absolutives in an ergative system; as subjects in a nominative-accusative system, or as something else entirely.
        Ergativity is defined as "a grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from a transitive subject" (Dixon 1994:1). In the following famous pair of examples from Djirbal, *ŋuma* 'father' has zero case marking in (9a) when it is the subject of an intransitive sentence and also in (9b) when it is the theme of a transitive sentence, whereas *yabu* 'mother', the agent of the transitive sentence, has a suffix.

Djirbal
(9a)   ŋuma-Ø   banagan[y]u.
        Father-ABS   return.INTR
        'Father returned.'

(9b)   ŋuma-Ø   yabu-ŋgu buṛan.
         father-ABS   mother-ERG   saw.TR
         'Mother saw Father'

In ergative patterns, the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause are treated the same, called 'absolutive', while the subject of a transitive clause is treated differently, called 'ergative'. Thus, father in both (9a) and (9b) would be an absolutive, while mother in (9b) would be an ergative.

When comparing theme focus and intransitive sentences in Subanon, the alignment looks the same, as in (10a) and (10b). Both the subject of the intransitive sentence in (10a) *bata'* 'child' and the theme of the transitive sentence *soda'* 'fish' in (10b) are marked with *og*. At first glance*, og* looks like an absolutive marker.

(10a)   Intransitive
         l<in.um>anguy   **og   bata' koyon**
         <AF.REA>swim   FOC child   DET
         'The child swam.'

(10b)   Theme Focus
         s<in>aluy   nog   libun   koyon **og   soda' koyon**
         <TF>buy   NFOC woman   DET   FOC   fish   DET
         'That woman bought that fish.'

When the sentence is agent-focus, however, as in (11), the agent is now marked with *og*. The language no longer looks ergative unless there is some process turning *libun* 'woman' into an absolutive argument. For this analysis, see Edith Aldridge on antipassives in Tagalog (2004; 2006; 2012). It is beyond the scope of this paper to address the evidence for antipassives in Philippine languages.

(11)   s<**in.um**>aluy   **og   libun   koyon**   nog   soda'   koyon
         <AF.REA>buy   **FOC   woman   DET**   NFOC   fish   that
         '**That woman** bought that fish.'

In this paper, I do not argue that Subanon should be analyzed as either ergative or nominative/accusative, nor do I address the pros and cons of analyzing the focus system as any type of voice system (active/passive, transitive/antipassive, or symmetrical). Rather, I show what can be triggered in the language by the focused argument, without claiming that the focused argument is an absolutive, a nominative, a subject, or anything else. In the following sections, I show that the verbal morphology in the language is triggered by the focused argument, including agreement with plurals. In Section 4.4, I also show that in one particular construction, the recent past, agreement cannot occur because there is no focused argument in the clause. In Section 5, I show that the syntax of the language is also triggered by focused arguments, including what can be relativized and clefted, and the referents of depictive predicates.

4.0. AGREEMENT: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

In Subanon, verbal morphology is triggered by the focused arguments. Furthermore, there is occasional (and possibly optional) verbal agreement for plural nouns.

The most apparent agreement that the default argument triggers is the focus agreement markers on verbs, shows by infixes, prefixes, suffixes, and sometimes a combination of two or more of these affixes. The verbal morphology always agrees with the *og*-marked argument. There is some debate about whether the verbal morphology in Philippine languages indeed shows true agreement. Insofar as the affixes on the verb depend on the semantic role of the focused argument, and at times on the plurality of the focused argument as well, I follow Reid and Lao (2004) in referring to this as agreement.

4.1. *Og*-**Marked Agents:** *<in.um>* & *mig-*

When *og* marks the agent of a sentence, whether it is transitive or intransitive, the verb takes the infix *<in.um>* or the prefix *mig-* for the realis mood and the infix *<um>* or the prefix *mog-* for the irrealis.[2] For the sake of simplicity, I only discuss the realis mood here.

In (12a), the agent of the sentence is focused, so the verb has the agent-focus infix *<in.um>*. In (12b), the agent is also focused, and the verb has the agent-focus prefix *mig-*[3] to agree with *gotow* 'man'. Notice that the word order here can change. In (12b) the focused agent comes at the end of the sentence with word order: Verb-Theme-Agent. This does not change the case marking or verbal morphology; *gotow* 'man' is still the focused argument of the sentence.

(12a)   k<in.um>an   og   gotow   koyon nog   sininglag
         <AF.REA>eat   FOC   man   DET   NFOC   fried.rice
         'The <u>man</u> ate fried rice.'

(12b)   mik-pasok   nog   baloy   og   gotow koyon
         AF.REA-build   NFOC   house   FOC   man   DET
         The <u>man</u> built a house.

4.2. *Og*-**Marked Themes:** *<in>* and *pig-*

In theme-focus sentences the verbal morphology agrees with the theme. In (7a), the theme *sininglad* 'fried rice' is focused and the verb has the theme-focus infix *<in>* to agree with it. In (7b), the theme *baloy* 'house' is focused, and the verb has the prefix *pig-* (here: [pik-]) to agree with the theme.

(13a)   k<in>an   nog   gotow koyon og   sininglag
         <TF.REA>eat   NFOC   man   DET   FOC   fried.rice
         'The man ate <u>fried rice</u>.'

(13b)   pik-pasok   nog   gotow koyon og   baloy koyon
         TF.REA-build   NFOC   man   DET   FOC   house DET
         'The man built the <u>house</u>'

Thus, it is evident that which affixes a verb takes depends upon the default argument.

4.3. Plural Agreement

One interesting feature of Subanon is that verbs can take different morphemes to show plurality of their agents and themes. This process seems to be optional, and it is possible it carries an extra meaning, such as a distributive property.

Example (14a) shows an intransitive sentence with a singular argument. The verb has the usual *<in.um>* infix. Example (14b) shows a plural focused argument, and accordingly the verb takes a plural marker *pong-*. The agent-focus marker has also changed from the infix *<in.um>* to the prefix *mig-*, both of which show agent-focus realis but probably have some semantic difference. I do not have an explanation for this change in affixation.

(14a)   Intransitive Singular
l<in.um>anguy   **og**   **bata'**
<AF.REA>swim   FOC   child
'The child swims/swam.'

(14b)   Intransitive Plural
mik-**pong**-languy   **og**   gombata'anan
AF.REA-PL-swim   FOC   child-PL
'Some children swam.'

In theme focus sentences, only plural themes trigger plural morphology on the verb; plural agents do not. In (15a) both the agent and theme are singular and the verb has its usual theme-focus, realis infix: *<in>*. In (15b), the theme is plural so the verb has the plural infix *<mong>*. Note that the plural suffix *-anan* is not obligatory on the theme *soda'* 'fish' because the plurality is shown by the verb.

(15a)   **in**-alap   ni   uan og   soda'
TF.REA-get   NFOC   Juan FOC   fish
'Juan got <u>fish</u>.'

(15b)   pi-**mong**-alap   ni   uan   **og**   **soda'-(anan)**
TF.REA-PL-get NFOC Juan   FOC   fish-(PL)
'Juan got <u>fishes</u>.'

In agent-focus clauses, the agent is the argument that generally triggers the plural morphology. In (16a), the agent is singular and the theme could be singular or plural, either one fish or multiple fish; there is no way to distinguish other than the optional plural suffix *-anan* on the theme *soda'*. In (16b), the agents are plural, and the verb has the infix *<pong>* to show the plurality. Again, the theme could be either singular or plural.

(16a)   min[4]-alap   si   uan   nog   soda'
AF.REA-get   FOC   juan   NFOC   fish
'Juan got fish(es).'

(16b)   mik-**pong**-alap   **si   molia bu   si   uan** nog   soda'
AF.REA-PL-get   FOC   maria   and   FOC   juan NFOC fish
'Juan and Maria got fish(es).'

It would be useful to see if other focused arguments, such as goals, benefactives, and locations could also trigger plural morphology, but at the time of writing this paper, there is no data for this, partially due to the difficulty of getting a sentence with multiple goals (for example) but only one agent and theme. Another problem is that these other focused sentences are generally more limited and marked in the language.

4.4. Non-Agreement: Recent Past

There is one construction in Subanon that does not have any focused arguments; thus, there is nothing for the verb to agree with. In the recent past, all arguments are marked with *nog*; there is no *og*-marked, focused argument. In (17a), the sentence is semantically transitive but neither argument is marked as focused; both *gotow* 'man' and *niug* 'coconut' are marked with *nog*, the non-focused marker. The prefix *ko-*, the suffix *-oy,*

and the particle *pa* all function together as a recent past construction. They all have other uses in the language as well when they occur with other affixes and not each other.

(17a)   ko-bala'-oy pa nog   gotow koyon nog   niug   koyon
         ko-cut-*oy*   *pa* NFOC man   DET   NFOC coconut DET
         'The man just cut the coconut.'

Before looking at how this affects agreement, it is necessary to show that the *nog*-marked NPs in this construction are indeed non-focused arguments and not something else, such as genitives[5]. Because *nog/ni* can also be a genitive in the language as seen above in (6a-c), it is possible that the recent past construction is a nominalized verb with a genitive noun, something like 'the man's having just cut the coconut'. Genitives must be next to their head noun so in order to determine whether the recent past construction has a true verb with non-focused arguments or is a nominalized verb with a genitive we must investigate the word order for these clauses.

It is possible to change the order of the arguments, at least in sentences where the thematic roles are obvious from context. In (18a), the word order is VSO, with the agent *ina'* 'mother' coming before the object *soda'* 'fish', and the two arguments have retained their *nog/ni* case markers. In (18b), the two arguments have changed places, with *soda'* 'fish' now preceding *ina'* 'mother' without there being any change in case marking or verbal morphology. The meaning of the two sentences is the same.

(18a)   ko-soluy-oy pa ni   ina'   nog   soda'
         ko-buy-INF   *pa* NFOC mother NFOC fish
         'Mother has just bought fish.'

(18b)   ko-soluy-oy pa nog   soda' ni   ina'
         ko-buy-INF   *pa* NFOC fish   NFOC   mother
         'Mother has just bought fish.'

In order to actually change the meaning of the sentence, i.e. to say something like 'The fish has just bought mother', *ina'* 'mother' has to be in an oblique, marked with *diani* as in (19a). The word order is flexible here, as well: the oblique *diani ina*' 'mother' and *nog soda'* 'fish' can change places as in (19b).

(19a)   ko-soluy-oy pa diani ina'   nog   soda'
         ko-buy-INF   *pa* OBL   mother NFOC fish
         'The fish has just bought mother.'

(19b)   ko-soluy-oy pa nog   soda' diani ina'
         ko-buy-INF *pa* NFOC fish   OBL   mother
         'The fish has just bought mother.'

Because the arguments can change their order, it does not seem that this structure is a nominalized verb with a genitive. The *nog* marks the non-focused argument, not a genitive.

In the recent past, because there is no *og*-marked default, argument verbs generally do not agree with anything. There is no difference in theme-focus and agent-focus morphology and the verb is the same regardless

of the number of arguments. Verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive do not change in the recent past. Thus a verb like 'eat' (root: *kan*), which can occur with or without a theme, will be *ko-kan-oy* regardless of whether it has only an agent or an agent and a theme rather than taking extra morphemes to indicate that it has a theme.

Furthermore, verbs in the recent past generally do not have plural morphology. In (20), the verb stays the same whether there is one *manukmanuk* 'bird' or many.

(20a)   ko-loyug-oy   pa   nog   manukmanuk
         ko-fly-oy   *pa*   NFOC   bird
         'The bird just/recently flew.'

(20b)   ko-loyug-oy   pa   nog   manukmanuk-anan
         ko-fly-oy   *pa*   NFOC   bird-PL
         'The birds just/recently flew.'

As shown in this section, verbs agree with their default arguments both in terms of focus and plurality. In order for verbs to show agreement, there must be a default argument and when there is no *og*-marked argument, such as in the recent past, the verb has nothing to agree with and remains in its uninflected form.

5.0. SYNTAX

The focused argument in Subanon controls other things in the language besides just agreement-marking on the verb. Clefting, predictive predicates, and relative clauses are all governed by the focused argument, except for one type of relative clause that can perhaps be explained by other processing pressures and/or other implications of the predicate-argument relationship.

5.1. Clefting: Only Default Arguments can be Clefted
Clefting in Subanon is governed by the focused argument: clauses with focused arguments can be clefted while clauses with non-focused arguments cannot be clefted. This structure is sometimes called pseudo-cleft in the literature on Philippine languages.

Example (21a) is an unmarked theme-focus sentence. Example (21b) shows clefting of the agent. The agent, *Juan*, has moved before the verb, there is an extra *og* linking Juan to the verb, and the verb retains its agent-focus morphology. Example (21c) shows clefting of the theme; like (21b), the theme now precedes the verb with *og* as a linker and the verb has kept its theme-focus morphology. Example (21d) shows an ungrammatical sentence where the non-focused argument has been clefted. This is not possible in Subanon. Only focused arguments can be clefted.

(21a)   Unmarked sentence (Theme Focus)
         d<in>api'   ni   molia   si   uan   kolabung
         <TF.REA>slap   NFOC   maria   FOC   juan   yesterday
         'Maria slapped Juan yesterday.'

(21b)   Clefting of Focused Agent
         si   uan   og   d\<inum\>api'   diani   molia   kolabung
         FOC   juan   FOC   <AF.REA>slap   OBL   maria   yesterday
         'It's <u>Juan</u> who slapped Maria.

(21c)   Clefting of Focused Theme
         si   uan   og   d\<in\>api'   ni   molia   kolabung
         FOC   juan   FOC   <TF.REA>slap   NFOC   maria   yesterday
         'It's <u>Juan</u> whom Maria slapped.'

(21d)   Clefting of Non-focused Theme: Ungrammatical
         *nog   gotow   nog   d\<in.um\>api'   og   libun
         NFOC   man   NFOC   <AF.REA>slap   FOC   woman
         'The woman slapped the man.'

5.2. Depictive Predicates

Like clefting, depictive predicates also depend on the focused argument. In (22a), *mitutung* 'burn' goes with *soda'* 'fish', the focused argument of the sentence; it cannot refer to Maria, even if it were a verb that made more sense, such as *milangu* 'drunk'. In order for a depictive predicate to refer to the non-focused argument, a pronoun is needed, as in (22b). The focused pronoun *ion* follows *misusa* 'sad'. In (22b), *misusa* 'sad' must refer to Maria because of the pronoun. Note that the structure of the sentence is identical in every other way; there is no extra subordination or coordination in the second sentence.

(22a)   b\<in\>olokan   ni   molia   **og   soda' kitu'** nog   **mitutung**
         <TF.REA>serve   NFOC maria   FOC fish   that   COMP burn
         'Maria served the fish burned.'

(22b)   b\<in\>olokan   **ni   molia** og   soda' kitu' nog   **misusa ion**
         <TF.REA>serve   NFOC maria FOC   fish   that COMP sad   3SG.FOC
         'Maria served the fish sad.'

I do not have data for agent-focus clauses, but it would be useful to see what structures are possible for predictive predicates. My prediction is that the depictive predicate would only be possible with the agent of an agent-focus clause, not the theme, even with an extra pronoun.

5.3. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, like depictive predicates and (pseudo) clefting depend on the focused argument. For the most part, relative clauses in Subanon depend on the focused argument: only focused arguments can be relativized without an additional pronoun. Any focused element in Subanon can be relativized: themes, agents, goals, and beneficiaries. Non-focused arguments, on the other hand, cannot be relativized. Example (23a) shows a standard theme-focus sentence, 'The man cooked the rice.' Example (23b) shows the theme *gomoy* 'rice' being relativized. It moves to the front of the sentence, and *nog* is used as a complementizer. The verbal morphology is not changed.

(23a)   Theme Focus
         pig-apuy-an   nog   gotow   koyon   og   gomoy
         TF.REA-cook-TF   NFOC   man   DET   FOC   rice
         'The man cooked the <u>rice</u>.'

(23b)   Theme Focus, Relativized Theme
         [og gomoy nog   pig-apuy-an   nog   gotow kitu'] mi-tutung
         FOC rice   COMP TF.REA-cook-TF NFOC man   DET   AF.REA-burn
         'The rice that the man cooked burned.'

      In agent-focus constructions, only the agent can be relativized; the theme cannot be relativized. Example (24a) shows the standard agent-focus sentence. The agent *gotow* 'man' is marked with *og* to show focus and the verb has the agent-focus prefix *mig-*. Example (24b) shows the relativization of the agent in the agent-focus sentence: *gotow* 'man' is fronted and the complementizer *nog* is used. The theme in an agent-focus sentence cannot be relativized, as shown in (24c) as an ungrammatical sentence with a relativized theme.

(24a)   Agent Focus
         mig-apuy   og   gotow koyon nog   gomoy
         AF.REA-cook FOC man   DET   NFOC rice
         'The man cooked the rice.'

(24b)   Agent Focus, Relativized Agent
         [og gotow koyon   nog   mig-apuy   nog   gomoy] m<in>uli'
         [FOC man   DET   COMP AF.REA-cook NFOC rice]   <AF.REA>go.home
         'The man that cooked the rice went home.'

(24c)   Agent Focus, Relativized Theme: Ungrammatical
         [**og gomoy** nog   mig-apuy   og   gotow   koyon] mi-tutung
         [FOC rice   COMP AF.REA-cook   FOC   man   DET]   AF.REA-burn
         'The rice that the man cooked burned.'

5.4. Relativizing Non-Focused Arguments: Competing Processing Pressures
      The only exception to the above observations about relative clauses occurs with agents in theme-focus clauses. In Subanon, agents can be relativized in theme-focus clauses with the use of a resumptive pronoun as in (25).

(25)   Theme Focus, Relativized Agent
         og   gotow kitu' nog   pig-opuy-an   non   og   gomoy m<in>uli'
         FOC man   DET   COMP TF.REA-cook-TF 3SG.NFOC FOC   rice   <AF.REA>go.home
         'The man who cooked the rice went home.'

      That a non-default argument can be relativized is unusual. One explanation is that the language has to deal with competing processing pressures. It seems that in Tagalog, it is preferred to relativize agents[6] (Tanaka: 2016). On the other hand, it is also preferred to relativize the focused argument. More Subanon evidence is needed in order to determine if the language prefers to relativize agents as well, but it is possible the language works the same way as Tagalog. If that is the case, then the two processes pressures would be competing with one another, one side wanting to relativize the agent, the other wanting to relativize the focused argument, the theme. The language then makes a compromise and relativizes the agent but in a more restrictive way, with a resumptive pronoun.

6.0. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the morphosyntactic alignment of Philippine languages has been the subject of much controversy over the last 100 years, and as William Foley states, shows no sign of letting up (2008). In order to have better evidence for the arguments for or against ergativity, it is important to understand how these focus systems work. Understanding what focused arguments in these languages can trigger, both morphologically and syntactically, is necessary in order to determine the alignment system. Furthermore, looking at less-studied languages, such as Western Subanon, in addition to the larger, more studied languages like Tagalog can provide further insights both in terms of which phenomena are the same and which ones are different, and in what way they are different.

NOTES

1. *pig*- has allomorph [pik] before voiceless consonants.
2. Whether the verb takes the infix or the prefix depends on something like a conjugation class, which I do not attempt to define here, but treat as more or less equivalent.
3. *mig*- has allomorph [mik] before voiceless consonants.
4. Again, the prefix *min*- here is from a series of phonological changes.
5. I thank Kevin Baetscher for bringing this possible analysis to my attention.
6. I thank William O'Grady for bringing this analysis to my attention.

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EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR:
MAPPING FROM THE CHINESE CLASSIFIER 'CHANG'

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ABSTRACT

The current study investigates how an event structure metaphorical framework (cf. Lakoff, 1993) helps identify the motivations for Mandarin classifiers to co-occur with Mandarin event nominals (e.g. "dramas," "arguments," "weddings," and other events). By grouping corpus phrases from the Center for Chinese Linguistics PKU spoken sub-corpus, and focusing on the classifier *chang* 'arena' (Li & Thompson, 1989), categories emerge which appear to highlight the dual metaphors: A CHANG-CLASSIFIED EVENT IS A STAGE PERFORMANCE EVENT, and A CHANG-CLASSIFIED LIFE EVENT IS A DRAMATIC LIFE EVENT. The entailed features of a concrete stage performance and metaphorical extensions are discussed.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Li & Thompson (1989) argue that classifiers are a common feature in the Mandarin Chinese noun phrase. The authors define the syntactic distribution of Mandarin noun classifiers as "a word that must occur with a number...and/or a demonstrative...or certain quantifiers...before the noun" (p. 104). In addition, Mandarin features *event* classifiers, frequently called verbal classifiers (for the current study, "Chinese" and "Mandarin" will be interchangeably used to refer to Mandarin Chinese, and "event classifiers" will be used to mean "verbal classifiers"). An event classifier indicates an "instance or occurrence of an event" (p. 110). To date, research in cognitive linguistics has primarily focused on noun classifiers. As an illustration, Tai (1990) showed how groups of Mandarin nouns that share a common classifier (e.g. *tiao* 'a stick') can at first appear to have no logical relationship to one another (e.g. fish, cucumbers, roads and news). The author showed how after careful re-grouping of these noun phrases, the same nouns could fit reasonably well into schematically-related categories and subcategories, with certain nouns being more prototypical of their category, while other nouns served as less prototypical members. We will return to Tai's (1990) study shortly.

One way to identify prototypicality in corpus examples is to look at frequency of occurrence. Ellis (2002) argues that users of a language will construct mental prototypes based on frequency of exposure to language patterns in given contexts ("type frequency"). Language users will perceive those patterns that are more frequently encountered as prototypical of their category, while the patterns that are less frequently encountered will tend to be mentally tagged as less prototypical of that category.

In recent years, cognitive linguists have only begun to explore the patterned usage of Mandarin event classifiers. Wang (2011) examined the Chinese event classifier *dun* 'a pause', which classifies events like 'meals', as in *yi dun fan* 'a pause of meal'/'one meal'. By focusing on the accompanying verbs in *dun* phrases, e.g. *chi* 'to eat', the author provides an analysis of the classifier-paired verbs from a historical and aspectual boundedness perspective. Yet Wang (2011) does not consider metaphorical mapping as an explanatory factor in the analysis. Yu (1998) explored many features of the Chinese grammatical system from a metaphorical perspective, specifically building from Lakoff's (1980, 1993, 2008) contemporary theory of metaphor. Yet Yu (1998) offers no analysis of classifiers, noun or verbal. For the current study, the corpus-grouping approaches employed by Tai (1990) and Lakoff (1980, 1993, 2008) will be employed in an attempt to reveal an alternative framework for explaining how seemingly unrelated events can be viewed as belonging together in shared categories, to further explain the motivations for their co-occurrence with a fixed Mandarin classifier.

Tai (1990) demonstrated how re-grouping corpus phrases that contain classifier-noun pairings helped serve to identify four related categories: (1) *nominal origins*, (2) *central members*, (3) *natural extensions* and (4)

metaphorical extensions. To illustrate, Tai (1990) investigated pairings containing the Chinese classifier *tiao* 'a stick' (historically its own *nominal origin*, which simply meant 'a stick'). *Central members* of *tiao*'s noun group in modern Mandarin include fish, cucumbers, and benches--all congruent in shape to a physical 'stick'--long in shape, physically three-dimensional, and more or less solid in composition. So we might more directly translate these phrases as *yi tiao yu* 'a stick of fish, *yi tiao huanggua* 'a stick of cucumber', and *yi tiao dengzi* 'a stick of bench'. *Natural extensions* form the next sub-category--those objects which co-occur with *tiao* 'a stick' but are not physically stick-shaped. These include roads, rivers and hallways--all long, like sticks, but much larger in shape and serving as passages through which one may travel, yet which physical sticks would never permit. The final group, *metaphorical extensions*, includes news, opinions, information and reasoning--all notably abstract. These metaphorical extensions appear similar to the English language conceptualization of a "line of reasoning", which may be formed by the linear layout of how sentences are written on a page (special thanks to Dr. William O'Grady for pointing this out). So Mandarin speakers appear to conceptualize this classifier-noun paring as 'a stick' of reasoning, news, etc, as evidenced by the consistent co-occurence with the *tiao* 'a stick' classifier. Thus, Tai (1990) offers us a useful framework for organizing corpus phrases in order to better understand classifier-noun pairings via logical and metaphorical extensions.

This brings us to our main question regarding whether the structure seen in event classifier-noun pairings might become clearer using a similar metaphorical grouping procedure. The current study focuses on why certain event nominals--those nouns which signify events--tend to co-occur with a given classifier. Toward this aim, we turn to an illustration of Lakoff's (1993) event structure metaphor framework.

Lakoff (1980, 1993, 2008) and Kövecses (2015) describe metaphorical mapping as an online perceptual process, whereby a person mentally borrows features from a portion of a source domain (e.g. Tai's (1990) example of the long, three-dimensional shape of 'a stick'). The person then mentally maps those relevant features onto a target domain (e.g. cucumbers, news lines, etc.). Lakoff uses the example of a woman who can be said to have a "figure like an hourglass". In Lakoff's example, the source domain is the middle, curvy, and narrow section of a prototypical hourglass (not the lid, nor the base, nor the sand inside, because those are unlikely candidates for a speaker or hearer to match onto what is known about the relevant section of a woman's figure—the middle of her physical body—as the target domain. Lakoff (1980) demonstrates how collections of corpus sentences from English, when viewed together, can be used to demonstrate source-target domain mappings—*conceptual metaphors*—in statements involving *love*, as in "our relationship has hit a dead-end."

This highlights a particular utility for natural language found in corpora for linguistic analyses, as we should not expect English speakers to be able to consciously judge whether or not they agree lovers are "travelers in a vehicle on a journey together, for which their common life goals are seen as destinations to be reached" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 206). The conceptual metaphor only becomes apparent after comparing phrases across a collection of sentences, and finding commonalities between them: e.g. "the relationship has stalled," "we have to keep going," "we can't turn back", "look how far we've come," "we're at a crossroads," "we may go our separate ways," "the relationship isn't going anywhere," "we're spinning our wheels," "our relationship is off the track," "our marriage is on the rocks," and "we may have to bail out of this relationship." According to Lakoff, lovers are on a metaphorical journey, and we know this because of choices in the language people use. Lakoff (1993) adds that these statements are not special to the people who utter them, nor are they poetic. Rather, they are simply the normal way English speakers talk about relationships. In order to talk about an abstract concept like love, people utilize concrete imagery (e.g. travel in vehicles) as a source domain to map features onto the abstract target domains (e.g. love), in order to conceptualize that target domain, and thereby have a common language to talk about such abstract concepts.

Lakoff (1993) used corpus sentences to identify the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, which inherits the features of the broader metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY. *Love,* in Lakoff's (1993) analysis, appears to be a subset of *a purposeful life*. Thus, "travelers in a vehicle" appears to originate from the

broader metaphor of "people with shared goals traveling in a vehicle together, toward a common destination." Thus, love is just one kind of metaphorical journey, heading toward some form of love-relationship goal. In the current study as well, it is possible that a set of corpus phrases may at first appear to be different from the larger collection, but later turn out to be simply a metaphorical extension of the main category created by that larger collection.

At this point we have an adequate framework for analyzing the current data set, to investigate whether a similar metaphorical framework can explain the structure and usage of the Chinese event classifier *chang* 'arena' (Li & Thompson, 1989). The current study attempts to answer the following research question: How might a conceptual metaphor be operating in the minds of Chinese speakers, whereby certain features are mapped from one or more source domains onto one or more target domains, thus motivating syntactic distribution in language form, in that the single classifier *chang* 'arena' is found to pair with a wide diversity of event nominals? This is particularly relevant where many of these events do not at first appear to fit within an 'arenas' category, and where many of these events appear to lack any connection with one another.

2.0. METHODS

Shuowen Jiezi (Xu, 2015) provides reference to the earliest historical meaning of *chang* as "a cleared space used for worship." The Modern Chinese Standard Dictionary (Li, 2004) provides modern-day definitions for the noun usage of *chang*, as 'a performance stage or competition arena', and classifier usage as: "used with cultural, entertainment and athletic activities," and, "used with short segments of theatrical performances." Meanwhile the Center for Chinese Linguistics Peking University Corpus, spoken sub-corpora, contains many sentences with *chang* 'arena' as an event classifier. Yet, in addition to concrete stage performance-related events, the events in this list include non-arena/stage events. These include "war", "arguments", and "fate". Also, out of 1197 sentences containing *chang* 'arena', only 206 co-occurred with a number, demonstrative (*zhe* or *na*) or certain quantifiers (*zheng*, *mei*, etc.), and so could be identified as classifiers, not nouns, according to Li & Thompson's (1989) syntactic definition. A native speaker of Mandarin was consulted to confirm the meanings of the 206 *chang*-classified event nominals in each of the classifier phrases.

2.1. Analysis of corpus tokens

Table 1 shows the proportion of *chang* 'arena' instances of use as a classifier versus *chang* 'arena' used as a noun from the total 1197 Mandarin sentences mined from Mandarin spoken corpora (PKU).

Table 1. Proportion of *chang* 'arena' as Classifier Versus Noun.

Classifier	Noun	Total	Proportion used as Classifier
206	991	1197	17.20%

Finding only 17.20% of the examples of *chang* 'arena' in "use" as a classifier, we might expect the noun definition, that is, "a performance stage or competition arena", to continue to carry salient meaning to speakers of Mandarin. That is, *chang* still means 'arena' and is not simply an abstract classifier, as many others Mandarin classifiers currently are (e.g. *yi ci* 'one <u>time</u>' can only be used to count events, but *ci* cannot be used as a bare noun).

As the 206 events were labeled and grouped by similar features, patterns began to emerge. First, many of these events appear to be concrete forms of performances that serve entertainment purposes. These are listed in Table 2 below. Note: *Xiangsheng* is a form of spoken word entertainment, mostly performed in Beijing, China.

Table 2. *chang* 'arena' entertainment events occurring on a physical stage.

Performance on a stage	Tokens	Ratio 1	Ratio 2	Ratio 3
Stage: *Xiangsheng*	27	55.10%	26.73%	13.11%
Stage: Music	20	40.82%	19.80%	9.71%
Stage: Drama	2	4.08%	1.98%	0.97%
Total performance on stage	49		48.51%	23.79%
Total performance (prototypical)	101			

Note: Ratio 1 is the number *chang* 'arena' event tokens found out of the "Total performance on stage" tokens (n=49). Ratio 2 is the number of tokens found out of the total general "Total performance" event tokens (n=101). Ratio 3 is the ratio of tokens found out of the total of all *chang* 'arena' tokens (n=206).

In table 2 above, of the 206 examples of *chang* 'arena' used as a classifier, just under one quarter (23.79%) are used to classify entertainment performances that take place on a physical stage where one would expect a real audience (*Xiangsheng*, Music and Drama) to attend and observe. Another 9.22% (see table 3, below) refer to movie filming as entertainment performances not set on a physical stage, and where one would expect movies to be filmed across a wide variety of locations due to modern advances in filming technology.

Table 3. Events as entertainment performances that do not take place on a physical stage.

	Tokens	Ratio
Non-Stage: movies/film	19	9.22%

Note: "Ratio" is the ratio of tokens listed to the total of all 206 *chang* classifier sentences.

The remaining 33 tokens of concrete performance events classified by *chang* 'arena' appear less prototypical of performances. These include events like "interviews" and "lectures". These can be understood as direct extensions of performances, because they exhibit many of the same general features, or "entailments" (c.f. Lakoff, 1993). The entailments assumed for the events in these 206 phrases, and which appeared most general to stage performances and 'arena' events, appeared to be: (1) attendance by an audience, (2) observation by that audience, and (3) evaluation by that audience. These three entailments remained very productive for 101 of the total 206 events in the corpus (49.03%). See Table 4 below and example sentences following.

Table 4. Entailments of "performances" and extended metaphors.

Performance Entailments	Tokens	Ratio 1	Ratio 2
a. attended, observed, and evaluated	101	62.73%	49.03%
b. observed and evaluated	58	36.02%	28.16%
c. evaluated	2	1.24%	0.97%
Total public events	161		78.16%
Total classifier tokens	206		

Examples of events which are attended, observed, and evaluated:

(1)   a.   在 西班牙 的　　市集 开　一　场　　派对
            zai xibanya de　　shiji kai　yi　chang paidui
            In　Spain　GEN market open　one CL　　party
            In Spain's markets, there was held a (*chang* of) party.

         b.   晚上　　　的 时候 他们 就　　办　　了　一　场　　篝火　晚会
            wanshang de shihou tamen jiu　ban　　le　yi chang gouhuo wanhui
            evening GEN time　they　soon organize ASP one CL　bonfire　party
            In the evening, they organized a (*chang* of) bonfire party.

         c.   这 是 刘 招华　　的　第二　　场　　结婚
            zhe shi Liu Shaohua de　di er　chang jie hun
            this is　Liu Shaohua GEN second CL　　marriage
            This is Liu Shaohua's second (*chang* of) marriage.

Examples of events found which are generally known about and evaluated, but where we would assume no attendance by a spectating audience, at least for entertainment purposes:

(2)   a.   但是 在 一 场　　瘟疫 当中
            danshi zai yi　chang wenyi dangzhong
            but　in　one CL　disease middle
            but during a (*chang* of) disease...

         b.   1985 年，　在 中国　　　南疆　　　　发生　的　这　场　　战争
            1985 nian, zai zhongguo nanjiang　　fasheng de　zhe chang zhanzheng
            1985 year　at China　　south border happened GEN this　CL　　war
            In 1985, in China's southern border region, this (*chang* of) war

Borrowing Lakoff's (1993) framework, we can identify an *inheritance hierarchy*, that is, a structure of mapping operations for a specific metaphor, which are similar to the mapping operations of the more general metaphor from which the more specific metaphor extends. These can be said to be *natural extensions* of stage performance events, e.g., disease and war, in that all of these events are *public events*. Thus, observation and evaluation by a general audience can still be assumed to be features of disease and war.

Grouping events together by this limited set of common features, prototypical tokens emerge (the concrete stage performances), along with more peripheral members of the "general public events" category (war battles, arguments and parties). The frequency counts for these events are given in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Events as Public Events, as Metaphorical
Extensions of Stage Performances.

	Tokens	Ratio 1	Ratio 2
Performances	101	62.73%	49.03%
Battle/Arguments	40	24.84%	19.42%
Parties	5	3.11%	2.43%
Other public events	15	9.32%	7.28%
Total "public events"	161		78.16%
Total *chang* tokens	206		

Note: Ratio 1 is the ratio of tokens listed to the total of
the 161 "public events". Ratio 2 is the ratio of tokens
listed to the total of all 206 *chang* 'arena' classifier
sentences.

Battles and war compose nearly a quarter of the public events category, and almost 20% of all *chang* 'arena' classifier usage. This could be motivated by China's long history of warfare, and literature about that warfare (e.g. Sima, 1959).

Other "public life events" demonstrate a fuzzy boundary at the edge of the category "performance/public events" metaphors, and can be said to lie at the edge of a newly identified "duel" category (a metaphorical extension from the primary "performance/public events" category; cf. Lakoff, 1993) as illustrated in example sentence 6 below.

(3)   始终   没有   对   这 场   争论   直接   表态
        shizhong   meiyou dui   zhe chang zhenglun zhijie biaotai
        start-finish hadn't   toward this CL   argument direct position
        From start to finish, there was no straightforward position in this (*chang* of) <u>argument</u>.

There was then left over an "everything else" collection of 45 remaining events which, at first, did not appear to fit the "performance" or "public events" categories in the first 161 event tokens described above. These included, among other events, love, fate, accidents, anger, and rain. Further sorting revealed a pattern in "dramatic life events", which does appears to be a metaphorical extension of "performances" and "public events".

At this point in the analysis, it becomes relevant to address the potential for simply any event being a candidate for a "dramatic life events" category, as any event occurring in the natural world might well be a "life

event", and would thus render the category boundless, and thereby unanalyzable. As it turns out, no mundane events were found to be classified by *chang* 'arena'. For example, no sentences like, **kan yi chang shu "read a (chang of) book" was found. In other words, all the events were *eventful*, and most had entailments similar to the "performance" events described above. Yet the entailments to the "dramatic life events" correlating to the three "performance" entailments were slightly different. These emerged as "the event becomes known to others" (analogous to being attended by an audience), "the event is impactful," which rain can certainly be, and, again similar to the entailments in the performance events, "the event is evaluated by people who find out about it". These are tallied in Table 6, followed by example sentences to illustrate.

Table 6. Entailments of the dual category: "dramatic life event".

Life-Story Entailments	Tokens	Ratio 1	Ratio 2
a. known to others, impactful, and evaluated	33	73.33%	16.02%
b. impactful and evaluated	11	24.44%	5.34%
c. impactful, evaluated and possibly known to others?	1	2.22%	0.49%
total dramatic life event	45		21.84%
total *chang* 'arena' tokens	206		

Note: Ratio 1 is the ratio of tokens listed to the total 45 "dramatic life" events.
Ratio 2 is the ratio of tokens listed to the total of all 206 *chang* 'arena'
classifier sentences.

"Dramatic life events" which are made known to others, are impactful and are evaluated (note: see example sentence 6 below for "c. impactful, evaluated and possibly known to others):

(4)   a.   大家   在一起   谈   了 自己 彼此   人生中   的 第一 场   恋爱
            dajia   zaiyiqi   tan   le   ziji bici   renshengzhong de diyi chang lian'ai
            everyone together   discussed ASP self each other life   middle GEN first CL   love
            Everyone talked about each of their first (*chang* of) <u>love</u>.

            b.   然后 呢， 你 这 场   病   好   了
                   ranhou ne,   ni zhe chang bing   hao   le
                   after PART you this CL   illness alright ASP
                   Afterwards, you recovered from this (*chang* of) <u>illness</u>.

            c.   恰是   他 自己 的   一 场   宿命？
                   qiashi   ta ziji de   yi chang suming
                   exactly he self   GEN one CL   fate
                   Was it is (a *chang* of) <u>fate</u> just at the right moment?

            d.   的确   是 警方   的 一 场   意外
                   dique   shi jingfang de   yi chang yiwai
                   certainly is police   GEN one CL   accident
                   It certainly was a (*chang* of) <u>accident</u> for the police.

Events which are impactful and evaluated, but may not be made known to other people include:

(5)   a. 他 也   从未   跟 她 发   过 任何 一 场   脾气
           ta ye congwei gen ta fa guo renhe yi chang piqi
           he also never   with her sent ASP any one CL   anger
           He also has never had any (*chang* of) <u>anger</u> with her.

       b. 不   知   该   算是   吴兰 的   一 场   什么 样   的   期待？
           bu zhi gai   suanshi wulan de   yi chang shenme yang de   qidai
           don't know should count is Wulan GEN one CL   what   kind GEN expectation
           For Wu Lan, I don't know if this counts as (a *chang* of) expectations.

The "dramatic life events" are tallied in Table 7, below, and can be further separated into subcategories, including fate, feelings, and one example of "reality", as given in example 6, below.

Table 7. "Dramatic life events" as a metaphorical
extension of "stage performances".

Dramatic Life Events	tokens	ratio 1	ratio 2
life event	21	46.67%	10.19%
fate	14	31.11%	6.80%
feeling	9	20.00%	4.37%
reality	1	2.22%	0.49%
total	45		21.84%

note: Ratio 1 is the ratio of tokens listed to the total 45
"life story" events. Ratio 2 is the ratio of tokens listed to
the total of all 206 *chang* classifier sentences.

(6)   她 原   以为   它们   是 一   场   实实在在
           ta yuan   yiwei tamen shi yi chang shishizaizai
           she originally thought they   were one CL   reality
           She had thought those were (a *chang* of) being in reality.

3.0. DISCUSSION

We find that Tai's (1990) approach to grouping corpus tokens in order to identify *nominal origins*, *central members*, *natural extensions* and *metaphorical extensions* appears to apply just as productively to *chang*-classified events, at least in the spoken register of Mandarin as found in the current corpus collection. This allows us to identify *chang*-classified event categories as follows:

Nominal Origins: physical stages and arenas that are designed to hold performances to be attended, observed and evaluated by an audience

Central Members: stage performances (e.g. *Xiangsheng*, music, drama), competitions

Natural Extensions: non-stage events which are similarly attended, observed and appraised/evaluated by an audience (e.g. movies/film, war battles, court battles, arguments, parties, weddings)

Metaphorical Extensions: dramatic life events which are similarly made known to other people for evaluation/judgment (e.g. illness, fate, feelings, and rain)

The frequencies of occurrence in the corpus may also indicate prototypicality of event types for the given classifier, where we should expect the more frequently occurring events representing the more prototypical members, and the less frequent events as examples of less prototypical members, highlighting the fuzzy edges of the category to which they barely belong (c.f. Ellis, 2002). Thus it makes sense that we see just the one token of "rain" among the 206 *chang*-classified events, being that it appears far from prototypical in either of the categories of "stage performances" or "dramatic life events", yet we see 49 examples of concrete stage performances as far more prototypical members of the category. Similarly, within the "dramatic life events", we see far fewer tokens of feeling-events (n=9), which cannot be readily observed or made known to others, compared to more frequent concrete life events (n=21) like "accidents", which typically form more observable and dramatic events.

These categorical groupings appear to illustrate a productive role for Lakoff's (1980, 1993, 2008) event structure metaphoric framework, for identifying and explaining the mapping operations unfolding in Mandarin speakers' minds. Just as Lakoff (1993) showed how the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor extends naturally from the A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, so too do we see Mandarin dramatic life events inheriting features from the stage performance events. Thus, we can identify a primary metaphor: A CHANG-CLASSIFIED EVENT IS A STAGE PERFORMANCE EVENT along with its metaphorical extension: A CHANG-CLASSIFIED LIFE EVENT IS A DRAMATIC LIFE EVENT. It seems logical that because the latter is a sub-category of the former, we should often see events in the latter inherit the entailed features (audience attendance, observation and appraisal/evaluation) from the former. That is, dramatic life events tend to be made known to other people, and those people are expected to evaluate those events (e.g. a person becomes ill, so their friends, family and/or colleagues find out about this, and they feel concerned).

A real-time processing explanation (e.g. O'Grady, 2015; MacWhinney, 2008) as a mapping operation for a *chang*-classified event might unfold as follows: a hearer hears *yi chang* 'one chang' and thus expects some form of dramatic, observable event, either on stage or in daily life. Immediately after the hearing the event named, she maps only those relevant features of a stage performance (the source domain, with the entailed features of audiences attending or observing, observing or soon finding out, and/or appraising/evaluating) onto the event heard (the target domain). But in cases where a target-domain event has no relevant place onto which any of these features can be mapped, for example ****du le yi chang shu* 'read a (*chang* of) book', the hearer rejects the classifier-event pairing, and judges the phrase as ungrammatical. This might be similar to an English speaker hearing, "A figure like an hour-glass, that turtle has"--the mapping is likely rejected based on experience seeing turtles and hourglasses. The inability of speakers and hearers to conceptualize such Mandarin classifier pairings in our analysis of *chang* usage, would prevent people from ever hearing disallowed usages, and thus reject whole categories of words as ungrammatical. This may account for why we ended up with our 206 corpus classifier-event pairings to begin with. A conceptual mapping operation allowed speakers to classify events where the source and target domains had relevant regions for metaphorical mapping, motivating the formation of categories for which only certain event words could pair with *chang* 'arena'.

4.0. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In order to further investigate the overall functions of event classifiers, being that many of the corpus phrases above also appear to remain perfectly grammatical without their classifier and their accompanying numeral, demonstrative or other quantifier, future work might test native speaker judgments on these same phrases with and without the classifier and accompanying numeral, demonstrative or other quantifier. Pilot findings from such a study highlight the importance of controlling for semantic and other details in the preceding and following discourse that can interfere with comparability between phrases with classifiers and their corresponding bare event usages. For example, in example sentence 5a the word *renhe* 'any' itself adds a sense of evaluation to the sentence, obscuring whether or not a sense of evaluation is mapped directly from the classifier. It would make sense then to control for extraneous factors by "cleaning up" the phrases to use as stimuli for speaker judgment tasks, possibly by making all sentences identical outside of the event nominal, to test only for changes in meaning depending on the presence or absence of the classifier.

Future studies might also look into how the accompanying verb in the sentence is affected in terms of focus on completion versus focus on on-going action, across the two categories of events (performance event versus dramatic life event). It may be possible that such verb features are sensitive to both the classifier as well as the category of the event with which it is classifying (e.g. Vender's achievements and activities). These as well may further add finer-grained understanding of how an event structure metaphorical framework (cf. Lakoff, 1993) and related mapping may explain the fuller structure of event classifier phrases.

Future studies should also look at other event classifiers, including *bian* 'a time', *ci* 'a time', *tong* 'a time' and others, to identify other metaphors. Such metaphors as A BIAN-CLASSIFIED EVENT IS X, A CI-CLASSIFIED EVENT IS Y, and A TONG-CLASSIFIED EVENT IS Z, where X, Y and Z are the metaphorical correlates of each classified event, could potentially illustrate how Mandarin event classifiers classify events using features from a source domain.

5.0. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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VOICE AND ERGATIVITY IN ROVIANA

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ABSTRACT

Roviana, an Austronesian language of the Western Solomons, displays typologically peculiar forms of ergativity and symmetric voice. In regards to ergativity, Roviana overtly marks the absolutive argument and indicates the ergative through either null marking or constituent order. In addition, while Roviana has only one default intransitive word order, VS, it has two default transitive word orders, VAO and AVO. I argue that these transitive word orders are best analyzed as a novel form of symmetric voice.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Roviana is an Austronesian language spoken in the Western Solomon Islands by approximately 10,000 people. The syntax of Roviana is typologically peculiar in several ways. First it displays an unexpected "marked absolutive" form of ergativity. Second, the verb indexes the object, but the verb does not cross reference the transitive or intransitive subject, while its analysis as "true agreement" is controversial it is nonetheless a rare pattern among the world's languages. Finally, Roviana displays an alternation which only the transitive subject has access to, a phenomenon which is best analyzed as an unprecedented form of symmetric voice. This paper establishes descriptive adequacy in regards to Roviana's peculiar ergativity and transitive alternations, which are of significant typological interest.

In order to establish the basic facts of Roviana syntax this paper will address case marking, verbal object indexing, and the two apparent fronting strategies. The descriptive portions of this paper assume a verb-initial analysis of Roviana, consistent with the current literature on Roviana (Todd 1978, Corston-Oliver 2002); this is sufficient to address the description of case marking, verb agreement, and *si*-fronting. Section 6 proposes a symmetric voice analysis of the observed transitive subject alternations described in section 5.

2.0. CASE MARKING

Roviana displays an ergative-absolutive case marking pattern. In contrast to typological expectation (Dixon 1994), the post-verbal transitive subject is null marked and the absolutive arguments, the intransitive subject and the object, are overtly marked absolutive. In this paper the term S will be used to refer to intransitive subjects, A will refer to transitive subjects, and O will refer to objects.

In verb initial sentences, the transitive subject is always null-marked, that is, there is nothing in the prenominal slot typically filled by a determiner. This can be interpreted as a type of case marking in Roviana, as we would expect something to occupy that slot in any other context. There is a split, however, on which NP types are eligible for absolutive marking; pronouns, proper nouns, and numerical phrases are all eligible for absolutive marking. That is, all NP types except for common NP's are marked with an absolutive particle if they are the intransitive subject or the object. This again, upset's typological expectations regarding ergativity, as it violates predictions regarding ergative splits on NP types (Silverstein 1976). That is, there is a proposed animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976, McGregor 2009), which Dixon (1994) calls a nominal hierarchy, which generally accounts for variations of split ergativity conditioned by nominal type (McGregor 2009). Dixon and McGregor propose slightly different hierarchies, but they essentially work the same way. The nominals to the left are more likely to be accusative in a split and the nominal to the right are more likely to be ergative. The nominal hierarchy is summarized below:

1st/2nd proN – 3rd proN/det –proper N/kinterm – human N – animate N – inanimate N

(+accusative)   (+ergative)

Figure 1. Nominal Hierarchy

In Roviana the opposite is true for absolutive marking, for which all common nouns are ineligible. The fact that Roviana is a "marked absolutive" language may explain why its split on NP type is opposite of the typical split on ergative marking, perhaps the phenomenon should be classified as "split absolutive," as all transitive subjects are marked, either through null marking or constituent order, and there is only a split on which arguments are eligible for absolutive marking.

The absolutive particle, *si*, is homophonous with the pre-verbal particle which marks one of the fronting strategies. The absolutive marker *si* also has an allomorph, *se*, which occurs before proper absolutive NP's and is a blend between the absolutive particle *si* and the personal definite article *e*. 1SG and 2SG pronouns have alternate forms when fronted regardless of case. 3SG and 3PL have special ergative pronominal forms, and 3PL has two absolutive forms, *si arini* and the blend *sarini*. Again, all transitive subjects which occur post-verbally must lack a determiner and the pre-verbal transitive subjects occur in a slot which S and O do not have access to (discussed further in section 5). Thus the transitive subject is robustly established as distinct through both morphology and constituent order.

Complete paradigms for first person singular are provided in examples (1)-(6). Complete paradigms for all NP types were not included due to length limitations, however they have been collected and will be provided by the author upon request.

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	arau	si rau
Transitive Subject (A)	arau	rau
Transitive Object (O)	arau	si rau

Figure 2: Case Marking of 1SG

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)
(1)   *arau   si   hegere*.
        1SG   FOC   laughed.
        I laughed.

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)
(2)   *arau   taka=ia   si   asa*.
        1SG   kick=3SG.OBJ   ABS   3SG
        I kicked him.

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)
(3)   *arau   si   taka=au   sa*.
        1SG   FOC   kick=3SG.OBJ   3SG.ERG
        He kicked me.

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)
(4)   *hegere si   rau*.
        laugh   ABS   1SG
        I laughed.

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(5)   *taka=ia*   *rau*   *si*   *asa*.
        kick=3SG.OBJ   1SG   ABS   3SG
        I kicked him.

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(6)   *taka=au*   *sa*   *si*   *rau*.
        kick=1SG.OBJ   3SG.ERG   ABS   1SG
        He kicked me.

The case marking and pronominal forms of NPs are summarized in figure 3 below.

Person/Number	Pre-verbal (ERG/ABS)	Post-verbal A	Post-verbal-O	Post-verbal S
1SG	arau	rau	si rau	si rau
2SG	agoi	goi	si goi	si goi
3SG	sa/asa	sa	si asa	si asa
1PL.INC	gita	gita	si gita	si gita
1PL.EXC	gami	gami	si gami	si gami
2PL	gamu	gamu	si gamu	si gamu
3PL	ri/arini	ri	si arini/ sarini	si arini/ sarini
Proper Nouns	*e/se PropN	PropN	se PropN	se PropN
Numerical NP's	NumP	NumP	si NumP	si NumP
Common Nouns	DP	NP	DP	DP

*All proper nouns may occur pre-verbally preceded by *e*, however only S and O may occur preverbally preceded by *se.*

Figure 3: Roviana Case Marking

The case marking is consistent regardless of definiteness. Examples (7)-(9) demonstrate the observed indefinite A's in the data.

Indefinite Transitive Subject (A)
           (Speaker: GO)

(7)   *na*   *kukuasa*   *garata=au*.
        INDF   centipede   bite=1SG.OBJ
        A centipede bit me.

(8)   *kaiqa*   *kukuasa*   *garat=au*.
        some   centipede   bite=1SG.OBJ
        Some centipede bit me.

(9)   *kaiqa*   *tie*   *toka=n=i*   *sari*   *ka*   *ngeta* *koburu* .
        some   man   help=APPL=3PL.OBJ   DEF.PL   NUM   three   child
        Some man helped those three kids.

It is worth noting that the indefinite A's in the data only occur pre-verbally, in a position where they may have a determiner. If this pattern is representative, then it is possible that only definite A's may occur post-verbally and the lack of a determiner for post-verbal A's entails definiteness. It is possible that further data collection would reveal post-verbal indefinite A's; however this is a conspicuous pattern and in need of further investigation.

In case that only definite A's may occur Post-verbally without a determiner, it is worth looking at indefinite S's and O's to see how they pattern.

Indefinite Intransitive Subject (S)
                (Speaker: GO)
(10)   *kaiqa*   *tie*   *si*   *hegere.*
         some   man   FOC   laugh
         Some man laughed.

(11)   *keke*   *tie*   *si*   *hegere.*
         one   man   FOC   laugh
          A man laughed.

(12)   *hegere* *si*   *keke*   *tie.*
         laugh   ABS   one   man
         A man laughed.

The indefinite S patterns as the O and in example (12) the indefinite intransitive subject appears post-verbally and, since the indefinite marker in this case is a numeral, it is marked as absolutive.

In the consideration of balance, the following example demonstrates an indefinite object.

(13)   *na*   *kukuasa*   *garat=i*   *si*   *kaiqa*   *tie.*
         INDF   centipede   bite =PL.OBJ   ABS   some   man
          A centipede bit some man.

Indeed the indefinite object still receives absolutive marking.

Case marking in Roviana upsets various typological expectations. The split on absolutive marking, in which common nouns are not eligible for absolutive marking, upsets typological predictions (Silverstein 1976, Mcgregory 2009) regarding ergative splits on nominal type. In Roviana all ergative arguments, regardless of person or animacy, are indicated either through constituent order in "AV" (AVO, VS) or lack of a article when it occurs post-verbally (VAO, VS) in "UV" (definiteness is entailed post-verbally). The split in NP type in Roviana is in absolutive marking. Common nouns are not eligible for absolutive marking, even though they are the most likely to get marking according to the hierarchy. Perhaps this suggests that the hierarchy is inverse for marked absolutive languages, regardless it is a typologically unpredicted split on nominal type.

Dixon (1994:57) predicts that the absolutive marker will only encode the absolutive, while in Roviana it has two demonstrably distinct functions, as first noted in Todd (1978). Specifically, Roviana uses *si* not only as a preposition to encode the absolutive case, but also as a pre-verbal fronting marker (Corston(-Oliver) calls it focus (1996, 2002)). Roviana marks the absolutive and not the ergative, which violates Dixon's (1994:58) and de Hoop and Malchukov's (2008:568) claim that if a language only marks one case it will be the ergative. Furthermore, as Corston (1996:70-72) points out, the innovation of ergativity in Roviana likely took place through a reanalysis of focus marking, a method which is not predicted in the literature on ergativity (Dixon 1994, Coon 2013).

In conclusion, Roviana displays robust morphological ergativity which upsets several typological expectations.

3.0. OBJECT INDEX

The syntactic status of verbal object indexing in Roviana is of some controversy. Therefore, instead of referring to it as "agreement" it is referred to as an object index. Nonetheless, it functions just as agreement in that it is obligatory in transitive constructions and "agrees" in person and number with the object of transitive and ditransitive clauses. Aside from agreement, other analyses have been proposed including clitic doubling and the agreement index as the syntactic object.

Diagnosing an analysis for the object index in Roviana is beyond the scope of this paper; however, there is good reason to be skeptical of the "index as syntactic object" and "clitic doubling" analysis. The primary reason to reject the "index as syntactic object" analysis is that the object DP may occur in the same phrase, and the object DP cannot be considered adjunct as it take the same form as the intransitive subject DP. There is no agreement in an intransitive construction and it would be difficult to argue that all intransitives DP's are adjunct, therefore the "object index as syntactic object" analysis does not obtain. Clitic doubling is typically optional or only occurs in certain contexts. Object indexing in Roviana is mandatory and does not behave as clitic doubling does in a language like Spanish. The "true agreement" analysis is met with skepticism as the object index is an enclitic and there is no overt subject agreement, which for many formalists (c.f. Baker 2013) excludes it from being analyzed as true agreement.

Again, given the problems with assigning a formal analysis, the phenomenon is referred to as "indexing" in this paper. The following section will describe the basic functioning of the object index in Roviana in as "theory neutral" terms as possible.

Figure 4 gives the complete paradigm for object indexing in Roviana. It is worth noting that *gita, gami,* and *gamu* are all homophonous forms with their respective pronoun counterparts.

	1 Inclusive	1 Exclusive	2	3
SG		=*au*	=*igo*	=*ia*
PL	=*gita*	=*gami*	=*gamu*	= /=*i*

Figure 4: Verbal Object Indexing

In transitive constructions the verb always indexes the object and there is no index in intransitive constructions.

Example 14 provides a typical intransitive sentence to demonstrate that there is no verbal index.

INTRANSITIVE (No Cross-Reference)
(14)   *puta   si   asa*.
        sleep   ABS   3SG
        He/She slept.

The following examples show a complete paradigm of object indexes in transitive clauses for all types of number and person.

TRANSITIVE (Object Cross-Referenced)
1SG.OBJ
(15)   *taka=au   sa   si   rau*.
        kick=1SG.OBJ   3SG.ERG   ABS   1SG
        He kicked me.

2SG.OBJ
(16)   *taka =igo*   *rau*   *si*   *goi*.
       kick=2SG.OBJ   1SG   ABS   2SG
       I kicked you.

3SG.OBJ
(17)   *taka=ia*   *rau*   *si*   *asa*.
       kick=3SG.OBJ   1SG   ABS   3SG
       I kicked him.

1P.INC.OBJ
(18)   *toka=ni   =gita*   *gamu*   *si*   *gita*.
       help=APPL=1PL.INC.OBJ   2PL   ABS   1PL.INC
       Y'all helped us (inclusive).

1PL.EXC.OBJ
(19)   *toka=ni   =gami*   *gamu*   *si*   *gami*.
       help-APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ   2PL   ABS   1PL.EXC
       Y'all helped us (inclusive).

2PL.OBJ
(20)   *toka=ni   =gamu*   *gita*   *si*   *gamu*.
       help=APPL=2PL.OBJ   1PL.INC   ABS   2PL
       We (inclusive) helped y'all.

3PL.OBJ (-i)
(21)   *Sovusovut=i*   *gami*   *sarini*   *pude* *toka*   *beto=ni=gamu*.
       persuade=3PL.OBJ   1PL.EXC   3PL.ABS IFTV   help   finish=APPL=2PL.OBJ
       We persuaded them to help you all.

       Figure 4 shows that the 3PL agreement can be *-i* or null, however only an example of *-i* is shown. The main consideration when omitting the null agreement example, is that the phonology of Roviana is not well understood yet.

       Consider the root *riqih* 'fish with a rod/line' (glossed 'angle'). In Roviana an echo vowel is inserted after words that end with a final consonant. Therefore, the default surface form of 'angle' is *riqihi* and the 3PL object form is *riqihi*. It is unclear if this is a null agreement or ineed an *-i*. Therefore both possibilities are left open until the phonological and morphonological processes of Roviana are better understood.

       Some verbs employ applicative morphology in transitive constructions. Applicative morphology occurs between verb root and the object index. There is no evidence that applicative morphology marks an oblique argument, as transitive subjects still receive null ergative marking or front without *si*-introduction, an operation reserved for transitive subjects. The applicative morpheme manifests as either *=ni* or *=n* depending on the phonological cotext.

APPLICATIVE =ni/=n
(22)   *hohou   mae =n   =au*   *sa*   *siki*.
       bark   come=APPL=1SG.OBJ   DEF   dog
       The dog barked at me.

(23)   *hiva=ni   =gami*   *ri*.
       like =APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ   3PL.ERG
       They like us.

In example (23) the subject is in a special ergative form, summarized in figure 3, demonstrating that the clause is still transitive even with applicative morphology on the object index.

Example (24) demonstrates an indefinite object.

INDEFINITE
(24)   *sari   ka   ngeta koburu hiroi va-mate=i*
        DEF.PL NUM   three   child   those CAUS-die=3PL.OBJ
        si   kaiqa   kukuasa.
        ABS   some   centipede
        Those three kids killed some centipede.

In example (24) the object index is 3PL even though the English gloss has a singular reading. It seems consistent in Roviana that indefinite 3SG objects are interpreted as not being singular. This is potentially due to common use of the numeral 'one,' *keke,* as an indefinite article which created a presupposition that if it is indefinite and not 'one' than it is not singular. It is worth noting that the object in example (24) is marked as absolutive.

In summary, the verb must index the object in transitive constructions and there is no index in intransitive constructions. The index agrees with the object in both person and number. Though an agreement analysis of the object index is controversial, the clitic doubling or agreement-as-syntactic-object analyses are unlikely.

4.0. FRONTING THROUGH *SI*-INTRODUCTION

Roviana employs two methods of apparent fronting. While it is useful for descriptive purposes to introduce the phenomena as fronting strategies, it is possible that one or both of them are not actually movement. Nonetheless, they are called fronting in order to make the description clear and to distinguish the two different types of "fronting" in Roviana.

The first fronting strategy is that of *si*-introduction, a term used by Ross (1988) in his discussion or Roviana syntax. In this type of construction, a DP is fronted and then followed by the particle *si*, which is homophonous with the absolutive marker *si*. This homophony is not coincidental, the absolutive marker in Roviana innovated as a reanalysis of focus marking (Corston 1996), a method which is not discussed in much of the literature on ergativity (Dixon 1994, Coon 2013).

The syntactic label for this type of fronting is unclear but potential analyses include focus, topicalization, and pseudo-cleft. All pre-verbal *si*'s are glossed as FOC for consistency, however this is not an endorsement of a focus analysis. All core arguments may front through *si*-introducton. Examples (25)-(26) demonstrate *si*-introduction of core arguments.

Intransitive Subject (S)
SV- Default
(25)   *puta   se   Bili*.
        sleep   ABS.PERS   Bill
        Bill slept.

VS- *si*-introduction
(26)   *e/se   Bili   si   puta*.
        PERS/ABS.PERS   Bill   FOC   sleep
        Bill slept.

Examples (25) and (26) demonstrate the contrast between a default and *si*-introduced intransitive construction. This technique is so common that this "minimal pair" is from natural data and is the result of collecting the same sentences from different speakers. There does seem to be some speaker preference, that is, some speakers seem to front more than others; however, a more thorough investigation of discourse would need to be performed to suggest the conditioning.

It is worth noting that absolutive marking on proper nouns occasionally appears on *si*-fronted S or O throughout the data; however, this pattern has not been noted in older data sources (such as Makini 1991). The potentially recent appearance of *si*-fronted NP's with case marking (e.g. *se*)suggests that a change may be in progress.

Transitive Subject (A) *si*-introduction
(27) AVO - *si*-introduction

e	*Bili*	*si*	*korapa*	*raro=a*		*sa*	*ginani*.
PERS	Bill	FOC	IMPERF	cook=3SG.OBJ		DEF	food

Bill is cooking the food.

Example (27) shows a transitive subject which has been fronted through *si*-introduction. A contrast between the same sentence with a default and *si*-introduced A is not available in natural data as *si*-introduced A's are rare.

Examples (28) and (29) demonstrate an alternation between an object in its default post-verbal position and the same sentence with the object fronted through *si*-introduction.

Object (O) *si*-fronting
VAO - Default

(28)	*ele*	*toz=ia*		*rau*	*sa*	*vivinei*.
	PFT	tell=3SG.OBJ		1SG	DEF	story

I already told the story.

OVA - Object Focus

(29)	*sa*	*vivinei*	*si*	*ele*	*toz=ia*		*rau*.
	DEF	story	FOC	PFT	tell=3SG.OBJ		1SG

I already told the story.

Again, fronting through *si*-introduction is very common for objects.

In summary, all core arguments may "front" through *si*-introduction. Arguments which have been *si*-introduced are typically unmarked for case. Transitive subjects which have been fronted through *si*-introduction occur with determiners, in contrast to post-verbal transitive subjects which never occur with determiners.

5.0. FRONTING WITHOUT *SI*-INTRODUCTION - TRANSITIVE SUBJECT ALTERNATIONS

There is another method of apparent fronting in Roviana which does not employ any particle. This method of fronting without *si*-introduction is reserved for the transitive subject (A) to the exclusion of the object (O) and intransitive subject (S). This apparent fronting may not actually be movement; however, it is described as such in this section for the sake of descriptive clarity.

Examples (30) and (31) show the contrast between a transitive subject in its post-verbal position and in its fronted position.

Transitive Subject Alternations
VAO
(30)   *taka=ia*   *Bili*   *sa*   *siki*.
         kick=3SG.OBJ   Bill   DEF   dog
         Bill kicked the dog.

AVO
(31)   *e/la*   *Bili*   *taka=ia*   *sa*   *siki*.
         PERS/AGT   Bill   kick=3SG.OBJ   DEF   dog
         Bill kicked the dog.

In example (30) the transitive subject is not accompanied by any determiners; however, in (31) the transitive subject is accompanied by the person article *e* or an optional agentive marker *la*. Both examples are also transitive as indicated by the presence of the object index.

Objects and intransitive subjects may not front without *si*-introduction. Examples (32) and (33) show grammaticality judgements from native speakers which confirm that S and O do not have access to this method of fronting.

*OVS
(32)   **sa*   *siki*   *taka=ia*   *Bili*.
         DEF   dog   kick=3SO   Bill
         *Bill kicked the dog.

*SV
(33)   **asa*   *puta*.
         3SG   sleep
         *He/She slept.

Under the view that these transitive subject alternations are a result of movement, the transitive subject's apparent privileged access to a syntactic operation is of interest to typologists as it is the exact opposite of predictions regarding syntactic ergativity (Dixon 1994, McGregor 2009, etc.). That is, syntactic ergativity is typically when the S and the O have access to a syntactic operation to the exclusion of the A, whereas in Roviana the A has access to an apparent movement to the exclusion of the S and O.

However, another possibility is that the transitive subject alternations observed in this section are indicating voice changes, as suggested from the current understanding of the function of these alternations. The fact that object is indexed whether the transitive subject is post-verbal or occurring before the noun without *si*-introduction indicates that both alternations are transitive. This would suggest the possibility of a symmetric voice analysis as is proposed for Philippine type languages (Himmelman 2002, Erlewine et al (to appear), Foley 2007).

6.0. SYMMETRIC VOICE

Symmetric voice is a relatively newly discovered phenomenon and as such has only received limited treatment in the linguistic literature thus far. The notion of symmetric voice first arose among linguists working on Philippine type languages, and as such Philippine languages are often taken as the prototype for symmetric voice. The idea comes from the comparison of an English type active-passive voice system to that of a Philippine type voice system. In an active-passive voice system, the passive voice is intransitive, whereas the patient voice in a Philippine type language is indeed transitive, and both voice systems function to bring focus to either the actor or the undergoer (aka patient).

For the purpose of this analysis we will examine the "voice" rubric of Himmelman 2002, Foley 2007, and Erlewine et al. 2015. While Himmelman and Foley used the term symmetric voice, Erlewine et al. calls it "Austronesian Voice," however there is much overlap in the diagnostics.

To begin, it is worth examining what constitutes asymmetric voice. According to Foley 2008 it is typified by nominative-accusative languages such as English and ergative-absolutive such as Dyirbal. In both languages there is a marked preference for a pivot, a single NP per clause is syntactically privileged, in English this is the nominative and in Dyirbal it is the absolutive. In asymmetric voice languages, the verb is unmarked for voice if the preference is the pivot, but it is marked, either passive or anti-passive, if a non-preference is the pivot. That is, the voice alternations amount to alternations in transitivity. For example, in a language like English the nominative is the preferred pivot, and there is no voice marking when S or A is pivot. For a non-preference (O), to be pivot in English, the verb has to have passive morphology, and the non-pivot A is marked with a by-phrase if present.

In contrast, symmetric voice is characterized by "valency-neutral alternations" (Himmelman 2002), that is, a change in voice does not result in a change in transitivity. Himmelman's rubric is the broadest and is characterized in (34).

(34) Himmelman's Rubric for Symmetric Voice
        a) Different voices do not change the overall transitivity of the construction
        b) Change in voice signals the alignment of semantic roles and syntactic positions

        Foley focuses on three main criteria for symmetric voice:

(35) Foley's Rubric for Symmetric Voice
        a) No one NP type is preferred pivot
        b) Choice in pivot is signaled by verbal morphology
        c) No alternations accrue to the case marking of NP's in the clause (e.g. erg→abs)

        Erlewine et al. have similar rubric, however they also include the marking of non-pivot subjects.

(36) Erlewine et al.'s Rubric for Austronesian Voice
        a) Privileged arguments, a "pivot"
        b) Articulated voice morphology
        c) Extraction Resriction: A-bar extraction limited to pivot
        d) Marking of non-pivot subject (e.g. tr-subj marked gen in non-AV)

        Example (37) demonstrates symmetric voice in Tagalog, a Philippine type voice language.

(37) Philippine type symmetric voice in Tagalog
        (Adapted from Bickel 2011, source Kroeger 1993)
AV
a)   *Bumili*   *ang=lalake*   *ng=isda*   *sa=tindahan*.
        AV.buy   PVT=man   NF=fish   LOC=store
        'The man bought fish at the/a store.'

PV
b)   *Binili*   *ng=lalake*   *ang=isda*   *sa=tindahan*.
        UV.buy   NF=man   PVT=fish   LOC=store
        'The/a man bought the fish at the/a store.'

LV
c)   *Binilhan*   *ng=lalake*   *ng=isda ang=tindahan*.
        LV.buy   NF=man   NF=fish PVT=store
        'The/a man bought fish at the store.'

The nominal marker *ang* marks the NP which has a special relationship to the verb, and the articulated verbal voice morphology indicates the thematic and syntactic role of the *ang*-marked NP. That is, *ang* marks the pivot and *ng* marks the non-focused NP. Philippine voice languages have also been analyzed as ergative (Aldridge 2012); however, this analysis entails that the AV is an anti-passive, considering that the object is not optional in AV it should not be analyzed as an anti-passive. Rather, all of the alternations result in transitive constructions and meet other rubric laid down by Himelman, Foley, and Erlewine et al., such as not having one NP-type as the preferred pivot, articulated voice morphology, and marking of non-pivot subjects. In the case of Philippine-type languages one could equally analyze the PV and LV as ergative voices and the AV as nominative accusative, based on the treatment of the intransitive subject in the respective voices. Though Philippine-type languages demonstrate symmetrical voice, they should be considered a subset of symmetrical voice which has three or more voices, as "simple" symmetrical voice is possible when there are only two voices.

A common diagnostic among the proposed rubric is that if a pivot alternation results in an intransitive construction, as in a passive or anti-passive construction, it is not symmetric voice. However, if pivot alternations both result in transitive consturctions, such as Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice in Philippine type languages, then the alternations are symmetric.

A symmetric voice analysis would account for the transitive subject alternations observed in Roviana, demonstrated in (38) and (39). Instead of using verbal morphology to indicate voice selection, voice is indicated by the position and morphology of the transitive subject.

VAO - UV
(38)   *taka=ia*   *Bili*   *sa*   *siki*.
        kick=3SG.OBJ   Bill   DEF   dog
        Bill kicked the dog.

AVO - AV
(39)   *e/la*   *Bili*   *taka=ia*   *sa*   *siki*.
        PERS/AGT   Bill   kick=3SG.OBJ   DEF   dog
        Bill kicked the dog.

In the AV, the A occurs preverbally accompanied by its determiners. In the UV, the A occurs postverbally and, as it is a non-pivot subject, it is marked differently than it would be in AV as it is not accompanied by any determiners.

In order to demonstrate the pivot alternation in Roviana, it is useful to investigate the formation of wh-questions. A wh- transitive subject can only be expressed in AV, while an wh- object can only be expressed in UV. The wh-NP must be selected as pivot as demonstrated by examples 40-42.

Wh-S - UV
(40)   *esei*   *si*   *puta*?
        who   FOC   sleep
        who is sleeping?

Wh-O - UV
(41)   *esei*   *si*   *taka=ia*   *Bili*?
        who   FOC   kick=3S.O   Bill
        Who did Bill kick?

Wh-A - AV
(42)   *esei*   *taka=ia*   *se*   *Bili*?
          who   kick=3S.O   ABS   Bill
          Who kicked Bill?

    It is worth noting that in every respect, except verbal indexing, the intransitive subject patterns like the object, thus indicating that both voices are ergative. The UV is ergative in case marking and the AV is ergative through both case marking and constituent order, AVO/VS, which is an extremely rare form of ergativity established through constituent order.

    Roviana could potentially add to the typology of symmetric voice as it is a simple voice system, but unlike Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) languages which display a simple two voice system, such as Indonesian and Besemeh, Roviana does not have voice morphology. However, voice morphology in WMP languages is historically inherited and some languages which have retain the voice morphology display symmetric voice such as Indonesian, and others, such as Long Wat, do not. While verbal voice morphology is required for a Philippine type voice system, I argue that it is not required for symmetric voice. A symmetric voice analysis accounts for the transitive subject alternation in Roviana and is supported by the interaction of wh-questions and voice selection.

7.0. CONCLUSION

    This paper has established that Roviana is indeed a morphologically ergative language which defies typological expectations in a variety of ways. Next this paper established that the verb indexes the object in transitive clauses and there is no verbal reference to either the transitive subject or intransitive subject. It is conspicuous that verbs only index the object while only absolutive NP's are marked. This combination of facts is difficult to account for under modern formal approaches to ergativity and is in need of further investigation.

     Finally this paper established a distinction between fronting through *si*-introduction and apparent fronting without *si*-introduction. The fronting without *si*-introduction, which is better described as a transitive subject alternation, was diagnosed as symmetric voice through establishing that each voice acts as a pivot and that non-pivot subjects are differently marked.

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PROSODY, GENDER AND THE JAPANESE INTERACTIONAL PARTICLE *NE*

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between the prosodic features of the interactional particle *ne* and gender. Although others have investigated this topic before (Anderson, Hiramoto & Wong, 2007; Hiramoto, 2010), they focused solely on language ideology and not language practice. In order to address this gap this paper examines the prosodic features of *ne* as used by four male and four female Japanese radio news commentators. Although quantitative differences were found to exist between males and females the qualitative analysis reveals that these differences are primarily due to a difference in communicative styles and not a desire to project femininity/masculinity.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Of the various interactional particles (IPs) that exist in Japanese, it is *ne* which speakers tend to use with the highest frequency (Cook, 1990; Maynard, 1993, 1997). This is due in large part to its extremely versatile nature. Not only can it occur in different sentential positions, but it can also perform a variety of different functions which include, but are not limited to, requesting confirmation, introducing new topics, expressing agreement and getting someone's attention (Cook, 1992). See examples 1 and 2 below.

(1)   Sentence-final *ne*
        Gondoo-san rabo-de   yoku miru ne
        Gondoo-san lab-LOC   often see ne
        'Gondo-san is often seen in the lab.'   (Anderson, Hiramoto & Wong, 2007)

(2)   Sentence-medial *ne*
        yuube   aramoana-no   mae-de   ne, yamada-san ni   at-ta   yo
        last.night Ala.Moana-GEN   front-LOC ne, Yamada-san DAT meet-PST yo
        'Last night I met Yamada-san in front of Ala Moana.'   (Anderson et al., 2007)

The versatile nature of *ne* is further evidenced by the fact that it is commonly used by both males and females, so much so that it is often described as being "gender-neutral" (Ide & Yoshida, 1999; McGloin, 1990; Okamoto, 1995; Shibamoto, 1987; SturtzSreetharan, 2004). This is in contrast to other IPs that are strongly associated with either stereotypically masculine (*ze*, *zo*) or feminine speech (*wa*, *kashira*). However, relatively recent studies have suggested that even though *ne* is gender-neutral, its prosodic features can be manipulated to project both stereotypically masculine and feminine images (Anderson et al., 2007; Hiramoto, 2010). Unfortunately, because these were laboratory based studies these results only speak to language ideology and not language practice. As such, the present study attempts to begin to address this research gap by examining the speech of Japanese radio news commentators. Specifically, this study examines the types of intonation and the pitch ranges of the IP *ne* as employed by four male and four female news commentators. Let us begin by reviewing the relevant body of literature.

2.0. PROSODY AND GENDER

Studies have pointed out that even though physiological differences in the male and female articulatory organs do often result in lower average voice pitch levels for men and higher average voice pitch levels for females, this factor alone cannot account for the differences in voice pitch levels often observed between male and female speakers of Japanese, English, and many other languages (Hiramoto, 2010; Ohala, 1984; Ohara,

1999; Sachs, Lieberman & Erikson, 1973; Yuasa, 2008). Ohala (1984) noted that speakers may choose to emphasize their masculinity or femininity by exaggerating the already present differences in voice pitch. In the case of Japanese females, this can be accomplished through the use of prosodic features such as artificially high voice pitch and wide pitch ranges which are strongly associated with stereotypically feminine speech (often referred to as Japanese women's language or JWL) (Ide, 1982; McGloin, 1990; Okamoto, 1995; Reynolds, 1985; Shibamoto, 1985). It is important to note here that JWL is an ideological construct (Inoue, 2003, 2006; Nakamura, 2006; Okamoto, 1995; Reynolds, 1985) and does not accurately describe the way many, if not most, contemporary Japanese women speak (Abe, 2004; Inoue, 2003; Miyazaki, 2004; Okada 2008; Okamoto 1995; Reynolds, 1985; Sunaoshi, 2004). Nevertheless, numerous studies have shown that in some contexts some women may in fact use these prosodic features.

In his 1981 study, Loveday examined the pitch levels of five Japanese and five British individuals (two females and three males in each group) when producing politeness formulae. He had participants act out a prewritten dialogue in which they encounter a non-intimate acquaintance they had not seen in a long time. Japanese participants did this in both English and Japanese while British participants only did the task in English. He found that Japanese females were the only group that utilized an artificially high pitch level. Furthermore, they only did this when performing the Japanese dialogue. Conversely, even though both groups of males exhibited similar pitch minimum values, the Japanese males exhibited a constricted pitch range with lower maximum pitch values than the British men. He concluded that these differences in voice pitch were due to Japanese expectations of sexual and social roles being "much more rigid than those prescribed by English norms." In another comparative study, Van Bezooijen (1995) examined what traits Dutch and Japanese participants associated with different voice pitch levels and which they preferred. She had eight Dutch and eight Japanese female participants read aloud prewritten passages. These recordings were then manipulated so as to produce three versions of these passages (low, normal and high pitch). Thirty Dutch and 30 Japanese university students then listened to these samples and had to indicate which they preferred. She found that Japanese subjects preferred high pitched voices, while Dutch subjects preferred medium and low pitched voices. Results also showed that much like Ohala (1984) proposed, traits associated with powerlessness (weakness, indirectness, modesty, smallness, etc.) were strongly associated with high voice pitch. Lastly, one incidental finding Van Bezooijen (1995) reports is that the voice pitch of the females who she used to record her stimuli did not show significant differences in voice pitch, strongly suggesting that ideology certainly does seem to be shaping how subjects perceive voice pitch but language practice may not necessarily reflect ideology. Similar results to those of the previous two studies were also obtained by Ohara in a series of studies (1992, 1997, 1999). In her 1992 study, Ohara had six male and six female native Japanese speakers attending an American university read ten sentences in both English and Japanese. She found that females used significantly higher pitch levels when reading the Japanese sentences. Ohara concluded that the females adopted this higher voice pitch in Japanese in order to convey the impression of femininity. In terms of perception, Ohara (1997) also obtained similar results. In this study, she manipulated the pitch levels of utterances produced by a female in order to determine what traits her participants associated with different voice pitch levels. She found that while her participants, both male and female, perceived higher voice pitch levels to possess traits like "cuteness," "softness," "high class" and "beauty," low voice pitch levels were associated with "un-cuteness," "coarseness," "rudeness," "low class" and "ugliness." Finally, in 2004, seeing that none of the previously mentioned studies were based on naturally occurring data, Ohara addressed this by examining the prosody of two male and two female native Japanese speakers in a workplace setting. Her results painted a more complete picture of how male and female speakers used high voice pitch in real world interactions. Her findings showed that only the females consistently used a higher pitched voice when speaking to customers and not when speaking to acquaintances. Ohara states that these findings support the claim that "women in Japan face cultural constraints that lead them to raise the pitch of their voice in order to project a feminine image." However, she also found that the manipulation of voice pitch was an important resource for successful social interaction regardless of gender. Thus showing that language practice may not always reflect language ideology.

Next, let us briefly review Yuasa's 2008 book in order to further explore the relationship between politeness, prosody and gender that has been brought up by Ohara (2004) and Loveday (1981). In this book, Yuasa presents an in-depth sociophonetic exploration of the voice pitch characteristics of Japanese and American men and women. Most relevant to this study is her analysis of pitch variation in Japanese. She examines voice pitch characteristics primarily from the perspective of politeness theory. Although she draws upon Lakoff (1973) and Ide (1989), she perhaps draws most heavily from Brown and Levinson (1974, 1987). Within her framework, use of artificially high pitch is seen as a negative politeness strategy. In other words, by using artificially high voice pitch a speaker can, for example, reduce the directness of a demand and minimize the degree of imposition on a listener's "personal territory." Conversely, she proposes that the use of wide pitch ranges is an expression of positive politeness. She notes that, "In Japanese society speakers are perceived as being polite if they employ narrow pitch movement in public" (pp. 122-123). Yuasa illustrates this with an example of a man that, when telling a story to an unfamiliar interlocutor, uses a narrow pitch range; but when the same man tells the same story to a familiar interlocutor he employs a much wider pitch range (pp. 123-124). She also notes how this change in pitch range characteristics co-occurs with a shift in the use of honorifics. Whereas in the former situation the man uses the addressee honorific form of the copula *desu*, with the more familiar interlocutor the man uses the plain form copula *da*. This shows that the use of wide vocal pitch range is not necessarily "feminine." Yuasa notes that through wider pitch movement, speakers are able to express their "selves" and emotion more freely. In other words, wider pitch ranges can signal a high degree of emotional involvement which in turn can indicate camaraderie or, in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, positive politeness.

Lastly, we shall review studies that deal specifically with the IP *ne*, its prosody and gendered speech. First, we shall review the two studies that the present study drew the most heavily from: Anderson et al. (2007) and Hiramoto (2010). Both of these studies involved male and female participants reading sentences out loud that were designed to be "gender neutral" in stereotypically masculine and feminine styles. Anderson et al. (2007) focused solely on the prosodic differences that the IP *ne* exhibited in these two styles, while Hiramoto (2010) examined prosodic differences exhibited by the IP *yo* and non-IP marked sentences. Both studies found that the IP *ne* tended to exhibit higher rises in pitch (wider pitch range) and longer duration when participants, both male and female, were performing the feminine style. Anderson et al. (2007) also reported that much like the Japanese males in Loveday's 1981 study, participants performing the masculine style exhibited constricted pitch ranges and also shorter duration. Anderson et al. proposed that *ne*'s role as an emphatic marker may be what gave rise to these prosodic differences. This is because both increased duration and wide pitch ranges often correlate with increased emphasis, and emphasis in turn is commonly thought to index femininity. As for Hiramoto (2010), she noted how these prosodic features signaled smallness, which in traditional Japanese culture is seen as a trait women are supposed to possess and is thus ideologically a feminine trait, resulting in the observed differences in prosody between the two styles. She concluded that the utterance final position is a particularly salient point for speakers to use these prosodic features to project femininity. Unfortunately, while these findings do offer valuable insight into a largely overlooked aspect of the IP *ne,* these results say nothing about the ways speakers actually use these prosodic features in their daily interactions.

Another study that touches upon the prosodic features of *ne* and gender is Inukai (2001). Although this study also fails to use naturally occurring data, it still does offer some support for the idea that the prosody of *ne* may not be gender neutral. Inukai (2001), used voice synthesizing software to create multiple versions of the phrase *hayai* (fast) *ne* which differed only in the prosodic features exhibited by *ne*. He then had 14 Aichi University students listen to these samples and describe a situation in which they thought someone might use the prosodic features exhibited by *ne*. They also were required to indicate whether they ever actually used each type of intonation pattern. Of the ten female participants, seven answered either "seldom use" or "never use" for *ne* with short duration and falling intonation. He also found that use of *ne* with short duration and low pitch can often carry a nuance of the speaker talking down to his or her interlocutor. Moriyama (2001), also noted

something similar, stating that someone using *ne* with falling intonation may be perceived as sounding self-important (*erasoo ni kikoeru*). These traits are not ones typically associated with the ideology of femininity in Japan, and as such may be a reason why the female students reported generally not using this type of *ne*. However, because Inukai's (2001) results are largely based on self-reported data rather than data obtained from actual real world interactions it is clear that further research is still needed. The present study attempts to address many of the shortcomings of the aforementioned studies by using naturally occurring data.

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study will address the following research questions:

1. Do female commentators use *ne* exhibiting rising intonation significantly more frequently than male commentators?
2. Do female commentators exhibit wider pitch ranges than male commentators when using *ne* exhibiting rising intonation?
3. Are male and/or female commentators primarily using *ne* exhibiting rising intonation and widened pitch ranges as a means to project femininity?

4.0. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The present study examines the use of *ne* by four male and four female Japanese radio news commentators. A total of six hours and 32 minutes of data was used. This data was obtained from the podcast versions of four radio news commentary programs. The four programs are *za boisu soko made iu ka* (ZB), *Morimoto Takeroo sutanbai* (MT), Session 22 (ST) and *Arakawa Kyookee deikyacchi* (DK). These programs all largely follow the same format: the male host or his female assistant introduces a news story and the commentator shares his or her views on said news story. All of these programs except one, ZB, feature a female assistant who does not participate in discussions. Relevant portions of the data were transcribed. Tokens of *ne* were identified and classified in accordance with the four categories utilized by Anderson et al. (2007). These categories are sentence-final channeling, sentence-medial channeling, sentence-final backchanneling and sentence-initial channeling. This classification method was selected in order to facilitate comparison between the present study and the results of Anderson et al. (2007) and Hiramoto (2010). However, only sentence-medial and sentence-final channeling tokens were used in the final analysis. This is because not enough tokens of the other two types of *ne* were found in the data for a reliable comparison to be conducted. With the exception of Kin Biree and Asagi Kuniko, 50 tokens of *ne* were analyzed for each commentator, 25 in the sentence-final position and 25 in the sentence-medial position. Due to it not being possible to find more female commentators and a limited availability of data for Kin Biree and Asagi Kuniko, it was only possible to obtain nine and seven usable sentence-final tokens for these two commentators respectively. After identifying these tokens of *ne,* the acoustic analysis software program Praat was used to obtain pitch tracks for analysis. Any tokens that exhibited overlap were not used as part of the total 366 tokens, as it was not possible to obtain a clear pitch track for these. Tokens of *ne* were analyzed and classified into either rising, falling or flat intonation. The rising intonation category was divided further into tokens that exhibited a rise over 50 Hz (hertz), and those that exhibited a rise of 50 Hz or less. This 50 Hz margin was used in Hiramoto's 2010 study in which she classified rises over 50 Hz as instances of final pitch raising, which, as previously mentioned, is a feature commonly associated with JWL. For the sake of brevity, *ne* tokens exhibiting a rise in pitch of over 50 Hz will be referred to as RPN (rising pitch *ne*). Finally, for the quantitative analysis, the total number of each type of *ne* were obtained and the mean pitch rise and standard deviation were calculated for the RPN tokens. Discourse analysis was used for the qualitative analysis.

5.0. ANALYSIS

5.1. Quantitative Results for Sentence-final *Ne*

Results for the sentence-final tokens can be found below in Table 1. Commentators are ranked in accordance with their frequency of use of RPNs. Male commentators are indicated by (M) and females by (F).

Table 1. Total figures for each category of *ne* in sentence-final position

Name	RPN	Less than 50 Hz	Falling	Flat
Arimoto Kaori (F)	20 (80%)	4 (16%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
Ozawa Ryooko (F)	20 (80%)	3 (12%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)
Aoki Osamu (M)	11 (44%)	6 (24%)	7 (28%)	1 (4%)
Kin Biree (F)	6 (67%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)
Asagi Kuniko (F)	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Aoyama Shigeharu (M)	4 (16%)	14 (56%)	6 (24%)	1 (4%)
Katsuya Masahiko (M)	4 (16%)	11 (44%)	8 (32%)	2 (8%)
Ushio Masato (M)	0 (0%)	8 (32%)	17 (68%)	0 (0%)

Although a t-test showed that the difference in the totals of RPNs between males and females is not statistically significant ($p = .145$), a separate t-test showed that these males used falling intonation significantly more frequently than the female commentators ($p = .023$). Of course, the fact that Kin Biree and Asagi Kuniko have incomplete data sets is a factor that affects these results. However, given that their RPN totals could not decrease even if complete data sets were to be obtained, it seems likely that the difference in male and female RPN usage is, in reality, greater. Additionally, this data shows that these females are largely avoiding the use of falling and flat intonation. These results are in line with Inukai (2001) in which he noted how females may tend to avoid using these types of *ne* in public. Another noteworthy detail is that three of the four male commentators use RPNs less frequently than the female commentators. Thus, when one looks at the data as a whole and not just the t-test scores, there do appear to be strong indications that these results are in line with Hiramoto's 2010 results. This, as we will see, is even further supported by the RPN mean score results, which can be seen below in Table 2. SD indicates standard deviation. All values are in hertz (Hz).

Table 2. Mean scores of sentence-final RPN tokens

Name	Arimoto Kaori (F)	Ozawa Ryooko (F)	Kin Biree (F)	Katsuya Masahiko (M)	Asagi Kuniko (F)	Aoyama Shigeharu (M)	Aoki Osamu (M)	Ushio Masato (M)
Mean	165.98	162.58	160.42	146.38	143	84.75	79.36	0
SD	74.95	67.44	80.75	65.48	69.43	24.05	18.05	0

A t-test found the difference between these two groups to be statistically significant (p = .039). This means that the females in this group do use significantly higher rises in pitch (wider pitch ranges) than their male counterparts. This difference is further highlighted by the noticeable difference in standard deviations between the two groups. Furthermore, we can see that Aoki Osamu, who in Table 1 was the most frequent male user of RPNs, drops to 7th place in Table 2. This tells us that even though Aoki may use RPNs fairly frequently, these RPNs generally exhibit smaller rises in pitch than those used by the females. However, Katsuya Masahiko's results show that RPNs exhibiting rises in pitch comparable or equal to those found in the female data may not be being used to project femininity. This will be investigated further in the following section.

5.2. Quantitative Results for Sentence-medial *ne*

Like in Table 1 the commentators here are also listed from top to bottom in accordance with the total number of RPN tokens that were found in their data.

Table 3. Total figures for each category of *ne* in sentence-medial position

Name	RPN	Less than 50 Hz	Falling	Flat
Asagi Kuniko (F)	19 (76%)	4 (16%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)
Aoki Osamu (M)	18 (72%)	4 (16%)	3 (12%)	0 (0%)
Arimoto Kaori (F)	17 (68%)	2 (8%)	6 (24%)	0 (0%)
Kin Biree (F)	13 (52%)	5 (20%)	7 (28%)	0 (0%)
Ozawa Ryooko (F)	11 (44%)	10 (40%)	4 (16%)	0 (0%)
Katsuya Masahiko (M)	6 (25%)	7 (28%)	12 (48%)	0 (0%)
Aoyama Shigeharu (M)	2 (8%)	7 (28%)	12 (48%)	4 (16%)
Ushio Masato (M)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	24 (26%)	0 (0%)

A t-test also found the difference between male and female sentence-medial RPN usage to be statistically insignificant (p = .103). Similar results were found when the falling intonation totals were subjected to a t-test (p = .122). These results show that although certain exceptions do exist (e.g. Ushio Masato), male and female commentators seem to differ less in their use of sentence-medial *ne* than sentence-final *ne*. However, as was shown in section 5.1, these results do not necessarily mean that a greater difference does not exist in the RPN mean score data.

Table 4. Mean scores of sentence-medial RPN tokens

Name	Ozawa Ryooko (F)	Asagi Kuniko (F)	Kin Biree (F)	Arimoto Kaori (F)	Aoki Osamu (M)	Aoyama Shigeharu (M)	Katsuya Masahiko (M)	Ushio Masato (M)
Mean	210.91	133.45	132.31	117.18	95.25	92	74.84	0
SD	80.41	49.08	48.8	49.08	17.36	33.94	24.16	0

In Table 4 we immediately see a clear divide between the male and female commentators which shows, much like in Table 2, that all of the female commentators do in fact exhibit higher rises in pitch on average than

the males. This difference is confirmed by a t-test which found it to be statistically significant (p = .036). Furthermore, here too, the standard deviation values highlight this difference. As can be seen, the standard deviation values for the females are, for the most part, considerably higher. Lastly, it should be noted that much like in section 5.1, Aoki Osamu shows that even though he uses sentence-medial RPNs quite frequently his pitch range is relatively narrow in comparison to those utilized by the female commentators.

5.3. Qualitative Analysis

Although the quantitative results thus far have been largely in line with those of Hiramoto (2010) and Anderson et al. (2007), these results do not tell us whether RPNs are in fact being used to project femininity as these studies have suggested. This section investigates the ways in which speakers actually use RPNs. In the examples below, H is used to indicate the host. Commentators will be indicated by their initials. AK stands for Arimoto Kaori because no examples from Asagi Kuniko's data were selected. Lastly, a double parentheses containing both the type of intonation and exact numerical value in hertz of rises in pitch can be seen to the right of the *ne* token being discussed. Any rise in pitch is indicated by ↑, falling intonation by ↓ and flat intonation with short duration is indicated by →. For details on all other transcription symbols please see the Appendix.

First, let us examine how the sentence-final RPN with the highest rise in pitch in Katsuya Masahiko's data is used. Example 3 below occurs during a discussion about critical remarks made about Japan by the Chinese Deputy Chief of the People's Liberation Army General Staff Department. Specifically, here Katsuya is explaining how inappropriate it is for someone of such relatively low rank as the Chinese official to criticize someone like the Prime Minister of Japan. He does this by placing these two government officials within a corporate hierarchical structure, which is something very familiar to most of the listeners. After stating that the Prime Minister would be the equivalent of a company president and that the Chinese official would be equal to a section chief we see how Katsuya very strategically uses an RPN in line 6 below.

(3)   Katsuya Masahiko 06-02-14
1 KM: *kore ga >dakara< ba*:: *shachoo desu yo sooridaijin yone*
         'So this, the prime minister is a CEO'
2 H: *n*::
         'Uh huh'
         ((line 3 omitted))
4 KM: *ano jinminkaihoogun no fukusoo san boochoo to iu no wa ma* (.) *kachookurasudesu °yo°*
         'He's at the level of a section chief'
5 H: *o*::
         'Oh'
6 KM: *ne*= ((↑ 229.5 Hz))
7 H: *hai*
         'Yes'
         ((Lines 8-17 omitted))
18 H: *moo sono reberu ga zenzen* [*chigau*]
         'They are at completely different levels'
19 KM: [*j- >reberu<*] *ga zenzen*: *chigau shikamo o e*: *yutteru to*=
20 H: *hai*=
         'Yes'
21 KM: *iu koto de* (.) *ma hazukashii desu yone*
         'They are at completely different levels. Moreover, he is saying provocative things, uh, it's shameful'

As we can see, Katsuya uses the RPN in line 6 to elicit a verbal response from the host. However, Katsuya is not simply seeking any response here; he is seeking explicit confirmation that the host has accepted

his analogy of government officials as corporate managers. This is evidenced by Katsuya not accepting the host's utterance in line 5 (*o*::) as acceptance of his proposed premise. This response, which is often used to express surprise or news receipt, is not interpreted as acceptance of Katsuya's premise. If it had, there would be no need for the RPN in line 6. It is only after Katsuya uses this RPN to get the host to explicitly agree to his analogy that Katsuya continues. In lines 7-17, Katsuya talks about how a section chief making inappropriate comments about a company president would be disgraceful, and then in line 18 we see that the host states that these two officials are on completely different levels, which is the main point that Katsuya was trying to make through his analogy. Then in line 19 we see that as soon as Katsuya realizes what the host is saying in line 18, he finishes the host's statement, steals a turn and finally he criticizes not the hypothetical section chief but rather the Chinese official himself. This switch in the focus of Katsuya's criticism serves as evidence that Katsuya thinks his analogy has served its purpose and that he can now talk about the Chinese official directly, something which he did not think he could do yet in line 6 when he used the RPN. It must be noted here that numerous studies have pointed out that *ne* with high rising intonation does in fact behave in this way. Eda (2000, 2004) noted how this type of *ne* is used to seek confirmation/agreement. Inukai (2001) and Moriyama (2001) noted that *ne* exhibiting this kind of high rising intonation, more so than other intonation patterns, indicates that the speaker expects a response. However, in order to illustrate that different intonation patterns do in fact have an effect on the function *ne* performs, let us now look at how sentence-final *ne* with falling intonation is used by looking at an example from Ushio Masato's data. This example also features 3 non-RPN tokens of sentence-medial *ne*.

This excerpt takes place during a discussion about Korea and Japan resuming security talks for the first time in five years. Immediately prior to it, Ushio had just finished stating that Japan has tried numerous times to restart these talks with Korea.

(4)   Ushio Masato 09-10-14
1 UM: *hayaku desu **ne*** ((↑ 4 Hz))
2   *taiwa ni mukete desu **ne*** ((↓))
3   *e*: *zehi kochira o muite desu **ne*** ((↓))
4 H: [°*n*::°]
         'Uh huh'
5 UM: [*ayumi*] *dashite itadakitai na to iu koto da to omoimasu kedo **ne*** (↓)
         'I would like them to start advancing towards ne, look in this direction ne, for the talks ne, soon ne, '
6 H: *n*:::
         'Uh huh'
7   *ma*: *ano*::: *ne*
         'Well, um, ne'

First, let us examine the sentence-final *ne* in line 5. In contrast to the *ne* discussed in the previous example, here we see that Ushio uses falling intonation. This, unlike the RPN in example 3, is not used to seek confirmation from the host and it does not elicit any sort of explicit expression of agreement either. In line 6 we see that the host produces a backchannel cue or *aizuchi* which simply indicates he has heard what Ushio has said. Ushio, unlike Katsuya in example 3, does not seek agreement and lets the host continue in line 7 where he begins to switch the focus of the discussion. Thus we see that here, too, this use of sentence-final *ne* with falling intonation is very much in line with studies like Inukai (2001) and Moriyama (2001), in which they note how falling intonation *ne* can convey a nuance of little to no expectation of response. Also, although Eda (2000, 2004) does not explicitly mention *ne* with falling intonation, she does mention that *ne* exhibiting a minimal rise in pitch will be interpreted as the speaker making a comment rather than seeking confirmation, which is how the host is treating Ushio's *ne* marked utterance. Therefore, what we see in line 5 is that Ushio is using *ne* to soften the assertive force of his statement (Hubbard, 1992), rather than to elicit agreement from the host. When one compares the speech styles of Ushio in this example and Katsuya in the previous example, it is easy to see that the use of RPNs results in a far more inclusive speech style. By seeking confirmation and getting the host's

input, Katsuya is expressing positive politeness and co-constructing an argument, something which we do not see Ushio do in this example. Thus we see that Yuasa's (2006) assertion that wide pitch ranges are an expression of positive politeness holds up. Now let us examine the sentence-medial use of *ne* in this example.

As for the sentence-medial tokens of *ne* in lines 1, 2 and 3, we can see that none of them are RPNs. Although sentence-medial *ne* cannot be used to seek agreement with the propositional content of the *ne* marked portion due to this kind of *ne* only marking incomplete portions of sentences, it can still be used to elicit a response from a listener. This, as we will see in the following two examples, is especially true when a high rise in pitch is used. However, in example 2 this certainly is not the case. We can see here that neither the *ne* in line 1 or line 2 elicits a verbal response from the host. It is only after the *ne* in line 3 that the host produces an audible backchannel token; however, not only is this backchannel token barely audible, but in line 5 we see that Ushio continues to speak without even waiting for a response from the host. This clearly shows that despite using *ne* in line 3 Ushio does not find it necessary to wait for an explicit verbal response before continuing. Now, let us examine two examples of sentence-medial RPNs in order to determine whether there is, in fact, a difference in how these different types of *ne* are used.

Example 5 occurs during a discussion about a controversial study group (*benkyookai*) held by the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party. Specifically, Ozawa Ryooko was discussing controversial comments made by Onishi Hideo, a member of the Japanese House of Representatives who attended this study group. However, in this excerpt she begins a switch in topic which results in a comparison of statements made in a Japanese defense report (*booeehakusho*) concerning the relocation of an American military base (Futemma) in Okinawa to the aforementioned remarks made by Representative Onishi. The RPN token in question occurs in line 2.

(5)   Ozawa Ryooko 07-03-2015
1 OR: *eeto okinawa no a*::
         'Uh, Okinawa's ah'
2   *janai ano booeehakusho wa **ne*** ((↑ 318 Hz))
         'No, uh, the national defense report ne'
3 H: *ee*[:]
         'Uh huh'
4 OR: [*so*]*no*::: *futemma mondai ni tsuite >futemma to< ano henoko e iten ni tsuite mo*
         'Regarding that Futenma problem, Futenma and uh, regarding the move to Henoko as well'

As evidenced by the usage of the negative copula *janai* in line 2 and the abandoned *ne* marked new topic in line 1 this RPN occurs immediately before an instance of self-correction. Being that a self-correction of this kind can not only be confusing for radio listeners but also waste valuable program time, making sure that the new topic has been properly established is very important. In this particular case, Ozawa employs a very high rise in pitch in order to do this. This RPN elicits a backchannel token of *ee* from the host showing that he is still listening and following her through this potentially confusing switch in topics. Furthermore, we can also see that, unlike Ushio in the previous example, she waits to hear a response before continuing, which shows that much like in the case of sentence-final RPNs, a sentence-medial RPN can also be used to convey to the listener that a response is expected. Additionally, by using this very high rise in pitch and waiting for a response from the host, Ozawa is expressing positive politeness. This is because this RPN allows her to "attend to the addressee's needs" (Brown & Levinson, 1987), which in this case means being able to follow her argument. This use of *ne* is very different to what we saw in the previous example. Even though the contexts are also very different, it still clearly shows how a concern for the needs of the listener rather than simply focusing on delivering information results in the use of different prosodic features. Next, let us look at another example of a sentence-medial RPN.

This example also occurs during the same discussion that example 3 was taken from. However, this excerpt occurs before example 3. In it, Katsuya is discussing the Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary's response to the previously mentioned negative comments made by the Chinese official discussed in example 3. Katsuya mentions that Secretary Suga called these comments factually incorrect (*jijitsugonin*) and slanderous (*chuushoo*). Of course, this is very direct language within the world of international politics and Katsuya points this out. He also notes how Mr. Suga is known for these kinds of strong statements even by officials outside of Japan. He speaks of him in a rather positive manner and it is clear that he agrees with Mr. Suga's view about the comments made by the Chinese official. One strong piece of evidence for this is that at the beginning of this discussion Katsuya calls the Chinese government official that made these comments an idiot (*aho*). In this example specifically, we see how Katsuya is pleasantly amused by Mr. Suga's behavior.

(6)   Katsuya Masahiko 06-02-14
1 KM: *ano toki no suga san tte ano nechinechi* <s>*nechi*[*nechi* (.) *hontoo*] *ni moo*</s>
          'That Mr. Suga, he was soooo insistent that time, wow'
2 H: [°@@@@°]
3 KM: <s>*ano usurawarai o ukabenagara*</s>
          'With that slight grin on his face'
4 H: *hai*
          'Yeah''
5 KM: *ano* <s>*iya na koto o **ne***</s> ((↑ 115 Hz))
          'Unpleasant (harsh) things ne'
6 H: @@
7 KM: *aite ni* @ *bodiiburoo* >*kurawasu* @ *yoo na koto yuttete*<
          'He says things that make someone feel like they are receiving blows to the body'
8 H: >*watashi wa sonna koto omoimasen yo mitai*-< @
          'Kind of like, That's not what I think!'

As mentioned above, we can clearly see here that Katsuya is expressing his amusement at Mr. Suga's remarks. This is evidenced by his smiling tone (<s> </s>) in lines 1, 3 and 5, the laughter in line 7, and even his faster rate of speech in lines 1 and 7. These features, together with his somewhat humorous comparison of Mr. Suga's remarks to "body blows" in line 7, show that Katsuya is not just trying to deliver information. Instead, he is trying to invite the host to share in his affective stance towards Mr. Suga. The combination of a wide pitch range with *ne*'s inherent ability to index affective common ground make this an effective strategy (Cook, 1992). As we see in line 6 after Katsuya uses *ne,* he grants the host time to laugh before moving on. The laughter here is supportive and indicates to Katsuya that the host is listening, that he appreciates the humor of the situation and even to a certain degree that he approves of Katsuya's characterization of Mr. Suga. This is further evidenced by line 8 in which he uses *mitai na* (*na* is truncated due to his laughter) in order to "perform" for Katsuya something Mr. Suga might actually say (Fujii, 2006). Given the almost joke-like nature of this exchange, it makes sense that an RPN would occur in this instance since both jokes and expressing emotion in this way are considered to be positive politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987)

5.4. Discussion

Hiramoto (2010) and Anderson et al. (2007) concluded that participants in their studies were manipulating the prosodic features of *ne* in order to mark their speech as gendered. Most relevant to this study is that these participants consistently used rising intonation and wider pitch ranges when performing the feminine speech style. The present study found that even though the quantitative results suggested that the male and female commentators were using "gender specific" prosodic feature with the IP *ne*, the qualitative analysis demonstrated that the primary reason for this is a difference in communicative styles and not a desire to perform gender through the use of prosodic features. Whereas the female commentators tended to use a more

cooperative, inclusive and addressee-oriented style based on positive politeness, the male commentators preferred to focus on the delivery of information and the unilateral construction of arguments, which resulted in less expression of positive politeness. However, these findings are true only so far as they pertain to the prosody of the IP *ne*. Additionally, the fact that males, although less frequently than females, also use RPNs with high rises in pitch serves as further evidence that these prosodic features cannot simply be thought of as feminine or masculine. While it is true that prosodic features such as rising intonation and widened pitch ranges can indirectly index a feminine speech style, the present study has clearly shown that these prosodic features are first and foremost valuable communicative resources that speakers employ based primarily on their communicative needs and not their gender.

6.0. CONCLUSION

The present study investigated the relationship between gender, prosody and the IP *ne*. Three research questions were addressed (see section 3.0). Regarding the first question, no significant difference was found in terms of the frequency at which male and female commentators use either sentence-medial or sentence-final RPNs. However, significant differences were found in the use of falling intonation with sentence-final *ne*. As for question 2, results showed a statistically significant difference for both the sentence-medial and sentence-final data. These results, along with the results for the standard deviations for the mean pitch rises, strongly suggest that had the 50 Hz margin used to define RPNs been at least 100 Hz a much larger difference would have been found for the results of question 1. Finally, the qualitative analysis addressed question 3 and showed that commentators, regardless of gender, primarily used RPNs as a tool for expressing positive politeness and not as a means of projecting femininity. This analysis supported Yuasa's (2008) proposal that widened pitch ranges are an expression of positive politeness.

While further research is still needed, it is hoped that the present study was able to demonstrate the importance of using naturally occurring data in order to better understand the ways in which speakers actually use these prosodic features which are so strongly associated with gendered speech. Future research should focus not only on gender as it relates to the IP *ne*, but also on how speakers in actual interactions, both male and female, strategically manipulate the prosodic feature of the IP *ne* in order to achieve their communicative goals.

APPENDIX
Transcription Symbols

°word°	Decreased volume
[word]	Overlap
wo:	Lengthening
wo-	Truncated/cut-off
word=	Latching
>word<	Increased speech rate
<s>word</s>	Indicates smiling quality
@	Laugh
(.)	Pause
(())	Author's note
↑	Rising intonation
↓	Falling intonation
→	Flat intonation and short duration

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE PREPOSITION 跟 IN CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the author investigated the development and grammaticalization of the preposition 跟 (*gen*1, with) and the reason why grammaticalization occurred. 14,747 tokens of 跟 were retrieved from Ancient Chinese Corpus. The results suggested that before the Northern Song Dynasty, 跟 was used as a noun meaning 'heel', 'the heel of the shoes', and 'the root'. 跟 was used as a verb in the Southern Song Dynasty with a meaning of 'to follow somebody and to walk in the same direction'. 跟 was used as a preposition in the Ming Dynasty and the cases of 跟 as a preposition increased from Ming, to Qing and to Min Guo. Drawing on Radden & Kövecses' (1999) metonymy theory, this author propose that the metonymical relationships CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, PART OF THE THING FOR THE WHOLE THING, and ACTION FOR ASSOSICIATES can explain the grammaticalization process of 跟 from a noun to a verb, then to a preposition and conjunction.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Grammaticalization is a process that turns lexemes (or lexical items like nouns, verbs, etc.) into grammatical categories (elements like affixal inflections, prepositions, complementizers, etc.) and makes extant grammatical categories more grammatical (Kurylowicz, 1964; cf. Sun, 1996). Zheng and Mai (1964) observed that since the Song Dynasty (960-1279. A.D.), Chinese scholars have being using the term *xuhua* 虚化 to refer to "grammaticalization". Zhou Boqi, 周伯琦, a Yuan scholar further observed "今之虚字皆古之实字" (present-day grammatical words were all substantive words in ancient times) (cf. Sun, 1996). Actually, what is grammaticalized is not limited to a single content word, but also to entire constructions (Peyraube, 1999).

Prepositions are an important part of Chinese grammar study (Wan, 2008). The grammaticalization of Chinese prepositions has been widely studied (Chen, 2002; Qi & Qiu, 2003: Jin, 1996). However, most of the studies focused on a comprehensive introduction about the grammaticalization of prepositions, with a few of them focusing specifically on the grammaticalization of certain prepositions. In this paper, I would like to explore the grammaticalization of the preposition 跟.

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

Chinese prepositions and their English counterparts are different. Sun (1996, p. 206) pointed out that Chinese prepositions behaved differently from English prepositions like in, on, at, over, and so on. Nearly all Chinese prepositions can be used as "full-fledged verbs". Chinese prepositions were originally all verbs in a series that have been changed to prepositions signaling various functions. Li and Thompson (1989) even use the term 'coverbs' to refer to prepositions. They define coverbs as a class of morphemes in Mandarin which includes such words as *gen* 'with', *cong* 'from', *chao* 'facing', *yan* 'along', *zai* 'at', *ba*, the marker of the *ba* structure, *bei*, the marker of the *bei* construction, and *bi*, the marker of the comparative construction, and so on. Prepositions always introduce a noun phrase and precede the main verb, behaving like an adverbial modifying the following verbal phrase.

The number of prepositions greatly increased historically. The main prepositions that were used in ancient Chinese (Zhou Dynasty) include 之(zhi1, of) and 於(yu2, at) (Wang, 2014). In *Zuozhuan* 左传, an ancient Chinese narrative history written in the end of the Spring and Autumn period (approximately 771 to 476 BC), the number of prepositions increased to 20. In *Shiji* 史记, a monumental history of ancient China finished around 109 BC, the number of prepositions increased to around 50 (Chen, 2002).

Wan (2008) reviewed twenty years' of Chinese preposition research. She pointed out that research on prepositions has focused on three aspects: 1) the research on the nature and function of prepositions, 2) the research on the grammaticalization of prepositions, the process and motivations behind it, and 3) whether prepositions can be followed by aspect markers 着/了. We can see that the grammaticalization of prepositions is one important aspect of the research on prepositions in the past two decades.

Jin (1995) pointed out that historically, most prepositions in modern Chinese are derived from verbs. Liu (2004) said that prepositions were not only derived from verbs, but also nouns and other content words. It is worth noting that grammaticalization is an ongoing process. Some prepositions had been grammaticalized and changed completely from verbs or nouns to prepositions. However, some prepositions are still in the middle of this process. Jin (1995) pointed out that prepositions like 把,被,从" have completed grammaticalization, while others are in the middle of this process, like 在, 给, 比, 替".

In the majority of articles I reviewed so far, a general introduction and discussion about grammaticalization have been provided. Not many studies focus on the grammaticalization of specific prepositions. Citing examples from literary works of different historical periods, Wang (2014) elaborated on the grammaticalization of the prepositions 以, 为, 在, 向, 与, 因, 和 and 同. However, more research is needed on other prepositions like 跟, 给, 拿 and so on.

Researchers are also interested in the reasons why grammaticalization has occurred. The environment where content words were grammaticalized into prepositions has been taken into consideration (Wan, 2008; Liu, 2004; Gao, 2003). Wan (2008) and Liu (2004) contended that serial verb construction is the syntactic environment where grammaticalization occurs. Gao (2003) further explained that serial verb construction tends to develop into single verb construction. As a result, the first verb phrase (VP) in a serial verb construction was gradually changed to a prepositional phrase (PP).

Based on the review, we can see that the research on prepositions and their grammaticalization has proliferated in the past two decades. However, most studies intend to provide a general description of the grammaticalization process. More studies need to be done to investigate the historical development of specific prepositions. Also, as for the causes of grammaticalization, serial verb construction only explains how a verb was grammaticalized into prepositions. However, for some prepositions like 跟, it was originally a noun, then a verb and then was grammaticalized into a preposition and a conjunction. Serial verb construction is not sufficient to explain this complex, stage-by-stage process. In order to fill the gaps in the research, this study intends to investigate the grammaticalization of the preposition, 跟, to describe how the meaning of 跟 as a noun was extended, how 跟 was developed from a noun to a verb and how the grammaticalization of 跟 from a verb to a preposition and conjunction occurred. Drawing on Radden & Kövecses (1999)'s metonymy theory, this paper also intends to provide a new perspective to explain why grammaticalization occurs.

Metonymy is defined as a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity is mentally assessed via another entity (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 2). There are two entities involved in one metonymical relationship. One serves as a reference point and the other an intended target. Radden & Kövecses (1999) referred to the reference point as 'the vehicle' and the intended target as 'the target'. Thus, in the example of 'she is just a pretty face', 'the pretty face' serves as the vehicle for assessing the 'person' as the target (1999, p. 2). Another important aspect about the metonymy theory is that metonymy operates within an Idealized Conceptual Models (ICMs). ICM is a framework proposed by Lakoff (1987). For a metonymical relationship to be constructed, people draw from their encyclopedic knowledge about a domain and also idealized cultural models. Conceptual relationships within an ICM will give rise to metonymy. For example, the conceptual relationship between an organ of perception and perception may give rise to metonymy: dogs have a good nose (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 7). Generally, all types of metonymical relationships can be subsumed under two general conceptual configurations: 1) Whole ICM and its parts, and 2) Parts of an ICM.

Grammaticalization not only occurs at the linguistic level; it is also a cognitive process. We build connections between the source domain, the reference, and the target domain within the same ICM. For example, when we use the target domain, 跟 'the heel', to refer to the source domain, the action of walking, a metonymical relationship of INSTRUMENT for ACTION can be built. Then, this metonymical relationship will be represented at the linguistic level. In this paper, drawing on metonymy theory, I will account for how and why the grammaticalization of 跟 occurred.

3.0. THIS STUDY

3.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main aim of this study is to explore the development and grammaticalization of 跟 and the possible reasons for why grammaticalization occurred. The following two research questions will be addressed:
1）What is the nature of the development of 跟 in terms of meaning and parts of speech in ancient Chinese?
2）What are the possible reasons for the grammaticalization of 跟?

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

Data for this study was obtained from a large corpus of ancient Chinese developed by the Center for Chinese Linguistics at Beijing University. The corpus includes ancient Chinese literary works from the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE) to Minguo period (1912-1949). 跟 was searched as the key word in the corpus for all the historical periods. As a result, the corpus produced 14,752 tokens of 跟. In the initial examination of the data, it is found that one token of 跟 should be 艰 as in "以岁时巡国及野, 而赒万民之艰" (*Zhouli*, 周礼, Rites of Zhou). Thus, this token of 跟 was deleted from the data. Another two cases containing 跟 were incomplete and include symbols like HT5,7]扌[KG-*3][HT5,6"] and [HT5,6]纟[KG-*2][HT5,6]. I further checked back to the original text and found that they did not have those symbols. Thus, those symbols were deleted and those two cases of 跟 were retained. There are four other times where 跟 was repeatedly counted in both the simplified and traditional Chinese versions of the same literary work. The four simplified sentences containing 跟 were deleted. Altogether, 14,747 tokens of 跟 were retrieved and will be used in the analysis.

Because of the uneven distribution of the cases of 跟 in different historical periods, the author will analyze all of the data before the Ming dynasty to investigate the development of 跟. For the data of Ming, Qing and Minguo, I will use random sampling. According to Datallo (2010), random sampling is how a sample is drawn from a population and is related to the external validity of a study's results. Random sampling was applied to prevent sampling bias and generalize the results to a larger population. 100 cases from Ming, Qing, and Minguo were selected randomly, respectively. To be more specific, the total number of cases for each historical period were divided by 100. For the Ming dynasty, every 17th case of 跟 was selected. For the Qing dynasty, every 85th case of 跟 was selected and for the Minguo data, every 43rd case of 跟 was selected. This lead to 300 cases of 跟 for the Ming, Qing and Minguo periods.

3.3. CODING

Since 跟 has more than one part of speech, we need to determine the part of speech 跟 belongs to in each case. In order to do so, I checked 跟 in three dictionaries: Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (现代汉语词典, Modern Chinese Word Dictionary) (2002), Gudai Hanyu Cidian (古代汉语词典, Ancient Chinese Word Dictionary) (2005), and Wangli Guhanyu Zidian (王力古汉语字典,Wang Li Ancient Chinese Character Dictionary) (2000). In Modern Chinese Word Dictionary (现代汉语词典) (2002, p. 429), I find 跟 has the following entries: 1) The heel or the heel of the shoes, for example, 脚后跟 (the heels). 2) To follow and move toward the same direction, for example, 他跑得快，我也跟得上 (He runs fast, and I can follow (him)). 3) To marry somebody, e.g., 他要是不好好工作，我就不跟他 (If he does not

work hard, I would not marry him). 4) Preposition, to introduce the object of an action, a). 同, e.g. 有事要跟群众商量 (Consult the masses when a problem crops up)；b). 向. e.g. 你这主意好，快跟大家说说 (Your idea is a great one. Come on and share with us). 5) Preposition, to act as the comparison case marker and to introduce the object of the comparison, e.g. 她待我跟待亲儿子一样(She treated me as her son)；6) Conjunction, same as 和, e.g. 他的胳膊跟大腿都受了伤 (His arms and legs were all hurt). In Gudai Hanyu Zidian (古代汉语字典) (2005, p. 464), 跟 has two entries: 1) heel (脚后跟), 2) to follow (跟随). In Wang Li's Ancient Chinese Character Dictionary (王力古汉语字典) (2000, p. 1358), 跟 has the following entries: 1) heel, 2) verb, to wear shoes, e.g. 跟高齿屐, 3) verb, to follow (追随)，e.g. 他不肯，定要跟來 (His did not agree and insisted on following (me)), 4) verb, (girls) marry somebody, and 5) preposition, 同, 和, to introduce the object of an action. Based on the above information, and also based on a pilot coding of around 200 cases, I decided to code 跟 based on the following criteria: 1) 跟 was coded into four parts of speech: noun, verb, conjunction and preposition, 2) 跟 was coded as a noun when the meaning of the word is 'heel' or related to the heel. For example, in 脚跟 (heel), 跟 refers to heel; in 跟本，跟 means 'root', and it is related to 'heel'. Similarly, in 跟前, the whole word means 'in front of somebody', so 跟 is used as a metonymy, and the part of the thing (the heel) is referring the thing (the body). 3) 跟 was coded as a verb when its meaning is "to follow somebody and to move in the same direction", as in 跟随，跟寻, 跟定. Also, 跟 was coded as a verb when it meant "to marry somebody". 4) 跟 was coded as a preposition when it introduced the object of the action, for example, in 跟我说说 (talk to me), 跟 can be replaced with 同 (with). 跟 has lost its verb meaning, and it has nothing to do with "to follow somebody". However, in 你跟我走, 跟 was coded as a verb because 跟 means "to follow somebody and move in the same direction". Even though some may argue that in "你跟我走", 跟 can also be interpreted as "to go with me", the literal meaning "to follow somebody" still exists. Thus, I prefer to code this as a verb because I believe that 跟 here has not be fully grammaticalized into a preposition yet. 5) 跟 was coded as a conjunction when 跟 means 和 'and' and the two parties can change positions. For example, in 你跟我都是中国人 (You and me are both Chinese), we can also say 你和我都是中国人 (You and me are both Chinese) or 我和你都是中国人 (I and you are both Chinese).

All the data was coded independently by two raters, the researcher and one PhD student majoring in Chinese Linguistics and Literature in China. After the first coding process, the intra-rater reliability was around 80%. The differences in the coding were resolved by discussion between the two raters. If there were still questions, the researcher referred to a third rater, a PhD student majoring in Chinese linguistics in the U.S. until all the questions were resolved. In the end, the intra-rater reliability was around 98%.

4.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. THE FREQUENCY OF 跟 IN EACH HISTORICAL PERIOD

The earliest use of 跟 occurred in 六朝 (Liù Cháo, 222–589). Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics of the frequencies of 跟 in the main historical periods.

Table 1. The frequency of *gen* in each historical period

Dynasties	Six Dynasties	Tang	Five Dynasties	Northern Song	Southern Song	Yuan	Ming	Qing	Minguo
Years	220-589	618-907	907-960	960-1127	1127-1279	1271-1368	1368-1648	1644-1911	1912-1949
Frequency	5	3	5	14	66	83	1730	8500	4319

4.2. THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF 跟

In the Six Dynasties period, there are only 5 cases of 跟. 跟 occurs only as a noun. In (1), 足跟 bears the same meaning with 脚跟 in modern Chinese. In (2), 跟 in 跟挂 also refers to the feet, or the bottom part of the body. 跟挂 as a verb means 'to hang upside down'.

(1)   为菩萨时至心受持第一第四优婆塞戒。是故次得纤长指相足跟长相。 (六朝.译经.北凉译经)

"When I practice Buddhism, I accept and maintain faith in (what I read). That is why I get long and slim figures, and long heel."

(2)   懔乎若跟挂于万仞，栗然有如乘奔以履冰。 (六朝.道论.抱朴子)

 "(I am) afraid as if I was hung upside down on a mountain of ten thousand Ren, and frightened as if I was riding a horse and walking on ice. "

In Tang Dynasty, there were only three cases of 跟 and they were all nouns. In (3), 跟本 is a commonly used word in modern Chinese meaning 'the root' and we can see that it was used as early as the Tang dynasty in ancient Chinese. Here, the meaning of 跟 was extended from 'the heel' to 'the root'.

(3)   嗔是失佛法之跟本，堕恶道之因缘，法乐之冤家，善心之大贼。 (唐.佛语录.小止观)

"Hatred is the root of losing Buddhism doctrine, the cause of falling to evil road, the enemy of doctrine joy, and a thief stealing kind heartedness."

In the Five Dynasties, there were five cases of 跟. All of them were nouns and used in '脚跟'.

In the Northern Song Dynasty, there were 14 cases of 跟. Among them, as in the Five Dynasties, 13 cases of 跟 were used as nouns in the disyllabic word '脚跟'. It is in this period that 跟 was used as a verb for the first time. In (4), we can see that 跟 in 跟随 means 'to follow and move toward the same direction'. '随' also means 'to follow', and 跟 and 随 are juxtaposed to form a word. Juxtaposition means combining two mononyms of similar semantic orientation and syntactic category to form a disyllabic word (Yip, 2000). Juxtaposition is a common way of forming disyllabic word in Chinese.

(4)   他任同安縣主簿時就有青年跟隨學習, 一直到五十歲以前, 從學的弟子為數不多。(北宋.语录.朱子語類)

"There were young men following and studying from him when he was the secretary in Tongan county. (However), all the time before he was fifty years old, there were not many students studying from (him)."

In the Southern Song Dynasty, there are 66 cases of 跟. Table 2 presents all the cases of 跟 and its usage.

Table 2. The Parts of Speech of 跟 in Southern Song Dynasty.

	Nouns				Verbs		
	脚跟	鞋跟	跟前	跟由	跟/跟着	跟	跟寻
English meaning	Heel	Shoe heel	In front	The reason	To follow	To marry	To follow/ to look for
Frequency	53	3	3	1	3	1	1
Total	60				6		

For the verbal use of 跟, we can see that the durative aspect marker '着' was attached to 跟 in this period of time. 着 was also a verb in ancient Chinese and began to be grammaticalized as an aspect marker in the Northern and Southern Song dynasties. According to Wang (2014), 着 as a durative aspect marker was used widely in Song Dynasty *Huaben* 话本 (short or medium length stories), Yuan Dynasty opera, and Ming Dynasty novels. In (5) 着 was attached to 跟 to indicate the state that a woman is following a man and they are walking together. In (6), 跟 was juxtaposed with another verb, 寻, to look for, which indicates the purpose of 跟.

(5)   现今你跟着一个男子同走，却有何理说，抵赖得过。(南宋.话本.话本选集)
         "Now you are following a man and walking with (him), what can you argue and how can you deny? "

(6)   闻说有官事在府前，老汉跟寻至此。(南宋.话本.话本选集)
         "I heard that there were official things happening in front of the mansion, (so) I followed and arrived here."

We can see that in the Southern Song dynasty, the meaning of 跟 was expanded both in noun and verb usage.

In Yuan Dynasty, there are altogether 83 cases of 跟. Table 3 presents the frequencies of 跟 used in different parts of speech.

Table 3. The Frequency of Gen in Yuan Dynasty.

	Noun			Verb		
	脚跟	跟前	跟头/斗	跟随	跟着	跟+（O）+（V）(C)
	Heel	In front	Somersault	To follow	To follow	To follow, etc.
Frequency	1	5	2	8	22	45
Total	8			75		

A striking difference of 跟 in the Yuan dynasty and previous dynasties is that 跟 was used mainly as a verb in the Yuan Dynasty. Also, besides 跟随 and 跟着, 跟 appeared in various constructions. In (7), 跟 is used individually meaning 'to marry'. In (8), 去 in 跟去 is also a verb meaning 'to go'. In (9), 跟 is followed by perfective aspect marker 了 and object 'I' and 去 here is more of another verb in a serial verb construction. Similarly, in (10), for "跟我见母亲去来", we have four verbs in one constriction, 跟,见,去 and 来. In (11) and (12), 到 and 至 both mean 'arrive'. Thus, in 跟到 and 跟至, 到 and 至 are resultative complements. In (13), 跟他不上 is a negation, meaning 'cannot catch up'.

(7)   今夜若肯从顺，还你终身富贵，强似跟那穷官。(元.话本.元代话本选集)
         "Tonight if you are obedient to me, I will return you with riches and honor. It is better than marrying that poor official."

(8)   你却为甚麽不跟去? (元.口语.朴通事)
         "Why did not you follow?"

(9)   这个有甚麽难。你著一个火伴, 跟了我去。(元.口语.老乞大新释)
         "This is not difficult. You find one friend and follow me."

(10)　　今日母亲在前厅上呼唤，不知有甚事，梅香，跟我见母亲去来。(元.戏剧.倩女离魂)

"Today mother called (us) in the front hall, (and I) don't know why, Meixiang, follow me and go to see mother. "

(11)　　王公气忿忿的一直跟到女婿家来。(元.话本.元代话本选集)

"Father-in-law Wang angrily followed all the way to son-in-law's house."

(12)　　三官听说大喜，随跟至王匠家中。(元.话本.元代话本选集)

"Sanguan was delighted hearing (this), then (he) followed to Silversmith Wang's house."

(13)　　李万道：" 我只登了个东，被蛮子上前了几步，跟他不上。(元.话本.元代话本选集)

"Li Wan said: 'I only went to the toilet, and was surpassed by that barbarian, and could not catch up.'"

Next, I will present the use of 跟 in Ming, Qing, and Minguo periods.

Table 4. The use of 跟 in Ming, Qing, and Minguo.

	Noun	Verb	Conjunction	Preposition
Ming	19	79	0	2
Qing	15	64	1	20
Minguo	14	53	4	29

From Table 4, we can see two salient features: 1) 跟 began to be used as a conjunction and preposition and 2) the frequency of 跟 used as a conjunction and preposition increased. In (14), 跟 was used as a preposition. In '跟唐僧做个徒弟', 做个徒弟 means to 'to be Tangseng's follower'. Here, 跟 has lost the pure verb meaning 'to follow and move toward the same direction with somebody'.

(14)　　我师未来，先差我来吩咐你早跟唐僧做个徒弟。(明.小说.西游记)

"My master is not here yet. (He) sent me here to tell you to be Tangseng's disciple earlier. "

In Qing dynasty, the number of cases of 跟 used as a preposition increased greatly. In (15), 跟 has completely lost the verb meaning 'to follow and move toward the same direction with somebody'. Instead, it can be replaced by '同'. In (16), we found that 跟 was used as a comparison case marker and introduced the object of the comparison in the construction '跟…… 一样'. Also, in the Qing dynasty, 跟 was used as conjunction as in (17).

(15)　　只见王天宠从水内出来说："你别急了，我不跟你闹了。(清.小说.康熙侠义传)

"Wang Tianchong came out from the water and said: 'don't worry. I won't stir up trouble.'"

(16)　　老爷打开包袱一看，果然跟汤二的包袱一样，连银子件数都对。(清.小说.济公全传)

"The lord opened the bundle. As expected, it is the same with Tanger's, even the number of silver pieces are the same."

(17)　　我观看此阵，想起一位朋友来，此人跟您换命之交。(清.小说. 三侠剑)

"The moment I am watching here, I think of one friend. This person has such a friendship with you that he can sacrifice his life for you."

In Minguo, we can see that as in the Qing Dynasty, 跟 was used as a preposition in (18). In (19), 跟 was used as a conjunction.

(18)　　公子若是有空，多来走走，别跟我见外。（民国.小说.古今情海）
　　　　"If you have time, come over more often and visit, don't regard me as a stranger."

(19)　　流星探马飞报军情，报称："岱昌跟刘大忠真也不济事。（民国.小说.清朝秘史）
　　　　 "The scout reported: "Daichang and Liu Dazhong are no use.""

4.3. THE REASONS FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

From the above analysis, we can see that 跟 developed into a verb from a noun, and then was grammaticalized into a conjunction and a preposition. As for the reasons for grammaticalization, I propose that grammaticalization occurred because new conceptual relationships were built between the source domain, 'the vehicle', and the target domain, 'the target'. For 跟, it was originally used as a noun, then new conceptual relations were built. The instrument 跟, 'the heel', was used to refer to the action 'to follow and to move in the same direction' and a change of word class was involved. When a new conceptual relationship was built between the action 跟 and the participants performing the action, 跟 was used to introduce the associates with whom to perform the action. Again, the verb was changed to a preposition and conjunction. Next, I will explain in detail how the grammaticalization of 跟 occurred.

We can note that as a noun, 跟 originally only referred to the body part 'the heel'. In 跟前, the meaning of 跟 was extended to refer to 'the whole body' and 跟前 means 'in front of (somebody's body)'. Drawing on Radden & Kövecses (1999)'s theory, this metonymical relationship can be described as:

　　　　part of a thing for the whole thing:　*England* for 'Great Britain'

When a person kneels down, he/she kneels down on the floor in front of another person's feet. Gradually, '跟前' (in front of somebody's feet) was used to refer to being 'in front of a person'.

What 根本 in the Tang Dynasty and 根由 in the Southern Song Dynasty have in common is that 跟 means 'the root, the foundation'. Thus, 根本 means 'the root, the foundation' and 根由 means 'the root reason'. Again, there is a metonymical relationship here. Radden & Kövecses (1999) defined this relationship as:

　　　　category for defining property:　　*jerk* for 'stupidity'

The heel is the rear and bottom part of the foot, and it's most salient function is to help a person stand still and not fall down. Thus, like a tree, we hope to have a strong 'root'. Actually, we can see that in the following examples, the meaning of 跟 in 脚跟 has begun to be extended to mean 'the root'. In (20), if a person does not have a strong heel, he/she cannot stand still and may drift in the 'vanity fair'. In (21), why a person drifts along is only because his/her heel is not on the ground.

(20)　　世衰道微，人欲横流，若不是刚介有脚跟底人，定立不住。（北宋.语录.朱子語類）
　　　　"The moral degeneration is worse and worse, and people care about nothing but lust. If a man does not have firm heels, he will definitely fall."

(21)   人所以易得流轉，立不定者，只是脚跟不點地。（北宋.语录.朱子語類）

"The reason why men are easily drifting with the tide and can't stand firmly is that they don't have their feet planted on solid ground. "

That the noun 跟 was used as a verb is not surprising. Actually, the meaning of 跟 in 脚跟 and the meaning of 跟 in 跟随 are closely related. 跟 as the INSTRUMENT was used to refer to the ACTION in 跟随. Based on Radden and Kövecses's metonymy theory, this metonymy is called Action metonymy. Action metonymy includes relationships such as those between an action and an instrument used in the action, an action and the result of the action, etc. (1999, p. 13). Action metonymy includes four types of metonymic relationships and instrument for action is one of them. Radden and Kövecses (1999) gave the following example for instrument for action metonymy.

　　　　instrument for action: to *ski*; to *hammer*

Similarly, in 跟随, 跟 is the instrument and is used to refer to the action 'to follow somebody and move in the same direction'. As pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metonymy, like metaphor, is part of our everyday way of thinking, is grounded in our experience, and structures our thoughts and actions (cf. Radden & Kövecses, 1999). Ancient Chinese people connected their body parts, in this case their feet, with the action the feet can perform, to follow and move toward the same direction.

Next, I would like to discuss the cognitive mechanism behind the grammaticalization of 跟 from a verb to a preposition and a conjunction. Sun (1999) pointed out that as a preposition, 跟 indicates an associative case. I propose that 跟, when used as a conjunction, also indicates an associative case. I would still like to draw on Radden & Kövecses (1999)'s metonymy theory to uncover the motivation of the grammaticalization process. In Radden & Kövecses (1999)'s action metonymy, the following two types of metonymical relations are relevant to our discussion:

　　　　action for agent: *writer*; *driver*
　　　　action for object: *to have a bite; the flight is waiting*

Though they are common metonymies, we find that they are not sufficient in explaining 跟. 跟, as a verb, indicates an action with more than one participant. In 我跟他走, both 我 and 他 are the participants of the event 'walking'. 跟 introduces the associates with whom the action is completed. Another example, in 您跟我商量一下, it is you and I who perform the action 商量 'to consult' together. Without both participants, 我 and 你, the action could not be performed because 'to consult' implies that there is more than one participant. It should be noted that even though 跟 implies an associate relationship, it must be followed by who the associate is. I would like to propose a new metonymical relationship:

　　　　　　ACTION FOR ASSOCIATES

According to Radden and Kövecses, action metonymy typically "involves a change of their word class" (1999, p. 13). Nouns are converted into verbs and verbs are nominalized. This also occurs in 跟. What is different is that the verb 跟 is also used as a preposition to introduce associates.

5.0. CLOSING REMARKS: GRAMMATICALIZATION AND CHINESE L2 TEACHING

In this article, based on corpus data and drawing on metonymy theory, I described the grammaticalization process of 跟 and explained the reason why grammaticalization occurred. Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity is mentally accessed via another entity. There are various conceptual association related to 跟. Those

conceptual associations give rise to metonymies. To construct metonymical relationships, a change of word class is always involved. This is how the grammaticalization occurred.

I have described the development of the preposition 跟. In general, 跟 developed historically from a noun, to a verb, then to a preposition and conjunction. Before the Ming Dynasty, 跟 was mainly used as a content word. Starting from the Ming Dynasty, 跟 began to be used as a preposition. The cases of 跟 used as a preposition and conjunction increased greatly from Ming, to Qing and to Minguo.

Before the Northern Song Dynasty, 跟 was a noun meaning 'the heel'. The meaning of 跟 was extended to mean 'the heel of shoes' like in '鞋跟', 'root' like in '根本' and '根由', and 'in front of somebody' in '跟前'.

As a verb, 跟 originally meant 'to follow somebody closely and move in the same direction'. The meaning was also extended to mean '(for women) to marry somebody'. As a verb, 跟 was used in various constructions, for example, 跟随, 根寻, 根究, 跟着. Also, 跟 was used in serial verb constructions like 跟他见我母亲去来.

As a preposition, 跟 gradually lost the verbal meaning of 'to follow somebody and move in the same direction'. 跟 was mainly used to introduce an associate case and can be replaced by '同' (with). Similarly, as a conjunction, 跟 connects two participants of the same action together.

Drawing on Radden and Kövecses (1999)'s metonymy theory, I propose that various kinds of metonymical relationships exist and shape the grammaticalization of 跟. Those are PART OF A THING FOR THE WHOLE THING, CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION and ACTION FOR ASSOCIATES.

This paper has two pedagogical implications for teaching Chinese as a foreign language. First, understanding and acquiring the grammaticalization of prepositions like 跟 will result in a higher quality lexical representation. According to the Lexical Quality Hypothesis (Perfetti, 2007), a higher quality lexical representation indicates that the learner has a full grasp of the word's orthography, phonology, grammar, meaning, and that these knowledge components are tightly bound together. For the grammar knowledge component, a high lexical quality indicates "all grammatical classes of the word are represented" (Perfetti, p. 360). The consequences of higher lexical quality is that the learner is able to efficiently and effectively recognize the word and retrieve it from his/her mental lexicon. Efficient lower-level word recognition is essential for higher-level meaning processing in L2 reading (Grabe, 2009). Second, cognitive accounts of grammar and grammaticalization facilitate learning and understanding in second language classrooms (cf. Chu, 2011; Littlemore, 2009; Robinson & Ellis, 2008). Understanding not only how the grammaticalization occurred, but also why it occurred will enable the learners, especially adult L2 learners, to build associations between daily life experience and linguistic expressions. To learn a language is not only to learn the language, but also the way of thinking of the people who speak the language.

NOTES

1.   Ren is an ancient Chinese measure of length equal to seven or eight feet

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Individuals' identity and subjectivity as they inform ways of thought has always been a keen interest in Brittney's studies. Through art she analyzes this phenomenon. She studied filmmaking at Watkins College Film School, art history at Plymouth University in the UK, and literature at Tennessee State University. In particular, she tends to focus on Black voices and portrayal, their subjectivity and identity, in works of art. She intends to extend the study of Black thought as she pursues a master's degree in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa with an emphasis on literary studies.

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