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Virtual Reality for Language Learning

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Abstract

Optimal language learning requires exposure to the language in authentic contexts while providing an opportunity to interact in an immersive environment. As such, virtual reality (VR) can serve as a new modality with improved potential for language learning. VR is immersive, interactive and engaging, and it can spark wonder in learners of all ages. Such affordances of VR are thus ideal for teaching foreign languages. Yet, language teachers are unsure of how to best use this technology for their teaching. To understand the effectiveness of VR for language education, it is imperative for us to investigate inquiries such as: (i) what added value VR can bring to our language education; (ii) what types of learning activities are best suited for VR; and (iii) how VR can co-exist with our existing classroom activities and language curriculum. This paper aims to tackle these questions.

Keywords: Virtual Reality, Multi-Modalities, Meaningful Learning, Empathy

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1. Introduction

Technology provides new opportunities for language learning, and virtual reality (VR), being immersive and interactive, is a new modality with great potential for enhancing language learning. VR has unique affordances suited for language acquisition. For instance, VR enables learners to interact in a 3D-space that simulates real context. This is an important affordance of VR because language learning requires exposure to authentic contexts in which the target language is being used. In addition, VR can spark wonder in learners of all ages and its gamification elements make learning a new language fun. In short, VR can be a powerful instrument for language learning, transforming the way we learn foreign languages.

However, when incorporating VR into existing curricula, we need to understand why and when to use VR. To do so, inquiries such as, “what advantages (or disadvantages) can VR offer language learning?”, or “what types of learning activities would most benefit from VR?”, need to be investigated. This paper aims to address these questions.

The organization of the paper is as follows: Section 2 presents a VR-based application that we have developed for language learning in order to illustrate the effectiveness of kinesthetic learning on language acquisition.¹ We argue that VR’s body-tracking technology enables us to do kinesthetic learning inside VR, enhancing learner’s memorability of vocabulary. Section 3 aims to support the use of VR for language learning through the lens of psychology. To this end, I introduce two notions: (i) “meaningful learning” (Ausubel 1968) and (ii) “empathy”. I argue that VR’s immersive and interactive environment facilitates learners to relate what is learnt to their existing knowledge and in this respect, it can create a more meaningful learning environment. I also argue that VR can foster learners’ empathy through putting them in the other person’s shoes (Milk 2015), and this, in turn, helps learners enhance their competence in communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, language learners can benefit from VR. Section 4 discusses some obstacles that one might encounter when incorporating VR into the actual learning environment, and Section 5 presents my concluding remarks.

2. Kinesthetic Learning in VR

Kinesthetic learning is a learning style based on learners’ physical movement, such as motions or gestures. VR can offer one of the best environments for this learning style because of its body-tracking technology. However, it remains to be seen how effective a kinesthetic learning style in VR can be in the context of language learning. In order to investigate this inquiry, we developed a prototype VR application called “*Words In Motion*” (Vázquez et al. 2018).

Words in Motion utilizes the body-tracking technology of HTC Vive, and it enables us to do kinesthetic language learning inside VR. The rationale of its design is based

¹ The VR applications presented in this paper have been developed in collaboration with the Fluid Interfaces Group at the Media Lab, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge, U.S.A. and Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba, Japan.

on our hypothesis that a kinesthetic learning style can enhance learner's memorability of vocabularies (Macedonia 2013, 2014, Tellier 2008). Inside *Words in Motion*, learners can learn new vocabularies kinesthetically through their actions; learners perform a certain action, which then triggers the corresponding name of the action to appear. This way, learners associate their body action with the name of the action kinesthetically. Figure 1 provides a series of snapshots for the action-word pair of "drop" in *Words In Motion*.



picking up the carrot dropping the carrot the word, "drop", appears
Figure 1: Action-word pair of "drop" inside *Words In Motion*

In order to measure how this kinesthetic learning would affect the memorability of vocabularies, we conducted an experiment with 57 participants.² We divided them into three groups: (i) text-only; (ii) VR with no kinesthetic component; and (iii) VR with kinesthetic component.³ We asked the participants of each group to learn 20 Spanish words. All groups were tested immediately after the training session and exactly one week after. The following lists the results from this experiment that are relevant to our discussion.

- [Result 1] The text-only learners initially outperformed the kinesthetic and the non-kinesthetic VR ones.
- [Result 2] One week after, there is no significant difference in performance between the text-only learners and the kinesthetic VR ones. The non-kinesthetic VR learners, on the other hand, performed significantly lower than the text-only and the kinesthetic VR learners.
- [Result 3] Among the kinesthetic VR learners, there was a correlation between the number of times a word was remembered and the number of times the action associated with that word was seen.

Result 1 implies that the participants in VR are probably initially distracted by the novelty of the system; that is, the VR participants (whether kinesthetic or non-kinesthetic) were previously not exposed to VR as a tool for vocabulary learning, resulting in their underperformance.⁴

² These participants were recruited from the student community at MIT. For more details about the methodologies and the results of the experiment, see Vázquez et al. (2018).

³ The text-only and the kinesthetic VR groups consisted of 20 participants, and the non-kinesthetic VR group consisted of 17 participants.

⁴ This trend (i.e., the participants' familiarity to the learning style based on the text (as opposed to VR) is also reported in Dylan, et al. (2016).

Result 2 and Result 3 provide support for the hypothesis that kinesthetic learning style impacts language learning, in particular, with respect to the memorability of vocabularies.

VR's body-tracking technologies enable us to do kinesthetic learning in an authentic context, and this is VR's unique and important feature, as none of the traditional media (such as audio or visual) can facilitate such kinesthetic learning experiences. In addition, the kinesthetic learning offered by VR enables learners to engage in more active learning activities (as opposed to passive ones). As such, VR may be a powerful instrument for language learning and it could revolutionize the way we teach and learn foreign languages.

3. Support for VR through the Lens of Psychology

The use of VR for language learning finds support through the lens of psychology as well. To show how, I would like to introduce two notions: (i) the notion of "meaningful learning" (Ausubel 1968) and (ii) that of "empathy" (Milk 2015). I argue that VR can provide learners with various types of purposeful and meaningful learning experiences that may enhance the memorability of what they have learnt.

3.1 Meaningful Learning

Ausubel (1968) argues that the process of linking between newly learned knowledge and the existing knowledge in one's cognitive structure is a key to learning, while introducing the notion of "meaningful learning". This notion is often contrasted with "rote learning" and it has been studied and promoted by some scholars in the field of language acquisition as well. For instance, Brown (1980) argues that this notion plays an important role in long-term memory; in particular, with respect to the memorability of vocabulary. The following is cited from Brown (1980, p.87):

*...rote learning involves the mental storage of items having little or no association with existing cognitive structure.....
On the other hand, meaningful learning may be described as a process of relating and anchoring new material to relevant established entities in cognitive structure. As new material enters the cognitive field, it interacts with, and is appropriately subsumed under, a more inclusive conceptual system.*

In the context of language teaching, activities such as "mechanical drills" or "pattern practices" probably fall under the category of rote learning because they can be done in an isolated fashion and do not require any processes that relate new knowledge to the pre-existing knowledge.

In contrast, project- or task-oriented activities could provide a more meaningful learning environment. These activities engage learners to relate what is learned to real-world situations and often involve a recognition of the links between concepts and knowledge. Pedagogical approaches that elicit such activities include: project-based language learning (Smith 2005), problem-based language learning, community-

based learning (Burnaby 1988, Rivera 1999), and situated learning (Lave & Wenger 1991).

Here, I would like to argue that VR's affordances help us instantiate activities that would fall under the category of "meaningful learning": inside VR, learners are immersed in authentic contexts and can interact with all sorts of objects, using different modalities (e.g., visual, audio, kinesthetic). As such, it is feasible to assume that VR encourages learners to relate what they learn to their real-world experience and may help them to integrate the new knowledge into their existing knowledge base. Accordingly, they could have a long-term memory of what they have learnt.

Although my hypothesis above is anecdotal, studies like Dale (1969) can be of support. Dale argues that the more direct experience one has, the more effective his/her learning can be. VR can provide a "semi-real" 3D-space in which learners can have various types of purposeful learning experiences using different sensory systems. It is quite reasonable to hypothesize that VR may be a powerful instrument for creating a meaningful learning environment for language learners.

3.2 Empathy

Technology has enabled us to work and communicate globally with much greater ease. As a result, our social interactions are increasingly digitally mediated. The resultant lack of in-person communication may indicate a need to cultivate "empathy" in learning settings (Boltz, et al. 2014).

Language teachers have also begun acknowledging the importance of teaching "empathy" through language education; the ultimate goal of our language education is to enable us to communicate with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As such, "empathy", which puts people "in other people's shoes", can be a great asset for language learners to have.

VR can be expected to help us with empathy because it enables users to see, hear, or move objects from the "first person" perspective (Milk 2015). Thus, VR has the potential to enhance one's empathy toward others. For this reason, as well, it is worth investigating the use of VR in language education so that our students can best develop their 21st century communication skills.

4. Obstacles

Language teachers understand that VR's immersive and interactive nature may provide an optimal environment for language learning, and some of them are investigating how to integrate VR into their classes. In so doing, however, they often run into certain obstacles. The first one is financial: VR headsets are still very costly, and many teachers or schools cannot afford them. The second one is related to time: it is time-consuming for teachers to learn how to use VR hardware and software. Accordingly, many teachers are reluctant to even attempt adopting VR into their language classes. These time and cost-related obstacles are the main reasons for language teachers' delaying the adoption of VR into language education.

In addition to the above, the lack of flexibility in authoring contents is another obstacle. VR applications targeted for language learning are already available. But most of them are commercial-based and do not grant language teachers the opportunity to create their own content or modify the existing content. This lack of flexibility in content authoring makes it less attractive for teachers to adopt such commercial-based VR applications for their classes.

All these obstacles, however, should diminish as technology advances; VR headsets will become more accessible to everyone in terms of cost, and the content-authoring issue will be eventually resolved, making it possible and easier for teachers to modify content. What is missing is an answer to the inquiry of what pedagogical issues need to be considered and what activities would best benefit our students. Although we currently have little empirical evidence to verify the impact of VR on language learning, we have an ample amount of conceptual and theoretical support to promote the use of VR for language learning as discussed in this article. VR has been adopted into other fields of education already and will continue playing a critical role for the advancement of our future education. As such, it is time for us to take an action, rather than to contemplate.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper provides support for the use of VR in language learning, both conceptually and empirically. We demonstrated that the kinesthetic learning style enabled by VR assists learners to increase their memorability of vocabularies by showing the results from the experiment using our prototype VR application. Our results indicated that kinesthetic VR learners had a higher vocabulary retention, as compared to text-only and/or non-kinesthetic VR learners. Although the sample size in our study is relatively small, the results justify a more widespread adoption of VR for language learning.

We also supported the use of VR for language learning from the lens of psychology, while introducing the notions of “meaningful learning” and “empathy”. We argued that VR’s unique affordances (i.e., being immersive and authentic) help us to create an environment in which learners can engage in meaningful learning experience, and accordingly, they may have a better memory of what they have learnt.

We also argued that VR appears to help learners foster their empathy through immersing themselves into an authentic virtual context. The goal of language education is to enable one to communicate with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As such, nurturing empathy through language education is critical, and in this respect as well, VR is a powerful instrument for our future language education. I hope that this paper can encourage more language teachers to start using VR and exploring innovative language pedagogy for the 21st century.

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Resources

“How Virtual Reality Can Create the Ultimate Empathy Machine” by Milk, C.
(2015):
(https://www.ted.com/talks/chris_milk_how_virtual_reality_can_create_the_ultimate_empathy_machine?language=en)

The Production of English Affricates by Yemeni EFL Learners of English

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Abstract

The production of English sounds by non-native speakers of English has been extensively discussed in the phonetic literature, particularly in the areas of second language speech production and pronunciation instruction. The current study aims to explore the production of the English affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ by Yemeni EFL learners of English. The production data involved 36 isolated tokens containing the two target sounds embedded in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions. The elicited materials were gathered from two male Yemeni students in Universiti Utara Malaysia. Both speak Arabic as their first language. The speakers were asked to repeat the randomised tokens three times. The spoken data were analysed auditorily by four raters and then acoustically inspected via Praat. The findings show that the Yemeni EFL speakers of English face some difficulties in producing the English affricates, particularly for the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ in comparison to its voiced counterpart /dʒ/. Word position appears to be a factor that greatly affects the accuracy of the speakers' production of the two target sounds. Deaffrication occurs in the production of /tʃ/ for both speakers, while palatalisation for /dʒ/ is speaker-specific (one of the speakers only) and also environment-specific (word-medial and word-final positions only). The results provide experimental confirmation for the effect of first language on the production of non-native sounds and they accord well with the Language Transfer Theory's prediction. The findings of this study have potential contributions in the pronunciation teaching and learning of English, particularly among EFL learners of English.

Keywords: Speech Production, English Affricates, Deaffrication, Palatalisation, Pronunciation Teaching and Learning

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Introduction

Many researchers (e.g., Elmahdi & Khan, 2015) claim that issues in the speech production among Arab speakers of English are mainly due to the sound systems of Arabic and English which are different in many aspects. According to Chouchane (2016), the English language contains 24 consonants, while the Arabic language contains 28 (see also Baagbah, Jaganathan, & Mohamad, 2016). Similarly, Elmahdi and Khan (2015) further emphasise that English consonants differ from Arabic consonants in terms of place and manner of articulation. For instance, the Najdi Arabic consonant inventory - like many other Arabic dialects - lacks six consonant sounds that are available in the English consonant inventory, which are /p/, /v/, /tʃ/, /ʒ/, /ɹ/, and /ŋ/ (Alqarni, 2013).

Elmahdi and Khan (2015) reported that Arab speakers have difficulties with consonants such as /tʃ/, /p/, /v/, /ŋ/, /θ/, /ð/, /l/, and /d/. Certain pairs are confusing for learners such as /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ as in /tʃeə/ 'chair' and /ʃeə/ 'share', /v/ and /f/ as in /fɑ:st/ 'fast' and /vɑ:st/ 'vast', /dʒ/ and /j/ as in /dʒæm/ 'jam' and /jæm/ 'yam', /p/ and /b/ as in /pɪn/ 'pin' and /bɪn/ 'bin', /ŋ/ and /n/ as in /sɪŋ/ 'sing' and /sɪn/ 'sin', /s/ and /θ/ as in /sɪn/ 'sin' and /θɪn/ 'thin'. The difference between the learner's first language and the target language can cause difficulties in mastering the pronunciation of the target language. Elmahdi and Khan (2015) state that the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ seem to be problematic for most Arab speakers of English. This is because of the absence of /tʃ/ in Arabic, while the English sound /dʒ/, which exists in Arabic, may have different phonetic realisations among Arab speakers.

The current study aims to examine the production of English affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ by Yemeni EFL learners. As various researchers have confirmed that the /tʃ/ sound is considered as a problematic among Arab speakers of English, most Yemeni EFL learners may substitute /tʃ/ with the most closely related one that exists in Arabic, which is the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/. This is a phonological process called deaffrication. On the other hand, since the /dʒ/ sound has an equivalent sound in Arabic, Yemeni learners may not have difficulties to produce /dʒ/, though some have claimed that /dʒ/ may be palatalised as /j/.

To date, there have been limited studies that investigate specific issues concerning the production of English affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ among Yemeni EFL learners of English. Thus, the present study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Yemeni EFL learners of English produce the English affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/?
2. To what extent does word position (word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions) affect the learners' production of English affricates?
3. Do deaffrication and palatalisation take place in their production?

Literature review

As mentioned earlier, /tʃ/ does not exist in Standard Arabic while /dʒ/ has a near-like Arabic sound, which is (ج). There are various phonological processes that Arab learners of English tend to make when they produce a particular phoneme in English. Some studies show that EFL learners sometimes substitute some new phonemes in the target language with phonemes from their native language, which results in a

substitution and transfer processes. When consonants are pronounced with less effort or more weakly, they commonly change into other consonants. This could be the underlying process behind /tʃ/ that is potentially substituted with /ʃ/. Alqarni (2013) suggests that Arab learners may simplify /tʃ/ to /ʃ/. This process is called deaffrication since the target sound changes from being an affricate to being a fricative. It is also predicted that Yemeni EFL learners of English may also deaffricate /tʃ/ to a fricative /ʃ/. However, they may or may not deaffricate /dʒ/ to another sound such as /ʒ/ because /dʒ/ is available in the Arabic consonant inventory.

The Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH), formulated by Eckman (1977), is one of the phonological acquisition theories that make a connection between a native language transfer and language universals. Marked structures are difficult to learn, particularly if those in the target language are more marked than those in the native language. Applying this hypothesis can help describe the phonological difference between Arabic and English and how the differences may affect learners' pronunciation. The hypothesis suggests that learners would find it difficult to acquire the English postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ because it is considered to be a more marked sound than /ʃ/. On the other hand, Arab learners may not find any difficulty to acquire the /dʒ/ sound because it is somehow similar to the Arabic sound (ج). So, /dʒ/ can be considered as less marked for most Arab learners of English.

The production of different sounds between a target language and a native language is a common phenomenon for many English learners around the world. Begum and Hoque (2016), who investigated the production of English consonants by Bangladeshi learners, found that the affricate consonants /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ can turn to alveolar consonants /s/ and /z/, respectively. Jing and Yanyan (2011) carried out a study to examine the Chinese EFL learner's acquisition of English fricatives. They found that the speakers have difficulties in making distinctions between /ð/ and /z/ and also between /w/ and /v/. Lengeris and Nicolaidis (2016) conducted a study on the production of English consonants by Greek speakers. The results show that the most problematic English consonants are /tʃ/ (mostly confused with t/), /dʒ/ (mostly confused with /d/), /θ/ (mostly confused with /f/ and /s/), /s/ (mostly confused with /z/ and /ʒ/), and /ʃ/ (mostly confused with /s/). In another related study, Kang (2013) suggests that palatalisation is a reflection of a perceived difference in place of articulation between English and Korean affricates. Similarly, Nakin and Inpin (2017) discovered that Thai speakers substitute /tʃ/ with /t/. Additionally, Tuan (2011) reveals that Vietnamese learners have the most difficulty in pronouncing the English fricatives /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

Likewise, Arab learners of English have similar problems in pronouncing the consonants of English, particularly affricates. For instance, Alqarni (2013) aimed to investigate whether Najdi Saudi ESL learners have difficulties in pronouncing /tʃ/ or not. The results indicate that Najdi ESL learners have difficulties with /tʃ/ as they substitute it with /ʃ/, particularly in word-final position. Likewise, Elmahdi and Khan (2015) found that Saudi learners substitute the word-final /ʒ/ with /dʒ/. In a similar study, Ahmad and Muhiburrahman (2013) reveal that Saudi EFL learners face problems in the English sounds /p/, /d/, /v/, /tʃ/, /ʒ/ and /ŋ/. Al Yaqoobi, Ali and Sulan (2016) also found that Omani speakers usually replace /p/, /tʃ/, /g/ and /v/ with /b/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/ and /f/, respectively. They point out that /tʃ/ is usually mispronounced in word-medial position. Jabali and Abuzaid (2017) reveal the most problematic sounds for

Palestinian speakers, which are /p/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ɪ/, and /ŋ/. For this group of speakers, /tʃ/ is sometimes realised as /ʃ/, while /dʒ/ is realised as /ʒ/. Additionally, Hassan (2014) found that the Sudanese speakers of English face similar difficulties in the consonant contrasts such as /ʃ/ and /tʃ/, which could be due to the differences in the sound system between English and Arabic.

Methodology

In order to investigate the production of English affricates by Yemeni EFL learners of English, the current study employed 36 isolated words containing the target sounds /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions (see Table 1). The participants were two male Yemeni postgraduate students at Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) that is located in the northern part of Malaysia. Speaker A was 31 years old, while Speaker B was 27 years old. Both of them were born and grew up in Hadhramout, Yemen. They shared a similar level of English language proficiency since both of them scored Band 6 for the latest English intensive course. They had never been to any English speaking countries, so they did not have any kind of exposure to a native English environment.

| Position | Word | Received Pronunciation | Position | Word | Received Pronunciation | Position | Word | Received Pronunciation |
|-----------------|--------|------------------------|----------------|----------|------------------------|---------------|-------|------------------------|
| Initial [tʃ] | cheap | [tʃi:p] | Middle [tʃ] | lecture | [ˈlɛktʃə] | Final [tʃ] | Dutch | [dʌtʃ] |
| | cheat | [tʃi:t] | | fetcher | [ˈfɛtʃə] | | such | [sʌtʃ] |
| | chief | [tʃi:f] | | blencher | [ˈblɛntʃə] | | much | [mʌtʃ] |
| | cheese | [tʃi:z] | | venture | [ˈvenʃə] | | touch | [tʌtʃ] |
| | cheek | [tʃi:k] | | denture | [ˈdɛntʃə] | | lunch | [lʌntʃ] |
| | cheep | [tʃi:p] | | texture | [ˈtɛkstʃə] | | hutch | [hʌtʃ] |
| Initial [dʒ] | jungle | [ˈdʒʌŋɡl] | Middle [dʒ] | wager | [ˈweɪdʒə] | Final [dʒ] | sage | [seɪdʒ] |
| | junk | [dʒʌŋk] | | danger | [ˈdeɪndʒə] | | rage | [reɪdʒ] |
| | jut | [dʒʌt] | | sager | [ˈseɪdʒə] | | wage | [weɪdʒ] |
| | jug | [dʒʌɡ] | | major | [ˈmeɪdʒə] | | page | [peɪdʒ] |
| | jump | [dʒʌmp] | | pager | [ˈpeɪdʒə] | | cage | [keɪdʒ] |
| | just | [dʒʌst] | | ranger | [ˈreɪndʒə] | | age | [eɪdʒ] |

Table 1: Isolated words with IPA transcriptions.

The recordings were conducted in a quiet room. All the recordings were done on the same day. At the beginning of recording, the speakers were informed that their identity would be kept confidential. Each speaker was given an information sheet and a consent form to read and sign. Each speaker was given ten minutes to read the isolated items three times. The words were presented randomly.

Using IPA symbols, the recorded speeches were phonemically transcribed and then compared with the target language in order to decide the level of correctness (see the evaluation form in Table 2). Four raters, who had teaching experiences in English, judged the speeches. All rater were postgraduate students at UUM majoring in Applied Linguistics. The errors in producing the target sounds were tested by the four raters by choosing one answer from five scales. The data were then analysed statistically using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 24) and Excel. The findings were also supported by the visual inspection of waveform using Praat version 6.0.28 (Boersma & Weenink, 2017).

| | | | Correct ← | | | → Wrong | | | |
|-----------------|--------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|--|
| Position | Word | Received Pronunciation | Completely Correct 100% | Slightly Correct 75% | Unsure 50% | Slightly Wrong 25% | Completely Wrong 0% | Substitution | |
| Initial [tʃ] | cheap | [tʃi:p] | | | | | | | |
| | cheat | [tʃi:t] | | | | | | | |
| | chief | [tʃi:f] | | | | | | | |
| | cheese | [tʃi:z] | | | | | | | |
| | cheek | [tʃi:k] | | | | | | | |
| | cheep | [tʃi:p] | | | | | | | |
| Initial [dʒ] | jungle | [ˈdʒʌŋɡl] | | | | | | | |
| | junk | [dʒʌŋk] | | | | | | | |
| | jut | [dʒʌt] | | | | | | | |
| | jug | [dʒʌɡ] | | | | | | | |
| | jump | [dʒʌmp] | | | | | | | |
| | just | [dʒʌst] | | | | | | | |

| | | | Correct ← | | | → Wrong | | | |
|----------------|----------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|--|
| Position | Word | Received Pronunciation | Completely Correct 100% | Slightly Correct 75% | Unsure 50% | Slightly Wrong 25% | Completely Wrong 0% | Substitution | |
| Middle [tʃ] | lecture | [ˈlɛktʃə] | | | | | | | |
| | fetcher | [ˈfɛtʃə] | | | | | | | |
| | blencher | [ˈblɛntʃə] | | | | | | | |
| | venture | [ˈvɛntʃə] | | | | | | | |
| | denture | [ˈdɛntʃə] | | | | | | | |
| | texture | [ˈtɛkstʃə] | | | | | | | |
| Middle [dʒ] | wager | [ˈweɪdʒə] | | | | | | | |
| | danger | [ˈdeɪndʒə] | | | | | | | |
| | sager | [ˈseɪdʒə] | | | | | | | |
| | major | [ˈmeɪdʒə] | | | | | | | |
| | pager | [ˈpeɪdʒə] | | | | | | | |
| | ranger | [ˈreɪndʒə] | | | | | | | |

| | | | Correct ← | | | → Wrong | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|--|
| Position | Word | Received Pronunciation | Completely Correct 100% | Slightly Correct 75% | Unsure 50% | Slightly Wrong 25% | Completely Wrong 0% | Substitution | |
| Final [tʃ] | Dutch | [dʌtʃ] | | | | | | | |
| | such | [sʌtʃ] | | | | | | | |
| | much | [mʌtʃ] | | | | | | | |
| | touch | [tʌtʃ] | | | | | | | |
| | lunch | [lʌntʃ] | | | | | | | |
| | hutch | [hʌtʃ] | | | | | | | |
| Final [dʒ] | sage | [seɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |
| | rage | [reɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |
| | wage | [weɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |
| | page | [peɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |
| | cage | [keɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |
| | age | [eɪdʒ] | | | | | | | |

Table 2: Evaluation form.

Results

The overall pattern of the production of English affricates by Speaker A and Speaker B is presented in Table 3. The rows represent the two target sounds in three different word positions, while the columns provide the scores given by the raters for each speaker. A refers to Speaker A, while B refers to Speaker B.

| Target Sound | Completely Correct | | Slightly Correct | | Unsure | | Slightly Wrong | | Completely Wrong | | Substitution | |
|-----------------|--------------------|----|------------------|---|--------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|--------------|---|
| | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B | A | B |
| Initial [tʃ] | 13 | 17 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Middle [tʃ] | 13 | 15 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Final [tʃ] | 16 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Initial [dʒ] | 10 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| Middle [dʒ] | 4 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Final [dʒ] | 9 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 9 |

Table 3: Overall results by Speaker A and Speaker B.

As observed for the target sound /tʃ/, there are a lot of CORRECT productions in comparison to the target sound /dʒ/. On the contrary, there are more WRONG productions of the target sound /dʒ/ as compared to the target sound /tʃ/. Note also in the final column, there are many substituted sounds for /dʒ/, which will be shown in detail later. These results show that the Yemeni EFL learners in the current study have difficulties in pronouncing the English postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. Moreover, the results reveal that /dʒ/ is more difficult to produce than /tʃ/ since most of the errors occur in the words that include the target sound /dʒ/.

The production of the target sound /tʃ/ according to word position is presented in Figure 1 (Speaker A) and Figure 2 (Speaker B). Figure 1 clearly shows that Speaker A produces /tʃ/ differently in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions. First, he produces /tʃ/ completely correctly in word-initial and word-medial positions (both 54%) and also in word-final position (67%). Second, he produces /tʃ/ slightly correctly with different percentages across word positions: 38% in word-initial position; 25% in word-medial position; and 21% in word-final position. Third, Speaker A produces /tʃ/ slightly wrongly with the percentage of 4% in word-initial position, 13% in word-medial position, and 0% in word-final position. As for Speaker B, Figure 2 reveals a similar trend. First, he produces /tʃ/ completely correctly with the percentage of 71% in word-initial position, 63% in word-medial position and 54% in word-final position. Second, he produces the target sound /tʃ/ slightly correctly with a similar percentage of 25% across all word positions. Third, Speaker B produces /tʃ/ slightly wrongly with the percentage of 0% in word-initial position, 8% in word-medial position, and 0% in word-final position.

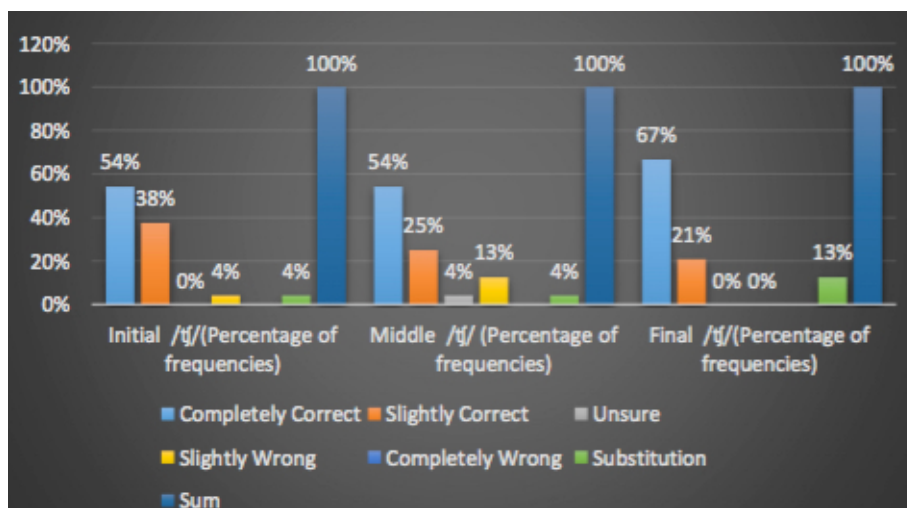


Figure 1: Production of /tʃ/ by Speaker A according to word position.

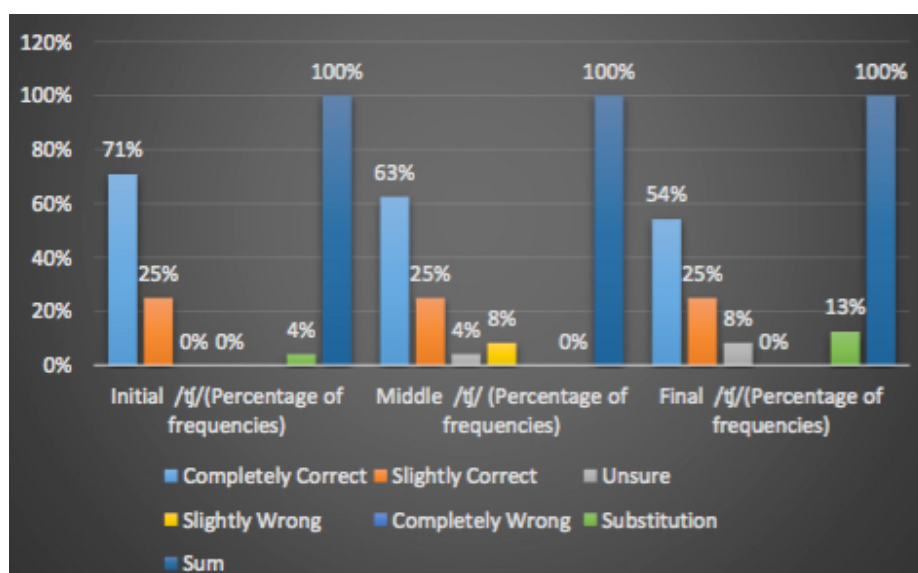


Figure 2: Production of /tʃ/ by Speaker B according to word position.

The production of the target sound /dʒ/ according to word position is presented in Figure 3 (Speaker A) and Figure 4 (Speaker B). Figure 3 clearly shows that Speaker A produces /dʒ/ differently in three different word positions. First, he produces /dʒ/ completely correctly with the percentage of 42% in word-initial position, 17% in word-medial position, and 38% in word-final position. Second, he produces /dʒ/ slightly correctly with the percentage of 25% in all three word positions. Third, Speaker A produces /dʒ/ slightly wrongly with the percentage of 13% in word-initial and word-medial positions, and 21% in word-final position. Fourth, he produces /dʒ/ completely wrongly with the percentage of 13% in word-initial position, 8% in word-medial position, and 4% in word-final position. As for Speaker B, Figure 4 reveals a similar trend. First, he produces /dʒ/ completely correctly with the percentage of 29% in word-initial position, 21% in word-medial position, and 17% in word-final position. Second, he produces /dʒ/ slightly correctly with the percentage of 8% in word-initial position, 17% in word-medial position, and 21% in word-final position. Third, Speaker B produces /dʒ/ slightly wrongly with the percentage of 13% in word-initial position, 8% in word-medial position, and 4% in word-final position. Fourth,

he produces /dʒ/ completely wrongly with the percentage of 8% in word-initial position, 8% in word-medial position, and 17% in word-final position.

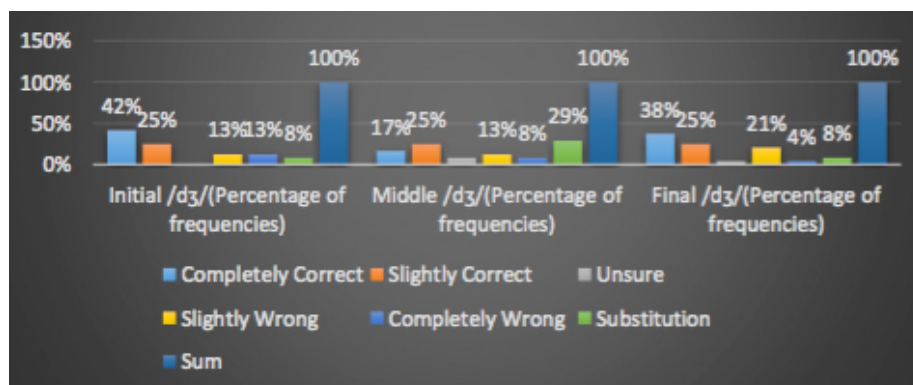


Figure 3: Production of /dʒ/ by Speaker A according to word position.

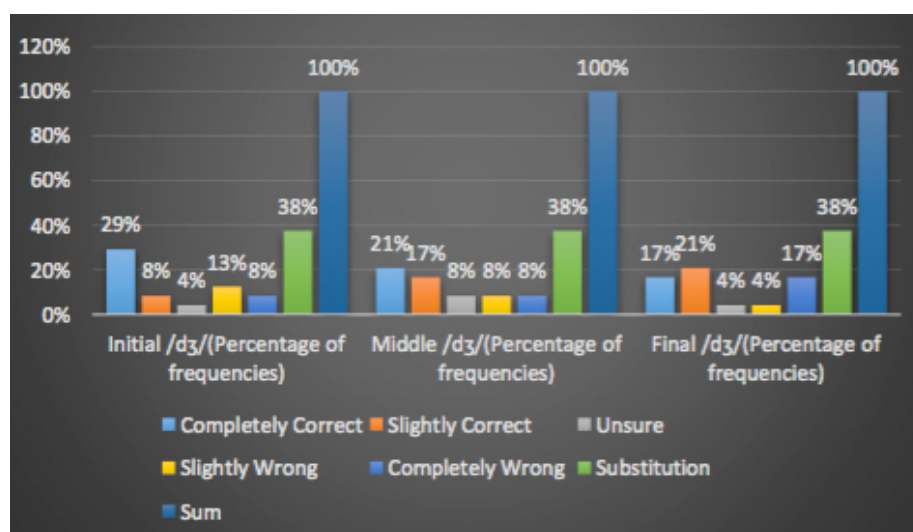


Figure 4: Production of /dʒ/ by Speaker B according to word position.

The substitution of /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ is illustrated in Figure 5 (Speaker A) and Figure 6 (Speaker B). Figure 5 shows that, for Speaker A, /tʃ/ is substituted with /ʃ/ only once (4%) in word-initial and word-medial positions, while he substitutes /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ with the percentage of 13% in word-final position. As for Speaker B, Figure 6 shows that he substitutes /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ once only with the percentage of 4% in word-initial position. Meanwhile, he substitutes /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ with the percentage of 13% in word-final position. The substitution of /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ or with any other sounds does not take place in word-medial position.

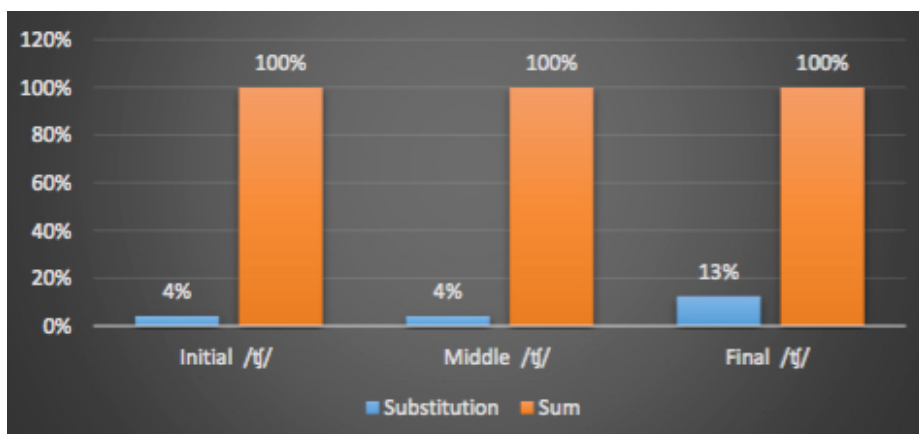


Figure 5: Substitution of /tʃ/ with /f/ by Speaker A.

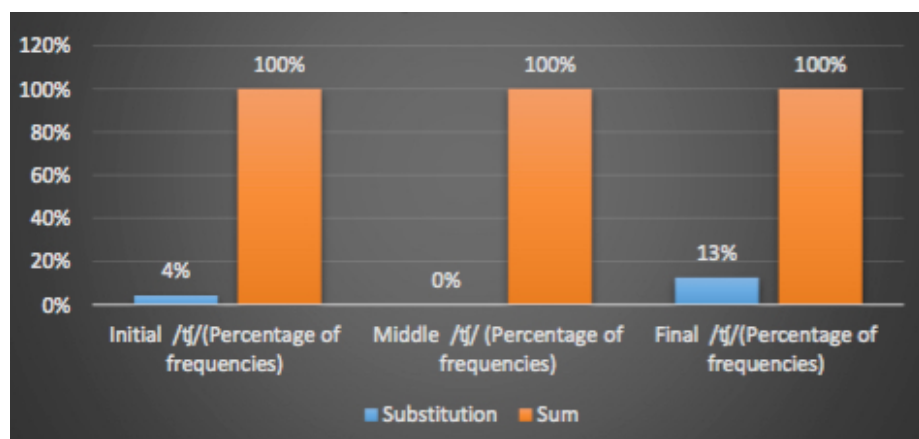


Figure 6: Substitution of /tʃ/ with /f/ by Speaker B.

The substitution of /dʒ/ is illustrated in Figure 7 (Speaker A) and Figure 8 (Speaker B). Figure 7 shows that Speaker A substitutes /dʒ/ with the percentage of 8% in word-initial and word-final positions, while he substitutes /dʒ/ with the percentage of 29% in word-medial position. As for Speaker B, Figure 8 shows that he substitutes /dʒ/ with the percentage of 38% across all word positions.

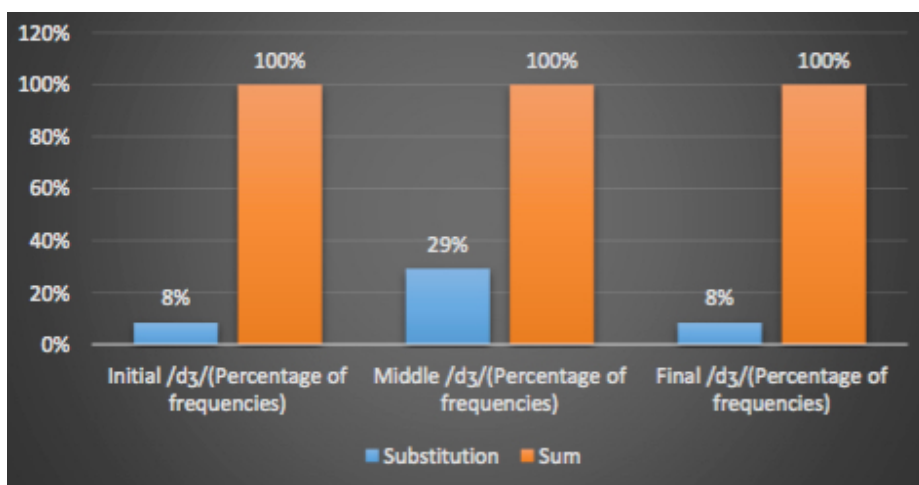


Figure 7: Substitution of /dʒ/ by Speaker A.

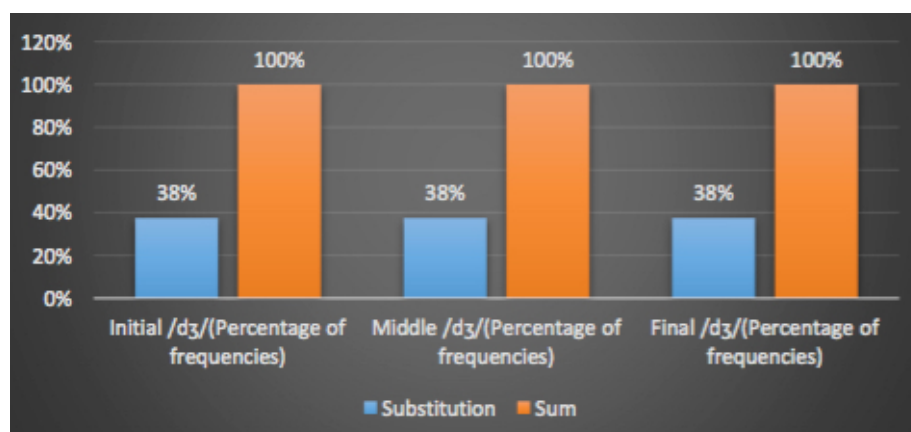


Figure 8: Substitution of /dʒ/ by Speaker B.

Discussions

The findings provide strong evidence that the two target sounds, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, does cause some difficulties to Yemeni EFL speakers of English in this study. In general, the results are in line with the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH) which claims that marked structures are difficult to learn, particularly if the sounds in a target language are more marked than those in a native language. Applying the hypothesis can help describe the phonological difference between Arabic and English and how the differences may affect learners' pronunciation. The hypothesis proposes that Arab learners may find it difficult to acquire the English postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ because it is considered as more marked than /ʃ/. On the other hand, Arab learners may not find any difficulty in acquiring /dʒ/ because it is somehow similar to the Arabic sound ج(). In this study, the participants deaffricated /dʒ/ in some words and pronounced it as /ʒ/. As a matter of fact, many researchers have pointed out that the Arabic sound (ج) is similar to the English /ʒ/ (Elmahdi & Khan, 2015).

Elmahdi and Khan (2015) assured that the consonants /p/-/b/, /f/-/v/, /tʃ/-/dʒ/-/ʃ/ seem to be problematic for most Arab speakers of English. This is because of the absence of these oppositions in Arabic. While some English sounds such as /tʃ/, /v/, /p/ do not exist in Arabic, the other consonants which exist in Arabic have different phonetic realisations. Similarly, Elmahdi and Khan (2015) confirmed that English and Arabic consonant sounds are different in number, as well as in place and manner of articulation. Another related hypothesis is the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) that predicts the difficulties in learning L2 by comparing two languages. For example, there is no equivalent sound in Arabic to the English /tʃ/. Therefore, it is predicted that Yemeni EFL learners may face difficulties when producing it. They may reduce or simplify it (deaffricate) and pronounce it as /ʃ/ in order to make it more similar to their L1 sound which is as discovered in the current study (ش). On the other hand, it could be predicted that Yemeni EFL learners may not have difficulty to produce the English /dʒ/ since it is somehow similar to the Arabic sound (ج). The results of this study show that the sound /tʃ/ is difficult especially when it occurs in word-final position. On the other hand, Yemeni EFL learners of English have the greatest difficulty in pronouncing /dʒ/ across all three word positions. A general explanation of the speakers' productions in the two sounds is L1 transfer. Since Arabic lacks the exact sounds of English, they are somehow different in place and

manner of articulation (Elmahdi & Khan, 2015). The other consonants of English that exist in Arabic may have different phonetic realisations.

The finding concerning the effect of the environment (position in a word) on the accuracy of learners' pronunciation was also found in the study by Alqarni (2013); it was discovered that the pronunciation of /tʃ/ is more difficult in word-final position than in word-initial position. However, Al Yaqoobi, Ali and Sulan (2016) found that /tʃ/ is mispronounced more regularly when it occurs in word-medial position. The first type of mispronunciation found in this study is deaffrication. The two speakers produce /ʃ/ instead of /tʃ/, and /z/ instead of /dʒ/ in some words. The second type of mispronunciation found in this study is palatalisation. Speaker B produces /dʒ/ as /j/. This finding supports the Language Transfer Theory which assumes that, if a learner's first language and the target language are similar, the first language will actively aid the foreign language learning. If there are similarities between the mother tongue and the target language, the transfer functions positively. But if there are many differences, it functions negatively. The theory suggested that Yemeni EFL learners of English may not produce the English voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ because of the interference (negative transfer) from their first language. The first language interference would be clearly shown if learners produce the Arabic voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ instead of producing the English voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/. This was found in this study in some words that the speakers produce, although they are able to pronounce the English voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ slightly correctly in some words. This could be because they have been exposed to this sound during their study of English. At the time of the study, both speakers were undergraduate students in Malaysia.

On the other hand, the Language Transfer Theory suggests that the voiced postalveolar affricate /dʒ/ may be easily produced by Yemeni EFL learners since their first language has a similar sound to the English sound /dʒ/, though it is not the same. Another negative transfer was found in the speech production of Speaker B who produces /j/ instead of /dʒ/. In some areas of Yemen, some people pronounce the Arabic (ج) in a way similar to that of the English /j/. In short, this theory proposes that English sounds will not be easily produced by Yemeni EFL learners since their first language, Arabic, does not have the same sounds like those of the English language. Such substitutions of the English postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ found in this study were also found in previous studies. Jabali and Abuzaid (2017) examined the pronunciation errors committed by Palestinian speakers of English at An-Najah National University and found that the English affricate /tʃ/ is sometimes realised as /ʃ/. Besides, the sound /dʒ/ is problematic because the Palestinians either use /dʒ/ for /dʒ/ and /z/, or they use /z/ for both. According to them, "strange" and "garage" may be pronounced either as /streɪndʒ/ and /gə'reɪdʒ/ or as /streɪnz/ and /gə'reɪz/. Likewise, Alqarni (2013), in addition to Al Yaqoobi, Ali and Sulan (2016), found that the sound /tʃ/ was replaced with /ʃ/.

Luviya (2016) discusses some of the mispronunciation of English consonants by Javanese students in the English Literature of Sanata Dharma University. The findings show that mispronunciation often happens to some sounds such as the voiced affricate /dʒ/ turning into /j/. The fricative /ʃ/ and affricate /tʃ/ are not difficult enough to be articulated by the speakers. The findings of the current study reveal that Yemeni EFL learners of English had difficulties in pronouncing the /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ sounds of the

English language. In addition, it proves the difficulty of producing the /tʃ/ sound especially in word-final position and the difficulty of producing /dʒ/ in all the three word positions. The results of this study have implications for both students and teachers of the English language. Recognising the sources of difficulties in speaking could assist and help students to be more cautious about their pronunciation. Careful pronunciations of problematic sounds can help communication and also aid non-native speakers to be better understood (Binturki, 2008).

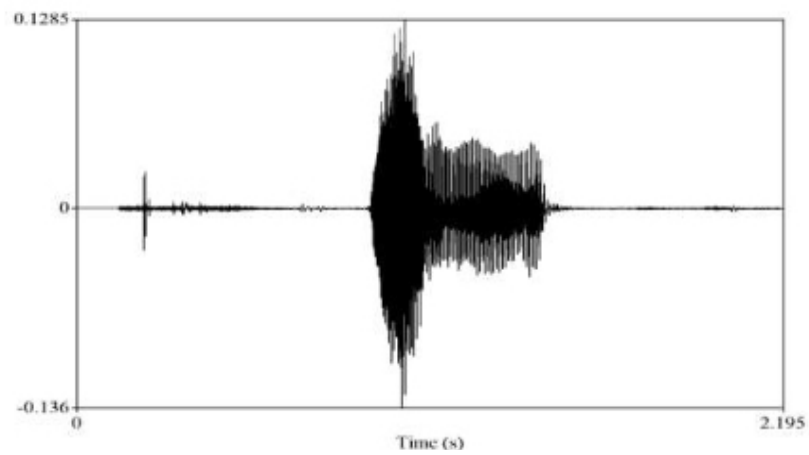
Additionally, English language teachers should be attentive to the similarities and differences between L1 and L2. This knowledge can assure better understanding of problems and hence they will be better prepared to address their students' needs. Furthermore, understanding the phonetic inventory of the students' first language can help teachers predict the source of mispronunciations by identifying the difficult sounds as shown in this study concerning the two investigated sounds /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. By acknowledging the problematic sounds, teachers can prepare instructions and tasks to better address them. When teachers are aware of the exact environments of difficulties with the sounds of the target language, this will enable them to deal with the problem in a proper way. When an instruction is required, teachers will be able to focus on certain sounds and environment and address them accordingly (Binturki, 2008). The findings of this study can positively benefit teachers of the English language when they teach Yemeni EFL learners.

Conclusions

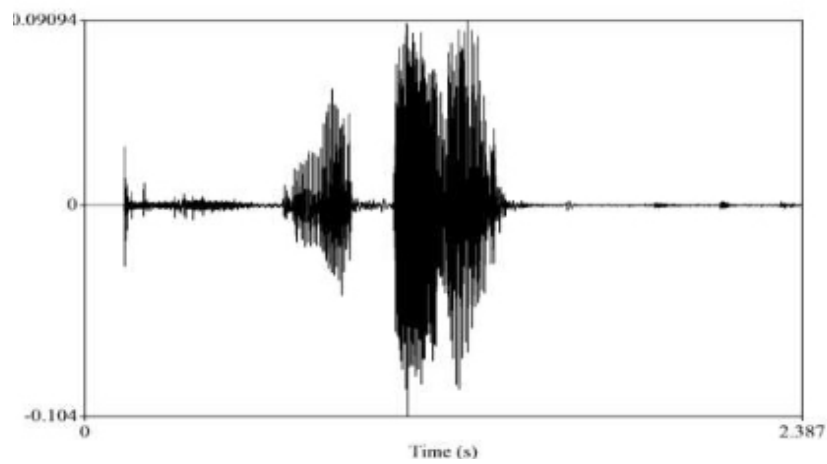
The findings of this study have demonstrated the difficulties of the English postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. More specifically, they have shown the potential difficulties of the sound /dʒ/ in all three word positions, with the difficulty of /tʃ/ observed especially in word-final position. In general, it has been observed that Yemeni EFL speakers of English have difficulties in producing the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. The results of this study show several patterns: (1) The two speakers mispronounce the two investigated sounds several times, with /dʒ/ sound being more challenging than /tʃ/; (2) The environment greatly affects the accuracy of the speakers' productions of the two target sounds since they always show different pronunciation of each of the target sounds when it occurs in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions; (3) Deaffrication takes place in the two target sounds of this study by both speakers, while palatalisation occurs only in the production of Speaker B in two words (in word-medial and word-final positions).

A more comprehensive study is vital to confirm the findings of this study and to provide more evidence to account for the ambiguities regarding some of the findings. It would be very interesting to conduct a similar study targeting more subjects using a mixed-methods approach. This would help to establish the common difficulties of pronunciation among Arab EFL speakers of the English language. Further research in investigating the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ is recommended using a larger number of speakers. This study employed a quantitative research design, and for future research, a mixed-methods design is recommended by interviewing the participants of the study or EFL/ESL teachers who have enough experience in teaching English so that they can support and strengthen the findings of the current study.

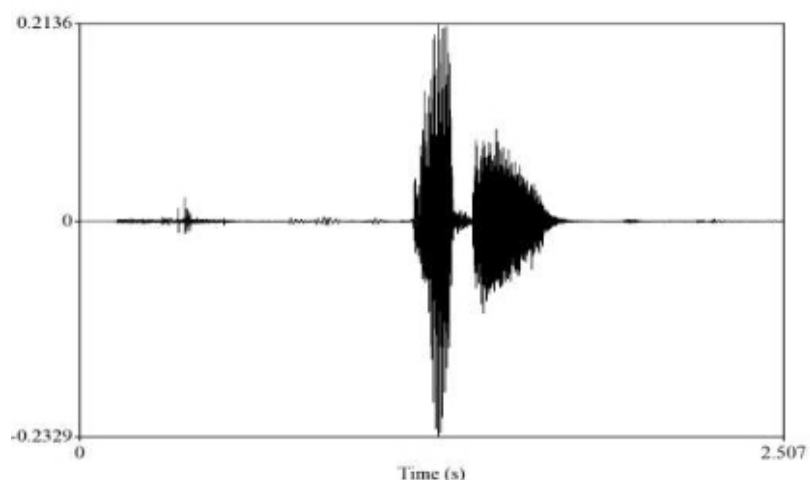
Appendix



Praat illustration of the target sound /tʃ/ in word-initial position (“cheap”)



Praat illustration of the target sound /tʃ/ in word-medial position (“lecture”)



Praat illustration of the target sound /tʃ/ in word-final position (“touch”)

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English Vowel Duration Affected By Voicing Contrast In Chinese, Korean, Japanese, And Vietnamese Speakers

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Abstract

Learning a foreign language comes with learning new phonetic contrasts. Adults often have difficulty in learning non-native vowels especially when the vowel inventories in their first and second language are different. This study describes the speech acquisition of English vowel in Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese speakers, and addresses their problem of voicing dependent vowel duration by assessing how vowel quantity is produced before voiced and voiceless consonants. A gating experiment was conducted to assess how reliably speakers can produce English monophthongs and diphthongs. To achieve this overarching purpose, three aims were addressed: (1) to identify the durational properties of English vowels preceding voiced/voiceless consonants of the four languages, (2) to present an overview of the four languages divided in 3 groups: tonal, non-tonal, and pitch accented, (3) to investigate difference in subjects' acquisition of English vowel based on their language systems. Chinese, Vietnamese-L1 English learners (Group 1), whose L1 is tone languages and have no audible released codas, Korean-L1 English learners (Group 2), whose L1 has no vowel quantity distinction (VQD), and Japanese-L1 English learners (Group 3), whose L1 is pitch accented language, has no aspirated codas and has phonemic length contrast (i.e. short and long) VQD. All three groups produced longer vowels before voiced codas with monosyllabic words, however, they did not produce vowel lengthening before English voiced codas at disyllabic words, which was significantly different from English native speakers.

Keywords: vowel duration, voicing contrast, vowel quantity distinction

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Introduction

English speech sounds produced by non-native speakers are significantly different from those produced by American English native speakers. It is reported that English vowel duration patterns produced by English-, Chinese-, Korean-, and Japanese native speakers are probably different due to the fact that vowel durations play different roles in these languages. English vowel is considered longer before voiced than voiceless consonant as the duration of stressed vowels in English is primarily governed by the voicing of the following consonant. In adult speech, vowels preceding voiceless consonants are approximately two-thirds the duration of vowels preceding voiced consonants (House, 1961). The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which voicing contrast of word final obstruents transferred to English vowel duration produced by bilingual speakers.

Vowel length as a cue for voicing

In American English, as in most languages, vowels preceding a voiced consonant have longer duration than ones preceding voiceless consonants, it means that speakers of English might use vowel duration distinction as for interpreting English coda voicing distinction in both their production and perception. However, there are several studies that have been examined vowel lengthening before voiced coda produced by Dutch, Arabic, and French speakers of English, and no significant vowel lengthening in their L2 has been observed (Flege & Port, 1981; Mack 1982; Elsendoorn, 1983). These results have first evidenced against vowel lengthening before voiced codas as universal. This study continues at examining the phonemic vowel lengthening patterns of speakers from other L1 backgrounds (i.e Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese) to explore whether vowel duration in L1 determines vowel lengthening patterns in L2. More specifically, if L1 Japanese speakers were found to produce longer vowels before English voiced codas than voiceless ones, it could be supposed that the presence of a phonemic vowel length distinction in speaker's native language can determine their L2 vowel length distinction. In other words, it could be said that the acquisition of L2 vowel patterns depends on L1 vowel system in which the vowel length will be affected. It also may imply that the long and short vowel phonemes in Japanese allow their speakers to acquire long and short L2 allophones. On the other hand, if no vowel lengthening were found on Japanese speakers, the claim that L2 vowel lengthening patterns depends on L1 vowel system could be weakened.

Moreover, it is expected that learners whose language without vowel quantity distinction as Korean hardly distinguish vowel lengthening before English voiced codas. If L1 Korean speakers were found to effectively produce longer duration of vowels before voiced codas than voiceless ones, it may also weaken the claim that L2 vowel lengthening patterns were affected by L1 vowel system, and vice versa, L1 Korean speakers' inability to produce long and short English allophones could be explained by their inexistence of long and short vowels in their language system.

The purpose of this study is to examine whether L2 speakers of English can interpret English coda voicing distinction in the speech, and the target vowels used in this study are not only monophthongs but also diphthongs to show a closer look on the vowel lengthening patterns of these four major languages in Asia. To achieve this overarching purpose, three aims were addressed:

- (1) to identify the duration of English vowels preceding voiced/voiceless codas of four subjects above
- (2) to present an overview of the four languages divided in 3 groups: tonal, non-tonal, and pitch accented
- (3) to investigate difference in subjects' acquisition of English vowel based on their language systems.

Literature review

This section will give an overview of syllable structures and coda voicing in English, Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese, focusing on aspects of vowel system and vowel quantity distinction. English phonology has a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless codas, while Chinese and Vietnamese do not have aspiration in coda position. In addition, neither voiced-voiceless stop contrasts nor long-short vowel contrast exist in Chinese. While Korean has no long or short vowel contrast, Japanese and Vietnamese do have phonemic distinction between long and short vowels but Japanese still has no obstruent in its syllable codas (Saunders, 1987)

Significance of the current research

The current research aims to examine the acoustics correlates to vowel duration in two different contexts: in monosyllabic environment vs in word-isolation disyllabic environment where the target vowel lies on unstressed syllable and both environment end with voice contrasting obstruents.

The teaching of English as a second language in China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam has mainly been focusing on an articulatory phonetics approach based on the contrastive analysis of first language and target language (Ref?). However, whilst the teaching of pronunciation is more focused, little attention is being devoted neither to provide students with the appropriate frame of reference for observing, imitating, and understanding the acquisition of pronunciation nor to test, to give feedback, or to fix their mistakes (Ref?).

In this study, both the effect of voicing contrasts and lexical stress on vowel duration were examined as it is once claimed that the stressed syllable is realized with increased F0 and longer duration than unstressed syllable (Fry, 1958; Gordon & Roettger, 2017).

The speech learning model (SLM)

It is stated that there are difficulties for adult learners in producing L2 contrasts and these difficulties may result from perceptual assimilation of both L1 and L2 sound systems. The production accuracy of L2 sounds might be limited to closest L1 properties. In support of this, Flege (1995) proposes the Speech Learning Model (SLM) to suggest people's sound system is reorganized when new sound categories are added. Best (1995) suggests Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM) claiming that non-native speakers rely on their native phonemic systems when dealing with L2, which means if an L2 sound is similar to that in their L1 system, the sound will successively adopted. However, if an L2 sound is difficult to assimilate to the L1 sound category, they will have trouble acquiring that sound.

The following subsections review the literature on Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese pronunciation of English vowels in order to (1) investigate how different or

similar these languages share when learning English, (2) to compare and contrast some of the different descriptions and characteristics, from which procedures for future research are suggested that can help build a more practical description for those L2 speakers pronunciation of English in the future.

The English syllable

In English, the syllable structure is as below:

(C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)

The bare nuclear single vowel “V” can be the smallest possible syllable while up to three consonants can be included in the syllable onset and up to four syllables in its coda position. In the coda position, the consonant can be either voiced or voiceless (Giegerich, 1992).

The Chinese syllable

Chinese syllable follows this pattern:

(C)V(V)(V or N)

In Mandarin Chinese, one syllable corresponds to one morpheme. Each syllable is composed of three components: an onset, and a bimoraic rhyme. All onsets are single segments and the largest possible syllable can be CVVV or CVVN. When a syllable consists of a single vowel, the vowel is lengthened to fill the bimoraic rhyme. In Chinese, each syllable begins with a consonant and ends with a vowel, this can account for the situation that Chinese speakers of English have a tendency to add vowel after the consonant at coda position. For example, Chinese learners tend to produce the word “good” as /'gʊdə/, and “tap” as /'tæpʊ/. Unlike English, Mandarin Chinese has no voicing contrast for stops and stops only occur at the onset position. Chinese speakers of English have been shown to devoice voiced stops, delete voiced and voiceless stops, and also insert vowels after syllable final stops (Weinberger, 1987).

Similar to Japanese, Chinese is a syllable-timed language, which means the total number of syllable will determine the time to finish a Chinese sentence. As a result, Chinese speakers of English would produce equal length for each syllable when they speak English.

Relating to tone, Chinese is a tone language. Four tones in Mandarin Chinese are: high-level, high-rising, low-rising, and high-falling tone. It means a syllable can be pronounced in four different tones which express different meanings.

The Korean syllable

In Korean, the syllable structure is as below:

(C)V(C)

In Korean, there is no voiced consonants. All stops, fricatives, and affricates are all voiceless. Stress and vowel duration are not considered as lexically distinct. In Korean production of English, stress patterns and vowel duration are additional but not crucial to the meaning of lexical items. Korean is syllable-timed language (Lee and Jang, 2004; Kang, 2004; Yun, 2002) and the maximal syllable structure in Korean is CVC which means only one consonant is allowed in the onset and coda positions. Moreover, fricatives are not allowed in coda position, and consonants in coda position are never released in Korean (Berg and Koops, 2010).

The Japanese syllable

In Japanese, syllable structure follows this pattern:

(C)V(V or N)

Japanese syllables contrast due to the syllable weight (i.e light and heavy syllables) in which the unit of weight is called ‘mora’. Light syllables have one mora and heavy ones have two morae. In Japanese, syllables consist of an onset, a nucleus and a coda, and like in English only the nucleus (i.e vowel) is obligatory (Iwasaki, 2002).

Relating to consonants, some syllables have onset while others do not. There are two types of codas in Japanese: coda closed with a nasal and those closed with a geminate consonant (i.e the consonant closes one syllable and serves as onset of the next syllable). As a geminate cannot occur at the word-final position, nasal is the only consonant that can serve as a genuine coda.

Syllable structure in Japanese is described as having no consonant clusters, nor obstruents in coda positions. To that end, isolated segments may be focused over segments in clusters, and this may affect the vowel intelligibility of Japanese people of English. Indeed, Saunders (1987) stated that vowel reduction was the favored process in Japanese Pronunciation of English (JPE).

The Vietnamese syllable

In Vietnamese, syllable structure follows this pattern:

(C)V(C)

Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language which means Vietnamese words are single-syllable words. Even though a word can have one or more syllable, each syllable is written separately. Even for loan words containing many syllables in their source language, the adaptation to monosyllabic form when written in Vietnamese must be followed. Vietnamese is one of the syllable-timed languages (Nguyen, 1970; Nguyen, 1980).

Maximal Vietnamese syllable structure is CVC. There is no consonant cluster at the beginning or at the end of a syllable. It means that in Vietnamese, no word can have the structure as CCVCC or CCCVCCC as in English. Moreover, the consonants on coda positions are not released (Nguyen et al, 2006).

However, Vietnamese syllable structure not only contains of consonants and vowels, but also tones. Similar to Chinese, tones in Vietnamese are used to change the meaning of the words. The syllable structure of Vietnamese was characterized by this table (Taiwan Buffalo International, 2001):

| | | | |
|---------|---------------|---------|------|
| Initial | Tone | | |
| | Final (rhyme) | | |
| | Onset | Nucleus | Coda |

Or more specific in Ngo (2005, p.7):

| Tone | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Initial consonants | Labialization | Nuclear vowel | Final consonant/Semi-vowel |

There are six consonants and two semi-vowels can be at word-final position. Those six consonants are nasal consonants /m, n, N/ and unaspirated voiceless plosives /p, t, k/. The two semi-vowels are /w/ and /j/ (Ngo, 2005).

Vowel lengthening before voiced coda in English

In English, one vowel phonemic length has two phonetically allophonic variations: short and long. It once has been noted that English vowels produced by an English native speaker lasted about 174 ms when they came before a voiceless consonant and 253 ms when preceding a voiced consonant (House and Fairbanks, 1953). A similar magnitude of 61ms difference of vowel duration in pre-voiceless versus pre-voiced position was claimed by Chen (1970).

House and Fairbanks (1955) described the environments in which the English vowel is lengthened, the table will be shown here.

| Consonant Environment | Average vowel length in milliseconds |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Fricatives | 239 |
| Nasals | 232 |
| Stops | 203 |
| Labio-dental consonants | 234 |
| Post-dental consonants | 232 |
| Bilabial consonants | 205 |
| Velar consonants | 198 |
| Voiced consonants | 253 |
| Voiceless consonants | 174 |

Vowel lengthening: universal or language specific

As mentioned above, English has shown its pattern in the tendency that vowel is longer before voiced versus voiceless consonants. However, not only English but there are other languages that have been noted to have vowel duration distinctions before voiced/voiceless environment.

This table below will show the native vowel duration ratio across six languages, according to Chen (1970).

| Language | L1 Vowel Duration Ratio (VDR) |
|----------|-------------------------------|
| English | .61 |
| Korean | .78 |
| Russian | .82 |
| Spanish | .82 |
| French | .87 |
| German | .90 |

Among these languages, English has shown the lowest ratio of pre-voiceless to pre-voiced vowel duration, which means there has been an exaggeration of the tendency to lengthen the vowel before voiced coda than voiceless coda in English than other languages.

The data from above table might suggest that vowel lengthening before voiced consonant is a universal tendency. However, there have been studies relating to other languages such as Arabic, Polish, and Czech showed no significant difference of vowel length before a voiced coda.

Chinese vowels

Mandarin Chinese, which can be called Standard Chinese, has 5 vowels: /i/, /y/, /u/, /ə/, and /a/. The manner of articulation of Chinese and English vowels are different. Vowels are not lengthened before voiced codas, because vowels are of only one phonemic length in Chinese. For example, long vowel /i:/ and short vowel /ɪ/ in English are minimal pairs, however, there is no distinction of vowel /ɪ/ in Chinese. Because Chinese has no short /ɪ/ and long /i:/, speakers from Chinese L1 background may maintain the same length when articulating these sounds in different words.

Korean vowels

Korean vowels system contains two unrounded front vowels, which are /ɪ/ in high and /ɛ/ in non-high positions, non-fronted low vowel /a/, two rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ at high back and mid back positions respectively. Lastly, there are high back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ and mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/. Moreover, Korean vowel system also consists of ten diphthongs which are the combinations of glides and a vowel.

Japanese vowels

Japanese has been described as having five vowels /a, i, u, e, o/. All of them have functioned as separate phonemes under long forms. In a pitch-accented language as Japanese, the syllable on which the accent falls is considered more prominent than other syllables, which causes word-level distinction. In Japanese, the tone-bearing unit carries either high (H) or low (L) tones. However, not all words have accent, words having no accented syllable are called unaccented words. It has been stated that while English speakers rely predominantly on spectral properties for identifying English vowels (Hillenbrand, Clark, & Houde, 2000), Korean and Japanese speakers rely on the duration to discriminate vowel contrasts (Shibatani, 1990; Yang, 1996).

Vietnamese vowels

There are eleven vowels including long and short ones but not including diphthongs and triphthongs in Vietnamese. The duration of vowels can be considered as the primary cue for distinguishing minimal pairs (i.e /a/-/ə/, /ɤ/-/ʌ/). Vietnamese phonology describes ơ /ɤ/ and â /ʌ/ as long-short pair of a vowel, and similarly a /a/ and ă /ə/ forms a minimal pair.

Vowels and reinterpretation of distinction

To English native speakers, the phonemic difference between “bed” and “bet” is the voicing of final consonant, the voicing then can be classified as a distinctive signal since this is one of the ways to differentiate minimal pairs. As mentioned above, the length of vowel preceding final consonant can be another way to distinguish minimal pairs, and this can be considered as a redundant distinction.

When learning L2, learners try to acquire the ability to perceive and produce differences of L2 phonemes and allophones by transferring patterns from their L1. Guided by this principle, Vietnamese native speakers would be expected to use the same vowel before voiceless stop codas and devoiced stop codas. The limited codas as well as non-cluster language system have created difficulties for the Vietnamese in using voicing as a cue for distinguish minimal pairs.

The current study: Research questions and Hypothesis

Previous studies have shown data of vowel duration among speakers from different backgrounds other than English. However, the length of vowels of speakers from China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan were not described. Do these systems in Asia share similar vowel lengthening patterns before voiced and voiceless codas? Are these patterns determined by characteristics of L1 vowel system, or by universal factors? Specifically, are these patterns language-specific or universal?

The purpose of this study is to describe the vowel duration produced by four groups of non-native English speakers, in order to examine the acquisition of the English allophonic vowel duration contrast by speakers of these four languages.

The study sought to answer two research questions:

- What are the English vowel length patterns before voiced and voiceless consonants among four subjects?
- Does the existence of a phonemic vowel length contrast in L1 language system help speakers to produce vowel length distinction in L2?

Hypotheses:

- (1) Voicing effects are observed for monophthongs
- (2) Stress and VQD in L1 affects L2 voicing effect more strongly than tone.

The participants in this study included speakers from four groups: native Chinese speakers (CN), native Korean speakers (KR), native Japanese speakers (JP), and native Vietnamese speakers (VN), and a baseline group of native English speakers (NS) to compare results from the four other groups. Non-native speakers from these groups came from different sociolinguistic backgrounds and there were many variables that need to be controlled when assessing their performance, however, despite the lack of sociolinguistic uniformity across these four languages, the interaction between the phonemic vowel contrast and speaker’s ability to acquire L2 allophonic vowel length could still be examined.

Production experiment: Methodology

The production experiment aimed at measuring the English vowel durations of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, and native English speakers, with the purpose of obtaining an average vowel duration ratio of each speaker group.

Participants

The participants in this study included 5 groups of adult speakers: native Chinese speakers, native Korean speakers, native Japanese speakers, native Vietnamese speakers, and native English speakers. Participants were recruited based on their native languages: Japanese (JP), Chinese (CN), Korean (KR), Vietnamese (VN), and US (NS). Five groups participated in the experiment, sectioned along the nationality. The group comprised 8 people from four different countries and 1 person from the US. They were all graduate students. Except for the NS, they are all non-native English speakers started their official school-based English education at around their teens in their home countries (China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam). To that end, they all had more than ten years studying English. All subjects were recruited and paid for their participation. Participants were recruited by means of personal contact with the researcher by having responded to the letter sent via email of invitation to participate in a research.

The JP, CN, KR, and VN groups consisted of 8 speakers whose age ranges from 18-33, with origins from Tokyo, Beijing, Seoul, and Da Nang, respectively. The CN and KR reported at least some knowledge of a foreign language other than English. Beside English, they were fluent in Japanese. All speakers have normal speech and hearing functions with no history of communication disorders or intellectual impairments.

Procedures

The participants were instructed to pronounce each target word embedded in a carrier sentence. The speakers were provided with efficient time and instruction to complete the recording task. Each target word was presented 3 times. All the recordings were stored as 44kHz, 16-bit WAV files for manipulation.

Materials

Wordlist Stimulus

The stimuli used in this experiment were manipulations of real words. The choice was based on the fact that feedback from a lexical level to phonetic processing would not affect the result as the subject all had more than ten years of learning English, there will probably no significant difference in proficiency across groups.

The stimuli consist of common and rare words (APPENDIX B) in which common words can activate subject's lexical processing so that they will be produced with greater facility than rare words. Twenty-eight words under the form of minimal pairs, twelve disyllabic words in which target vowels are on unstressed syllable were recorded on a random basis for each subject by SONY PCM-D50 recorder and SONY ECM-959A microphone in a soundproof room. The total of forty words were put in a carrier sentence in order that no rising or falling tone might affect participants' production as it might be in single word list. Moreover, the

sentences containing target words were shown in a random order via PowerPoint slides so that the participants could not guess what would be going on. English was used as a language of instructions to activate the target language with each session lasted about ten minutes.

The distribution of vowels covers a range of vowel heights: one low vowel /ɒ/, one mid-vowel /æ/, one mid vowel /ɛ/, and one mid high vowel /ɪ/. Participants were asked to use the frame sentence “Say_____please” because the consonant-initial word following the target word was an environment that could prevent the linking of words.

Data analysis

For this experiment, the vowel duration of the 342 tokens were measured. These measurements were made using Praat software (Boersma and Weenink, 2017). Vowel duration was measured from the onset of periodicity showing clear formant and pulse to the end of periodicity signaled by a drop of amplitude in which the ending time referred to the zero-crossing point where the last pitch pulse ended followed by the final consonant; and the zero-cross point nearest to the vowel-to-consonant transition defined as the ending time of the vowel were all marked from spectrogram and waveforms using Praat 6.0.36 speech analysis software. Then, a Praat script was run to calculate vowel duration (Lennes, 2011).

Results

Figure 1 shows average vowel duration by language group. It can be seen that the, CN, VN, KR, and JP produced similar vowel duration before voiceless consonants compared to NS group. However, the vowel duration difference before voiced consonants across groups were fairly distinctive.

A statistical test showed a significant difference between voicing and vowel duration among tonal group, which is Chinese and Vietnamese ($p < 0.001$).

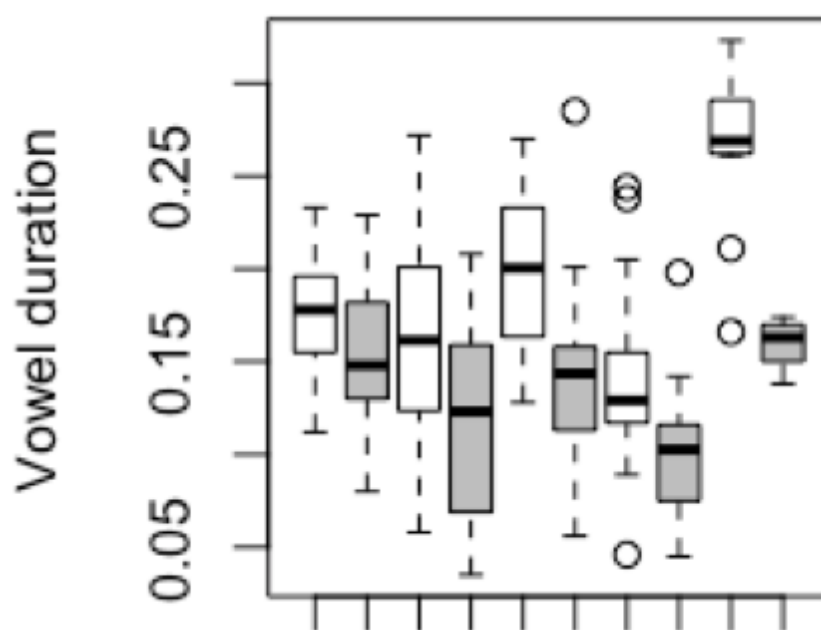


Fig. 1. Vowel duration followed by voiced/voiceless consonants, among 5 groups, monosyllabic (From left to right: CN, VN, KR, JP, and NS)

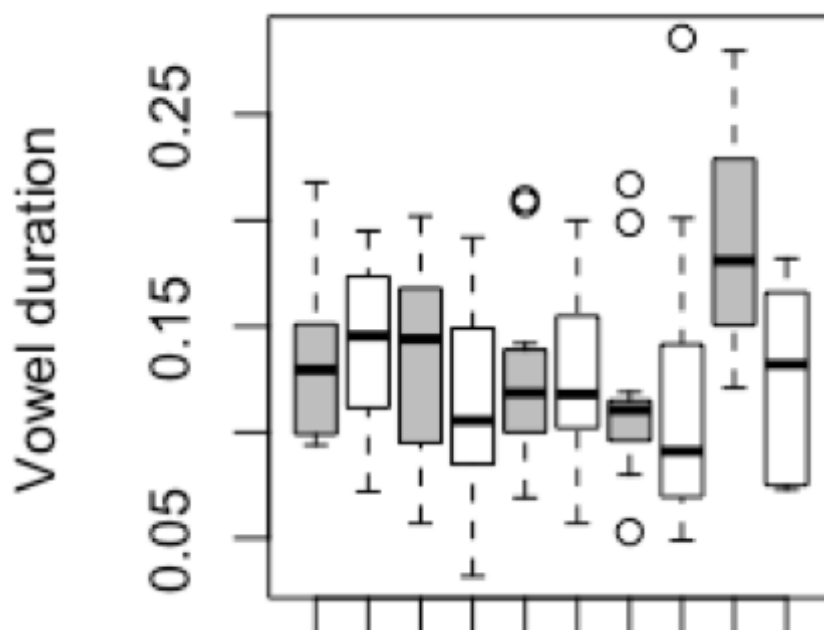


Fig. 2. Vowel duration followed by voiced/voiceless consonants, among 5 groups, disyllabic (From left to right: CN, VN, KR, JP, and NS)

The result of the data analysis procedure for the production experiment showed that the native English group a VDR between the range reported in previous studies which is 0.61 to 0.69. As can be seen from Fig.1 above and statistical data, the average vowel duration for each language differed slightly, according to whether it preceded voiced or voiceless consonant.

The first tonal group including Chinese and Vietnamese produced very similar vowel lengthening patterns in monosyllabic environment ($F= 0.95, p > 0.5$). It can be seen that all four groups showed similar pattern for longer vowel before voiced than voiceless codas. However, there was significant difference of vowel duration ratio of non-native compared to those of the native group ($F= 0.58, p < 0.01$).

However, in disyllabic environment, within tonal group, different vowel lengthening patterns of Chinese and Vietnamese speakers have been shown in which Chinese speakers lengthened vowel more before voiced than voiceless codas. This finding shows a lack of support for the hypothesis, indicating that Chinese and Vietnamese speakers may share similar patterns due to the tones those languages possess. More surprisingly, Korean group showed the same ratio for pre-voiced and pre-voiceless vowel duration.

Discussion and Conclusion

Results of monosyllabic words indicate our hypothesis 1 (universality) is true. However, the effect of tone, stress, and VQD are not consistently observed in our data, to that end, hypothesis 2 is not confirmed. The results of the data analysis procedure for the production experiment showed that disyllabic words showed inconsistent patterns which requires more extensive research. The results of the current study do raise some interesting questions.

There is one main factor that limited the generalizability of the results of the study: it was the small sample size which contributed to the assumption of data analysis in the experiment not being met. Future researchers should consider designing future experiments with a much larger sample size.

Appendices**APPENDIX A: SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

| |
|--|
| 1. Where are you from? |
| 2. What is your first language? |
| 3. How long have you been learning English? Less than 1 year 1-2 years 2-5 years More than 5 years |
| 4. What is your current age? |
| 5. Do you speak any other languages. If so, list them below with your fluency level from 1 to 5 (1= beginner, 5= very fluent). |

APPENDIX B: WORDLIST

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Built-Build | Light-Lied | Cup-Cub |
| Lock-Log | Tote-Told | Bet-Bed |
| Sight-Side | Cap-Cab | Bailiff-Massive |
| Phallus-Pizzas | Racquet-Candid | Robot-Lingcod |
| Fallout-Newfound | Rowboat-Household | |

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Contrasting Pragmatic Elements of L2 Japanese and L2 English Learning: A Closer Look at Refusals and Indirect Opinions

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Abstract

This paper examines the acquisition of pragmatically correct refusal and indirect opinion strategies by first language (L1) English learners of Japanese, and mirror image pragmatic acquisition of L1 Japanese learners of English. The scholarly evidence seemingly indicates that both L2 learners of English and Japanese can acquire and adopt pragmatically correct refusal and indirect opinion utterances and strategies, either through explicit instruction, or incidentally through target language (TL) immersion environments. Nevertheless, advanced levels of general TL language proficiency do not always appear to correlate to corresponding levels of pragmatic competence or fluency in the specific areas examined. In fact, pragmatically appropriate speech patterns may often be inconsistently adopted due to a variety of factors, which may point to a greater need for explicit pragmatics instruction in TL classroom environments.

Keywords: Indirect Opinions, Pragmatic Competence, Refusals, L2 Japanese, Target Language

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Introduction

This paper examines the thorny pragmatic challenges that second language (L2) Japanese and L2 English learners experience when developing pragmatic aspects of speech in each respective target language (TL). Particularly, the acquisition of TL refusals and indirect opinions is surveyed. DeCapua and Wintergerst (2004) emphasize the importance of pragmatic awareness as follows: “Speakers who do not use pragmatically appropriate language run the risk of appearing uncooperative, ill mannered, rude, or a combination of all three. Such misinterpretation of communicative intent is heightened in cross-cultural situations” (p. 244). This highlights the importance of foreign language learners being able to acquire subtle pragmatic aspects of respective target languages, to include refusals and indirect opinions. This investigation may further illuminate pragmatic challenges encountered by both groups of learners.

An examination of relevant literature on this topic shows differing linguistic pragmatic learning nuances between Japanese L2 learners of English, and L1 English speaking learners of Japanese. For example, LoCastro (2010) states that “cross-cultural mismatches between Japanese interlocutors and American English speakers may arise regarding the location and frequency of the listener responses” (p. 97). By contrast, Houck and Fujimori (2010) address the apparent inability of Japanese learners of English to offer an indirect opinion in English, e.g., “the tendency of learners from cultures such as Japan to use offensively direct strategies when speaking English” (p. 90). Subsequently, pragmatic challenges faced by both groups may reflect a variety of cultural differences between English speaking Western and Japanese cultures.

Knowledge of the most apparent cultural differences, including latent preconceived notions and stereotypes, may result in speech acts or utterances which exaggerate perceptions of the TL culture. This is perhaps one reason why Japanese L2 English learners might use extremely direct English utterances with L1 English-speaking interlocutors, based on perceptions of L1 English speaker frankness. As a result, Japanese L2 English learners may even overdo ‘directness’ when speaking in English or may make a variety of other pragmatic mistakes. This paper reviews applicable research on such issues, and then contrasts similarities and difference between each group of learners.

Refusals and Indirect Opinions in L2 Japanese Learning

Increasingly, technology is becoming an integral part of foreign language teaching in multiple dimensions. Pragmatics is an area in which potential gains may be made through technological means designed to enhance pragmatic awareness. In this arena, Ishihara (2007) examines the impact of a web-based pragmatics awareness program, which utilizes naturalistic audio samples, for its ability to increase pragmatic competence in L2 learners of Japanese. Ishihara evaluates various speech acts and states that learners analyze the “language of acceptance and refusal in order to self-discover the lexical and prosodic features of refusals” (p.28). Moreover, Ishihara claims that “reflective journaling” (p. 34) yields evidence of L2 Japanese learners’ capacity to increase pragmatic competence. Intriguingly, one of a handful of

pragmatically appropriate refusal strategies adopted by L2 Japanese learners is the “white lie” which is used in Japanese culture as a refusal and as a means of saving face, while continuing to be truthful with close friends when uttering refusals (Ishihara, 2007). In Western countries white lies are also likely used, but there may be greater social penalties if the truth is revealed, as those who utter them run the risk of being branded ‘a liar,’ if the truth is later exposed. This does not mean that the white lie is not used in English speaking Western cultures, but it may not be as much of an automatic mechanism as it is in Japanese society which places greater value on social harmony and saving face than on stating the truth objectively. In any case, it appears that L2 learners of Japanese were able to acquire a range of pragmatically appropriate refusal strategies by overcoming whatever social norms and stigmas they might have acquired in home countries.

While research by Ishihara (2007) indicates that L2 Japanese learners can acquire pragmatically appropriate refusal strategies, by contrast, Kawate-Mierzejewska (2009) demonstrates that even advanced L2 speakers of Japanese tend to employ quite different refusal strategies than L1 speakers of Japanese. Kawate-Mierzejewska (2009, p. 199) examines differences in refusal strategies between 20 L1 Japanese speakers and 20 American L2 Japanese speakers by examining short telephone conversations. All L2 Japanese speakers had lived in Japan for over ten years, and nearly all of them passed the most advanced level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) (Kawate-Mierzejewska, 2009). The results indicate that the L2 Japanese speakers employed different refusal strategies than the L1 Japanese speakers, and only two of the same strategies, i.e., excuse and delay (p. 214). Kawate-Mierzejewska (2009) opines that L1 Japanese refusal patterns are most likely governed by “shared sociocultural and pragmatic knowledge” (p. 214). The larger number of face-saving linguistic devices in Japanese might be indicative of a greater value put on saving face in the Japanese sociocultural context than in a North American sociocultural context. Subsequently, L1 North American English learners of Japanese, perhaps out of a greater sense of individualism, may simply not be interested in saving face, even if they possess the advanced language skills to properly do so. Therefore, when making refusal type statements it appears that Japanese usually opt for a standard ‘plug and play,’ i.e., formulaic response to most refusal situations. By contrast, L2 speakers of Japanese seem to generate their own individualized or authentic response for each situation even if armed with an advanced level of proficiency in Japanese.

L2 Japanese learners might acquire pragmatic awareness in a variety of ways. While some of those ways might involve formal classroom instruction, others are more naturalistic. For instance, Yokoyama (as cited in Itomitsu, 2009) asserts that L1 Japanese speakers tend to engage in ‘foreigner talk’, and expands on this notion by describing how L1 Japanese speakers converse with L2 learners: “Japanese natives tend to modify their speech by avoiding the use of linguistic mitigating devices when they speak to non-natives, and monolingual Japanese simplified their speech to non-natives more than bilingual Japanese did” (p.158). Therefore, it appears that monolingual Japanese speakers tend to be more direct and even less polite to L2 Japanese speakers when uttering refusals in Japanese. Such a direct style of ‘foreigner talk’ communication could partially explain why L2 learners may have a relatively easy time understanding refusals. Additionally, Japanese L2 learners, even at

advanced levels, may struggle to acquire native-like refusal patterns, i.e., less native-like input is likely to result in less native-like output.

An additional pragmatic component which this section examines is how L2 Japanese learners interpret indirect opinions, and how well they acquire proper indirect opinions for expressing and comprehending linguistic strategies. Since it is usually granted that Japanese society places a great deal of value on social harmony, opinions may be frequently stated in indirect ways, or mitigated to show deference to others. In terms of offering opinions, Iwasaki (2009) elaborates on pragmatic differences between L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese in terms of offering opinions:

L1 speakers very often used the quintessential modal adverb *yahari/yappari*. They also used the verb *omou* ‘think’ with various combinations of negatives; the sentence-final particles *kana*, *yo*, and *ne*; and modality markers (*daroo*, *zya nai ka*, and *kamosirenai*, which all roughly mean ‘maybe’). Such intricate usage of hedges, sentence particles, and modality markers contribute to establishing common ground and achieving nonconfrontational, harmonious ways of stating and supporting opinions. // L2 learners rarely used *yappari* or modified *omou*... L2 learners sounded more direct than L1 Japanese speakers (p. 552).

These differences are likely the result of sociocultural differences. Japanese society tends to favor collectivism and social harmony, while North American or Western society tends to value self-confidence, individualism, and freedom of expression. It is likely that L2 learners of Japanese from a North American background may avoid the use of modals, softeners, and hedges since the excessive use of passive voice in a North American cultural setting may convey an image of weakness, inactiveness, deceptiveness, or a lack of confidence. For example, when interviewing for a job with a North American firm, if the hiring manager solicits an interviewee for his or her opinion and the job applicant utters a highly passive or hedged response the applicant is likely to be perceived in an unfavorable way, e.g., weak, passive, indecisive. Such societal expectations and norms can be deeply ingrained at a subconscious level.

I would argue that it is more a result of the later, i.e., not feeling the need to use such strategies, but even going further that L2 speakers may either consciously or unconsciously reject such devices rooted in deeply ingrained North American sociocultural values. Even so, it is possible that advanced learners of Japanese may not fully understand or appreciate the value of modifying their speech patterns when conversing in Japanese, especially if their curricula haven’t specifically addressed pragmatic dimensions of target language learning. Therefore, it would probably be useful to improve pragmatic instruction for L2 Japanese learners through explicit pragmatic instruction and by emphasizing the social benefits of modifying patterns of speech when conversing in Japanese.

It may be assumed that in-country target language immersion is a panacea for developing pragmatic competence. However, there might be more systematic approaches which serve to isolate and remedy specific deficiency areas of pragmatic awareness. A good starting point is learning to identify more or less difficult aspects of pragmatic acquisition. In this domain, Taguchi (2008a) examines the pragmatic comprehension ability of 63 beginning and intermediate L2 Japanese learners at a

university in the United States and claims that for both groups of elementary and intermediate learners of Japanese “indirect refusal was the easiest to comprehend, and conventional indirect opinions were the most difficult” (p. 565-566). Taguchi (2008a) concludes that “nonconventional opinions were more difficult for the learners to comprehend than refusals, probably due to their idiosyncratic nature” (p. 571).

In this regard, L2 Japanese learners at various levels may lack the ability to construct meanings when there are simply so many things that remain unuttered in Japanese. In music it is said that ‘rests are silent music.’ Similarly, perhaps in Japanese, unsaid utterances are a silent form of communication. The problem may be for L2 learners that too many silent utterances may produce insufficient context required for comprehension. According to Yamashita (2008) “Misunderstanding occurs when Japanese do not say enough” (p. 207). Relatedly, the following is an example of an American businessman’s inability to understand an indirect refusal of Japanese businessmen, who mean ‘no’ when they say they will ‘consider it’ (Yamashita, 2008). This is one concrete example of how lack of pragmatic awareness can mislead L2 speakers who tend to rely on the literal meanings of words and phrases.

Yamashita (2008) also points out that “Whether or not we actually say something, nonverbal actions such as gestures including hand waves, head nods, facial expressions or eye movements can mean as much as verbal utterances alone or even more” (p. 208). Relatedly, Jungheim (2006) examines differences between the pragmatics of body language and facial gestures as a means of communication, and how L2 Japanese learners may misinterpret refusals which come in the form of body language. In this vein, pragmatic instruction for L2 Japanese learners, including the study of facial gestures and physical movements, may be as important as learning linguistic or verbal concepts and strategies.

Greater illumination of specific pragmatic acquisition processes and challenges was garnered through Taguchi’s (2009) computer-based listening evaluation of 84 American English-speaking learners of Japanese comprehension of “three types of indirect meaning: indirect refusals, conventional indirect opinions, and non-conventional indirect opinions” (p. 249). These learners were at various levels of learning, i.e., elementary, intermediate, and advanced. The results demonstrate “that refusal items were the easiest to comprehend, followed by conventional and non-conventional indirect opinions” (ibid). This seems to reinforce the notion that there is a range of difficulty regarding various components of pragmatic knowledge.

Refusals in Japanese may appear in a spectrum from the most direct to the most indirect. In my own interactions with Japanese interlocutors, I have encountered an array of refusals from the explicit *ie* ‘no,’ or *muri desu* ‘it’s unreasonable,’ or ‘impossible’ to the more indirect *tottemo kibishii desu ne* ‘it’s quite severe,’ or *chotto muzukashisoo desu* ‘it looks a little difficult.’ However, it is less common for Japanese speakers to utter explicit refusals out of consideration for the other person’s feelings and maintaining an outward appearance of politeness and social harmony; even though native-speakers of Japanese may opt for more direct strategies with L2speakers as previously noted.

One factor which may contribute to easier comprehension of Japanese refusals in general may be due to the frequent use of formulaic phrases, i.e., commonly uttered / prepackaged phrases with little to no modification. In this regard, Mizutani (1985) describes the use of formulaic language for refusals or disagreements: “For example, in response to a request, one can say *Kangaete okimasu* ‘I’ll give it consideration’. These kinds of expressions do not mean either yes or no but imply that there is little hope for the request” (as cited in Taguchi 2008, p. 561). Various common formulaic refusal utterances like *Kangaete okimasu* could probably be easily taught and acquired in L2 Japanese classrooms. For instance, L2 Japanese instructors could straightforwardly tell students what particular phrases literally means in English, e.g., *Kangaete okimasu* essentially means ‘very unlikely’ or ‘no’. This sort of straightforward instruction could be implemented with beginners and intermediate learners. However, much more lengthy and nuanced opinion utterances should likely be tackled in intermediate and advanced L2 Japanese classes.

While target study-abroad immersion is not a cure-all, it is helpful in the acquisition of target language and culture. Taguchi (2009) asserts that L2 Japanese learners may have limited opportunities for authentic interaction, so it is vital for L2 Japanese teachers to “ensure that pragmatic learning comprises part of language learning” (p. 270). For L2 Japanese teachers, this has two significant implications. First, pragmatics should probably be incorporated at all levels of L2 Japanese learning rather than in a single course. Second, pragmatic topics should be appropriately matched to the specific proficiency levels of students.

Refusals And Indirect Opinions In L2 English Learning

This section explores challenges that L1 Japanese L2 learners of English encounter regarding being able to comprehend and utter pragmatically appropriate refusals and indirect opinions in English. Kondo (2008) examines pragmatic development of Japanese L2 English learners, focusing on refusals and the development of pragmatic awareness. Kondo explores two main areas: the ability to use correct refusals after overt instruction; and changes in refusal strategies following overt unambiguous instruction. Kondo (2008) analyzes frequency and overall use of the following ten types of refusal strategies and concludes that L1 and L2 pragmatics can be taught through explicit instruction to the point where learners can comprehend, contrast, and compare pragmatic differences and nuances between their L1 and L2. The following example indicates gains in pragmatic ability resulting from overt instruction.

Subject 1

Japanese learner before instruction: I’m sorry. I have to go grandfather’s house with my family.

Japanese learner after instruction: Next weekend? Oh, I’m sorry, Jennifer. But my family already made plan. I’m sorry, I can’t come. Maybe some other time. Thank you for the invitation (Kondo, 2008, p. 165).

Such results appear to show movement in the observation group from unnatural English refusal strategies toward more culturally appropriate refusal strategies. One challenge that many foreign language teachers may encounter is prompting students

simply to produce output, which may come in the form of a refusal or opinion. However, what are teachers to do when students lack the motivation or skill to speak? Ellis (2012) addresses the “silent period” (p. 191) which he describes as one phase in second language acquisition. As harmless and natural as a silent period may be in second language learning, Shimizu (2006) addresses what appears to be a general unwillingness for Japanese students to express opinions in L2 English classroom settings. For example, “although the students like to talk idly in Japanese, which disrupts the smooth progress of the class, they are unwilling to express their opinions in English concerning the topic being studied” (Shimizu, 2006, p. 33).

Certainly, the willingness to offer opinions in classrooms seems to greatly differ between Japanese and North American culture. For example, in North American classrooms, refraining from offering opinions in class may indicate “laziness or a lack of intelligence” (Shimizu, 2006, p. 33). Shimizu (2006) opines that one reason behind Japanese students’ reticence to offer an opinion in class results from a variety of social conditions which value waiting for one’s turn and deference toward social hierarchy. Therefore, this research indicates that a lack of linguistic output in a TL may not always be caused by a lack of comprehension or ability, but also may stem from deeply ingrained sociocultural norms.

As a result of examining how L2 English learners behave in immersion environment classrooms, it is also worthy to compare at-home learning versus study abroad learning through immersion. How do learners interact with a target language differently when at-home versus in a TL immersion environment? In this vein, Taguchi (2008b) investigates the role that learning environment plays in the development of pragmatic acumen by examining 60 Japanese L2 English learners at a university in Japan, against a comparable group of 57 Japanese L2 English learners at a university in Hawaii. Taguchi (2008b) examines two areas of pragmatic awareness: indirect refusal and indirect opinions.

Based on the evidence from pretests and posttests for both groups, Taguchi (2008b) finds that for both immersed and at-home learners, indirect refusals were easier to comprehend than indirect opinions; and concludes that at-home learners who are not immersed in a TL environment are not disadvantaged in developing pragmatic proficiency compared with their TL immersed counterparts. These findings have encouraging ramifications for pragmatic education in one’s home country.

Continuing to examine classroom learning, it is useful to turn to Yphantides (2009) who demonstrates the ability of L1 Japanese speakers to offer implied meanings when uttering refusals or indirect opinions in L2 English classrooms. One example from a dialogue between two interlocutors referred to as X and Y transpires as follows:

X: “Let’s go to the movies tonight,”

Y: “I have to study for an exam”

(Yphantides, 2009, p. 34).

Such an example illustrates the ability to utter more nuanced and sophisticated refusal than an explicit ‘no, I can’t’. In fact, Yphantides (2009) opines that X’s utterance contains “both the literal and surface meanings,” while “Y’s assertion that he/she must study for the exam, but primary or indirect meaning hidden under the surface is

Y's rejection to X's proposal" (p. 34). There could be various ways of looking at such linguistic abilities. They could reflect similarities in pragmatic features between Japanese and English, thus showing transfer from the L1 to English. Even though L1 English speakers tend to be more direct than L1 Japanese speakers, nonetheless, L1 English speakers, among themselves, may utter a variety of more ambiguous and nuanced implied meanings and indirect refusals based on the real-world context. Yphantides (2009) asserts that Japanese L2 English learners can successfully acquire pragmatically appropriate English conversational techniques such as "you look beautiful when you are dressed in bright colors' (indirect opinion suggesting that dark colored dress does not suit the person well)" (p. 50). Such examples illustrate that L1 Japanese learners of English appear not to struggle to produce indirect opinions or make subtle implications with their utterances. It may be more challenging, however, to instruct such learners to fine-tune such abilities to quickly switch back and forth between using indirect or implied meanings being able to recognize when to use various strategies in their appropriate sociolinguistic contexts.

Discussion and Contrasting both Groups

The examination of pragmatic differences and similarities between L2 Japanese learning (for L1 English speakers) and L2 English learning (for L1 Japanese speakers) reveals an array of dynamic and interesting phenomena. Further examination uncovers various speech patterns and strategies which are rooted in cultural differences, while other factors may be rooted in gender. Taguchi (2015) contends that "in order to learn pragmatics, learners must attend to multipart mappings of form, meaning, function, force, and context. These form-function-context mappings are not only intricate but also variable and do not obey systematic, one-to-one correspondences" (p. 1). Needless to say, when examining pragmatic language learning challenges, determining precise fundamental causes for specific challenges and developing corresponding remedies may be quite a complex endeavor.

Examining the acquisition of pragmatic awareness in L2 Japanese learning, it is essential to look at gains which result from not only classroom instruction but also from web-based instruction and in-country immersion. Ishihara (2007) asserts that web-based pragmatics instruction "can potentially be effective as a curriculum independent of class-based instruction" (p. 36), yet claims that more optimal outcomes may be achieved if web-based pragmatics instruction is used in tandem with class-based instruction. In terms of gaining pragmatic aptitude through TL immersion, Iwasaki (2010) quantitatively and qualitatively examines the pragmatic development of five L1 English learners of Japanese through comparing formal and informal speech patterns before and after one academic year of study abroad in Japan. Ironically, Iwasaki (2010) observes that the study group seems to use informal speech more frequently after returning from Japan, indicating a decrease of pragmatic competence, based on post-immersion interview data. According to Iwasaki, this might not have been an actual decrease in pragmatic proficiency per se, but rather during study-abroad immersions in Japan students might have been "pressured to use the plain style by their Japanese peers and/or host families" (2010, p. 69). Thus, social factors which might complicate pragmatic strategies. In any case, it seems plausible that the way L1 Japanese speakers converse amongst themselves can often be quite different from the way Japanese converse with L2 learners of Japanese since it is

commonly perceived that *gaijin* (i.e., foreigners) are met with a different set of expectations. In fact, as usually discussed by those who have experienced Japanese society, L2 Japanese learners have anecdotally encountered L1 Japanese-speakers who describe a sort of ‘*gaijin* waiver,’ or “*gaijin dakara shou ga nai* (i.e., ‘foreigner, therefore, nothing can be done’)”, which essentially means that it is expected that foreigners will not conform to various social norms while residing in Japan. Hence, foreigners in Japan are unsurprisingly treated differently in both linguistics and social contexts.

In this light it is interesting to examine which pragmatically appropriate structures are adopted by L2 learners and which ones are disregarded, as well as the reasons behind the selection strategies. According to LoCastro (2012), native Japanese speakers tend to “follow the generally socially-agreed-upon rules rather than to use language creatively, dependent on situated features. In other words, the default for Japanese speakers’ enactment of politeness is to follow societal norms” (p. 145). By contrast, Iwasaki (2010) implies that there are in fact shades of grey in terms of politeness and that “there is considerable variability among individuals as to whether and to what extent their choices resemble those of native speakers” (p. 69). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assess that rather than cultivating proficiency gains, immersion in Japan might muddy the waters of pragmatic comprehension, including being able to distinctly recognize refusals and indirect opinions. If this possibility is true, then formal pragmatic instruction (especially prior to study-abroad) could greatly assist learners to better identify actual meanings in naturalistic communication. Otherwise, learners may be relegated to ad hoc approaches of trial, error, and guesswork.

It is also thought-provoking to note that the most significant differences in pragmatic language may not always occur between L1 and L2 speakers. Sometimes greater differences may be observed between men and women regardless of what their L1 or L2 might be. Kawate- Mierzejewska (2009) observes “some gender differences in refusal realization strategies in both” L1 to L1 Japanese conversations and L1 to L2 Japanese conversations (p. 199). Cross-cultural examination with respect to gender revealed that both the L1 Japanese male and L2 Japanese female participants “used the five different patterns of refusal sequences, but only one type, Delay-Excuse, was common” (Kawate-Mierzejewska, 2009, p. 213). Additionally, the L2 Japanese female participants “produced the greatest variety of refusal patterns” (Kawate-Mierzejewska, 2009, p. 215). In terms of gender, Yamanaka and Fordyce (2010) identify specific differences in L2 Japanese and L2 English pragmatic learning and discover that “female speakers decline more politely in both Japanese and English” (p. 200). On average it seems that L1 Japanese speakers tend to be politer than L1 English speakers, yet women generally tend to be politer than men in both languages, whether conversing in the L1 or L2. The level of politeness is likely to affect refusals and opinion strategies, as politeness may often manifest in the form of various softeners and other mitigation strategies. It seems that gender plays a role, and men generally appear less likely than women to expend the effort required to learn and utilize politeness strategies in their L1 and L2.

Hidden or imbedded meanings may prove to be an obstacle for L2 Japanese learners. Akai (2007) contrasts differences in refusals between English and Japanese speakers by providing one speech act context to illustrate the difference, e.g., when a salesperson is trying to sell a product (p. 11). In this example the Japanese Speaking

Person (JSP) states: "*chotto kangaesasete kudasai*" (Let me think about it); whereas the English-Speaking Person (ESP) states "I don't want it" (p. 11). Akai (2007) asserts that such indirect Japanese speech patterns result from the desire to maintain social harmony, whereas L1 English speakers are more inclined to utter and interpret utterances in a more direct way. In this respect, it appears that hidden meanings or dual meanings may be a stumbling block for L1 English learners of Japanese. While they may understand the literal meanings of utterances such as 'let me think about it,' nevertheless teaching the pragmatic dimensions of such utterances and their de facto meanings can be an important aspect of L2 Japanese instruction. By comparison, it seems that L1 Japanese learners of English seem to be more adept at learning and applying indirect refusals in English without as much explicit instruction, even though they may tend to overdo straightforwardness when conversing in English.

Conclusion

Following an examination of relevant literature written on pragmatic aspects of L2 English and L2 Japanese learning, focusing on refusals and indirect opinions, it seems clear that transfer from L1 influences comprehension and output in the L2 in both cases. In this realm, Taguchi (2015) states that "adult L2 learners experience a unique challenge in their pragmatic development, stemming from the co-existence of first language (L1) and L2-based pragmatic systems" (p. 1). Therefore, language teaching and learning do not appear to be a simple matter of memorizing vocabulary or grammar constructs in an attempt to understand utterances in target languages through direct translations. Particularly when crossing over from an English L1 to a Japanese L2 or vice versa, pragmatic education must take a more pronounced role in TL instruction.

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***Conceptual Metaphors in Political Discourse:
A State is a Woman; A Woman is a Construction***

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Abstract

This project aims to analyze the conceptual metaphors through political discourse during the period of 2018 presidential elections in Montenegrin society, as a means of understanding how human action and (un)consciousness both shape and are being shaped by surrounding cultural and social structures. The study focuses on revealing cultural constructs through the examination of the conceptual metaphors A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION. It examines conceptual metaphors that can be characterized as a female in nature, being found in a corpus of metaphors during the presidential election campaigns in Montenegro. Such (conceptual) metaphors, which in this paper relate to women, do not serve for stylistic beautification of the text but are precisely the basis for the creation and our understanding of political identities and realities. The analysis strives for the identification of cultural practices and the detection of how traditional cultural values are transformed under the influence of emerging ideologies, and it has been carried out in excerpts from political discourse during the last presidential election (2018) in Montenegro. Conceptualizing A STATE as A WOMAN and A WOMAN as A CONSTRUCTION in Montenegrin political discourse has shown that gender metaphors in political speech represent the mental and emotional maps of a sociocultural environment. Besides that, the analysis has shown that the cognitive base that conceptualizes women and women's activities through metaphors are still largely under the control of the dominant gender ideology in Montenegrin society. The paper, therefore, draws attention to language, which plays an important role in discrimination, and suggests that language can offer invaluable insight into intentions and, moreover, construct a psychological portrait of the speaker.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor, Pre-Election Discourse, Woman, Gender, Montenegro

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Introduction

This paper examines conceptual metaphors that can be characterized as a female in nature, being found in a corpus of metaphors during the 2018 presidential election campaigns in Montenegro. Such (conceptual) metaphors, which in this paper relate to gender, do not serve for stylistic beautification but are precisely the basis for the creation and our understanding of political identities and realities.

The main question that the paper raises, as well as the main hypothesis, is whether gender metaphors in political discourse reflect the culture to which they belong to, i.e. whether the metaphorical layer of a language is defined as the carrier of cultural characteristics, as a language of culture in which the mind of a nation is largely reflected.

The data used in this study was collected from the Montenegrin daily press: *Vijesti*, *Dan*, *Pobjeda*, *Dnevne novine*, as well as from transcribed interviews during the presidential election campaigns on the *RTCG* Public Service. The data was also taken from the *CdM.me* portal, which was deliberately selected because it appears to have extensive national coverage and distribution, as well as wide readership. It is expected that the findings from this research will point to certain linguistic tendencies, but will also present indicators of social events - that they will show that conceptual metaphors that have survived to this day through the mind and language govern people's thinking. In parallel, this interdisciplinary research will examine cultural and historical scenarios through language and discourse analysis. The effects of micro study (conceptual metaphors) will be examined through concrete examples - through the discourse analysis of politicians' speech during the last elections in Montenegro (2018). The theoretical methodology background of this research is based on the Critical Metaphor analysis (CMA), suggested by the Charteris- Black (2004, in 2011:45), which is an approach to the analysis of metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use.

What the paper tries to show is that the analysis of metaphors that bind to formulas A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION can present the gender picture of Montenegro – thus show how the conceptual metaphors themselves are implemented in language and are rooted in the core of culture.

1. Theoretical methodology background

The understanding of conceptual metaphors is significantly different from the understanding of metaphors as stylistic figures. As a metaphor as a stylistic figure looks like an ornament that enhances the text, the theory of conceptual metaphors is based on the idea that metaphor also concerns how language rules thought and culture, thus conceptual metaphor is being seen as a mechanism of thought. In other words, it represents the way culture and cognition are reflected through the language (for more see Lakoff & Johnson¹). Having this on mind, it can be concluded that metaphor does not occur primarily in language but in thought, and that we actually understand the world with metaphors and do not just speak with them. The main scientific interest in analyzing these metaphors lies in knowing how linguistic expressions and metaphors

¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnsons, *Metaphors we live by* (1980)
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can relate to the mind, how our modes of thought are framed, and thus controlled and enabled by the various concepts that are being constructed by metaphors. This is certainly related to the most ordinary and everyday events, which can include politics.

Metaphor has long been identified as a central element in political rhetoric (Chilton 2004: 51). "Language of politics" is not only the unity of transitional and continuous changes of opinion or preferences in relation to a particular problem or outcome, but forever expresses the habits and dynamics of previous periods (Kawata, et al., 2013: 246). The "language of politics" of the past acts as a restriction on the style of political thinking as well as the mode of political cognition of people living in the present. Past meanings and uses continue to operate and to emerge against in the background of a context in which the relationship between the individual and the political system has been structured and interpreted (Ibid).

While using the suggested interpretation of Lakoff and Johnson (originated in their work *Metaphors we live by*, 1980), where the mind is inherently embodied through the metaphor interpretation, we will base the methodology of this work on already mentioned CMA suggested by Charteris-Black. There are three stages to this approach: metaphor identification (using the criteria of whether a word or phrase is used with a sense that differs from another more common sense), the metaphor interpretation and then an explanation.

In this study, the metaphors that bind to *a woman* were singled out. By using Critical metaphor analysis, the first part describes metaphors that represent a variant of the general metaphor the A STATE IS A WOMAN. A specific variant in this paper is the conceptual metaphor A STATE IS A MOTHER². The second part of the paper is presenting the metaphors that conceptualize A WOMAN AS A CONSTRUCTION.

Through the selected metaphors where women takes the central position, they are metaphorically represented through the nation, state, politics and through women's role of reproduction, caregiver, mother, or women's activities. These metaphors emphasize some aspects of femininity while they are hiding others.

2. Conceptual metaphor A STATE IS A WOMAN

In the general metaphor A STATE IS A WOMAN, in the [1.1] example we find a specific variant where WOMAN is referred to MOTHER³. In this metaphor, the woman's (Montenegrin) womb (capital) is fertilized, thus creating a woman as a mother, drawing from it the proposed metaphor A STATE IS A MOTHER. Mother, a relational noun, implies the existence of children - daughters and sons - who are members of a metaphorically conceptualized state. Furthermore, metaphor implies certain relationships (e.g. biological and emotional), and hence the metaphor of a MOTHER is a powerful metaphor that plays an important role in imagining the state,

² Bearing on mind that being a mother is related to being a woman, but being a woman does not necessary has to be related to being a mother

³ Family-related metaphors play an important role in the discourse of the nation or the national: this can be expected because the noun *nation* is etymologically related to the Latin *natio* - 'birth', which already implies a family scenario (Šarić, 2015: 7).

in the sense that it gives a strong emotion role (related to belonging, care, unconditional love, etc.).).

Lakoff explained in his *Moral Politics* (1996) that it is natural for a nation to be metaphorically seen as a family, government as a parent or citizens as children: transferring family morality to political morality, and creating a link between family values and politics. Personification that allows one to imagine a country, state, and nation as an individual, refers to emotions, because people tend to develop much stronger emotions - whether positive or negative - toward individuals rather than toward objects. Šarić (2015: 7) explains that personification is a useful cognitive tool because it provides an almost "direct emotional approach" to otherwise abstract or diffused entities. With such help, interlocutors or participants in discourse (including recipients of information) become more emotionally attached to the state, and it is this attachment that helps make nations "real", especially when one chooses to defend or die for it.

[1] *Crna Gora je mjesto za oplodnju kapitala*
Eng: Montenegro is a place for fertilization of the capital

In the [1.1] case, the state is conceptualized as a strong parent, providing basic capital needs to its citizens, especially those in need. The state is the mother whose capital has to be fertilized. In this interpretation, the metaphor symbolizes motherhood. It is possible to conclude even further: the homeland is a female body and as such is not at risk of being harmed by foreign men. Fertilization, in this case, is not a rape – which would be metaphorically mapped to invasion and violation of the nation, to the metaphor of national or state humiliation⁴. This metaphor is taking female anatomy as a model for the economy. Its paradox is that its contextual resonance is essentially at odds with the comparison it makes. While the metaphor is trying to connect mind and body, e.g. economy and womb, it also induces the sexual separation of labor upon which Montenegrin (not to say Balkan) patriarchy is founded. This reveals the structures of patriarchy that have separate labor into men's production and women's reproduction.

We can also explain this metaphor in another way [1.2]. In this case, this metaphor does not necessarily have to be interpreted a priori as a metaphor where a STATE is represented as a MOTHER. In this interpretation, it is capital that is fertilized, more precisely the conceptual metaphor can be framed in the form of CAPITAL IS A WOMAN (during intercourse, with an intention for procreation), as suggested by Abović & Gvozdenović (2019: 12).

This conceptual metaphor reflects a metaphysical process that is being objectified in the value(less) system that underlies modern civilization. As Abović & Gvozdenović (2019: 12) further explain, the monstrosity of the aforesaid conceptual metaphor is

⁴ We can find the example of "rape metaphor" in the interview with Milan Knežević, Democratic People's Party leader and Democratic Front official: "It seems that the holder of the DPS List in Podgorica, Ivan Vuković, emerged as the fruit of a "political rape" committed by the President Đukanović over Migo Stijepović. Thus, the "child of Plužine" became the "child of Podgorica", to whom in Lješkovopolje, the expert for detailed urban plans, the suspected dr Miomir Mugoša, removed the umbilical cord while the national anthem was playing (...) And so a "failed political abortion" illegally performed at a midnight Session of the DPS Presidency plays the wearer of the list, while Migo Stijepović and Vladan Vučelić "wear diapers all the time" (...). Translation KG; Source: <http://www.dnpcg.me/knezevic-igra-prestola-mila-i-duska-pretvorila-crnu-goru-u-ratiste/>

reflected in two directions: a) an act (intercourse) that belongs exclusively to the domain of the biological, the living - moreover, one of its immanent characteristics - is transposed into the realm of the inanimate; b) an act (intercourse) belonging to the realm of the intimate - indeed the domain of the most delicate intimacy - an act that (under normal circumstances) arises from the noblest of human feelings: the emotion of love - is transposed into the realm of the public, and into one of the dirtiest and lowest domains of the sphere of the public - into mercantile relations. Thus, the phenomenon of the lust for material goods is conceptualized in terms of the most intimate human act arising out of love between partners (Ibid). As a result of the contamination and the interpenetration of these two domains, a monstrous metaphor emerges - the metaphor of desacralized and dehumanized civilization. Capital is perceived as a pregnant woman who, instead of a child, makes money (Ibid).

[2] *Država da se odnosi majčinski, a ne maćehinski prema ženama*⁵
Eng: State to refer as a mother and not as a stepmother to women

Let us just remember for a moment how the fairy tales we read to children and that have been read to us, heroes and heroines are portrayed. On the one hand, we have female characters, usually divided into three groups: princesses who simply - do nothing. Older Women - mostly taking the role of stepmothers, being portrayed as evil. For the most part of the story, we have such a plot that stepmother is in fact a threat to a younger woman, that there is a conflict, not between a man and a woman, but between a woman and a woman. It is no surprise, then, that in everyday speech we have such a metaphor that takes the stepmother's figure as an archetypal representation that symbolizes the threat to the self-consciousness and its development.

The conceptual metaphor [2] emphasizes the hard contrast between mother and stepmother. Such discourse spreads negative stereotypes about stepmothers and positive stereotypes about biological mothers. Coontz (1992; in Šarić, 2015: 9) writes that the representation of unequal treatment and injustice to certain citizens in such discourse patterns refers to family scenarios as the original domains in which stepmothers treat children unequally. The mother-stepmother confrontation is guided by the so-called "nuclear family ideology," which is implying that the biological, intact family with two biological parents and their children is the "ideal" type of family (Ibid). Stereotyping is not, however, a phenomenon confined to the South Slavic media and political discourse: recent research shows that many people in different countries (e.g., Australia; see Planitz and Feeney, 2009; in Šarić, 2015: 9) view the non-biological family in too simplistic way.

Just for the comparison, for the "father of the nation" - which would be another example of mapping family relations in the political rhetorical area of the nation - would be the conceptualization of the one who would play an important role in establishing an independent country, establishing a political system or writing a constitution, notes Šarić (2015: 10). Indeed, if we look at a few headlines through the media⁶, we can see that in Montenegro, "the father of the nation" is being called the

⁵ <http://www.rtcg.me/vijesti/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/198360/macehinski-odnos-drzave-prema-zenama.html>

one who is considered to be its president, the person who created the Montenegrin nation, Milo Đukanović.

3. Conceptual metaphor A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION

This part of the paper lists several other interesting metaphors, which can, by analysis, help us to “build” a gender picture in Montenegrin society. Conceptual metaphor A WOMAN (as a part of society) IS A CONSTRUCTION will be further discussed.

[3] *Žene su stub društva*⁷
 Eng: *Women are the pillar of society*

In the example [3], that has been found in the speech of the first female candidate for presidential election, Ms. Draginja Vuksanović, society is conceived as a construction, where a woman represents its essential building part - *a pillar*. Such a metaphor describes a woman as a necessity for the task of nation-building. Against mythical expectations, the metaphor [3], as another example of mapping family relationships in the nation's empire, stands in contrast to the masculine metaphor of the patriotic kingdom that considers a male person as the "father of the nation" or "the pillar of the state or family". The symbolic image of the *pillar* in South Slavic culture was used to emphasize, above all, the patriarchal image, such as the president in Montenegro, or the "head" (another conceptual metaphor) of the family (usually referring to the father/husband⁸). Sometimes it still represents the 'important person in the organization' or the 'essential element in theory' (Nobuaki, 1993).

The metaphor *pillar* can be seen as "a constructive metaphor that represents a very positive metaphor" (Lenard & Ćosić, 2007: 73), metaphorically presenting itself as the basis for everything else. Laying the foundation for something has strong positive connotations because it creates preconditions for other actions. To put it differently, every solid and durable building has good, completely necessary pillars. The metaphor *pillar* often appears in various types of written and oral material, also signifying an important person playing a central role in a particular group, such as a political party, corporation, family, etc. It also signifies an important element in certain statements, such as we saw in the [3] example. As Perović (2016) noted, characteristics of the *pillar* are stability, load-bearing capacity, durability, material strength, and often good design. Ionian, Doric, Corinthian in Montenegrin ways. One can rely upon it (in the above-mentioned case [3] by a Montenegrin woman), counted on her stamina, and never doubt the strength of her material. The *pillar*, therefore, is support and represents a strong and solid structure, the axis of a building connecting its various levels. The *pillars* are the ones that provide the building with solidity, and

<https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201607091107131323-nato-djukanovic-otac-nacije/>

⁷"The women are the pillar of society and it is time for the state to refer as a mother, not as a stepmother to them" said the candidate for President, Ms. Draginja Vuksanović (the Social Democratic Party). Source:

<http://www.rtcg.me/vijesti/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/198360/macehinski-odnos-drzave-prema-zenama.html>

⁸In Montenegro, he is primarily and dominantly metaphorized as the *pillar* of the family, which is extended in some answers to the *pillar* of all humanity. He is also the head of the family, the head of the house, the backbone, the stamina - therefore, everything that is power, strength and rigidity. The upstanding of the pillar is an additional element in the structural mapping of the original domain of the man and the target domain of the pillar, which is not present when the woman is thus represented (Perović, 2016).

to shake them means to shake the whole building. That is why they symbolize the constancy of the building, whether architectural, social or personal, and as such in the above metaphor is being chosen to build a woman as the principal, as the head of the society, as their mother, not their stepmother.

In a similar metaphor, also spoken by the first and only female presidential candidate in the last presidential election in Montenegro, we found conceptual metaphor A WOMAN (as a part of a family) IS A CONSTRUCTION, where the Montenegrin woman is being portrayed as the *foundation*:

[5] *Crnogorska žena je temelj kuće, svoga roda i svoga doma*

Eng: Montenegrin woman represents the foundation of the house, her family and her home

Although the metaphor represented by the *pillar* and by the *foundation* signifies a positive metaphor, it seems that women's objectification and its reproductive role remain in the spotlight, even when it does not seem to be the author's intention, which again serves to show that dominant gender ideology in society can influence or limit how one can perceive and represent (their own) gender in relation to others. Presenting a woman with stereotypes, as Perović (2016: 55) notes, carries a great danger of moving away from the real picture, and creating an image where prevails the representation according to the gender of iconic meaning, at one end of which the woman is represented as in the above mentioned metaphor.

It is also interesting to convey the quote from the candidate as a whole, from which we can conclude how a woman who has decided to cut down the Montenegrin tradition for the first time and run for president essentially sees Montenegrin women:

„Ona je bila ratnica, sačekivala je iz rata svoga oca, muža, brata i sina. Ona je danas majka, domaćica, uzorna žena i supruga koja nosi tradicionalno i iskonsko u sebi. I sa takvim kvalitetima danas žene u Crnoj Gori su ugledne i uspješne ljekarke, naučne radnice, prosvjetne radnice, umjetnice, žene iz drugih oblasti života. Želim da budem glas svih tih žena, želim da budem glas posebno obespravljenih žena, onih koji rade u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu, onih vrijednih radnica koje rade u trgovini, koje moraju znati koliko im je radno vrijeme, a ne da rade prekovremeno, koje nemaju praznike, a koje se muče i zarađuju za svoju djecu“.⁹

Eng: "She used to be a warrior, she used to wait for her father, husband, brother and son to come back from the war. Today, she is a mother, a housewife, an exemplary woman and a wife who carries the tradition and the origin in her self. And with such qualities, women in Montenegro today are respected and successful doctors, scientists, educators, artists, women from other areas of life. I want to be the voice of all these women, I want to be the voice of especially disenfranchised women, those working in tourism and hospitality, those hardworking women working in the trade, who need to know their working hours and not to work overtime, who have no holidays, who are struggling to earn for their children"¹⁰.

⁹ <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/196336/cg-ce-dobiti-prvu-predsjednicu.html>

¹⁰ Translation: KG

It is true, most women in Montenegro still carry the tradition in themselves, which cannot be easily eradicated. Even now, it is important to note that the woman is, first of all, a mother, a housewife, an exemplary woman, and only then a pharmacist, scientist, president. More precisely, only when she is both - mother and wife, then she can be a worthy president. As the same candidate says:

“U Crnoj Gori kuća ne počiva na zemlji već na ženi - kad žena postavi stvari u kući onda može i da vodi državu”

Eng: "In Montenegro, the house does not lie on the ground but on the woman - when a woman puts things right in the house then she can lead the state"

Since long time ago, the subordination of a wife to her husband in Montenegro has been great. The woman was in the possession of the interests of the family, fraternity, tribe and all her functions, from birth to death, were pointed in that direction. The reproductive role, giving birth and motherhood were the most valued, and through those, the woman gained the biggest reputation. Women, in general, enjoyed a limited circle of rights and had very little influence on society. The private sphere was reserved for them, while the public sphere was exclusively dominated by men. Since women were prepared for the only social function – as mothers and housewives, women's education did not even exist. They were "machines" for the production of children and marriage, as an institution, was nothing but their only civic obligation.

In this connection, it is very interesting that the beginning of the 21st century - we will use here one metaphor for women's activity, so we will say - "gives birth" to an anachronistic metaphor culturally specific to previous centuries. The role of the woman is slowly changing, but the same metaphor and perception for her remains:

[6] *Nije Crna Gora njihova prćija*¹¹

Eng: Montenegro is not their prćija (kind of dowry)

In the metaphor **[6]** A STATE IS conceptualized as PRĆIJA. This was also said by the female presidential candidate for the 2018 election. *Prćija* represents the dowry that the widow brings to the marriage (note: *miraz* represents what the bride brings to her marriage). In this region, *prćija* is usually used in an offensive context. As many resent the widow that is remarrying, it is logical that they will resent her for entering into a new marriage with the property she may have acquired thanks to her ex-husband. Therefore, more and more *prćija* is being used in its metaphorical sense. So the people would often say „*nije to tvoja prćija*“ (eng. this is not your *prćija*), for the property with which everyone acts according to their free will.

The above example **[6]** doesn't match directly the previously mentioned metaphors structured as A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION, but indeed is related to women. This metaphor is very interesting because it belongs to a new metaphor - not to universal metaphor (conventional metaphors that are

¹¹ <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/199847/nije-crna-gora-njihova-prcija.html>

representing a universal experience), but rather a cultural variation that has arisen from a traditional, cultural dimension.

4. Discussion

The main starting point discussed in the paper is whether gender metaphor in political speech reflects the culture to which it belongs. Throughout this work, metaphor is seen and understood as an integral part of the subjective dimensions of collective identities, such as discourse, mind, though, that put the focus on the (national) construction of identity. Certain metaphors in the discussed corpus have definitely required social and cultural contexts to be examined. This is not surprising, given the nature of language and the fact that, as Gumperz (in Takada et al, 2000: 7) is stating, verbal interaction is a social process in which statements are chosen in accordance with socially recognized norms and expectations.

The paper analyzed the metaphors in the narratives of politicians during Montenegro's 2018 presidential campaigns. The analyzed data revealed an obvious preference for certain metaphors in the political narrative. The metaphors mostly came from the original domain A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION.

More specifically, the aim of the paper was to confirm the hypothesis that the analysis of metaphors that bind to formula A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION can present the picture of women in Montenegro. The fact that there is a conceptual metaphor A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION, where a woman (as a part of the society) is the *pillar* of that construction, indicates that women in Montenegrin society is indeed being valued. On the other hand, the conceptual metaphor A STATE IS PRĆIJA, however, testifies that (unfortunately) there is also a contemptuous attitude towards women. However, all the metaphors together showed that Montenegro is still struggling with controversial views on the roles and functions of women in society. Patriarchal culture is still dominant in this region, although patriarchy is not a universal category, but differs according to culture, degree of social, economic and political development and the like – but nevertheless, there are some similarities that boil down to empowering men as a social group generally or to one group of men, which also has the greatest power.

In such a patriarchal milieu, the backbone of gender, i.e. male-female relations, is made up of domination, control and subdual. Women become a marginalized category, which leads to their unequal participation in the distribution of the most important social resources: power, wealth and reputation (lets mention here the statement that *being president is a macho profession*¹²).

As previously mentioned, in the last presidential election Montenegro had for the first time a female candidate, which has been repeatedly characterized as *a fruit of political interest* (where we find two more metaphors regarding woman: A WOMAN IS A QUOTA; A WOMAN IS A DECOR):

¹² Translation: KG; Source: <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/192648/da-li-smo-spremni-za-predsjednicu.html>

“Politika u CG ženu i dalje vidi kao kvotu, mogla bi na nju još gore da pogleda, i to pod samo lijepim izgovorom – ljepše je vidjeti ženu (na mjestu predsjednice). Politika bi tako vodu okrenula opet na svoju vodenicu, i priču o ženi svela na dekor interesu“. Eng: Politics in Montenegro still sees women as the quota, but could be even worse if using the beauty excuse – it is more beautiful to see a woman (on the site of the President). Politics would thus turn the water back on its mill, and bring the story of the woman down to the decor of interest.¹³

The analysis in this paper has certainly shown that the cognitive base that conceptualizes women and women's activities through metaphor is still largely under the control of the dominant gender ideology in Montenegrin society.

The physical environment, the physical and social aspects, the cultural context, these all influence individuals through the information that is generated in the environment, and then transmitted to our mind. These aspects and experiences further influence our use of metaphors. What is important to realize is that metaphor is no longer as much a linguistic tissue as it is a tissue of thought. The metaphor is no longer in words, it is in the very core of life. We no longer find it in language, it is a metaphor as a figure of thought, not of words, and therefore is only partly a linguistic phenomenon that exists in language because it exists in thought.

Such a relative independence from language does not make metaphor and language separable, since language is at the same time an instrument of its comprehension as well as an instrument of its formation. We mark the world in words after we have been able to discover it.

As Lakoff (2008, 2009: 241) writes: “Words matter. They shape our politics – and our lives”.

Conclusion

It could be said that politics in Montenegro has not yet managed to overcome this gender gap between women and men, despite the quotas that have therefore been accepted in parliament. In addition, this paper draws attention to language, which plays an important role in discrimination. Language is a means of communication, language is a reflection of our identities, understandings and ourselves, but the language is also a means of power and control. Robin Lakoff, an expert in feminist sociolinguistics, claims that women experience linguistic discrimination in two ways: in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them (1972: 4). This paper suggests that language can offer invaluable insight into intentions and, moreover, construct a psychological portrait of the speaker. Finally, the study revealed that the examined metaphors included tacit background assumptions about normative women's activities and woman itself in Montenegrin society. In this sense, the analysis showed that metaphors in many ways shape one's understanding through mapping to another domain that they created through experience. Therefore, metaphors can not only help our cognitive and conceptual

¹³ Translation: KG; Source: <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/192648/da-li-smo-spremni-za-predsjednicu.html>

process of thinking and talking about the concept of "woman", but also they facilitate our understanding of the cultural view of women because they describe the concepts in a way that presents them in a concrete rather than the abstract sense.

In the type of metaphor from the aforementioned corpus in this paper, the original and target concepts were socioculturally determined, and the mapping between them was motivated by the similarity between the socio-culturally interpreted original and target concepts. This is illustrated by examining metaphors in the Montenegrin language that conceptualize A STATE IS A WOMAN and A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION. We have argued that it is necessary to examine social and cultural origins in order to understand the motivation of Montenegrin politicians to use metaphors that include women's metaphorical representation through the nation, state, politics and women's role of reproduction, nurturer, or mere decor. These metaphors emphasize some aspects of femininity while they are hiding others.

This paper primarily attempted to provide a brief insight into the field of linguistic theory, which, especially in modern times, is based on cognitive interpretations and the interwoven connection between language and thought. Thus, with the conceptual metaphor, we connect two conceptual domains - the source and target domain, that is, with it we conceptualize one experiential domain with another experiential domain. These two domains did not have easily recognizable meanings in the past but by mapping elements of the original domain into the target domain, they formed a new metaphorical structure in which the target domain concepts were shaped according to the characteristics of the concept of the original domain. In this way, the mind, and language function effectively, using meaning based on experience. Therefore, there is always room to create innumerable new metaphors to highlight any other, new experience and any other perspective - such as the metaphor A STATE IS PRĆIJA - where a cultural variation specific to this region has been found.

Despite the limitations (first of all, a very short election campaign during the 2018 presidential election in Montenegro, from March 28 – April 13, 2018) that was taken to validate the proposed model), this study showed that metaphors are not independent of sociocultural circumstances, but rather that a metaphor, and therefore a mind and cognition, are deeply connected to our understanding of society and culture. Moreover, the study demonstrated that the verbal, political and cultural components are united. The analysis showed that metaphor is one of the foundations of language functioning and that thinking is deeply imbued with metaphorical structure.

The lack of, above all, a broader corpus to be analyzed has certainly made more difficult the pioneering attempt to address this topic. This research is, therefore, a modest contribution to the topic, suggesting that gender metaphors in political speech reflect the culture to which they belong, that such metaphors create a cultural model and reflect the same sociocultural environment. Language is a means of expressing our identities, and we play with it every day, transforming, adapting, or breaking down gender ideologies. Our examinee are (un)consciously playing with language in the intricate webs of what they are expected to do, how they want to be seen by others, as well as of their own perceptions of gender identities, producing on that way certain results that we have discussed.

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*A Single Case Study of Applying Cooperative Development for
In-service College English Teacher Education in China*

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to understand in what ways do cooperative development model of professional development influence an in-service College English teacher's self-awareness in pedagogy. Three themes were identified from the data which included eliciting the students through making connections, reflecting from both the understander and the speaker, as well as acknowledging and encouraging putting ideas into practice. From this study, it can be seen that the Cooperative Development model is effective in gaining the teacher's awareness in classroom teaching, especially in addressing concerns or difficulties based on their practical contexts. This study hopes to bring some insights to instructional supervisors who work with in-service College English teachers in China and around the world.

Keywords: Cooperative Development, College English, Teacher Education, China

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College English Education in China

The globalization of the world economy and higher education has contributed to the spread of English as the lingua franca (Liu, 2012). With the development of English language curricula, China has experienced the evolution of pedagogy from English speaking countries, including the direct method which became dominant in China in the early 1900s, the grammar translation method which was popular in China in the 1950s, the audio-lingual method which was adopted in China in the 1980s, the communicative language teaching approach which became well-known in China in the 1990s, as well as the task-based learning and the problem-based learning which were introduced to China in recent years (Ruan & Jacob, 2009).

At the university level, College English (CE) is a compulsory course for non-English major undergraduate students in China (Ruan & Jacob, 2009). Almost all non-English major college students are required to take College English classes during freshman and sophomore years (Chen & Goh, 2011; Ruan & Jacob, 2009; Xu, 2001). In order to evaluate college students' fulfilment of the national curriculum, the College English Test (CET), which includes CET Band Four (CET-4) and CET Band Six (CET-6), was launched in 1987 (Li, 2009). These non-English majors must then pass the College English Test (CET) Band Four to get their bachelor's degrees (Li, 2009; Ruan & Jacob, 2009; Xu, 2001). The College English course is designed to develop students' English ability in the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Li, 2009; Zheng & Cheng, 2008). English majors, on the other hand, are required to pass the Test for English Majors (TEM) Band Four to get their bachelor's degree, and TEM Band Eight is an important criterion for English major students' employment (Jin & Fan, 2011).

“In 1986, the first College English Syllabus was published by the Department of Higher Education” and identified reading as the primary focus of the course (Ruan & Jacob, 2009, p. 468). The goals and basic requirements of the course cover several aspects, including pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, reading, listening, writing, and speaking (Ruan & Jacob, 2009). The syllabus was modified in 1999 with improved requirements for the development of the four basic language skills without changing fundamental aspects (Ruan & Jacob, 2009). In March 2004, the Ministry of Education held a conference for the Project of Improvement and Transformation of Curriculums of Higher Education, which listed CE reform as a major theme of the conference (Ruan & Jacob, 2009). After the conference, the updated College English Curriculum Requirements (2007) replaced the College English Syllabus and became the most current Ministry document which greatly contributed to the College English reform in China (Gao, 2013; Yan & Ding, 2013).

Cooperative Development Model

The Cooperative Development (CD) model of professional development drew on the non-judgmental philosophy of Rogers (1995; 2004) in psychotherapy and originated from Edge's seminal work, *Cooperative Development* (1992), which itself was influenced to some extent by Curran's *Counseling-Learning* (1972; 1976; 1978), an educational approach grounded in Curran's teacher's (i.e. Rogers's) ideas. The CD discourse framework involves two or more colleagues working over a designated period through non-judgmental discourse to enhance the teachers' capacity building

(Edge & Attia, 2014). Rogers believes that the major barrier to mutual interpersonal communication is to judge and evaluate, the same with the field of education and learning (Rogers & Freiberg, 1994). The adaptation of Rogers' thinking into Curran's (1972; 1976; 1978) Counseling-Learning/Community Language Learning was brought into the TESOL field by Stevick (1976; 1980; 1990) and expanded upon by Rardin, Tranel, Tirone, and Green (1988) to incorporate a non-judgmental attitude to describe the importance of deeper human values in being a teacher. The non-judgmental attitude and communication styles, including Rogerian understanding (active listening), have also been used in teacher education, such as the use of "collaborative conversations" between teachers and their supervisors (Oprandy et al., 1999). Meanwhile, this non-judgmental discourse also proved effective in teacher self-development, particularly in Edge's (1992; 2002; 2006) CD model of professional development.

The CD discourse framework involves two or more colleagues working over a designated period through non-judgmental discourse to enhance the teachers' capacity building (Edge & Attia, 2014). The CD model has developed from one-to-one and face-to-face Cooperative Development into Group Development, CD by email, CD by cassette, Instant-Messenger Cooperative Development, and Computer-Mediated Cooperative Development (Boon, 2011). It requires respect, empathy and sincerity from both participants, which are the Understander and the Speaker.

Practical applications of the CD model are introduced in Edge's Continuing Cooperative Development (2002), which provides real-life examples of the interactional moves explained in his first book, Cooperative Development (1992). Those moves include attending, reflecting, thematizing, challenging, focusing, goal setting, and trialing (Edge, 1992; 2002). "Attending" is the ability to make the Speaker feel actively and supportively listened to through a non-judgmental attitude, nonlinguistic communication such as body language, and showing sincere interest (Edge, 2002). "Reflecting" asks the Understander to reflect the Speaker's ideas by repeating the words or paraphrasing to make the Speaker be clear about what has been understood (Edge, 1992). It is important to catch the Speaker's attitude and emotion during the discussion for the strong feelings which might predict essential points that are worthy to explore further (Edge, 2002). "Reflecting" helps to build the empathetic relationship between the Speaker and the Understander which also avoids misunderstanding or losing track (Edge, 2002). "Thematizing" involves the Understander's identification of potential thematic links between two items mentioned by the Speaker to help the Speaker make connections or distinctions (Edge, 2002). The Speaker can respond with not being interested in the connection, choosing to explain what it means, exploring it as a theme, or differentiating the two issues (Boon, 2011).

The next step is "challenging", which involves the Understander bringing up statements from the Speaker that conflict with each other (Edge, 2002). The Understander may invite the Speaker to articulate further so that he or she can understand and empathize with what the Speaker is attempting to express (Edge, 2002). However, the Understander still should not express evaluation, agreement or disagreement with the statements (Edge, 2002). In order to move towards action, the Understander may let the Speaker focus on one specific idea which has developed during the discussion to achieve deeper understanding (Edge, 2002). "Focusing"

requires the Understander to avoid suggesting the direction or topic to work on, but encourages the Speaker to naturally narrow the focus (Edge, 2002). The step of “goal setting” is when the Speaker formulates a specific goal or action that can be implemented or evaluated to accomplish (Boon, 2011). The last step of “trialing” requires the Speaker to talk about how to implement the plan (Edge, 2002). The Speaker has no pressure in strictly following the plan but to articulate it in a meaningful and organized way which supports the adaptability and flexibility in pedagogical practice (Edge, 2002).

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to understand in what ways do cooperative development model of professional development influence an in-service College English teacher’s self-awareness in pedagogy. This study hopes to bring some insights to instructional supervisors who work with in-service College English teachers in China and around the world.

Methods

In this qualitative study, the research site college is located in a prefecture-level city in northern China close to the capital Beijing. The College has three campuses in the city; this study was conducted on only one campus of the college. The research site College is mainly a second-tier college with some first-tier majors, which is a typical example of colleges in prefecture-level cities in China.

A case study is the research design chosen for this project. Case study research begins with identifying a case bounded by a specific place and time (Creswell, 2013). In this study, I applied a single instrumental case study to explore the participant teacher Ping’s College English classes in the research site College in one month in the year 2018 as the case or bounded system of the study.

Document analysis. In order to collect an in-depth understanding of the case, multiple forms of qualitative data were collected from document analysis, observations, and discussions. A table is included below to show the data collection procedures (see Figure 1).

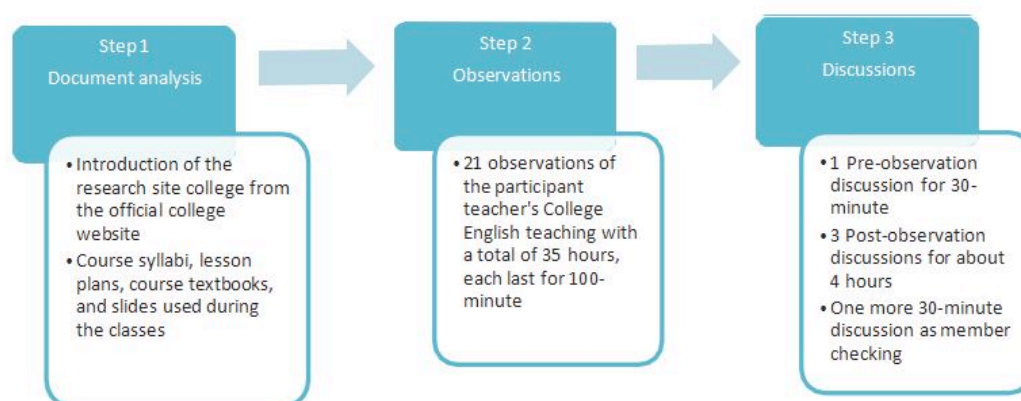


Figure 1: Data Collection Procedures

Document analysis is a systematic process of reviewing or evaluating documents, both hard copy and electronic material (Bowen, 2009). Both public documents and private documents can be collected and analyzed in document analysis under permission (Patton, 2002). In this study, on the one hand, public and electronic documents were reviewed through looking at the introduction from the official website of the research college to provide information related to the research site. On the other hand, under the participant teacher's permission, other documents were collected from the participant teacher which included course syllabi, lesson plans, course textbooks, and slides used during her classes.

Observation. In this study, first I conducted the observations as a nonparticipant observer who only observed and took field notes at the back of the classroom without direct involvement with the students or the teacher during the observations. As a nonparticipant observer, I looked and listened without conversing or sharing activities with the students in the classroom (Springer, 2010). My nonparticipant observer role continued throughout the classroom observations.

However, during the post-observation discussions my role as an observer changed from a nonparticipant observer into participant as observer of the study. While conducting the post-observation discussions, my participant role was more salient than the researcher role since this process helped me gain insider views and subjective data (Creswell, 2013). I actively listened to Ping's ideas during the discussions and provided understanding responses. Sometimes Ping and I switched roles and had collaborative conversations when I had an idea that I would like to discuss. Through observing the participant teacher and having discussions related to College English teaching, I got deeper level views and insights about the data.

I observed all College English classes Ping taught from the end of May until the end of June for a total of three weeks. Each week I observed about three College English Reading and Writing (CERW) lessons from three classes for about five hours, and five College English Visual-Audio-Oral (CEVAO) lessons in three classes for a total of 8.3 hours. Each lesson observed lasted about 100 minutes. A total of eight observations totaling 13.3 hours were conducted within a week. About 35 hours of observations, including the observations of the CERW and the CEVAO classes, were conducted within the three-week period.

Discussions. Before conducting the first observation, I conducted one 30-minute pre-observation discussion with Ping to have knowledge about the classes such as objectives of the lessons, instructional strategies, and backgrounds of the students. I also asked Ping about how she would describe the college she works for in order to collect data about the research site college. In order to value Ping's ideas, I asked Ping if there was anything that she would like me to particularly focus on during the observations.

After conducting the observations of Ping's College English classes every week, I also had a post-observation discussion with her every week for a total of three weeks from the end of May until the beginning of July. The post-observation discussions were scheduled for 45 minutes and extended beyond that time limit when the participant agreed to do so. A total of four discussions for four hours, including one pre-observation discussion and three post-observation discussions, were conducted

within that two-month period. Another discussion of member checking which lasted for 30 minutes was conducted at the end of the study.

At the beginning of the post-observation discussions, Ping took on the role of the Speaker who sought professional development and chose the issues that she would like to discuss. I took on the role as the Understander to listen carefully to what Ping said and helped her develop her own ideas through clarifying and following her speech. However, it was also important to notice that the process of the discussion did not have to strictly follow the CD model since in this study the Understander could also come up with topics or issues she would like to discuss to have collaborative conversations (Oprandy et al., 1999). “Active collaboration leads to shared or mutual reconstruction that is agreed upon by both practitioner and researcher” (Richardson, 1994, p. 7). The results of collaboration are suggestive of new ways of looking at the practitioner’s context and provide possibilities for changes in practice (Richardson, 1994).

Findings of the Study

From a series of data analysis, three themes were identified from the data, which included eliciting the students through making connections, reflecting from both the understander and the speaker, as well as acknowledging and encouraging putting ideas into practice.

Eliciting the Teachers through Making Connections

During the first post-observation discussion, Ping shared that she used to utilize about 20 minutes of every 100 minutes’ class time for students to make up a new conversation based on the dialogue in the textbook. Students could either read the dialogue, retell the dialogue, or choose a new topic to make another dialogue. The effect of these activities was good in her opinion. However, since Ping changed that activity into movie watching during this semester, she assigned role plays as homework and called for volunteers to present them at the beginning of each class.

One reason for Ping to incorporate the movie into the class was that she would like the students to have a knowledge of the most recent oral expressions or idioms in English. On the other hand, the movie could also let students focus on the pronunciation of several sentences which include stress, intonation, and pronunciational rules. Different from Ping’s opinion, her colleague believed that as long as students could communicate in English, native English speakers will not care much about their intonations. Ping was in such a great dilemma while having the discussion with me, and we discussed this issue following the Cooperative Development model.

I was attending carefully to Ping’s ideas and reflecting through checking my understanding of this issue (Edge, 2002), “So you think that it is helpful to incorporate the movie *Inside Out* in the class... if they have the chance to use the language later maybe they can apply the language in life.” Ping continued her sharing with both advantages and disadvantages of incorporating the movie and the follow-up activities on oral expressions and pronunciation. I provided several understanding responses to either summarize Ping’s ideas or provide description of what I observed during the

class related to her points. Nevertheless, Ping was eager to know my opinion on this issue and asked me three times during this discussion, “Do you think it is useful?” Since one important aspect of the Cooperative Development model is to be sincere and not pretend (Edge, 2002), I honestly shared my opinion that I think it is helpful to incorporate the movie activities. Through several rounds of Ping’s sharing and my reflecting, I provided the following understanding response about this issue:

From my understanding, now the opposing view from your colleague seems to be if the CET-4 does not test the pronunciation, stress, and tone, why bother to cost a lot of time during the limited class to emphasize them.

Ping immediately agreed with my reflecting by saying “Right, exactly.” and we laughed together in feeling relieved about finding the focus of this issue. The step of focusing in the Cooperative Development model is an important step before taking action (Edge, 2002).

During the second post-observation discussion, Ping and I again talked about this issue while discussing the arrangement of online learning exercises. After careful attending to Ping’s description, I tried to make connections following the Cooperative Development model (Edge, 2002). Below is part of our discussion:

Me: You just mentioned that students have the online learning exercises; meanwhile, you also mentioned the issue that there was not enough time for students to watch the movie during the class time. I wonder if it is possible to make some connections between those two issues.

Ping: You mean online learning? Online learning sometimes is overlapping with the textbook.

Me: Right, is there any possibility that we let students to watch the movie after class? And

Ping: Asking the questions during the class, right?

Me: Yes, let them check their answers for those expressions during the class time.

Ping: I thought about this, I thought about this way before. Actually this is a great idea. I was thinking if students watch it after class, maybe we should also watch it again during the class time. But actually the way you mentioned is good, and I can relate this homework to the participation grade which might have better effect. This is great! Thank you!

Ping’s excitement was a sign of her final relief in making a strategic choice to balance the limited class time with the class activities. Through a series of attending and reflecting during the first and second post-observation discussions, Ping was able to gain a deeper understanding of this issue and came up with a satisfactory solution to her concern about the selection of class activities.

Reflecting from Both the Understander and the Speaker

During the second post-observation discussion, I shared with Ping two visual maps of how I observed her movements during a CERW class and a CEVAO class. The visual maps of Ping's circulating in the classrooms showed that she seldom walked to the back of both classrooms. Most of the time, Ping stood or sat in the front of the classrooms without much movement. After showing Ping the visual maps and my descriptions, Ping explained that her tendency to seldom move to the back of the classrooms was influenced by my presence in the classrooms. Ping shared:

For the issue of teacher movement, if you were not in the class, I might have walked around to the back of the classroom for several times. But I was thinking you might feel nervous if I walked to the back, so I stopped going to the back when you were there (Ping and I laughed loudly together).

After Ping's sharing, I gained a deeper understanding of the importance of being descriptive rather than prescriptive during post-observation discussions (Oprandy, 1999). Although I had been observing carefully during the three weeks, I could never fully understand and capture Ping's decades of College English teaching practices. It is only through the respect, empathy and sincere conversation after the observations that I could know the story behind the behaviors in the classrooms (Edge, 2002).

Hearing what I said about being descriptive rather than prescriptive, Ping shared her belief that:

If the teacher could be more attentive of his or her pedagogy, every teacher could have the chance of being an excellent teacher. It all depends on the teacher. The competence is only one part. On the other hand, practice can make perfect. If the teacher could think more carefully about how to guide the students using the time after class, the students could also feel the teacher's effort and give you a positive interaction.

Ping's words reflected that she had been self-consciously increasing her awareness of her pedagogy. The discussion continued as I shared some research about teacher's circulating in classrooms. I mentioned the research by Hall (1977) which found that as a teacher stands closer to the students, communication can be more interactive since the students can be influenced by the teacher's body language, eye contact and changes in voice and tones. I shared with Ping that at times I observed she intentionally talked with students at the back. Based on the research by Hall (1977), as Ping stood closer to the students, the communication could contribute to students' participation. Ping further shared:

Students would feel the teacher really cared about us and did not neglect us. If you often stayed in the front and did not move, the students would feel that the teacher did not care about students at the back and lost their attention. I feel that a good teacher should know a lot about students' needs... This is a great suggestion, I will walk to the back of the classroom more often during the class, or sometimes teach the lesson at the back of the classroom.

Ping's reflection on the importance of teachers walking more often to the back of the classroom was evidence for her heightened awareness of her pedagogy. In addition, this discussion also contributed to Ping's awareness of understanding students' needs, which is an important aspect of teacher knowledge. Ping's willingness to take this suggestion into practice was a sign of goal setting in the Cooperative Development model, which aims to move beyond discussion to learning through experience (Edge, 2002). It is reasonable to assume that Ping will work toward this clear goal during her later teaching and achieve the last step of the Cooperative Development model, i.e. trialing (Edge, 2002).

Acknowledging and Encouraging Putting Ideas into Practice

During the last post-observation discussion, I shared with Ping a learning pyramid which indicates that students learn best while they have a real time experience in presenting or practicing the materials (National Training Laboratories, 1954). Ping listened carefully and shared that she used to assign about a dozen students in a group and let them teach an article in the textbook. However, each group could only get one or two paragraphs to present. Some students such as the group leader did a lot of work while others did not participate at all, and the presentation cost twice as much time as Ping's usual teaching. However, Ping shared the advantages of this method that the presenters were very active and well-prepared, and a lot of students asked questions to the student presenters. Ping observed that the student to student communication seemed to be much more active and interactive during such classes.

Ping's sharing brought up a lot of practical issues that need to be considered while having presentation activities in a College English class. I found that Ping used to ask all students to present during two classes, so I asked Ping if it was possible to let each group choose the unit they would like to present and let one or two groups be responsible for each unit. Also, students could have the freedom to choose which group they would like to be in and which unit they would like to present. Before presenting, Ping could also help with designing a rubric to let students know the teacher's grading standards and expectations. The rubric could mention important points such as time limit, interactive activities during the presentation, each presenter's contribution, and voice projection. The time limit could help with addressing the issue that student presentations cost too much of the class time and influence the class schedule. For example, the teacher could remind the students when their time has run out and ask them to wrap up the presentation in five minutes.

Ping listened carefully to my suggestions and added on her opinions at times. After a series of suggestions, Ping shared:

I realize a thing that it is best for the teacher to be an organizer... Next semester I will try what you said and assign them the presentation task at the beginning of the semester. The group can select to present the article, or even present the translation exercises on the textbook...

Ping's goal setting to apply those suggestions in her classroom during the next semester was an important sign before trialing (Edge, 2002). During the member checking at the beginning of the 2018 fall semester, Ping was excited to share with me that she had applied the method of having student presentations in her CERW

courses. She had divided students into six groups and each group was responsible for a unit.

Ping observed the changes of students that they started to preview the lessons before the class and explained the article through their perspectives. The students could ask questions to the class, or the class could ask questions to the students in the group. Ping was happy that now all students in the class could participate in the lessons. The presentations of the students attracted the class's attention and students were more engaged during class time. Ping's role became the supporter who summarized and supplemented to each lesson. She shared that this way also freed her from teaching six or eight hours a day without any rest in between.

The success of trialing encouraged Ping and deepened my shift from a doubting stance into a believing stance (Oprandy, 1999, p.106). We were worried that students might not easily adapt to a student-centered classroom since they might be used to the traditional way of teaching; we questioned whether student presentations might waste too much of the class time and influence the course schedule; we also considered that students might not be able to cooperate with each other and contribute to the presentation. After the success of trialing, Ping and I believe that we are able to create a student-centered classroom through changes step by step. The collaboration also suggested new ways of changes which could provide possibilities for practice (Richardson, 1994). Ping shared the following words with me throughout the discussion:

Every year we have the foreign language teachers to give us lectures. I observed that they have a rich and variety of ways to organize the classroom activities... From our discussion, I realized that instilling knowledge to students will not work... If the teacher only teaches well without students' participation, it will become useless... I thought those activities were wasting time, but now through this discussion, I realized that it is necessary. Students will learn something new every time.

Ping expressed that she had been taking notes every time after our discussion and took down the good suggestions to apply in the future. She also asked me to share the chart of the learning pyramid with her. At the end of the last discussion, Ping expressed that those discussions were really helpful. She realized that pedagogy is not only about theories, but also could be closely connected to practice. Ping shared the following words with me at the end of the discussion:

Today I was just thinking, learning pedagogy is so important. When I was in school, I did not pay much attention to teaching methods. Some of the things you mentioned today, we have learned them before. But I did not pay much attention to them since they are so theoretical. However, today we combined the theory with practice. I feel that theory could guide practice, while practice could supplement the theory, they are interactive with each other.

The discussion helped Ping with increasing her awareness of the importance of pedagogy in influencing her learning. She even expressed the aspiration to continue her studies and get a doctoral degree in the field of education.

Conclusions

From this study, it can be seen that the Cooperative Development model is effective in gaining the teacher's awareness in classroom teaching, especially in addressing concerns or difficulties based on their practical contexts. The Cooperative Development model makes teachers feel they are being well-listened to and feel comfortable talking about their teaching. By creating a non-judgmental environment, teachers and supervisors could be relaxed and frank in sharing their concerns. The sincerity and honesty in sharing issues of interest to the teacher and supervisor are vital in leading to a productive discussion.

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Progressive Expressions in the Papiamentu Language

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Abstract

Linguists have described the functions of the markers expressing the grammatical categories of tense, aspect, and modality in Papiamentu, a creole language spoken in the Caribbean. However, the connection between these markers and the aspectual meaning of the verbs they modify has not been extensively studied. This presentation addresses this relation by looking at sets of data, focusing on the expressions that code the progressive meaning in Papiamentu. The author examined three expressions taking the imperfective marker "ta". The author picked examples of the two marked expressions among those three from data of spoken Papiamentu collected online. A native speaker looked at the sentences containing these expressions and checked whether they could be replaced by any of the other two progressive expressions. From this examination the following conclusions can be drawn: a) "ta" cannot express a progressive meaning with certain punctual verbs; b) some stative verbs said not to be unable to take the imperfective marker "ta", could take it in the form of a gerund, thus having a progressive interpretation. This research sheds light on the limits of the marker "ta" expressing progressivity on its own and emphasizes the need to look at different constructions expressing the same meaning.

Keywords: Creole Languages, Aspect, Continuity

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Introduction

The Papiamentu language¹ is a creole spoken in the ABC Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) located on the Caribbean sea north from Venezuela. These three islands are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In Papiamentu, preverbal markers are used to express the categories of Tense, Aspect, and Modality (hereafter "TAM"). There is no consensus regarding the exact functions of each of these TAM markers. In this paper, I will start by introducing the main grammatical characteristics of Papiamentu, the TAM markers and their functions, the multiple meanings of "ta", and progressive expressions in Papiamentu. Then we will take a look at the data, methodology, and results of the survey I conducted regarding the progressive expression in spoken Papiamentu. Then we will move on to a secondary survey regarding a specific group of verbs described in some previous research. Lastly, we will see the conclusions that can be drawn from the results of the two surveys.

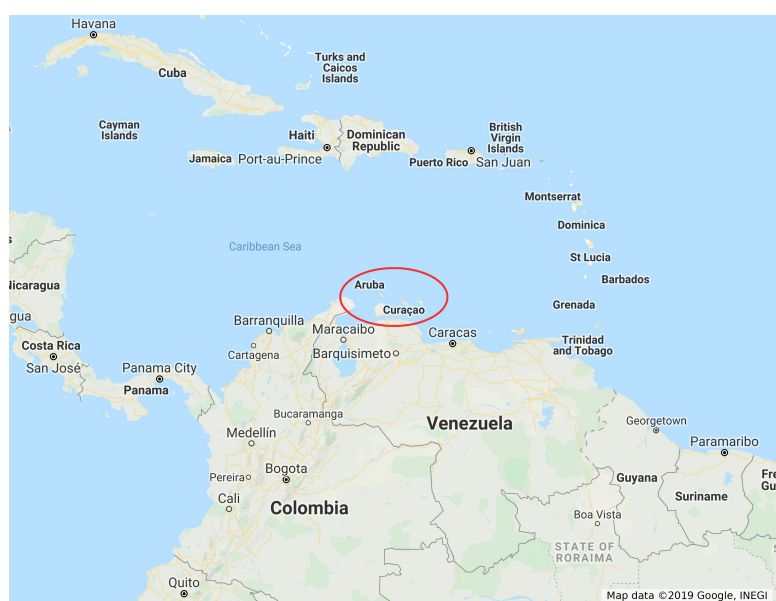


Figure 1: Location of the ABC Islands (made with Google My Maps)

¹ Also known as "Papiamentu". The spelling "Papiamentu" is used in Bonaire and Curaçao while "Papiamentu" is used in Aruba.

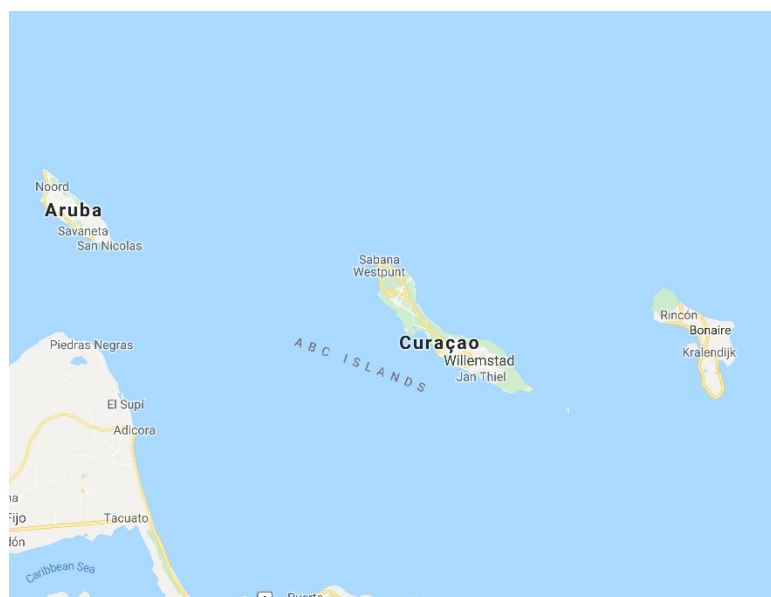


Figure 2: The ABC Islands (made with Google My Maps)

In this paper, Papiamentu sentences will be glossed; namely, a simple translation will be provided for every morpheme in a sentence. For words having a grammatical function (rather than lexical), abbreviations in small capitals will be used. I provide a list of the abbreviations below:

| | | | |
|------|---------------|------|---------------|
| 1 | First-person | NEG | Negative |
| 2 | Second-person | PFV | Perfective |
| 3 | Third-person | PL | Plural |
| COP | Copula | PN | Personal name |
| FOC | Focus | POSS | Possessive |
| GER | Gerund | PST | Past |
| IMPV | Imperfective | SG | Singular |
| IRR | Irrealis | | |

Characteristics of Papiamentu

Papiamentu has a strict SVO (Subject Verb Object) word order. Munteanu (1996) describes four forms verbs can take in Papiamentu: infinitive, imperative, past participle, gerund. The three first forms are differentiated by their stress and tone structure. In the case of the past participle, a prefix might be used. The gerund is formed by the addition of the suffix "-ndo" to the infinitive form. Nouns mark the Plural with the phrasal enclitic marker "=nan" and Case is expressed primarily by word order (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 32). I present some examples of Papiamentu down below.

| | pronoun | TAM | adjective | noun | TAM | verb |
|----|-------------------------------------|------|-----------|------|------|---------|
| 1) | Bo | ta | konsiente | ku | bèl | a bati? |
| | 2SG | IMPV | aware | that | bell | beat |
| | "Are you aware that the bell rang?" | | | | | |

| | pronoun+negation | TAM | verb | pronoun | TAM | verb | verb+pronoun |
|----|--------------------------------------|------|---------|---------|------|------|--------------|
| 2) | Mi=n | ta | kere | nan | ta | bai | tum=e |
| | 1 SG =NEG | IMPV | believe | 3PL | IMPV | go | take=3SG |
| | "I don't believe they'll go take it" | | | | | | |

It should be noted that Papiamentu, being a creole language, has vocabulary originally from Spanish and Portuguese (hereafter "Iberian"), Dutch, English, and some other languages. Among these, words of Iberian origin and Dutch origin seem to have some differences regarding the affixes they can take.

TAM markers and their functions

Andersen (1990, p. 67) describes the functions of the TAM markers in Papiamentu in the following way:

Tense-Aspect markers:

| | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>ta:</i> | "imperfective" |
| <i>a:</i> | "perfective" |
| <i>tabata:</i> | "past imperfective" |
| <i>sa:</i> | "habitual" |

Mood markers:

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| <i>lo:</i> | "irrealis" |
| <i>0:</i> | "subjunctive" |

For a different analysis of the TAM markers, see Munteanu (1996. pp. 349-372). Andersen (1990, p. 68) describes "tabata" as being a marked form of "ta" expressing past tense.

Verbs can be categorized based on whether they take "ta" when expressing the Imperfective or not. Andersen (1990, p. 71) provides a list of verbs which cannot take "ta" or "a". These verbs are all stative verbs, namely they do not express actions, only states. The verbs are listed below:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ta</i> | "be" |
| <i>tin</i> | "have, exist" |
| <i>por</i> | "can, may" |
| <i>sa</i> | "know (something)" |
| <i>konosé</i> | "know (someone)" |
| <i>ke</i> | "want" |
| <i>mester</i> | "have to, must, should" |
| <i>yama</i> | "be called" |

It should be noted that Andersen (1990) does not specify whether this applies to verbs on the infinitive form only or to other forms like the gerund.

Multiple meanings of "ta"

"Ta" in Papiamentu has three functions: as the copula, as a TAM marker, and as a focus marker.

"ta" as the copula:

- 3) Kachó **ta** mihó amigu di hende
 dog COP best friend of people
 "Dogs are man's best friend"

"ta" as a TAM marker:

- 4) E **ta** lesa un buki
 3SG IMPV read a book
 "(S)he reads/will read/is reading a book"

"ta" as a focus marker:

- 5) **Ta** Cuba mi ke bai
 FOC Cuba 1SG want go
 "Cuba is where I want to go"

There is no consensus on whether these three uses should be treated as the same lexical item or not. In this paper, I will deal with the progressive expression ["ta bezig ta" + verb], in which the first "ta" is usually interpreted as functioning as a copula. In contrast, the second "ta" is said to be the TAM marker expressing the imperfective. For simplicity's sake, I will analyze "ta" as a single lexeme having these three functions, and in the following examples, every "ta" will be glossed as "IMPV" (imperfective).

Progressive expressions

There are three expression in Papiamentu which can express the Progressive. These are: ["ta" + infinitive], ["ta" + gerund], ["ta bezig ta" + infinitive]. Besides the Progressive, ["ta" + infinitive] can be used to express habitual actions or actions that will occur in the future.

- 6) Semper bo **ta duna**=nos bo support (habitual ["ta" + infinitive])
 always 2SG IMPV give=1PL 2SG support
 "You always give us your support"

- 7) Awe nochi ami ku bo **ta kome** (future ["ta" + infinitive])
 today night 1SG with 2SG IMPV eat
 "Tonight me and you will have a meal"

In the examples down below (8-10), the three progressive expressions can be seen. The ["ta bezig ta" + verb] construction seems to be minimally described in the literature². It should be noted that it is not clear whether the verb after "ta bezig ta" can only be an infinitive.

- 8a) Mi [**ta kome**] bonchi
 1SG IMPV eat bean
 "I'm eating beans" (but also "I eat", "I will eat")

- 8b) Mi [**ta komie-ndo**] bonchi

² Refer to Lang (2000, p. 93) and Ebert (2000, p. 607)

1SG IMPV eat-GER bean
 "I'm eating beans"

8c) Mi [ta bezig ta kome] bonchi
 1SG IMPV busy IMPV eat bean
 "I'm eating beans"

The gerund, taking the prefix "-ndo", is used mainly with verbs of Iberian origin while "bezig" has a Dutch origin. It also should be noted that since "tabata" is just an allomorph of "ta" expressing past tense, the ["ta" + gerund] construction can take "tabata" instead of "ta" when occurring in the past. In the case of the ["ta bezig ta" + verb] constructions, only the first "ta" appears to be able to change to "tabata".

Survey data and methodology

I conducted a survey on the three progressive expressions, namely ["ta" + infinitive], ["ta" + gerund], and ["ta bezig ta" + verb]. The objective of this survey was to clarify whether there were cases in which one progressive expression could not be replaced by the other ones.

For this survey, I had a native speaker J.C.³ transcribe the dialogs of the show "Djis un tiki love". "Djis un tiki love" is a television show filmed in Curaçao in 2016, spoken mostly in Papiamentu. The transcription of the whole series (8 episodes in total, each of an average 25 minutes length) consists of about 40,000 words.

From this data, I looked at all the examples of verbs in the gerund and the construction using "ta bezig ta". J.C. judged whether the progressive expression used in each example could be replaced by the other two.

For every example given, I will use the following symbols:

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|---|------------------------|
| + | Can be replaced | | G | ["ta" + gerund] |
| ? | Unsure | | B | ["ta bezig ta" + verb] |
| - | Cannot be replaced | | I | ["ta" + infinitive] |

For example, [+ G, - I] means that the example given can be replaced by ["ta" + gerund] but cannot be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive].

Results

There were ten examples of ["ta bezig ta" + verb] in the data. Table 1 shows the results of this construction. The top part of the table shows whether the examples can be replaced by ["ta" + gerund] or not. The lower part of the table shows whether the examples can be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] or not.

³ J.C. is a native speaker of Papiamentu. Here are the main details regarding his linguistic background: Year of birth: 1990; Sex: male; Place of birth: Curaçao; Second language(s): English, Dutch, Spanish.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Can be replaced by ["ta" + gerund] | 6 |
| Cannot be replaced by ["ta" + gerund] | 3 |
| Others | 1 |
| Total | 10 |
| Can be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] | 10 |
| Cannot be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] | 0 |
| Others | 0 |
| Total | 10 |

Table 1: Results of ["ta bezig ta" + verb]

We can see that all examples of ["ta bezig ta" + verb] could be replaced by the ["ta" + infinitive] construction. Some examples could not be replaced by ["ta" + gerund], like in (9). The reason for this is because "bèl (to call)" cannot be used in the gerund since it is a verb of Dutch origin. Most verbs of Dutch origin ending in a consonant cannot take the "-ndo" suffix, which forms the gerund. Nevertheless, there are borderline cases like "wak (to watch)". "Wak" can take the "-ndo" suffix forming "wakiendo", although some speakers feel this is an unacceptable form.

- 9) Rom, ta p'esei mi ta bezig ta bèl=bo
 PN IMPV therefore 1SG IMPV busy IMPV call=2SG
 "Rom(Person's name), that's why I'm calling you, you have to come with me"
 [- G, + I]
- 10) No, mi tabata bezig ta wak un par di "location"
 no 1SG IMPV.PST busy IMPV watch a couple of location
 "No, I was looking for some locations for the photoshoot"
 [? G, + I]

There were 66 examples of gerunds in the data. Table 2 shows the results of this construction. The top part of the table shows whether the examples can be replaced by ["ta bezig ta" + verb] or not. The lower part of the table shows whether the examples can be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] or not.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Can be replaced by ["ta bezig ta" + verb] | 55 |
| Cannot be replaced by ["ta bezig ta" + verb] | 9 |
| Others | 2 |
| Total | 66 |
| Can be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] | 56 |
| Cannot be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive] | 8 |
| Others | 2 |
| Total | 66 |

Table 2: Results of gerunds

Most examples of this construction can be replaced by both ["ta bezig ta" + verb] and ["ta" + infinitive]. Among these, there were some examples of "ta" being used in an unusual place. In these cases, it is not clear whether "ta" is modifying the gerund or not. Example (11) is such an example. Nevertheless, when expressing the same meaning through the ["ta" + infinitive] construction and the ["ta bezig ta" + verb]

construction, the canonical word order is used. According to J.C., the meanings of (11), (11'), and (11'') are identical. This fact shows that the gerund has an advantage against the infinitive since it can be used with atypical word orders. Therefore, in this case, using the gerund might be useful when the information structure requires, or at least, prefers a non-canonical word order.

- 11) Romy gewon **papia-ndo** nos **ta** ku otro
 PN simple talk-GER 1PL IMPV with other
 "Romy, we're just talking to each other"

[+ B, + I]

- 11') Romy gewon nos **ta papia** ku otro
 PN simple 1PL IMPV talk with other

- 11'') Romy gewon nos **ta bezig ta papia** ku otro
 PN simple 1PL IMPV busy IMPV talk with other

There were as well some examples of gerunds being used without "ta" that could nevertheless be replaced by the other progressive expressions (12).

- 12) Atrobe **soña-ndo** rib=e mener ei?
 again dream-GER on=the gentleman there
 "Again, dreaming about that gentleman?"

[+ B, + I]

The following examples (13, 15, 16) are interesting because they cannot be replaced with the ["ta" + infinitive] construction. This construction is morphologically the unmarked one among the three. According to J.C., the verb "pasa (to happen)", used in (13), if used in the ["ta" + infinitive] construction, would refer to some hypothetical action. J.C. provided the example (14), showing that "ta pasa" would generally be used in combination with a conditional clause.

- 13) Bryan kiko **ta pasa-ndo**?
 PN what IMPV happen-GER
 "Bryan, what's going on?"

[+ B, - I]

- 14) Kiko **ta pasa [si ...]**
 what IMPV happen if
 "What would happen if ... ?"

On the other hand, while (15) and (16) also cannot be replaced by ["ta" + infinitive], their meanings are slightly different. According to J.C., "ta bira" and "ta drecha" would express actions occurring in the future, namely "will become" and "will get better".

- 15) T=ami òf bo **ta bira-ndo** un tiki soft?
 IMPV=1SG or 2SG IMPV become-GER a little soft
 "Is it me or you are becoming a little soft?"
 [+ B, - I]
- 16) Si, mi kurpa **ta drecha-ndo**, mi tin hopi migraine ahinda
 yes 1SG body IMPV fix-GER 1SG have many migraine yet
 "Yes, my body is getting better, I still have many migraines though"
 [+ B, - I]

While the hypothetical interpretation of "ta pasa" and the future meaning of "ta bira" and "ta drecha" may seem to be different, they are not. In Papiamentu, the category of irrealis includes both actions in the future and hypothetical actions. The TAM marker of irrealis "lo" can be translated as "will" or "would", depending on the context. The reason these specific verbs cannot express continuity in the ["ta" + infinitive] construction is probably related to their lexical aspect. In Papiamentu "pasa (to happen)", "bira (to become)", and "drecha (to get better/fix)" seem to have a punctual meaning as a default. Therefore, they express the Progressive only when used with a marked progressive expression like ["ta" + gerund] or ["ta bezig ta" + verb].

Secondary survey

As a secondary survey, I looked at whether there were gerund forms of the verbs which, according to Andersen (1990, p. 71), 'cannot take "ta" '. Those verbs are: "ta (to be)", "tin (to have, exist)", "por (can, may)", "sa (to know)", "konosé (to know)", "ke (to want)", "mester (to have to, must, should)", "yama (be called)". All results of this survey were drawn from the "Leipzig Papiamentu news corpus"⁴.

There was an example (17) of the verb "konosé" being used in the ["ta" + gerund] form. This might be a clear counterexample to Andersen's claim.

- 17)oumento lo tabata muchu mas tantu ku loke
 raise IRR IMPV.PST many more so_much that which
 nos **ta konosie-ndo** na e momento=nan aki
 1PL IMPV know-GER at the moment=PL here
 "The raise was supposed to be much more than what we are seeing at this moment"

In (18) and (19), "teniendo" and "sabiendo" are used. These are the gerund forms of "tene (to have, hold)" and "sabi (to know)", respectively. These two verbs have the same meaning and can be considered allomorphs of "tin (to have)" and "sa (to know)". Nevertheless, it is not simple to determine whether they should be analyzed that way.

- 18)(...) **tenie-ndo** kuenta ku interes di un i tur
 have-GER account with interest of one and all
 "(...) taking into account the interest of one and everyone"

⁴ The Papiamentu news corpus based on material crawled in 2011. I consists of: Sentences: 301,921; Types: 111,738; Tokens: 6,183,663.
 (https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en?corpusId=pap_newscrawl_2011)

spend-GER money know-GER that
 gobièrnu mes tin su propio edifisio
 government self have 3SG.POSS own building
 "(...) spending money, knowing that the government itself has its own building"

Conclusions

This paper looked at three different progressive constructions. Looking at how these expressions are used in natural speech helps clarify not only the function of each expression but also the different lexical aspects of verbs. Overall, based on the results of the two surveys, the following things can be said:

- a) While all three progressive constructions use "ta", the unmarked ["ta" + infinitive] construction cannot express progressivity with verbs that tend to have a punctual interpretation. From this fact, we can see that "ta" expresses a general Imperfective as described in Andersen (1990).
- b) Gerunds themselves seem to have a continuous meaning, which, when combined with "ta" expresses progressivity.
- c) Some stative verbs said to be unable to be used in the ["ta" + infinitive] construction can appear as gerunds. This fact could suggest that there is a distinction between stative verbs that do not have a gerund form and does that do. The ones having a gerund may be less prototypically stative.

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How the ‘Productive Failure’ Instructional Design Encapsulates the ‘Active Learning’ Essence of Eliciting L2 Output Using the ‘Information Gap’ Construct

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Abstract

‘Productive failure’ (Kapur, 2010) is an instructional design based on the contrast between learners’ intuitive assumptions and proven solutions to problems analyzed for educational purposes in a given discipline. This design involves learners attempting creation of solutions before being taught, which is thought to enhance learning in that it prepares learners to comprehend taught content more solidly, even if their initial assumptions were incorrect, or a ‘failure’. Much of the research and experimentation regarding this takes place in contexts outside of language learning, yet the productive failure design and related designs fall under the broader heading of active learning, something the Ministry of Education in Japan has been increasingly attuned to in recent policy developments (McMurray, 2018). Intriguingly, it is evident that much of what is described as the learning processes and effects of productive failure closely resembles what is described in literature on L2 output production during communicative interaction and associated opportunities for language acquisition. Parallels between the active learning aspects of productive failure and processes involved in authentic output production is portrayed and explained in this paper. The concept behind information gap activities, with one interlocutor having the answer and the other deducing it from contextual clues and attempting to express it accurately, can be used to elicit output and negotiation of meaning in ways that operate and potentially develop learners’ linguistic resources. How information gaps can be made to function this way, incorporating a form of active learning similar to productive failure, is exemplified and discussed.

Keywords: information gaps; L2 output; active learning

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Introduction

The ‘information gap’ is a construct used in language education that is based on, in principle, a gap in what is known to different participants in a communicative situation. This is useful in the language classroom in that students can try using the target language to exchange this information amongst each other or with their teacher, and the nature and complexity of language necessary to do this can be controlled, to certain extents, by the content, design and parameters of an activity. Drawing on this concept, real communication could be thought of as always involving a gap, and this gap is what generates the very need to communicate. In this sense, it is important to consider the ways that gaps can be incorporated into classroom activities to elicit use of the target language. This paper discusses a particular structure of information gap activity designed for English communication classes for university students in Japan. In general, this structure involves one member of a group knowing the answer, and other members *guessing* the content of the gap through inferences or assumptions as opposed to directly asking for and being told the information. This means that the extent to which learners need to decide the linguistic structure and content of their guesses on their own can vary according to activity parameters and the size of the gap. Thus, they must apply their own linguistic resources to formulate utterances that a gap elicits. Depending on the complexity of the content and what kind of guess the gap prompts, the required structural and lexical complexity of learner output can be roughly predicted. Attempting to communicate at this level of precision, the learner may exhibit misconceptions of target language usage or lack linguistic resources. The learner may then have to re-attempt formulations of their message to make them comprehensible to their interlocutor, conjuring up and applying various representations of language knowledge existing in their mind. They may also draw conclusions collectively with peers on semantic accuracy and appropriate form. The ‘answer’ holder is also in the position to provide corrective feedback on peer utterances by comparing them with the original content from the gap, providing hints to steer their peers towards producing a legitimate rendition of the answer.

According to discussions in the literature of possible effects of producing L2 output in communicative situations, all of the processes described above can be thought of as beneficial to language learning. Swain’s (1985) output hypothesis and other studies and discussions stemming from it over the years (Swain & Lapkin, 1995; Shehadeh, 2002; Izumi, 2002,2003; Sato & Lyster, 2012) investigate how such learning benefits might occur. One of the main themes throughout output related literature is “negotiation of meaning” (Pica et al., 1989). Even the most basic information gap activities have the potential to instigate negotiation of meaning, however, the argument to be developed in this paper is that further inspection of literature on developmental learning processes can provide an informed perspective on the potential functions of information gaps in interactive language learning situations. Studies and concepts to be inspected here have been drawn from literature on a form of active learning called “productive failure” (Kapur, 2010) developed within the disciplinary context of maths and sciences education, and literature connected to the discipline of developmental psychology on how mental models develop in learning situations (Bucciarelli, 2007; Wagoner, 2011; Wagoner & Gillespie, 2014). Insights from these sources into learning processes and how to stimulate them will be portrayed in detail in this article. Similarities between what can be learned from these different disciplinary contexts will also be explained and discussed. It is the evident

links between the concepts discussed across these three disciplinary contexts that intensifies the urgency of integrating these concepts into language education programs. With the Ministry of Education in Japan focusing increasingly on ‘active learning’ in recent policy developments (McMurray, 2018), educators need to develop their conception of how active learning can manifest specifically for the purpose of language learning. Finally, to depict one form of such a manifestation, an example of the type of information gap activity described above will be explained as one possible way of eliciting the implied learning benefits of productive failure and pushed output in the language classroom.

How Schema Development is Thought to Work

Schema can be defined as “any macro knowledge structure encoded in memory that represents substantial knowledge about a concept, its attributes, and its relations to other concepts” (Huesmann, 1998, p. 79). Schema can be activated as a reaction to the demands of any situation requiring the application of relevant knowledge and abilities. A well-developed set of schemata of both declarative and procedural knowledge for the function and use of a target language would mark an individual’s proficiency in that language. How schemata and mental models are developed and refined to the point of practical accuracy and functionality can provide insight into what is involved in effective learning. External stimuli may contradict expectations that derive from mistaken or incomplete mental representations, which can motivate modification, addition to, or re-association of relevant schema: “cognitive conflict favors the construction of alternative models of a perceived or described situation, thus favoring learning to reason” (Bucciarelli, 2007, p. 80-81). This constitutes a depiction of learning as the acknowledgement of the differences between internal models and conflicting evidence from external sources. Regarding the “productive failure” (Kapur, 2010) learning design, which is further explained in the following section, this is referred to as “differentiation”, which involves the conscious contrasting of relevant and irrelevant factors in devising a solution to a problem (p. 2727), and has been found to enhance comprehension (p. 2728). The important point to be considered here in terms of educational methodology is that prior knowledge, or existing schema, play a role in the development of proficiency as they are activated and involved in the acquisition of new concepts: “The mind becomes able to exploit internally the information already stored, by re-describing its representations or, more precisely, by iteratively re-representing in different representational formats what its internal representations represent” (Bucciarelli, 2007, p. 81). An additional aspect of this that gains significance when considering educational methodology is the social nature of cognitive development. A significant source of the scaffolding required for schemata to develop is the external environment, with its culture, media tools, and social discourse, which means that incoming information and concepts have been, to some extent, developed socially before being adopted and personalized by an individual mind (Wagoner & Gillespie, 2014). If learning, then, is thought of as an adjustment of internal models in response to conflicting information, awareness of faulty elements of an internal assumption must be necessary. The interactive dynamic of learning in the presence of teachers and peers in a classroom setting provides the opportunity to engage in dialog that molds and progresses how learners might assess their own thinking to confirm or refute the appropriacy of units of knowledge. Analyzing the discourse of interlocutors collectively attempting to confirm certain memories when discussing the past, Middleton and Brown (2005) deduce that,

a public reflection on one's own mental processes may strengthen or warrant a subsequent claim. Instead of treating conversational action as a window on mental processes, we can see that conversations act as significant environments in which thoughts are formulated, justified and socialised according to how other speakers talk about mental processes (p. 90).

This provides insight into how a group consisting of learners and instructors might collectively influence individual comprehension of targeted concepts and scaffold the development of performance of targeted skills or application of relevant methods. Educational methods can be contrived to draw learners' attention to their own preconceived assumptions and their idiosyncrasies as a means of making the meanings of features of more valid models more apparent. The key factor evident here in this is the dialogic interaction of classroom discourse as a medium for socio-cognitive activity, which will later be shown to be significant to language learning contexts in the section on output production. The following section further explains the processes involved in the productive failure learning design that resemble the psychological processes described in this section. It will be seen that productive failure, as a form of active learning (Chowrira et al., 2019), involves the design of tasks that incorporate learners' expressions of their mental processes as a way of enhancing learning.

The Reasoning Behind the Format of the 'Productive Failure' Learning Design

Kapur (2010) has thoroughly researched and developed a process for classroom learning called productive failure (PF), in which, put simply, learners make attempts at designing methods of solving a problem before being directly taught the canonical method. As a form of "extreme active learning" (Chowrira et al., 2019, p. 1), it derives from theory on knowledge development, and there are other renditions such as "invention" (Roll et al., 2011) and "prediction" (Brod et al., 2018) tasks. These designs have been empirically studied and developed in contexts such as maths, sciences and geography, yet the structure and cognitive effects to be portrayed in this section will be associated with concepts from literature on language learning in the following section.

Productive failure involves "a generation and exploration phase followed by a direct instruction phase" (Kapur, 2010, p. 2727). The idea is to engage students in "processes that serve two critical cognitive functions, ... a) activating and differentiating prior knowledge in relation to the targeted concepts, and b) affording attention to critical features of the targeted concepts." (p. 2727). Teachers can give students a problem based on a novel concept but withhold instruction of the canonical formulas or methods for solving it, having the students apply their background knowledge in the subject area to design their own methods, which may be imperfect or even mistaken. Students are then directly taught the canonical method and given the opportunity to relate or differentiate features of their preconceived methods with it. Kapur (2010) explains the effects of this:

The expectation for the generation and exploration phase is not for students to be able to solve the problem successfully. Instead, it is to generate and explore the affordances and constraints of a diversity of structures for solving the problem. To the extent that students can persist in this process, the process

not only activates but also differentiates their prior knowledge. ... Furthermore, a comparison and contrast between the various structures also affords opportunities to attend to critical features of the targeted concepts. ... Consequently, the generation and exploration phase provides the necessary foundation for developing deeper understanding of the canonical concepts, representations, and methods during direct instruction. (p. 2728)

Analyses of learners undergoing PF tasks revealed that the above effects are evident in the way students went about solving problems (p. 2731). Involving prior knowledge in the learning process in this way seems to help learners understand the reasoning behind the form of the canonical method more deeply, allowing them to grasp and apply necessary concepts more effectively. Kapur refers to a number of previous empirical studies of his own that resulted in improved performance on procedural fluency and complex analysis problems and “in adapting and building upon the targeted concepts to learn new concepts on their own” (p. 2728). Roll et al. (2011) explain positive results of a study on “invention” activities, which involve the same structure and purpose as PF designs. Reasons for enhanced learning include that “students may learn better from failures of methods they designed since they understand the intended function of each component in their methods” (p. 2827). Furthermore, in a study resulting in improved memory retention among participants who exhibited a state of ‘surprise’ when presented with information contrary to their initial assumptions in a “prediction” task (Brod et al., 2018), enhanced learning effects were attributed to the process of generating a prediction, which “enables the learner to be surprised about outcomes that refute the prediction, and ... this surprise leads to an updating of knowledge structures” (p. 28).

A common theme among the conclusions drawn from these related methods is that initially eliciting students’ prior knowledge serves to draw their attention towards the significance of necessary features of targeted concepts that they had not yet known before. Collectively, the explanations of learning processes here surmount to a precise, comprehensive depiction of how active learning can work, and this can be useful in that it might be applicable to the design of methods in other educational contexts. A consideration, then, is whether or not the PF process could be related to and implemented in a language learning context. As the following section will show, very similar depictions of cognitive development to that attributed to the PF process exist in literature on L2 output production in ‘negotiation of meaning’ situations. How this can be applied to design methods for use in the language classroom is also explained in a later section.

How the ‘PF’ Design Relates to L2 Output Production in a Communicative Situation

The interplay between prior knowledge and new incoming information in the development of schemata, and the value of deliberately activating prior knowledge in advance of introducing new concepts in educational settings can be associated with language learning. Producing linguistic output in a communicative context as a means of exchanging information with others can be thought of in terms of how learners might build upon their interlanguage through this process. Relating output production to the PF design and schema development might allow for the same theorizing to be applied to foreign language education: a learner’s interlanguage, the current state of

declarative and procedural L2 knowledge in their mind, can be thought of as a schema, a schema for sociocultural discourse in the target language; and any attempt at trying to utilize this schema to formulate a deliverable message is similar in nature to the 'invention' or 'generation' phase of a productive failure task. What a learner generates is an assumption of how their linguistic knowledge can be applied to fulfill the communicative act they are attempting. Expressing this, they expose what they know and do not know about the language, giving a more proficient or knowledgeable interlocutor the opportunity to provide knowledge in response to apparent mistaken or lacking constituents of an underdeveloped schema. In this, there is a similarity to the differentiation that Kapur describes. Learners must activate prior knowledge to some extent to construct a message, deliberately or automatically arranging linguistic elements to construct meaning. Initially expressing this sort of crude sample of their target language knowledge allows them to then compare (or 'differentiate') it with evidence of more accurate, complex or precise language use available in input sources, such as proficient interlocutors or textual content (or peers referring to texts to provide scaffolding, which will be explained more in the section on information gaps). Studies and discussions stemming from Swain's (1985) 'output hypothesis' also contain depictions of potential benefits of attempting accurate L2 production and reacting to resulting feedback. Swain and Lapkin (1995) explain how not only input, but also output can contribute to acquisition:

when, as a result of producing the target language, learners 'notice' a problem, they conduct an analysis leading to modified output. That is, noticing may occur because of either internal or external feedback which may prompt, for example, the generation of alternatives and assessment of them through simple inspection through to complex thinking. When learners cannot work out a solution, they may turn to input, this time with more focused attention, searching for relevant input. Or, they may work out a solution, resulting in new, reprocessed output. What goes on between the first output and the second, we are suggesting, is part of the process of second language learning (p. 386)

The process is considerably 'active' on the learner's part. If generating output leads them to "turn to input ... with more focused attention" (p. 386), the experience may prime them to comprehend and acquire the input more thoroughly in the way that PF activities "activate students' thinking about the concept" (Kapur & Rummel, 2012, p. 649), having them "explore and generate a variety of representations and methods" (Kapur, 2010, p. 2728), allowing them to "attend to critical features of the targeted concepts" (p. 2728) because they "understand the intended function of each component in their methods" (Roll et al., 2011, p. 2827). In a linguistic sense, since they intend to communicate something in particular with their initial utterance, the conceptuality here would suggest that the features of corrective feedback will be understood more thoroughly as their meaning and function can be acknowledged in connection with the learner's initial thought processes. One arguable difference is that during 'invention' or PF activities, students are conscious of the fact that the intent is to acquire a method, whereas instances of an output-feedback-modified output cycle could be quite fleeting and not consciously noted as an opportunity to develop language knowledge. Some significance, however, can be attributed to the dynamic cognitive activity involved. If learners were to become accustomed to such a process and engage in it frequently, it might foster in them a more active, intuitive attitude

towards learning through using the language as opposed to regarding live communication as a time for just ‘getting by’ or ‘making do’ with limited expressive resources, excluding a focus on the opportunity to build on one’s interlanguage with the linguistic information made available in the social discourse.

More details on the cognitive activity involved when learners “conduct an analysis leading to modified output” (Swain & Lapkin, 1995, p.386) reveal how enhanced attention and contemplation might occur, even if on a small scale. If feedback is received, the input from this feedback provides grounds for more thorough monitoring when re-attempting formulation of a previously unsatisfactory utterance (Sato & Lyster, 2012, p. 595). Reflecting on the lower performance of study participants exposed only to enhanced input compared to those who produced output as means of understanding English relativization, Izumi (2002) points out that only decoding input can be achieved without focusing on the grammatical relationships between structural elements, stating that “unless one perceives the relationship among related form elements, morphological concordances may never be acquired” (p. 571). In output production, the piecing together of elements is executed by the learner. They are “responsible for message generation and formulation that requires grammatical encoding” (Izumi, 2003, p. 183) and, as a result of Izumi’s (2002) study, “the output task served effectively both as the stimulator of integrative processing and as the glue to connect individual form elements” (p. 571). The cognition activated when learners engage in this sort of ‘invention’ or ‘generation’ followed by exposure to contrasting information seems to involve deeper schematic adjustment and increased attention to the meaning, function and relation of crucial features of a concept. For language learning, the ‘concepts’ would include inflectional or structural attributes of the target language.

It might seem, then, that the way to cash in on all of these wondrous learning effects in the language classroom would simply be to have students produce more speech or writing. However, not all forms of learner output will automatically involve effective degrees of monitoring and contemplation as described above, or instigate sufficient feedback to scaffold a reflective assessment of one’s interlanguage. In most cases, quite specific conditions and activity parameters would probably be required to steer learners towards engaging in constructive L2 dialogue at a complexity level adequate to both operate and challenge their current linguistic resources. Swain (1985) notes that producing output can involve “simply getting one’s message across[, which] can and does occur with grammatically deviant forms and sociolinguistically inappropriate language” and argues that learners need to be “pushed toward the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed, but that is conveyed precisely, coherently and appropriately” (p. 248-249). This would be more likely to compel learners to give attention to the linguistic accuracy of their utterances and any available contrastive input. It is worthwhile, then, to consider how teachers might go about designing activities that instigate multiple instances of ‘pushing’ learners to engage in *effective* output production and constructive negotiation of form or meaning.

To involve the factors discussed here in learning processes in the language classroom, a complexity of both input and output content that can adequately stimulate deepening of L2 knowledge or solidification of expressive skills needs to be prompted by setting activity parameters that instigate on topic formulation of multi-word utterances and

incorporate target language sourced feedback as part of the procedure involved in executing the activity. The information gap activity is one type of construct that can be applied to incorporate this. Therefore, to elaborate on the depiction of the potential function of a guessing style of information gap, the following section explains an example of an activity intended to engage learners in production of ‘pushed’ output and instigate constructive negotiation of meaning.

How the Information Gap Activity Construct Can Elicit ‘Pushed’ Output and the Potential Learning Processes Involved

In the following, an example of the style of information gap referred to in the introduction of this paper will be evaluated for its potential to instigate output-feedback-modified output cycles in which learners’ interlanguage resources can be contrasted with target language content in a way that resembles the differentiation aspect of the productive failure learning design. The topic of this example activity is ‘World Records’, particularly odd or surprising ones that might be fun for students to talk about. A selection of texts explaining a collection of such records found on the internet can be printed on cards and dispersed among members of a small group. These are the ‘answers’ to the information gaps, so should be kept secret at first. Students are then shown only small and incomplete bits of information about one of the records on a screen or blackboard. An example would be ‘shoe’, ‘6.4’, ‘2.39’, ‘1.65’ (adapted from Guinness World Records, 2020), as in ‘Figure 1’ below:



Figure 1: Example display from the ‘World Records’ information gap activity

One member of a group will notice that their card has the answer on it, and other members should take turns trying to say what they think the record is, having been directed that they must include all of the information on the screen in their answer. The learners, then, are producing output, and it is ‘pushed’ output as they need to consider how to express the dimensions of the shoe and syntactically formulate sentences that refer to this as a record. The context and content of the activity and this particular prompt demand a certain degree of linguistic precision to effectively communicate guesses at what might fill out the information gap. Depending on their proficiency, students could express their thoughts at different levels of complexity, and they can be told that they do not have to say it exactly as in the answer text. They might say, “It is a very big shoe that is ~ meters wide, ~”, or use more complex structure and vocabulary to say, “The largest shoe ever made is ~”. Although it cannot be guaranteed, it is also possible that the group member holding the answer might

provide feedback on the format of the targeted text if guessing students' output is overly imprecise or inaccurate. There is also potential for feedback to be given on the suitability or morphology of lexical items in output that correspond with the equivalent message in the input text (the answer). An example of a possible occurrence of this is represented in 'Figure 2' below:

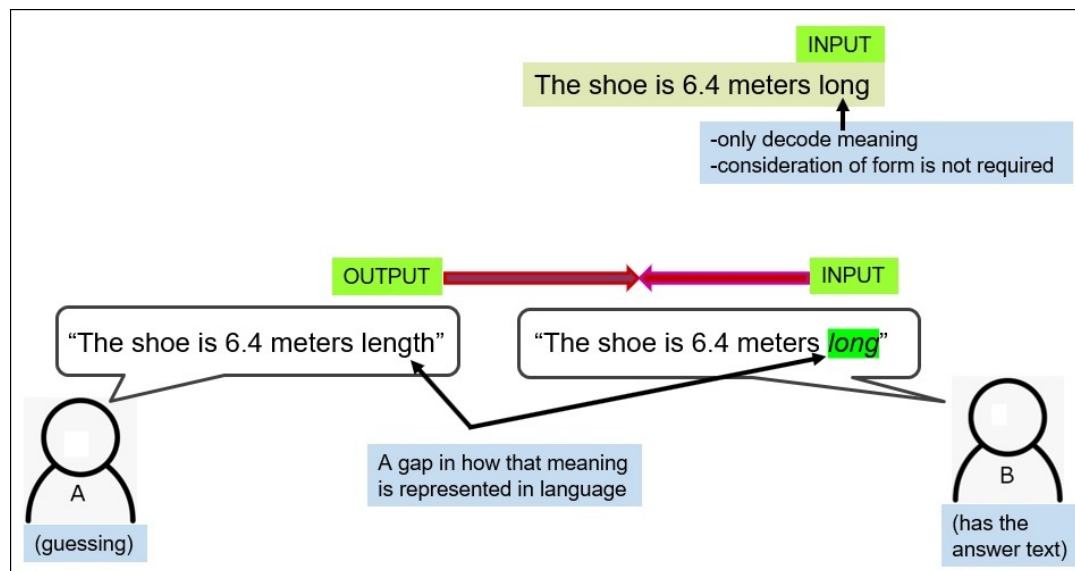


Figure 2: Diagram of possible output-feedback contrasting

As opposed to only comprehending meaning, the contrast which may become evident to learners in comparing output with feedback might draw attention to differences in how that meaning is represented linguistically. Syntactic, morphological and lexico-grammatical differences between a learner's interlanguage resource and the target language text of the information gap can be made salient through learner interaction in an activity such as this. Finally, the process will be further enhanced if following attempts at 'modified output' are made if any contrasting feedback is regarded as indicating a need for alterations or additions to the anomalous output produced in the initial attempt. Relating this to the PF design, it is this initial anomalous attempt that constitutes the 'failure'. This failure is a linguistic failure due to the in-development status of a learner's L2 linguistic knowledge, not a failure in communicating meaning, which, to repeat the previous reference to Swain (1985), "can and does occur with grammatically deviant forms and sociolinguistically inappropriate language" (p. 248-249).

Conclusion

The point is not that activities should follow the typical information gap structure, but that the information gap construct embodies the elicitation of *pushed* output from learners. It might be beneficial, therefore, to have activities that incorporate some way of eliciting learners' interlanguage before exposing and analyzing the corresponding content in the target language. In a more open communicative activity, learners can choose to leave difficult content out of the discourse, but with an information gap incorporated, the predetermined discourse (the answer to the 'gap') demands a certain level of complexity and accuracy for output to be relevant. As this resembles the 'productive failure' design, it reveals the active learning essence of the information gap concept.

Functioning in the way that ‘productive failure’ designs do, it is possible that this output-first pattern embodied in the activity introduced earlier may provide a deeper learning experience involving more insightful understanding of the functions and purposes of forms in the target language than if learners only receive direct instruction. Learners need to be immersed in the meaning-context of the content when they contribute their own output to the discourse instead of passively analyzing that discourse as an alien phenomenon that does not involve their internal knowledge and thoughts. Any input really does involve the learner, though, and it should, as they need to develop agency in the conscious development of their interlanguage as a real tool for real communication.

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Comparative Review of the Foreign Language Learning History of a Japanese and a Flemish-Dutch native Speaker

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Abstract

How we learn a foreign (second, third, fourth, ...) language contains diverse approaches. It depends on, to the great extent, each learner's personal background and aptitude such as the starting age, native language, motivation, goal(s), learning context, and life history. It is also dynamic, in the process of learning the target language, in a sense that 1) those previously mentioned factors can change longitudinally and 2) those factors are influenced by the community, society, culture and historical/geographical condition which the learner is originally attached to. What is reported in this qualitative research project is a twofold case study of two foreign language learners, one is a Japanese from Kobe, and the other is a Belgian from Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region). The former thus is a Japanese native speaker who also uses English and Dutch for her work and academic activities (together with her some knowledge of German, French and Afrikaans), and the latter is a Dutch native speaker who uses mainly Dutch, English and Japanese in business (with his background of learning Latin, German, French, Spanish and Portuguese). Through the observation and comparison of those two language learners – juxtaposing their similarities and contrasting the differences – we discover several pedagogical insights in language learning activities, which might be of help for those who struggle to learn foreign languages (specifically English as the first foreign language) in Japan. Also, some methodological indications are presented for English teachers in Japan who seek effective and efficient ways to guide their students.

Keywords: Language Learning, Learning Context, Personal Background, Individual Differences, Language Learning Experience, English Education In Japan

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Introduction

Second (third, fourth ...etc.) language acquisition is not a straightforward goal to reach, and for that, diverse attempts and approaches have been implemented and still will be in the future. According to Atkinson, Rod Ellis regarded it as an enormously complex phenomenon, and it will benefit from a multiplicity of perspectives, theories, and research methodologies (2008). Atkinson cited the view of Swain and Deters (2007) as well in which they mentioned “a variety of alternative perspectives have blossomed, extending the boundaries of SLA, adding to and enriching its constructs and methodologies.”

This is a report of a twofold study of tracing back two participants’ personal histories of their language learning. The study is mainly based on the qualitative approach, by which we carefully retrace, observe, and analyze how they started learning their target languages, how it evolved, and what sort of effect this has brought to their life as the result. We aim, through that exploration, to find underlying clues to discover how some individuals approach new target languages as effectively and efficiently as possible when encountering them, and what we can distill from it as pedagogical implications in the field of SLA, some of which could be reflected in classroom practice.

Previous studies

Dörnyei cited an interesting remark by Sternburg (2002) as below:

Much of what appears to be foreign-language learning aptitude may reflect a valuing process. In Belgium, those who learn Flemish as a first language are much more likely to learn a second and even a third language than are those who learn French as a first language. Why? Can anyone seriously believe that the difference is one of the language-learning aptitudes? Probably not. Rather, the difference is that of the perceived need for additional languages. There is a practical need for additional languages, and the languages are taught with this practical use in mind. (p. 19)

In fact, what Sternburg explained as “Flemish” is Dutch used in Belgium. It is one of the official languages of Belgium together with French and German (taalunieⁱ, “the Dutch Language Union”, and Donaldson, pp. 4-7, 1983)ⁱⁱ. Dörnyei mentioned that the factors related to language learning achievements such as motivation, aptitude effect, individual differences and social setting demands are intertwined in diverse complexities and dynamics (p. 65 - 66).

The SLA field has mostly been developed and expanded centered around global English education, rather than “whatever second language” education. In this study, we cannot overlook this point, particularly when we observe how the two participants acquired the communicative ability to use English in their current daily lives. Saraceni stated that English is now habitually considered a global or an international language, namely “English everywhere” (p. 45, 2015). This was already recognized by Chrystal more than a decade before Saraceni’s findings (pp. 59-68, 2003). Willingly or not, the whole world lives in this reality, including Belgium and Japan. As Kumaravadivelu mentioned by citing Kaplan’s models (1966) of “Cultural thought patterns” (pp. 84-88, 2008), any country/region and their people now need to learn the English language

despite the enormous diversity in cultural and thought patterns. Naturally, this is not a straightforward task especially for those who are from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In other words, it is more difficult for some people than for others to acquire the English ability, due to the differences in language and the peripheral circumstances under which they live. There is also a fear concerning cultural homogenization and maintaining their own cultural identities (Kumaravadivelu, pp. 93-94). Those are the factors that people in the so-called “expanding circle” by Kachru (Crystal, p. 60-61) must face.

A twofold case-study

In this study we have two participants whose language learning histories are dealt with. We call them AD and BM. The former (AD) is a Belgian (Flemish) industrial consultant operating his own business from Tokyo. The latter (BM) became an interpreter/translator and teacher of English at university in Tokyo, after raising her children and spending several years as a nearly fulltime homemaker.

AD majored in Computer Science in university and graduate school in Flanders, Belgium, and then, completed another Master-program in Computer Science in the USA (1982 - 83). He has developed his business in Tokyo with mainly Flemish corporate clients using his Dutch (L1), English and (mainly spoken) Japanese. BM majored in the English language and linguistics in university in Japan and obtained a Bachelor of Arts with the official teaching license of English for junior/senior high school issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Then she spent a year in a special program of a graduate school in the USA, studying Bilingualism and TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) in 1982 - 83. After spending many years as a homemaker in Europe and Japan, she went back to graduate school in 2005, and currently, she teaches various English classes in the Faculty of International Politics and Economics of a university in Tokyo while occasionally working as an interpreter of Dutch, English and Japanese for some European corporations and institutes. She also translates Dutch, English, German and French business-related documents, mainly into Japanese but sometimes also into English. See Table 1, to find out who they are.

| | AD | BM |
|--------------------|---|--|
| born and raised in | Flanders, Belgium | Kobe, Japan |
| L1 | Dutch | Japanese |
| speaks | English, Japanese, German | English, Dutch |
| reads | English, German, French + some Spanish, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Japanese and Latin | English, Dutch, German + some French and Afrikaans |

Table 1: Basic data of the target learners

The major method of research in this study was a set of interviews with the participants and a review of the records about the language learning events they have been through. From those pieces and elements of information, we can understand their evolution as language learners. This study is longitudinal and dynamic and is unique in the sense that it is very personal.

AD was born and raised in the suburbs of Antwerp, the largest Dutch-speaking City of Belgium (Donaldson, pp. 8-12). As a reasonable number of people around him at that time, his parents spoke German and French beside Dutch, their L1. They also read and understood a certain level of English. Flanders is right across England, and it was not unusual to see, in some towns, British army's soldiers. Furthermore, AD told that, although they have an hour time difference with UK, they had a cable TV network across Europe from early times, which enabled Flemish people, particularly children since infancy to follow, for example, BBC's TV programs. Also, Flanders being a relatively small region, there were many programs on TV that were made by German, French, American TV companies and that were broadcasted in Flanders with the use of subtitles. Taking quite a different stance from that of their neighbor countries such as France, Germany, and their domestic counterpart, Flanders has never employed the "dubbing" system, which inevitably leads the Flemish people to be continuously exposed to other languages like English.

When AD was a third grader of elementary school, he started learning French. AD explained that, because of the duality which his country had, it was "only normal" to have some simple French classes (Nishikawa-Van Eester & Van Eester, p. 69). AD continued that he remembers it was fun to have such a class in which no textbooks were used but they did attractive activities such as singing songs in French. It was obviously a pleasant memory.

He has an interesting background of the German language. His parents used to take their children to the German-speaking part of Switzerland for vacation where they enjoyed mountain walking. On arriving there, their parents immediately switched to German from Dutch, which their children got soon accustomed with. It was a natural behavior, in AD's view, that people use different languages according to where they live.

He recalled, somewhat nostalgically, that he and his young brother could go and buy ice cream by themselves during their summer vacations in Italy. His parents only imposed one condition: the children had to speak Italian to buy their ice cream. It was a stunning moment for the interviewer to directly follow those brilliant episodes in someone's boyhood. He himself feels that those happy memories are connected to his language learning experiences.

By the time AD went to junior high school in the 1970s, English had clearly replaced French in Europe. AD selected English as his third language after French. Meanwhile, he was in a course to take Latin, which was "an intellectual challenge" to the boy (Nishikawa-Van Eester & Van Eester, p. 70). Struggling with texts such as "Commentarii de Bello Gallico" provided him with a practice ground where he could read, think, analyze and understand what is written.

By the time when he went on to university and graduate school, he had learned French, English, German and Latin besides his L1, Dutch. His case is not really special as it followed a track prepared in official school programs.

BM was born and raised in Kobe, Japan. Kobe is one of the few cities in Japan where you can hear foreign languages in downtown. Yet, her family was perfectly monolingual, which was not abnormal at that time. They only spoke Kobe dialect,

which sounds quite different from Standard Japanese, based on the Tokyo accent. Standard Japanese was something you hear on TV and the radio, but nothing they could hear in real life.

As most of the children did those days, she started learning English when entering junior high. Most of the time was spent on grammar and reading during classes. However, she was lucky to have good teachers for those three years who gave their students time for “reading aloud” and “listening comprehension” as much as possible. Looking back, she thinks that she worked hard for the English classes because she liked those two activities very much. For the rest, most of the time was spent – practically – on the preparation for the entrance exam for senior high school.

The situation remained unchanged at senior high. English classes were organized to heavily stress on reading and grammar in order to squeeze the students into “good universities.” The school was a great fan of grammar-translation method, and it was essential for the students to “memorize” everything they learned. Often, how many words the students memorized was competed in class. On the other hand, in the reading class, BM found some activities quite interesting. For the entrance exams, the students read many essays and articles those days such as by Bertrand Russell. By this reading experience, she realized that reading and analyzing each sentence and passage fostered her analytical ability, and at the same time, it was a holistic comprehensive training. Later, she also recalled that, in the classes of Chinese classics (“kan-bun” in Japanese) it was quite similar to those English classes. By carefully tracking the logic, which is not that of Japanese, you are trained to stimulate your thinking ability. In that sense, it was very educational (Nishikawa-Van Eester & Van Eester, p. 81).

At university she learned basic German as a second foreign language and in the evening she joined another school (evening course) for three years and half. She was in the Faculty of English Literature during the day and in the evening, she was in a course of business English heavily focusing on oral communication. Nearly 100% of the teaching staff in the evening school were American missionaries. It was double schooling. After graduating from university, she joined a year program of graduate school in the US to study Bilingualism and TEFL.

After finishing the program, she flew to Belgium where she followed a Dutch course for three years, and then she learned basic French for two years. Meanwhile she taught Japanese (senior high level) at an international school.

Back in Japan, she stayed home for several years, and then she started a small translation business which later grew into translation and interpretation of mainly English, Dutch and Japanese. In the very end of 2004, she went back to graduate school and completed a Master’s program of TESOL and obtained a teaching certificate of “Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language.” She started teaching English courses at university in 2012.

| | AD | BM |
|------|--|---|
| 1968 | started learning French at elem. school (5 th grade) for 8 years | |
| 1970 | started learning Latin at junior high for 6yrs (reading and grammar) | |
| 1971 | | started learning English at junior high (1 st) |

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| | | grade) (till graduate school) |
| 1972 | started learning English for 4 yrs | |
| 1974 | started learning German at senior high for 2 yrs | |
| 1977 | | started learning German (only reading) as a 2 nd foreign language at university for 2 yrs |
| 1981 | started learning Spanish for 1 yr (evening school) in Brussels | |
| 1982 | - joined a Master' program in Computer Science in the US after obtaining a Master in CS in Belgium | - graduated from university in Japan - obtained the official license of teaching English at the junior/senior high level in Japan - joined a special year-program (Bilingualism and TEFL) at graduate school in the US. |
| 1983 | - back in Belgium after obtaining his second Master's degree in the US - started working as an engineer (tele-communication) - started learning Japanese in Flanders | - back from the US. - started learning Dutch (evening school) in Flanders, Belgium, for 3 yrs (senior high level) |
| 1984 | | - started teaching Japanese at an international school in Belgium, for 3 yrs (senior high level) - started teaching English (private business) |
| 1986 | | started learning elementary French (evening school) |
| 1989 | started following a Japanese intensive course for 6 wks in Japan | |
| 1994 | | started working as a translator (freelance) in Japan |
| 2004 | starting a consulting business | back in graduate school majoring in TESOL |
| 2005 | | obtained the certificate of Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language |
| 2007 | | - obtained the Master's degree in TESOL - started learning (self-learning) Afrikaans for several wks |
| 2011 | started learning Portuguese in Tokyo for 1 yr | |
| 2012 | | started teaching English classes in university |

Table 2: The language learning histories of the two participants

Discussion and pedagogical meanings of language learning

As seen in Dörnyei's statement earlier, there are many learning contexts of languages. In this study, we looked at two individuals who are from contrastingly different backgrounds. To see the difference, see Table 3 that is a comparison of Flanders and Japan.

| | Flanders, Belgium | Japan |
|---------------|---|-----------|
| Geography | Continental, Crossroads of Europe, Northern part of Belgium | Island(s) |
| No. of people | Flanders (Dutch-speaking): 6 Mil | 126 Mil |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| No. of native speakers of the language | Worldwide Dutch: 20 Mil (Flanders, the Netherlands, Suriname, etc.) ⇒ “de taalunie” (“the Dutch Language Union”) | 126 Mil |
| Need for foreign languages | Matter of survival (for business, for leisure) in daily life | Maybe no real, strong need in daily life? |
| Basic approach | Practical, Realistic and Natural | Big TESOL market |

Table 3: Flanders (Belgium) vs. Japan

As the heart of Europe, Flanders receives many visitors from outside and handles active communication with people from outside. It is easy to imagine how busy “comings and goings” are. Surrounded by German, French and English-speaking areas, the population of Dutch speaking Belgians is merely six million. Even adding all the Dutch native speakers worldwide, it is twenty million. Because of this fact, the Dutch speaking countries and regions sustain an organization, “taalunie, the Dutch Language Union” (<https://taalunie.org/>). The language group is so small that the members make efforts towards two opposite directions: promoting their language strongly and accepting other languages, especially a powerful one (Kumaravadivelu, p. 94). Because English is the most powerful language, the group has no choice but learning it. Furthermore, they need English in daily life, which means they need “practical” English. The communication in English should be preferably as natural as possible. In such a case, grammaticality and accuracy do not really matter because the top priority of using the target language is to have smooth communication with others.

BM recalled that the first things she and her classmates learned in the Dutch class were how to ask for help when in trouble and explain what they wanted and why. When she was learning French, one of the model conversations or skits was “how to complain about what you don’t appreciate in a hotel room you got while traveling in France” and she found it quite impressive because that would never show up in the early chapters in the French class in Japan. Through this kind of experiences, she realized that that is the way they teach the target language(s) in Flanders. They teach the target language so that their students can use it, not just to pass the exam at school. In Japan, people spend so much money on “English conversation schools” after finishing university’s program. The fact you do so is a clear indication that people have no occasion to use English and to do something meaningful with it in everyday life.

Related to this practicality-issue, we can remember the Italian episode told by AD. His parents gave their little boys some pocket money and told that they could go and buy ice cream. But for that, they had to speak Italian, and that is something you remember even after grown up. This is certainly an effective way to learn a language. Also, spending vacations in a German speaking area in Europe is a good way to learn German. It is clear, but it is difficult as far as you live in Japan. Japan once even took advantage of this geographical fact and closed the entire country (1640-1853) except for a few special places such as “Dejima” in Nagasaki, an artificial island for the Dutch (Seargeant, p. 69). The psychological distance is affected by the physical one, meaning that if you choose an ideal image that is quite different from yourself, you might try to be like your ideal model, but it is not you after all. You feel it is normal that you cannot fully achieve the goal; all you can do is trying to get the model as close as possible. This is one of the problems associated with “English-native-speaking teachers” in school curriculums.

It is interesting that AD regarded studying Latin as an intellectual challenge. He further explained “Latin grammar is quite complex but reasonably well structured.” This is similar to the experience of BM when she learned 1) Chinese classics and 2) had to read sophisticated and elaborated essays such as by Russell. She felt that her analytical ability was steadily growing by trying to re-organize the structure of each sentence

There is an interesting analysis by Yoshida when he explained the learning context of Japanese learners of English (Lee & Han, 2006). Yoshida was a keynote speaker at an international conference of TESOL where he advocated his “Fish Bowl vs. Open Seas model” (2001). Table 4 is a rough sketch of his theory. Yoshida described Japanese EFL learners as fish in a fish bowl while general ESL learners in more authentic ESL contexts are compared to fish in the open seas swimming around freely (p. 196).

Applying Yoshida’s model to our study, BM’s case is compared to a fish in a fish bowl, and AD to a fish in the open seas. The former is a Japanese learner and the latter is a Flemish.

| | Fish Bowl | Open Seas |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Reliance on others | Teacher-centered, passive learning | Student-centered, learners’ autonomy, active learning |
| Preservation of ideal environment | Intolerance of errors, use of external role models (such as native speakers of English) | Tolerance of errors, use of role models similar to the learners |
| Isolation | No language borders | Tight isolation (language barrier) |

Table 4: Yoshida’s “Fish Bowl” model vs. “Open Seas” model by Nishikawa-Van Eester

In Yoshida’s theory, he postulated six major aspects that account for the weakness of the Japanese EFL context holds. They are: 1) reliance on others, 2) passive learning in teacher centered class, 3) intolerance of linguistic errors, 4) limited learning environment, 5) undermining the importance of communication, and 6) limited role of English as a school subject. Contrastingly, the open seas model holds the characteristics as the following: 1) learners’ autonomy, 2) tolerance of errors, 3) authentic learning environment, 4) emphasis on cross-cultural communication, and 5) communication skills with other learners from diverse cultural backgrounds (p. 203, Lee & Han, 2006).

We can see Yoshida’s own words and phrases in his proceedings, how English is taught in Japan and Flanders, respectively (pp. 196-197, Yoshida, 2001).

Here are the summaries of the characteristics of each model:

[Fish Bowl]

Reliance on others: Teacher provides all material, activity, Students learn passively
 Preservation of an ideal environment: Errors not tolerated, Other (“native-speaker”) model used

Isolated, artificial living environment: Communication not required, Meaningful only in limited context

[Open Seas]

Reliance on self: Fish must find appropriate water to live in

Fish must find their own food to eat

Adaptation to existing environment: Fish must adapt to existing water quality

Fish must adapt to existence of fungi and other foreign substances

Fish must find food provided by environment

Coexistence in a natural habitat: Fish coexists with other fish and animals

Fish shares natural environment

We can recognize suggestive, and profound pedagogical implications in Yoshida's proceedings, and we should keep these in mind when teaching English in Japan. Yoshida further suggested that, in order to change the current Japanese EFL contexts, we need to shift to the Open Seas model from the Fish Bowl model; however, he pointed out at the same time that this means changing the basic nature of EFL learners into autonomous learners (p. 197). This is a fundamental and revolutionary change that is closely related to the nature of the Japanese students. Moreover, this has to do with the educational system in Japan that focuses on selecting students via university entrance exams in which English is a subject to select "good students."

Conclusion

Two stories of language learning provide us with an occasion to think about a number of questions on learning languages. Why do we learn new languages? How can we reach the goals we set for ourselves? What do we want to do once we achieve the goals?

We go back to the motivation issue by Dörnyei. What motivates us to learn (a) new language(s)? Does everybody have a motivation to start learning English in Japan? Maybe some students cannot find the motivation anywhere in their mind; they study English because it is a major school subject. They might study English merely to pass the university entrance exams. In that case, there is no room in the student's head for variables such as "willingness to communicate" (Dörnyei, p. 207) and/or the "ideal L2 self" (ideal language self) (pp. 105-106), which might help the learner's future life. If the learners do not get occasions to imagine what would be possible by using English in the future, they miss something.

The two learners showed that they were not just sitting to learn passively. Through many activities, they made sure that learning the target language is fun and experienced that language learning is rewarding in many aspects in their life. As AD stated, from early on in his life he faced the reality that different people speak different languages (Nishikawa-Van Eester & Van Eester, p. 73) and the Flemish people adjust themselves to the situation in which they live. It is a matter of survival. He further stated as follows: "Learning a language" has never been a goal in itself but it is a means to achieve another goal, and "Language learning is not difficult" (p. 93).

BM feels also that knowing more languages leads people to richer lifestyles. She hopes that her students will study and use English so that they will have more alternatives in their future lives, and they will lead fruitful lives through the

experience of language learning. She thinks that that is one of the teacher's functions in Japan.

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Politeness and Impoliteness Strategies in the Courtroom: An Analysis of a Trial Script

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Abstract

This research presents a conversation analysis (CA) study based on the data from an American reality TV show which aims at solving the following question: what type of politeness and impoliteness strategies are applied by the participants in the courtroom? Results from the trial conversation data show that the conflict between the speakers is the major factor that causes much greater use of impoliteness strategies. Among the impoliteness strategies, the most notable strategy is positive impoliteness in the way of using inappropriate identity markers, seeking disagreement and selecting a sensitive topic, making the other feel uncomfortable, and excluding the other from an activity. Moreover, when the conflict was solved, there was a remarkable turn in the application of politeness strategy. All the participants mainly use politeness strategies including negative and positive strategies. To be specific, in the positive strategies, common ground, conveying cooperation between speaker and hearer, and fulfilling hearer's wants are mostly used. The results reveal that the use of politeness and impoliteness strategies by the participants in courtrooms is one of the distinct ways of seeking the truth and pursuing justice. However, the unequal power status among the participants becomes a spotlight in the courtroom, which also stimulates the application of impoliteness strategies. The findings of the study may provide a relevant reference for the further study of politeness and impoliteness strategy in reality TV shows, particularly, in trial settings.

Keywords: Politeness Strategies; Impoliteness Strategies; Courtroom; Reality TV Show

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Introduction

This paper explores the politeness and impoliteness strategies that are applied by the participants in the courtroom. For this purpose, the literature on politeness and impoliteness strategies are reviewed, particularly, Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness modal and Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness model. In this paper, combining with the theoretical models, the following question is discussed: *What types of politeness and impoliteness strategies are applied in the courtroom?* The data is drawn from an American reality television show named "Caught in Providence". In the normal courtroom, there are two parties of a case who require legal intervention to reach an agreement. The most important participant is the judge who has authoritative responsibilities and power for dealing with the dispute between two parties. In this case, the forms of interaction in the courtroom are multiple. However, in this paper, the context of the courtroom is different from other trials since the interaction is mainly between the judge and the person who violates the traffic regulations. On some occasions, the inspector will be involved in providing the document of violation or payment.

Literature review

This section consists of four aspects in terms of politeness and impoliteness, which are the concepts of the face-threatening act, politeness model, impoliteness model, and some literature regarding the (im)politeness in the legal context. Among these works of literature, this research is mostly based on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1978, 1987) and Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness model.

Face Threatening Act (FTA) and Politeness Strategies

Concerning the concept of face, Brown and Lavinson (1987) introduce the concept of face-threatening act (FTA), such as warning, threatening, commanding, ordering, etc. They present the purpose of politeness which is to redress the FTA as it is in everyone's mutual interest. They mention the following four strategies for performing FTAs (p. 69).

- (1) Bald On-record politeness: This strategy is used in situations where people know each other well or in a situation of urgency.
- (2) Off-record: This strategy is more indirect. The speaker does not impose on the hearer. As a result, the face is not directly threatened.
- (3) Positive Politeness: This strategy tries to minimize the threat to the audience's positive face that is the desire of being considered as a good human being, whereas negative face is
- (4) Negative Politeness: This strategy tries to minimize threats to the audience's negative face that is the desire to remain the freedom of actions.

Ide (1989, 1993) argues that some culture's politeness is not merely a matter of people's strategic choice in reducing FTAs, it is the issue of working out the position in a group and the social norms. Wolfson's (1988) "bulge theory" appears based on the face theory of Brown and Levinson. Her theory maintains that most solidarity-establishing speech behaviors happen among status-equal friends and acquaintances. Goffman's (1967) and Brown and Levinson's (1978) theories of the face have been

criticized since the theory only explains the personal and individual face. Spencer-Oatey (2005) argues that face can be a group-based phenomenon, and when it is applied to any group in which a person's face should be concerned about as a member of the group.

Impoliteness Strategies Based on Culpeper's Model

Culpeper (1996) defines the strategy "instead of enhancing or supporting face, impoliteness super strategies are a means of attacking face" (p.356). Culpeper (1996) proposes the following five impoliteness super strategies (p.356):

- (a) Bald on record impoliteness: the face-threatening act (FTA) is performed in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way where the face is not irrelevant.
- (b) Positive impoliteness: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants.
- (c) Negative impoliteness: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants.
- (d) Sarcasm or mock politeness: the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are insincere, and thus remain surface realizations.
- (e) Withhold politeness: the absence of politeness work where it would be expected.

Mills (2003) states that aggressive behaviors in some certain contexts can be tolerant since they are appropriate in those settings and that they cannot be regarded as impoliteness. Watts (2003) presents the concept of accepted aggressive face work, which is set in participants' neutralizing face-threatening acts in interactions among family members, friends, competitors, or other organized participants. Terkourafi (2008) identifies unmarked rudeness which is achieved by force of conventionalized impolite expressions in contexts conventionally considered as face-threatening.

The Relationship of Politeness and Impoliteness

The linguists who agree with the theory of Brown and Levinson tend to think that politeness should be the main focus of analysis and that impoliteness is simply the opposite of politeness. Bousfield (2008) claims that impoliteness is the parasite of politeness in politeness research. Eelen (2001) shows that, if impoliteness is only considered as a lack of politeness, it will be very difficult to describe impoliteness properly. She emphasizes that impoliteness should be seen as the other side of politeness. Some researchers like Culpeper (2007), Bousfield (2008) show that impoliteness needs to be analyzed both separately in its own right and also concerning politeness. They believe that politeness in isolation from impoliteness is not reasonable, as politeness reveals its meaning from the potentiality of impoliteness.

Review on the (im)politeness Strategies in the Courtroom

The study of the trial context explains that the face work theory has been arousing people's attention. Brown and Levinson (1987) point out how the "formal protocol" of the courtroom can manage and reduce effectively any potential aggression between parties. Kurzon (2001) states that judges show a high level of formal politeness, and they are attentive to maintain politeness as much as possible, because of the high stakes in the legal environment. Harris (2011) shows how judges often use weakening devices in their interactions with both lay participants and legal professionals, even

when the lawyers have made mistakes which account for face-threats that directly affect the judges. Tracy (2011) argues that the practice of oral arguments in courtrooms demonstrates only minimal politeness. This is because a professional law-based relationship is different from how the same participants may relate to each other in “everyday” situations. Johnson and Clifford (2011) state how the defense counsel’s “impoliteness” often remains below the surface of the discourse, due to the surface politeness features. They argue that any analysis of courtroom trial interaction needs to take the “multiple goals” into account.

Methods

The data is drawn from an American reality TV show named *Caught in Providence*. In this program, the cases include traffic, parking, and arraignments for criminal offenses. For selecting the data from a reality TV show can be accounted for two reasons. First, although the trial on the reality TV show is not like the one in the formal courtroom, it reflects the power of the judge as other courtrooms do, and the trial is conducted by following the legal rules. Second, what happened in the reality TV show is a real traffic trial. The participants in the courtroom are not actors, and what they say before the camera is unscripted, which makes it a form of authentic discourse, albeit one that is not often studied.

The data is about an 8 minute-traffic trial which includes a second and third trial of the same case. In the first trial of the case, a woman, Tonya, got numerous tickets due to traffic violations. She was supposed to pay\$ 2,200 for those tickets. However, she had serious financial problems. The judge considered her situation and decided to give her a break with a condition. It means that all her tickets would be dismissed if she only paid 10 dollars a week for fifteen weeks. In other words, she would only pay 150 dollars. In the second trial, Tonya insisted that she paid all the money (150 dollars); however, it was said that she was 30 dollars short on her payment note. This is the main conflict of this trial. The latter part of the data is chosen from the third trial of her case in which her case came to an end positively. As it is a television program, subtitles are provided. But to analyze the discourse, the subtitle was converted into text by using discourse transcription symbols.

This paper tries to explore what politeness and impoliteness strategies are applied by the participants in this trial settings. The participants of the case are the Judge; Tonya, the woman who was fined the tickets; inspector Quinn, inspector Glen (appeared in the second trial), and inspector Carrigan (showed up in the third part of trial).

Findings and Analysis

According to the data, there is a strong contrast between the typical polite and impolite communication exchanges that occur among the participants in the courtroom. In the second trial, the participants mainly used impoliteness strategies. In the third trial, on most occasions, the same participants applied politeness strategies. As different strategies are utilized, it turns out to be a different outcome in each trial. In the impolite interaction, more face-threatening acts occurred, whereas there is more redress of face-threatening in polite interaction. In the following section, the details of these strategies will be discussed with the data.

Impoliteness Strategies

Bald on Record Impoliteness

Bald on record impoliteness strategy is used when there is face at risk and when a speaker intends to damage the hearer's face. In this strategy, the impolite language will be spoken directly and clearly. It is named the face-attack-act (FAA). The main difference between FAA and FTA (face-threatening act) is that there is a deliberate intention of the speaker and the speaker intends to damage the other's face in FAA (Bousfield, 2008). According to this theory, it can be seen from the following data that the utterance of the judge reflects bald on record impoliteness in line 033, 036, and 039. Inspector Glen defended his clerks who did not make mistake, his statement stimulated the judge's belief that Tonya was lying. The statement of inspector Glen and the note of payment cause face at risk to judge (or to the court), the judge thus tried to damage Tonya's face to convey the meaning that they were suspecting her maxims of quality, in other words, they believe what she said lacked adequate evidence. At the same time, Tonya lost her face due to bald on record impoliteness. To some extent, the unbalanced power between judge, inspector, and Tonya can account for the risk of loss of face.

Example 1

- 033 → Judge You got a disgusted look on your face? Fact of the matter is that(.)
 034 you were here before.
 035 Tonya Yes.
 036 Judge I give you- I didn't give you a little break, I gave you a MONSTER
 037 (.)break.
 038 Tonya °Yes you did°
 039 → Judge So(.) you're in here today like like you're fighting the world. right?
 040 No one, everybody here is trying to [help you] (.)There is a
 041 Tonya [enhen]
 042 Judge legitimate dispute.

Positive Impoliteness

Positive impoliteness is the use of strategies designed to damage the hearer's positive face wants (his or her desire to be accepted). Culpeper points out some output strategies of positive politeness. Some of the positive strategies are applied by the participants in the data.

a. Seeking Disagreement and Selecting a Sensitive Topic

In the following example, Glen raked up the past and stated that Tonya was supposed to pay the original fine, 2,200 dollars. His statement is not only positive impoliteness but also negative impoliteness (this point will be discussed in the next section). As Glen reminded judge the fact for seeking the disagreement with what Tonya said while seeking agreement from the judge, hence this topic turned out to be a sensitive topic for Tonya. For saving Glen's negative face, Tonya used negative politeness

strategies to restrain herself, whereas she saved Glen's self-image centering on his wants. Therefore, she said, "*I'm grateful for that*" (line 127) to indicate or plead Glen to some extent not to mention the original fine since she couldn't pay a large amount of money.

Example 2

122 → Glen Your Honor, I also wanna point out that <because she didn't pay on
123 time, technically the judgment should go back to the original fines>
124 Judge °I know that°
125 Glen And you're giving her another break
126 (0.3)
127 → Tonya I'm grateful for that ↓
128 Judge °Administrator (.)Butler is quite accurate, that at the time that I
129 impose this sentence, I indicated if you didn't do it that the fines
130 were go back to the 2,200°
131 Tonya °Yes you did, sir° (.)

b. Making the Other Feel Uncomfortable

The conversation below is a more tense part of this data since the acts of threatening hearer's face are rather explicit. The judge used the word *disgusted* three times continuously. These severe words led Tonya to burst into a cry, and she felt very uncomfortable about the direct comments of the judge on her performance. When she gave a response to the judge, she lost herself somewhat. Her unease can be seen from her fast pace of speech, trembling voice, the lump in her throat, and action of sobbing. Although she felt her face was threatened seriously, she was struggling to save her face by "apologizing" and explaining her poor condition.

Example 3

069 Judge Not withstanding your attitude(.) like this ((crossing arms pose))
070 → and <you're [disgusted]>
071 Tonya >[I'm sorry]<
072 >because my arms are gonna keep swinging< Your Honor.
073 → Judge An:d a disgusted look=
074 Tonya =So this is how I'm controlling myself ((a lump in her throat))
075 → Judge °And the disgusted look on your face°=
076 Tonya =Because I am disgusted (.) (crying) And the reason why I am
077 disgusted is because every single dollar that I HAD (sobbing)
078 >tried to put it at that above buck 50< That's what I paid ((tremulous
79 breath)) And I apologize if they can't find my payment

c. Excluding the Other from an Activity

In example 4 and example 5 both Glen and the judge used “*she*”, the personalized third-person negative reference (in the hearing of target) implied Glen and the judge were on the same side except Tonya. From the video of the case, it can be seen that Tonya showed the look of being wrong and made some sound to hint that she was misunderstood. Both Glen and the judge applied positive impoliteness strategy via direct speech and personalized third-person negative reference (*she*), which led to a face threat to Tonya. There is a pause between the turn of Glen and the judge. During this pause, Tonya was silent and didn’t take the turn since she realized she was excluded from this activity temporarily. If they used another pronoun like “you”, she might be included in the conversation and the degree of impoliteness may be decreased.

Example 4

- 060 →Glen She MADE payments but [she only made up to 120 dollars]
 061 Tonya [((showing the look of being wronged))]
 062 (3.0)
 063 →Judge She alleges that [somebody back] someone back there-(.)
 064 Tonya [Haaa:.....:]
 109 →Glen She's very ru::de and disrespectful to my clerks at the front window?

Example 5

- 110 →Glen (.)When I came outside, when I went out to talk to them about the
 111 payment, they were- they knew exactly who I was referring to? (.)
 112 and they had told me that they had double and triple checked (.) to
 113 make sure that- to see if she had paid the 150 dollars. And it's 120
 114 dollars She's 30 dollars short she knows that she's 30 dollars short
 115 Tonya ((shaking head))

Negative Impoliteness

Negative impoliteness output strategies are classified by Culpeper (1996) as it is mentioned in the literature review section. The data of this paper reflected the following negative impoliteness strategies: frightening, emphasizing power and putting the other’s indebtedness on record, and interrupting.

a. Frightening and Putting the Other’s Indebtedness on Record

In example 6, Glen applied negative impoliteness to attack Tonya’s negative face on line 122 and 125. Glen reminded judge the fact that Tonya was supposed to pay the original 2200 dollars. He was aware clearly that Tonya had no money to pay, this is his means of frightening Tonya via his power. Although Glen has lower power than the judge, he was attempting to emphasize that his power is higher than Tonya’s in this situation. Both Glen and Judge put Tonya’s indebtedness on record by applying the rule of trial as an agent. Particularly, Glen’s threat acts made the conflict tenser,

and he succeeded in gaining bias of judge which contributed to saving his negative face.

Example 6

- 122 →Glen Your Honor, I also wanna point out that <because she didn't pa:y on
 123 time, technically the judgment should go back to the original fines>
 124 Judge °I know that°
 125 →Glen And you're giving her another break
 126 (0.3)
 127 Tonya I'm grateful for that ↓
 128 Judge °Administrator (.)Butler is quite accurate, that at the time that I
 129 impose this sentence, I indicated if you didn't do it that the fines
 130 were go back to the 2,200°
 131 Tonya °Yes you did, sir° (.)

b. Interrupting

Another strategy of negative impoliteness is interruption. In example 7, both negative impoliteness and bald on record impoliteness strategies are applied. Tonya interrupted Glen with “*I didn't say, you didn't apply it*” (line 105). This became a face-threatening act for Glen, hence he applied bald on record impoliteness to attract Tonya's face by saying “*I- I- I did not, I did not interrupt you, please don't interrupt me*” (line 106). Afterward, Tonya answered with “*sure*” which sounds polite, but her gesture (crossing her arms) implied her dissatisfaction. Her nonverbal performance and interruption can be understood that she was fighting for her negative face, meanwhile, it turned out to be a threat to Glen's positive face.

Example 7

- 099 Glen Your Honor, I've been here almost three years. <Every penny that's
 100 come into this office ↓has been (.) to the right account (.)Nothing
 101 (.)not one penny is misplaced. Everything is in everyone's
 102 account> For this young lady to say that there's a payment that we
 103 didn't apply somewhere, it's upsetting to me. We've bent over
 104 [back:wards.]
 105 →Tonya [°I didn't say°] °you [didn't apply:] it°
 106 →Glen [I- I- I did not] I did not interrupt you↓ please
 107 ↓don't interrupt me
 108 Tonya Sure ((crossing her arms))

Politeness Strategies

In this section, the third trial of the case will be focused since the register of conversation is different from the second trial despite the same main participants. The

politeness strategies will be talked about in this section to look at how the same persons changed their strategies from impoliteness to politeness. In terms of politeness, the context of this paper, each participant was polite and unthreatening, for the sake of respecting the other's ground, seeking the cooperative maxim. The politeness strategy theory is from the work of Brown and Levinson as reference. They divided the politeness strategies into two categories of positive and negative politeness strategies. Both positive and negative politeness strategies happened in the data, yet the focus of the paper is on positive politeness.

Negative Politeness

Negative face is threatened when an individual does not avoid the obstruction of participants' freedom of action. It may lead a damage to the speaker or the hearer, and makes one of them give up their will for saving the other's face. Freedom of choice and action may be deprived when the negative face is threatened. For avoiding the threat of negative face, people cooperate in maintaining face during the interaction.

In the following case, the judge reminded Tonya of her bad attitude that she had three weeks ago, the negative face of Tonya is threatened. His act created pressure on Tonya. However, Tonya utilized negative politeness by apologizing (line 152). Consequently, Tonya humbled her face to make good for the judge and accepted debt to maintain the judge's face.

Example 8

149 Judge Do you recall that?
 150 → Tonya Yes I do
 151 Judge Okay↓
 152 → Tonya \$And I sorely apologize for that day\$
 153 Judge \$You have a much better attitude today\$

Positive Politeness

As Brown and Levinson (1987) state that all people have face needs which is a need to be appreciated and to be protected. The desire to be appreciated, respected, and approved is the positive face and the act of meeting this need is positive politeness. Therefore, people use some strategies to fulfill their needs during the interaction. In the data of this paper, some common strategies for saving positive faces are reflected which are seeking common ground, implementing cooperative acts of speaker and hearer, and fulfilling hearer's wants.

a. Seeking Common Ground

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that claiming common ground in communication is a major strategy of positive politeness, such as a commonality of knowledge, attitudes, interests, goals, and in-group membership. In the following example, for saving the positive face of participants themselves or others, these acts of seeking common ground are presented explicitly.

Judge's words in line 163 show that he was trying to reduce the social distance with Tonya and show his concern for the interest of Tonya. Afterward, he upgraded his statement to seek common ground with Tonya in terms of human nature (line 166). In this way, the judge lowered his power and position and tried to put himself in the same position as Tonya. Meanwhile, his positive politeness strategies got the echoes from Tonya since she gave a positive response by saying "yes" and nodding her head. It turns out that the judge fulfilled Tonya's needs and wants by showing their commonality.

Example 9

163 → Judge °We're not here to intimidate anybody. We're trying to help you to
 164 help yourself°
 165 Tonya Yes ↓
 166 → Judge °Okay° But I will say (.) we all have those days (.)You know
 167 Tonya okay
 168 Judge ((clear throat)) so you had a bad day I ↑[understand that]°You
 169 Tonya [\$ ((nodding head))\$]
 170 → Judge know °(.)We're not perfect
 171 Tonya \$Yes\$

b. Conveying cooperation between Speaker and Hearer

Another aspect of positive politeness strategy is the cooperativeness of the speaker and hearer. This strategy shows awareness of and concern for the hearer's wants as a way of indicating cooperation. In example 10 below, to "distract" Tonya from potential face threat and previous face threat she experienced three weeks ago, the judge began the conversation with "*how are you today*". Tonya also replied with "excessive" politeness on line 144. The successful cooperative act paves a good way for the smoothness of the case.

Example 10

143 Judge °Tonya Lay(.) how are you today°
 144 Tonya °\$I'm doing good\$ Your Honor. Thank you for asking. Good
 145 morning to you°
 146 (0.2)

In example 11, inspector Carrigan offered positive evidence for Tonya, which made the cooperation triangle. Inspector Carrigan reported the result of payment, his report was one way of cooperating with Tonya indirectly to fulfill her wants. The judge announced the accomplishment of her payment to strengthen the truth of information, which minimized the threat to her face greatly.

Example 11

172 → Carrigan °Your Honor everything is paid on this (.) She has made all the
 173 payments °
 174 → Judge ((clear throat)) °All right° so I wanna congratulate you.
 175 Tonya °Thank you°

c. Fulfilling Hearer's Wants

One of the positive politeness strategies is fulfilling the hearer's wants by giving "gifts" to the hearer. In the following situation, the judge dismissed Tonya's tickets that she desperately needed. In the first trial, the judge was informed that Tonya has a serious financial problem. Therefore, the judge considered her situation and gave her a break with a condition. If Tonya paid 150 dollars in 15 weeks, all her tickets (\$2,200) would be dismissed. Although some "tragedy" happened in the second trial, the judge dismissed a huge part of her tickets. As for Tonya, dismissal of the case was a big "gift" (line 183), the judge fulfilled her wants by utilizing a positive politeness strategy.

Example 12

182 Tonya °Thank you, Your Honor°
 183 → Judge °So the case is gonna be dismissed°
 184 Tonya \$Thank you so much, I appreciate it\$
 185 Judge So good luck.
 186 Tonya \$Thank you\$

Discussion

In this paper, Brown and Levinson's (1978,1987) politeness model and Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness strategies model is used to explore what particular strategies are applied in the courtroom and the reason of application. The result of the data reveals that politeness and impoliteness strategies appear to be used by the participants in the courtroom. However, positive impoliteness and positive politeness strategies are used more frequently than other strategies, indicating that the participants are likely to attack or save other's positive face. Particularly, the judge and Tonya used various strategies at a different time which led to different outcomes. As for the judge, one possibility of using impoliteness is the display of his power. He was in charge of the courtroom, and he was directing the activity, hence, he could choose to speak accordingly. The reason why the judge applied politeness strategies may be a desire of the judge to facilitate smooth proceedings in the courtroom. In other words, this is the result of following a cooperative principle strictly. Regarding Tonya, the result shows that she used fewer impoliteness strategies and more politeness strategies in the whole case. Some reasons can account for Tonya's different (im)politeness strategies including her less power status, inadequate evidence for convincing her payment, her intention, and on-the-spot emotion.

Trial context is a complex interactional setting as the power and hierarchy are involved in it. Therefore, in this paper, the influence of power played an important

role which stimulates the application of impoliteness strategies. The difference in the level of power in the interaction may affect the use of impoliteness strategies. This result is corresponding to previous research.

Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt was made to explore the views of impoliteness and politeness strategies that are used by the participants in the courtroom (judge, inspectors, and Tonya). In the second trial, as there was a discrepancy in payment between the record of the court and the statement of Tonya. This conflict was the major factor that caused much greater use of impoliteness strategies. More specifically, *bold on record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, and withhold politeness strategies* are applied by all participants, particularly, judge and inspector Glen. Among those impoliteness strategies, the most notable strategy is positive impoliteness in the way of *using inappropriate identity marker, seeking disagreement and selecting a sensitive topic, making the other feel uncomfortable, excluding the other participant in an activity*. In the third trial, there is a remarkable turn in the application of communicative strategy. All the participants mainly use politeness strategies including negative and positive strategies. To be specific, in the positive strategies, common ground, conveying cooperation between speaker and hearer, and fulfilling hearer's wants are mostly used.

The politeness and impoliteness strategies the participants use in courtrooms is one of the distinct ways of seeing the truth and pursuing justice. However, the unequal power status among the participants becomes a spotlight in the courtroom. Particularly the use of impoliteness strategies of the judge, for the audience of the reality TV show, is one of the ways that they derive pleasure or give sympathy by recognizing the gap between the (im)politeness values of the language used by the participants and their real motives. The general note is that the judge has few restrictions on his or her interactions with other participants. This is rather apparent in the data presented here. In this paper, both politeness and impoliteness strategies in a legal context are involved in the analysis. The findings of the study may provide a relevant reference for the further study of politeness and impoliteness strategy in reality TV shows, particularly, in trial settings.

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Local Tourism Destination Content in Online Travel Agency Promotion in Indonesia

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Abstract

Online Travel Agency (OTA) had an impact on making people ease to travel, through their mobile devices without any extra charges. This paper is aim to describe how local tourism destination content in those application and their social media, what kind of language to promote travel destination, as storytelling and experiences also guest comment play an important role to affect others for travel or consume tourism product. Are there any differences between promoting tourism using application and advertising using mass media? This paper focuses on how online travel agencies use language in e-commerce, the contextual analysis and the identity in local destination tourism. The Communications approach to the tourism industry has meaning to inform and to persuade people. Why should focus on local tourism destination? This argument had relevance with The Indonesian Government policy that tourism destinations in Indonesia must be well-known for the local and international travelers. The Narratives approach on the story of destination should speak differently based on socio-cultural, local wisdom and natural scenery. The Interpretive approach will be used to data analysis on promotions content of local tourism destinations publish by 5 online travel agencies in Indonesia. Research found that 5 online travel agencies which are Traveloka, Tiket, Pegipegi, Airy and KAI have content mostly posted on element tourism were scenery, accommodation, transportation and food culinary. Local tourism destinations in Indonesia were frame in natural scenery, as part of socio cultural aspect that will boost tourism industry.

Keywords: Local Tourism Destination, Language And Promotion Content, Online Travel Agency

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Introduction

This paper is discussed about how the growth of online travel agency should effect on customer decision to travel to local tourism destination in Indonesia. Internet, hand phone application and media social were used by online travel agency to be their place to share and sell product, place to do the business. To survive in future business, the implementation of website and e-commerce practices is the most useful strategy for travel agents when facing disintermediation (Hashim et al, 2014). The growth of this business in Indonesia, which quote from Google research, shown that travel related search increased 39%, also consumer in Indonesia have several habits before decided their travel destination, booking accommodation and transportation (thekartapost.com, October 1, 2019). Netizens (internet audiences) mostly searched for promotion from OTA increased 38% which is also tend to search for their features and services. Google research also shown that most searched tourist destination in Indonesia are Dieng (Central Java), Mount Bromo (East Java), Borobudur Temple (Central Java), Prambanan Temple (Yogyakarta) and Kota Tua (West Jakarta). Adjacent to tourist destination, Alvara Research Foundation (2018) that quoted in cnnindonesia.com (10/07/19), had found that 5 online travel agencies which is on the top of mind millennial's consumer were Traveloka, Ticket.com, Blibli, KAI Access dan Airy Indonesia.

Background issue that shown in Strategic Plan 2015-2019 from Ministry of Tourism Republic of Indonesia (kemenparekaf.go.id) that development of tourism destination and investment, to boost tourism as the key of export income, field of work and infrastructure. This key target has urge tourism industry to promote local tourism destination. Pillar of National Tourism Development admit that tourism marketing include expansion the market, developing tourism image, increasing cooperation and co-working, developing promotional aspect. Cooperation strategy between government and industry should be seen as an advantage seeing as the rapid growth of digital technology.

Advertising and promotional content play an important role in marketing tool, aimed to influence attitude and behavior audiences, since it is able to confirm and reinforce. The use of images to portray their product, as do destinations, attempting to construct an image of a destination that will force it into the potential tourist's evoked set, or destination short list, leading to a purchase decision (Morgan & Pritchard, 2000). As consumer changing media habit to search information online, promotional content on leisure activities could adapt to consumer need. Example from Morgan & Pritchard (p. 122, 2000), consumer changing holiday needs into word was: *I want to escape*, now: *I want to discover people, places and experiences*. Excitement moments and dreams have been offer in tourism advertisement through visual image and language, audio visual and narrative/story telling.

Research on user perception of travel website found that had differences response on quality of the website, e-loyalty, gratified and trust to the website (Moura et al (2014)), this research shown the strength of using website as corporate image and how audiences have trust and intention to consume or share the information from travel website. Angkiriwang's et al (2018) research on Tripadvisor (online travel agency) found that electronic word of mouth (e-wom) impact caused by factors of content (quality, price, convenience) has highest rank reasons of using Tripadvisor's

application. These factors shown that traveler decisions had influenced by references from other reviews. E-wom had capability to persuade by sharing experiences.

Leiper (1979) in Pike (2008) said the study of tourism as a focal subject has sometimes been treated with derision in academic circles, perhaps because of its novelty, perhaps because of its superficial fragmentation, perhaps because it cuts across established disciplines. The tourism research had multi perspective issue. This paper aimed to explore communication perspectives in promotional content, both visual and languages. Sukendro (2018) in his paper said that local content in tourism promotion have to consider the exposure of local culture and copyright. Cultural content were not commercial aspect but to convey the culture in higher and artistic aspect.

Campelo, Aitken, and Gnoth (2011) used model that identifies four construct to experience of place: Right, Role, Relationship and Responsibilities, researched found that place branding communication has play role in marketing destination as symbol of representation between people and place. Hou et al (2011) presented a content analysis of promotional videos from 10 major tourist destinations in China. The purpose of this study is to document the common content elements, orientations, presentation methods, persuasion methods, time patterns, and the use of sound, music and volume in Beijing, Nanjing, Chengdu, Chongqing, Xi'an, Qingdao, Shanghai, Shenzhen, Xiamen

Pinto et al (2019) found that factors that influencing tourist' purchase decision were online reviews, promotions and photos are also important. The importance online tourists give to price varies by age group, income and country of residence. Online reviews are significant regardless of tourists' characteristics, except for age. Cluster analyses additionally revealed three different tourist segments based on the importance given to price, online reviews, promotions and photos. Images influence the purchase decision of the tourist, both at the destination level and the final decision level and photographic content, in general, can be more effective to transmit emotional attributes. For promotional content of local destination, this photos also produced by professional photographer or amateur with skill.

Research Objective

This paper focuses on how online travel agencies use language in e-commerce, the contextual analysis and the identity in local destination tourism.

Research Methods

This paper used qualitative research to describe and interpretive data analysis. Collected data from five online travel agencies (traveloka, tiket, pegi-peggi, airy, kai) instagram account, website/application, youtube. Data analysis: content of promotional material from online travel agencies in Indonesia, from August 2019 to December 2019.

Result and discussion

Promotional content counted and interpreted from 5 online travel agencies that has been posted in their website/application, instagram and youtube.

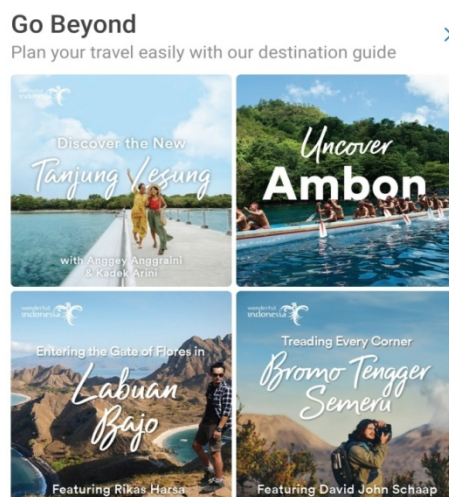
1. Traveloka is a unicorn start-up company from Indonesia (PT. Trinusa Travelindo), engaged in travel reservation for airlines, hotels, and expand to other travel attraction voucher. It has customer services in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Filipina. 80% their employees are based in Indonesia. Established on February 2012. Their application have been downloaded by 30 millions+ people, and become top 1 as online travel agent.

a. Website: posted 11 articles from 11 destinations (Danau Toba, Tanjung Bira, Bromo, Wakatobi, Bangka Belitung, Surabaya-Madura, Labuan Bajo, Derawan, Kepulauan Seribu, Bintan and Mandalika), contain of food/culinary, accommodation, scenery and entertainment. Attached of Wonderful Indonesia Logo. Traveloka editorial is special division to produce articles, also from contributors (writer, photographer and video). Headline consist of adventurer word, describing places that will connected to people, slogan of Complete your Journey. All articles introduced activities and info. In the end of stories, list of hotels offer and activities. Length of articles: 2-5 minutes reading. This type of promotional articles supported by photo visualization of places and poetic word. Examples: *Sepotong surga di Tanjung Bira* (a slice of heaven in Tanjung Bira) completed with photo of open air beach.

b. Instagram: 138 posts (Local 44, International 16). 6 elements of tourism: food, accommodations, transportation, scenery, shopping area, entertainments. Video content of attraction from destination, include cultural heritage from craft to traditional art. Target to millennial/youth, using language and model of this generation.

c. Youtube: 47 post (Local 2, International 13). Length of video 2-3 minutes. Using concept story tell from voice over. Highlight on easy to travel with traveloka.

Picture 1: Screen capture from Traveloka application



2. Tiket.com is well known company name PT Global Tiket Network, focus on booking and ticketing online using their website. Established Agustus 2011.

a. Website: 12 post about local tourism destination such as Semarang, Danau Toba, Makasar, Medan, Lombok Pink Beach, Lamongan, Cirebon, and Riau. Most of articles show scenery or local attraction, also food culinary. 2 articles talked about hotel offer/accommodations, cheap hotel in Medan and Danau Toba. Their slogan : *Mau Kemana? Semua ada tiketnya* (Going somewhere? Everywhere has a ticket).

b. Instagram: 30 post content of local tourism destination. E-poster promotion have common template with logo wonderful Indonesia attach, showing that a joint

promotion applied with national campaign. Also have stories in their post, for example about traditional fabric (*kain tenun*) is used to become fashion property of visual image. Every post caption used low context to promote their sells, also with hash tags.

c. Youtube: 14 video of local destination with touch of local art and cultural, showing traditional dance and *Membatik* (traditional culture painted fabric).



Picture 2 : Screen capture from instagram Tiketcom

3. Pegi-peggi was established Agustus 2013 to serve online reservations, their company name is PT Go Online Destination.

a. Website/app had 6 posts that cover about scenery, transportation and accommodation. From Labuan Bajo, Raja Ampat, Gili Terawang, Belitung, Ubud, Nusa Penida, this destinations nearly beaches or ocean view. Focus on visual aspect of the story, caption identify location.

b. Instagram: 10 posts on local tourism destination using hashtag #butuhpegipegi, which show low context to audiences because this hash tags need audiences to take action to reserve their trip using their services. Their brand needed to have positioning on followers mind. 23 creative posts (pic 3) were their campaign using persuasive words only which was pointed to their followers as example : *Buat kamu yang tak pernah merasa se-istimewa Yogyakarta#butuh pegipegi* (For you, who never being as special as Yogyakarta).

c. Youtube: 3 posts about cultural heritage of Indonesia from Legend of Sangkuriang (West Java) to ancient mummy in Papua.



Picture 3: screen shoot from instagram pegipegi

4. Airy Indonesia was operated by PT Airy Nest Indonesia, this travel company cooperate with low budget retail hotel in Indonesia. Their strategies to re-build image of low budget hotel by their standard of maintenance rooms. Develop property management services for their partner, 3 star hotel and below. Established in 2015.



Picture 4: screen shoot instagram airyindonesia

a. Website/app: place to book accommodations and airlines. There is no promotional content on tourism destination, focus on cooperation offer (properties management) and sell rooms.

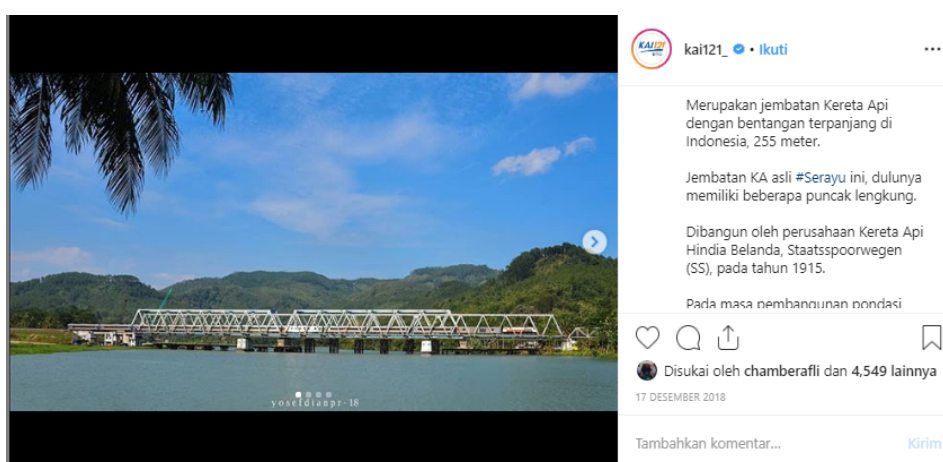
b. Instagram : 82 post on local tourism destination, some caption used hard sell promotion, some just tell stories about location and ask about followers favorite's spot. Their visual image identified their product and target market which is accommodation for low budget traveler or backpacker. Also using their corporate color blue as their main visual tone photo.

c. Youtube: 7 post on local tourism, topic on food culinary and Bandung city. Video was film by airy person (represent young adult) as a fun traveler. Promote on how to become their partner in room service management.

5. Kereta Api Indonesia is known as a state owned enterprise named PT Kereta Api Indonesia.

a. Website/app : 0 post, place to buy train ticket in Java. General information on route and schedule.

b. Instagram : 1 post story of long bridge with panoramic visual of scenery in Serayu, Central Java.



Picture 5: screen shoot from intagram KAI

Common content and tourism element that have been used in promotional and informational aspect in Online Travel Agencies shown that there is no differences between advertising in mass media versus social media. Variety post and length of the stories that had been different presented. Online travel agency used television commercial to increase awareness and purchase decision. Celebrity endorser played strategic communications to their audiences. Speak in popular culture that most of their audience would understand. Their specific tagline used their brand so that product association follow in consumer mind.

Conclusion

The contents of local destinations in website, *youtube* and *instagram* from five online travel agencies shown that most posted on element tourism were scenery, accommodation, transportation and food culinary. Local tourism destinations in Indonesia were highlight in natural scenery, as part of socio cultural aspect that will boost tourism industry.

Most of online travel agency used hard sell promotions, language of media social to gain more interactions are through hash tags (#) and challenging question to their audiences to join and take action to travel.

Visual aspect of photography is played the best part to promote local destination content, where as showing beautiful scenery and specific angle, also natural aspect of the society. This visualization speaks thousand words, some might say. Video on youtube and instagram were able to invite interactions and good image of locations. Video material as an audio visual strength to accommodate millennial generation seeks for information through live review.

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Airy Indonesia apps, YouTube and Instagram.

KAI apps, YouTube and Instagram.

***Representation of Chinese-Sundanese Ethnic Identity in Suryakencana Bogor
through Code Switching and Code Mixing***

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Abstract

Indonesia has 1340 ethnic groups with 300 different ethnic groups recorded (www.netralnews.com). According to Hasbullah (www.academia.edu), there are around 726 regional languages in Indonesia, but only 456 regional languages have been successfully mapped. Indonesian language as a national language is use when one ethnic group wants to communicate with another ethnic group. Language according to Mulyana (2000: 117) is an element of forming culture and a person's cultural identity. Indonesian people generally master two languages, namely the local language and Indonesian. The Sundanese are the second largest ethnic group in Indonesia and mostly occupy the western Java region. Sundanese language itself has levels in the language that is polite, medium, and crude. Ethnic Chinese descendants who lived and settled in the Sunda region for generations are become part of Sundanese ethnic. This study aims to explain what forms of code switching and code mixing are carried out by people of Chinese-Sundanese ethnic when they interact with each other and another ethnic. This research was conducted in Suryakencana Bogor, West Java and also known as the Chinese village (www.kompas.com). The concept used in this research is Ethnic Identity (Barth, 1997: 10) and the concept of code switching and code mixing. The research is descriptive qualitative with data collection methods through interviews, documentation, and non-participatory observation. This study shows that people of Chinese-Sundanese descent in the Bogor Suryakencana region form their own patterns of communication and conducted code switching and code mixing to represent their ethnic identity.

Keywords: Ethnic Identity, Code Switching and Code Mixing, Chinese-Sundanese

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Introduction

a. Background

Indonesia is one of country that has the largest number of ethnic group in the world. It has 1340 ethnic groups with 300 different ethnic groups recorded (www.netralnews.com). According to Hasbullah (www.academia.edu), there are around 726 regional languages in Indonesia, but only 456 regional languages have been successfully mapped. The Sundanese are the second largest ethnic group in Indonesia and mostly occupy the western Java region. Sundanese people numbers approximately 40 million representing 15.5% of the total population (www.worldatlas.com). Sundanese language itself has levels in the language that is polite, medium, and crude. In general the use of levels in Sundanese depends on who we speak to, what level of social status we are in, and for what program the language is used. For example the Sundanese language level polite is usually used to talk to older people, people we respect, or for official events. Medium Sundanese language is usually used for daily conversation with peers, coworkers, and relatives. While the Sundanese language crude level usually used for swear, for people whose social status is considered lower, but can also be used for people who are the same age and are very familiar with us (www.bandungtimur.net).

The emergence of Indonesian as a national language with the main objective as a means of unifying the nation is not necessarily controlled and used in daily communication activities. It is often found that people in the regions use Indonesian and their local languages interchangeably. Consciously or not, we are definitely communicating with vocabulary from several different languages, for example a mixture of national and regional languages, a mixture of two different regional languages, a mixture of formal or standard languages with slang languages. We cannot escape from the use of mixed language, and this phenomenon is a natural thing because the urge to use more than one language is due to a language dependency factor.

The arrival of the Chinese in West Java led to interactions between the ethnic Chinese and the indigenous people of West Java, the Sundanese. The process of interaction is then not a little that continues into the process of the union of two cultures that are realized through marriage between ethnics. Therefore, the ethnic Chinese who live in West Java will be identified as Chinese-Sundanese. They and their descendants know how to speak Sundanese according to the level because they born in Sundanese area and they go to school and learned about the language formally. Chinese-Sundanese people in Suryakencana Bogor usually used both Indonesian and Sundanese language for everyday communication. This research is tried to find out what forms of code switching and code mixing are carried out by people of Chinese-Sundanese ethnic when they interact with each other and another ethnic?, and what is the representation of Chinese-Sundanese ethnic identity?

b. Methodology

This research uses descriptive qualitative method and the object of this research is the Chinese-Sundanese peoples who live in Suryakencana Bogor, West Java. Research material was obtained and sought by conducting non-participatory observation and

also conducted interviews. Furthermore, in determining the informants, the researchers used a purposive sampling method in which the informants consisted of 2 people of Chinese descent living in the Suryakencana region, namely Mardi Lim, and Ayung Kusuma.

c. Literature Review

d.1 Ethnic identity

Barth views ethnic groups as a social order where the boundaries of ethnicity are emphasized on social boundaries. Each of these ethnic groups determines the "rules of the game" that are shared by the group itself. They have the ability to share the same cultural traits, thus making a special characteristic of its own. He explained that ethnicity has basic and general characteristics which then determine whether a person belongs to an ethnic group. Determination of these characteristics is usually categorical ascription or characteristics that base a person included in a particular ethnic group based on their background origin. These characteristics or attributes are given, both by fellow group members and by other groups (Barth, 1997: 5). Cultural identity can be maintain even if it has interaction with other different culture. Ethnic labels – will most often endure even when individual members move across boundaries or share an identity with people in more than one group.

Barth (1997:15) revealed several things about ethnic identity as follows:

1. Cultural boundaries can be maintained even if it has interaction with other different culture. Barth found that individuals or groups mingled with other cultures , does not eliminate the culture, but supprisingly it can even clarify cultural boundaries.
2. The characteristics of each group are not determined by the absence of interaction. Interaction raises the hallmark of every culture of the individuals involved. Barth adds the importance of a theoretical approach in addition to an empirical approach. This approach is able to explain how important ethnic groups are in a social interaction, in which there are many cultures. This approach describes how ethnic group form their characteristic that is determined by the group itself and makes the formation of patterns of interaction among itself (Barth,1997:15).
3. Ethnic groups are not solely determined by the territories they occupy, various methods are used to maintain this group, not by once obtaining forever, but by continuous disclosure and confirmation. Ethnic boundaries channel social life so that it is a complex social order and social relations. Identifying someone in an ethnic group while applying ethnic criteria to him. Besides that, a person is said to be a stranger or someone else from his ethnic group, in this case there is a limitation in the understanding of both values and interactions in society (Barth, 1997: 16).

To be able to participate in the social system in society, ethnic groups choose the following strategies:

- a. They try to join and enter into community groups and industrial culture
- b. They accept the status of a minority and try to overcome and reduce their minority by limiting their culture to the sector of activities that are not done together. At the same time participating in a larger industry group for other activities.

c. They only highlight their ethnic identity, and use it to develop their positions and activities that have not been touched in this society (Barth, 1997: 35).

Barth limits his observations to the boundaries of a group. This limitation arises when there is social interaction, where individuals from a culture meet with people from other cultures (Barth, 1997:28).

d.2 Code Switching and Code Mixing

Code switching

Hymes (1974) defines code-switching as “a common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles”. The code switching not only occurs between languages, but can also occur between variations or styles that exist in one language. For example a change between the relaxed variety and the official variety of Indonesian (Hymes 1974: 103). Code switching is events from one code to another in a speech event. For example speakers using Indonesian switch to using local languages. Code switching is one aspect of language dependency in a multilingual society. In a multilingual society it is very difficult for an absolute speaker to only use one language. In switching code, each language still tends to support each function and each function in accordance with the context. Holmes (2001: 35) asserts that a code switching reflects the dimensions of social distance, relationship status, or the level of formality of speakers' interactions. Fishman (in Chaer and Agustina, 2010: 108) argues that code switching can occur due to several factors, including speakers or speakers, listeners or speech partners, changes in the situation due to the presence of a third person, changes from formal to informal or vice versa, and changes in topics talks.

Code Mixing

“Code-mixing refers to the combining of elements from two languages in a single utterance.” (Hoffman, 1991:105). Code mixing is also one aspect of language dependence in a bilingual / multilingual society. This characteristic of dependency is marked by the reciprocal relationship between the function and role of language. The role shows who uses the language, which is marked by the social background of the speaker, level of education, and so on. Whereas the function shows what the speaker has achieved by mixing codes and the extent to which the language used provides opportunities for code mixing. A prominent feature of code mixing according to Nababan (1984: 32) is casual or informal situations. Harding and Riley (in Malmkjaer 1991: 61) add the characteristics of someone who mix codes (code mixing) because they want to keep a conversation from the presence of a third person. Scotton (1979: 65) explains that code mixing is a choice of code or language related to the use of two or more languages in the same sentence or in conversation. So mixed code is a change from one language to another and can occur in sentences, between sentences, as well as discourse.

Sumarsono (2004: 201-204) grouped languages into three types of choices namely code switching, code mixing, and variations in the same language. In code switching and code mixing, the language used comes from two different types. But in the same language variation, the use of language is only focused on one language. This language has variations as in Sundanese, which has polite, medium, and crude levels.

According to Irnawati (1996: 26) code mixing occurs due to two things, namely as an answer to the situation of speech by the inclusion of a third person or the change of topic, and as a rhetorical tool such as the emphasis of certain words using equivalents in other languages. In general the first reason for code switching and code mixing is when a person has difficulty in expressing his opinion, then he will move to a language that is more mastered to cover these shortcomings. Second, code switching generally occurs when someone wants to show solidarity with an ethnic group. By switching codes, it is certainly expected that a stronger bond will occur between him and his group and make it more acceptable in the group. Third, code switching and code mixing are used when someone wants to convey their intentions in a tone of emphasis to the speaker.

Conclusion

a. Description of the Informant

The first informant in this research is Mr. Mardi Lim. Mardi Lim owns a restaurant in Suryakencana called Resto Kencana that serves various types of both Chinese and Sundanese food. He is the 4th generation of Chinese-Sundanese ethnic and his ancestor are comes from the Hokkian tribe. Mardi Lim was born in Bogor on March 22, 1975.

The second informant is Mr. Kusuma or Ayung who works daily as a caretaker of the Dhanagun Temple, his job there is to supervise and serve the people who come to worship. Ayung is an ethnic 4th generation Chinese descendant from the Hokkian tribe. He has worked in the Dhanagun Temple for 23 years. Ayung was born in Bogor on December 12, 1951.

b. History of Suryakencana Bogor



Figure 1. Lawang Surya Kencana (Gate of Surya Kencana)

Suryakencana Street is one of the oldest roads in the city of Bogor which estimated had existed since 1808. Governor General Herman Willem Daendels is a person who has an idea to establish this road with the aim to facilitate communication between the

VOC colony (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie aka the Dutch East Indies Company). Jalan Surya Kencana is one of the parts of the Anyer Panarukan road and was first known as Post Weg or Jalan Pos (Part of De Grote Post Weg).

The name was changed in 1905 by the government at that time into Handlestraat aka the Business Road. Around the 1970's the name changed to Jalan Suryakencana until today. The area around this street is an area of Chinatown, where Chinese people live. The name Suryakencana itself is taken from the name of the last king of Pajajaran, Prabu Surya Kencana before the kingdom was conquered by the Islamic empires of Cirebon and Banten. This road are commercial where they establish settlements that functioned as dwellings and shops. Along this street are hundreds of shops and shophouses and various commercial buildings. Only a small portion is not used for business such as in the corner of the street where the Dhanagun Temple is located. The rest is used for commercial areas ([http:// bogormylovelytown. Co.id](http://bogormylovelytown.Co.id), accessed on July 18, 2019).

c. Code switching and code mixing of Chinese-Sundanese people

Chinese-Sundanese in Suryakencana Bogor use three languages for daily conversation, namely Indonesian, Sundanese, and Mandarin. Each of these languages is used differently depending on who they are talking to and what the context is. Because the Suryakencana area is a trading area close to the center of Indonesia's capital city, the most often language they used for communication is the Indonesian with Sundanese dialect which is still quite thick. Code switching that occurs in communication between people of Chinese-Sundanese descent is when they talk to fellow Chinese-Sundanese descent then they will often prefer to use Indonesian and some of them will switch to Mandarin language especially when they talk to elder people. When they communicate with Sundanese people they will switch over and use Sundanese language. They will use Sundanese language according to its level when they interacting with Sundanese people. If the person who is spoken to is Sundanese who are older than them then they will use the Sundanese polite level. If the person they are talking with is the same age, then the language used is Sundanese medium and sometimes crude level. There are some reason why they doing the code switching. The first reason is to fill the gap in speaking. Chinese-Sundanese often feel awkward when they use Sundanese level polite to speak among them. They fell that the language was not meant for them, that the language is too high and they don't feel uncomfortable. Both informant of this research, Mardi Lim and Ayung, use Indonesian language when they speak to each other in front of the researcher. When Mardi Lim's elder brother call him, he will switch the language and use Mandarin. The second reason they doing the code switching is to convey intimacy. When they talk among they own group they fell that using Mandarin language will convey intimacy and also gain privacy. Privacy itself are the third reason why they switch code from Indonesia and Sundanese language to Mandarin, because only few people understand that language. The last reason are to emphasis something, it means when they communicate among them using Indonesia or Mandarin, they mark they own group and that the language emphasis their bound.

Code mixing are also used by Chinese-Sundanese people in Suryakencana Bogor. When they communicate amongs Chinese-Sundanese they will use Indonesian language and mix some Mandarin words in the sentence. They used it when they want

to talk something private or secret so that people who heard them speaking won't understand. Mandarin word are also used to emphasize something important like when they talk about religious ritual. The interesting part of the mixing is that Chinese-Sundanese sometimes put some Sundanese word when they talk to each other but they will only use medium to crude level not because they don't know how to speak in polite level but it because they then form new rules in using Sundanese language to mark their own ethnic identity. The code mixing between Chinese-Sundanese and Sundanese people is that they use Indonesian language for informal situation and mix it with Sundanese word level medium and polite. They use the level to show respect to Sundanese people and also to show them that they also part of Sundanese ethnic.

Chinese-Sundanese people feels that there are part of the Sunda Ethnic and they implied the same cultural signs such as language, cultural history, way of life, and cultural wisdom. Chinese-Sundanese people also maintain their Chinese identity as a mark among themselves by using mandarin words in their sentences when they speak. They use only Sundanese level medium and crude, speaking in Indonesian language for formal and informal. Chinese-Sundanese use Sundanese level polite to speak to Sundanese people in general and combine with Indonesian language. Chinese-Sundanese form their own patterns of communication and conducted code switching and code mixing to represent their ethnic identity.

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Global Education in Non-Native-English-Speaking Countries, Challenges and Opportunities: A Focus on Indonesian Students at a Selected Japanese University

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Abstract

Research has shown that Generation-Z is much more eager to include global education in their lives. The experience of studying in another culture, especially in an international context, is seen as a necessity. The most popular study destination for international students worldwide has traditionally been countries where English is spoken as a native language. In more recent years, however, non-English-speaking countries are also offering global education and have attracted international students. This research aims to reveal the experiences of international students in non-English-speaking countries. Following an empirical viewpoint, six Indonesian undergraduate students at a selected university in Japan were surveyed and interviewed on what attracts them, their motivations, challenges and expectations for studying in Japan. The findings suggest that culture, language, and quality of education are important motivations for choosing to study in Japan. During their first year, these international students face a number of academic, cultural, and linguistic challenges. However they have no reservations about their future careers in the global world despite being educated in non-native English-speaking country. These findings may provide an updated overview of the underlying factors that prompt international students to study in non-English-speaking countries.

Keywords: Global Education, Non-English-Speaking Countries, International Students, Generation Z

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Introduction

Generation Z is the generation that is ready to embrace the wider world. Despite current events that might indicate that the world is not always a friendly place, Generation Z shows that it is necessary to experience the world. By doing that, they will not only travel to other countries for tourism purposes. They seem more inclined to immerse themselves in global experience through education.

Studying abroad and global education are seen as not just merely additional courses or fun projects by Generation Z, but perceived as a necessity. Global education has become an essential platform for this generation to appreciate diverse perspectives, to understand the relationships they have with the wider world, and to communicate and collaborate effectively across cultures and communities.

The globalized outlook of Generation Z has benefitted the increase in the growth of global education. When Generation Z entered tertiary education, studying abroad has never been more popular. According to the 2019 report from UNESCO, the number of international students increased from 4.1 million in 2013, to more than 5.3 million in 2017 (UNESCO, 2019). This number is expected to reach 8 million by 2025.

Indonesia, an attractive market

Indonesia is one of the most attractive markets in the global education sector in the world. Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world, with a large percentage of its population being the younger generation. In fact, in terms of student age population, Indonesia's student age population is the third largest in the world. According to the Indonesian Central Agency of Statistics (BPS) in 2019, the country's population of young people under the age of 24 is more than 42 percent. This large university age population means that Indonesia has a large number of potential international students. In addition, according to UIS-UNESCO, Indonesia urgently needs a more educated population to achieve its development objectives. As a home to a rapidly developing middle class, Indonesia sends 35% more students abroad than ten years ago. A survey conducted by AFS Intercultural Programs (2017) found that 81% of the 5,502 Indonesian teenage respondents had considered studying abroad.

Still according to UIS-UNESCO records, the number of Indonesian students studying abroad for a bachelor's degree has increased by almost 62% since 1998, reaching the highest figure of 47,317 in 2016. This growth makes Indonesia the third largest international student sender among member countries ASEAN in 2017 (UNESCO, 2019). In 2018/2019, around 69,000 Indonesian students study abroad. This data confirms how Indonesia will play a key role in international education in the coming years.

Higher Education Marketing data (2018) shows that Indonesians studying abroad have different preferences for leading English-speaking destinations, such as Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Australia has historically been a major destination for Indonesian students studying abroad, and almost 20,000 were registered with institutions in the country in 2016. The United States has also seen a strong increase in applications and requests from Indonesia over the last ten years,

with an increase in the number of registrations by 14% between 2009 and 2014, and maintaining annual growth of around 7%. At present nearly 9,000 Indonesian students pursue higher education in the United States. Indonesian registration also continues to grow in the United Kingdom. The British Council reports that there has been an increase by 17% in the issuance of student visas for Indonesia.

While English-speaking hosts dominate, Indonesians also fly to non-English speaking countries to study. Asian destinations are getting more attractive for Indonesian Generation Z. Among other Asian countries, Japan has become the number one destination for Indonesian students seeking to study in non-English-speaking countries. UNESCO data shows that almost 6% of Indonesian students studying abroad are in Japan. This is interesting for at least two reasons. One, it is because the number of Indonesian students studying in Japan has recently been higher than the number of Indonesian students studying in the United Kingdom (4.7%), an English-speaking country. Two, there are world-leading universities that are opening up remote campuses in Indonesia's neighboring countries. Yet, the number of Indonesian students studying in Japan continues to rise.

The aim of this study is to investigate what factors attract Indonesian students when they decide to study in Japan. It will also explore the experiences of Indonesian students studying in Japan, with a focus on culture and language. What challenges them, and how they perceive their future career prospects.

The significant numbers of Indonesian students studying abroad has prompted recruiters to actively gain an enhanced understanding of the fundamental factors that motivate young Indonesians to pursue study abroad. There are usually 'push' and 'pull' factors that drive people to leave their home countries and study in another country. Push factors are conditions that operate within a home country, that initiate a student's decision to undertake study abroad. This can include, but not limited to, socio-economic, political and educational conditions of a home country. Pull factors are conditions that attract students to study in the destination country. This can include better conditions in terms of socio-economic, political and educational elements, as well as other elements such as immigration opportunity, other language mastery opportunity, peer or family recommendations and influence, financial support and others.

This study focuses on the pull factors that Japan has in attracting Indonesian students. This is especially interesting because as a non-English-speaking country, Japan has successfully attracted Indonesian students more than the United Kingdom. De Wit (2018) indicated that the United Kingdom and the United States has traditionally become "The Big Two" of destination countries for international students. However, the market share of these countries is slightly declining recently due to political situation, namely the election of Donald Trump and its related anti-immigration policy in the United States, and Brexit in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, de Wit (2018) also indicated that the most crucial pull factor for international student is the English language that the United Kingdom has.

Pull factors from Japan

Many factors influence the decision of international students to study abroad. They are known as the push factors that operate within the home country, and the pull factors that are present in the destination country. World Education News (2019) indicated that some push factors that operate within Indonesia are: skilled labor shortage, limited seats at higher education, unsuited curricula, and financial factors. The pull factors that are usually indicated by Indonesian students studying abroad are: institution reputation, English language, safety, scholarship, geographical proximity, immigration prospects, employment prospects, and family support and referral.

While the push factors for Indonesia are relatively the same for all students deciding to study abroad, the pull factors will depend on and unique for each of the destination country. Japan has a number of pull factors that attract Indonesian students. Some of them are natural pull factors, such as culture, language, geographical proximity, and food. Some others are pull factors that can be conditioned and can change through time, such as political situation, safety, immigration policy, employment prospect, institution reputation, and scholarship.

The Japanese universities have joined universities around the world in competing for a share of the sharp growing international student market. Being the country of the rising sun, Japan has a number of natural pull factors. To start with, foreigners will generally be attracted to Japanese culture. Japan is known to have a fascinating and multifaceted culture. Combining the old traditions dating back thousands of years with modern technology, is one of the most fascinating thing and unique about Japan.

Japanese language has also fascinated many people around the world. Although not usually considered as an easy language, Japanese language is successful in attracting many learners. According to Tsukamoto Norihisa (2017), Director-General of the Japan Foundation in Jakarta, Indonesia has the second largest number of Japanese language learners, second only to China. It shows that Japan has a language pull factor for Indonesian students.

In terms of conditioned pull factors, the Japanese government has initialized a number of policy programs to promote "global education" since 2008 (Doerr, 2020). A key example program is the "300,000 International Students Plan" (2008 – 2020), a planned target to attract 300,000 international students to Japan in 2020. This target has been attained two years ahead of the schedule. Statistics published in January 2019 by JASSO, the Japan Student Support Organization, show it will meet its goal ahead of time, as 298,980 international students are already enrolled in Japanese schools as of 1 May 2018.

In response to government's policy, a number of Japanese universities have taken measures that would draw foreign students. Some Japanese universities - Tokyo University, Sophia University, Hokkaido University, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University to name a few - have started to offer undergraduate English-taught programs. This is one of the most effective ways to attract international students who are drawn to Japan but who want to study in English, as de Wit (2018) indicated that the most important pull factor for international student is the English-language.

Other universities are taking further measures to be able to accommodate international students. Kenji (2019) reported that one reason Japanese universities have not been attractive to foreign students is due to the recruitment schedule and the high language requirements. Many Japanese universities only offer admission in April, the beginning of Japanese academic year, that is different from the rest of the world. Moreover, they require very high competence of Japanese language. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University is taking extra measures to internalize their recruitment systems by providing admissions twice a year, in spring and fall. As a result, international students from the Northern Hemisphere have the ability to enroll in September, while foreign students from the Southern Hemisphere enroll in April, along with Japanese students. This strategy proves to be effective. As Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University about to celebrate its 20th anniversary, the university has 5468 total enrollment as of 1 November 2019, with 2796 international students and 2852 Japanese / local students. There are 410 Indonesian students, and they are the second largest number of international students at the university, after Korea. It is also interesting to note that 10% of all Indonesian students who study in Japan, study at this university.

Moreover, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University does not require Japanese-language prerequisite upon enrollment (Kenji, 2019). Prospective students must have an IELTS score of 5.5 or higher or a TOEFL iBT of 61 or higher. Upon enrollment at the university, students are expected to take a 12-hour Japanese language course per week for a minimum of one year.

Respondents' Demographic Profile and Data Collection

Data for this study is collected from six Indonesian students studying at a Japanese university, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. The respondents, who are in their first year university, are at the ages of 17 to 19 years old, consisting of four females and two males. Their mother tongues are all Indonesians, but all respondents can speak English. This is indicated by achievement of formal English language testing score, an IELTS Academic score of 6 or above. It indicates that the respondents are competent users of English. The respondents are enrolled at the Asia Pacific Studies and Asia Pacific Business Management study programs. All of the respondents indicate that their decision to study in Japan is based on their own choices, although some parents have a hand in it.

The study programs that the respondents are enrolled in are international study programs offered by Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. The medium of instruction in their study program is English. However, it is compulsory for them to do a twelve hour a week of Japanese language course. The respondents live at the university dormitory, and socially communicate with their peers in English, Japanese and Indonesian.

Data is collected by means of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, and conducted between November 2019 and February 2020. The six Indonesian students are questioned on what attracted them the most to decide to study in Japan, their challenges and opportunities of studying Japan. During the data collection, respondents were asked to answer demographic and open ended questions using

google form. It was then followed by semi-structured interviews, in a relaxed and casual fashion. Data was also collected through direct and indirect observations.

The data is analyzed qualitatively. It is aimed to answer what elements that attract Indonesian students to study abroad in a non-English speaking country, and the challenges and opportunities that they perceive.

Findings and discussion

The respondents indicated that culture is the number one draw for them to decide to study in Japan. All respondents suggested that the reason for them to select Japan as a place to study is because they are interested in Japanese culture. Apart from using the word 'culture' as their number one attraction that drew them to Japan, these respondents also indicated other cultural related attraction. The respondents identify discipline and cleanliness as Japan's greatest draw. Thus culture is the strongest factor that has led the students to study in Japan.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, although the respondents indicate culture as the most attractive factor of Japan, culture has also become the second most common obstacles faced by the respondents. Three respondents, all female, claim that they are challenged by Japanese culture. For international students, studying abroad is indeed inseparable from personal challenges. Not all students can adjust easily in a foreign country. Culture and language are two important elements that might impact international students.

Cultural shock is an experience that someone might have when moving to a cultural environment that is different from theirs. This is also a personal disorientation that a person may feel when experiencing a way of life that is not known for immigration or visiting a new country, a change in social environment, or simply transitioning to other types of life (Macionis & Gerber, 2010). While culture shock is common and can be of great benefit to international students' experience, some students experience extreme cultural shocks. This can lead to fatigue, feeling unwelcome, and other physical and psychological conditions. After a few months, most students will resolve cultural shocks, but some students may never make adjustments.

There are generally four stages of cultural adjustment that people experience when living in other cultures for periods of time (Kohls, 2011), although no two students adapt at the same speed at the same time. Kohls identified the four stages of cultural adjustments as: honeymoon stage - initial culture shock stage - varying levels of acceptance stage - returning home stage/reverse culture shock. The honeymoon stage usually takes place between 0 - 2 months, when the students feel very excited, curious and enthusiastic of exploring the new place. The initial culture shock stage usually happens between 2-4 months, when the student begins to be overwhelmed by the new cultural expectations and difficulties. They might experience boredom, withdrawal, or homesickness. The next stage is acceptance that comes in various levels. This stage can include a number of recurring roller-coasters where students experience highs and lows, happiness and stresses. Then it comes the time for them to return home, and reverse cultural shock begins.

Following one semester or six months in Japan, the respondents are highly likely to have undergone all of the culture shock processes that Kohls suggested. After they were excited to explore the sides of Japanese culture that interested them, the respondents started to face some challenges. Three respondents felt overwhelmed by the discipline that they have to follow. The discipline that they indicated is cleanliness related, such as separating garbage.

Language is the next most attractive item for respondents to study in Japan. Four out of six respondents indicated that Japanese language was an attraction that led them to study in Japan. These four respondents were those who took Japanese language lessons before they even decided to study in Japan. They indicated that their level of Japanese proficiency was advanced (1 respondent), intermediate (1 respondent), and basic (2 respondents). Again, interestingly, language becomes the next most challenging element faced by the respondents. Four out of six respondents indicate that Japanese language is difficult or very difficult. The same respondents also indicate that study expectation is a challenge for them. This may be related to language issues.

Besides culture, language is indeed another barrier often faced by international students. Language barriers can affect international students in two ways: language barriers in the classroom can affect students' academic performance, while language barriers outside the classroom can affect students' social interactions and their general adjustments to host culture. For international students who are studying in non-English speaking countries, the language barriers can be doubled. On the one hand, there is an academic language that may use English as an international language, and on the other hand, there are host languages to socialize socially. Without strong academic language, the international students cannot perform maximum in their study. Furthermore, without the mastery of host country language, international students are constrained in trying to develop and maintain interpersonal relationships with the locals.

Moreover, the respondents also listed some other factors that led them to study in Japan. Some of the other considerations are: host-university, family support, finance, distance/geographic proximity, and quality of education. It indicates that the respondents first decided on the country before they decided to select the institution. Besides being attracted to the culture of the host country, the responses also suggest that the host-university is also an important element for them to decide to study in a non-English-speaking country. In their case, the decision to study at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University will give them an ideal situation. While they are attracted to Japan, they can still study in an English-taught program.

Although the respondents reported the above-mentioned challenges of studying in a non-English speaking country, none of the respondents regretted their decision. As mentioned earlier, they have to take a 12-hour-a-week Japanese language course, which will give them mastery of Japanese language in their first year. This third language competence is seen by the respondents as appealing and plus point. In adopting a third language, respondents believe they have the opportunity to think in another system. Practicing how to apply politeness to Japanese, witnessing 'ganbate', and understanding the relationship between words and Japanese way of thinking are interactions that no device can interpret.

Thus, the responses reveal that English-speaking country is not the only drive for these respondents to decide where to study abroad. When these respondents plan to study abroad, culture is the number one pull factor, and that's how they chose to study in Japan. Furthermore, Japanese language also becomes an important pull factor. It is noteworthy to note that even though culture and language are the most significant factors that attract the respondents to their decision to study in Japan, culture and language are also the most difficult issues they have encountered.

Apart from cultural and linguistic challenges, the respondents also face other challenges such as financial, academic, and diet. However, despite all the obstacles, the respondents mentioned that they made the right decision in choosing to study in Japan. Although they have friends studying in English speaking countries and they kept communication with them, none of the respondents expressed their regrets in choosing Japan. They are still very positive and believe that, upon graduation, they will be able to compete with other graduates from English-speaking- countries. They even indicate that their Japanese language ability makes them more advantaged compared to graduates from the English-speaking-countries. They say that being able to master a third foreign language is highly advantageous as it makes them able to think in three different systems. At the end of the respondents' first semester at a Japanese university, retention rate or proportion of students who stay in the course study is still 100%.

Conclusion

This study investigates what motivate Indonesian students to study in Japan, a non-English-speaking country. It further seeks to answer what difficulties they face, and what their future outlook is.

The respondents opted for culture and language as the most interesting elements that led them to study in Japan. Interestingly, culture and language have also become the most daunting elements they have to face when they study in Japan. During their study, the respondents also faced other challenges such as financial, academic and food.

At the end of their first semester none of the respondents regretted their decision to choose a non-English-speaking country to study. Studying abroad has given them the possibility to be prepared to become accomplished citizens. They are confident that they can compete with other graduates from English-speaking countries, and even believe that they have the advantage of being able to speak in third-language language.

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