Acta Linguistica Asiatica

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Foreword

Dear Linguistic Enthusiasts and Scholars,

It is with great pleasure that we present this year's summer issue of the scientific journal of *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*. With it, we embark on a journey to explore the rich and diverse linguistic tapestry of the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean languages, delving into their contemporary, pedagogical, historical, and other significance.

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to the authors, reviewers, and editorial team whose unwavering commitment has made this journal possible. It is our hope that the ALA journal will continue to serve as a platform to foster intellectual exchange and contribute to the advancement of linguistic knowledge in this dynamic and ever-evolving field.

This issue offers 4 research articles and one book review.

It opens with the article "Distant Co-occurrence Patterns of Connectives: a Corpus Study of Formulaicity in Japanese" written by **Andrej BEKEŠ**, **Bor HODOŠČEK**, **NISHINA Kikuko**, and **ABEKAWA Takeshi**. In the article, the authors examined two-item and multi-item distant co-occurrence patterns of connectives in written Japanese using corpus research methods. The analysis shows these patterns contribute to discourse development and prediction, resembling Bourdieu's *habitus*.

In the following article "Teaching Both Simplified and Traditional Characters to Learners of Chinese as L2", **LI Xiao** examined Chinese character acquisition in second language learning. It discusses different approaches - prioritizing simplified or traditional characters, teaching both together, or delaying character learning. Results show that most learners prefer simplified characters, some equally acquired both, while fewer prefer traditional characters. Text comprehension is better with characters than with Hanyu Pinyin.

The article "Exclamation in Late Archaic Chinese" by **WANG Aiqing** delved into exclamations in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC), which consist of sentence exclamations and exclamatives. Sentence exclamations assert propositions with or without surprise. The author proposes that exclamatives with degree adverbials *he* and *heqi* do not count as true exclamatives in LAC.

The last research article in this issue, contributed by **Klaudija LUKMAN** and **RYU Hyeonsook** is entitled "Korean Honorifics in Flux: a Case Study of Seoul National University LEI Textbooks". By examining Korean language textbooks (2000-2019), this

research showed the link between society and politeness styles. Notable shifts reveal the replacement of formal *hasipsioche* with polite *haeyoche*, reflecting changes in Korean culture and society.

Last but not least, **Nina GOLOB** reviewed the book "Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi." Its primary contribution lies in its methodical exploration of diverse facets of the Japanese language and the accomplishments of linguistic research related to it, all while considering the perspective of Croatian and other Slavic languages. The book is ideal for Croatian-speaking Japanese students and linguistics enthusiasts.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that in this era of rapid technological advancement, we wish to highlight the significant influence of Artificial Intelligence (AI) on linguistic studies. The emergence of AI has brought about a revolution in our methodologies, granting us the capability to analyze extensive linguistic data in real-time and fostering cross-linguistic collaborations with the aid of language translation tools.

While we appreciate the immense potential that AI offers, we must tread carefully, striking a balance between leveraging AI's potential and preserving the essence of human-driven analysis. Ethical considerations surrounding AI integration also deserve our attention.

Editors and Editorial board wish the regular and new readers of the ALA journal a pleasant read full of inspiration, and a rise of new research ideas inspired by these papers.

Editors

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Distant Co-occurrence Patterns of Connectives: a Corpus Study of Formulaicity in Japanese

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Abstract

Using corpus research methods, this study aims to establish whether there are two-item and, more generally, multi-item distant co-occurrence patterns of connectives in written Japanese, and further, to clarify the role these patterns play in discourse. The study is based on a hybrid corpus of written Japanese including Humanities and social science papers, Science and technology papers, and general written language data. The co-occurrence threshold was set at co-occurrence frequency > 10, PMI value > 2, and Dice coefficient > 0.01. The distribution of the observed co-occurring pairs differed according to the genre. Visualization of the connectivity potential of co-occurring pairs as directed graphs showed that these co-occurring pairs constitute longer co-occurrence chains which can be interpreted as ready-made co-occurrence patterns. Two-item and multi-item co-occurrence patterns are considered a type of Bourdieu's *habitus* and contribute to both discourse development and discourse prediction.

Keywords: connectives, distant co-occurrence, co-occurrence patterns, formulaic language, *habitus*, genre, directed graphs

Povzetek

Študija si z uporabo korpusnih metod prizadeva ugotoviti, ali obstajajo vzorci sistematičnega daljinskega sopojavljanja dveh veznikov oziroma, splošneje, več veznikov v pisni japonščini, ter nadalje pojasniti vlogo, ki jo ti vzorci izkazujejo v diskurzu. Študija temelji na hibridnem korpusu pisne japonščine, ki vključuje članke iz humanistike in družboslovja, znanosti in tehnologije ter splošnih pisnih besedil. Prag sopojavljanja dveh veznikov je bil nastavljen na frekvenco sopojavljanja > 10, vrednost PMI > 2 in koeficient Dice > 0,01. Porazdelitev opaženih sopojavljajočih se parov se je razlikovala glede na žanr. Vizualizacija povezljivosti sopojavljajočih se parov kot usmerjenih grafov je pokazala, da ti pari tvorijo daljše verige sopojavljajočih se veznikov, ki jih je mogoče razumeti kot že ustaljene vzorce sopojavljanja. Vzorce z dvema ali več sopojavljajočimi se vezniki lahko interpretiramo kot vrsto Bourdieujevega *habitusa*. Taki vzorci z vidika govorca prispevajo k razvoju diskurza, z vidika sogovorca pa k predvidevanju tega, kako se bo diskurz razvijal.

Ključne besede: vezniki, daljinsko sopojavljanje, vzorci sopojavljanja, formulaični jezik, habitus, žanr, usmerjeni grafi

1   Introduction

1.1   Background

Ready-made patterns in discourse have been studied for a long time. The most typical of such patterns are syntax and collocations. Regarding the various structures in syntax, DeBeaugrande and Dressler (1981) point out that they act as an 'early warning system' for the listener/reader, facilitating processing.

Knowledge of formulaic language is also an important part of speakers' linguistic knowledge, and its study has a long tradition. Within this framework, more recently, Wray (2017) has focused on the systematic co-occurrence of various elements in linguistic data and discussed the important role this phenomenon has in the load reduction of language processing. There are also studies focusing on the Japanese language. One of these, Kaneyasu (2012), deals with systematically occurring morpheme sequences in Japanese conversation. Cognition-related findings from the study of formulaic expressions are important, but they are mostly limited to the patterns of occurrence of adjacent morphemes and their various functions. On the other hand, Ishiguro (2008, Chap. 10) discusses connectives from the perspective of 'strategic usage' (*senryakuteki shiyō*). These patterns can be observed at the discourse level and are based on systematically occurring chains of connectives.

1.2   Aims of the present study

This study is conceived as an exploratory study, focusing on the aforementioned 'strategic usage' patterns, and aims to investigate their reality and their relation to the role they play in discourse. Specifically, the aim is to investigate the systematic distant co-occurrence of connectives occurring at the beginning of sentences in a corpus of general and academic texts written in Japanese. For this purpose, the following research questions will be addressed.

RQ1: Is it possible to identify the most frequent and prominent patterns of distant co-occurrence of connectives in general and academic texts?

RQ2: If such identification is possible, is it then possible for multiple connectives to co-occur systematically?

RQ3: If systematic multiple co-occurrences are possible, what role do such co-occurrence patterns play in the actual discourse?

2   Previous research

There is a long tradition in Japan of studying the patterning of elements that are quite far apart syntactically. Minami's (1974) study of the hierarchical structure of Japanese

clauses is a good example. Various original studies have also been conducted since then. Minami himself further statistically supported his earlier results in Minami (1993). Kudo (2000) corroborated the systematic nature of distant co-occurrence between sentence-initial adverbs and sentence-final modal expressions. This is an interesting result suggesting a kind of agreement phenomenon at the semantic level. This result by Kudo was further supported by Srdanović et al. (2009) in a large corpus of data.

Inspired by Noda (1995) and Kudo (2000), Bekeš (2008, Chap. 5; 2012) investigates the role of bracket structures formed by adverbs and co-occurring sentence-final modality expressions or adverbs and some *toritate* (focusing) particles and their role in discourse.

With the focus of the study shifting to connectives, the scope of analysis moves to the level of discourse. Within the framework of discourse research in Japan, there are many important findings. For example, Sakuma (2012, 2019) attempts to elucidate the role of connectives in the rhetorical structure of texts, based on studies such as Ichikawa (1978) and others, and on the establishment of detailed criteria for the identifying discourse units (i.e., written content paragraphs *bundan*, and spoken content paragraphs *wadan*).

There are also interesting studies on the systematic distant co-occurrence of connectives themselves. For example, Ishiguro (2008) points out the close relationship between connectives and sentence-final modality expressions (Ishiguro, 2008, Chap. 7). He also points to the possibility of systematic co-occurrence of multiple connectives and the existence of so-called 'strategic usage' in discourse development (Ishiguro, 2008, Chap. 10). Inspired by Ishiguro's work, Wang Jinbo (2015a, 2015b) investigates the systematic co-occurrence of adversative (*gyakusetsu*) and additive (*junsetsu*) conjunctions in editorials and other genres, and classifies them according to their semantic properties. In order to elucidate the role they play in discourse, she further examines the correlation of such co-occurring pairs of connective expressions with their position in the discourse.

3   Methodology

3.1   Data

In this study the following data are used: the 'Science and technology' papers (hereafter shortened to 'ST papers'), the 'Humanities and social science' papers (hereafter shortened to 'HS papers'), and a partially modified BCCWJ*, representing the general use.[1] As connectives, listed in various dictionaries and other sources proved

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[1] As for the science and technology papers, we independently collected data from the 'Gengo shori gakkai' (The Association for Natural Language Processing), 'Doboku gakkai' (Japan Society of Civil Engineers, 'Nihon kagaku kai' (The Chemical Society of Japan), 'Nihon ikadaigaku kai' (The Medical

to be insufficient data, the 523 connectives employed in Abekawa et al. (2020) were used in the analysis. Since their identification in sentences is very difficult in some cases, the analysis was limited to the most typical usage of connectives appearing at the beginning of sentences. The basic data of the relevant corpora used in this study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Basic data on corpora and connectives

Corpus	Total number of sentences (S)	No. of sentences that include one of the 523 connectives	Percentage of the total (S)
BCCWJ*	3,204,314	581,461	18.1%
HS papers	447,645	130,601	29.2%
ST papers	1,182,181	169,872	14.45%

In addition to these corpora, a small corpus consisting of 300 Asahi Shimbun editorials and opinion articles was used for validation.

3.2   Method of analysis

The extraction of co-occurrence patterns relied on two measures of association, i.e., the PMI[2] (pointwise mutual information) and Dice coefficient[3], both of which are used

Association of Nippon Medical School), 'Kankyō shigen kōgaku kai' (The Resources Processing Society of Japan) and 'Denki gakkai' (The Institute of Electrical Engineers of Japan). In the case of the journal of The Association for Natural Language Processing, data include papers and proceedings of annual conferences, while in the case of other societies' journals, papers alone were collected. The total number of papers and proceedings included in this corpus is 4,865.

Humanities and social sciences papers. From J-STAGE, a general academic e-journal site, we independently collected up to 20 papers per each relevant academic society from the academic journals they publish by specifying the search field as Humanities and Social Sciences. The total number of papers collected in this way is 1,508.

BCCWJ*. Based on the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ), a corpus built by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the written modern Japanese language use, and divided into several media types/genres. BCCWJ* is a sub-corpus of BCCWJ. In order to limit the data only to those written prose texts that are considered to have been thoroughly proofread, material taken from 'Yahoo! Chiebukuro', 'Yahoo! blog', Diet Minutes, and, for genre reasons, poetry, were excluded. See also Abekawa et. al. (2020).

[2] A statistical measure of association that compares the probability of two events occurring together to the probability of them occurring independently. For two outcomes of random variables x and y, PMI is defined as $PMI(x,y)=\log_2 P(x,y)/P(x)P(y)$, where $P(x,y)$ is the probability of x and y occurring together and $P(x)$, $P(y)$ are the probabilities of x and y occurring independently. The higher the value, the stronger the degree of association between x and y.

[3] Another statistical measure of association, the Dice coefficient is defined as $Dice(x,y) = 2f(xy)/(f(x) + f(y))$, where $f(x)$ and $f(y)$ are the frequencies of words x and y, and $f(xy)$ is the frequency of words x

to indicate the degree of association of co-occurring items used in traditional corpus studies (see Kolesnikova, 2016, Petrovic et al., 2006). The semantic relations underlying distant co-occurrence at the discourse level differ from those found in collocation studies which focus on local relations within a sentence. Therefore, at this stage of the study, it was empirically decided to use both measures together. Co-occurrence extraction was restricted to pairs of connected expressions that co-occurred within a range of one to four sentences apart in context. No attempt was made to extract more than two multiple connectives (n-grams), as the larger the number, the less reliable the results, due to the increased distance between individual items. Instead, typical co-occurrence pairs of the extracted connectives were considered as arcs in a directed graph, concatenated into longer co-occurrence chains, and further validated on the basis of actual data.

4   Analysis

4.1   Co-occurrence and genre of connectives

The first conjunctive expression appearing in co-occurrence is labeled as X and the second as Y. Their co-occurrence frequency is denoted as f(XY). Following Sakuma (2012, 2019), discourse units (content-based paragraphs) are referred to as *dan*. For easier recognition of co-occurrences, *dan* is assumed to consist of one or more sentences (S). A content-based paragraph realized by two co-occurring connectives can be denoted as follows.

(1) $[dan_0 = S_0]$ -X- $[dan_1 = S_1]$ -Y- $[dan_2 = S_2]$

In other words, two co-occurring connectives represent a relationship between three *dan* content paragraphs. The relationship may be parallel or hierarchical. Following the custom in corpus analysis, to eliminate rare and thus considered atypical cases of co-occurrence, only cases with frequency f(XY) > 10 are included in the analysis. On the other hand, in order to widen the range of potential co-occurrence candidates, the threshold value of PMI is set to PMI > 2, which is lower than the usual threshold value of PMI > 4, customarily used in corpus analysis (cf. Petrovic, 2006). And finally, an additional condition, i.e., Dice coefficient > 0.01, is added to the co-occurrence recognition criteria, to compensate for the tendency of PMI to be higher for low-frequency co-occurrences. The co-occurrences meeting these criteria are tabulated in Table 2 below:

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and *y* occurring together. The higher the value, the stronger the degree of association between *x* and *y*.

Table 2: Aggregation of co-occurrences in the three corpora

Corpus	Total number of sentences (S)	No. of sentences that include one of the 523 connectives	Number of co-occurrences of X, Y: (K as % of S)	No. of X,Y such that f(XY)>10, PMI>2, DICE>0,01 (C as % of K)
BCCWJ*	3,204,314	581,461	2708 (0.47%)	87 (3.21%)
HS papers	447,645	130,601	857 (0.66%)	202 (23.57%)
ST papers	1,182,181	169,872	925 (0.54%)	181 (19.57%)

It is clear from the table that the percentage of connectives that co-occur with other connectives within a certain range (four sentences) is low, around 0,5%, regardless of the corpus. This means that in the corpora studied, the proportion of connectives that explicitly indicate the relationship between two *dan* content paragraphs is low. On the other hand, the proportion of co-occurrences C that exceed the PMI value and Dice coefficient thresholds among all co-occurrences K in their respective corpora is significantly lower in BCCWJ* at 3.21%, compared to 23.57% in 'Humanities and social sciences papers' and 19.57% in 'Science and technology papers'. This means that in both academic corpora, the relationship between the three *dan* content paragraphs shown in (1) is significantly more likely to be systematically made explicit by connectives than in BCCWJ*.

4.2   Top 20 co-occurrence examples in PPM and PMI

To further clarify the systematic co-occurrence of connectives by genre, let us compare the top 20 co-occurrences in PPM (occurrences per million cases) and PMI respectively.

Table 3: Top 20 co-occurrences based on PPM: BCCWJ* and academic papers data

BCCWJ*					HS papers					ST papers				
Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI	Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI	Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI
mata	sarani	1536	381.4	4.1	mata	sarani	393	877.9	5.2	shikashi	sokode	843	713.1	5.9
shikashi	mata	896	222.5	**1.2**	shikashi	mata	380	848.9	3.8	shikashi	mata	584	494.0	3.7
mata	mata	825	204.9	**1.4**	tatoeba	mata	308	688.0	5.1	mata	sarani	523	442.4	4.7
mata	shikashi	816	202.6	**1.0**	mata	shikashi	298	665.7	3.4	mata	mata	484	409.4	2.2
shikashi	soshite	747	185.5	**1.3**	shikashi	sokode	229	511.6	5.2	tatoeba	mata	440	372.2	3.6
tatoeba	mata	693	172.1	2.9	tashikani	shikashi	204	455.7	7.2	mata	sokode	438	370.5	3.7
shikashi	sokode	689	171.1	2.7	shikashi	tsumari	194	433.4	4.5	mata	tatoeba	429	362.9	3.5
mata	nao	627	155.7	3.2	shikashi	tatoeba	193	431.1	4.5	mazu	tsugini	413	349.4	7.1
soshite	shikashi	624	155.0	**1.1**	mata	soshite	183	408.8	3.6	mata	shikashi	371	313.8	3.1
tashikani	shikashi	550	136.6	4.0	mata	konoyōni	178	397.6	4.6	mata	nao	346	292.7	3.9
mochiron	shikashi	542	134.6	3.0	mata	mata	177	395.4	2.5	kokode	mata	336	284.2	3.6
sarani	mata	492	122.2	2.4	shikashi	soshite	168	375.3	3.6	tadashi	mata	322	272.4	4.1
shikashi	tatoeba	477	118.4	2.1	soshite	shikashi	156	348.5	3.5	shikashi	tatoeba	314	265.6	4.3
nao	mata	471	117.0	2.8	soshite	mata	153	341.8	3.3	nao	mata	313	264.8	3.8
shikashi	tsumari	440	109.3	2.1	shikashi	sonotame	149	332.9	5.0	mata	shitagatte	266	225.0	3.9
mata	konoyōna	434	107.8	3.0	tsumari	mata	147	328.4	4.0	sokode	mata	254	214.9	2.9
mata	ippō	409	101.6	2.9	mata	shitagatte	143	319.4	4.5	shikashi	sonotame	248	209.8	5.5
soshite	soshite	408	101.3	**1.1**	mata	tsumari	139	310.5	3.9	tatoeba	shikashi	238	201.3	3.9
mata	konoyōni	390	96.8	3.2	mata	tatoeba	130	290.4	3.8	mata	ippō	215	181.9	3.5
tatoeba	shikashi	384	95.4	**1.8**	mata	nao	129	288.2	4.3	ippō	mata	212	179.3	3.5

It is immediately apparent from Table 3 that a high or low co-occurrence frequency expressed as PPM does not necessarily correlate with a high or low PMI value, with the *mata → shikashi* combination in BCCWJ* being a striking example of this. In Table 3, PMI values below the threshold value used here, i.e., < 2, observed in BCCWJ*, are highlighted with boldface. In both academic corpora, however, all PMI values are above the threshold, and the correlation between PPM and PMI values appears to be more consistent.

On the other hand, the PMI of co-occurrence of *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) is consistently high, regardless of genre, with a PMI value of 2.7 for BCCWJ*, 5.2 for Humanities and social sciences papers and 5.9 for Science and technology papers. The PMI values of this co-occurrence are significantly higher in the academic corpus than in the BCCWJ*. This can be attributed to the fact that the range of observed combinations of connectives is more limited and more formulaic in the academic corpora than in the BCCWJ*. This is also clearly visible in the directed graphs visualization discussed in section 4.3. In Table 3, all co-occurrences in which the PMI value is above the threshold, but co-occurs with a high PPM, regardless of genre, could intuitively be considered as established co-occurrence patterns.

Finally, let us have a look at the use of *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore), one of the cases with the highest frequency expressed as PPM, using an editorial as an example.

(2) 日本郵政をめぐって、民主党政権は株式売却の凍結法を成立させる一方、郵政改革を抜本的に見直す法案を昨年の通常国会に出した。その成立をみて資産売却を解禁する段取りを描く。しかし、見直し法案には、小泉政権下で民営化を断行した自民党など野党の反対が根強い。そこで、復興のための増税圧縮に絡めて成立を急ごうという思惑が垣間見える。

（朝日新聞 2011 年 09 月 17 日、朝刊）

Nippon'yūsei o megutte, Minshutō seiken wa kabushiki baikyaku no tōketsu-hō o seiritsu sa seru ippō, yūsei kaikaku o bappon-teki ni minaosu hōan o sakunen no tsūjō kokkai ni dashita. Sono seiritsu o mite shisan baikyaku o kaikin suru dandori o kaku. Shikashi, minaoshi hōan ni wa, Koizumi seiken-ka de min'ei-ka o dankō shita Jimintō nado yatō no hantai ga nedzuyoi. Sokode, fukkō no tame no zōzei asshuku ni karamete seiritsu o isogou toiu omowaku ga kaimamieru.
(Asahi shinbun, 2011 nen 09 tsuki 17 nichi, chōkan)

With regard to Japan Post, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) government passed a law freezing the sale of shares, while a bill to fundamentally review postal reform was submitted to the ordinary session of the Diet last year. The government will draw up arrangements to lift the ban on asset sales when the bill is passed. However (*shikashi)*, the revised bill faces strong opposition from opposition parties, including the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which had decisively privatized the postal service under the Koizumi administration. Therefore (*sokode*), there are glimpses of a desire to hasten its passage by tying it to the compression of tax hikes for reconstruction.

(Asahi Shimbun 17 Sep 2011, morning edition, editorial)

In example (2), the PPM of the co-occurring pair *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) in different corpora is as follows: BCCWJ* 171.1; HS 511.6; ST 713.1. PPM is significantly higher in academic data (about four times higher than BCCWJ* in 'Science and Technology papers' and about three times higher in 'Humanities and social sciences papers'). Example (2) is an example of a development in which, in a given situation, an adversative conjunctive expression such as *shikashi* (however) introduces an inconvenient situation and *sokode* (therefore) introduces a response to the situation (here, it is, 'hastening of the passage of bill'. This co-occurrence pattern is discussed in detail in Wang (2015a,b).

Next, let us look at the top 20 co-occurrences with the highest PMI values.

Table 4: Top 20 co-occurrences based on PMI values: BCCWJ* and academic papers data

	BCCWJ*					HS papers					ST papers			
Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI	Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI	Connective X	Connective Y	Freq.	PPM	PMI
dainiwa	daisanwa	39	9.7	12.5	hitotsumewa	futatsumewa	11	24.6	14.4	hitotsumewa	futatsumewa	13	11.0	14.9
daisan'ni	daiyon'ni	30	7.4	12.3	zenshawa	kōshawa	18	40.2	13.1	daiichini	dainini	16	13.5	14.0
daiichiwa	dainiwa	39	9.7	12.2	daisan'ni	daiyon'ni	16	35.7	12.3	zenshawa	kōshawa	30	25.4	13.2
zenshawa	kōshawa	44	10.9	12.1	hitotsuwa	mōhitotsuwa	25	55.8	12.0	hitotsuwa	mōhitotsuwa	34	28.8	13.1
dainini	daisan'ni	81	20.1	11.3	dainini	daisan'ni	55	122.9	11.1	hitotsuwa	mōhitotsu	14	11.8	11.1
daiichini	dainini	63	15.6	10.8	daiichini	dainini	86	192.1	11.0	tsugini	saigoni	126	106.6	7.1
hitotsuwa	mōhitotsuwa	123	30.5	10.8	hitotsuwa	mōhitotsu	15	33.5	10.4	mazu	tsugini	413	349.4	7.1
hitotsuwa	futatsumewa	21	5.2	9.7	saigoni	daiichini	13	29.0	7.8	sonotaa	sonotaa	14	11.8	6.8
uchi	uchi	21	5.2	9.4	mazu	tsuide	11	24.6	7.6	dewa	dewa	38	32.1	6.5
hitotsuwa	mōhitotsu	67	16.6	8.1	tsugini	saigoni	41	91.6	7.5	shikashinagara	sokode	134	113.3	6.0
hitotsuwa	zenshawa	12	3.0	7.6	mazu	tsugini	102	227.9	7.5	sokode	gutaitekiniwa	133	112.5	6.0
ika	ika	376	93.4	7.2	tashikani	shikashi	204	455.7	7.2	kekka	kekka	27	22.8	5.9
ika	konobaainioite	55	13.7	7.1	ikadewa	mazu	20	44.7	7.1	shikashi	sokode	843	713.1	5.9
konobaainioite	daiichi	33	8.2	6.6	ikadewa	tsugini	14	31.3	7.1	mazu	soshite	116	98.1	5.8
daiichi	konobaainioite	31	7.7	6.5	soredewa	mazu	19	42.4	7.0	kokodewa	mazu	48	40.6	5.7
aruiwa	izureniseyo	20	5.0	6.3	mazu	tsudzuite	12	26.8	7.0	koremade	shikashi	61	51.6	5.5
daiichi	dainini	27	6.7	6.3	daga	toiunomo	18	40.2	6.7	soshite	saigoni	29	24.5	5.5
daiichi	daiichi	153	38.0	6.2	mochiron	daga	24	53.6	6.6	shikashi	sonotame	248	209.8	5.5
nande[a]	nande[a]	17	4.2	6.1	mochiron	shikashinagara	18	40.2	6.6	shikashinagara	sonotame	34	28.8	5.4
de	de	29	7.2	6.0	mazu	sonōede	12	26.8	6.5	shikashinagara	tokuni	20	16.9	5.4

[a] *nande* is contraction of *nanode*

At high PMI values, once the first connective X is selected, the subsequent connective Y is predictable to a significant degree. In Table 4, the co-occurrence frequencies (number of co-occurrences) in the academic paper data are all greater than 10. However, in BCCWJ*, which has the largest amount of data, 12 out of 20 co-occurrences have PPM values below 10, while their PMI values are high, some even very high (> 10). The co-occurrence with the lowest PPM value but still considerably high PMI (> 9) is *hitotsuwa* (one) → *zenshawa* (the previous one) and the second lowest is *aruiwa* (or) → *izureniseyo* (in any case).

In all three corpora, some co-occurrences with relatively low frequencies but PPM values of 10 or more are also considered highly predictable because of their rather high PMI values: in BCCWJ* there are 8 such occurrences out of the top 20 co-occurrences, in Humanities and social sciences papers 15 out of the top 20 in and in Science and technology papers, 9 out of the top 20. Most of these high PMI co-occurrences seem to correspond to examples classified as 'enumerations (*seiri-rekkyo*)' in Ishiguro (2008), such as *hitotsuwa* (one) → *mōhitotsuwa* (the other) above. Although only used in a limited number of contexts, these are examples with a very high degree of formulaicity.

Let us now have a look at an example of *hitotsuwa* (one) → *mōhitotsuwa* (the other) from an opinion article.

(3) 環境省が原発規制の元締となることには、**二つの意味**がある。<u>一つは</u>、国策としての原発推進の終わりだ。＜……＞
もう一つは、原発を支えてきた安全神話の終わりだ。
（朝日新聞 2011 年 08 月 16 日、朝刊、オピニオン）

*Kankyōshō gap genpatsu kisei no motojime to naru koto ni wa, **futatsu no imi** ga aru.*
<u>*Hitotsu wa*</u>*, kokusaku to shite no genpatsu suishin no owarida. <……>*
<u>*Mōhitotsu*</u> *wa, genpatsu o sasaete kita anzen shinwa no owarida.*
(Asahi shinbun 2011 nen 08 tsuki 16 nichi, chōkan, Opinion)

The Ministry of the Environment becoming the prime regulator of nuclear power has **two implications**. <u>One (*hitotsu*)</u> is the end of the promotion of nuclear power as a national policy. <A detailed description spanning over six sentences, follows.>
<u>The other (*mōhitotsu*)</u> is the end of the safety myth that has underpinned nuclear power.

(Asahi Shimbun, 16 Aug 2011, morning edition, Opinion).

In (3), the co-occurring pair *hitotsuwa* (one) → *mōhitotsuwa* (the other) has the PMI value as follows: BCCWJ* 10.4; HS 10.4; ST 11.1. This is a clear and relatively common example of 'enumeration'. The pair of connectives is introduced by the cataphoric reference of '**two implications**', and the relationship between the first relatively long *dan* content paragraph and the subsequent *dan* content paragraph is also clearly indicated by both connectives. In this case, the high PMI value also implies a developed formulaicity of the co-occurring pair.

Three other interesting co-occurrence patterns are found in the Humanities and social sciences data. These are *tashikani* (certainly) → *shikashi* (however), *mochiron* (of course) → *daga* (but), and *mochiron* (of course) → *shikashinagara* (however). All three have fairly similar meanings, and the sequence is signaling a rhetoric pattern, i.e., 'acceptance of (collocutor's) proposition, followed by an alternative proposal'. This pattern appears to be used as a strategy to express cautious disagreement or for introducing additional alternatives. On the other hand, such co-occurrence examples do not seem to be used very often in the Science and technology papers data, but in Humanities and social sciences data, the PMI values and PPM of these cases are twice as high as in BCCWJ*. For example, in co-occurrence pair *mochiron* (of course) → *daga* (but) the PMI values are as follows: BCCWJ* 2.64; HS 6.6; ST N/A. Let us have a look at an example, again from an editorial.

(4) 素人である検察審査会の審査員や裁判員に正しい判断ができるのか、という
声はくすぶる。
もちろん、絶対に間違えないとは言わない。だが国民の能力をうんぬんする
以前に、専門家の手で正しい証拠が隠されたり、不当な誘導がされたりする
ことが、誤った結論をもたらす。…
（朝日新聞 2011 年 12 月 18 日、朝刊、社説）

Shirōto dearu kensatsu shinsa-kai no shinsa-in ya saiban-in ni tadashī handan ga dekiru no ka, to iu koe wa kusuburu.
Mochiron, zettai ni machigaenai to wa iwanai. Daga kokumin no nōryoku o un'nun suru izen ni, senmonka no te de tadashī shōko ga kakusa re tari, futōna yūdō ga sa re tari suru koto ga, ayamatta ketsuron o motarasu.…
(Asahi shinbun 2011 nen 12 tsuki 18 nichi, chōkan, shasetsu)

There are persistent voices asking whether lay prosecution jurors and lay jurors are capable of making the right decision.
Of course (*mochiron*), this is not to say that they will never make a mistake. But (*daga*) before we can say anything about the competence of the public, the fact that the right evidence is hidden or improperly guided by experts leads to erroneous conclusions. ...

(Asahi Shimbun, 18 Dec 2011, morning edition, editorial)

In (4), first the doubt about the ability of lay jurors is presented. Of course (*mochiron*) then introduces the acceptance of the possibility that they could make mistakes. The argument is then countered in the next sentence, introduced by but (*daga*), which emphasizes the fact that it is actually the specialists who in many cases mishandle the evidence, leading to erroneous conclusions.

On the other hand, there are co-occurrence pairs in the top 20 PMI values that are only found in the Science and technology papers. These are the most frequently co-occurring pairs among the top 20 PMI co-occurrences, i.e., *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore), and its also frequent alternative *shikashinagara* (however) → *sokode* (therefore). As we have already seen, the first of the pairs, *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) is relatively frequent and found in all corpora in the top 20 PPM co-occurrences.

In addition, there are two other frequent co-occurrence pairs including *shikashi* (however) and *shikashinagara* (however) as the first member, i.e., *shikashi* (however) → *sono tame* (therefore) and *shikashinagara* (however) → *sono tame* (therefore). Both pairs introduce 'another aspect of a given situation followed by its consequences'.

It is not only between the BCCWJ* data and the academic corpora that significant differences in the distribution of the high-frequency co-occurrence pairs can be observed. Interestingly, such differences are also found between the Humanities and social sciences data and Science and technology data. This suggests that differences

arise not only between the genres such as general and academic use but also between different academic disciplines.

On the basis of Tables 3 and 4, we can conclude that when the co-occurring pair of connectives meets the threshold values for frequency, PMI, and additionally, the Dice coefficient, those pairs displaying either high frequency and medium PMI values, or relatively low frequency but high PMI values, can be considered intuitively as having developed into formulaic pairs. This finding allows RQ1 to be answered in the affirmative.

4.3   Identifying longer co-occurrence chains by directed graphs

As indicated in (1), the role of connectives is to explicitly indicate semantic relations between *dan* content paragraphs in a sequence of *dan* content paragraphs. Thus, behind the sequence of connectives, there is in fact a sequence of *dan* content paragraphs in the larger discourse unit that contains them. As the discourse unfolds in time (or space in the case of a written text), the pairs of connectives can be thought of as directed graphs. The connectives X and Y are nodes in the graph and 'X→Y' is the direction from X to Y. As one connective may co-occur with a number of other connectives in a context, co-occurring pairs can be linked into even larger chains. By identifying those chains of connectives that occur systematically in the context, i.e., Ishiguro's 'strategic usage' patterns, conjunctive relations behind them can be explored.

In the rest of this section, we discuss the possibility of identifying potential chains of connectives by representing the identified co-occurrence pairs as directed graphs. For this purpose, we use 'Pajek', a graph exploration software (see de Nooy et al., 2005).

Based on the co-occurrence data in Tables 3 and 4, visualization of potential, longer co-occurrence chains containing multiple co-occurring pairs is shown in Figure 1a and Figure 1b. Depending on one's point of view, this visualization can be interpreted as the potential knowledge of the use of connectives in a given community of language users (including a community of experts), i.e. it represents an aspect of what de Saussure (1916/1966) calls *langue*, or what Bourdieu (1991, 1994) calls *habitus.*
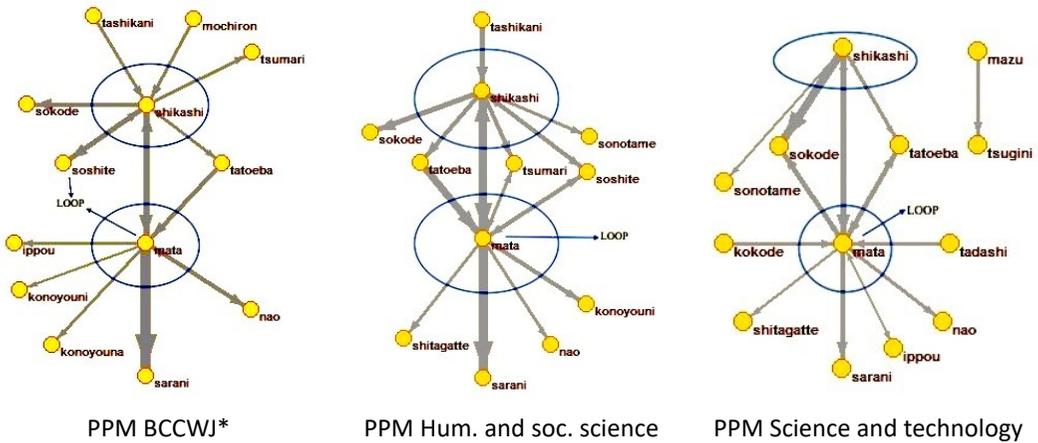
Figure 1a: Top 20 PPMs - directed graph with concatenated co-occurrence sequences
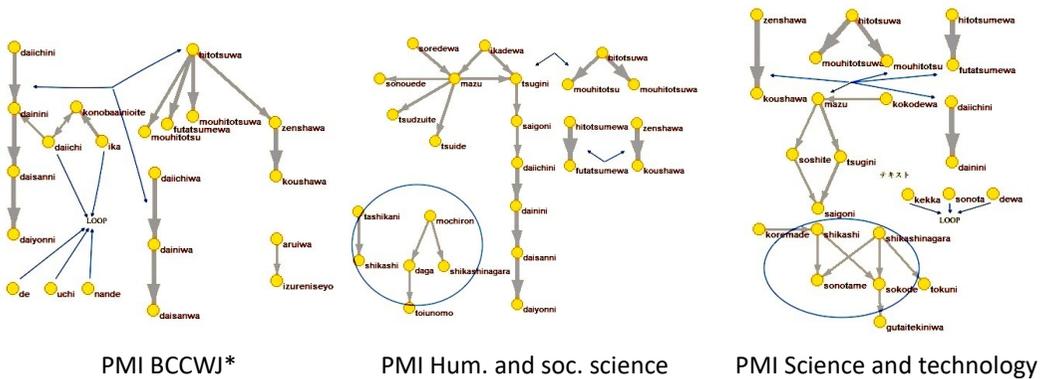
Figure 1b: Top 20 PMI-directed graph with concatenated co-occurrence sequences

Figure 1a and Figure 1b visualize all the top 20 PPM and PMI co-occurrence pairs by integrating them into directed graphs. As the graphs in Figure 1a and Figure 1b reflect co-occurrence frequencies (PPM) or PMI values based on corpus data, they do not show actual linkage relations in specific contexts, but only potential co-occurrence patterns of language use within the general user community and within specific scientific communities.

In the graphs, the thickness of the arcs connecting the nodes is proportional to the frequency (PPM) of co-occurrence or to the PMI value. In Figure 1a, based on the high frequency (PPM) co-occurrences shown in Table 3, in all three genres, the bidirectionally connected *shikashi* (however) and *mata* (also) (in Figure 1a marked by circles) form a central pair of nodes with which various relations of connectives can be formed. Not only in terms of their position but also in terms of the frequency of co-occurrence, the connectives can be linked into longer chains around *shikashi* (however) and *mata* (also). However, the details vary from genre to genre.

On the other hand, for co-occurrences with high PMI values (Figure 1b), two types of co-occurrence sequences emerge. One type is potential sequences (marked with arrows) that clearly represent Ishiguro's multiple 'enumerating' strategy patterns mentioned above. The thickness of the arcs reflects the predictability of co-occurrence, thicker arcs representing higher PMI values and thus higher predictability of co-occurrence. The other type of patterns that emerge clearly in both academic corpora are the patterns (marked by circles) that appear to be used to develop the argumentation, although the PMI values involved in them are somewhat lower. In Humanities and social sciences data, this is the pattern *mochiron* (of course) → *daga* (but), discussed in section 4.2, and in Science and technology data, the pattern of *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore), also mentioned in 4.2.

In several places in Figure 1a and Figure 1b, there is a node called 'LOOP'. This node represents cases where, according to the specification of the 'Pajek' software used, one conjunctive expression co-occurs repeatedly with itself, such as *de* (and) → *de* (and), etc. LOOP is not combined with other connectives with a very high PPM (frequency) or high PMI value (predictability), except for *mata* (also).

In this section, we have looked at the co-occurrence of the most frequently occurring connectives and potential argumentation patterns based on them. On the basis of the above findings, the answer to RQ2 can be regarded as affirmative.

These potential patterns, which, with the help of visualization, suggest strategies for the development of longer discourse segments, can be said to be the realization of the linking potential possessed by the two-item co-occurrence examples presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Let us now look at the potential chains containing two or more connectives that we obtained from Figure 1a and Figure 1b, i.e., chains based on the high co-occurring frequency (PPM) and high PMI values. In order to clarify the relationship between the potential chains including two or connectives and the *dan* content paragraphs, having the chain schema in (1) as a starting point, a more general form of the chain of connectives is shown in (5).

(5) $\boxed{dan_0}$ -X_1- $\boxed{dan_1}$ -X_2- $\boxed{dan_2}$ ... $\boxed{dan_{n-1}}$ -X_n- $\boxed{dan_n}$

In general, *dan* content paragraphs are not necessarily sentences but can consist of a group of sentences. The semantic relationship between dan_i and dan_{i+1} generally need not be explicitly indicated with the connective X_i. The unexpressed X_i is denoted as Ø for convenience, as a 'fill-in'. In fact, examples of conjunctive relations between sentences that are not explicitly signaled (i.e., are realized as 'Ø'), account for about two-thirds or more of all co-occurrences identified in all three corpora examined in this study.

As it is very difficult to deal with relations between *dan* content paragraphs that are not explicitly indicated using corpus linguistics methods, the analysis in this study is limited to chains of fully expressed connectives at this stage of the research. Among the co-occurrence patterns found in Tables 3 and 4, *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore), or more generally, 'adversative connective → additive connective', has already been examined in detail in Wang (2015a, b), as mentioned above.

From the visualization of potential co-occurrence chains in Figure 1a and Figure 1b, we can further extract longer potential chain patterns that are involved in discourse development.

In the present study, the extraction was restricted to the top 20 PPM and top 20 PMI-valued co-occurring connectives. If all co-occurring examples that meet the co-occurrence condition threshold were included, the number of potential linkage patterns would increase further, but this analysis is left as a future task.

Shikashi (however) and *mata* (also), which occupy a central position in the three corpora in terms of their potential for co-occurrence with other connectives, are also central to several longer co-occurrence chain patterns.

Prominent and possibly formulaic potential connective patterns found in Figure 1a and Figure 1b, based on the 76 different connective co-occurrence pairs[4] in the top 20 examples appearing in Tables 3 and 4 are shown in Table 5 below.

[4.]*aruiwa→izureniseyo; uchi→uchi; kokode→mata; kokodewa→mazu; konobaainioite→daiichi; koremade→shikashi; sarani→mata; shikashi→sokode; shikashi→soshite; shikashi→sonotame; shikashi→tsumari; shikashi→mata; shikashi→tatoeba; shikashinagara→sokode; shikashinagara→sonotame; shikashinagara→tokuni; sokode→mata; sokode→gutaitekiniwa; soshite→shikashi; soshite→soshite; soshite→mata; soshite→saigoni; sonota→sonota; soredewa→mazu; daga→toiunomo; tadashi→mata; tsumari→mata; de→de; dewa→dewa; nao→mata; nande→nande; mazu→soshite; mazu→sono-uede; mazu→tsuide; mazu→tsugini; mazu→tsudzuite; mata→konoyōna; mata→konoyōni; mata→sarani; mata→shikashi; mata→shitagatte; mata→sokode; mata→soshite; mata→tsumari; mata→nao; mata→mata; mata→ippō; mata→tatoeba; mochiron→shikashi; mochiron→shikashinagara; mochiron→daga; hitotsuwa→mōhitotsu; hitotsuwa→mōhitotsuwa; hitotsuwa→futatsumewa; hitotsuwa→zenshawa; hitotsumewa→futatsumewa; ippō→mata; ika→konobaainioite; ika→ika; ikadewa→mazu; ikadewa→tsugini; tatoeba→shikashi; tatoeba→mata; saigoni→daiichini; zenshawa→kōshawa; tsugini→saigoni; tashikani→shikashi; daiichi→konobaainioite; daiichi→daiichi; daiichi→dainini; daiichini→dainini; daiichiwa→dainiwa; daisan'ni→daiyon'ni; dainini→daisan'ni; dainiha→daisanwa; kekka→kekka*

Table 5: Prominent potential connective patterns found in Figure 1

	Chain examples	Corpus	Length (No. of connectives)
PPM	*tashikani* (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→*tsumari* (namely)	BCCWJ*	3
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→*sonotame* (therefore)	HS	3
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→*sokode* (therefore)	BCCWJ*, HS	3
	mochiron (of course)→**_shikashi_** (however)→*sokode* (therefore)	BCCWJ*, HS	3
	mochiron (of course)→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*sarani* (again)	BCCWJ*	4
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*sarani* (again)	BCCWJ*	4
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*shitagatte* (therefore)	HS	4
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*sarani* (again)	HS	4
	mochiron ()→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*ippō* (on the other hand)	BCCWJ*	4
	tashikani (indeed)→**_shikashi_** (however)→**_mata_** (again)→*ippō* (on the other hand)	BCCWJ*	4
PMI	*koremade* (hitherto)→**_shikashi_** (however)→*sokode* (therefore)→*gutaitekiniwa* (concretely)	ST	4
	koremade (hitherto)→**_shikashinagara_** ()→*sokode* (therefore)→*gutaitekiniwa* (concretely)	ST	4

If a connective in a chain links two overlapping co-occurring pairs, such as *shikashi* (however) in the chain [*mochiron* (indeed → {*shikashi* (however)} → *tsumari* (namely], then it is reasonable to assume that a chain consisting of three connectives, linked with the centrally occurring connective can occur in actual discourse.

Table 5 shows the specific possibilities of such potential linkages. The respective ranges of two or more overlapping co-occurrence pairs are indicated by underlining and boldface. The '→' indicates the direction (order) of linkage of the conjunctive expression.

Among the top 20 PMI values, there are highly formulaic 'enumerating' patterns, such as *daiichiwa* (firstly)→*dainiwa* (secondly)→*daisanwa* (thirdly) which are self-explanatory enough and have therefore been omitted from Table 5.

Among the various potential concatenation patterns in Table 5, there are a number of concatenation patterns of co-occurrence pairs, such as the overlapping co-occurrence pairs seen in the top 20 examples of PPM, which are formed around *mochiron* (of course) and *tashikani* (indeed). These patterns are involved with the development of argumentation and are seen in BCCWJ* and Humanities and social sciences data. On the other hand, among the top 20 PMI values, the two concatenation patterns of co-occurrence pairs formed around *shikashi/shikashinagara* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) are only found in the Science and technology data.

In the following Section 5, the potential possibilities of concatenation patterns of co-occurrence pairs presented in this section will be examined in actual discourse, namely in newspaper editorial articles.

5   Verification of co-occurrence chains in actual discourse

This section verifies the potential sequential patterns listed in Table 5 using concrete examples of their use in discourse. For this purpose, various academic monographs and a small corpus of 300 Asahi Shimbun editorials and opinion articles were used. First, we checked the extent to which the 76 co-occurrence pairs of connectives mentioned above overlapped with the chains of connectives found in the examples of actual discourse. Of the 76 co-occurrence pairs, 18 were either used as single co-occurrence pairs or appeared as a part of a chain of multiple connectives. For example, in addition to the examples of the single co-occurrence pairs *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore), *hitotsuwa* (one) → *mōhitotsuwa* (the other) and *mochiron* (of course) → *daga* (but) , seen in (2)-(4), there are also long chains of co-occurrence pairs in editorials, such as *nanishiro* (anyhow) → *tada* (just) → *shikashi* (however) → *sorewa* (that is) → *mazu* (first) → *soshite* (then) and *shikashi* (however) → *mazu* (first) →*tsugini* (next) → *sonouede* (moreover) → *tatoeba* (for example) → *sonotame* (therefore). Some of the 18 co-occurrence pairs mentioned above, such as *tatoeba* (for example) → *sonotame* (therefore) are included in these chains, and in other examples of long chains. As has been said before, these 18 co-occurrence pairs fulfill the co-occurrence threshold conditions and seem to be used as 'ready-made parts' in the development of discourse.

Some examples of chains containing multiple connectives are given below. The overlapping status of the ready-made co-occurrence pairs in the examples is highlighted by underlining and boldface. The examples extracted from the actual discourse data are shown in the order of the increasing complexity of the chains in which they appear. The first example is a chain formed by just one co-occurrence pair.

(6) 交渉による和平への取り組みが失速すれば、１９８９年のソ連軍撤退の後の
ような内戦が再燃することになるだろう。
まず米国には、アフガンとパキスタンの双方を説得して協力関係を築いてほ
しい。
そしてカルザイ大統領は、アフガン人同士で和平をめざす基本に立ち返り、
タリバーンとの対話を粘り強く探るべきだ。
（朝日新聞 2011 年 10 月 07 日、朝刊、社説）

*Kōshō ni yoru wahei e no torikumi ga shissoku sureba, 1989-nen no Soren-gun tettai
no nochi no yōna naisen ga sainen suru koto ni naru darō.*

***Mazu** Beikoku ni wa, Afugan to Pakisutan no sōhō o settoku shite kyōryoku kankei o
kizuite hoshī.*

***Soshite** karuzai daitōryō wa, Afugan hito dōshi de wahei o mezasu kihon ni tachikaeri,
taribān to no taiwa o nebaridzuyoku sagurubekida.*

(Asahi shinbun 2011 nen 10 tsuki 07 nichi, chōkan, shasetsu)

If negotiated peace efforts stall, civil war will flare up, as it did after the withdrawal of
Soviet troops in 1989.

First (*mazu*), the US should persuade both Afghanistan and Pakistan to cooperate with
each other.

President Karzai should **then** (*soshite*) return to the fundamentals of peace among
Afghans and persistently.

(Asahi Shimbun, 07 Oct 2011, morning edition, editorial)

In example (6), PMI values for the co-occurrence pair *mazu* (first) → *soshite* (then)
are BCCWJ* n/a; HS 4.6; ST 5.8.

The argument in (6) is structured as follows. The two reasons supporting the
assertion in the first paragraph, i.e., '...civil war will flare up', are introduced by *mazu*
(first), which, according to Ishiguro (2008) belongs to the 'organizing-enumerating' type
of connectives, and *soshite* (then), which belongs to the 'organizing-coordinating'
category. This is a co-occurrence pattern often found in academic papers, but similar
patterns such as *mazu* (first) → *tsugini* (next) are also found in the BCCWJ* top 50 PMI
examples.

There are also examples of ready-made co-occurrence pairs embedded in longer
chains, for example *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) → *sonouede* (moreover)
in the following chain.

(7) クラウドソーシングのプラットフォーム上では、＜…＞、発注者は適切な受注者を見つけやすくなっているとする。

しかし、適切に発注者を選んだとしても、＜…＞やり取りを具体的に見ていく必要があると思われる。

そこで、本章では、クラウドソーシングの発注業務において、発注者と受注者の実際のやり取りを検証し、実際に発注を行った発注者の声を参考にしながら、両者のコミュニケーション上で生まれるやり取りの問題点について明らかにする。

その上で、発注者から提示可能なやり取り文書の改善点を提示することを試みる。

（石黒圭 (編) 2020,14 章）

Kuraudosōshingu no purattofōmu-jōde wa,<…>, hatchū-sha wa tekisetsuna juchū-sha o mitsuke yasuku natte iru to suru.

***Shikashi**, tekisetsu ni hatchū-sha o eranda to shite mo,<…> yaritori o gutaitekini mite iku hitsuyō ga aru to omowa reru.*

***Sokode**, honshōde wa, kuraudosōshingu no hatchū gyōmu ni oite, hatchū-sha to juchū-sha no jissai no yaritori o kenshō shi, jissai ni hatchū o okonatta hatchū-sha no koe o sankō ni shinagara, ryōsha no komyunikēshon-jō de umareru yaritori no mondaiten ni tsuite akiraka ni suru.*

***Sonouede**, hatchū-sha kara teiji kanōna yaritori bunsho no kaizen-ten o teiji suru koto o kokoromiru.*

Suppose that on a crowdsourcing platform, <...>, it is easier for the ordering party to find a suitable order taker.

However (*shikashi*), even if the appropriate ordering party is selected, <...> it is still necessary to look at the specifics of the interaction.

This chapter **therefore** (*sokode*) examines the actual interactions between ordering parties and order takers in the crowdsourcing ordering process, and clarifies the issues that arise in the communication between the two parties, referring to the opinions of the ordering party who actually placed the order.

Moreover (*sonouede*), it attempts to present points for improvement in the exchange documents that can be presented by the ordering party.

(Ishiguro ed. 2020, Chap. 14)

The long chain in example (7) is first broken down into pairs of co-occurring connectives to check the PMI values. Pair 1 *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore): PMI value: BCCWJ* 2.7; HS 5.2; ST 5.9. Pair 2 *sokode* (therefore) → *sonouede* (moreover): PMI value: no examples meeting threshold conditions.

Example (7) is a good example of a combination of patterned and non-patterned parts in a chain of connectives. In the chain, firstly, in a ready-made co-occurrence pair with a high frequency of *shikashi* (however) → *sokode* (therefore) is used. *Shikashi* (however) introduces the need for verification of the specific interaction between the

order taker and the ordering party, and information on how to do this in concrete terms is presented by *sokode* (therefore). Finally, a new, more specific response, added to the first response, is introduced by *sonouede* (moreover): 'to present improvements in the exchange documents that can be presented by the order taker and the ordering party'.

(8) 分析の結果、発注者からみた受注者とのやり取り文書の問題点が明らかになった。<u>以下</u>、**3 点順に挙げていく。**
4.1 作業環境への認識のずれ
まず、発注者と受注者のやり取りの中で、作業環境に対する認識にすれが生まれていた。具体的な例として、A による<…>指示文書は例 1 に、その後の<…>認識のずれを例 2 に示す。
なお、以降、発注者の文言は<…>と示す。
また、発注者の指示文書内の下線部は筆者が記入したものである。
（石黒圭 (編) 2020,14 章）

*Bunseki no kekka, hatchūsha kara mita juchūsha to no yaritori bunsho no mondaiten ga akiraka ni natta. <u>Ika</u>, **3-ten jun ni agete iku.***
4. 1 Sagyō kankyō e no ninshiki no zure <next section title>
***Mazu**, hatchūsha to juchūsha no yaritori no naka de, sagyō kankyō ni taisuru ninshiki ni sure ga umarete ita. Gutaitekina rei to shite, A ni yoru <…> shiji bunsho wa rei 1 ni, sonogo no <…> ninshiki no zure o rei 2 ni shimesu.*
***Nao**, ikō, hatchūsha no mongon wa <…> to shimesu.*
***Mata**, hatchūsha no shiji bunsho-nai no kasenhō wa hissha ga kinyū shita monodearu.*

The analysis reveals problems regarding the exchange of documents with the order taker, as seen the from the point of view of the ordering party. <u>Hereinafter (*ika*)</u> **three points are listed in order**.
4.1 Gaps in the perception of the work environment
First (*mazu*), in the correspondence between the ordering part and the order taker, there was a gap in the perception of the work environment. As a concrete example, the ... instruction document by A is shown in Example 1, and the subsequent gap in ... recognition is shown in Example 2.
Moreover (*nao*), hereafter, the ordering party's wording is shown as ...
In addition (*mata*), the underlined parts in the ordering party's instruction document have been filled in by the author.
(Kei Ishiguro (ed.) 2020, Chap. 14)

First, the long chain of co-occurring connective pairs in example (8), *ika* (hereinafter) → *mazu* (first) → *nao* (moreover) → *mata* (again/in addition) is broken down to check the PMI values.

Pair 1 *ika* (hereinafter) → *mazu* (first): PMI value: BCCWJ* N/A, HS 5.7, ST 4.9. Pair 2 *mazu* (first) → *nao* (moreover): PMI value: no examples meeting threshold conditions. Pair 3 *nao* (moreover) → *mata* (again/in addition): PMI values: BCCWJ* 2.8, HS 4.3, ST 3.8.

(8) is an example of an 'enumerate' chain consisting of two rather weak ready-made co-occurrence pairs. Enumeration is introduced also more specifically following *ika* (hereinafter) by the expression '*3-ten jun ni agete iku* (three points listed in order)', which helps to bridge the section boundary by its explicit cataphoric reference. Pair *ika* (hereinafter) → *mazu* (first) has a moderately high PMI value in the academic data but does not meet the threshold condition in the BCCWJ*. This means that being 'ready-made' is also related to the genre. On the other hand, the last pair *nao* (moreover) → *mata* (again/in addition) meets the threshold condition in all three genres. Both ready-made pairs are connected by the *mazu* (first) → *nao* (moreover), a pair that does not satisfy the threshold condition for co-occurrence in any of the genres examined. This is not surprising since the functions of *mazu* (first), i.e., organizing-enumerating, and *nao* (moreover), i.e., understanding-supplementing, are in conflict.

The next example (9) also contains a long chain of connectives.

(9) 科学的にわかっているのはどこまでか。それをまず明らかにしたうえで、安心して暮らせる環境を取り戻すための**放射線対策を提案している。**
まず、最も低いレベルの放射線の影響として科学的に立証され、国際的に認められているのは、１００ミリシーベルト浴びるとがんで亡くなるリスクが０.５％高まる、というものだ。これより低いと、健康への影響は科学的にはわからない。**しかし**、国際放射線防護委員会（ＩＣＲＰ）は健康を守る立場から、線量に比例してがんのリスクが高まると仮定して防護策をとり、線量を減らしていくことを求めている。日本もこれに従っている。
また、同じ量でも短期間に浴びた方がリスクは大きく、また同じ量なら、外部被曝（ひばく）も内部被曝もその影響は同じだと、国際的に認められている。＜…＞
除染には優先順位をつけ、目標を立てて段階的に進めるよう求めた。
そして、子どもの健康に不安を感じる人が多いことを考え、子どもがいる環境の除染を優先すべきだとした。
（朝日新聞 2011 年 12 月 17 日、朝刊、社説）

*Kagakutekini wakatte iru no wa doko made ka. Sore o mazu akiraka ni shita ue de, anshin shite kuraseru kankyō o torimodosu tame no **hōshasen taisaku o teian shite iru.***

__Mazu__, mottomo hikui reberu no hōshasen no eikyō to shite kagakutekini risshō sa re, kokusai-teki ni mitome rarete iru no wa, 100 mirishīberuto abiru to gan de nakunaru risuku ga 0. 5-Pāsento takamaru, to iu monoda. Kore yori hikui to, kenkō e no eikyō wa kagakutekini wa wakaranai.

__Shikashi__, kokusai hōshasen bōgo iinkai (ICRP) wa kenkō o mamoru tachiba kara, senryō ni hirei shite gan no risuku ga takamaru to katei shite bōgo-saku o tori, senryō o herashite iku koto o motomete iru. Nihon mo kore ni shitagatte iru.

__Mata__, onaji ryō demo tankikan ni abita kata ga risuku wa ōkiku, mata onaji ryōnara, gaibuhibaku (hibaku) mo naibu hibaku mo sono eikyō wa onajida to, kokusai-teki ni mitome rarete iru. <…> Jo some ni wa yūsen jun'i o tsuke, mokuhyō o tatete dankai-teki ni susumeru yō motometa.

__Soshite__, kodomonokenkō ni fuan o kanjiru hito ga ōi koto o kangae, kodomo ga iru kankyō no jo some o yūsen subekida to shita.

(Asahi shinbun 2011 nen 12 tsuki 17 nichi, chōkan, shasetsu)

How much is known about this scientifically? This is to be clarified first and then **radiation countermeasures are proposed** to restore a safe environment for people to live in.

First (*mazu*), the effect of the lowest level of radiation that is scientifically proven and internationally accepted is that exposure to 100 millisieverts increases the risk of dying from cancer by 0.5%. At lower levels, the effects on health are not scientifically proven. **However (*shikashi*)**, the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) assumes from the standpoint of protecting health that the risk of cancer increases in proportion to the dose and calls for protective measures to be taken and doses to be reduced. Japan follows this approach.

Again (*mata*), it is internationally recognized that the risk is greater if the same amount of radiation is received over a short period of time, and that the effects of external and internal exposure are the same if the same amount is received. <…>

The decontamination process should be prioritized, with goals set up and carried out step by step.

Then (*soshite*), he stated that considering that many people are concerned about the health of children, priority should be given to the decontamination of environments where children are present.

(Asahi Shimbun, 17 Dec 2011, morning edition, editorial)

The long chain of connectives in (9), *mazu* (first) → *shikashi* (however) → *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then), is introduced by a cataphoric reference in the immediately preceding paragraph, i.e., '*hōshasen taisaku o teian shite iru* (radiation countermeasures are proposed)'.

Considered from the point of view of the text organization, this chain actually consists of only three directly interacting connectives. The pair *mazu* (first) → *shikashi* (however) is functioning only in the local *dan* content paragraph and based on its PMI value, the pair does not satisfy the threshold condition. It is therefore an ad hoc co-occurrence of connectives.

The actual chain is thus *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then). This chain has first to be broken down into co-occurring pairs so that the PMI values can be checked.

Pair 1 *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) PMI values: BCCWJ* 1.2, HS 3.8, ST 3.7 (In BCCWJ* the pair does not meet the threshold condition and is therefore not considered a co-occurring pair in this genre). Pair 2 *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) PMI value: HS 4.2. The pair does not satisfy the threshold condition in BCCWJ* and ST. Pair 3 *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then) PMI value: 3.6 in HS. The pair does not satisfy the threshold condition in BCCWJ* and ST.

In example (9), in order to specify the 'proposed radiation measures' by the Government, the text is basically organized as a 'triple jump' of segments, introduced by *mazu* (first), *mata* (again), and finally *soshite* (then), all connectives being of the 'organize-enumerate' type.

In the *dan* content paragraph introduced by *mazu* (first), a discussion leading to a standard limit on radiation doses is presented. In contrast to the 'national standards', the 'international standards' are introduced locally, within the same *dan* content paragraph, by *shikashi* (however). Therefore, *shikashi* (however) does not form a content paragraph-based co-occurring pair with *mazu* (first) and is therefore not a part of the rest of the chain. It is therefore *mata* (again) of 'organize-coordinate' type that can be regarded as co-occurring with *mazu* (first). *Mata* (again) introduces the *dan* content paragraph about a link between the radiation dose and the time of exposure and further also a specific measure based on that link.

Finally, in contrast to the *dan* content paragraph introduced by *mata* (again), *soshite* (then) of the 'organize-coordinate' type introduces the last *dan* content paragraph which deals with the decontamination of the environment in which the children are located.

Based on the relatively high PMI values, here the chain *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then) is formed by the overlapping *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) and *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then), both of which are 'ready-made' co-occurrence pairs. So, this chain can be regarded as being formed directly by 'ready-made' co-occurrence pairs.

In the two-item co-occurrence pairs in examples (2), (3), (4) and (6) seen in the previous section and above, the PMI values of the co-occurrence criteria are at least 3.5 at the lowest, almost twice as big as the co-occurrence threshold condition. This means that these co-occurrence pairs are often used as ready-made elements. They may be used not only as single pairs but also as a part of longer chains. Examples (7) and (8) are cases where the chain contains one or two ready-made pairs. Example (9), on the other hand, is an example where the ready-made pairs *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) and *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then) overlap over *mata* (again). Again, ready-made co-occurrence pairs are used to develop the discourse. Based on PMI values involved in all these patterns, we can consider that the resulting overlapping pattern with three connectives, i.e., *mazu* (first) → *mata* (again) → *soshite* (then), and other co-occurrence chains formed with high PMI values are also 'ready-made' co-occurrence patterns.

Needless to say, from the speaker/writer's point of view 'ready-made' patterns are useful for discourse development because they reduce the discourse planning load. Because of their formulaicity, they also contribute to the predictability of discourse development from the listener's/reader's point of view. In other words, they reduce the cognitive load in both production and processing, thus contributing to the fluency of linguistic exchange.

The above observations thus point out to the existence of 'ready-made' co-occurrence chains that are longer than 'ready-made' co-occurrence pairs and they also clarify the overall role such chains play in discourse. Based on this, the answers to RQ2 and RQ3 can also be considered affirmative.

6   Discussion and conclusions

The distant co-occurrence of connectives has received increasing attention over the last ten or fifteen years. The present study is an exploratory study, aimed at determining the presence or absence of two-item distant co-occurrence patterns (RQ1), as well as the presence or absence of multiple-item distant co-occurrence patterns (RQ2), and the role of these patterns in discourse, especially in relation to the cognitive load needed to process the incoming discourse (RQ3). In order to identify potentially formulaic co-occurrences, we used general written material (the BCCWJ* corpus) and academic paper material (the Humanities and Social Sciences papers corpus and the Science and Technology papers corpus). The conditions for distant co-occurrence were somewhat more relaxed than in traditional collocation studies, with a co-occurrence frequency > 10, PMI value > 2, and Dice coefficient > 0.01. As for the co-occurrence cases meeting these conditions, 87 were found in BCCWJ*, 181 in Science and Technology paper data, and 202 in Humanities and Social Sciences papers data.

In order to identify reliable co-occurrences, in the present study, only the top 20 examples from each corpus in terms of PPM and PMI values were included in the analysis.

In terms of co-occurrences with high PMI values, the BCCWJ* data showed a low correlation with the PPM value, while the same correlation was relatively high in both academic corpora. This suggests that the range of combinations of co-occurring items in each of the academic corpora is narrower than in the general data represented in BCCWJ* and that the degree of formulaicity is consequently higher.

The vast majority of co-occurrence pairs that meet the aforementioned co-occurrence threshold conditions in the three corpora can intuitively be regarded as 'ready-made' co-occurrence pairs. Among the top 20 PMI values, typical co-occurrence patterns of connectives such as *hitotsuwa* (one)→ *mōhitotsuwa* (the other), both belonging to the 'organize-enumerating' type especially are prominent.

In addition to the top 20 PMI cases examined here, the majority of other co-occurrence cases that meet the co-occurrence threshold conditions also appear to be valid as two-item co-occurrence 'ready-made' pairs. The examination of the top 20 PPM cases revealed a more diverse pattern: in addition to many similarities with the top 20 PMI values, genre-specific differences were also noticeable. The answer to RQ1 is therefore in the affirmative. There is a need to investigate these differences in more detail in the future, taking into account, for example, teaching Japanese as a second language.

The multiple connective co-occurrences, i.e., chains of co-occurrences, were then identified based on the visualization of co-occurrence pairs by means of directed graphs. The visualization revealed similarities and differences between the top 20 PPM cases and the top 20 PMI cases. The similarities between genres, i.e., general vs. academic, are more pronounced in the top 20 PPM co-occurrences. In particular, *shikashi* (however) and *mata* (again) were found to be two centers around which a large number of co-occurrences of connectives are formed. At the same time, many other combinations of connectives were also present.

On the other hand, the top 20 PMI values are dominated by examples of longer chains of 'organize-enumerate' type of connective co-occurrences. As with the BCCWJ* data, there are few other types of co-occurrences, and the potential for combination with longer chains of connectives seems to be limited. In contrast, in both academic corpora, potential opportunities for longer chain formation other than of 'organize-enumerate' type, were revealed.

The chains of connectives visualized in the directed graphs in Figure 1a and Figure 1b, created on the basis of the co-occurrence data are to be understood as potential chains that can be used in the actual development of discourse, as also shown in Example (8) in Section 5. More specifically, they can be seen as 'ready-made' patterns

that can potentially be used in argumentative prose such as academic papers and editorials.

Next, these 'ready-made' patterns, belonging to the realm of the possible, have been examined in actual discourse data. Specifically, instead of three corpora, a small corpus of editorial and opinion articles from the Asahi Shimbun (300 articles) and a specialist humanities monograph were used to examine chains containing multiple co-occurring connectives.

The extraction of multiple connective co-occurrence chains from the Asahi Shimbun data yielded 18 co-occurrence pairs that were included in the set of 76 co-occurrence pairs extracted based on the top 20 PPM and PMI values. Some of these 18 co-occurrence pairs here were frequently found to partially overlap in these extracted chains. This suggests the existence of longer systematic co-occurrence chains and also sheds light on the strategies for forming longer chains. In other words, the co-occurrence pairs of connectives as 'ready-made' parts play an important role in the formation of longer chains. The answer to RQ2 is therefore also affirmative.

The interpretation and positioning of such chains of systematically co-occurring connectives are in some ways similar to what Wray (2002) and others refer to as formulaic expressions, they can be seen as a kind of formulaicity and therefore contribute to discourse development. However, they differ from the conventional notion of formulaicity in that they are observed at the discourse level. On the other hand, the scope of formulaic expressions treated in conventional studies, such as Wray (2002) and Tanaka (2016), is limited to a single sentence. Therefore, many interesting findings from the conventional research on formulaic expressions cannot be directly applied to the distant co-occurrence of connectives.

To put the regularities observed in distant co-occurrence of connectives into proper perspective, Ishiguro's (2008) view of 'strategic usage' patterns is one reasonable way of looking at the phenomenon. At the same time, Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* also seems to provide a valid framework for its interpretation (see Bourdieu, 1991, 1994). In Bourdieu's terms, the 'ready-made' chains of systematically co-occurring connectives in discourse reflect argumentative patterns internalized by the writer/speaker in the course of linguistic activity. Therefore, while the co-occurrence chain patterns observed here are part of the individual *habitus*, they can also be interpreted as forming part of the collective *habitus* of a particular linguistic community, since listeners/readers also internalize these patterns. Peers in an academic discipline, for example, are a good example of this. Such internalized 'ready-made' patterns contribute to the ease of organization and development of discourse on the part of the author and to the ease of comprehension on the part of the reader/listener. On the other hand, there is a negative aspect to this phenomenon. Namely, by directing the flow of thought into the predictable habitual channels, these ready-made patterns of argumentation can hinder the conception of new ideas and understanding.

As for the diversity of the usage of connectives, the greater diversity is found in the general BCCWJ* data as compared to the academic data. The reason is the higher need for accuracy in the transmission of academic data, as compared to general use. This is also one of the conceivable motives behind the more pronounced formulaicity in academic communication.

In conclusion, the aim of the present study was very limited: to test Ishiguro's (2008) predictions about the 'strategic usage' patterning of connectives and to ascertain the potential contribution of such patterning to discourse development. A tentative conclusion can be drawn that 'strategic usage' patterning is indeed a widely recognized systematic phenomenon that contributes to discourse development and understanding. The present study has also shown that directed graph visualization has a good potential for identifying such 'strategic usage' patterning. These preliminary result needs to be further tested and elaborated, both quantitatively and qualitatively, using additional linguistic material. The findings are expected to have applications in language teaching, particularly academic writing and teaching Japanese as a second language, in critical discourse analysis, and in language theory in general.

Acknowledgements

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Teaching Both Simplified and Traditional Characters to Learners of Chinese as L2

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Abstract

In the acquisition of Chinese as a second language, learning Chinese characters is an essential part of the learning process. There are various approaches to how and when Chinese characters should be introduced. Some scholars claim simplified characters should be given priority, while others promote teaching traditional characters first. Yet to some, teaching traditional and simplified characters simultaneously is preferable, while others believe that learning Hanyu Pinyin alone reduces the learning load and advocate the idea that learning characters be postponed to the later stages. This study discusses reading priorities for students of L2 Chinese in an environment that promotes balanced teaching of traditional and simplified characters from scratch. Results show that most learners prefer simplified characters though the number of students who equally acquired both characters in a set is also high. Fewer students prefer traditional characters, whereas texts in Hanyu Pinyin were not students' preferred choice. Moreover, learners' text comprehensions were better and more accurate when texts were written in characters.

Keywords: teaching Chinese as L2, traditional and simplified characters, reading priorities, reading comprehension

Povzetek

Pri usvajanju kitajščine kot tujega jezika je učenje kitajskih pismenk ključni del učnega procesa. Obstajajo različni pristopi glede tega, kako in kdaj naj bi se študenti seznanili s pismenkami. Nekateri dajejo prednost poenostavljenim pismenkam, medtem ko drugi zagovarjajo najprvo poučevanje tradicionalnih pismenk. Spet tretji priporočajo hkratno usvajanje obojih ali pa zagovarjajo učenje izključno Hanyu Pinyina, s čimer zmanjšajo začetno obremenitev študentov in prestavljajo usvajanje pismenk v kasnejše faze učenja. Raziskava razpravlja, kateremu naboru pismenk bodo študenti dali prednost v učnem okolju, ki sicer spodbuja uravnoteženo poučevanje tako tradicionalnih kot poenostavljenih pismenk od začetka učnega procesa. Rezultati kažejo, da večina študentov raje uporablja poenostavljene pismenke, čeprav je tudi število študentov, ki enakovredno usvojijo tradicionalne in poenostavljene pismenke, visoko. Malo študentov se nagiba k branju tradicionalnih pismenk, tudi besedila v Hanyu Pinyinu so bila redko izbrana. Poleg tega je bilo razumevanje besedil boljše in natančnejše takrat, ko je bilo besedilo napisano v pismenkah.

Ključne besede: poučevanje kitajščine kot tujega jezika, tradicionalne in poenostavljene pismenke, prednosti pri branju, bralno razumevanje

1   Introduction

Chinese characters are a major feature of the Chinese writing system. They carry historical and cultural information and are part of China's cultural heritage. From learners' perspective, Chinese characters are both fascinating and intriguing. On one hand, they can be one of the reasons why foreigners want to learn Chinese, and on the other hand, they are considered one of the main difficulties learners are facing. Namely, according to Cole (1997), one can reach a relatively high level of spoken Chinese in a few months, however, when it comes to the written text, learners might not be able to reach a reasonably high level even after years of hard work.

For students who come from a non-sinographic background, a logographic writing system is difficult to comprehend, therefore, learning Chinese characters is difficult for them. Generally speaking, there are four main approaches to teaching characters; 1) to introduce traditional characters first, 2) to start teaching simplified characters first, 3) to teach both traditional and simplified characters simultaneously, or 4) to postpone teaching characters to later stages of the learning process and operate just with Hanyu Pinyin at the beginner level to reduce the learning load.

This paper elaborates on the following research questions. First, if students are given free hands, would Hanyu Pinyin as an alphabetical script be their preferred choice or not? Second, does the educational environment that promotes balanced teaching of traditional and simplified characters from the beginning of the learning process make any influence on learners' preferences regarding simplified or traditional characters? And third, what are the possible reasons that motivate students' choices? We also need to consider the fact that the target students are not exposed to the Chinese language and Chinese characters in their daily life and there are not many opportunities for communication in Chinese.

2   Previous studies

2.1   Discussion on traditional and simplified characters

In terms of their graphical form, Chinese characters have undergone various processes, from getting more simplified on the one hand, and complicated or complex on the other hand, however, the dominant trend has been simplification (Zhang, 1997). The vast majority of current simplified characters are derived from the simplified or 'common' characters of past generations. Some of them are derived from ancient cursive characters, and some are still 'ancient original characters' and 'ancient common characters' (Li, 1996). As Su (2003) noted, simplified characters and traditional characters are a set of two different forms that will continue to coexist for a long time.

Since the *Chinese Character Simplification Scheme* was promulgated in the 1950s, the research on simplified characters and relations between traditional and simplified characters have also been the subject of numerous discussions. It is worth noticing that the English terms 'traditional' and 'simplified' characters can be understood in a broader or narrower sense.

Zhang (1997) elaborated on the relationship between *jiantizi* 简体字 and *jianhuazi* 简化字 which are both treated as 'simplified' characters. Popular among the masses, the *Jiantizi* characters are not organized and adapted to the simpler form of common characters, they are not officially recognized characters and can be written in a variety of ways. *Jianhuazi* characters, on the other hand, are organized and adapted to the simpler forms of characters, they are officially approved and thus written in a single way.

Peng (2009) stated that the simplification of Chinese characters is a macro-level adjustment of character forms. The terms 'simplified' and 'traditional' characters in a narrower sense refer to both the simplified characters and the corresponding traditional characters that originally existed from 1956 when they were determined by the government. In this sense, *jiantizi* and *jianhuazi* are interchangeable, both representing Chinese characters that have been simplified by the government.

A broader description of 'simplified' and 'traditional' characters refers to the number of strokes. Characters with more strokes are called 'traditional', whereas characters with fewer strokes are called 'simplified'. According to this principle, there are also 'variant characters' (*yitizi* 异体字 or *yixiezi* 异写字) that existed before the official simplification and 'the old characters' (*jiuxingzi* 旧形字, *jiu zixing* 旧字形) that existed before the collation.

In the *General Standardized Chinese Character List* published in 2013, the term 'simplified characters' *jianhuazi* has been replaced by the expression 'standardized characters' *guifanzi* 规范字 to avoid ambiguity.

In this paper, the term 'simplified characters' or *jiantizi* 简体字 refers to the narrower meaning, i.e. *jianhuazi* 简化字 or *guifanzi* 规范字 'standardized characters', while 'traditional characters' are the corresponding characters of the *jianhuazi*.

2.2   Characters used by native speakers

Nowadays, both traditional and simplified characters are used in different Chinese-speaking regions. In mainland China, the prevailing form of writing is simplified Chinese, and almost all publications are written in simplified characters. Exceptions are research related to ancient Chinese literature or occasional printings which require traditional Chinese characters. On the other hand, traditional characters are still commonly used

in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and in some Asian countries where Chinese characters have been preserved.

The co-existence of two different forms has brought some inconvenience to communication and understanding. However, with understanding the types and principles of simplification of the Chinese characters, and with some training, one can acquire the other form very quickly and can read texts regardless of whether they are written in traditional or simplified characters. Gao (2016) showed that after learning simplified characters, learning traditional characters is not as difficult as one would think. Also, people who have learned traditional characters may find it easier to learn simplified characters. Nguyen (2020) demonstrated that the experience of learning traditional characters can boost both literacy and vocabulary.

Regarding the use of Chinese characters in general, Yuan (1989) proposed the approach of knowing traditional [characters] and writing [in] simplified [ones]. Shi (1992) also advocated the idea of using simplified characters to recognize traditional ones in response to the new situation of character use briefly described at the beginning of this section. 'Using simplified characters' points at all types of usages, namely when making printings, when reading, and when doing handwriting, while 'to recognize traditional' means to recognize traditional characters only in a certain scope and at a certain stage, and advocates using simplified characters mainly but still recognizing traditional characters as a supplement to the simplified forms.

2.3   Characters from the perspective of language acquisition

Article 20 of the *Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language of the People's Republic of China* 中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法 published in 2000 includes quidelines on the use of Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters in Chinese classes for foreigners. However, the actual situation reveals that different regions and countries use different approaches when teaching Chinese, even more, teaching materials are written differently; sometimes in traditional and sometimes in simplified characters, pinyin or phonetic transcriptions can also be observed.

In relation to teaching Chinese as a second language, different scholars promote different views on the choice of using simplified or traditional characters. Chen (1981) noticed that international students who had only been taught simplified Chinese characters often encounter difficulties in learning traditional characters when reading the traditional Chinese characters in newspapers and classical books of the past. To help students overcome such difficulties Chen (1981) offered a historical overview of the simplification of Chinese characters and introduced the four categories of simplified Chinese characters in order to explain the simplification principles.

Shi Dingguo (1997) placed a wider focus on teaching Chinese as a second language. His observations of language classes made him conclude on the following most

commonly used approaches. These are a) encouraging speaking before reading characters (*Xian yu hou wen* 先语后文), b) integrating activities of speaking and reading characters (*yu wen bingjin* 语文并进), c) interspersing speaking and reading characters, (*yu wen chuancha* 语文穿插), and d) setting up a separate class for reading and writing characters (*duli she duxie hanzi ke* 独立设读写汉字课). He further pointed out that the purpose of teaching characters is to complement listening and speaking skills and to develop students' reading and writing skills. Also, he stressed that the Chinese characters being taught should be modern Chinese characters, while in a certain scope, the etymology of characters can also be introduced, and the development of Chinese characters can be taught in a well-balanced manner to optimize the learning outcome.

Similarly, Bian (1999) stated that teaching Chinese characters in the teaching of Chinese as a second language refers to modern Chinese characters, using the method of instruction in a non-native language. The aim of such a method is to master the skills on how to use Chinese characters. He explicitly stated that teaching of Chinese as a second language is the teaching of 'modern Chinese characters'.

It has frequently been pointed out that the simplification of Chinese characters has made the modern written Chinese language relatively easy to learn and use compared to the times of original traditional characters. Therefore, several scholars claim that simplified characters should be used for teaching, whereas traditional Chinese characters should be kept within the scope of recognition rather than in writing. Liu (2009) and Gao (2016) agree that simplified characters can be taught with fewer strokes and faster writing speed, and that simplified characters are easier to use and memorize.

Lü (1999) and Wen (2013) suggested that when teaching Chinese characters to foreign students, both simplified and traditional characters should be taught, and that simplified characters should be taught first, followed by traditional characters.

Opposed to that, Zhou (2007) undertakes the teacher's perspective and claims that teachers should reinforce the learning of traditional characters, and they should be able to recognize and write commonly used traditional characters to the best possible extent, as well as have a historical perspective and a clear understanding of the evolution of Chinese characters in ancient and modern times.

Miu (2012) believes that teaching simplified or traditional characters should be accompanied by the requirements of the local conditions, and under the premise of teaching simplified Chinese characters, courses on the transcription between traditional and simplified characters should be introduced. However, this should happen only when a learner has reached a certain level of understanding of the morphology, phonology, and meaning of Chinese characters. In such a way they can learn the other form of the Chinese character system in a more effective and

convenient way. Cai (2011) believes that students' understanding of the forms and meanings of characters could be facilitated by knowing some commonly used traditional characters on top of learning simplified characters well.

Wang (2013) and Zhao (2016) stress that teaching Chinese culture is inseparable from the teaching of Chinese characters. Wang believes that appropriate input of cultural knowledge can help improve the mastering of Chinese characters, and that teaching traditional characters can be used as a supplement to Chinese character teaching in the beginning stages. Traditional characters can be used to facilitate the teaching of Chinese culture, but learners do not need to master traditional characters.

Zhao (2016) pointed out that there is no need to deliberately avoid the problems caused by differences between traditional and simplified Chinese characters in teaching, and that the negative impact of differences between traditional and simplified Chinese characters in the teaching process can be minimized by enhancing interoperability through comparative teaching or extended teaching, and by teaching at different levels to accommodate different levels of differences and needs. For example, Lu (2022) recently analyzed some foreigners' mistakes on 61 commonly used Chinese characters with 'silk' *xi* 系 as a component in the HSK dynamic corpus, and proposed teaching strategies such as teaching Chinese characters based on simplified Chinese and supplemented by traditional Chinese; by using the ideographic function of the side parts of '*xi*' and using the ideographic function of the phonetic symbol of '*xi*', introducing culture to assist the Chinese characters teaching.

2.4   Factors influencing the choice of a character set

Numerous studies have shown that the choice of teaching traditional or simplified characters depends on a variety of factors, from target learners and their backgrounds to the purpose and aim of teaching, whereby the final choice of approach needs to be based on the actual situation.

Chen J. and Chen K. (2019) discuss that Chinese character education in Confucius Institutes is supposed to guide their students to choose the right teaching materials, teachers, and even other language institutions according to their practical needs. Similarly, Wang (2003) proposes that schools and teachers should consider the different needs of the students to develop teaching plans, followed by the allocation of classes and the selection of teaching materials according to the individual interests of students.

Deng (2016) suggests that teaching traditional characters can contribute to a deeper understanding of Chinese culture, but for the purpose of teaching, various practical factors should be fully considered to make an appropriate choice in traditional and simplified Chinese characters. Similarly, Ye Shuyang (2018) pointed out that simplified characters should be a prerequisite for teaching and traditional characters

as a useful supplementary tool to help Chinese learners understand the cultural connotations of Chinese characters and more comprehensively memorize and master the phonetic, morphological, and meaning elements of Chinese characters.

Li and Ye (2012) suggest that teaching Chinese as a second language – they specifically write about teaching Chinese to English native speakers - should include combined teaching of both traditional and simplified Chinese characters to help to better understand and learn Chinese characters. This is referred to as knowing the traditional and learning the simplified. Chen (2021) also suggested the introduction of traditional Chinese characters to meet different learning purposes of learners through which the purpose and effect of 'using the classical to explain the contemporary' and 'using the traditional to explain the simple' may be achieved.

By analyzing and comparing the strokes and semantic components of traditional and simplified characters, Wang, Su, and Miu (2017) suggested that simplified should be the only choice at the beginning level, while the different needs of learners should be considered at the intermediate and advanced levels, and suggested several ways to address the co-existence of traditional and simplified at the realistic level. Similarly, Xia (2017) suggested that Chinese character instruction should be given in different ways for different levels of learners while allowing traditional as well as simplified characters to co-exist.

In addition, Wang (2003) pointed out that the presence of both traditional and simplified Chinese characters sometimes affects the effectiveness of classroom teaching, and that unsatisfactory classroom teaching will lead students to give up learning Chinese characters or even give up learning Chinese.

Li (2016) argued that teaching traditional and simplified Chinese characters together in a targeted way is the most desirable approach at present. The teaching of traditional characters should be emphasized under the premise that the teaching of simplified characters is the dominant approach, and the Chinese character curriculum should establish and promote the teaching of culture based on traditional characters, striving to reduce the frequency of using both scripts.

Pu (2005) suggested that Thai-Chinese character teaching should focus on simplified characters, however, both traditional and simplified characters should be taught and both scripts should be written. Chen (2015) conducted a research study on the transition between traditional and simplified Chinese characters for secondary school students in Thailand, which pointed out that the choice of traditional or simplified Chinese characters should be guided by the needs of learners for their studies, work, and life.

Nguyen (2020) analyzed the influence of Vietnamese intermediate Chinese bilinguals' experiences of learning traditional and simplified characters on their Chinese character-related language skills, and suggested that while teaching simplified

characters, students should be purposefully taught some traditional characters and related knowledge to deepen their understanding of Chinese characters, and suggested the establishment of courses on Chinese characters.

After analyzing the use of traditional and simplified Chinese characters and the learning situation of international students in Chinese language classes on both sides of Taiwan and the mainland of China, Lin (2020) suggested that we should take the learning needs of international students as a guide, pay attention to the fun of teaching characters, maintain the status quo of local common characters as the dominant one, and moderately supplement the knowledge of unfamiliar character forms.

Among the studies on reading comprehension, let us mention Cui (2020) who tested students' recognition speed and accuracy of reading traditional and simplified characters, and noted that learners got useful information faster when facing traditional Chinese characters because of their stronger regularity in the phonetic part. However, when it comes to the traditional Chinese characters with more complex structures, it was easier for students to recognize simplified characters.

3   Design of this study

The above-mentioned researchers undertook different approaches, however, they indirectly implicate that teaching traditional and simplified characters requires a dominant character form and a supplementary character form.

The Sinology program at the University of Ljubljana presently promotes balanced learning of both traditional and simplified characters. In this study, we are interested in the students' perspectives on the topic, namely what reading priorities concerning traditional and simplified characters would students prefer to follow?

3.1   Background information

The study was conducted at the University of Ljubljana, Department of Asian Studies, and lasted for 12 weeks. Participants were 18 first-year sinology students aged 18 or 19. Their first language belongs to an Indo-European language family. They are therefore used to an alphabetical writing system rather than a logographical writing system. As first-year students, they have studied Chinese for only six months prior to this experiment.

In this Sinology program, students are taught simplified and traditional characters at the same time. They use local Chinese textbooks written by local Chinese teachers, which combine both traditional and simplified characters at the same time. New vocabulary in the textbook is presented in an alternating manner, meaning that the odd lessons first introduce traditional characters, followed by simplified characters,

Hanyu Pinyin, and translation into Slovenian, while all even lessons first introduce simplified characters, add their traditional counterparts, Hanyu Pinyin, and translation into Slovenian. The study materials tend to avoid preference for either simplified or traditional characters, which differs from the above-mentioned approaches.

In the texts section, Hanyu Pinyin is not available as a supplementary annotation, however, diacritical marks for tones are added to all the characters throughout the textbook. Hanyu Pinyin is introduced and used only in the first two weeks of their studies, and from the third week on, all the texts are presented using only Chinese characters. This set high requirements for the students because it requires them to recognize Chinese characters from the very first steps on.

Based on these facts, the first research question of this study was whether students would choose to read texts in Hanyu Pinyin as the 'easy' option – if they could –, or would they prefer reading texts in characters. If so, then which character set would they decide on and what was their motivation for their selection?

The testing materials for this survey were created based on their current language level, and the topics of reading comprehension materials used in the experiment were selected from the topics that the participants had already studied. The grammar and vocabulary used in the reading materials are from HSK levels 1-3, and the fonts used in the printed Chinese characters are either Kaiti or SimSun and for the pinyin Times New Roman was selected. The students have been taught the same contents by the same teachers and received instruction in both simplified and traditional characters in their Chinese studies.

3.2   Survey

There were 18 participants included in the research. Though estimated as beginners, they were divided into two groups according to their Chinese test results. Students in Group A were placed between HSK levels 2 and 3, whereas students in Group B achieved Chinese proficiency between HSK levels 1 or 2.

For 12 consecutive weeks, they were given testing materials which consisted of three texts, one in Hanyu Pinyin, one in simplified characters, and one in traditional characters, whereby the order of texts was randomly mixed every week. Students had to read the texts and answer the corresponding questions within a specified time. They were required to complete the reading comprehension according to the instructions. Every text included five questions, and each of them was evaluated with two points, which altogether makes 10 points per text and 30 points per the whole test. In the final, supplementary question learners were asked to write a brief feedback about the priority order of those three texts and reasons for choosing that particular sequence. They were also asked to write down which of the three texts they found most difficult and why.

Based on the answers, the learners' reading priorities and comprehension levels were calculated.

4   Results and discussion

This survey measured students' reading preferences among Hanyu Pinyin, simplified characters, and traditional characters. At the same time, differences in reading comprehension were considered, too. They were calculated from the mistakes that students have made.

Table 1 below shows the sum of the 12 weekly scores per text type and the maximum score per text type is 2160. Recall that the highest possible average score per text would be 10.

Table 1: Total and average score of three writing forms

Text types	Simplified Chinese	Traditional Chinese	Hanyu Pinyin
Total	1254	1271	1171
Average	5.81	5.88	5.42

Reading materials in traditional characters yielded the highest average, followed by texts in simplified characters, whereby texts in Hanyu Pinyin got the lowest score. The difference in reading comprehension between traditional and simplified characters was not very large, whereas students got quite lower results in texts written in Hanyu Pinyin, even though it is supposed to be 'easier' to read than characters. Generally speaking, the results have shown that participants' reading comprehension was higher with texts written in characters, regardless of the specific character set.

A more detailed look at the data reveals that the difference in results was the most obvious for texts in traditional characters, whereas the difference was not so remarkable for texts in Hanyu pinyin (see Table 2 below). While Group A answered 7.23 questions out of 10 in traditional characters correctly, Group B got on average just 4.54 points out of 10. On the other hand, none of the groups performed relatively poor in reading texts in Hanyu Pinyin. The average score for Group A was 6.66, and the average score for Group B was 4.19.

Table 2: The difference in reading comprehension between both groups

Text types	Simplified Chinese	Traditional Chinese	Hanyu Pinyin
Group A	768	781	719
Average	7.11	7.23	6.66
Group B	486	490	452
Average	4.5	4.54	4.19
Total difference	282	291	267
Average difference	2.61	2.67	2.47

Table 1 and Table 2 reveal that students got the best results when reading texts in traditional characters or in simplified characters. On the other hand, their performance was not so well in relation to texts in Hanyu Pinyin. This indicates that the teaching approach of strongly promoting both character sets from the beginning of their learning process has a certain impact on the students' learning outcomes. At the same time, we can preliminarily conclude, that the difference in reading comprehension increases with the proficiency level. Students with higher language proficiency level (even though all of them are still at the beginner stage), has demonstrated better reading comprehension of texts written in characters. This means that already at the beginning level of learning Chinese as a second language, teachers should require students to read texts in Chinese characters since it is beneficial for reading comprehension and contributes to higher language proficiency. The analysis of the participants' results demonstrates the positive impact of insisting on teaching Chinese characters, especially for reading comprehension.

Regarding the students' preferences of which text type to choose first, we can observe the following tendencies. According to the results of the 169 valid questionnaires received from two groups of learners, the learners' preferences can be classified into the following four categories.

First, priority is given to simplified characters. Approximately 34.3% of all answers were speaking in favor of texts in simplified characters.

Second, priority is given to traditional characters. In 19.5% of cases, students would choose texts in traditional characters as their first choice.

Third, priority is given to Hanyu Pinyin. Among the submitted answers, 17.8% of the total votes were given to this alphabetical script.

The last category consists of answers that it does not matter in which form the text is written. The main principle of reading texts was simply from the first to the last, from the top to the bottom. This principle reflects no preference for one of the three options

and sets them to an equal position. 27.8% of the texts were read according to this principle.[1]

Figure 1 below shows the students' preferences if they are free to choose whatever they want.
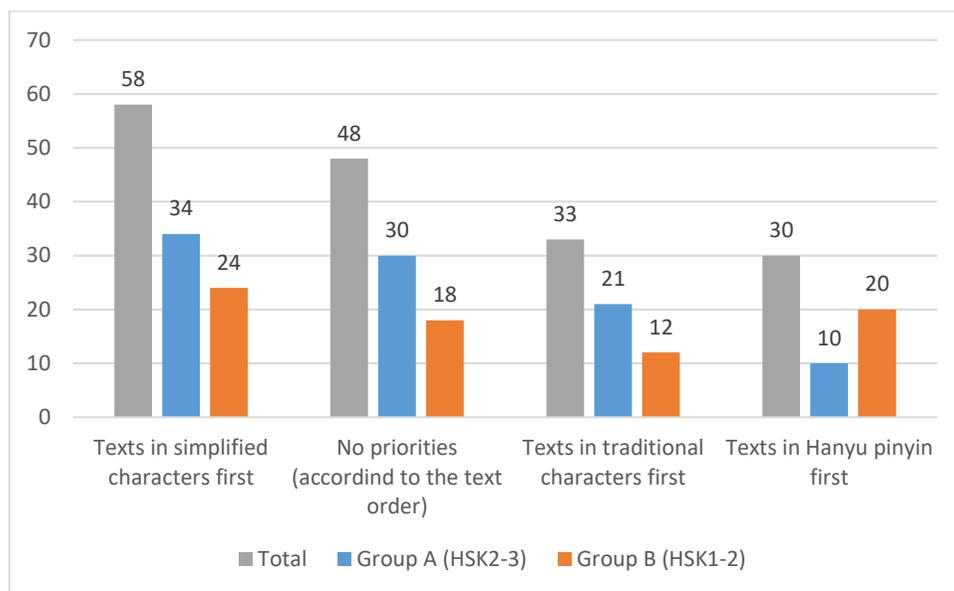
Figure 1: Reading preferences by A and B group students

The results have shown that 58 students from both groups prefer texts with simplified characters. Ten students less, namely 48 students claim that they have no preferences regarding the given character set, in 33 cases, students first read texts in traditional characters, whereas in 30 situations, pinyin was students' first choice. This indicates that even though the selected teaching approach promotes unbiased and balanced use of simplified and traditional characters, learners would still prefer simplified characters to traditional or pinyin. This might be related to the fact that simplified characters have fewer strokes compared to traditional characters, which makes them easier to remember and write.

An obvious difference in priorities can be observed if we consider stronger and weaker students. While both groups prefer simplified characters, their second choice is already different. Better students do not have any preferences, whereas weaker students would choose pinyin as their second option. Further on, while better students

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[1] There was one single specific answer that the learner has no priorities, and this response was added to the last group.

would put traditional characters as their third choice and pinyin as the last, weaker students would put traditional characters as their last choice.

This indicates that learners all tend to choose to start with the contents that they are familiar with or with the contents that seem easier, which is associated with the process of learning from the simple to the complex. Moreover, a study by scholars at the Laboratory of Cognitive Neuroscience and The French National Centre for Scientific Research (Velay & Longcamp, 2012 in Shi, 2018) has shown that people are reading with their eyes, while brain memorizes by handwriting. It would be interesting to also include this aspect of learning and consider whether better students practice more by handwriting compared to their peers or not.

Similarly, Group A students selected Hanyu Pinyin as their last choice, which indicates that the learners with better Chinese language proficiency find it difficult to read pinyin-only texts. Moreover, recall that reading comprehension of pinyin-only texts was lower in both groups. Even though the learners come from the L1 environment where Latin script is used for writing and reading, they understand a Chinese text better if it is written in characters.

According to Hoover and Gough (1986), reading consists of two parts, namely decoding and linguistic comprehension, both of which are necessary for reading success. Reading comprehension is a combination of decoding and language comprehension. Successful reading comprehension depends on quick and accurate word recognition, and individual differences in reading comprehension are mainly due to differences in readers' word recognitions (Perfetti, 2007). This indicates that the decoding between the form and meaning of Chinese characters is better than the decoding between the sound and meaning in the process of acquiring Chinese. This also indicates the need to develop learners' awareness of the connection between the form, sound, and meaning of Chinese characters already at the beginning level.

5   Conclusion

Chinese characters are very challenging for Chinese learners, and they are also an important factor that affects the persistence of learners. Most learners of Chinese at the beginning level, especially those from backgrounds that are not familiar with a logographic writing system, find Chinese easy until writing system is introduced to them. The characters then seem to become an obstacle to further learning progress.

This study has shown that even learners who have learned Chinese for only half a year can perform better results if they are encouraged to learn characters. Their reading comprehension was higher, if the texts were written in characters compared to those written in Hanyu Pinyin, whereby it did not really matter which set of

characters was used. Generally speaking, texts in characters are more user-friendly even to L2 learners at the basic level.

Students' tendency to prefer simplified characters can be summarized and interpreted as follows. Simplified characters are students' preferred choice because they have fewer strokes and are therefore easier to recognize, distinguish and write. Due to their semantic clues, they are also faster to read than pinyin-only transcriptions. Moreover, because of the numerous homophones in Chinese, it is not easy for learners to recognize the specific Chinese character represented by the pinyin.

Choosing the existing text order as the main principle without paying attention to either traditional or simplified characters can be understood in the following way. Following the text from the top to the bottom helps readers to focus on the reading itself. It is easier to grasp the ideas when going through the text once and then returning to reread it. If the learners do not find any differences in the difficulty level, they tend to choose this principle.

Traditional characters may be the first choice for students who have established strong visual connections between the present forms and the development of characters. It is worth mentioning that participants in this survey have probably attended the 'Development of Chinese script' class which also includes the explanation of the 214 Kangxi radicals and the development of specific characters. Some of the participants also mentioned in the questionnaire that although they did not know all the words in the reading text, they tried to guess some of the meanings from the context clues of the text, especially when faced with familiar topics.

Hanyu Pinyin was sometimes the first choice for weaker students of auditory learning style students. However, with the learning progression, Hanyu Pinyin starts losing its importance. Some students from Group A have stated that they find the pinyin-only version difficult and time-consuming since they need to imagine and convert pinyin into Chinese characters first and then place it within the context. Similarly, radicals (semantic keys) may serve as a clue to guess the meaning of unknown words.

Lack of vocabulary was one of the reasons for learners' mistakes. Students mentioned that they either did not know some of the characters, or they recognized some of the characters but did not understand the content, or did not understand the questions.

To sum up, this study has shown that the selected teaching approach has a certain impact on learning outcomes, however, from the learners' point of view, simplified characters that have fewer strokes and are easier to read or write are suggested to serve as the primary choice and should be acquired first. Introducing traditional characters is beneficial, too, especially in addition to the knowledge of simplified Chinese characters. By comparing traditional and simplified Chinese characters,

students can deepen their understanding of the different script forms, thus achieving the goal of using traditional and simplified Chinese characters together, recognizing the traditional form and writing the simplified form, or using the traditional form in recognizing the simplified form. After they have mastered some of the traditional and simplified Chinese characters and have a good understanding of the simplification of Chinese characters, learners can independently choose whether to focus on using simplified or traditional characters according to their personal interests, future career preferences, development directions, etc.

This approach would reduce learners' fear of the numerous characters needed to learn to reach literacy. However, regardless of the form of the Chinese characters, they have definitely a positive effect on the reading comprehension of learners. Thus, in Chinese language teaching, it is advisable to insist on using Chinese characters to present the teaching content.

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Exclamation in Late Archaic Chinese

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Abstract

Exclamation is constituted of sentence exclamations and exclamatives. Sentence exclamations in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC) are expressives asserting denoted propositions, parallel to their counterparts in modern Mandarin. Sentence exclamations in LAC also indicate that the asserted propositions fail to meet speakers' expectations, yet such a sense of surprise is not obligatory. Another property of sentence exclamations in LAC is their compatibility with focus structures whose value is reflected in a degree property. As for exclamatives, although they exist in modern Mandarin, they do not exist in LAC. There are exclamatory constructions involving degree adverbials *he* and *heqi*, which, according to traditional analyses (Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303), are exclamatives. Nevertheless, I suggest that exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* in LAC fail to pass the exclamativity tests (Zanuttini & Portner 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015), disparate from their modern counterparts, so they should not be treated as true exclamatives.

Keywords: Late Archaic Chinese, sentence exclamations, exclamatives, exclamativity tests

Povzetek

Vzklik je sestavljen iz vzklične povedi in vzkličnika. Vzklične povedi v pozno-arhaični kitajščini (LAC) so izjave, ki potrdijo oz. ovržejo določeno predpostavko, in so primerljive s svojim sodobnim sopomenkam v sodobni kitajščini. Vzklične povedi v LAC pogosto nakazujejo, da potrjene predpostavke ne izpolnjujejo pričakovanj govorcev, vendar takšen občutek presenečenja ni obvezen. Še ena lastnost vzkličnih povedi v LAC je njihova združljivost s strukturami, ki izražajo fokus, katerih vrednost se odraža v lastnosti stopnje. Vzkličniki sicer obstajajo v sodobni kitajščini, vendar ne v LAC-u. Obstajajo sicer vzklične strukture, ki vključujejo stopenjska prislova *he* in *heqi*, ki jih po tradicionalnih analizah (Yang & He, 1992, str. 899-900; Chu, 1994, str. 303) uvrščamo med vzkličnike. V članku pokažem, da vzklične strukture, ki vključujejo *he* in *heqi* v LAC-u, v nasprotju z njihovimi sodobnimi sopomenkami ne prestanejo testov vzkličnosti (Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015), zato jih ne bi smeli obravnavati kot vzličnike.

Ključne besede: pozno-arhaična kitajščina, vzklična poved, vzklik, testi vzkličnosti

1   Introduction

Late Archaic Chinese (henceforth LAC) denotes Archaic Chinese during the Warring States period (475-221 BC). The written form of the Chinese language prior to the 20th century did not have punctuation, so readers parse Archaic Chinese texts based on contextual information, grammatical and modal particles, as well as symmetry and rhythm of parallel sentence structures; the judgement of exclamation in LAC is also the case (Chu, 1994, p. 302; Galambos, 2014).

According to traditional views, exclamation in LAC can be formed by means of distinct strategies. First, exclamation can be realized via interjections preceding declarative sentences. In LAC, there is a range of interjections indicating excitement, sympathy, sorrow, approval, surprise, etc. For instance, *yi* 噫, *wuhu* 嗚呼 and *ai* 唉 are typical interjections in Archaic Chinese (1a/b/c), and the interpretation of emotions they express relies heavily on contextual information. Among these interjections, *ai* is still widely used in modern Mandarin (Wu, 1980, pp. 249-251; Xiang et al., 1988, pp. 122-123; Yang & He, 1992, pp. 901-904; Chu, 1994, pp. 302-308).

(1) a. 噫   天   祝   予

yi   tian   zhu   yu

interj providence slash me

'Alas! Providence is slashing me!'[1]

(Gongyangzhuan・Aigong 14; 206 BC-9 AD)

b. 嗚呼   哀   哉

wuhu   ai   zai

interj   sad   PAR

'Alas! How sad!'

(Xunzi・Wangba; 475 BC-221 BC)

c. 唉   予 知   之

ai   yu zhi   zhi

interj I   know 3.Obj

'Ah, I know it.'

(Zhuangzi・Zhibeiyou; 350 BC-250 BC)

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[1] Except Examples (13-16) and (24) that are cited from literature, all examples in this paper are rendered into English by the author.

Second, in LAC it is prevalent to generate exclamation through exclamatory particles. Under most circumstances, exclamatory particles occupy sentence-final positions. The most commonly attested sentence-final exclamatory particle is *zai* 哉, the fundamental function of which is to express strong emotions, similar to *a* in modern Mandarin (2). Alternatively, *zai* may appear in open and closed questions and still indicate exclamation (3a/b). Additionally, *zai* can be employed at the end of rhetorical questions; under this circumstance, *zai* is usually accompanied by an interrogative pronoun (4a) or a particle *qi* 豈 (4b). Although *zai* is allowed to be present in rhetorical questions, its function is mainly to express exclamative modality; the rhetoricalness is conveyed by interrogative pronouns or *qi*, as in (4b) (Liao, 1979, pp. 218-219; Wang, 1980, pp. 448-449; Pan, 1982, p. 168; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 354-355; Xu, 2002, p. 199).

(2) a. 危　　　哉
　　 wei　　zai
　　 dangerous　PAR
　　 'Dangerous!'
　　 (Guanzi・Xiaowen; 475 BC-220 AD)

　　 b. 管　仲　之　器　　小　哉
　　　 Guan Zhong zhi qi　　xiao zai
　　　 Guan Zhong Gen tolerance small PAR
　　　 'Guan Zhong's tolerance is small!'
　　　 (Lunyu・Baiyi; 480 BC-350 BC)

(3) a. 卻　　之　為　不　恭　　　何　哉
　　 que　zhi wei bu gong　　he　zai
　　 decline 3.Obj COP not respectful why PAR
　　 'Why is it not respectful to decline it?'
　　 (Mengzi・Wanzhang; 340 BC-250 BC)

　　 b. 君子　　多　乎　哉？ 不　多　　也
　　　 junzi　　duo hu zai? bu duo ye
　　　 gentleman many PAR PAR? Not many PAR
　　　 'Are there many gentlemen? Not many.'
　　　 (Lunyu・Zihan; 480 BC-350 BC)

(4) a. 彼　　且　　惡　　乎 待　哉

    bi　　qie　　wu　　hu dai zai

    3.Subj   then   what   on   rely   PAR

    'Then what does he rely on?'

    (Zhuangzi・Xiaoyaoyou; 350 BC-250 BC)

  b. 豈　能　　獨　　樂　　　哉

    qi　　neng du　　le　　　zai

    how   can   alone   be.happy   PAR

    'How can (he) be happy alone?'

    (Mengzi・Lianghuiwang; 340 BC-250 BC)

A counterpart of *zai* 哉 in LAC is *fu* 夫, yet the exclamative emotion expressed by *fu* tends to be more low-spirited (5). It is prevalent for *zai* 哉 to follow another particle, e.g. *hu* 乎 (in a rigid order *hu zai*, rather than *zai hu), in a sentence-final position (6). In the situation of multiple particles, each particle maintains its individual function, and the modality of the entire sentence is normally determined by the last particle (Liao, 1979, pp. 219-220; Pan, 1982, p. 168; Xiang et al., 1988, p. 122; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 355-356; Yang, 2003, pp. 409-410; Wang, 2005, p. 298).

(5) a. 逝　　者 如　　斯　 夫

    shi　　zhe ru　　si　　fu

    pass.on   DET   be.like   this   PAR

    'What passes on is like this!'

    (Lunyu・Zihan; 480 BC-350 BC)

  b. 哀　　夫 敬　　夫

    ai　　fu jing　　fu

    sadness   PAR   respect   PAR

    'Sadness! Respect!'

    (Xunzi・Lilun; 475 BC-221 BC)

(6) 善　　乎　　哉

  shan　hu　　zai

  good   PAR   PAR

  'Good!'

  (Huangdineijing・Wuyinwuwei; 475 BC-9AD)

It is worth mentioning that although the vast majority of exclamatory particles in Archaic Chinese occur in a sentence-final position, a few particles such as *qi* 其 expressing modality may appear at the beginning or in the middle of sentences (7a/b) (Yang & He, 1992, pp. 893-894; Guo et al., 1999, pp. 356-359; Wang, 2001, p. 466; Yang, 2003, p. 414).

(7) a. 其　有　此　土　乎
　　　 qi　you　ci　tu　hu
　　　 PAR　own　this　land　PAR
　　　 '(We will) own this land!'
　　　 (Guoyu・Jinyu 4; 475 BC-221 BC)

　　 b. 泰山　　其　頹　　乎　梁木　　　其　壞　乎　哲人　其　萎　　乎
　　　 Taishan　qi　tui　hu　liangmu　　qi　huai　hu　zheren　qi　wei　hu
　　　 Mount.Tai　PAR　collapse　PAR　wooden.beam　PAR　rot　PAR　sage　　PAR　wither　PAR
　　　 'Mount Tai is about to collapse! Wooden beams are about to rot! Sages are about to wither!'
　　　 (Liji・Tangong; 475 BC-221 BC)

Third, exclamation can be generated via inversion or reduplication (Yang & He, 1992, p. 901; Chu, 1994, pp. 303-304), as exemplified by (8a-b) and (9) respectively. As can be seen from (2) and (6), the canonical position of *zai* is sentence-final, but it can be fronted to a sentence-initial position with the predicative adjective (8), and under this circumstance, the exclamativeness becomes stronger (Guo et al., 1999, p. 354).

(8) a. 大　　哉　堯　之　為　君　　　也
　　　 da　zai　yao　zhi　wei　jun　　ye
　　　 great　PAR　Yao　ZHI　COP　monarch　PAR
　　　 'Yao is great as a monarch!'
　　　 (Lunyu・Taibo; 480 BC-350 BC)

　　 b. 甚　　矣　汝　之　不　惠
　　　 shen　yi　ru　zhi　bu　hui
　　　 serious　PAR　you　ZHI　not　intelligent
　　　 'Your unintelligence is serious!'
　　　 (Liezi・Tangwen; 475 BC-221 BC)

(9) a.

仲尼	亟	稱	於	水	曰	水	哉	水	哉
Zhongni	qi	cheng	yu	shui	yue	shui	zai	shui	zai
Zhongni	repeatedly	praise	Prep	water	say	water	PAR	water	PAR

'Zhongni repeatedly praised water: "Water! Water!"'

(Mengzi・Lilou; 340 BC-250 BC)

b.

天	喪	予	天	喪	予
tian	sang	yu	tian	sang	yu
providence	kill	me	providence	kill	me

'Providence is killing me! Providence is killing me!'

(Lunyu・Xianjin; 480 BC-350 BC)

Fourth, it is possible for exclamation to be realized without interjections, particles or syntactic processes, as exemplified by Example (10).

(10)

老	而	不	死	是	為	賊
lao	er	bu	si	shi	wei	zei
old	Conj	not	die	this	COP	vermin

'Being old but not dying, this is vermin!'

(Lunyu・Xianwen; 480 BC-350 BC)

In this paper, I investigate two types of exclamation in LAC, viz. sentence exclamations and exclamatives. This paper consists of five sections. In Section 2 I review previous literature on sentence exclamations and exclamatives in modern Mandarin. In Sections 3 and 4 I discuss sentence exclamations and exclamatives in LAC respectively. Section 5 is a conclusion section.

The sources of LAC data in this paper are Scripta Sinica[2] database, CCL corpus[3], and Chinese Text Project.[4] The Academia Sinica electronic database is one of the largest Chinese full-text databases to encompass a wide range of historical materials, and it contains more than 1,349 titles and 754,200,198 characters, covering virtually all important classics, particularly those related to Chinese history. The CCL corpus was developed by the Centre for Chinese Linguistics (abbreviated as CCL), Peking University, and it contains approximately 700 million Chinese Characters ranging between the 11th BC and the contemporary era. The Chinese Text Project is an open-access digital library that makes pre-modern Chinese texts available online; with more than 30,000 titles

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[2] http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm

[3] http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

[4] https://ctext.org/

and over 5 billion characters, it is so far the largest database focusing on pre-modern Chinese texts.

Selected scripts of these corpora during the Warring States period are extracted from fifteen key books represented by *The Analects*, *Mencius*, and *Zuozhuan*, which cover a considerable amount of discourses and genres including historical narratives, political essays, philosophical prose, ethical writing, ritual records, and medical text.

2   Previous research

Exclamation is constituted of sentence exclamations (11) and exclamatives (12a-c). A sentence exclamation is an exclamation formed with a declarative sentence, while an exclamative is an exclamation formed with something other than a declarative sentence. Sentence exclamations and exclamatives make the same contribution to discourse, in that they form a natural class of utterances expressing that a particular proposition has not met the speaker's expectations. Nevertheless, sentence exclamations and exclamatives are disparate in terms of the degree of restriction. That is to say, exclamatives are subject to an additional semantic restriction entailing the degree of interpretation. To be more specific, sentence exclamations express a non-scalar expectation, yet exclamatives express a scalar expectation that a gradable property is instantiated to a particular degree (Rett, 2011).

(11) (Wow,) John bakes delicious desserts!   sentence exclamation

(12) a. (My,) What delicious desserts John bakes! *wh*-exclamative
    b. (Boy,) Does John bake delicious desserts! inversion exclamative
    c. (My,) The delicious desserts John bakes!   nominal exclamative
    (From Rett, 2011, p. 412)

Among the matrices of *wh*-exclamatives, there are two distinct types of structures. Semantically, they display distinct types of scalar meaning, viz. an exclamative attitude towards a *wh*-referent, and an exclamative attitude towards the event the *wh*-referent participates in. Morpho-syntactically, the former type is non-standard *wh*-expressions, whereas the latter bears a resemblance to embedded questions (Nouwen & Chernilovskaya, 2015).

According to Portner and Zanuttini (2000) and Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003), exclamatives are identified by two fundamental syntactic components, i.e. an abstract factive morpheme F and a *wh*-operator. As a consequence of the syntactic representation, exclamatives exhibit two central semantic properties, factivity, and widening, from which the force of exclamatives is derived indirectly. Factivity is

triggered by the abstract morpheme F, denoting the fact that the propositional content of exclamatives is presupposed. Widening, however, is correlated with the *wh*-operator in the sense that the domain of quantification for the *wh*-operator is widened, generating a set of alternative propositions. In other words, certain feature conveyed in the form of exclamatives is beyond the expectation of a certain contextually determined scale: the speaker presumes that the likelihood of the proposition is low, but the exclamative actually confirms its truthfulness, and thus a surprise effect.

In terms of exclamatives in modern Mandarin, they can be divided into three categories, all of which contain an adverbial element and a final particle *a*, as shown in (13a/b/c). Only Type I and Type II exclamatives are true exclamatives, because they fully pass the exclamativity tests, namely, factivity, question-answer relation, and scalarity. Type III, however, is merely a rhetorical question that might be interpreted as an exclamative in an appropriate context. First, all three types of exclamatives can be embedded under factive predicates such as *zhidao* 知道 'to know' (14), yet only Type III is grammatical when being embedded under a non-factive predicate *xiang-zhidao* 想知道 'to wonder' or *wen* 'to ask', with a rhetorical question reading (15). Second, since exclamatives are inherently factive, they cannot be used as questions, as justified by the ungrammaticity of (16a) for Type I and II and the grammaticality of (16b) for Type III. Third, Type I and II express a high degree on a scale, whereas Type III does not (Badan & Cheng, 2015).

(13) a. Ta   zheme/name   gao a!   Type I
        s/he this.ME/that.ME   tall SFP
        'How very tall s/he is!'

     b. Lisi   duome   gao a!   Type II
        Lisi   much.ME   tall SFP
        'How tall Lisi is!'

     c. Lisi   zenme zheme/name   gao (a)! Type III
        Lisi   how   this.ME/that.ME tall SFP
        (i) 'How come Lisi is so tall?'
        (ii) 'How tall Lisi is!'
        (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, pp. 387-388)

(14) a. Lisi zhidao ta   zheme   gao a! Type I
      Lisi   know   s/he this.ME   tall SFP
      'Lisi knows how tall s/he is!'

    b. Lisi zhidao ta   duome   gao a! Type II
      Lisi   know   s/he much.ME   tall SFP
      'Lisi knows how very tall s/he is!'

    c. Ta   zhidao Lisi   zenme zheme gao a! Type III
      s/he know   Lisi   how this.ME   tall SFP
      'S/he knows how very tall Lisi is!'
      (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, p. 390)

(15) a. *Ta xiangzhidao/wen Lisi zheme   gao (a)! Type I
      s/he want-know/ask   Lisi this.ME   tall SFP
      Intended: *'S/he wonders how very tall Lisi is!'

    b. *Ta xiangzhidao/wen Lisi duome   gao (a)! Type II
      s/he want-know/ask   Lisi much.ME   tall SFP
      Intended: *'S/he wonders how very tall Lisi is!'

    c. Ta   xiangzhidao/wen Lisi zenme zheme gao (a)! Type III
      s/he want-know/ask   Lisi how this.ME   tall SFP
      (i) Intended: *'S/he wonders/asks how tall Lisi is!'
      (ii) 'S/he wonders/asks how come Lisi is so tall.'
      (From Badan & Cheng, 2015, p. 390)

(16) a. Q: Ta   zheme/duome   gao a! Type I/II
        s/he   this.ME/much.ME tall SFP
        'How tall s/he is!'
        ≠ 'How tall is s/he? '

     A: *Liang mi.
        two   meters
        'Two meters.'

    b. Q: Ta   zenme zheme   gao a?! Type III
        s/he   how   this.ME   tall SFP
        'How come s/he is so tall?!'

A: Shi   a!   Ta   zhishao you   liang mi   gao!
    to.be SFP s/he at.least have two   meter tall
    'Yes (that's true)! S/he is at least two meters tall!'
    (From Badan & Cheng 2015, pp. 391-392)

The analysis of Badan and Cheng (2015) on exclamatives in Mandarin does not agree with the theory of Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) in two aspects. First, widening is not obligatory for exclamatives or sentential force. Consequently, since widening is only correlated to the surprise effect, not all exclamatives in Mandarin express surprise. Second, exclamatives in Mandarin do not necessarily require *wh*-operators, which means exclamatives are not *wh*-based. Moreover, Badan and Cheng (2015) propose that: 1) widening (when present) and scalarity are overtly spelled out; 2) exclamatives are characterized by scalar focus; and 3) the sentence-final particle *a* is not an exclamative operator with sentential force, but an overt realization of the speaker's point of view.

3   Sentence exclamations

As observed by Rett (2011), sentences exclamations are parallel to lamentations that illocutionarily entail assertions (Vanderveken, 1990), as they are both expressives. The utterance of a sentence exclamation involves an assertion of a denoted proposition *p* as well as an expression that *p* does not meet the speaker's expectation.

I state that sentence exclamations in LAC are also expressives and there is an assertion of a denoted proposition (17a). The fact that a proposition can be confirmed or denied by an interlocutor justifies the assertion of the proposition. In (17b), the speaker, Confucius, makes a proposition that people are numerous; in the posterior context, his interlocutor Ranyou acknowledges his opinion by reduplicating it as a precondition to introduce a new situation. Such an affirmation helps to prove that this sentence exclamation indeed denotes the proposition and it makes a contribution to discourse. Moreover, according to the previous context, Confucius arrives at the state of Wei and finds out the impressive quantity of population there, so his exclamatory proposition is presumed to imply surprise.

(17) a. 是   寡人   之   罪   也
    shi   guaren zhi   zui   ye
    this   I   Gen   sin   PAR
    'This is my sin!'
    (Yanzi・Jingong denglu qintai buzhong bu yue jianzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

b.
子	適	衛	冉有	僕	子	曰	庶	矣	哉
Zi	shi	Wei	Ranyou	pu	Zi	yue	shu	yi	zai
Confucius	go.to	Wei	Ranyou	drive.chariot	Confucius	say	numerous	Perf	PAR

冉有	曰	既	庶	矣	又	何	加	焉
Ranyou	yue	ji	shu	yi	you	he	jia	yan
Ranyou	say	now.that	numerous	Perf	then	what	add	Prep.Pron

'Confucius went to Wei; Ranyou drove the chariot. Confucius said: "(People are) already numerous!" Ranyou said: "Now that (they are) already numerous, then what else can be added on to them?"'

(Lunyu・Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

To reinforce the expressive nature of sentence exclamations, I refer to situations where their expressed propositions are denied. In (18a), the proposition of the former speaker, the duke, is that it is not cold though being sleety, whereas the latter speaker, Yanzi, denies this proposition with a rhetorical question; according to contextual information, Yanzi's opposition is indeed tenable: the duke does not feel cold because he is sitting in his palace in a fur coat. Similarly, in (18b), a speaker makes a proposition that virtuous people do not bring benefits to the state, so his interlocutor challenges his proposition in the following texts, by means of citing examples from both sides and then providing a conclusion that dismemberment would not render states extinct, but not employing virtuous people would. Both examples in (18) demonstrate that sentence exclamations assert propositions, thereby contributing to a discourse that can be denied directly.

(18) a.
公	曰	怪	哉	雨	雪	日	而	天	不	寒
gong	yue	guai	zai	yu	xue	ri	er	tian	bu	han
duke	say	strange	PAR	rain	snow	day	Conj	weather	not	cold

'The duke said: "Strange! It is a sleety day but the weather is not cold."'

晏子	對	曰	天	不	寒	乎
Yanzi	dui	yue	tian	bu	han	hu
Yanzi	reply	say	weather	not	cold	PAR

'Yanzi replied: "Is the weather not cold?"'

(Yanzi・Yanzi jian qijinggong; 475 BC-221 BC)

b. 若 是 乎 賢　　者 之 無　　　益　　於 國　也
ruo shi hu xian　　zhe zhi wu　　yi　　yu guo ye
if   this PAR virtuous DET ZHI not.have benefit to state PAR

曰 虞 不 用　百里奚 而　亡　　秦 穆 公 用 之　而　霸
yue Yu bu yong Baili Xi er　wang Qin Mu gong yong zhi　er　ba
say Yu not use Baili Xi Conj extinct Qin Mu duke use 3.Obj Conj conquer

不　用　賢　　則　亡　削　　　　　何　可　得　　與
bu yong xian　ze wang xue　　　　he ke de　yu
not use virtuous then extinct dismemberment how can realise PAR

'"If (it is like) this, the virtuous do not have benefit to the state!" (Mencius) said: "Yu did not use Baili Xi and (his state) became extinct; the Mu Duke of Qin used him and conquered (the world). (If states do) not use the virtuous, then (they) become extinct; how can dismemberment lead to (extinction)?"'

(Mengzi・Gaozi; 340 BC-250 BC)

Moreover, sentence exclamations in LAC also involve expressions that the asserted propositions do not meet speakers' expectations. According to Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003), a semantic operation termed widening is a fundamental concept derived from denotation on the basis of pragmatic reasoning and connected to a surprise reading. Widening is associated with exclamatives, as it captures aspects of the meaning of exclamatives informally described as unexpectedness or extreme degree. I suggest that widening can serve as a component of sentence exclamations in LAC, as reflected by the expansion of the domain of sentence exclamations. In (19a), the speaker implies that his interlocutor's pedantry is beyond his imagination. Similarly, (19b) is an utterance of Confucius who did not realize his serious decay before. Example (19c), along with (18a), serve as additional pieces of evidence, in which the adjectives 異 *yi* 'surprising' and 怪 *guai* 'strange' make it explicit that the expressions fail to meet speakers' expectations. Given the fact that propositions delivered by sentence exclamations can be denied (as in (18)), it is reasonable to assume that sentence exclamations are associated with non-scalar expectations.

(19) a. 有　是　哉　子　之　迂　　也
you shi zai zi zhi yu　ye
have this PAR you Gen pedantry PAR
'Your pedantry is this much!'
(Lunyu・Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 甚　　矣吾　衰　　也

shen　yi　wu　shuai　ye

serious　PAR　1.Gen　decay　PAR

'My decay is serious!'

(Lunyu・Shuer; 480 BC-350 BC)

c. 嘻　異　　　哉　此　非　　吾　所　謂　道　也

xi　yi　　zai　ci　fei　　wu　suo　wei　dao　ye

Interj　surprising　PAR　this　not.be　I　SUO　call　dao　PAR

'Ah, surprising! This is not what I call Dao!'

(Zhuangzi・Rangwang; 350 BC-250 BC)

Nevertheless, widening, or the surprise effect, is not essential to sentence exclamations in LAC. Examples in (20a/b/c) do not convey unexpectedness, as the speakers would not be surprised by a belief/suggestion/perception they have been holding, so these examples show that a sense of surprise is not a necessary ingredient of sentence exclamations.

(20) a. 子　　　曰攻　　乎異端　斯　害　　也　已

Zi　　yue　gong　hu　yiduan　si　hai　ye　yi

Confucius　say　attack　at　heresy　this　vermin　PAR　PAR

'Confucius said: "Attacking heresy, this is vermin!"'

(Lunyu・Weizheng; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 位　　　其　不　可　不　慎　　　也　乎

wei　　qi　bu　ke　bu　shen　ye　hu

position　PAR　not　can　not　discreet　PAR　PAR

'Regarding positions, (one) must not be indiscreet!'

(Zuozhuan・Chenggong 2; 468 BC-300 BC)

c. 吾　樂　　與

wu　le　　yu

I　happy　PAR

'I am happy!'

(Zhuangzi・Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC)

It is worth mentioning that exclamatives in modern Mandarin are not *wh*-based, but characterized by scalar focus (Badan & Cheng, 2015); sentence exclamations in LAC are not *wh*-based either, and they are compatible with focus.

In LAC, a morpheme *wei* 唯 can be used to express assertive modality and is frequently translated into 'only', reanalyzed as an adverb (Djamouri, 2001; Meisterernst, 2010). I argue that *wei* can function as a type of clefts independently and focalize in-situ subjects that occupy a position immediately following *wei*. When *wei* appears in a sentence-initial position preceding the subject, it can assign focus on this subject and thus be interpreted as a subject focus-type cleft. For instance, the two clauses in (21a) have different subjects that express a contradiction, and (21a) shows an exclusiveness effect. Similarly, the contrast between two clauses in (21b) illustrates that they form a focus, and the implied exclusiveness justifies that *wei* functions as a focus-type cleft for the subject immediately following it.

(21) a. 唯　君子　　能　好　　其　正　小人　毒　其　正
　　　wei junzi　　neng hao　　qi zheng xiaoren du　qi zheng
　　　WEI gentleman can appreciate Gen justice villain detest Gen justice
　　　'It is only gentlemen who can appreciate its justice; villains detest its justice.'
　　　(Guoyu・Yueyu; 475 BC-221 BC)

　　b. 唯　君　用　鮮　眾　給　　而已
　　　wei jun yong xian zhong gei　　eryi
　　　WEI you use fresh others livestock just
　　　'It is only you who use fresh (prey); others just use livestock.'
　　　(Zuozhuan・Xianggong 13; 468 BC-300 BC)

Returning to sentence exclamations in LAC, they are compatible with focus structures that can generate a set of alternatives. Consequently, sentence exclamations in LAC are able to generate a set of alternatives on a scale. In examples in (22) that contain *only*-focus clefts, the focus value is reflected in a degree property highlighting a high degree while opposing lower degrees; that is to say, focus constructions provide sets of alternatives for the interpretation of sentence exclamations. To reinforce the extreme degree of a scale, Example (23a) involving an adjective *zhi* 至 'ultimate' is cited here, which illustrates the placement of virtue on a scale and particularly on an extreme degree in this scale. As for (23b), it contains a description of the skill reaching a high level, which represents an extreme end of some contextually given scale.

(22) a. 見　星　而　行　　　者　唯　罪人　與　奔　　父母　之　喪　　者　乎

jian xing er   xing   zhe wei zuiren yu   ben   fumu zhi sang   zhe hu

see star Conj journey DET only fugitive Conj hasten parent Gen funeral DET PAR

'Seeing stars but still journeying, it is only fugitives and those who hasten for funerals of parents!'

(Liji・Zengziwen; 475 BC-221 BC)

　　b. 今　商　　維　　茲　其　唯　第　茲　命　不　承　　殆　　　哉

jin Shang wei   zi   qi   wei di   zi   ming bu cheng dai   zai

now Shang exactly this PAR only DET this order not comply dangerous PAR

'Now Shang is exactly this: (if) it is only this order (they do) not comply with, it is dangerous!'

(Yizhoushu・Dakaiwujie; 475 BC-221 BC)

(23) a. 泰伯　其　　可　謂　至　　　德　　也　已　矣

Taibo qi   ke   wei zhi   de   ye   yi   yi

Taibo 3.Subj can call ultimate virtue PAR PAR PAR

'Taibo, he can be called ultimate virtue!'

(Lunyu・Taibo; 480 BC-350 BC)

　　b. 譆　　善　哉　技　蓋　　至　　此　乎

xi   shan zai ji   gai   zhi   ci   hu

Interj good PAR skill indeed reach this PAR

'Ah, good! (Your) skill indeed reaches this!'

(Zhuangzi・Yangshengzhu; 350 BC-250 BC)

To summarize, sentence exclamations in LAC are expressives that assert denoted propositions. Sentence exclamations may express unexpectedness and scalar focus, yet neither feature is essential to sentence exclamations.

4   *He* and *heqi* as non-exclamatives

According to traditional views, exclamation in LAC can be formed via degree adverbials *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 (see Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303; among many others). Nevertheless, I argue that although *he* and *heqi* can be employed in constructions indicating exclamation, they do not form true exclamatives, in that they fail to pass diagnostic tests propounded by Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003).

4.1   *He* and *heqi*

In an interrogative sentence, the morpheme *he* 何 is frequently employed as a *wh*-DP 'what', either independently as a simplex *wh*-argument or combined with another nominal to form a complex *wh*-argument (24a/b). Alternatively, *he* can function as a nominal predicate directly following the subject in a question (24c). Note that LAC requires VP-internal *wh*-DPs to raise from their base position to a preverbal position in the sentence-internal domain between TP and *v*P, and hence the derived SOV order in (24a-b) (Aldridge, 2010a, 2010b). However, when *wh*-words function as nominal predicates, they do not front in general, as in (24c) (Aldridge, 2007). In (24d), the former *he* functions as a reason adverbial in a rhetorical question, and the latter *he* has fronted within the embedded domain and received a non-interrogative NPI interpretation licensed by a negator in a higher clause (Aldridge, 2010a).

(24) a. 然則　　我　何　　爲　乎　何　　不　　爲　乎
　　　　ranze　wo　he　　wei　hu　he　　bu　　wei　hu
　　　　then　I　what　do　Q　what　not　do　Q
　　　　'Then what should I do? What should I not do?'
　　　　(Zhuangzi・Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC; Aldridge, 2010b, p. 87)

　　　b. 何　　城　　不　克
　　　　he　　cheng　bu　ke
　　　　what　city　　not　conquer
　　　　'What city would (you) not conquer?'
　　　　(Zuozhuan・Xi 4; 468 BC-300 BC; Aldridge, 2010b, p. 87)

　　　c. 君　與　　我　此　何　　也
　　　　jun　yu　　wo　ci　he　　ye
　　　　lord　give　me　this　what　PAR
　　　　'Why is it that my lord gives me these things?'
　　　　(Guoyu・Jinyu 1; 475 BC-221 BC; Aldridge, 2007, p. 144)

　　　d. 何　不　樹　　之　於　無　　　何　　有　之　鄉
　　　　he　bu　shu　zhi　yu　wu　　　he　　you　zhi　xiang
　　　　why　not　plant　it　in　not.exist　what　exist　Gen　place
　　　　'Why don't you plant it in a place where there isn't anything?'
　　　　(Zhuangzi・Xiaoyaoyou; 350 BC-250 BC; Aldridge, 2010a, p. 26)

Additionally, *he* 何 can be employed in an exclamatory context, as in (25). In both interrogative and exclamatory environments, *he* serves as an adverbial, as shown in (24c-d) and (25). In interrogatives, *he* questions reason, whereas in exclamatory constructions, it is related to the degree.

(25) a. 嚮　　之　去　　何　速　今　之　返　　又　　何　　速
　　　xiang　zhi　qu　　he　su　jin　zhi　fan　　you　　he　　su
　　　before　ZHI　leave　how　fast　now　ZHI　return　again　how　fast
　　　'How fast (you) left before! How fast again (you) returned now!'
　　　(Yanzi・Jinggong xinyong channing shangfa shizhong yanzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

　　 b. 久　憂　　不　死　何　苦　　　也
　　　jiu　you　　bu　si　he　ku　　ye
　　　long　worry　not　die　how　painful　PAR
　　　'Worrying for long but not dying; how painful it is!'
　　　(Zhuangzi・Zhile; 350 BC-250 BC)

Analogous to *he* 何, *heqi* 何其 is also employed in an exclamatory context in LAC, and *heqi* is more frequently attested than *he* in corpora. In most situations, *heqi* precedes phrasal elements, i.e. AdjPs and DPs, as in (26) and (27) respectively. Moreover, *heqi* may precede clausal elements, as exemplified by (28), but it is less common for *heqi* to precede clausal elements.

(26) a. 自　三　代　　以下　　者　天下　何其　囂囂　　也
　　　zi　san　dai　yixia　　zhe　tianxia　heqi　xiaoxiao　ye
　　　since　three　dynasty　onwards　DET　world　how　clamorous　PAR
　　　'Since the three dynasties onwards, how clamorous the world is!'
　　　(Zhuangzi・Pianmu; 350 BC-250 BC)

　　 b. 奪　　彼　與　此　何其　偏　　也
　　　duo　bi　yu　ci　heqi　pian　ye
　　　snatch　that　give　this　how　partial　PAR
　　　'Snatching from those and giving to these: how partial (you are)!'
　　　(Zhuangzi・Lieyukou; 350 BC-250 BC)

c. 泰豆　歎　　日　子　何其 敏　　　　也

Taidou tan　　yue zi　heqi　min　　　ye

Taidou exclaim say　you how　intelligent PAR

'Taidou exclaimed: "How intelligent you are!"'

(Zhuangzi・Tangwen; 350 BC-250 BC)

(27) 何其 君子　　　也

heqi　junzi　　　ye

how　gentleman　PAR

'What a gentleman (it is like)!'

(Guanzi・Xiaowen; 475 BC - 220 AD)

(28) 何其 侮　　我　也

heqi　wu　　wo　ye

how　insult　me　PAR

'How (you) insulted me!'

(Mozi・Luwen; 490 BC-221 BC)

It is notable that *heqi* is still used in a contemporary context to express exclamation, as in Example (29) which is cited from an article published on Beijing News (*Xinjing Bao* 新京报) in June 2023.

(29) 不　是　鸭　脖　是 鼠　头,　教训　　何其 沉重!

bu　shi ya　　bo　　shi shu tou,　jiaohun heqi　chenzhong!

not be duck neck be rat　head lesson　how　hard

'It is not a duck neck but a rat head. How hard the lesson is!'

4.2   Diagnostic tests

Exclamatives in modern Mandarin pass three diagnostic tests propounded by Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) (Badan & Cheng, 2015). In LAC, however, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 fail to demonstrate semantic/pragmatic properties of factivity, question-answer relation or scalarity, disparate from their modern counterparts. Therefore, I state that exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* are not exclamatives.

First, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 in LAC do not carry a presupposition of factivity. True exclamatives should be able to be embedded under

factive predicates, which indicates that exclamatives presuppose the truth of the proposition they denote, hence being factive. However, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 are never attested to being embedded under factive predicates, indicating their non-factive nature.

The fact that exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* are never embedded under factive predicates is not due to the language per se, because sentence exclamations, which are true exclamations, can indeed be embedded under factive predicates. An example of factive predicates in LAC is *zhi* 知 'to know', and in (30a), it appears in a matrix clause containing an embedded sentence exclamation. Similarly, another factive predicate *zhi* 志 'to remember' can also precede sentence exclamations, indicating their presumed truth (30b-c). Furthermore, when a sentence exclamation is embedded under a factive predicate, this verb can be negated, as in (30d). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the reason why exclamatory structures with *he* and *heqi* never occur under factive predicates is simply that they are not true exclamations, or to be more specific, true exclamatives.

(30) a. 寡人　自　知　誠　　費　財　勞　　　　民　　以　為
   guaren zi zhi cheng fei cai lao min yi wei
   I self know genuinely waste money make.labour people think COP

  無　　　功　又　從　而　怨　　之　是　寡人　之　罪　也
  wu gong you zong er yuan zhi shi guaren zhi zui ye
  not.have reward then abet Conj blame 3.Obj this I Gen sin PAR

  'I know it myself that I genuinely waste money and make people labour. I think (it) has no reward and then abet and blame it. This is my sin!'

  (Yanzi・Jinggong denglu qintai buzhong buyue yanzi jian; 475 BC-221 BC)

 b. 二　三　子　志　　之　歲　在 壽星　　及　鶉尾
  er san zi zhi zhi sui zai Shouxing ji chunwei
  two three you remember 3.Obj Sui.Star at Shouxing.Star Conj Chunwei.Star

  其　有　此　土　乎
  qi you ci tu hu
  PAR own this land PAR

  'You remember this: (when) the Sui Star is at the Shouxing Star and Chunwei Star, (we will) own this land!'

  (Guoyu・Jinyu 4; 475 BC-221 BC)

c. 悲　　夫　弟子　志　　　之　其　唯　道德　之　鄉　乎
   bei　　fu　dizi　zhi　　　zhi　qi　wie　daode　zhi　xiang　hu
   pathetic　PAR　disciple　remember　3.Obj　PAR　only　Dao　Gen　land　PAR
   'Pathetic! Disciples, remember it: it is only the land of Dao (that would work)!'
   (Zhuangzi・Shanmu; 350 BC-250 BC)

d. 不　知　　先生　　　之　洗　我　以　善　　　　邪
   bu　zhi　　xiansheng　zhi　xi　wo　yi　shan　　　　ye
   not　know　teacher　　ZHI　purify　me　with　benevolence　PAR
   'I did not know that the teacher had purified me with benevolence!'
   (Zhuangzi・Dechongfu; 350 BC-250 BC)

Further still, exclamatory expressions involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 may be preceded by information denying their truth. In (31a), the latter clause actually expresses that deception will not happen, which is explained by the former clause as the reason. That is to say, the pre-existing context helps to show that the proposition is counterfactual. Likewise, the former clause in (31b) sets the scene that a certain person is not the speaker's lord, so the statement in the latter clause that their voices are alike cannot be factive and the speaker is actually denying the possibility. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that exclamatory expressions with *he* and *heqi* fail to exhibit presupposition of factivity which is a prerequisite for proper exclamatives.

(31) a. 彼　必　　　將　來　告　之　夫　又　何　可　詐　　也
       bi　bi　　　jiang　lai　gao　zhi　fu　you　he　ke　zha　　ye
       that　definitely　Fut　come　tell　3.Obj　PAR　then　how　can　deceive　PAR
       'They definitely will come and tell it; then how can (we) deceive?!'
       (Xunzi・Yibing; 475 BC-221 BC)

   b. 此　非　　吾　君　也　何其　聲　之　似　　我　君　也
      ci　fei　　wu　jun　ye　heqi　sheng　zhi　si　　wo　jun　ye
      this　not.be　1.Gen　lord　PAR　how　voice　ZHI　be.like　1.Gen　lord　PAR
      'This is not my lord; how can the voice be like my lord's voice?!'
      (Mengzi・Jinxin; 340 BC-250 BC)

Second, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 can function as questions, which challenges the question-answer relation of true exclamatives. To be more specific, exclamatives can never be employed as interrogatives, even though they may share identical *wh*-items. The reason lies in that interrogatives have the ability to

introduce a set of possible answers, whereas exclamatives do not denote possible answers and hence are not compatible with responses. On the contrary, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* can be analyzed as questions and thus can be accompanied by answers accordingly. In (32a), the speaker asks about the reason for Confucius' pleasure in an exclamatory way, and his interlocutor provides a response to the question. Likewise, the speaker's expression in (32b) contains interrogativity and exclamativity simultaneously, and it receives a response from the interlocutor.

(32) a. 何　夫子 之　娛　　也 孔子　　曰 來　 吾 語 女

　　　he　fuzi zhi　yu　　ye Kongzi　yue lai　 wu yu ru

　　　how you　Gen pleasure PAR Confucius say come I　 tell you

　　我 諱　　窮　　　　久 矣 而 不 免　　 命　　也

　　wo hui　 qiong　　　　jiu yi er bu mian　 ming　ye

　　I　avoid impoverishment long Perf Conj not escape destiny PAR

　　求 通　　久 矣 而 不 得　　時　也

　　qiu tong　jiu yi er bu de　　shi　ye

　　seek success long Perf Conj not obtain timing PAR

'"Why are you pleased?!" Confucius said: "Come here! Let me tell you. I have been avoiding impoverishment for long, but never escaped; this is destiny. (I) have been seeking success for long, but never obtained; this is timing."'

(Zhuangzi・Qiushui; 350 BC-250 BC)

　 b. 夫子　　之　門　　何其 雜　　　也 子貢 曰

　　 Fuzi　　zhi　men　heqi za　　　ye Zigong yue

　　 Confucius Gen disciple how　miscellaneous PAR Zigong yue

　　君子　　正　　　　身　以 俟 欲　　來　者 不 距

　　junzi　　zheng　　　shen yi si　yu　 lai　zhe bu ju

　　gentleman make.upright body to wait want come DET but refuse

　　欲　去 者 不 止 且 夫 良　醫　　之 門 多　病人

　　yu　qu zhe bu zhi qie fu liang yi　　zhi men duo　bingren

　　want go DET not stop also PAR good doctor Gen door many patient

　　檃栝　　　　之 側 多　枉　木　是 以 雜　　　　也

　　yingua　　　zhi ce duo　wang mu　shi yi za　　　　ye

　　rectifying.tool Gen side many bent　wood this for miscellaneous PAR

'"Why are Confucius' disciples miscellaneous?!" Zigong said: "Gentlemen make themselves upright and wait; those who want to come are not refused and those who want to go are not stopped. Also, there are many patients at good doctors' doors; there are many bent wood materials besides rectifying tools. That is why (the disciples are) miscellaneous."'

(Xunzi・Faxing; 475 BC-221 BC)

Moreover, *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 in exclamatory sentences can be employed in a rhetorical manner. In both examples in (33), the presence of sentence-final particles emphasizes the exclamative reading, yet the interpretation of the entire sentences is still that of rhetorical questions.

(33) a. 彼　以　其　爵　我　以　吾　義　　　　吾　何　慊　　乎　哉

    bi　yi　qi　jue　wo　yi　wu　yi　　　　wu　he　qian　　hu　zai

    that have Gen title I   have 1.Gen righteousness I   how unsatisfied PAR PAR

    'That person has his title, while I have my righteousness; why am I unsatisfied?!'

    (Mengzi・Gongsunchou; 340 BC-250 BC)

  b. 以　至　仁　　　伐　　至　　不仁

    yi　zhi　ren　　　fa　　zhi　　buren

    with ultimate benevolence suppress ultimate unbenevolence

    而　何其血　之　流　杵　也

    er　heqi xue　zhi　liu　chu　ye

    Conj how blood ZHI float stick PAR

    'If one suppresses ultimate unbenevolence with ultimate benevolence, how can it be that the blood is enough to float sticks?!'

    (Mengzi・Jinxin; 340 BC-250 BC)

Third, exclamatory sentences involving *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 do not have to display scalarity. Defined as an implicature specifying that a proposition conveyed by an exclamative is at the extreme end of some contextually determined scale, scalarity indicates that an entity's property is true to a higher degree than expected, so an exclamative is supposed to refer to a degree exceeding a contextual standard (Zanuttini & Portner, 2003; Rett, 2008). In LAC, it is possible for exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* to adopt a scalar interpretive feature, yet it is not obligatory. For instance, in (34a), the speaker implies that he has predicted a situation of being insulted, yet the insulting situation is true to a higher degree than predicted. In (34b), the speaker asserts his surprise by comparing the required time and the time his interlocutor has

spent, as well as the use of a conjunction showing contrast. As for (34c), the speaker's statement emphasizes that the degree to which his interlocutor's claim is ridiculous falls outside of the usual range encountered in their dialogues.

(34) a.

謂	之	曰	為	王	則	生	不	為	王	則	死
wei	zhi	yue	wei	wang	ze	sheng	bu	wei	wang	ze	si
tell	3.Obj	say	COP	king	then	survive	not	COP	king	then	die

王	子閭	曰	何其	侮	我	也
Wang	Zilü	yue	heqi	wu	wo	ye
Wang	Zilü	say	how	insult	me	PAR

'(He) told him: "Be the king, then (you) survive; (if you do) not be the king, then (you) die." Wang Zilv said: "How (you) insulted me!"'

(Mozi・Luwen; 490 BC-221 BC)

b.

君		令	三	宿	而	汝	一	宿	何其	速	也
jun		ling	san	xiu	er	ru	yi	xiu	heqi	su	ye
his.Majesty		order	3	night	Conj	you	1	night	how	fast	PAR

'His Majesty ordered (you to arrive in) three nights, but you (arrived in) one night; how fast!'

(Hanfeizi・Nan 3; 475 BC-221 BC)

c.

然則	夫子	既	聖	矣	乎	曰	惡	是	何	言	也
ranze	fuzi	ji	sheng	yi	hu	yue	wu	shi	he	yan	ye
then	you	already	sage	Perf	PAR	say	Interj	this	how	utterance	PAR

'"Then you are already a sage?" (Confucius) said: "How can you say this?!"'

(Mengzi・Gongsunchou; 340 BC-250 BC)

Nonetheless, when *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 occur in exclamatory constructions, scalar implicature is not an indispensable component. In other words, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* do not necessarily give rise to a sense of surprise or amazement pragmatically. For instance, in (35a), when Confucius is asked to express his opinion on politicians, his utterance is purely to convey disdain, instead of surprise. As for (35b), its first sentence containing *he* does not express any sense of surprise either, because the speaker reiterates in the following context that the hegemony should be regarded as 'natural' 'destiny', rather than 'luck', so there is no element of unexpectedness. Therefore, it is safe to claim that exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* sometimes lack the scalar implicature required by exclamatives, so they should not be treated as proper exclamatives.

(35) a. 曰　今　之　從政者　　何如 子　　　曰
yue jin zhi congzhengzhe heru Zi   yue
say now Gen politician   how Confucius say

噫　斗筲　　　之　人　何　足　算　　也
yi doushao   zhi ren he zu suan   ye
Interj narrow-minded Gen person how worth consider PAR

'(He) asked: "How are today's politicians?" Confucius said: "Alas! How are narrow-minded people worth being considered?!"'
(Lunyu・Zilu; 480 BC-350 BC)

b. 夫　又　何　可　亡　也　其　霸　　也 宜　　哉
fu   you he ke wang ye qi ba   ye yi   zai
PAR then how can perish PAR Gen hegemony PAR natural PAR

非　　幸　也　數　　也
Fei   xing ye shu   ye
not.be luck PAR destiny PAR

'Then how can (he) perish?! His hegemony is natural! It is not luck, but destiny.'
(Xunzi・Zhongni; 475 BC-221 BC)

5   Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated exclamation in LAC. Exclamation is comprised of sentence exclamations and exclamatives. Analogous to modern Mandarin, LAC has sentence exclamations that demonstrate properties of expressives and violation of the speaker's expectation of a certain contextually determined scale. Nevertheless, such a surprise interpretation triggered by widening (Portner & Zanuttini, 2000; Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003) is not essential to sentence exclamations in LAC, rendering a set of alternative propositions unnecessary. Although sentence exclamations in LAC are not characterized by scalar focus, they are indeed compatible with focus constructions generating a set of alternatives on a contextually given scale.

In terms of exclamatives that exist in modern Mandarin, they do not exist in LAC. Although there are structures indicating exclamativity and involving degree adverbials *he* 何 and *heqi* 何其 (see Yang & He, 1992, pp. 899-900; Chu, 1994, p. 303; among many

others), they should not be analyzed as true exclamatives. Exclamatives, such as those in modern Mandarin, are supposed to pass the exclamativity tests, by exhibiting semantic features concerning factivity, question-answer relation, and scalarity (Zanuttini & Portner, 2000, 2003; Badan & Cheng, 2015). Nonetheless, exclamatory constructions involving *he* and *heqi* in LAC fail these diagnostic tests. First, there is no attested data proving that exclamatory structures with *he* and *heqi* can be embedded under factive predicates, and the denoted proposition can be counterfactual. Second, *he* and *heqi* in exclamatory sentences can be employed in interrogatives or in a rhetorical manner. Third, exclamatory sentences involving *he* and *heqi* do not have to display scalar implicature that gives rise to a sense of surprise or amazement.

Abbreviations

1.Gen	first-person genitive pronoun
3.Obj	third-person pronoun used as sentence object
3.Subj	third-person pronoun used as sentence subject
Conj	conjunction
Fut	future
Gen	genitive
Interj	interjection
Perf	perfective
Prep	preposition
Prep.Pron	preposition + pronoun
COP	copula
DET	determiner
ME	character *me* 么
PAR	particle
Q	interrogative particle
SFP	sentence-final particle
SUO	function word *suo* 所
WEI	morpheme *wei* 唯
ZHI	function word *zhi* 之

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Korean Honorifics in Flux: a Case Study of Seoul National University LEI Textbooks

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Abstract

This paper aims to demonstrate the close connection between society and politeness styles by analyzing Korean language textbooks for foreign learners published by Seoul National University Language Education Institute from 2000 to 2019. Changes in these textbooks indicate a dynamic interplay between society and language. The study reveals notable shifts in politeness styles, particularly the near-complete replacement of the formal *hasipsioche* with the polite informal style *haeyoche*. This paper seeks to connect the observed changes in textbooks and shifts in Korean culture and society. The paper offers a brief introduction to Korean history, society, and culture, highlighting their relevance to the Korean language in general and specifically to Korean in a second language education.

Keywords: Korean language, Korean honorifics, sociolinguistics, Korean society, second language textbooks

Povzetek

Članek si prizadeva potrditi tesno povezavo med družbo in slogi vljudnosti preko analize učbenikov korejskega jezika za tuje učence, ki jih je objavil Inštitut za jezikovno izobraževanje na Nacionalni univerzi v Seulu med leti 2000 in 2019. Spremembe v teh učbenikih kažejo na dinamično medsebojno delovanje med družbo in jezikom. Raziskava razkriva opazne premike v slogih vljudnosti, zlasti skorajda popolno zamenjavo formalnega *hasipsioche* s vljudnim neformalnim slogom *haeyoche*. Članek poveže omenjene spremembe v učbenikih s premiki v korejski kulturi in družbi. Prinaša tudi kratek uvod v korejsko zgodovino, družbo in kulturo, ki poudari njihovo pomembno vlogo v korejskem jeziku nasploh kot tudi v izobraževanju korejščine kot tujega jezika.

Ključne besede: korejski jezik, korejske spoštljive oblike, sociolingvistika, korejska družba, učbeniki tujih jezikov

1   Introduction

1.1   An overview of Korean language history

The first state of the Korean peninsula is said to have emerged in 2333 B.C., with Korean as the predominant language.[1] The exact origins of the Korean language remain uncertain, but it is typically categorized[2] into Old Korean[3], Middle Korean[4], Early Modern Korean[5], and Modern Korean[6]. Old Korean was spoken during the Three Kingdoms period (4-7AD) until the era of Unified Silla (676-935 AD). Evidence suggests that honorifics were already present in Old Korean[7], indicating that honorifics have been used for at least a millennium.

King Sejong the Great (1418-1450) is credited with inventing Hangeul[8], the Korean writing system, which was promulgated in 1446. Despite its innovativeness, the widespread distribution of Hangeul among the general population was hindered by various historical factors. The adoption of Hangeul as the official script within the Korean Peninsula faced challenges and did not occur as rapidly or extensively as initially envisioned by King Sejong. The shift from Chinese characters to Hangeul started with the Gabo reform (*gabo gaehyeok* 갑오개혁), a government-led initiative from 1894 to 1896 that sought to modernize Korean society, including politics, law, military, economy, and education. Emperor Gojong 고종 (1852-1919), during the Gabo reform, officially designated Hangeul as the national alphabet and decreed that "laws and

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[1] In this paper, 'Korean' refers to the language spoken in South Korea.

[2] There are some differences among scholars regarding the criteria and terminology for classifying Korean eras. Kim (1997) summarizes the periods concisely but also points out that such classification is not sound and suggests a new Korean era classification.

[3] Old Korean refers to the Korean language from the Three Kingdoms period to the Unified Silla period (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-b).

[4] Middle Korean refers to the Korean language from the early 10th century when Goryeo was established to the end of the 16th century when the Imjin War broke out (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-e).

[5] Early Modern Korean refers to Korean language from the early 17th century after the Imjin War to the Gabo Reforms at the end of the 19th century (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-a).

[6] Modern Korean refers to the Korean language used from the Gabo Reformation to today (Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전, n.d.-d).

[7] For details, see Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (n.d.-c), Lee (2008) and Park (1991).

[8] Prior to King Sejong's creation of Hunminjeongeum in 1443 and its promulgation in 1446 following a three-year implementation period, Chinese characters were used in the Korean Peninsula. Hunminjeongeum, which is now referred to as Hangeul, represents the original name of the Korean language that is spoken today. Before the introduction of Hunminjeongeum and the official proclamation of the name Hangeul by King Sejong, the Korean language had various informal designations. In this paper, the term Hangeul is employed due to its current widespread recognition and usage.

edicts would be promulgated in Hangeul, either translated into Chinese characters or utilizing both Korean and Chinese characters"[9]. This proclamation designated Hangeul as the official language, about 450 years after its creation by King Sejong.

However, in 1910 Japan colonized Korea, enforcing the Japanese language and script as the official means of communication. Korea regained independence after World War II in 1945 but experienced U.S. military occupation (United States Army Military Government in Korea) until the establishment of the South Korean government in 1948. In 1950, the Korean War erupted, ceasing the nation-building process. The war ended in 1953 with a truce lasting to this day. At the end of the Korean War, South Korea was considered one of the poorest nations in the world. However, the country made significant efforts toward economic development, eventually being able to attain the status of a developed country. Notably, events like the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World Cup played a significant role in advancing Korea's globalization efforts.

Prior to these developments, daily newspapers in Korea were mainly written in Chinese characters. However, in 1988, The Hankyoreh (*hangyeore sinmun* 한겨레신문), a newspaper written entirely in Hangeul, was established. The establishment of Hankyoreh represents an important shift in the media landscape, and increased the prominence of the Korean script in mass media and communication. This does not mean that after the establishment of The Hankyoreh, Chinese characters ceased to exist in media communication. However, although Chinese characters were still in use, the native Korean language and Hangeul were beginning to be used more and more, slowly becoming prevalent. The increased utilization of native Korean also presented an opportunity for the language to develop further and allow for softer writing styles.

Moreover, in 1989, the liberalization of overseas travel in Korea led to an increase in both international travel and studying abroad, causing an organic growth in interpersonal exchanges with foreign countries. This resulted in a greater influx of foreign words and emphasized the importance of the native Korean language. Consequently, the status and significance of the Korean language have risen, attracting a growing number of learners wishing to engage with Korean culture and society (BBC, 2018; Duolingo, 2020).

1.2   Research design

An analysis of social changes and the evolution of Korean honorifics and their structure reveals that the Korean Wave (*hallyu*), which first spread across Asia in the 1990s and

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[9] Joseon wangjo sillok Gojong sillok 32 gwon, Gojong 31 nyeon 11 wol 21 il 조선왕조실록 고종실록 32 권, 고종 31 년 11 월 21 일 (n.d.)

eventually breached the borders, advancing all the way to the Middle East and across the globe, has led to a rapid growth in Korean language learners.

In recent years, Korean popular culture has been gaining popularity, with interest in Korean history, society, and culture increasing, as well. Kim (2015) connects the increased interest in more traditional Korean culture to the development of *hallyu*. In the beginning, it was focused primarily on popular culture, mainly on K-dramas and, later, K-pop idols. Through the widespread usage of social media, K-pop idols have gained supranational fandoms. This second wave of *hallyu*, in particular, has managed to introduce more traditional Korean culture (including the Korean language) to foreigners.

Consequently, more and more foreigners are starting to study and take an interest in the Korean language. As a result, Korean second language education has also been quickly developing. Practically every Korean university offers its own Korean language program, accompanied by specific textbooks which are overall very similar but differ in certain aspects (e.g., they emphasize different language skills). As language has changed and developed, changes have also occurred in textbooks.

This paper analyzes changes in Seoul National University second language education textbooks with the focus on the honorific system. By closely examining the Seoul National University LEI textbooks, this study sheds light on the nuanced representations of honorifics in the post-Korean Wave era in second language education textbooks. Chapter 1 is dedicated to introducing Korean history and the research design. Chapter 2 deals with Korean linguistic politeness, with an emphasis on addressee honorifics and the current state of Korean linguistic politeness. Chapter 3 presents Korean as a second language. It firstly briefly introduces the history of teaching Korean as a second language and highlights the changes in the structure of Korean language learners. The following Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the selected textbooks. The final Chapter 5 discusses the obtained results and summarizes key findings and implications of the research.

Studying addressee honorifics in Korean second language (KSL) textbooks is important since in Korean practically no sentence can be uttered without using one of the politeness styles that express addressee honorifics. Thus, Korean language students are introduced to politeness styles at the very beginning of their linguistic journey. The ways different textbooks introduce politeness have been researched before and many authors expressed their criticism of textbooks when explaining politeness. For example, Lee (2010, p. 304) points out that many students face problems when choosing and utilizing politeness styles even when they already reached high language proficiency. Choo (1999) criticizes the way textbooks introduce Korean honorifics and politeness styles. Textbooks do not systematically explain the entire system but tend to only introduce the most polite style in order to help students avoid (unintentionally) offending their interlocutors. Additionally, Park (2005) identifies a lack of

standardization among different textbooks regarding the introduction of politeness styles.

In the context of KSL textbooks, the initial introduction to addressee honorifics tends to concentrate on two specific styles: *hasipsioche* 하십시오체 and *haeyoche* 해요체. These styles are considered polite and are taught early on to help language learners avoid awkward situations of offending others. While there are various styles within the Korean honorific system, beginners are typically introduced to these two styles due to their perceived practicality and relevance for learners at the early stages of language acquisition. These styles are considered essential in Korean social interactions and demonstrate respect and deference towards the person being addressed. They are commonly used in everyday conversations, formal settings, and interactions with unfamiliar individuals.

The primary objective of this study is to investigate the changes in the usage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* within the context of three different editions of beginner-level textbooks published by Seoul National University. By conducting a detailed analysis of these textbooks, the study aims to shed light on the development and changes in the usage of these two styles over time. The focus on textbooks from a renowned institution like Seoul National University provides valuable insight into the pedagogical approaches employed in teaching addressee honorifics to Korean language learners at the beginning level. This study examines both changes in the presentation of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in textbooks and changes in Korean society. By considering the socio-cultural context both within and outside of Korea, this research strives to showcase the reciprocal relationship between language use and societal changes.

The two main Romanization systems commonly used for representing the Korean language in Romanized form are the McCune-Reischauer Romanization System for Korean and the Revised Romanization of Korean (RR) developed by the National Institute of Korean Language in Korea, revised in 2000. This research paper adopts the RR system that is based on the phonetic representation of Korean sounds. Since this paper is an academic study, the application of Article 8 of the RR system which permits an exception for academic purposes and allows romanization based on Hangeul spelling, could be applied. However, this study does not explore sentence restoration or conduct analyses of etymologies. Instead, the primary objective of this study is to examine the changes and patterns of honorifics in the Korean language. Therefore, RR, which accurately represents sound values, is employed in this research to ensure consistency and clarity.

2   Korean linguistic politeness

2.1   Linguistic politeness in Korean

The Korean language is famous for its intricate politeness system that is said to reflect Korean society and its values. A key element of Korean linguistic politeness is represented by honorifics. Among the thousands of the world's languages, only a few have fully developed honorifics in their grammar. It is said that this linguistic feature was formed as a need of society and that honorifics have emerged in societies that were highly stratified (Ahn, 2010).

Politeness in the Korean language is supposed to have emerged as a linguistic equivalent of the strict class division, which was reflected in society in other areas as well - e.g., government officials wore clothing of different colors to easily distinguish between their statuses (Lee, as cited by Shin, 2017). The elaborate Korean politeness system was especially thriving during the eras of strict social division, such as the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. A key factor that shaped Korean honorifics was Confucianism, which emphasized a rigid social hierarchy and was also reflected in the language, especially in the use of honorifics. After the introduction of Western ideas of freedom and democracy that have greatly impacted Korean society, changes in politeness styles were also observed. Ideas of democracy and equality of all people started shaping and transforming the linguistic politeness system – resulting in the simplification of the system and reducing the number of politeness styles.

Korean language has highly developed systems of both referent and hearer honorifics, but it did not develop bystander honorifics. Both types of honorification in Korean are expressed through verbal inflection, which is not commonly found among the world's languages (Brown, 2008).

Politeness in the Korean language can be further divided into two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. The vertical dimension explicitly suggests a balance of power and has traditionally been expressed through respectful forms that help maintain social stability within a strict hierarchy. On the other hand, the horizontal dimension of respect is related to the emotional distance between speakers. Respectful forms have primarily been used to establish and maintain social hierarchy, but since intimate and friendly relationships have always existed even in such a strict society as Korean, more casual forms were also needed to build and maintain close interpersonal relationships. When speakers who are very close use these forms they are considered to be neither rude nor disrespectful, but symbolize friendship (Shin, 2017).

Korean honorifics can be divided into three categories: addressee honorification (*sangdae nopimbeop* 상대 높임법), subject honorification (*juche nopimbeop* 주체 높임법) and object honorification (*gaekche nopimbeop* 객체 높임법).

Sangdae nopimbeop expresses the speaker's attitude towards the addressee and is shown through the choice of sentence endings (*munjang jonggyeol* 문장 종결) or politeness styles. As explained by Brown (2008), *sangdae nopimbeop* depends on two levels of deference and two levels of formality. According to this system, Korean honorifics are thus divided into honorific or non-honorific styles and formal or informal styles.

Juche nopimbeop expresses respect towards the subject by elevating it. It is expressed by the pre-final ending *-si* 시, which is attached to the verb stem in front of the politeness style ending. For example, in sentences (1) and (2), the subject of the action, the younger sibling, is not the target of elevation, whereas the father is the target of elevation, so the honorific suffix *-si* is added. For the same reason, when the subject is "I" or the speaker, the subject honorifics are never used, since speakers should not elevate themselves.

(1) 동생이   간다
    dongsaengi   ganda
    younger sibling   go
    'The younger sibling goes.'

(2) 아버지가 가신다
    abeojiga   gasinda
    father   go
    'The father goes.'

Gaekche nopimbeop is a linguistic form used to elevate the target or recipient of an action or behavior performed by the subject. For example, in sentence (3), the verb *junda* 준다 is used because there is no need to elevate the younger sibling. However, in sentence (4), the subject *na* 나 needs to show humility since it is necessary to elevate the object – the father. This is expressed by the humble form *deurinda* 드린다, which is used instead of *junda*, to show humility.

(3) 나는   동생에게   물을   준다
    naneun donsaengege   mureul junda
    I   to my brother water   give
    'I give water to my younger sibling.'

(4) 나는   아버지께   물을   드린다

naneun abeojikke   mureul deurinda

I   to my father water   give

'I give water to my father.'

In Korean, it is not possible to directly elevate the object, so the subject in action should express humility. *Gaekche nopimbeop* is limited to a few lexical substitutions, which include the already mentioned *deurida* 드리다 'to give' and *juda* 주다 'to give', *boebda* 뵙다 'to see' instead of the neutral *boda* 보다 'to see', and *yeojjupda* 여쭙다 'to ask' instead of the neutral *mutda* 묻다 'to ask'.

Both *juche nopimbeop* and *gaekche nopimbeop* are examples of referent honorification, which is in Korean achieved by two separate processes. *Juche nopimbeop* elevates the subject, while *gaekche nopimbeop* allows the speaker to show their own humility. By doing so, the speakers imply the higher status of the referents and emphasize the symbolic distance between themselves and the referents. Other examples of referent honorifications in Korean include: honorification of noun phrases and honorification of human noun phrases. The former is limited to a few lexical examples. These include *jinji* 진지 'meal' instead of *bap* 밥 'meal', *saengsin* 생신 'birthday' instead of *saengil* 생일 'birthday' and daek 댁 'house' instead of *jip* 집 'house'. The latter is marked by an honorific suffix *-nim* 님. Honorification can also be marked through case marking such as the respectful suffix, which marks the subject, *-kkeseo* 께서 is used in place of the plain particle *-i/-ga* 이/가, while plain indirect object particles *-hante* 한테 and *-ege* 에게 are replaced with the honorific particle *-kke* 께 (Brown, 2008). Honorification of the object can be noticed in previous examples (3) and (4) above. In the first case, the particle following the object is the plain *-ege*, while in the second case, the honorific particle *-kke* is used to express respect towards the father.

2.2   Addressee honorification

Sangdae nopimbeop, which expresses speaker's attitude towards the addressee, is expressed through the choice of several different sentence endings or politeness styles[10] that represent different levels of politeness[11]. They can be divided into two characteristics, namely formality and respectfulness.

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[10] This paper uses the term 'politeness style' to describe different levels of addressee honorifics, which are often referred to as 'politeness levels', 'speech styles', or 'speech levels'.

[11] In this paper the term 'politeness' (in the context of addressee honorifics) is used interchangeably with the term 'respectfulness'. E.g., hasipsioche can thus be treated as either the most polite or the most respectful style.

There is some disagreement amongst linguists on how many politeness styles there are. Hong (2009) points out that from the year 1910 when Ju Si-gyeong 주시경 in his work Korean grammar (*Gugeo munbeop* 국어문법) divided the styles into 'high' (*nopeum* 높음), 'equal' (*gateum* 같음) and 'lower' (*najeum* 낮음), various linguists had proposed their own systems. In 1937, Choe Hyeon-bae 최현배 divided the styles into 'very high' (*aju nopeum* 아주 높음 - *hapsyo* 합쇼), 'ordinary high' (*yaesa nopeum* 예사 높음 - *hao* 하오), 'ordinary low' (*yesa natchum* 예사 낮춤 - *hage* 하게) and 'very low' (*aju natchum* 아주 낮춤 - *haera* 해라); *banmal* 반말 (informal speech, literally: half-speech) was placed between *haera* 해라 and *hage* 하게.

In the following years, several Korean linguists proposed their own taxonomies of politeness styles. One significant challenge they encountered pertained to the classification of the forms *haeyoche* 해요체 and *haeche* 해체. During the 1980s, scholars, such as Seo Jeong-su and Seong Gi-cheol, contributed to the gradual development of a six-level system for classifying politeness in the Korean language. This system comprised four formal styles and two informal styles. The four formal styles include 'very high' (*aju nopim* 아주 높임 (hapsyoche 합쇼체)), 'ordinary high' (*yesa nopim* 예사 높임 (haoche 하오체)), 'ordinary low' (*yesa natchum* 예사 낮춤 (hageche 하게체)) and 'very low' (*aju natchum* 아주 낮춤 (haerache 해라체)). Informal styles include 'general high' (*duru nopim* 두루 높임 (haeyoche 해요체)) and 'general low' (*duru natchum* 두루 낮춤 (haeche 해체 / banmal 반말)). Such a division is still found in Korean school grammar instructions (Hong, 2009).

In this paper, the categorization of politeness styles follows the system proposed in *Shingaejeong oegugineul wihan hangugeo munbeop* 신개정 외국인을 위한 한국어 문법 (Ihm, Pyo, & In, 2005), which divides the system into five styles, with three classified as formal and two as informal. In the following overview of politeness styles, *haoche* is excluded, despite its occasional classification as a distinct style by certain scholars. *Haoche* is considered to be a very archaic style, deemed practically obsolete and not found in contemporary everyday speech. As such it rarely appears in second language education textbooks, mostly merely mentioned as an interesting fact in textbooks for highly advanced learners who already possess a deeper understanding of Korean honorifics.

The most respectful formal style is *hasipsioche* 하십시오체. It allows the speakers to simultaneously convey respect towards the hearer while showcasing their own sense of humility. *Hasipsioche* is employed in official situations to elevate and convey utmost respect towards the hearer, especially during first encounters or when the interlocutors are not very familiar with each other. This style is utilized regardless of the social status of the individuals involved. By using *hasipsioche*, speakers effectively navigate formal settings, emphasizing respect and demonstrating courtesy towards others (Ihm et al., 2005). While not as commonly employed as some other styles, there are certain situations where the use of *hasipsioche* becomes indispensable. It is

practically essential in conversations with individuals that are significantly older or occupying positions of high authority. Furthermore, it is noted that *hasipsioche* is more prevalent among older individuals and among men in terms of gender (Hong, 2009).

Hageche is a formal style neutral with respect to the politeness-impoliteness dimension. It is typically used when the speaker holds a higher position on the social hierarchy or is older in age and is addressing a younger or lower-ranked hearer, but the speaker wishes to avoid highlighting the inequality in status or emphasizing the lower social standing of the hearer. Consequently, *hageche* is considered appropriate when the speaker is older than the hearer, but can also be used in conversations between older speakers who are of similar ages (Ihm et al., 2005). *Hageche* is not often used in everyday language (Hong, 2009).

Haerache is a politeness style that is considered formal but also casual.[12] It is typically employed by older speakers or those who hold a higher social position in relation to their hearers. Moreover, it can be used between speakers of similar ages who are very close and know each other well. *Haerache* is also used in written language, such as books and magazines. In such contexts, this form does not inherently convey an emphasis on the lower status of the reader. Instead, it maintains a neutral tone (Ihm et al., 2005). *Haerache* is prevalent in everyday spoken language, more so than in written language.

Informal politeness styles are typically considered to be "softer" in nature compared to formal ones, as they often convey a greater sense of subjectivity. Consequently, these forms are primarily used between speakers who share a close relationship or familiarity. Moreover, these styles can carry a sense of intimacy between the interlocutors. It is worth noting that within the realm of informality, there are also distinctions based on politeness: *haeyoche* is an informal and polite form, while *haeche* is an informal and casual form (Ihm et al., 2005). Among the different styles of politeness, the informal styles are the most commonly used. They are primarily employed in informal situations, emphasizing a more relaxed and casual tone. However, there are instances where *haeyoche* can be utilized in formal circumstances as well (Hong, 2009). *Haeyoche* and *haeche* do not explicitly express the power dynamics between speakers. In fact, they allow speakers to avoid emphasizing such hierarchical relationships. Consequently, for a long time, these forms have been regarded as distinctive expressions that do not belong to the established system of politeness styles. Today, these *haeyoche* and *haeche* are prevalent in usage, but among linguists, there is still debate regarding their proper classification within the politeness system. The primary reason for this ongoing discourse is their status as relatively recent innovations that reflect an evolving linguistic change. The casual *haeche*, also known as *banmal*,

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[12] According to the dimension of polite-impolite styles like *haerache* are technically considered to be impolite, but since these styles are not inherently rude or impolite, this paper adopts the term 'casual' instead.

does not inherently convey rudeness or disrespectfulness. The perception of politeness always depends on the specific situation and context. Similarly, when the hearer anticipates or prefers a more casual and informal style, *haeche* is considered polite. However, if the hearer expects a higher degree of formality and respect, using *haeche* may be perceived as rude (Kim-Renaud, 2001).

Mixing of different politeness styles often occurs in both informal and formal situations. Even in formal settings, there is a tendency to blend the forms of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* (Sohn, 1999). *Haeyoche* can be used interchangeably with *haerache* and *haeche* to some extent. However, there is no mixing observed between *haeche* and *haerache* with *hasipsioche*. This is primarily due to the significant difference in respectfulness between *hasipsioche* and *haerache* or *haeche* in comparison to *haeyoche* (Kim, 2012).

2.3   Linguistic politeness today

The most obvious change in the Korean language is the disappearance of expressions and forms that emphasize inequality in social power between interlocutors. On the other hand, the deference of speakers according to age and kinship remains. At the same time, speakers today are expected to express themselves in a way that will successfully cultivate positive and harmonic interpersonal relationships. Such demands result in the simplification of the system and creation of new styles, such as *banmal*. In general, forms that are respectful and kind to the interlocutors while not focusing on social power predominate today (Kim-Renaud, 2001).

As the authors mentioned earlier, the Korean language is usually divided into six or five styles, of which three or four are formal and two are informal. However, everyday language differs from theory in many ways. According to Choo (2006) the prevalent politeness styles in spoken Korean today are *hasipsioche*, *haeyoche*, *haerache*, and *haeche*.

Haoche and *hageche* are rare these days. The forms glorify both the speaker and the hearer. They allow speakers to express a superior and authoritative attitude. In today's society, speakers increasingly see these forms as old-fashioned, awkward, and arrogant, even though they express respect for their interlocutor (Kim-Renaud, 2001). As Kim (2012) notes, for young Koreans between the ages of twenty and thirty, these two suffixes are not productive and are not used in their spoken language. However, it is important to note that the absence of these honorific forms in the language usage of today's young people does not necessarily imply that they will never employ them. In Korean culture, there is an expectation that individuals will begin incorporating honorifics into their speech as they grow older and assume higher social positions or engage in more formal contexts (Im, as cited in Kim, 2012).

Kim (2012) also finds that the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* by Koreans aged twenty to thirty is not influenced solely by the division into formal and informal situations. It shows that in an informal situation, *haeyoche* predominates, but *hasipsioche*, or a mixture of both forms, is also often used. More than the dimension of formality-informality, intimateness to the hearer and their status are important in the choice – *hasipsioche* is more often used when the hearer is not close to the speaker and is of high status.

The difference between theory and practice in today's language is also visible in connection to *haerache* and *haeche*. Although *haerache* is usually classified as a formal style, in such situations either *haeyoche* or *hasipsioche* are used instead. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the difference between *haerache* and *haeche* lies in the formality-informality dimension or that they are distinct styles in the politeness system, but the difference is supposed to be connected to the register. Based on this, the system of politeness styles of young Koreans is composed of only three styles: *hasipsioche* as the highest style, *haeyoche* in the middle, and with *haeche* and *haerache*, as two forms of the same style (Kim, 2012). Speech of younger generations and their linguistic preferences are very important in understanding the current status of a certain linguistic phenomenon and in predicting its possible developments, thus, according to the speech of young Koreans, in the future only three styles of Korean politeness may remain.

3   Korean as a second language

3.1   History of teaching Korean as a second language

This chapter provides a brief overview of the historical development of Korean language education as a second language. Due to Korea's geographical location as a peninsular country, it has maintained a long-standing relationship with China. However, prior to the opening of ports in the 19th century, Korea remained a closed kingdom, lacking educational facilities specifically designed for second language learners. Nevertheless, professional interpreters and national educational institutions existed to train individuals in Chinese and Japanese interpretation[13].

It was not until 1959 that the first Korean language Institute dedicated to teaching Korean as a second language was established at Yonsei University. Scholars differ in their classification of the history of Korean second language education. While some consider the establishment of the Korean Language Institute as a significant milestone, Park (2016) argues that second language education in Korea might have already been in existence since 1876, when Korea opened its doors to foreigners. This paper adopts

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[13] Hanguk minjok munhwa daebakgwa sajeon 한국민족문화대백과사전 (n.d.-f).

the classification proposed by Lee Ji-yeong 이지영 (2004, as cited in Park, 2016), which divides the stages of Korean language education development into four periods.

- First Period (Modern Enlightenment – 1958): The period from the modern Enlightenment and the establishment of Korean language education institutions in Korea.
- Second Period (1959-1985): This period corresponds to the tenure of the Yonsei University Korean Language Institute, which played a crucial role in providing Korean language education and the creation of dedicated textbooks.
- Third Period (1986-1997): This period witnessed a remarkable growth in Korean language education institutions and the continued development of textbooks. Furthermore, hosting prominent international events such as the Asian Games and Olympics drew attention to the importance of the Korean language. At the same time, research on task-oriented education approaches gained prominence.
- Fourth Period (1998-present): This period represents a notable shift towards the development of task-oriented, function-integrated textbooks, specifically designed to cater to the needs of diverse learners.

3.2   Changes concerning Korean language learners

South Korea has gained significant popularity in recent years, largely attributed to the global spread of *hallyu*, which popularized Korean popular culture across the globe. *Hallyu*, known as the Korean Wave, first emerged in the late 1990s. Kim (2015) divides it into 4 stages – *Hallyu* 1.0, *Hallyu* 2.0, *Hallyu* 3.0 and *Hallyu* 4.0.

Hallyu 1.0 started at the end of 1990s and has mainly spread across Asia through Korean dramas and movies. It was primarily distributed by overseas Koreans and aimed to boost the Korean tourist industry.

Hallyu 2.0 represents the crucial stage of the *hallyu* development in connection to second language education. This stage began in 2006 and spread across the globe through K-pop idols. The key to successful distribution was the Internet and social media. An important aspect of *Hallyu* 2.0 is the fact that foreigners' interest went beyond simply contemporary K-pop culture, but also focused on traditional Korean culture. Foreigners became interested in the Korean language, Korean food, traditional Korean architecture, and clothing.

Hallyu 2.0 is now gradually developing into *Hallyu* 3.0. that aims to expand traditional Korean culture around the world. *Hallyu* 4.0 will be the next stage which has the potential to develop even further.

Hallyu, especially *Hallyu* 2.0 with its focus on more traditional Korean culture and language, has thus significantly influenced Korean second language education, leading to a notable transformation in the composition of Korean language learners within a relatively brief timeframe. This can be exemplified by the period from 2009 to 2013, during which the Korean language witnessed the highest rate of enrollment growth among all second languages taught in U.S. universities (Goldberg, Looney & Lusin, as cited in Lee, 2018). Moreover, the number of King Sejong Institutes has greatly increased. The King Sejong Institute was established in 2007 and has then comprised thirteen individual institutes in three countries. By 2021, it had established 234 institutes in eighty-two countries (King Sejong Institute Foundation 2022; Munhwa cheyuk gwangwangbu, 2022).

4   Analysis of the Seoul National University LEI textbooks

South Korean universities offer a variety of foreign language textbooks as practically every university offers its own Korean language course with textbooks tailored specifically to their course. This study selected three textbooks published by Seoul National University, namely *Hangugeo 1* (2000), *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* (2013) and *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* (2019).

The following sections first briefly introduce the structure and organization of each textbook, highlighting similarities, differences, and certain changes. As this study aims to uncover changes in use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche*, special focus is dedicated to analyzing the dialogues (and short texts) that are present in each book and the usage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in each textbook.

The three selected textbooks were published in a span of 20 years during the rapid rise of *hallyu*. *Hangugeo 1* was published in 2000 which, according to Kim's (2015) division of the *hallyu* stages, falls under *Hallyu 1.0*, when the Korean wave has primarily been spreading across Asia. *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* was published in 2013 during *Hallyu 2.0* which has spread further around the globe. Finally, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* was published in 2019 when *hallyu* has been reaching new peaks with Korean musicians, film and tv series entering mainstream Western media. *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* can thus be said to be published during *Hallyu 3.0*.

The rise of *hallyu* brought Korean culture and language closer to a new demographic of Korean learners across the globe with new needs, interests, and motivations. To accommodate and satisfy this new structure of learners, textbooks were bound to adapt and tailor their curriculum to a new audience. This study focuses on changes in the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* and how they can reflect not only general changes in Korean society, but also how textbooks have adapted in the era of *hallyu*.

4.1 *Hangugeo 1 (2000)*

The textbook *Hangugeo 1* was first published in 2000 and features an introductory preface and a note to a reader at the beginning of the textbook. These two sections provide an overview of the textbook's structure and its components.

Hangugeo 1 then briefly introduces the contents of its thirty chapters together with the main vocabulary and grammar. The table of contents is placed directly before the core of the textbook.

The textbook initially focuses on introducing the fundamentals of the Korean writing system Hangeul along with a short overview of Korean vowels and consonants. This section also provides guidelines on how Hangeul is correctly written, presents basic vocabulary, and includes exercises to aid in the memorization of Hangeul. Through the thirty chapters, the textbook presents basic Korean vocabulary and grammar. Preceding each chapter, short dialogues or texts are featured, introducing the grammar and vocabulary relevant to the forthcoming chapter. The chapters consist of the following parts:

- Pronunciation (*bareum* 발음)
- Grammar (*munbeop* 문법)
- Vocabulary (*eohwiwa pyohyeon* 어휘와 표현)
- Exercise 1 (*yeonseup 1* 연습 1)
- Exercise 2 (*yeonseup 2* 연습 2)[14]

Following the last chapter, a glossary and a transcription of listening exercises are added.

4.2 *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* (2013)

Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book was first published in 2013. The initial pages of *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* comprise a brief preface and instructions on how to use the textbook. Subsequently, an index is provided, followed by an introduction of characters who serve as guides throughout the textbook, mostly appearing in various dialogues. Similarly to the *Hangugeo 1* textbook, *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* also introduces Hangeul, its characteristics, as well as Korean consonants and vowels in the initial sections. Following the introduction, the book consists of eight chapters, each further subdivided into multiple sections:

- Vocabulary (*Eohwi* 어휘)
- Grammar and Expression 1 (*Munbeopgwa pyohyeon 1* 문법과 표현 1)
- Speaking 1 (*Malhagi 1* 말하기 1)

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[14] In the first four chapters, Exercise 1 and Exercise 2 are replaced by only one section Exercise before the section Vocabulary.

- Grammar and Expressions 2 (*Munbeopgwa pyohyeon 2* 문법과 표현 2)
- Speaking 2 (*Malhagi 2* 말하기 2)
- Listening and Speaking (*Deutgo malhagi* 듣고 말하기*)*
- Reading and Writing (*Ilkgo sseugi* 읽고 쓰기)
- Task (*Gwaje* 과제)
- Culture Note (*Munhwa sanchaek* 문화 산책)
- Pronunciation (*Bareum* 발음)
- Self-Check (*Jagi phyeongga* 자기 평가)
- Translation of the Vocabulary (*Beonyeok* 번역)

The final chapter is followed by the Appendix (*Burok* 부록), comprising a range of materials including activities used in the Task sections of the textbook, comprehensive grammar explanations, insights into specific aspects of Korean culture, transcriptions of listening tasks, an answer key, and a glossary.

4.3   *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* (2019)

The last textbook analyzed, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, was published in 2019.

In this textbook, the first sections also consist of a preface and instructions on how to navigate the textbook. These are followed by an index and an introduction of the main characters featured throughout the book. Chapter 1 focuses on a short overview of Hangeul, including an explanation of Korean consonants and vowels. Chapter 2 is also devoted to mastering the basics of the Korean script, along with an introduction of a few basic Korean words and the first ten cardinal numbers. Towards the end of the chapter, students are introduced to key phrases relevant to classroom interactions (e.g., "Please look" - *boseyo* 보세요) and everyday situations (such as "Sorry" - *mianhaeyo* 미안해요). It is worth noting that students are taught expressions of gratitude and apology in both *haeyoche* and *hasipsioche* styles. For example, they learn the words *gomawoyo* 고마워요 (*haeyoche*) and gomapseumnida 고맙습니다 (*hasipsioche*), both of which convey the meaning of "thank you".

Following the introductory sections, the textbook proceeds with nine chapters, each of which is further divided into two subchapters. Similar to *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, these (sub)chapters are also subdivided into multiple parts. Each subchapter starts with a presentation of new vocabulary, followed by:

- Key Expression 1 (*Haeksim pyohyeon 1* 핵심 표현 1)
- Key Expression 2 (*Haeksim pyohyeon 2* 핵심 표현 2)
- Speaking (*Malhagi* 말하기)
- Listening (*Deutgi* 듣기)
- Task and Activities (*Gwaje* 과제)

At the end of each chapter, there are sections dedicated to specific tasks, namely Reading and Writing (*Ilkgo sseugi* 읽고 쓰기) and Vocabulary Check (*Eohwi hwagin* 어휘 확인). The final Chapter 9 is followed by Appendix (*Burok* 부록) that contains various components, such as activities that are used in the Tasks and Activities sections, grammar explanations, transcriptions of listening exercises, and a glossary.

4.4   Textbooks' structure and characteristics

The establishment of Korean language education institutions for foreigners in South Korea began with the Korean Language Institute affiliated with Yonsei University in 1959[15]. Seoul National University established its Language Education Institute in 1963[16], slightly later, and started providing Korean language education for overseas Korean students in June of the same year. In 1969, the Korean Language Education Center was opened, marking the official start of teaching Korean to foreigners and overseas Koreans.[17]

Among other things offered by the institute, LEI has started publishing its own textbooks that accompany the Korean second language education curriculum as set by Seoul National University. All three selected textbooks were published by LEI in the span of around 20 years – from 2000 to 2019. Since the publisher of all three textbooks is the same, certain similarities, especially in the structure of both the curriculum and the textbooks was to be expected. However, due to the fact that almost two decades have passed since the publication of *Hangugeo 1* and *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* changes and transformations are predicted to have occurred.

The three selected textbooks share a similar organizational structure, in which each chapter is divided into subchapters addressing different language skills essential for language learners, such as reading, writing, pronunciation, and grammar. Additionally, each chapter features dedicated sections containing dialogues or shorter texts that integrate newly introduced vocabulary and grammar. These texts and dialogues serve as the primary data source for the study. However, several notable differences can be observed.

Firstly, in terms of the number of hours designated for the courses, *Hangugeo 1* and *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* both require 200 hours of instruction, suggesting a more comprehensive and in-depth approach to teaching the Korean language. On the other hand, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* has a significantly shorter duration, with only 60 hours of instruction. This presents a major change in the development of the textbooks.

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[15] YSKLI (n.d.).

[16] Eoneo gyoyugwon sogae 언어교육원소개 (n.d.).

[17] Korean Language Education Center, Language Education Institute, Seoul National University (n.d.).

Moving on to the structure of the textbooks, *Hangugeo 1* stands out with its thirty chapters, possibly implying a thorough presentation of various language aspects and topics throughout the course. *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, in contrast, contains a considerably smaller number of chapters, with only eight. Similarly, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* comprises nine chapters, aligning more closely with *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*.

An interesting point to add is the fact that in the preface of the newest textbook *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, it is explicitly stated that the textbook's curriculum 'reflects recent social and cultural changes'. Expressing the authors' attempt in adapting the curriculum to capture and accurately reflect the latest trends, phenomena, and communication styles present in contemporary Korean society. By explicitly acknowledging recent social and cultural changes authors demonstrate their commitment to accommodating the constantly changing needs of Korean language learners. It shows the authors' recognition of the interplay between language, society, and culture, and the importance of incorporating all these elements into language education to enhance learners' linguistic competence and cultural understanding. Finally, the sentence possibly suggests recognition of not only changes within Korean society but also, according to a wider perspective, acknowledging phenomena such as *hallyu*, the increase of Korean learners and the changes of the structure of students learning Korean.

4.5   *Hasipsioche*, *haeyoche* and *haerache*

As previously mentioned, in all three textbooks, the analysis focused exclusively on dialogues and short texts. Starting with *Hangugeo 1*, dialogues or short texts preceding each of the thirty chapters were examined. The use of *hasipsioche* is already observed in Chapter 1, while *haeyoche* is introduced for the first time in Chapter 10. In Chapter 11, a combination of both *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* is introduced for the first time. Within the dialogues and texts preceding each chapter, a total of 233 sentences were examined. Among these sentences, *hasipsioche* appeared 104 times, while *haeyoche* was used 128 times. Additionally, one sentence consisted solely of the word "yes" (*ne* 네), which was excluded from further analysis.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, dialogues appearing in the Speaking 1 and Speaking 2 sections were analyzed. Within this textbook, the initial dialogue in Chapter 1 employs *haeyoche*, while the following dialogue within the same chapter already introduces the student to *hasipsioche*. Notably, in the second dialogue, a combination of the styles is observed, as the form *annyeonghasimnikka* is replaced with *annyeonghaseyo*[18].

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[18] *Annyeonghasimnikka* belongs to *hasipsioche*, and *annyeonghaseyo* belongs to *haeyoche*.

The final occurrence of *hasipsioche* in the analyzed dialogues is observed in the penultimate chapter, within the Speaking 2 section. In this case, the form is not employed in a dialogue context but rather used by a recurring character who is presenting his hometown to other students (in a relatively formal context – a classroom).

In total, the dialogues and short compositions found in the Speaking 1 and Speaking 2 sections comprise 120 sentences. Among these sentences, a significant majority of 106 sentences are in *haeyoche*, while only 12 sentences utilize *hasipsioche*. In addition, two sentences were excluded from the analysis. One sentence is "A, yes" (*A, ne* 아, 네), and another sentence simply consists of the word "Yes" (*ne* 네).

As in previous textbooks, only dialogues were analyzed in *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book*. In this textbook, dialogues are present in each subchapter within the Speaking section. In the first dialogue, *haeyoche* is used, already indicating its predominance throughout the textbook. *Hasipsioche* is encountered only three times. It first appears in the second dialogue in Chapter 7, followed by two instances in the second dialogue in the final Chapter 9. An important point to consider is the fact that even though three instances of *hasipsioche* were found, only one word appears in *hasipsioche*, namely "thank you" (*gomapseumnida* 고맙습니다). Thus, in *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, students have very limited exposure to *hasipsioche* and only ever encounter it in an isolated context.

The dialogues featured in *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student's Book* comprise a total of 115 sentences. Among these sentences, practically all 110 sentences are in *haeyoche*, while *hasipsioche* is employed in only 3 instances. Additionally, the expressions "Ah, yes" (*A, ne* 아, 네) and "Yes, guest" (*Ne, sonnim* 네, 손님) each appear once. As for other textbooks, these two sentences were not counted in the analysis.

Even though this study focused solely on *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* styles, it is important to highlight the absence of *haerache* in textbooks designed for beginners. In the curriculum of *Seouldae Hangugeo textbooks*, *haera*che is only introduced in later books (*Seouldae Hangugeo 2B Student's Book*, lesson 10) after around 600 hours of studying Korean. On the other hand, a change in textbooks can be observed in comparison to *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo*. In the newer books, *haerache* is introduced in *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 4* lesson 3 after 120 hours of learning Korean.

Such developments are welcome as they reflect the changes in Korean society and the evolving structure of Korean students influenced by *hallyu*. Since new Korean students tend to be more interested in pop culture and usually represent the younger generation, it can be presupposed that these students wish to be able to communicate with their peers. To effectively achieve this and build closer relationships with Korean people, a solid understanding of the *haerache* becomes essential. Thus, the fact that *haerache* is being introduced earlier in learners' linguistic journey is great, however, for

these students, it would be necessary to further emphasize the *haerache* in textbooks by providing more comprehensive explanations and additional exercises in this politeness style*. Haerache* is often only briefly introduced in a chapter or two and then tends to appear in a few isolated cases, while the prevalent examples utilize *haeyoche* (or even *hasipsioche*). This point was also highlighted by Choo (1999) who points out that politeness is always relative and even the honorific styles that are traditionally considered to be the most polite and respectful can be impolite in certain situations. For example, if interlocutors wish to express more intimacy and a closer relationship, the most polite styles that express the highest deference can actually be considered rude. Thus, if learners wish to build close relationships with Koreans, particularly with the younger generation, a satisfactory knowledge of *haerache* (and *haeche*) is necessary.

5   Results and discussion

The dialogues and shorter texts within the selected textbooks have undergone significant changes over a span of approximately two decades. In the earliest textbook, *Hangugeo 1*, there was a relatively balanced representation of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche*. Specifically, *haeyoche* was used 128 times, while *hasipsioche* appeared 104 times. Thus, the frequency of *haeyoche* in the *Hangugeo 1* textbook surpassed the frequency of *hasipsioche* by only around ten percent.

An important point to consider is the fact that the *Hangugeo 1* textbook introduces a complete beginner that has no previous knowledge of Korean to *hasipsioche* as their first encounter with the Korean language, a feature that is not found in the other two textbooks. This deliberate choice holds particular significance, as the form initially presented is likely attributed to a high level of importance. It is plausible to assume that the textbook creators perceive *hasipsioche* as crucial for novice learners. Alternatively, they may have intended it to be easier for beginners to comprehend and acquire, due to the perceived simplicity of using *hasipsioche*.

As previously noted, the *Hangugeo 1* textbook presents *haeyoche* for the first time in Chapter 10, which is in contrast with the other two textbooks that introduce *haeyoche* at the outset and only briefly mention the *hasipsioche* form (*Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* does not explicitly mention *hasipsioche* at all).

Another notable characteristic of the *Hangugeo 1* textbook is the inclusion of mixed politeness styles, a feature absent in the other two textbooks. The mixing of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* is found in eleven dialogues. The first instance occurs in Chapter 11 (manifested as *-euseyo* -으세요) , directly following the introduction of *haeyoche* in Chapter 10. In this regard, *Hangugeo 1* immediately introduces the practice of combining polite styles after the first encounter with the new style –

haeyoche. This contrasts with the other two textbooks, where such mixing is completely absent.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* which was first published in 2013, some changes in the use of politeness styles can already be found. *Hasipsioche* is used significantly less than in the *Hangugeo 1* textbook, which was published thirteen years earlier. *Hasipsioche* was only used 12 times and *haeyoche* was used 106 times. Sentences using *hasipsioche* represent only a tenth of all the sentences that appear in the textbook dialogues. However, it should be pointed out that *hasipsioche* already appears in the second dialogue in Chapter 1, which can be understood as a fact that the style is nonetheless considered very useful. It seems that the textbook assumes that *hasipsioche* is still very important for complete beginners and is necessary to acquire it at the initial stage of learning the Korean language. In this first introduction to *hasipsioche*, the style is used in a situation where characters in the textbook meet for the first time and introduce themselves. Based on the illustration next to the dialogue, it can be assumed that the represented situation is relatively formal – characters are wearing formal attire, like neckties, suits, and blazers. In addition, in the first sentence, the character Michael addresses everyone gathered at the table, so the use of the formal *hasipsioche* is more expected than the informal *haeyoche*.

The second appearance of *hasipsioche* occurs in the second dialogue of the penultimate chapter. In this instance, it is used in a public presentation where the speaker presents his birthplace to an audience. As in the first example, where the situation was fairly formal, the public presentation in this case is also relatively formal. Again, an illustration is accompanying the dialogue (in this case, this is instead a monologue), showing a speaker in front of a classroom giving a presentation. Again, the illustration points to a more formal situation where *hasipsioche* is generally expected. Based on both examples, it can therefore be concluded that in this textbook, *hasipsioche* is already starting to be limited to specific, more formal, situations and is not presented as a form that can be used often in everyday situations. In all other cases, such as talking to friends, conversations in a store or restaurant, the textbook uses *haeyoche*. This is a significant difference compared to *Hangugeo 1*, wherein such situations, *hasipsioche* is often used or a combination of both forms is utilized. Notably, the employees typically use the more formal *hasipsioche*.

In *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, there is a strict separation of the two politeness styles and a combination of both forms in a single dialogue (except when *annyeonghaseyo* is used in the second dialogue in Chapter 1) is never used. This can potentially lead novice learners of Korean to erroneously assume that they can only utilize one particular style over the other, without realizing that these styles can be mixed or blended depending on the specific context.

The last textbook analyzed, *Saranghaeyo hangugeo 1 Student's Book*, was published in 2019 and is thus the newest. It uses *hasipsioche* the least, with only

utilizing it three times inside the dialogues. This represents only around three percent of the sentences, compared to *haeyoche*, which is used as many as 110 times and represents a 97 percent share. Moreover, the fact that all three occurrences of *hasipsioche* in this textbook are just the word "thank you" (*gomapseumnida*) cannot be ignored. In this textbook, students do not receive an explicit explanation or a presentation of *hasipsioche*, which is a large departure from the first two textbooks.

Similarly to *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, Chapter 1 is devoted to the acquisition of sentence structures related to introducing oneself. However, one key difference can be noticed: *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* presents exclusively *haeyoche*. The illustrations accompanying the dialogues in the first chapter depict characters engaging in interactions within a classroom and at a freshman welcome party. Both situations are generally regarded as formal, but unofficial. Recently, in such situations the use of *haeyoche* (or even *haeche*) is common, therefore, the use of the informal polite *haeyoche* is expected.

Nevertheless, such a jump from the textbook *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* to *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* is noteworthy, as the latter does not introduce *hasipsioche* to beginners at all. Only six years have passed since the publication of the former and the latter. Such drastic changes in textbooks' presentation of *hasipsioche* offer proof of rapid developments and changes in Korean society, on one hand, and in the structure of Korean learners, on the other. The newer textbook, therefore, assumes that students who encounter Korean for the first time, at least at the very beginning, do not require the knowledge of *hasipsioche*. This decision highlights the emphasis and importance placed on *haeyoche* within the newest textbook.

As shown in Figure 1, there has been a clear trend in the analyzed textbooks. As time passed, *hasipsioche* has rapidly been replaced by *haeyoche*. In *Hangugeo 1*, the styles are utilized practically equally often, while in the latter two textbooks, *hasipsioche* has been disappearing. An additional factor to consider is the fact that changes from *Hangugeo 1* and *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* have occurred over a span of thirteen years, whereas *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* has been published only six years after *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book*, proving just how fast changes in textbooks (and Korean politeness system) have been happening.

Several causes can be attributed to these changes. On one hand, the general evolution of Korean politeness has been shifting towards more informal styles. As language education textbooks aim to provide the most accurate reflections of a language, changes in textbooks were unavoidable.
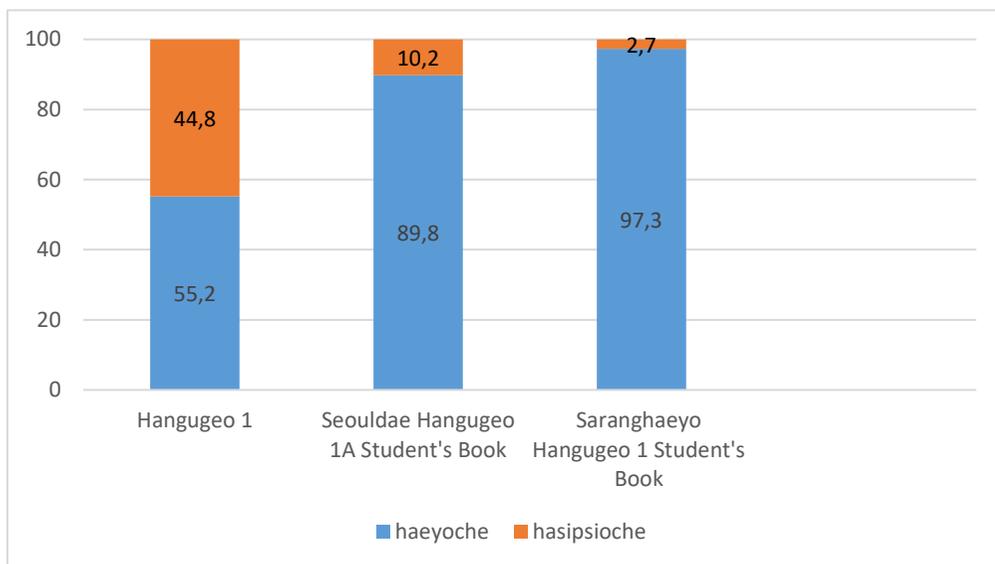

Figure 2: Percentage of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* in analyzed Seoul National University LEI Textbooks (in %)

The changes in the use of *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* can also be linked to Kim's (2015) categorization of *hallyu*. *Hangugeo 1* was published during the latter part of the *Hallyu* 1.0 stage when the wave was primarily spreading across Asia and focused on media contents. On the other hand, *Seouldae Hangugeo 1A Student's Book* was published when *Hallyu* 2.0 was already in full swing. A key characteristic of *Hallyu* 2.0 is the increased interest in traditional Korean culture and the Korean language worldwide. Consequently, the observed shifts between *hasipsioche* and *haeyoche* can be attributed to the growing number of foreigners who wish to learn Korean due to their interest in Korean pop culture. Since in general the majority of foreigners influenced by *hallyu* are younger, the increase of *haeyoche* is understandable. For such learners the most formal politeness styles are not as important and useful (at least not at the start of their Korean language journey) as the polite informal style *haeyoche* or even the informal casual style *haerache*.

Furthermore, *Saranghaeyo Hangugeo 1 Student's Book* was published in 2019, when *Hallyu* 2.0 had been underway for some time, and *Hallyu* 3.0 had likely already begun. The practically exclusive emphasis on *haeyoche* can be attributed to the ongoing evolution of *hallyu* and the increasing number of students who learn Korean primarily due to their interest in Korean pop culture, rather than for business opportunities.

Considering the ongoing trend, the demand for learning Korean is projected to further increase. Therefore, it is imperative to analyze the potential learners in order to develop more satisfactory instructional materials. Current research findings and statistical data indicate that Korean language learners primarily comprise a younger demographic who are drawn to Korean popular culture. In light of this, future materials should be designed to enhance the learning experience by incorporating elements that align with their interests and expose them to a broader range of content. Unlike existing resources that predominantly focus on the polite style (*haeyoche* 해요체), upcoming instructional materials should encompass a variety of situations where both the polite style and the casual style (*haeche* 해체) can be flexibly employed. By considering these factors, more effective and engaging materials can be produced to meet the evolving needs of Korean language learners.

Acknowledgments

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BOOK REVIEWS

"Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi": Book Review

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Abstract

"Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi" is a groundbreaking work on Japanese linguistics written in Croatian language. The book's primary contribution lies in its methodical exploration of diverse facets of the Japanese language and the accomplishments of linguistic research related to it, all while considering the perspective of Croatian and other Slavic languages. By delving into the language's structure, grammar, and unique characteristics from a Japanese perspective, this monograph enriches the reader's comprehension of the Japanese language. As a valuable resource, it caters to both Croatian-speaking Japanese language students and those interested in general linguistics. The book comprises four informative chapters, along with an appendix that covers fundamental aspects of the Japanese writing system.

Keywords: Japanese linguistics, monograph, Croatian language

Povzetek

"Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi" predstavlja je pionirsko delo na področju japonskega jezikoslovja, napisano v hrvaškem jeziku. Glavni prispevek knjige leži v sistematičnem raziskovanju različnih vidikov japonskega jezika in dosežkov jezikoslovnih raziskav v zvezi z njim, ob upoštevanju perspektive hrvaškega in drugih slovanskih jezikov. Z raziskovanjem strukture jezika, slovnice in edinstvenih značilnosti iz japonskega vidika, ta monografija bogati bralčevo razumevanje japonskega jezika. Kot dragocen vir je knjiga namenjena hrvaškim študentom japonskega jezika in vsem, ki jih zanima splošna jezikoslovna tematika. Knjiga obsega štiri informativna poglavja in prilogo, ki obravnava osnovne vidike japonskega pisnega sistema.

Ključne besede: japonsko jezikoslovje, monografija, hrvaški jezik

1   Introduction

The book "Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi" marks a significant milestone in the field of Japanology, as it is the first scientific monograph written in Croatian, catering to the study of not only Japanese but also closely related South Slavic languages. This long-awaited work presents a comprehensive and lucid systematization of knowledge, combining both descriptive and theoretical perspectives.

The monograph is organized into four chapters and an appendix, covering the following:

Chapter 1 is an introduction to language study and the Japanese language. It offers an insightful overview of linguistic approaches and fundamental information about the Japanese language, its speakers, typological classification, and historical development.

Chapter 2 explains basic characteristics of the Japanese language. With it, readers gain a clear and informative understanding of the distinctive features of the Japanese language, setting it apart from Slavic and Indo-European languages. Topics discussed include its agglutinative nature, the role of auxiliary particles, word order peculiarities, ellipsis, adversative passives, as well as the complexities of politeness and formality, which impact both morphosyntax and pragmatics.

Chapter 3 is a part dedicated to phonetics and phonology of the Japanese language. It serves as an introductory guide to the sounds of language and covers essential concepts like phonemes, allophones, and phonotactic constraints. Through a contrastive approach, it highlights the similarities between Japanese and Croatian regarding phonemes. Additionally, prosodic units like mora and syllable are explored, and the accentual system is outlined with illustrative examples.

Chapter 4 deals with the Japanese lexicon. It provides valuable insights into recent scientific discoveries by delving into the lexical layers of the Japanese language, namely native Japanese vocabulary, Sino-Japanese vocabulary, loanwords, and mimetic expressions separately. It also presents significant information about word formation processes in Japanese.

Last but not least, the appendix supplements the monograph by describing the principles underlying the Japanese writing system, known for its intricacy. It includes a table with the Japanese phonetic script hiragana, along with two Latin transcriptions based on different principles, while also detailing the conventions of Latin transcription that reflect the structure of the Japanese sound system.

The above-mentioned chapters will be discussed in detail below.

2   Chapter 1: "Uvod u znanost o jezicima i japanskom jeziku"

A human language is a complex and intricate system of communication that is unique to humans, setting us apart from other species. It encompasses the use of sounds, gestures, symbols, and rules to convey meaning and express thoughts, ideas, emotions, and information among individuals within a community.

The first chapter nicely summarizes various classic perspectives on human language as a phenomenon and serves as a good introduction to the field of linguistics, a multifaceted discipline that explores the structure, evolution, and use of language in all its forms and variations. The authors are well aware of the vastness of the linguistic field; therefore, they narrow down the topic throughout the narrative from various perspectives (genealogical, historical, geographical, social, etc.) to the scope of the linguistic approach to the Japanese language, which they will address throughout the entire book.

Furthermore, the authors provide a detailed description and illustrate with examples various linguistic disciplines. Notably, the inclusion of Croatian and Japanese linguistic concepts enhances the book's value, making it a significant contribution to specialized terminology in both languages.

In addition, there is a very informative subsection that discusses the historical circumstances (political, professional, etc.) of the formation of the terms "kokugo" and "Nihongo." Furthermore, it covers the linguistic approaches of "kokugogaku" and "nihongogaku," which further introduce the field of teaching Japanese as a second language.

Undoubtedly, the chapter stands out for its wealth of information, skillfully drawing from classical works on Japanese linguistics as well as the latest cutting-edge research.

3   Chapter 2: "Osnovna obilježja japanskog jezika"

Linguistic typology is the study of the common structural features and patterns found across languages, classifying them into different types based on shared characteristics. Japanese, within the context of linguistic typology, is categorized as a member of the "subject-object-verb" (SOV) language type. This means that in Japanese sentences, the typical word order is subject-object-verb, where the subject comes first, followed by the object, and the verb appears at the end. Additionally, Japanese is known for its extensive use of honorifics and politeness levels, which influence not only vocabulary but also the overall structure of speech. As a member of the Japonic language family, Japanese exhibits unique grammatical features, such as a complex system of verb conjugations and particles that play crucial roles in indicating grammatical relationships.

Its distinct characteristics make Japanese a fascinating subject for linguistic typology studies and contribute to the rich tapestry of language diversity worldwide.

In this book, the authors skillfully present a wealth of linguistic facts that form the foundation for detailed explanations of morphology and syntax, which are consistently explored throughout Chapter 2. The constant comparisons drawn between Japanese and Croatian morphological and syntactic structures enrich the reader's understanding of both languages, fostering a deeper appreciation of their similarities and differences.

One of the noteworthy sections in this chapter delves into the intricacies of Japanese social structure, interpersonal relationships, and social deixis of the language. The authors offer precise insights into how politeness and respect are conveyed through linguistic forms, as well as the usage of passive structures and verbs related to giving and receiving. This section proves particularly valuable for both local readers seeking to gain a profound grasp of the cultural intricacies embedded in the language and general readers eager to comprehend the complexities of Japanese social dynamics.

Another key highlight is the examination of different types of modality in Japanese, which plays a vital role in adding subtle shades of meaning to language. The authors skillfully illustrate how modality enhances communication, making it more contextually appropriate and nuanced. By providing several representative examples and main references, this section serves as an informative resource for language enthusiasts looking to explore the expressive potential of modality in Japanese communication.

It is important to recognize the interconnections between various linguistic levels. By demonstrating that these levels are not isolated entities, the authors underline the necessity of a comprehensive understanding of the grammatical domain for truly grasping the Japanese language within its natural context. This holistic approach enables learners to utilize the language successfully and coherently, appreciating the intricate interplay of linguistic elements in everyday communication.

While Chapter 2 provides valuable insights into the essential grammatical features from different linguistic disciplines, it does so within a relatively concise space of approximately 30 pages. This brevity, while expected in a comprehensive study of the language, may leave some language enthusiasts yearning for further in-depth exploration and analysis. Despite this limitation, the chapter remains a valuable stepping stone for readers seeking a solid foundation in Japanese linguistics.

4   Chapter 3: "Glasovni sustav japanskog jezika"

Spoken language is recognized as the foremost of human communication and a primary generator of language changes. Least embedded in the rigidity of a written record, it holds up a mirror not only to its own but also to morphological, syntactic, pragmatic,

and other language processes. Its important role is adequately demonstrated in the chapter on Japanese sound structure ("Glasovni sustav japanskog jezika"), which consists of more than forty pages of concisely described Japanese segmental and prosodic information. Nicely incorporating bits of linguistic theories, the author provides readers with a coherent explanation of the Japanese sounds, their phonological system, and some morphophonological processes, discusses the Japanese basic prosodic unit, and ties it up with prosodic characteristics such as Japanese word accent and rhythm. Throughout the chapter – as well as the whole book –, explanations are well illustrated by numerous examples and comparisons with Croatian and are therefore expected to well serve both the students of Japanese and researchers on the Japanese language.

In the introductory part, it is stated clearly that the languages of description and comparison are the Standard Japanese and Standard Croatian language.

The reader's attention is immediately drawn by an interesting approach, in which the author uses some Croatian geographical names and transliterates them into Japanese in order to compare the phonetic composition of the two languages. This approach seems to have a weakness in the sense that the arbitrariness between a spoken language and its writing system might leave the impression that the difference between the two language sound systems is bigger than actual. Also, although the adoption of words seems to be a one-way process, namely that the adopted words would take over the phonology of the target language, we know that with adopted words the sound repertoire of the Japanese language is also expanding (the appearance of palatalized sounds into the Japanese language, the need for expansion of the katakana character system, etc.). While both weaknesses are dealt with in the phonetic and phonological explanation, active sound changes in a language could receive more attention and could offer a reader stronger cross-references to the chapter on the Japanese writing system. Understandably, current language processes are usually weakly represented in the literature and it is difficult to set the appropriate depth of introduction.

Cross-references to other book chapters could also be emphasized in other subsections such as the section on morphophonological processes. The author would thus better demonstrate the mutual interaction between phonological processes and those at other linguistic levels.

Such mutual interactions are nevertheless reported strong within phonology itself, between segmental and suprasegmental processes. As one of the consequences is the formation of the moraic unit as the basic prosodic unit in the Japanese language, which is presented in this work clearly, in a well-balanced manner, and independent of different linguistic views. The prosodic part thus starts with an explanation of Japanese rhythm and nicely bridges it with traditional poetry, language games, and other paralinguistic aspects. There is a detailed description of the Japanese pitch accent, its

basic characteristics, and some extensions to the accentuation on compounds. Interesting is the last remark on the current accentual deviances, which leaves a reader wanting to know more about Japanese accentuation.

In the end, a section on intonation would round the topic down to the level of the actual production of Japanese. On the other hand, it is well-known that intonation is in itself treated as an autonomous grammar, and is perhaps left out on purpose to become a separate volume.

5   Chapter 4: "Leksik japanskog jezika"

Understanding and possessing a rich lexicon, comprising a vast array of words and expressions, holds significant power in shaping how people interact, perceive the world, and express their thoughts and emotions.

Japanese, a fascinating language with a rich cultural heritage, exhibits a unique lexical structure that has evolved over centuries of historical and cultural interactions. Within the Japanese language, we encounter diverse lexical strata, namely the original Japanese or Yamato stratum (和語 *wago*), Sino-Japanese stratum (漢語 *kango*), Western loans (外来語 *gairaigo*) each representing layers of vocabulary borrowed from various sources and assimilated to Japanese in particular ways as in hybrid compounds (混種語 *konshugo*), which are – interesting and welcome – in this book treated as an independent lexical stratum.

These lexical strata thoroughly described in Chapter 4 ("Leksik japanskog jezika") provide valuable insights into Japan's historical connections with neighboring cultures and the global exchange of ideas which stimulates the reader's desire for a deeper understanding of Japanese history, society, and evolution of the Japanese language.

The examination of morphological characteristics unveils a multi-layered landscape, showcasing the fusion of native Japanese words from the Yamato stratum with borrowed terms from the Sino-Japanese and Western loans. The authors skillfully illustrate how these different morphological elements blend harmoniously to express various concepts, reflecting Japan's historical connections with neighboring cultures.

Moving on to phonological aspects, the chapter explores how the pronunciation and phonetic structure of words from the diverse strata have integrated into Japanese phonology. The intricate interplay of sounds and accents demonstrates how the language has adapted and assimilated foreign influences, resulting in a unique phonological repertoire that resonates with both tradition and modernity.

The exploration of semantic characteristics is equally fascinating, as the authors delve into the subtle nuances of meaning found within each lexical stratum. It would be worth noting that native Japanese words carry cultural connotations and evoke a

sense of heritage, whereas Sino-Japanese words bring in complex and formal expressions, enriching academic and literary domains. Additionally, the infusion of Western loans brings a touch of modernity and global perspectives, bridging Japan with the broader international community.

Perhaps a shortcoming that did not go unnoticed is that mimetic vocabulary was left unmentioned in the chapter. Mimetic vocabulary is well-represented in the Japanese language and, like other lexical strata, exhibits distinctive phonological, morphological, and syntactic features. The authors likely omitted it with the intention of addressing it as a separate extensive topic, which it indeed deserves.

6 Appendix: "Japanska grafija"

In the realm of world languages, the Japanese script stands out as one of the most captivating and intricate systems. Drawing inspiration from Chinese characters, where kanji characters are used to represent their tonal and monosyllabic language, Japan faced the challenge of adapting this script to its own agglutinative language. With its rich multi-syllabic and polymorphic vocabulary, which includes inflectional word types, the Japanese writing system underwent extensive modifications to find its perfect match.

In the appendix on Japanese Graphemes ("Japanska grafija"), the evolution of the Japanese script and its necessary adaptations was well illustrated with examples. This seamless integration of various writing systems eloquently illustrates the diverse Japanese lexical strata explored in the preceeding chapter.

However, one can't help but wonder if the authors could have delved deeper into this aspect, particularly regarding recently borrowed words, which find their expression in katakana. This part of the Japanese lexicon proves to be a dynamic soundscape, sparking new combinations of characters beyond the foundational set of 50 characters (50 音図 *gojūonzu*). A notable observation is that the introductory glimpse into the third chapter mainly excludes the newer, more complex katakana characters. This suggests a deliberate decision by the authors, possibly reserving a comprehensive exploration of this vast topic for a future installment in the series.

The concluding part of the appendix brings to light two romanization systems: the widely embraced Hepburn system, commonly found in Japanese language textbooks for foreign learners, and the phonologically-grounded Kunrei system. To enhance the reader's understanding, a more explicit connection between the latter and the preceding chapters on Japanese lexicon and pronunciation, along with phonological processes at the phonetic level, would be highly beneficial. The Kunrei system effectively demonstrates consonant deviations between spelling and pronunciation, as well as the relationships between phonemes and their distinct allophones.

7   Concluding thoughts

The scientific monograph "Uvod u znanost o japanskom jeziku: Osnovna obilježja, glasovni sustav i leksički slojevi" serves as a groundbreaking exploration of the Japanese language, introducing new content and terminology into the Croatian language. The book provides a comprehensive overview of the Japanese language, examining it at all linguistic levels, from phonetics and syntax to semantics, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics. Understanding the cultural and societal differences between Japanese and European languages becomes essential, making the latter aspects indispensable.

The monograph not only embraces contemporary general linguistic and Japanological perspectives but also includes insights from traditional Japanese linguistics. These contrasting interpretations, particularly from the standpoint of Croatian and other Shtokavian languages, offer valuable insights. Additionally, the book contributes to the field of applied linguistics.

While discourse studies could be more prominently represented, this minor drawback doesn't diminish the overall value of the book. It presents stimulating ideas for further comparative research in Croatia and the broader realm of Slavic languages, making it a rich resource for interdisciplinary work. Finally, the label "Volume 1" ("I. svezak") on the cover suggests that this book is merely the first in a series of monographs on Japanese linguistics. Therefore, readers can look forward to more detailed explorations of specific linguistic aspects of the Japanese language in the future.

In essence, the publication of this book represents a significant and crucial first step in integrating the Japanese language and its linguistic form into the Croatian pedagogical and scientific community. Scholars and language enthusiasts alike will find immense value in yet another exploration of Japanese linguistics.

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