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FOREWORD

The Covid-19 pandemic imposes a new way of life on us, and in this new reality, we try in every way to find positive aspects for language studies in particular and science in general. One of such aspects is the switch to online scientific meetings and conferences, which have therefore become more accessible also to language enthusiasts from more remote locations. Besides, the already ongoing digitalization of linguistics in different respects, from teaching and learning materials, linguistic data collection, and others, only seems to accelerate in the situation. And finally, as unfortunate as it is, it nevertheless offers numerous new insights into our social lives. The summer issue of Volume 11 is dedicated though not limited to such insights.

In the first article “A Comparative Corpus-Based Content Analysis of Head of Government Addresses in Response to the Covid-19 Pandemic: Japan and Western Countries” by **Nagisa MORITOKI ŠKOF** discussed the speakers’ perspectives and political orientation in public addresses made by heads of government in Japan, the USA, New Zealand, Germany, and Slovenia in response to the coronavirus disease.

Following, **SAWADA Hiroko** and **INOUE Rizu** in their article “Network for Supporting Education of Foreign Children During Covid-19: Language Assessments as a Tool for Promoting Community Integration” introduce problems of the present Japanese education system, which does not adequately support children whose mother language is not Japanese. Their action research project in collaboration with several schools and one university proposed a support system through online media that would soften the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The third article in this issue was written by **Oleg KALININ**. “Comparative Analysis of Coronavirus Metaphoric Representation in Chinese and Russian Online Media” compared the coronavirus metaphorical image in the online media of China and Russia to find out that their basic difference is in discussing or not discussing the positive outcome of the coronavirus battle, which consequently impacts the public opinion.

WANG Aiqing’s “Causation in Classical Chinese during the Warring States Period and in the Han Dynasty” explores causation in Classical Chinese and shows that the strategies to form causation structures are compatible with a prosodic theory, according to which agentive and causative constructions involving covert causative verbs are prosodic words, while those involving overt causative verbs exhibit properties of phrases.

The article “‘I Am Not Punjabi, My Parents Are’: Degradation of the Language of Dominant Majority” by **Sham HAIDAR, Tehreem WALI, Tehreem TAHIR, and Mehwish**

PARVEEN discuss the present status and explore the predicament of the Punjabi language based on the findings that the Punjabi speakers themselves disown their language and the Punjabi identity due to social, economic, religious, and political reasons.

Last but not least, **Mária IŠTVÁNOVÁ** in her article “On the Use of Corpora in Second Language Acquisition – Chinese as an Example” presents several language corpora and points out advantages of their use in the process of Chinese language acquisition together with some practical examples of the corpora's direct and indirect use for teaching and learning Chinese as a second language.

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

A COMPARATIVE CORPUS-BASED CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HEAD OF GOVERNMENT ADDRESSES IN RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: JAPAN AND WESTERN COUNTRIES

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Abstract

Addresses made by heads of government reflect their views and opinions. This article presents a quantitative content analysis of public addresses made by heads of government of the five countries, namely Japan, the USA, New Zealand, Germany, and Slovenia, which were done in response to the novel coronavirus (Covid-19). Word frequency analysis and hierarchical cluster analysis were used to identify the content specifics of these addresses. The comparative analysis of speeches concerning the novel coronavirus enables us to determine how these addresses reflect the speakers' perspectives and political orientation and what they attempted to convey to the public.

Keywords: content analysis; head of government; public address; analysis of characteristic words; hierarchical cluster analysis

Povzetek

Nagovori voditeljev vlad odražajo njihova stališča in mnenja. Ta članek predstavlja kvantitativno vsebinsko analizo javnih nagovorov voditeljev vlad petih držav, in sicer Japonske, ZDA, Nove Zelandije, Nemčije in Slovenije, ki so bili izvedeni kot odziv na novi koronavirus (Covid-19). Za prepoznavanje vsebinskih posebnosti teh nagovorov smo uporabili analizo frekvence besed in hierarhično analizo gruč. Primerjalna analiza nagovorov v povezavi z novim koronavirusom nam omogoča, da ugotovimo, kako ti nagovori odražajo perspektivo govorcev in politično usmeritev govorcev ter kaj so govorci poskušali sporočiti javnosti.

Ključne besede: analiza vsebine; voditelji(ce) držav; javni nagovor; analiza karakterističnih besed; analiza hierarhičnih razmerij



1 Introduction

In January 2020, the novel coronavirus shook the global public. As infections spread from China, the virus rapidly reached other states across Asia, Oceania, and Europe. With the growing number of ill and deceased, health facilities felt pressure to act as never before. National leaders implemented various measures to deal with the crisis, including the provision of accurate public information, setting up health systems equipped to treat infected patients, restricting freedom of movement, providing financial assistance to small business owners and the newly unemployed, among others. The virus made a strong impact on the lives of people who had thus far been accustomed to freedom of movement and unrestricted public gathering. National leaders addressed their citizenry at the beginning of the pandemic outbreak, outlining the gravity of the situation caused by the novel coronavirus.

Addresses made by heads of government reflect their views and opinions. A public address is also an important factor in influencing public opinion (Katz, 1957; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Nisbet, 2006). This article presents a quantitative content analysis of the public addresses made by five heads of government in response to the novel coronavirus and attempts to highlight the particularities of the Japanese address. These are then compared so as to explore them in greater detail and to try and explain what the leaders wished to convey to the public.

The purpose of this contribution is not to criticize individual governments or the policies of their leadership but to employ an objective analysis of the speeches made in response to the novel coronavirus in different states. A detailed linguistic and quantitative analysis is employed for this purpose.

2 Content analysis and political speech

Social life comprises speaking, writing, reading, and listening – the expression and acceptance of ideas and desires using language. This means that our social activities can be explained by analyzing the content of the language we use for expression. Text content-analysis began in the second half of the 17th century when the Roman Catholic Church feared that non-religious printed matter could threaten the authority of the church and began to analyze the content of printed matter to eliminate non-religious printed matter and preserve its authority. In more modern times, quantitative analyses of newspaper and magazine articles appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Wilcox 1900), followed by content analyses of radio and television news broadcasts.

The world wars motivated analyses of propaganda, and the post-war period boasted analyses of the will of the populace (Lasswell 1949). When the popularization of computer technology in the 1980s made it possible for texts to be analyzed by a wider audience and van Dijk (1993) simultaneously emphasized the need for linguistic

discourse analysis at the level of the text as opposed to being confined to individual words, phrases and sentences, the popularity of text content analysis further grew. Today, content analysis is not limited to mass media, political speech, or literary critique. An analysis of Twitter comments during the 2009 spread of the H1N1 virus (Chew and Eyenbachx 2010), Facebook content analysis during the 2008 American presidential election (Fernandes et al. 2010), and similar analyses of social media (Hsieh and Shannon 2005; Elo and Kyngäs 2008; Skalski et al. 2017) point to just how far content analysis has come today.

This article offers an analysis of public addresses made by five heads of government to their citizens. These speeches may provide an insight not only into the speakers' opinions on the situation and impending measures (Grimmer and Stewart 2013) but also on their political orientation (Pitofsky 1978; Suzuki and Kageura 2011; Krippendorff 2018).

In the addresses analyzed in this article, heads of government explain to their citizens the circumstances surrounding the novel coronavirus and ask for an understanding of the measures they would be forced to implement. We are by now familiar with the leaders' addresses to the public during times of earthquakes, other natural disasters, or war. In this instance, a comparative analysis of speeches concerning the novel coronavirus enables us to determine how these addresses reflect the perspectives and political orientation of the speaker.

3 Data and methodology

Speeches of five heads of government were selected for this analysis - those of Japan, the USA, New Zealand, Germany, and Slovenia. The head of government public addresses of Japan, the USA, Germany, and Slovenia are accessible on the respective government websites. English language translations are also available alongside their source documents in Japan, Germany, and Slovenia and were used for this analysis. Due to their close political, economical, and cultural ties, the USA and Germany were added to the originally selected case studies of Slovenia and Japan. The New Zealand head of government address was selected because of the state's location in Oceania and its geographical similarity to Japan.¹

Texts were analyzed using KH Coder (third version). KH Coder software is used for quantitative content analysis and text mining using methods that include KWIC concordance, collocation statistics, co-occurrence network, correspondence analysis,

¹ Because the government publication of the New Zealand head of government address was not accessible in Slovenia, Dr. Masayoshi Ogino (University of Canterbury, New Zealand) assisted us with access to the publication on Newshub – a website that provides access to radio, television, and digital media news.

self-organizing map, and others. For the purpose of this article, the methods of word frequency analysis and hierarchical cluster analysis were used.

KH Coder uses Stanford POS Tagger software for the morphological analysis of the English language. The table below lists details of the addresses given in each state.

Table 1: Data on head of government public addresses in response to the novel coronavirus

Country	Speaker	Speaker's title	Date of address	No. of sentences	No. of words (different words)
Japan	Shinzō Abe	Prime Minister	7.4.2020	133	3036 (840)
USA	Donald Trump	President	11.3.2020	74	1415 (502)
New Zealand	Jacinda Ardern	Prime Minister	23.3.2020	120	2031 (538)
Germany	Angela Merkel	Chancellor	18.3.2020	106	2151 (581)
Slovenia	Janez Janša	Prime Minister	19.3.2020	99	2066 (641)

The head of government public addresses are analyzed and differences between them are highlighted in the sections that follow.

4 Comparison between states: an analysis of ten characteristic words

In the previous section, comparisons of ten most characteristic words in each head of government address were used to determine the particularities of the speeches. In the following section, the addresses are examined in somewhat greater detail using the method of hierarchical clustering. Approximately 30 nouns and verbs are analyzed using the Jaccard coefficient² and the Ward method³, the most commonly used methods in content analysis. This is used to provide an explanation of the characteristics of the head of government addresses made in the five states and illustrates the circumstances and positions therein described.

² The Jaccard coefficient is to measure the distance between a particular case and a centroid. It considers the occurrence of a code, not its frequency in a particular text (Oleink, 2011, p. 867).

³ The Ward method is used as the clustering algorithm, which assesses cluster membership by computing the total sum of squared deviations from the mean of a cluster. It uses dissimilarities between variables to form clusters. (Tayler, et al., 2012, p. 39)

Table 2: The number of nouns and the number of different nouns in the head of government addresses

Country	Number of nouns	Number of different nouns
Japan	659	322
USA	276	171
New Zealand	369	181
Germany	347	202
Slovenia	390	223

The table below lists the top ten characteristic words in the head of government addresses.

Table 3: The ten most characteristic words in the head of government addresses

Japan	JC*	USA	JC	New Zealand	JC	Germany	JC	Slovenia	JC
people	0.151	virus	0.139	case	0.085	time	0.073	government	0.094
number	0.086	action	0.099	time	0.079	life	0.071	crisis	0.076
facility	0.076	health	0.088	service	0.073	community	0.044	time	0.075
life	0.072	nation	0.067	home	0.055	way	0.043	everyone	0.071
patient	0.068	travel	0.065	today	0.054	everyone	0.042	measure	0.071
effort	0.067	world	0.062	way	0.054	day	0.041	equipment	0.071
business	0.066	restriction	0.049	transmission	0.050	democracy	0.039	day	0.070
cooperation	0.061	American	0.041	hour	0.049	reason	0.038	country	0.065
infection	0.059	outbreak	0.041	community	0.047	restriction	0.036	epidemic	0.059
situation	0.056	relief	0.041	decision	0.041	thing	0.036	place	0.044

*JC: Jaccard coefficient

The central theme of each head of government address may be deduced with the help of the Table 3 above. Nouns related to the economy and society have a high Jaccard coefficient in the Japanese and American addresses and there are fewer nouns that relate to everyday life. In the Japanese address, the word 'people' is particularly common. The Japanese address is not as focused on the methods and measures of dealing with the emergent crisis, providing instead more of an explanation of the circumstances and asks for understanding. The word 'virus' has a particularly high coefficient and there is a frequent demand for action in the American address. The words 'nation', 'American' and 'world' also appear.

By contrast, the New Zealand address includes the word 'community', as well as 'time', 'today' and 'hour', suggesting a rapid transmission of the coronavirus. Words like 'community', 'life', and 'democracy' are more prevalent in German speech as is the word restriction. The Slovenian address focuses on the state of emergency of the 'epidemic', the resulting international 'crisis' and draws attention to forthcoming 'measures'.

In the Japanese address, the word 'people' has a relatively high Jaccard coefficient. A careful look at its use reveals that the word 'people' is accompanied by numbers and quantitative adjectives in seven of the twenty-two times it is used. Following are two examples of the use of the word 'people'.

- (1) If the infection continues to spread at this pace, two weeks from now more than 10,000 *people* will be infected, and a month from now that number will top 80,000. [Japan]
- (2) The frightening aspect of this infectious disease is that many people who have contracted it have no fever or other symptoms whatsoever, and it spreads by them infecting *people* around them without anyone realizing it. [Japan]

It may be observed that the Japanese head of government refers to numerals and quantitative adjectives to provide a more concrete explanation of the situation. Such usage also explains why the noun 'number' is the second most frequently used.

In five of the twenty-two times, the word 'people' is used synonymously with 'citizens'. For example:

- (3) We have determined that this situation could cause significant damage to *people's* daily lives and to the national economy. [Japan]

There are other cases where the word 'people' is used to address the audience synonymous with to use of the pronoun 'you':

- (4) I ask *people* to refrain from going out, aiming at a 70 to 80 percent decrease, for the limited period of one month between now and the end of Golden Week holidays on May 6. [Japan]

Example (4) is an indirect address to the audience using the word 'people', but in the original Japanese text, this word corresponds neither with the semantic connotation in the sense of the word 'people' nor it is synonymous with the pronoun 'you' as in example (5).

(5) その効果を見極める期間も含め、ゴールデンウィークが終わる

Sono kōka o mikiwameru kikan mo fukume, gōrudenuīku ga owaru

5月6日までの1か月に限定して、7割から8割

gogatsu muika madeno ikkagetsu ni genteishite, nanawari kara hachiwari

削減を目指し、外出自粛をお願いいたします。

sakugen o mezashi, gaishutsu jishuku o onegai itashimasu.

This makes it impossible to determine whether such use of the word ‘people’ is actually derived from the Japanese expression when giving a speech or from the translator’s choice of words. It is however clear that in his request that advised measures be followed, the Japanese Prime Minister avoids addressing the public directly and instead uses an expression that applies to all citizens, and therefore, to the entire audience. In this way, he asks the public for ‘cooperation’ that will enable them to overcome the current ‘situation’.

5 A comparison of different states: analysis using the method of hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs

In the previous section, a comparison of the ten most characteristic noun words in each head of government address was used to determine the particularities of the speeches. In the following section, the addresses are examined in somewhat greater detail using the method of hierarchical clustering. Approximately 30 nouns and verbs are analyzed using the Jaccard coefficient and the Ward method. In this way we will be able to provide an explanation of the characteristics of the head of government addresses made in the five states and illustrates the circumstances and positions therein described.

5.1 The Japanese address: ‘ask’ and ‘cooperation’

The results of the hierarchical cluster analysis of nouns and verbs of the Japanese address are depicted in Figure 1. In the first cluster, the Prime Minister announces action (‘action’) and asks (‘ask’) for understanding on the implementation of measures (‘measure’) that are designed to ‘avoid’ the spread of infection. In the second, the Prime Minister mentions the danger of being infected by the virus (‘infection’, ‘risk’, ‘virus’) and protecting people’s lives (‘protect’, ‘life’, ‘citizen’), and in the third, he speaks about a state of emergency (‘emergency’, ‘state’). In the fourth cluster, he discusses the ongoing cooperation (‘continue’, ‘cooperation’) of citizens with health workers and facilities (‘facility’) that will receive patients. The fifth cluster refers to the number of patients (‘number’, ‘patient’), which must be reduced (‘reduce’). The final

cluster refers to the economy. Here, he calls on people to exert effort in overcoming the coronavirus.

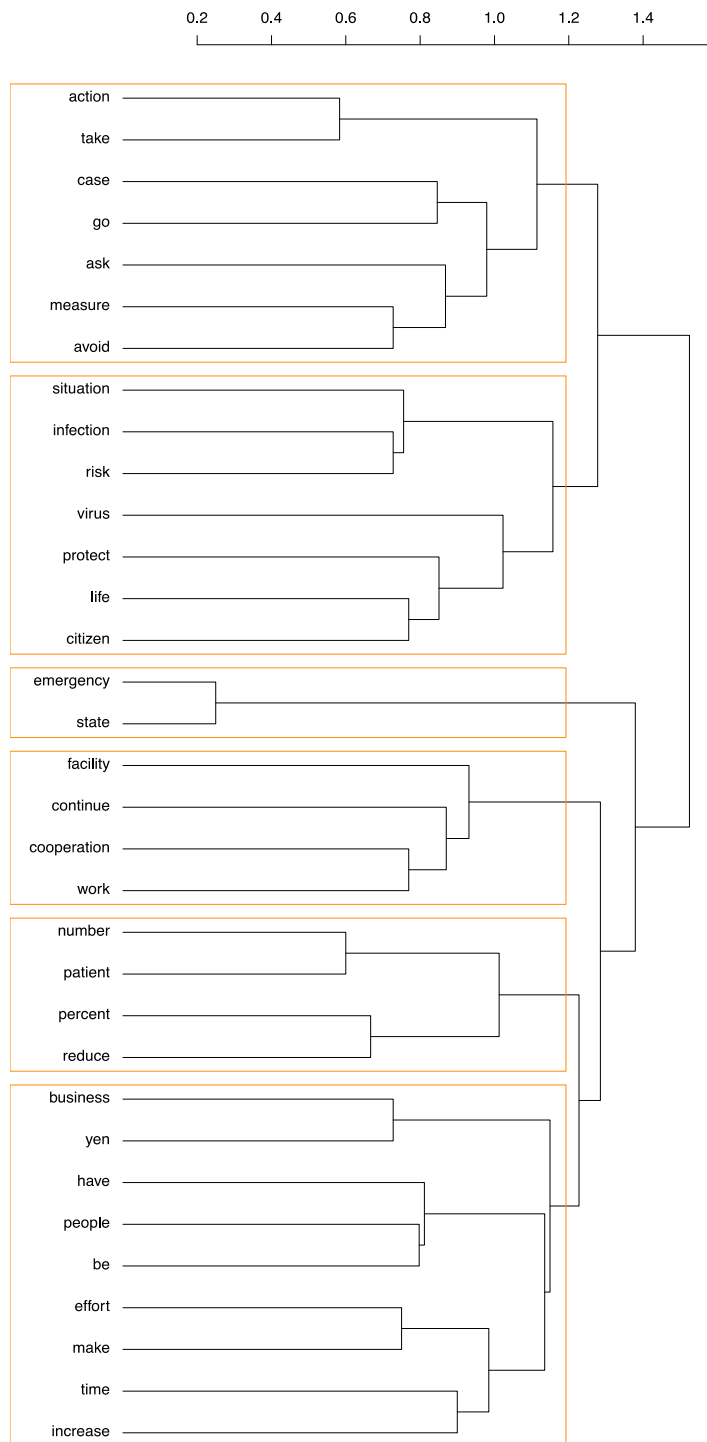


Figure 1: Hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs (33 words) of the Japanese address

The Japanese address mentions specific amounts when referring to the provision of financial assistance during the pandemic.

(6) Towards that end, we have decided to implement economic measures at a scale of *108 trillion yen*, equivalent to *20 percent of our GDP*, which is even one of the largest in the world. [Japan]

(7) For businesses whose sales have dropped significantly, we will provide *2 million yen* to small- and medium-sized corporations as well as those relatively larger corporations and *1 million yen* to individual owners. [Japan]

One of the particularities of the Japanese address is the frequent use of the word 'ask'. The table below illustrates the number of times the verb 'ask' and the noun 'restriction' appear in the addresses of each head of government.

Table 4: Frequency of appearance of the words 'ask' and 'restriction'

Row	Japan	USA	New Zealand	Germany	Slovenia
Ask	14	2	5	1	2
Restriction	0	4	2	4	2

The word 'ask' notably appears very frequently in the Japanese address. By contrast, the keyword restriction, which in the American and German addresses occupies seventh and ninth place in the characteristic words, respectively, was not used in the Japanese address at all. The reason for its absence may be attributed to the fact that it was not possible to impose restrictions ('measure', 'restriction') concerning the novel coronavirus in Japan. Consequently, the leadership could provide citizens only with advice on how to curb the spread of the virus.

Also common in the Japanese address are the words effort (sixth-most characteristic word) and cooperate or cooperation ('cooperation'; eighth-most characteristic word).

Table 5: Frequency of appearance of the words 'effort' and 'cooperate/cooperation'

Row	Japan	USA	New Zealand	Germany	Slovenia
effort	9	1	0	1	1
cooperate/cooperation	9	0	0	0	3

Below are two examples of the use of the word 'effort'.

- (8) However, even with many such *efforts* underway, the number of patients is soaring, particularly in urban areas such as Tokyo and Osaka. [Japan]
- (9) The business owners who are now gritting their teeth and making their best *efforts* now in the midst of this truly tough time present Japan's underlying strength. [Japan]

The phrase such efforts in example (8) refers to the passage of the address that directly precedes it: 'Owing to the cooperation with healthcare institutions, electronics manufacturers and hotels, a healthcare system for receiving infected persons has already been established in Japan.' Example (9) emphasizes people, especially small- and medium-sized business owners who must continuously invest effort into their work, which has now only been exacerbated by the novel coronavirus epidemic.

This may be compared with the use of the word effort in the Slovenian address.

- (10) Everyone with a command of military knowledge and skills who is not working in a critical job is invited to volunteer to join the collective *effort* to provide general security. [Slovenia]

'Effort' in the Slovenian address refers to tackling difficult obstacles that must be overcome to reach a particular goal. On the contrary, the choice of words is somewhat different in the Japanese address, where it is suggested that something is always urgently required to maintain the set goal. This reflects another particularity unique to the Japanese address.

'Cooperate/cooperation' appears nine times in the Japanese and three times in the Slovenian address. Following is one example from each.

- (11) I ask for your *cooperation* once more. Even in the midst of total uncertainty and great unease, hope is unmistakably emerging. [Japan]
- (12) Thanks are due to the members of the Civil Protection Service throughout the country, and to all of the members of the Crisis Staff, who responded without hesitation to my request to *cooperate*. [Slovenia]

In both addresses, the word cooperation is used to express the desire for people to act. The difference lies in this being expressed as a request (ask) in the Japanese address, while in Slovenian, the Prime Minister links this expression to his leadership ability since the Crisis Staff decided to act on his initiative. In his address, the Japanese Prime Minister expresses gratitude to individuals and to local governments for their cooperation.

- (13) I appreciate sincerely the *cooperation* of each and every citizen. Quite frankly, we cannot overcome this state of emergency through sole efforts by the national and local governments. [Japan]

The Japanese address is not about overcoming the crisis owing to the Prime Minister's leadership ability, but about expressing a desire for people to cooperate since this is the only means by which they can overcome the virus.

5.2 The American address: 'action' and 'economy'

The results of the analysis of 31 verbs and nouns are depicted in Figure 2. In the first cluster, the President draws attention to economic threats (business, emergency) and uses the promise of action in an effort to calm the citizenry. This is followed by information on the restriction of travel ('restriction', 'travel') (second cluster), protecting people ('protect', 'people') against health risk ('health', 'risk') (third cluster), the treatment ('treatment') of patients, and reducing ('reduce') the number of those infected by the virus ('virus'), which is a threat ('threat') (fourth cluster) and of conditions at that particular point in time ('time'), which poses a challenge ('challenge') to what the country must overcome ('overcome') (fifth cluster). The final cluster includes expressions related to the outbreak ('outbreak'), the economy ('economy'), and the comparison of the USA ('nation') to the rest of the world ('world').

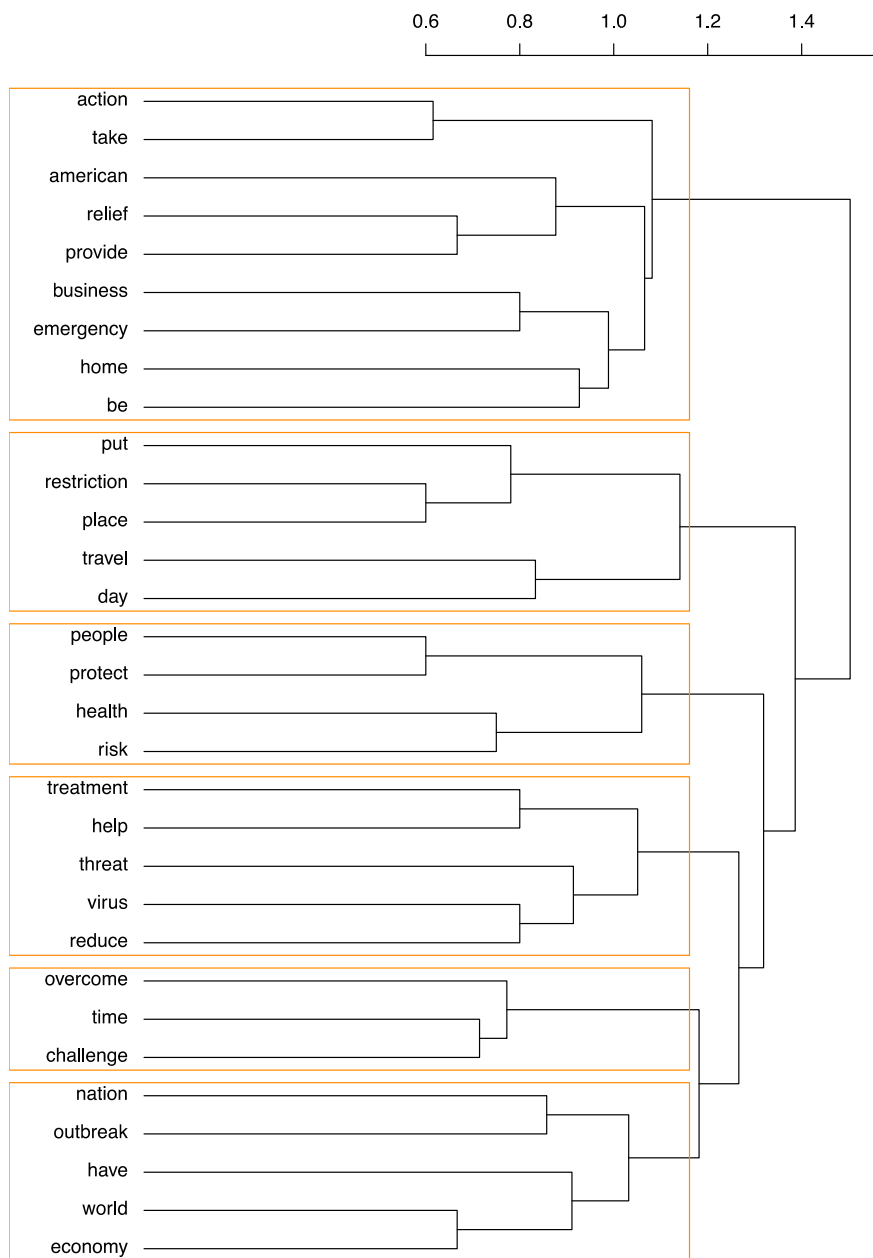


Figure 2: Hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs (31 words) of the American address

A characteristic of the American address is warning people to stay at home ('home'). Several categories also include expressions related to the economy ('economy', 'business') (first cluster), 'economy' (sixth cluster)), as is evident in examples (14) and (15).

(14) These low-interest loans will help small *businesses* overcome temporary economic disruptions caused by the virus. To this end, I am asking Congress to increase funding for this program by an additional \$50 billion. [USA]

(15) This action will provide more than \$200 billion of additional liquidity to the *economy*. [USA]

The address of the President of the United States also lists concrete monetary values concerning economy. The address indicates that there is a greater focus on providing support for the economy.

Another particularity of the American address is the use of proper names of states, which appears more frequently in the American address than it does in others. Proper names were not included in the analysis of the ten characteristic words in Section 4 or the hierarchical clustering method analysis in the current section but are provided in the Table 6 below.

Table 6: Use of proper names of states and regions that appear in the address of the President of the United States

State, Region	Frequency of repetitions
Europe/European Union	6
China	5
The United Kingdom	1
South Korea	1

Below are two examples of the use of the proper names ‘European Union’ and ‘China’.

(16) The *European Union* failed to take the same precautions and restrict travel from China and other hotspots. [USA]

(17) We made a lifesaving move with early action on *China*. [USA]

The American address was delivered in March 2020, when the coronavirus that was first reported in China spread across Europe with explosive speed. For this reason, the President criticizes the EU for failing to curb the number of visitors from China, and China, which presumably failed to implement measures to protect those infected in time.

Italy is mentioned once in both the Slovenian and New Zealand addresses:

- (18) We were watching the events unfold in northern *Italy* and we didn't believe that the virus could get here faster than Rome or Sicily. [Slovenia]
- (19) We currently have 102 cases. But so did Italy once. Now the virus has overwhelmed their health system and hundreds of people are dying every day. [New Zealand]

In the Slovenian and New Zealand head of government addresses, Italy is mentioned as an example of a country where the infection began to spread early but no criticism of Italy is discernible. It may thus be concluded that the President of the United States adopted a much more critical view of China and the EU compared to other heads of government.

5.3 The New Zealand address: 'Stay' and 'home'

Following is the analysis of the New Zealand head of government address. Like the United States, New Zealand is part of the English-speaking world and like Japan, it is an island country in Oceania. In this sense, it may be deduced that, in regard to the spread of disease, the perspective of the head of government of an island state may differ from the perspectives of the heads of government of mainland states which share direct land borders with other countries.

The results of the hierarchical clustering analysis of nouns and verbs are depicted in Figure 3. Given that the Prime Minister delivered her speech just 48 hours ahead of implementing measures, the expressions that frequently appear in the New Zealand address include 'time' (sixth cluster), 'today' (fourth cluster), and 'hour' (first cluster). The word time is the second most characteristic word, 'today' is the fifth, and 'hour' is the eighth. This characteristic word 'hour' already becomes apparent in the first cluster, which is concerned with access to services changing over time.

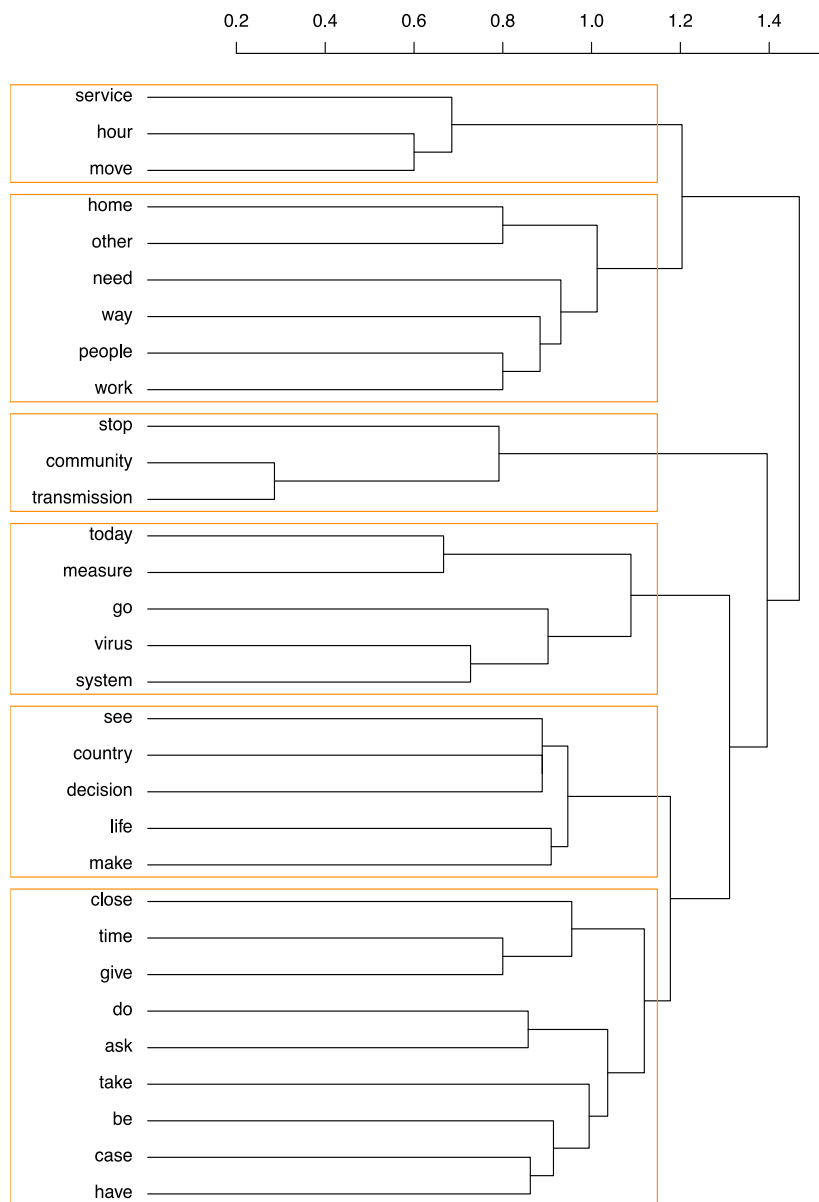


Figure 3: Hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs (31 words) of the New Zealand address

The second cluster contains phrases related to work ('work') from home ('home'). The third is related to the stop of transmission of disease within the community ('community'). The fourth notes that from the day of the delivery of the speech onwards ('today'), measures ('measure') will be implemented, and acknowledges that the virus threatens the system ('system') – in this case, the health system. The fifth cluster indicates that this is a decision ('decision') of the entire country ('country'), and the last cluster is concerned with the closure ('close') of educational and other institutions, and with the cases ('case') of infection.

In the New Zealand address, the word ‘transmission’ is used six times and is the seventh most characteristic word. In those six times used it four times appears in the form of a compound noun ‘community transmission’.

Following are the examples from the New Zealand address.

- (20) Right now, we have a window of opportunity to break the chain of *community transmission* – to contain the virus – to stop it multiplying and to protect New Zealanders from the worst. [New Zealand]

In example (20) the head of government voices the opinion that stopping the transmission of the virus in the community is of paramount importance. The word ‘home’ appears in the address seven times, placing it in the fourth place of the ten most characteristic words (Table 3).

- (21) *Staying at home* is essential. [New Zealand]

- (22) To be absolutely clear we are now asking all New Zealanders who are outside essential services to *stay at home*, and to stop all interactions with others outside of those in your household. [New Zealand]

In the New Zealand address, the Prime Minister tells the citizenry that the most effective way to prevent infection with the novel coronavirus is to stay at home and to cut off contact with the community. Because the virus is spread through everyday social interaction, the Prime Minister requests that people do not leave their homes.

5.4 The German address: ‘democracy’ and ‘community’

Analysis of the German address follows. The results of the hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs are depicted in Figure 4.

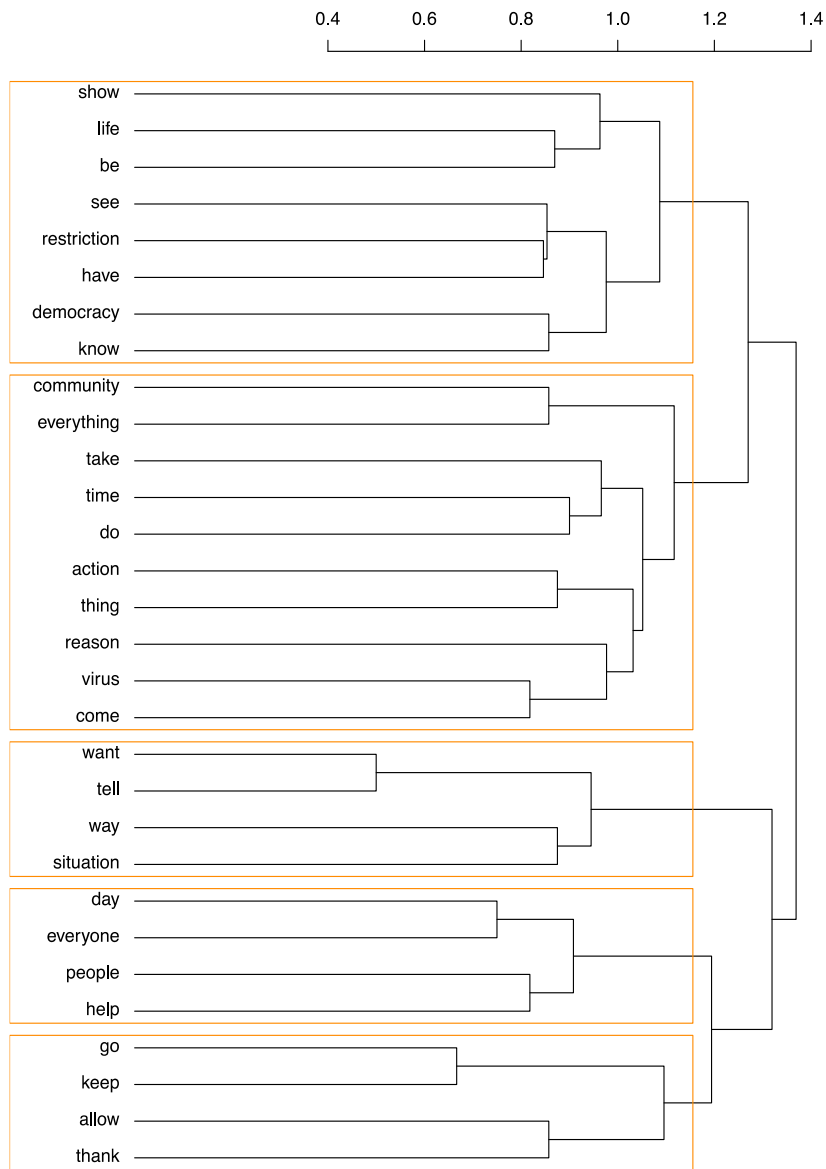


Figure 4: Hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs (30 words) of the German address

In the first cluster, the word restriction ('restriction') appears alongside the seemingly incompatible expression democracy ('democracy'). Here, the Chancellor discusses the link between measures being implemented against the novel coronavirus and democracy. In the second cluster, she announces that the time ('time') has come for the entire community ('community') to take action ('action') to overcome the virus ('virus'). In the third cluster, she expresses the desire for a clear explanation ('want', 'tell') of the current situation. In the fourth cluster, she emphasizes the meaning of mutual ('everyone', 'people') assistance ('help') and in the fifth, she expresses gratitude ('thank').

The word 'democracy' appears four times in the German address and is the seventh most characteristic word. 'Democracy' does not come up in other speeches. The examples below demonstrate the use of the word 'democracy' in the German address.

(23) I know how invasive the closures that the Federation and the Länder have agreed to are in our lives, and also in terms of how we see ourselves as a democracy. [Germany]

(24) These should never be put in place lightly in a democracy and should only be temporary. [Germany]

The Chancellor asserts that the measures and closures during the spread of the novel coronavirus will not violate the rules of democracy. This also explains the simultaneous appearance of the words 'restriction' and 'democracy' in the second cluster. These words are therefore used to emphasize that the temporary restrictions for curbing the spread of the novel coronavirus will not affect the hard-earned democracy that Germany has established since the Second World War.

Like the word 'democracy', the word 'allow' is also a particularity of the German address. Examples (25) and (26) depict the use of the word 'allow'.

(25) And 'allow' me to express my thanks to those who are too seldom thanked. [Germany]

(26) But, above all, time to 'allow' those who fall ill to receive the best possible treatment. [Germany]

In the German address, the word 'allow' appears in the phrasal verb 'allow me' in three of the four times it is used. In example (26), this word is used about the provision of access to medicine for the sick. This use of the word 'allow' demonstrates the attitude of the German Chancellor toward the country's citizens, who she asks for permission to take a particular action.

The word 'allow' also appears twice in the Japanese address, but not in the form of the phrasal verb 'allow me'. Following are examples from the Japanese address.

(27) What is most important to reduce the burdens on medical care is not 'allowing' the number of patients to increase. (Japan)

(28) We must not 'allow' your efforts to come to naught. (Japan)

The word 'allow' that is found in the Japanese address appears in the negative form. This use reflects the urgency in the need to prevent specific dangerous situations. The

political position conveyed by the use of the word 'allow' in the German address is linked to democracy and to the idea that government action directly serves the people.

5.5 The Slovenian address: 'war' and 'danger'

The results of the hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs are shown in Figure 5. The first cluster contains phrases that are related to the expression of gratitude ('thank'), the second contains phrases that compare the current situation to the gravity of war ('country', 'state', 'war'), and the third contains phrases related to government measures ('government', 'measure') for curbing the spread of infection ('epidemic'). The fourth cluster contains a reiteration of the expression of gratitude ('thanks'), now clearly directed at citizens ('citizen') and employees. The final cluster refers to Slovenia's preparedness ('provide', 'reserve') to deal with the current situation ('crisis') in reference to adequate equipment ('equipment').

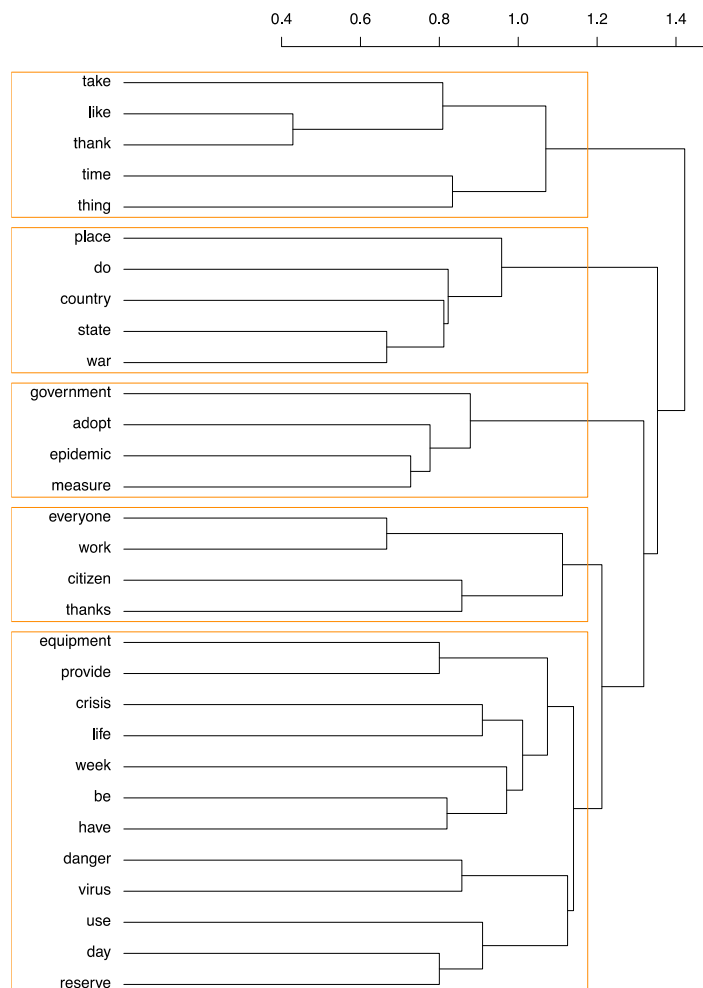


Figure 5: Hierarchical clustering of nouns and verbs (30 words) of the Slovene address

Following are examples of the use of the word '*war*' in the Slovenian address. '*War*' is not mentioned in the third section of this study (analysis of the ten characteristic words), as it appears in the Slovenian address only four times. But it appears more frequently and expresses a slightly different meaning of the word by comparison to the other addresses. Below are examples:

- (29) The danger is worse than in a traditional *war*, except when biological weapons are used. [Slovenia]
- (30) In Europe today, there are countries that have already been critically affected by the epidemic, countries that due to the epidemic and due to delays are on the edge of chaos and have declared a traditional state of emergency and a state of *war*, two countries that had adequate defences against epidemics in place, and the majority of others that are improvising, although this is being done by well-established and mostly well-organised state apparatuses. [Slovenia]

In the Slovenian address, the Prime Minister describes current circumstances as being potentially worse than war, thereby drawing attention to the gravity of the current situation. In example (30), he refers to the fact that some other countries are also under dangerous circumstances, using the word '*war*'.

The word '*war*' appears in the German (once) and in the Japanese addresses (twice), as shown below.

- (31) Since German reunification, no, since the Second World *War*, there has not been a challenge for our country in which action in a spirit of solidarity on our part was so important. [Germany]
- (32) It is no exaggeration to say that both the global economy and the Japanese economy are now truly facing the greatest crisis in the post-*war* period. [Japan]

In example (30) and (31) the word '*war*' is used to denote a particular point in time (the Second World War). Therefore, in the Slovenian address, the word '*war*' highlights the gravity of the current situation, whereas in the German and Japanese addresses, it highlights a concrete point in history.

The following examples contain the word '*danger*'. This word appears in the Slovenian address four times but does appear in the other four addresses, except as an indirect adjective in the American address in the form of '*dangerous*'. Example (33) illustrates the use of the word '*danger*' in the Slovenian address and example (34) illustrates the use of the word '*dangerous*' in the American address.

- (33) The *danger* is worse than in a traditional war, except when biological weapons are used. [Slovenia] (The same as example (29) above)
- (34) From the beginning of time, nations and people have faced unforeseen challenges, including large-scale and very *dangerous* health threats. [USA]

In example (33), the word ‘danger’ in the Slovenian address is used to highlight the gravity of the current whole situation, whereas in the American address, the word dangerous is used to highlight the harmfulness of the disease. From the use of the words ‘war’ and ‘danger’, a conclusion can be made on the views of the Slovenian Prime Minister – he describes the situation as very serious.

6 Conclusion

This analysis has compared the contents of addresses made by five heads of government – Japan, USA, New Zealand, Germany, and Slovenia – in the wake of the novel coronavirus. Firstly, ten most characteristic keywords of each address were examined and compared. Based on the results and the hierarchical cluster analysis of verbs and nouns, a comparison of the particularities of all five addresses was implemented. From this data, conclusions were drawn concerning the positions and political orientation of each head of government.

This study has concluded the following results. A particularity of the Japanese address and the address of the President of the United States is the citation of concrete numbers to explain how the government would assist in economic recovery. In the address of the President of the United States, there also appears criticism of other states. A particularity of the Japanese address is the expression of gratitude for the efforts made so far and the request for further cooperation. After World War II, the United States had a strong influence on Japan in politics, economics, and culture. In the two addresses, we see similarities in the heads of government’s citations of concrete numbers to explain how the two governments would protect their economies, but we find a significant difference in the leaders’ attitude toward their citizenry. In his address, the President of the United States attempts to reassure citizenry with the promise of implementing measures under his leadership, while in Japan, the Prime Minister asks the citizenry for cooperation. Present results suggest that further observation on the leaders’ attitudes, their roles in governments, cultural differences when giving a speech, leaders’ personalities, and other aspects should be included to make detailed conclusions.

In the New Zealand address, the Prime Minister emphasizes the critical nature of the current situation and asks people to stay home to prevent the uncontrolled spread of the virus within communities. Her approach was not to focus on listing concrete

measures to be implemented but to express the desire for people to understand what further action they could take to prevent the spread of infection.

The Slovenian address tackles the crisis by the implementation of measures under government leadership. In the German address, the Chancellor points out that measures taken to deal with the novel coronavirus will have an impact on people's lives but also assures this should not compromise democracy, established in Germany after World War II. Notwithstanding the close historical, political and economic ties between Germany and Slovenia, a substantial difference in the focus of their respective leadership may be observed.

Looking at the results of our analysis, we must not forget that the addresses of the heads of government of different states reflect various elements, including the political, such as the role of the head of government, the type of political system and attitude towards citizenry, democracy, and others.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

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NETWORK FOR SUPPORTING EDUCATION OF FOREIGN CHILDREN DURING COVID-19: LANGUAGE ASSESSMENTS AS A TOOL FOR PROMOTING COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

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Abstract

The rising number of foreign residents in Japan has caused the number of children with foreign backgrounds in Japanese schools to increase. The present Japanese education system does not adequately support children whose mother language is not Japanese, and their educational problems have turned into social issues. We have conducted an action research project in collaboration with several schools and one university to determine how to develop a support system through online media that would soften the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. We argue that language assessment is the key to driving the project and sharing the results of the assessment analysis with all project participants works effectively to promote collaboration between schools, families, and the university.

Keywords: online learning; foreign children; dialogic language assessment for Japanese as a second language; basic interpersonal communication skills; cognitive academic language proficiency

Povzetek

Naraščajoče število tujih prebivalcev na Japonskem je povzročilo, da se je število otrok tujega porekla v japonskih šolah povečalo. Sedanji japonski izobraževalni sistem ne podpira ustrezno otrok, katerih materni jezik ni japonski, in njihove izobraževalne težave so se spremenile v socialna vprašanja. V sodelovanju z več šolami in eno univerzo smo izvedli akcijski raziskovalni projekt, da bi ugotovili, kako razviti sistem podpore prek spletnih medijev, ki bi omilil vpliv pandemije novega koronavirusa. Trdimo, da je jezikovno preverjanje ključnega pomena za vodenje projekta, in izmenjava rezultatov ocenjevalne analize z vsemi udeleženci projekta učinkovito spodbuja sodelovanje med šolami, družinami in univerzo.

Ključne besede: spletno učenje; otroci tujcev; dialoško ocenjevanje za japonščino kot drugi jezik; osnovne veščine medosebne komunikacije; kognitivno znanje akademskega jezika



1 Introduction

Increasing economic globalization reflects in the rapidly increasing number of international migrant workers. This trend is not only observed in Europe but also in Asia, including Japan. Although the 2008 financial crisis caused a temporary decrease in the number of foreign residents in Japan, this number has again been increasing since 2012, reaching a record of 2,933,137 by the end of 2019. However, the outbreak of coronavirus disease in 2020 (Covid-19) resulted in restrictions on foreigners' entry into the country, which caused the number of foreign residents in Japan to drop by 1.6% to 2,887,116 by the end of 2020.¹

Along with Covid-19's effects on the influx of foreigners into Japan, other problems such as the social isolation of foreign migrant workers' families from their local communities have also become apparent. In this article, we focus on an associated issue, namely the education of children from foreign workers' families. We discuss the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the support systems for children of foreign migrant workers and provide an overview of the action research we conducted concerning this problem.

2 Japanese language education system for foreign residents

2.1 Language education for foreign residents in Japan

The number of foreign residents in Japan is about 2.3% of the total population, which is a low percentage compared to European countries; in some towns in Tokyo, Aichi, and Osaka Prefectures, however, the percentage is as high as in European countries, reaching 10% to 20% of the population. The rising numbers of foreigners who have settled down in Japan have, however, revealed that many foreign residents lack the ability to participate in the community.

Unlike countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and Germany, where the national government takes the initiative and is responsible for language education so that foreign residents can settle in the country and lead a full cultural life, there has been no Japanese language education for foreign residents at the national level in Japan. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (AOCA) began evaluating Japanese language education for "foreigners living in Japan" in 2008, and it has since 2010 proposed and published several standard curriculum plans, guidebooks, examples of teaching materials, proficiency assessments, assessments of execution, and handbooks.²

¹ This information comes from a survey by the Japan Immigration and Refugee Management Agency, https://www.isa.go.jp/en/publications/press/nyuukokukanri04_00018.html.

² Materials are available on the AOCA website

https://www.bunka.go.jp/seisaku/kokugo_nihongo/kyoiku/nihongo_curriculum/.

However, in the absence of a national policy for training language instructors and for securing financial resources, these efforts remain at the level of proposals and have not yet been disseminated throughout the country.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), published in 2001, is widely used in foreign language education and assessment around the world. It is, for example, used in the language education system guaranteed to immigrants in Germany.

The Japan Foundation released its 'JF Standards' in 2010³ based on the concepts of the CEFR. As with the CEFR, proficiency in Japanese is expressed in six levels (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2), and can-do descriptors are presented for each level. The concept of proficiency-based language education is gradually becoming popular in Japan, and several textbooks based on this concept have been published. However, this philosophy is not yet widely understood by the general public, and it has not yet been applied to the public language education system guaranteed to foreign residents.

Given these circumstances, the Law on the Promotion of Japanese Language Education was promulgated and enforced in June 2019. This law states that all foreign residents, including children, should be guaranteed the maximum opportunity to receive Japanese language education, which is a responsibility of national and local governments. Consequently, Japanese local governments have started to work on creating a system to provide Japanese language education for foreign residents in cooperation with various stakeholders.

2.2 Education of foreign children⁴ in Japan

The number of children with foreign backgrounds concurrently rises together with the increasing number of adult workers that have settle in Japan. According to a 2019 survey by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), 4.4% or 5,023 of the 123,830 school-aged foreign children in Japan are enrolled in international schools, while 84.8% (96,370) are enrolled in compulsory-education schools.⁵

The MEXT compulsory-education program does not include a special curriculum for non-native speakers of Japanese, meaning that these children must learn the

³ For a detailed explanation visit the Japan Foundation's website (<https://jfstandard.jp/>).

⁴ The expression "foreign children" is often replaced by "children with foreign roots", "children whose mother tongue is not Japanese", or "children who need Japanese language instruction". In this paper, however, it is used as a term, in the same sense as "foreign students", which is an established term in the school education system by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

⁵ *Results of the Survey on the Schooling Status of Foreign Children*, published by MEXT in March 2020 (https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/31/09/1421568_00001.htm).

language while concurrently adapting to Japanese school life. Foreign children in Japan consequently show comparatively high rates of non-attendance at classes or even non-enrollment in school, low rates of high-school enrollment, and high dropout rates, which is mainly due to children's insufficient Japanese language skills and their inability to adapt to school life (Kojima, 2016).

In 2014, the Enforcement Regulations of the School Education Law were amended, allowing compulsory-education schools to organize special-education programs to provide Japanese language instruction for foreign children. However, these programs have not become sufficiently widespread, mainly as a result of a shortage of teaching staff with the expertise to organize Japanese language acquisition programs.

2.3 Community-based support systems and their limitations

Recently, citizen volunteers have been mobilized to estimate the lack of Japanese-language instruction in public education. In many cases, non-profit organizations, international associations, and volunteer groups comprising pupils' parents help support Japanese language learning. Sometimes volunteers rent public spaces in communities and hold Japanese language classes after school; alternatively, volunteers collaborate with school teachers to establish Japanese language classes in schools. Many volunteers are not experts in Japanese language education but have years of involvement in local activities and experience working with children.

In the early 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic closed down public life and with it Japanese language classes for approximately four months. However, after schools reopened, it took a relatively long time for Japanese language classes to reopen, with some of them being suspended entirely because as a non-public services they exclusively depended on citizen volunteers.

To solve social problems in school education, it is important to secure local residents' cooperation; however, from the experience with the Covid-19 epidemic we can conclude that such an approach represents a weakness in times of emergency. Thus, new approaches are needed to create a sustainable education-support system for foreign children.

3 Designing action research

3.1 Online Japanese language learning support

3.1.1 Collaborative project with a prefectural university

The Law on the Promotion of Japanese Language Education, which went into effect in 2019, states that it is the responsibility of the national and local governments to

enhance opportunities for Japanese language education for children. Ibaraki Prefecture, where the University of Tsukuba is located, started the Global Support Project in 2019 and has begun to work on building a system to support Japanese language education in elementary and junior high schools with the help of NPOs and other organizations.

As part of the Global Support Project, the University of Tsukuba, operating under the contract for the Ibaraki Prefectural Board of Education, commenced a model project in 2020 in which university students provide online learning support for foreign children. The original motivation was not the epidemic, but rather to create a support system for Japanese language instruction in suburban schools, which can be difficult for volunteers to access due to insufficient public transportation. Recently, students at the University of Tsukuba have become increasingly interested in the issues facing children, and numerous university students wanted to help foreign children with the Japanese language. However, the soft power of student volunteers cannot be fully utilized because of the difficulty in accessing suburban schools (Osada et al., 2021; Sawada et al., 2021).

This project aims to create a system in which educational effects are mutually circulated. Such a system would, first, help schools receive necessary educational support despite the insufficient Japanese language education resources in the area, and second, help universities to nurture citizens who could thereafter support the growing multiculturalism in Japan. The Covid-19 epidemic has increased the significance of online Japanese language support systems, as physical contact between people has been restricted.

3.1.2 Training ‘Japanese language supporters’

Meetings between representatives of the program and school personnel began in June 2020. Nine children from two junior high schools in Ibaraki prefecture participated in this project. Some of these children had been living in Japan for only three months, while others had been born and raised in Japan. Many children had Filipino heritage, while others had Thai, Vietnamese, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan backgrounds. All were experiencing some form of learning difficulties.

Fourteen students from the University of Tsukuba participated in the program as Japanese language supporters. Their role was to help the children learn Japanese. Ten of the university students were majoring in Japanese language and culture, two of them education, one humanities, and one of the students majored disability science. Twelve of the fourteen students were also enrolled in teacher training courses to obtain their teaching licenses. All were at least second-year students, and all had taken introductory or specialized courses in Japanese language education. However, while four students had experience teaching Japanese in Japan or abroad, the other ten students were new to teaching Japanese.

These students were trained in Japanese language instruction through a five-week university course (three hours per week) in July and August of 2020. The course had three goals for students, namely (1) to develop and stimulate empathic attitude towards foreign children, (2) to design a class combining Japanese language learning and subject learning, and (3) to develop online teaching skills. During the course, the university students watched and discussed videos of interviews with Japanese language schoolteachers and volunteers to deepen their understanding of the difficulties foreign children face with. The students also participated in a workshop to create a 50-minute lesson plan where they practiced making class activities using mathematics as an example, and they learned how to use visual aids effectively using screen sharing in a video conferencing system.

The students started as Japanese language supporters in October 2020. From their homes, they connected with children from a junior high school via a Zoom online video conferencing system and conducted 50-minute sessions of Japanese language support three times a week over six months (October 2020–March 2021).

They prepared their own online materials by referring to the *Marugoto* textbook and changing contents to fit the children's daily life situations. The Japanese language supporters designed lessons based on the can-do descriptors necessary for daily life so that children could learn in a fun way. Although a high level of expertise is not needed to develop such teaching skills, a basic understanding of proficiency-based language teaching is necessary. For their support activities, the students were awarded university internship credit.

3.2 Community cooperation linking schools, families, and universities

Our primary concern about a study design was how to create an online support system that would stimulate a person-to-person interaction. We consequently developed a system which would deepen cooperation among all stakeholders that support children's education and monitor their growth: schools, families, and universities, as shown in Figure 1.

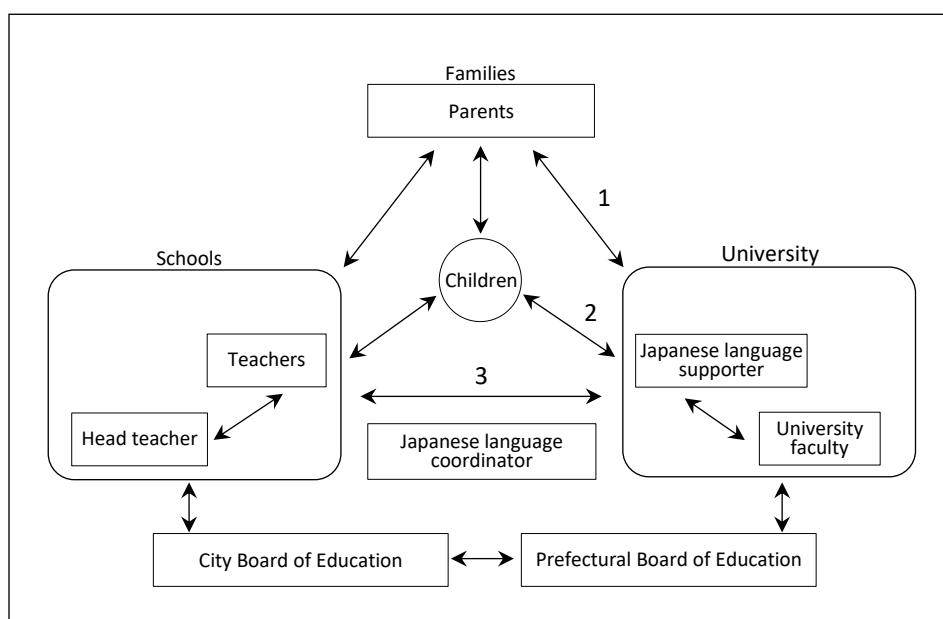


Figure 1: Community cooperation linking schools, families, and the university

The participants' roles in the project were defined as follows.

CHILDREN Non-native Japanese junior high school pupils who study three times a week with Japanese language supporters.

PARENTS Children's parents or guardians who supervise their learning at home.

JAPANESE LANGUAGE SUPPORTERS University students who have completed a five-week training course and provide Japanese language support to children.

UNIVERSITY FACULTY Professors who design and implement the project on behalf of the Prefectural Board of Education, and train and advise Japanese language supporters.

JAPANESE LANGUAGE COORDINATOR The liaison who coordinates stakeholders, implements Japanese language assessments, and develops support plans based on assessment results.

TEACHERS Junior high school instructors who set up equipment and supervise learning activities when Japanese language support is provided.

HEADTEACHER The administrator who oversees projects, teachers, and curriculum within the junior high school.

CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION The administrative group that supports junior high schools under the guidance of the Prefectural Board of Education.

PREFECTURAL BOARD OF EDUCATION General director of this project, which provides guidance and budgetary support to the City Board of Education and the University.

3.2.1 Briefings and interviews with children and parents

Before commencing the Japanese language support program, we held a briefing session with children and their parents or guardians involved in the project. We explained the Japanese language program and emphasized that family support is also important for developing children's ability to live in Japanese society. After that, we conducted a semi-structured 30-to-60-minute interview with the parents to assess their readiness and needs, collecting information on language use at home, children's learning environments, and parents' beliefs and desires regarding their children's education and career paths. Based on the information obtained in interviews we developed the curriculum. For each child, interpretation and translation materials were prepared based on the education elements required.

3.2.2 Japanese language supporters' roundtable with children

After the five-week training and before the start of Japanese language support activities, the university students visited the school and had a two-hour exchange session with the children they would be teaching. The purpose of this meeting was to encourage self-disclosure through talking about daily life and to provide an opportunity for face-to-face interactions, which could promote mutual trust before the commencement of online learning support. The university students carefully listened to the children describe what they liked at school and what they found difficult, their opinions on learning Japanese and other subjects, and how they wanted to overcome those difficulties. Hearing the children's thoughts and feelings helped the supporters build relationships in which the children saw them as reliable companions rather than merely trainers in Japanese language instruction.

3.2.3 Japanese language supporters' liaison meeting with school teachers

To coordinate administrative matters between the school and university, we recruited a Japanese language coordinator. This coordinator was a specialist in Japanese language education and conducted Japanese language assessments for children. Liaison meetings during and at the end of the semester involved the school, university students, and the Japanese language coordinator. At these meetings, the coordinator shared the results of the assessments, while the Japanese language supporters discussed the children's progress, and the school teachers provided information about the school environment. This setting, where the children's condition and growth could be shared, prevented the support program from becoming a closed online space. The

meetings also allowed the university students to connect with the local community and experience the responsibility and joy of participating in educational social activities.

4 Language assessment and enriched community collaboration

4.1 Background, features, and structure of the DLA

Cummins (1979) differentiated language proficiency into basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), used in everyday communications, and communicative academic language proficiency (CALP), related to cognitive and learning abilities. According to Cummins, CALP is the specialized language used in a workplace, business, economics, science, politics, and others. In school, CALP is needed to understand contents in learning situations correctly and to express one's own opinions. Krashen and Brown (2007) showed that CALP consists of two abilities, knowledge about language and knowledge about the subject matter, and positioned language acquisition for acquiring knowledge of a subject as a necessary tool for human independence and the primary goal of education.

For children in Japan to acquire the language skills necessary for academic learning, they must receive systematic Japanese language instruction. Most foreign children can acquire Japanese BICS in approximately two years of schooling, while age-equivalent CALP takes over five years (Nakajima, 2010). Among many foreign children in Japan, even those born there or who have lived there for a long time, Japanese language development is often limited to BICS (Sakurai, 2018). Children's language operational and thinking skills are affected in many ways by their mother tongue, actual age, age of their arrival to Japan, and length of stay. Therefore, we chose not to use a standardized test, such as a paper or group test, but an interactive performance test to determine each child's potential.

To assess the children's Japanese language skills, we used the dialogic language assessment for Japanese as a second language (DLA) developed by MEXT (2014). The DLA can be used to assess not only daily conversational ability in Japanese but also Japanese language proficiency in the context of academic studies; it can also be used to identify the kind of learning support the child needs. The DLA is also unique in that the process of administering the test represents an opportunity for learning.

The DLA comprises six assessment tools: introductory conversation, vocabulary check, speaking, reading, writing, and listening. The introductory conversation and vocabulary check are always conducted first, as these are used to determine whether the subsequent skill-specific tests can be administered. The four skill-based tests, speaking, reading, writing, and listening, should not be administered together but at times that suit the child's situation. After these assessments, the child's Japanese

language ability is ranked in terms of six stages, referred to as the Framework of reference for Japanese as a second language (Table 1).

Table 1: Framework of reference for Japanese as a second language

Stage	Level of potential engagement in class activities
1	Has begun learning the elements of the Japanese language required for school life
2	Has some familiarity with the elements of the Japanese language required for school life, but requires assistance
3	Can understand daily-life-related topics and can, with assistance, participate in class activities to some extent
4	Can understand daily-life-related topics and can participate in-class activities to some extent
5	Can understand topics related to academic subjects and can participate in class activities with some support
6	Can understand topics related to academic subjects and can actively participate in class activities

There are no special qualifications required to conduct the DLA and analyze its results, and all the implementation and evaluation methods are available on the MEXT website. Training videos are also available and provide a clear overview of the assessment process and points to consider.

These assessments can be implemented as (1) diagnostic assessments performed at the beginning of Japanese language learning support to assess children's Japanese language ability, (2) formative assessments conducted during Japanese language learning support to understand the children's learning process and identify areas of weakness, and (3) summative assessments performed at the end of the school year to forecast the children's future abilities and inform teaching plans for the next term.

To ensure a comprehensive understanding of each child's actual situation and create appropriate instructional plans, it is necessary for all parties involved in the support program to use a common assessment tool. If all stakeholders interact with the child on a daily basis, it is possible to use non-assessment-based methods, such as multifaceted observations of the child's language development while they perform daily activities; such methods have been found to be relatively effective (Furukawa et al., 2016). However, when stakeholders outside of the school such as university students, university faculty, and boards of education are involved, as was the case in this program, the DLA represents a very effective tool for sharing the challenges that children face and for building a support system in which all involved work to achieve a common goal.

4.2 Visualizing the challenges children experience

If stakeholders are not aware of the difficulties the children face, learning support will not be successful. Children participating in our program seemed to enjoy school life generally, talking with friends and actively participating in physical education and music time. Despite this, however, school teachers felt that the children needed some support because their academic test scores were low. The DLA is helpful in this regard because it defines the Japanese language ability of each child individually and provides suggestions about the kind of support they need.

The DLA speaking assessment includes a basic task to measure the child's ability to answer questions regarding daily life; an interactive task to measure their ability to lead a conversation, such as "asking a friend to play soccer" or "politely apologizing for breaking a window"; and a cognitive task to measure their ability to talk about specific topics, such as "explaining the causes of global warming." Table 2 shows an excerpt from a Tagalog-speaking student's DLA evaluation sheet for speaking, conducted about one year after this student came to Japan from the Philippines. The Japanese language coordinator carried out the assessment and analyzed and evaluated the results.

Table 2: A student's DLA (speaking) evaluation sheet

	Pct of correct answers	Questions the child could not answer
Introductory conversation (16 questions)	88%	What do you do with your friends? What do you like about Japanese schools?
Vocabulary check (55 questions)	75%	Eyelashes, lips, (cow) horns, (cat) whiskers, branches, roofs, drawers, erasers, maps, drivers, doctors, firefighters, wings, wear
Basic task (18 questions)	100%	None
Interactive task (11 questions)	27%	Card (4) B/ (i) Ask a friend. Card (5) (i) Introduce yourself. Card (6) Invitation to friends (i) Start a conversation. (ii) Extend an invitation. (iii) Consult and decide the time and place. (iv) End the conversation. Card (7) (i) Describe what happened or what you did. (ii) Apologize.

Cognitive task (1), (2) (9 questions)	17%	Card (11) Global warming (See an illustration of the causes of global warming and the earth crying.) (i) Describe why the earth is crying. (ii) State what we can do to stop global warming. (iii) Explain the factors that contribute to global warming. Card (12) Earthquake (i) Have you ever been in an earthquake? Describe what happened to you. (iii) Explain the mechanism of the earthquake.
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In the evaluation sheet shown in Table 2, the most striking feature is that the child could answer all questions in the basic task correctly, while only 27% of those in the dialogue task. This means that the student was able to have short conversations with her friends in the context of school life but was unable to communicate independently to initiate a dialogue and build a relationship. This difficulty would have been overlooked if the child was only observed having happy conversations with her friends. Additionally, in the cognitive task, she answered only 17% of the questions correctly, which indicates that she did not have enough vocabulary to learn the subject matter and compose a discourse on it.

We administered the DLA to all nine children and completed an evaluation sheet for each. We shared these results with the teachers at the children's schools. We ensured that the teachers understood the DLA's composition and purpose, and carefully explained how to interpret the results. The following three cases feature comments made by school teachers after they had examined their pupils' DLA results:

- Case 1: The headteacher at the school said, "I thought she had a better understanding of the Japanese language because she usually understands the teachers' instructions and can work with her friends in school, but now I see that this behavior is a result of her strong ability to understand situations, and not her language ability."
- Case 2: Another child's homeroom teacher said, "I see; that's right, I was wondering what I could do to help him, because he can usually converse easily, but cannot write essays." This linked the DLA analysis to her usual observations of the child.
- Case 3: The headteacher at another school mentioned how the assessments had influenced her to change her teaching approach: "Now, when I explain something to my children, I try to think of the best way to communicate, and I check that they understand the words that describe the key details."

Analysis of these responses from the school teachers showed that the DLA had three effects: (1) teachers noticed weaknesses in the children's language ability that

had previously been obscured, (2) they began to understand the reasons for certain language weaknesses they had observed but could not explain, and (3) once they had obtained an accurate understanding of the children's difficulties, they began to think of better ways to teach.

In this way, the Japanese language coordinator's assessments helped stakeholders define the children's difficulties; this led the schools in our project to develop an understanding of the importance of Japanese language learning support and greatly contributed to the creation of a strong relationship of trust between the university and the school.

4.3 Curriculum rationale and clear guidelines for support

The DLA also helped strengthen cooperation among the Japanese language supporters. Three university students formed a team and took turns providing Japanese language support for each child, with each supporter giving one of the three lessons provided each week. Team meetings, in which they discussed the contents of the lessons for the children were held online weekly.

An important part of this process was the children's Japanese language support plan. The Japanese language coordinator conducted the DLA, wrote an evaluation sheet, and developed a Japanese language support plan for each child. As shown in Figure 2, the Japanese language support plan was based on the results of the DLA, highlighted the elements to be prioritized, and provided a timeline and curriculum for future support.

Student name			
Japanese ability	Implemented on Monday, Sep 28, 2020 (DLA/speaking). It was judged that the subject was at stage 3 on the JSL evaluation reference scale.	JSL evaluation reference scale	Speaking ability 3
Support priority items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I can relay a rich and cohesive story, providing explanations, reasons, and opinions. ▪ I can compose paragraphs using both simple and complex sentences. ▪ I can select vocabulary suitable for the topic and content and use it correctly. (Including vocabulary concerning academic subjects) 		

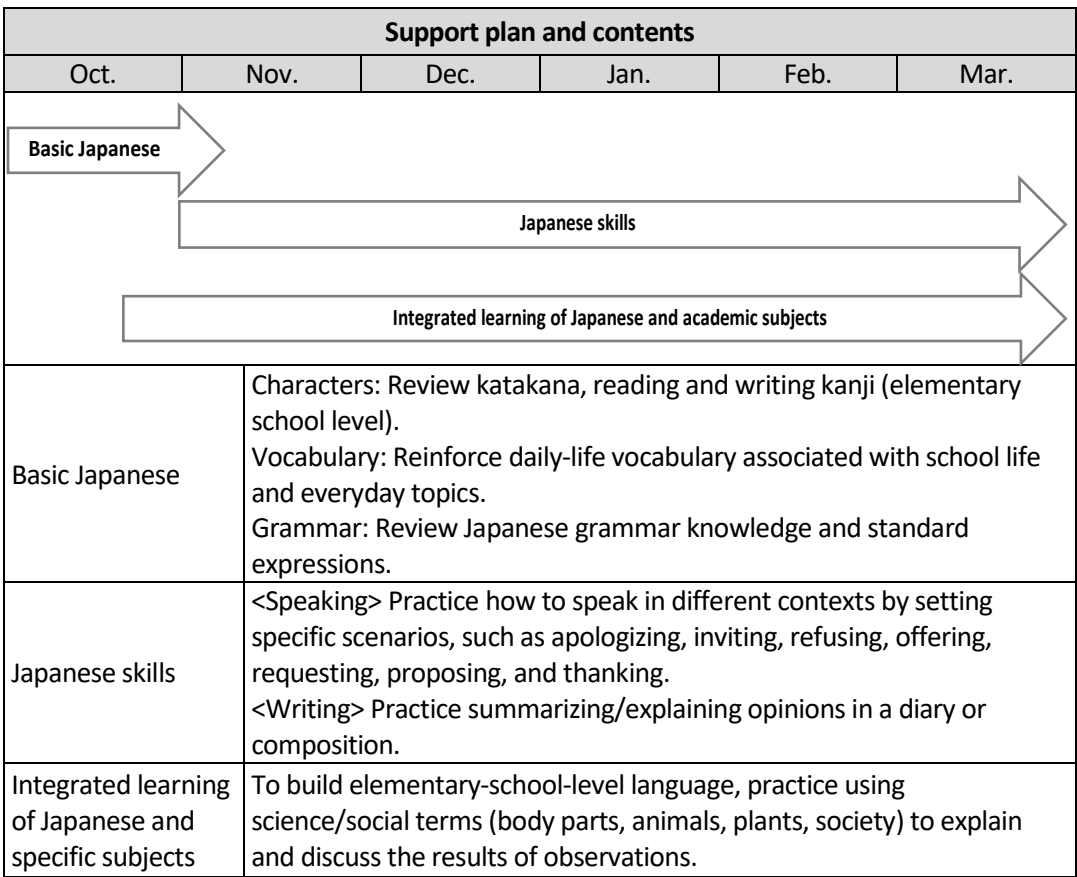


Figure 2: Japanese language support plan

The child whose DLA analysis is presented in Figure 2 was capable of having short conversations involving single-sentence answers but had difficulty initiating dialogue and communicating coherently without assistance. Therefore, the focus of the support was to teach the child how to combine multiple sentences into a coherent conversation based on a Japanese language curriculum that included opinion-writing practice and dialogue practice for situations such as “inviting” and “apologizing” (elements in which, according to the DLA, the child experienced difficulties). Additionally, as the child had not fully developed CALP and was unable to explain topics related to academic subjects, the plan commenced with exercises aimed at improving understanding of academic language to help integrate Japanese language study with academic subject study.

The university students who provided Japanese language support to the children in this project had different levels of experience in teaching Japanese, and some were teaching Japanese for the first time. Understanding children’s difficulties does not automatically translate into being able to create a suitable support curriculum immediately, and it was helpful to have a Japanese language coordinator to outline individualized support plans. Further, it was important that Japanese language supporters had a good understanding of both the DLA evaluation sheet, which

represents the rationale for the curriculum, and the individual support plan, which provides specific guidelines for support. We believe that the understanding of both elements among our Japanese language supporters allowed them to collaborate as a team and effectively implement this project.

4.4 Formative assessment: sharing the joy of children's growth

In this project, the Japanese language coordinator conducted DLAs every 10 weeks to provide regular data regarding the children's level of Japanese. The DLA as a formative assessment had a positive impact on the children, on their Japanese language supporters, on the teachers in schools, and on each school as a whole.

The DLA provides an assessment of children outside the classroom, and children who score low in subjects can monitor their progress through changes in their DLA results. We have noticed that the accumulation of such small successes can foster a positive attitude toward the DLA: with the help of their Japanese language supporters, the children themselves tried to prepare for their DLAs to achieve better results. The effectiveness of such assessments was also noted by Shimada (2014) in her implementation of the oral proficiency interview test.

The formative assessment provided through the DLA also motivated Japanese language supporters. Although it is sometimes difficult to measure a child's progress when providing daily learning support, the DLA results obtained at 10-week intervals afforded a visualization of each child's progress, which helped the Japanese language supporters maintain a positive attitude. The DLAs were an effective means of sharing the joy associated with observing the children's growth.

Also, school teachers improved their ability to monitor children's language skills. We conducted questionnaires and interviews with school teachers before, during, and at the end of the program. Before the program started, teachers completed a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews about their subjective assessment of the children's Japanese language skills. Many of them reported measuring the children's Japanese language ability based on how many kanji they could write. Although reading and writing kanji requires the cognitive ability to understand and use academic vocabulary, measuring children's Japanese language ability simply by considering their ability to write kanji represents a somewhat superficial approach.

In contrast, feedbacks from teachers represented a diversity of perspectives at the end of a semester. Teachers stated that they were better able to explain their thoughts and feelings, and also that the children were able to communicate their thoughts to others and understand their thoughts as well. Rather than judging writing based on the number of kanji, one teacher pointed out that children who used to be reluctant to write essays have grown up to be able to write coherent sentences. The feedback suggests that teachers started to assess multiple aspects of the children's Japanese

language ability, including their use of vocabulary to explain abstract concepts, their ability to construct long utterances in discourse contexts, their cognitive ability to summarize thoughts and ideas, and, most importantly, their willingness to speak. As reported by Kawakami (2011), conducting the assessments may have provided an opportunity for the adults involved in the support program to review and develop their views on language ability.

Our program had a ripple effect on the schools. The teachers were delighted to see the children's eyes light up and their smiles become brighter through this project. Formative assessments also helped the teachers see how language development enriched children's friendships and school experiences. The headteachers at both schools involved in this project told us that they now have more time to discuss Japanese language support among their teachers, that they have realized once again the importance of the presence of the local university, and that they hope to continue this project in collaboration with the university.

5 Conclusions and future development

The challenges of language support for foreign residents in Japan, especially for children, stem from a lack of professionals who could provide such support in schools and communities. The system relies on volunteers, but face-to-face support has been hampered during the Covid-19 pandemic. Our action research in this joint project between Ibaraki Prefecture and the University of Tsukuba trained university students to become online Japanese language supporters for junior high students whose primary language was not Japanese.

Language assessment through the DLA was essential in driving this project forward. The DLA made the difficulties that children were experiencing visible, which enabled the stakeholders to understand and optimize learning plans for each child individually. The DLA as a formative assessment was very effective for the children, for their supporters, for the school teachers, and the schools as a whole.

The results obtained through our action research show us two challenges for a more prosperous regional cooperation in the future.

The first challenge concerns the types of experts we need to train. Opportunities for foreign children to get involved with local volunteers are important and effective in helping youngsters to become autonomous citizens in their communities. However, systematic Japanese language education is necessary for non-native speakers to acquire cognitive academic language proficiency, and this requires people with basic knowledge of second language education to provide day-to-day support. In addition, there is a need for more highly qualified professionals who can assess children, plan teaching, and give appropriate advice to Japanese language supporters and school

teachers. In particular, the results of the assessments need to be shared with all stakeholders to elicit fully effective support systems. Assessors must act as coordinators between schools, families, and Japanese language supporters. Thus, we argue that it is necessary to train Japanese language supporters with basic knowledge and Japanese language coordinators with more specialized knowledge. In order to develop such professionals, we need educational designs involving university students, and universities that agree that training and social contributions are mutually beneficial.

The second challenge is the dissemination of the language. The DLA is designed to be conducted face-to-face; however, in this project, as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, we conducted it online (except for the first assessment). It is therefore necessary to compare online and face-to-face implementation and verify their effectiveness. This far we have been able to implement speaking and writing DLA assessments without any major problems. If a certain level of quality can be maintained even in the online medium, conducting professional assessments may be possible in areas where there are no specialists or where it is difficult to dispatch specialists. This will contribute to the spread of high-quality Japanese language learning support throughout the region.

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This project has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics review committee in the Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Tsukuba regarding the protection of children's human rights and personal information (September 2020). We have fully explained the project to the children, their guardians, and school teachers in advance, and have obtained their consent for research cooperation and publication of research results.

Abbreviations

BICS	Basic interpersonal communication skills
CALP	Cognitive academic language proficiency
Covid-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
DLA	Dialogic language assessment for Japanese as a second language
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CORONAVIRUS METAPHORIC REPRESENTATION IN CHINESE AND RUSSIAN ONLINE MEDIA

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Abstract

This article aims at comparing the coronavirus metaphorical image in the online media of China and Russia. A metaphor is viewed as a cognitive frame within the discourse. The study was conducted on 750 Chinese and 1000 Russian headlines and leads of news reports about the coronavirus. General results show that the virus images in the two countries are based on similar metaphorical models, but the quantitative analysis of metaphors and metaphorical entailments indicate significant differences in the virus image that media creates. The coronavirus in the Chinese media generally images an enemy that should be fought and can be defeated, which helps to cool down public opinion. The Russian media discourse on the other hand treats the coronavirus as a dangerous surprise enemy, giving no suggestions on 'how it can be won'.

Keywords: coronavirus; WAR metaphor; media discourse; metaphorical model; discourse metaphor; Chinese media

Povzetek

Cilj članka je primerjati metaforično podobo novega koronavirusa v spletnih medijih Kitajske in Rusije. Metaforo prevzemamo kot kognitivni okvir v diskurzu. Študija je zajela 750 naslovov in vodil prispevkov o koronavirusu za kitajski jezik in 1000 ustreznih za ruski jezik. Splošni rezultati kažejo, da predstave o novem koronavirusu v obeh državah temeljijo na podobnih metaforičnih modelih, vendar kvantitativna analiza metafor in metaforičnih rab kaže na pomembne razlike v podobi virusa, ki jo ustvarjajo mediji. Novi koronavirus v kitajskih medijih v splošnem predstavlja sovražnika, s katerim se je treba boriti in ga je moč tudi premagati, kar pomaga umiriti javno mnenje. Ruski medijski diskurz po drugi strani novi koronavirus obravnava kot nevarnega, nepričakovanega sovražnika in ne ponudi nasvetov, 'kako ga je mogoče osvojiti'.

Ključne besede: novi koronavirus; metafora VOJNA; medijski diskurz; metaforični model; metafore v diskurzu; kitajski mediji



1 Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic that broke out around the world in the first half of 2020 has become a landmark event in world politics and economics. The virus, appearing in the Chinese Wuhan city, not only spread to all countries of the world, causing many human deaths but also 'infected' the world economy, crashing stock markets and influencing world politics, leading to mutual accusations between countries and giving rise to conspiracy theories.

At the same time, the main channel for disseminating information about the virus and all its consequences is the media. The mass media discourse creates in the public opinion a certain image of the disease, forming an attitude towards it. Information about the virus transmitted by the media correlates with the existing cognitive structures, acquires new conceptual features through them and, as a result, starting to categorize within people's minds. Categorization of some phenomenon within the consciousness, in many respects, forms the attitude towards this phenomenon.

In addition, it is the media that largely reflects government policy to combat the virus, and China is a good example of such a case. Well known that PRC became the first country that faced the virus threat, and finally, it was China that demonstrated high efficiency in combating the pandemic within its country (Kalinin, 2020, p. 35).

In the Russian Federation, the fight against coronavirus has not been so successful. Faced with the disease in late spring 2020, the Russian government was able to carry out several measures that led to the localization of the virus, which made it possible to prevent a large-scale epidemic. However, over time, the disease spread to the entire territory of Russia, which is largely because the Russians poorly followed the prescribed measures of social distancing and self-isolation. It is considered Russian mass media also played an important role in this. The representation of the image of the virus corresponded to the national character, but, unfortunately, did not lead to the mobilization of the Russian people at the right time to face the pandemic.

2 Problem statement and theoretical background

There are many approaches to identifying the image of an event in media texts, but the most relevant to the objective of our study is a cognitive-discursive approach. As Popova and Sternin note, "a word is a means of access to the conceptual knowledge" (Popova & Sternin, 2007, p. 79). At the same time, it is known that the word 'acquires life' in discourse, which means that cognitive structures are manifested mainly through discursive practices. The cognitive-discursive approach makes it possible to combine the study of ideologically determined discourse models with the form of their conceptualization (Hart, 2011; Hart & Lukes, 2007; Wodak, 2006). Wodak stresses the importance of cognitive research "as a mediator between discourse and society since

the processes of production and understanding of a text depend on cognitive models and frameworks that are associated with social stereotypes and prejudices in the consciousness of the information recipient" (Wodak, 2006, p. 182).

The process of metaphorization also plays a significant role in the representation of the virus in discourse. When the message author transfers the features of a virus (target domain) to other areas (source domain), he, without a doubt, affects the deep cognitive structures of readers, having a powerful effect on forming the image.

The theoretical background of this work is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Kövecses, 2016; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), as well as the Discursive Theory of Metaphor (Hülse, 2003; Walter & Helmig, 2005). In addition, we also used some works on critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Simpson et al., 2018a; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) and a critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004; Simpson et al., 2018).

The main task of CDA (critical discourse analysis) is to identify and describe discursive metaphorical models within extralinguistic factors. The focus of the research in such an approach shifts from the processes of the metaphorical models' formation to the impact that these metaphors have on the collective consciousness.

The theory of Critical Metaphor Analysis, which formed the basis of the research method of the same name (Critical Metaphor Analysis), belongs to Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2004). By analyzing the discursive metaphorical models, the researcher seeks to reveal the implicit information that the author of the text puts into it. This method applies to the analysis of various languages and was further developed in theoretical and applied aspects (Li, 2016; Simpson et al., 2018; Kalinin, 2019).

Research in the field of a discursive approach to metaphor was initiated by German linguists Walter, Helmig and Hülse (Hülse, 2003; Walter & Helmig, 2005). They paid attention to the fact that metaphor is not only a cognitive phenomenon but also a social one. The metaphor reflects certain categorization structures, expressed implicitly, which influence the reflection of the reality in consciousness (Hülse, 2003, p. 236).

Zinken understands discursive metaphor as "a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a keyframe within a certain discourse for some time" (Zinken et al., 2008, p. 245). Thus, to classify a metaphor as discursive, it is necessary to have each of the following criteria: length in time, stability, frame character, and relatedness to a certain discourse.

This research is based on understanding the dual nature of metaphor: metaphor functions as a cognitive and as a discursive phenomenon. Metaphoric projections within the media discourse can have a significant impact on the construction of public opinion and the representation of socio-political processes in the collective identity of citizens of a particular country. The critical analysis of the discursive metaphorical models of coronavirus in the Chinese and Russian online media will make it possible to

confirm this thesis and make a small contribution to the development of a holistic theory of discursive metaphor.

3 Research questions

In the light of the above-described theoretical background, it can be assumed that the coronavirus image is a stable metaphor that functions as a keyframe within a media discourse. This metaphoric frame is both a cognitive and social phenomenon, connected with the formation of public opinion, and in the case of coronavirus, this metaphoric image can have a certain impact on the spread of the pandemic.

In this regard, this study will test the following hypothesis:

The representation of the coronavirus in Chinese and Russian online media is a discursive metaphor, the content of metaphor models varies depending on extralinguistic factors.

4 Purpose of the study

In this regard, the main purpose of this study is to analyze the metaphorical representation of coronavirus in the Chinese and Russian media and to identify it as a discursive frame through its relationship with extralinguistic factors. The following research tasks were consistently solved.

- To conduct content analysis of news headlines and leads in Chinese and Russian online media discourse.
- To identify the main metaphorical models used to represent the new coronavirus.
- To establishing the content of the WAR metaphor and its entailments for the Chinese and Russian media discourses.¹
- To compare the results obtained for mass media discourses in Chinese and Russian.

Such an analysis will allow not only to get an idea of how the new virus's image is formed in the mass media discourse of China and Russia but will also help to understand the role of the media in the fight against the viral pandemic.

¹ A small digression should be made to clarify the term 'metaphoric entailment'. Kovecses points out: "The source domain often projects onto the target domain additional meanings that go beyond the basic meaning" (Kövecses, 2005, p. 7). These additional meanings are called conceptual metaphor entailments.

5 Research methods

To confirm the hypothesis, 750 headlines and leads (1-2 sentences at the beginning of a news article, which usually fully reflect the content of all articles) of news messages in Chinese were analyzed. Every day from January 21 to March 10, 2020, the period when the virus outbreak in China was the largest, were randomly examined 15 news stories. The main sources for this news reports were leading online media in China, materials are available through a news aggregator Baidu, for example, Téngxùn wǎng 腾讯网, Rénmín rìbào 人民日报, Quánjǐng wǎng 全景网, Huánqiú wǎng 环球网 or Xīnhuá shè 新华社.

The material for analysis in Russian was presented by 945 news reports during the period from April 12 to June 14, 2020, where we also selected 15 random news messages on the topic of coronavirus daily. For the Russian language, a longer time interval was chosen compared to the Chinese language, due to the later time of the disease outbreak into the territory of the Russian Federation and, accordingly, the later moment of stabilization of the situation. The main source for these news reports was the leading online media in Russia, whose materials are available through a news aggregator Yandex, for example, RIA News, RBK, Interfax, TASS.

It is worth mentioning that only news articles reported just domestic situations were selected for analysis.

The research method consisted of several consecutive steps:

1. A quantitative content analysis was conducted in the AntConc program (Anthony, 2013). We made a list of the most common words and collocations for the keyword 病毒 bīngdú 'virus'.
2. A qualitative content analysis aimed at analyzing keyword collocations and identifying the most popular metaphorical models of the virus image.
3. A linguo-cognitive analysis of media messages' headlines and leads conducted to identify metaphorical models of the virus image.

Such a sequence of the practical tasks fully meets the requirements of discursive-cognitive research and makes it possible not only to gain an understanding of the virus image content in mass media discourse but also to reveal the deep differences in cognitive modeling of this image in the consciousness of a mass addressee. By researching on the text-to-cognitive metaphorical models' principle, we move from semantics to cognitive, from content to understanding.

It should also be noted that in the metaphorical models' analysis, one of the most difficult stages is the identification of metaphors in the text. In our work, we relied on the MIP VU method developed at Metaphor Lab (Deignan, 2015). This method is a multi-stage procedure based on comparing the textual and basic meanings of lexemes

to identify so-called metaphorical tension. It is conducted through the dictionary meanings and the use of the lexeme in the national language corpora.

6 Findings

As a result of analysis of 750 news reports in Chinese and 945 news reports in Russian, the four most distinctive metaphorical models of the coronavirus in the media discourse of China and Russia are identified: VIRUS is an ENEMY (FIGHT against a virus is a WAR), VIRUS is a LIVING BEING, VIRUS is a NATURAL DISASTER, VIRUS is a FEAR. For the Chinese language, a total of 611 metaphors were identified, in the media discourse of the Russian language, a total of 504 metaphors were identified.

First of all, it is worth noting that Russian news reports contained less metaphors. On average, there were 0.814 metaphors per news item surveyed in Chinese and only 0.53 in Russian.

The quantitative and percentage distribution of the identified models by source areas is presented in Figure 1.

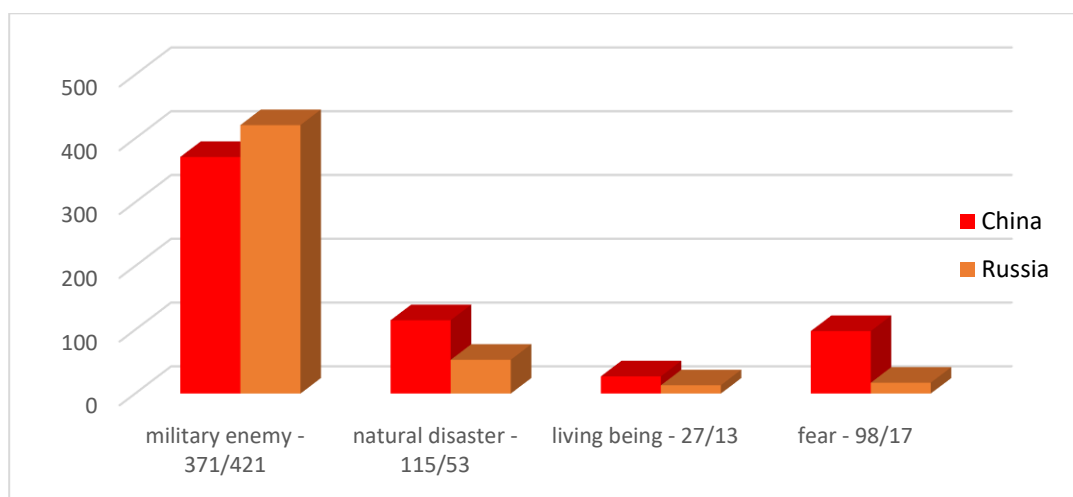


Figure 1: Frequency of the virus metaphorical models in Chinese and Russian online media discourses

The percentage of the identified metaphorical models for the Chinese and Russian media discourses is presented in Figure 2.

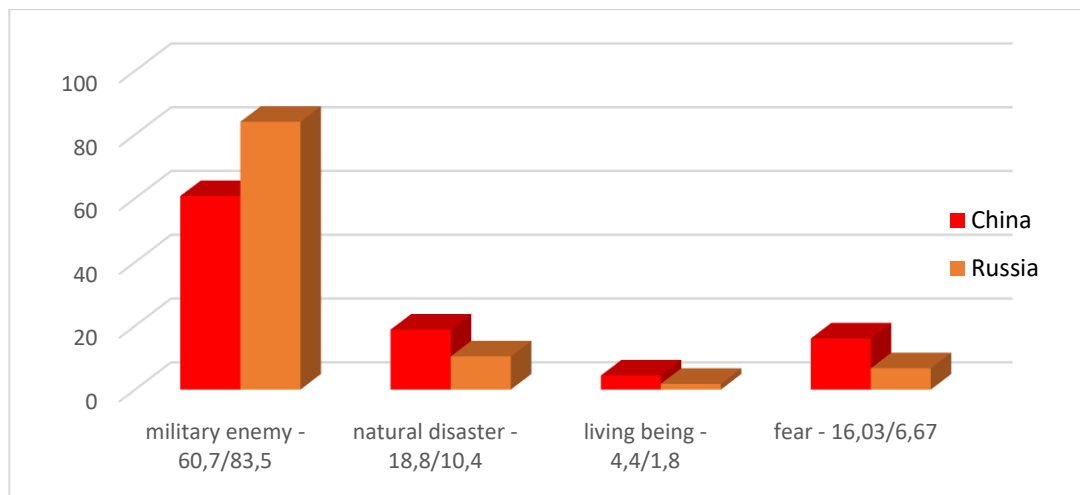


Figure: Percentage ratio of the virus metaphorical models in Chinese and Russian online media discourses

First, it should be noted that the composition of metaphorical models for both languages and the quantitative distribution of these models are quite similar, with obvious differences, which are primarily visible in the distribution of the metaphors of WAR and FEAR, which is implicitly related to the sociocultural context. Let us take a closer look at the similarities and differences.

Metaphors of war are often used to describe various epidemics, pandemics, and diseases: cancer (Camus, 2009), AIDS (Sandahl, 2001), H1N1 (Larson et al., 2005), Ebola (Trčková, 2015), SARS (Washer, 2004) and others. The reason for using the metaphors of war is that during a pandemic, people strive to fight it, and it is a war that is the extreme form of confrontation.

For the Chinese media, the metaphorical model with the WAR source domain has the largest share, that is 60.7% of all metaphors. The means of verbalizing metaphors are military terms such as 抗击 kàngjī 'to counterattack, to fight back'; 动员 dòngyuán 'to mobilize'; 消灭 xiāomiè 'destroy, liquidate'; 杀灭 shāmiè 'to destroy, to kill', 预防 yùfáng 'to prevent', 打击 dǎjī 'to strike', 打赢 dǎyíng 'to win' and others. It should be noted, however, that the term 打赢 dǎyíng 'to win' began to prevail in headlines since mid-February, when the situation with the epidemic began to improve significantly. In this context, the neologism 战疫 zhànyì 'war against the pandemic' (27 appearances) is also worth mentioning.

For the metaphor 'the FIGHT against the VIRUS is a WAR' in the discourse of the Chinese mass media, 6 entailments were identified, the quantitative and percentage distribution of which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The WAR metaphor entailments in the Chinese online media discourse

Entailment	Number	Proportion (%)
Fighting the virus is protecting against the enemy	117	31,53
Fighting the virus is attacking the enemy	105	28,30
Medical workers are war heroes	72	19,41
The fight against the virus is a common war	29	7,82
China is a battlefield	32	8,62
Patients are victims of war	5	4,31

As we can see, most of the WAR metaphors are associated with active hostilities: attack and defense. The metaphor of protection from a virus and an attack on it is practically identical in quantitative terms. Also, the model of MEDICAL WORKERS are HEROES stands out clearly, and the model linking victims of the virus with victims of hostilities is not very popular.

The metaphorical model with the WAR source domain in Russian media discourse was even more popular, it was encountered 421 times out of 504 metaphors, which accounted for 83.5% of all metaphors. The military vocabulary used in leads and headlines is represented by the following words: война 'war', победа 'victory', враг 'enemy', атака 'attack', мобилизация 'mobilization', удары 'strikes', умереть 'die', герой 'hero', линия фронта 'front line', фронт 'front', поле боя 'battlefield', битва 'battle', нападение 'attack', штаб 'headquarters for the fight'.

It is worth noting that in the Russian media, the war terms were more obvious in use, military metaphors often appeared in the headline of the news. For example, 'Doctors are more important in the war than generals', 'The market withstood the attack of the coronavirus'. In most cases, the coronavirus was presented as an attacking adversary against which Russians are forced to defend themselves. Sometimes there were even allusions to reports from the front lines of World War II: 'the coronavirus wasn't able to defeat the 96-year-old veteran of the Great Patriotic War'.

The WAR metaphor entailments in Russian media are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: The WAR metaphor entailments in the Russian online media discourse

Entailment	Number	Proportion (%)
Fighting the virus is protecting against the enemy	168	45,28
Fighting the virus is attacking the enemy	53	14,28
Medical workers are war heroes	107	28,84
The fight against the virus is a common war	15	4,04
Russia is a battlefield	9	2,42
Patients are victims of war	69	18,59

In the distribution of the WAR metaphors entailments in Russian online media discourse, we see a slightly different picture. Almost half of the metaphors are associated with protection from the enemy (45.3%), the metaphors of attack are much less. It means that the virus is perceived as a suddenly attacked enemy from which it is necessary to defend, while the means of this defense are still unclear. It is also worth highlighting a rather high percentage of metaphors for medical heroes and victims of the 'war' against the virus.

Numerous metaphors in the Chinese media belonged to the 'VIRUS - NATURAL DISASTER' model: 18% of all identified metaphors. In this case, the virus is perceived as a kind of dangerous emergency. Sometimes this metaphorical model was based on specific comparisons with a hurricane (3 times) or an earthquake (4 times), but most often the press used lexemes 天灾 tiānzāi 'natural disaster, force majeure', 灾害 zāihài 'disaster', 灾难 zāinàn 'disaster'.

In Russian media discourse, this metaphorical model occupied about 10% of all metaphors, the metaphor of a natural disaster was not distinguished by its concretization and was most often based on the lexeme бедствие 'disaster'. For example, 'no one saw in the fog of the future such a disaster as the coronavirus pandemic', 'although the coronavirus epidemic hit the travel market as a natural disaster'.

The metaphoric mapping 'VIRUS is a FEAR' was singled out into a separate metaphorical model, since in this case, the basis for the transfer was only the consequence 'the appearance of fear', while the source of fear was not mentioned in any way. Such metaphors in the Chinese-language discourse accounted for 16% of all metaphorical models, and the number of uses of this metaphor was 98 cases. For example, 担忧之时 dānyōu zhī shí 'in times of alarm', 是人类最害怕最讨厌的病毒之一 shì rén lèi zuì hàipà zuì tǎoyàn de bìngdú zhī yī 'is one of the most frightening and hated viruses'.

For Russian discourse, this metaphorical model did not take a significant place. We have identified only 17 such metaphors, they were based on the lexemes: страх 'fear', беспокойство 'anxiety', страшный сон 'bad dream', боязнь 'fear'.

The least frequent metaphorical model for both discourses is the metaphor VIRUS - LIVING BEING. In the Chinese language material, the number of such metaphors was - 27, and in Russian - 13, which in percentage terms was 4.4% and 2.57%, respectively. This group included all metaphorical models that are associated with the mechanisms of personification and comparison with humans or animals, real and mythological. For example, 疫情肆虐 yìqíng sìnüè 'an epidemic is raging', 病毒虽然凶猛 bìngdú suīrán xiōngměng 'although the virus is ferocious'. Understanding a viral infection through something living largely reflects the mythological features of Chinese culture. In the Russian media discourse, the medical metaphor of 'cough' was used to create the

image of the virus as a living being ‘the coronavirus coughs on the economy’. You can also distinguish the expressions ‘coronavirus imposes a death sentence’, ‘coronavirus fury’.

7 Discussion

The image of the coronavirus in the PRC online media is mainly formed through the metaphors of war, natural disaster, and fear. The virus is represented as an enemy, and the fight against it becomes a war. At the same time, the virus is a natural enemy that causes fear and anxiety. However, the dominance of military metaphors forms an idea that this virus can not only be fought but can also be defeated. Thus, the virus is described as not so terrible, not very dangerous, and not always deadly, and bringing not so disastrous consequences. At the same time, the fight against coronavirus requires the mobilization of the efforts for the entire nation, it is connected with the protection from an external enemy, which is very similar to the traditional Chinese model of ‘responding to external challenges’. Thus, the fight against coronavirus presupposes active and concerted actions by both the government and the nation, which, according to the media agenda, must ‘strike’ and ‘defeat the virus’.

The representation of the virus image in Russian online media is based on similar metaphorical models, however, the quantitative distribution of metaphors, as well as the difference in metaphorical entailments, indicate significant differences in this image. For the Russian media discourse, the coronavirus is some surprise and unexpected enemy, an enemy that is quite dangerous, causing many deaths. The Russian mass media also pay great attention to the ‘attacks’ of the virus on the economy, healthcare system, international relations, but not to the ‘counterattacks’ of Russia against the virus. The fight with the virus in the Russian media space is presented as a ‘defensive war’, which consists of taking all the necessary measures, but it is not yet clear how it can be won.

The use of the WAR metaphor, which is quite distinctive for the representation of mass disease, was also different in the discourses of the two countries. In China, the following strategy of combating the disease is traced: ‘first defense, then attack and finally the victory’. The ‘war against the virus’ is viewed as a national war, which has its heroes, while the victims of the war are not reported, so as not to cause unnecessary panic and not interfere with the conduct of the war itself.

In Russia, the militaristic tone of the news report aimed at combating the virus within the country is more distinctive, but the metaphor modeling in Russian news did not imply an active attack on the virus, the results of the virus attack on the country and its citizens were mostly postulated, and active measures were not proposed to confront the enemy. While the Russian media promoted containment measures to avoid a wave of mass infection, these kind of news reports were minimally metaphorical, and were

more like a list of recommendations rather than a call to action. It is also worth noting that the significant number of mentions of victims of the virus attack and the weak manifestation of the 'COUNTRY is a BATTLEFIELD' metaphor model led to the fact that the people, realizing the problem, did not understand its scale, did not heed the calls for mobilizing efforts to combat the pandemic. The Russian media did not create a unified image of the virus as an enemy that can be defeated, it was simply an 'attacker, attacking enemy', and the attempts to mobilize the nation were not fully implemented.

Thus, we are dealing with two models of the formation of public opinion about threats to social stability within two cultural and political systems. In the PRC, the political power has a resource for the general mobilization of the people's efforts to combat the threat and the rapid mobilization of public opinion, as well as to prevent panic among the population. In Russia, the media also chose military terms to describe the pandemic, which is close to the national character of the Russian people, who are accustomed to unity in the face of the external enemy. However, due to the lack of a single agreed information agenda, the image of the enemy was not fully formed, so the people did not perceive the fight against the virus as a 'national war'.

It should be noted that the use of the strategy of covering the virus outbreak in the PRC was coordinated with the real actions of the authorities. Formation of the image of the virus was one of the directions of the fight against the pandemic, while in Russia the authorities and the media were more likely to act on their own, which led to the fact that the image of the virus in the Russian media did not help to defeat the disease, on the contrary, it might have even caused an escalation of the pandemic.

8 Conclusion

A study of the representation of coronavirus in Chinese and Russian media made it possible to compare the models of the virus image representation in the PRC and the Russian Federation which is a stable metaphor that functions as a keyframe within a media discourse.

The results of our study confirmed the role of metaphor in reflecting the surrounding reality, as well as in the formation critical views on it. The metaphor of coronavirus in the media course is a discursive metaphor that reflects relevant extralinguistic factors - both cultural and social features.

For Chinese online media discourse, it is 'responding to external challenges', for Russian - 'defensive war against external enemy'. The research showed the media strategy for representing the pandemic in China, which is traced 'defense - attack - victory', but in Russian online media, a unified image of the virus was not created. We can assume that this kind of difference anyhow connected with the spread of the disease in the countries.

Thus, metaphorical mappings within the media discourse, which are detailed discursive metaphors, have a significant impact on the construction of public opinion.

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CAUSATION IN CLASSICAL CHINESE DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD AND IN THE HAN DYNASTY

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore causation in Classical Chinese during the Warring States period and in the Han Dynasty. Whether causation is realized via causative use of words with covert causative verbs, or via overt causative verbs, causation structures can always be divided into agentive and causative constructions, which can be further categorized into lexical causatives and productive causatives. I also account for causation in Classical Chinese by means of Feng's (1998, 2000, 2009) prosodic approach and show that both strategies to form causation structures are compatible with a prosodic theory. I discuss both VO and VV causation and state that agentive and causative constructions involving covert causative verbs are prosodic words, whereas those involving overt causative verbs exhibit properties of phrases.

Keywords: Classical Chinese; the Warring states period; the Han dynasty; causation; (c)overt causative verbs; prosodic approach

Povzetek

Članek obravnava vzročna razmerja v klasični kitajščini v obdobju vojskujočih se držav in v dinastiji Han. Ne glede na to, ali se vzročno razmerje uresničuje z uporabo glagolov s prikritim vzročnim pomenom ali pa z očitnimi vzročnimi glagoli, lahko vzročne strukture vedno razdelimo na predmetne ali vzročne, te pa nadalje razvrstimo v pomenske in tvorne vzročnike. Vzročnost v klasični kitajščini obenem pojasnjujem s Fengovim (1998, 2000, 2009) prozodičnim pristopom in dokazujem, da sta obe strategiji za oblikovanje vzročnih struktur združljivi s prozodično teorijo. Razpravljam o vzročnosti odnosov glagol-predmet in predmet-predmet ter trdim, da so predmetne in vzročne strukture, ki vključujejo prikrite vzročne glagole, prozodične besede, medtem ko tiste konstrukcije, ki vključujejo očitne vzročne glagole, kažejo lastnosti fraz.

Ključne besede: klasična kitajščina; obdobje vojskujočih se držav; dinastija Han; vzročno razmerje; (ne)prikriti vzročni glagoli; prozodični pristop



1 Introduction

In this paper, I analyze Classical Chinese, namely the written form of Old Chinese ranging from the Warring States period (475–221 BC) to the end of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). I choose to investigate Classical Chinese during these two periods owing to three reasons. First, the grammatical and lexical structures of major and representative works during the Warring States period and Qin and Han dynasties, including philosophical texts *Analects* and *Mencius* and historical texts *Zuǒzhuan* and *Shǐjì*, are fundamentally similar, so Classical Chinese covering this period can be treated as a single language with its robust features. Additionally, it is considerably disparate from the language form at previous stages. Second, Pre-Classical Chinese before 5th c BC is incompletely known, as it has been preserved almost only in divinatory formulae carved on the Shang and early Zhou oracle bones and short inscriptions on bronze vessels (Wilkinson, 2000, p. 22). Third, since the post-classical period, the real spoken language diverged from the written one as a result of natural linguistic change: Classical Chinese became a purely literary, written vehicle, and works at this stage and later adopted an archaic aspect and continued to model on Classical Chinese, hence being regarded as timeless imitation of the earlier language; the vernacular, however, began to develop independently and thus being historically more evolved than its related yet discrepant literary counterpart (Norman, 1988, p. 83). That is to say, the written form of Chinese from the Han dynasty onwards could not reflect the actual use of language, and such a divergence between the written and spoken language had been existing in China for over 1,500 years. Employment of Classical Chinese in the post-classical era is referred to as Literary Chinese that remains the standard written form until the early 20th century (Dong, 2014, pp. 80–81). For instance, Ming–Qing fiction, the fictional narratives produced in China during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) dynasties, can be divided into classical-language fiction and vernacular fiction, depending on the dominant medium adopted, yet vernacular stories and novels exhibit hybrid characteristics in language because they draw on both classical and oral traditions (Wu, 2013). Therefore, to ensure that the syntactic properties under discussion belong to and illuminate a consistent, unaffected language used in real-life situations, in this paper I only explore corpus data of Classical Chinese between 475 BC and 220 AD, excluding later-stage written works that are based on Classical models yet contaminated by vernacular intrusions and refined in numerous literary movements.

Classical Chinese morphemes are predominantly monosyllabic, and a vast majority of words are monomorphemic. Due to a lack of morphology and freedom of words to demonstrate atypical syntactic functions, most words in Classical Chinese can act as other parts of speech depending on their location in sentences (Wang, 1962, p. 343; Norman, 1988, pp. 84, 87; Dong, 2014, p. 81).

Classical Chinese, therefore, has morphological causatives. For instance, in addition to its denominative, directive, and intensive functions, the prefix *s- displays

a causative function (see Mei, 1989, 2012; Baxter & Sagart, 1998; Sagart, 1999; Xu, 2006; Schuessler, 2007; among many others).

- (1) 食 *N-ljək > *djək > džək ‘eat’
 飼 *s-ljəks > *ljəks > zǐ ‘food, give food to’
 (From Mei, 2012, p. 12)

2 Literature review

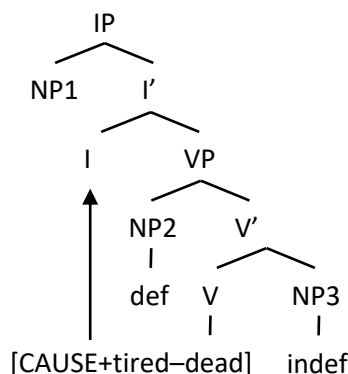
According to Cheng and Huang (1994) and Cheng et al. (1997), causative resultative verb compounds (RVCs) can be transitive or intransitive. Transitive causative RVCs can be divided into two types: agentive constructions and causative constructions. There are two discrepancies between agentive constructions and causative constructions: 1) the former takes an agent subject, whereas the latter takes a causer subject which is an inanimate NP; and 2) the former indicates that some actions of an agent result in a theme being in a certain state, whereas the latter indicates that a causer brings about a causee being in a certain state. Agentive and causative RVCs are exemplified by (2a) and (2b) respectively.

- (2) a. 他 打死 他们 了。
 Tā dǎ-sǐ tāmen le.
 he hit-dead them asp
 ‘He hit them dead.’
- (2) b. 这件 事 累死 他们 了。
 Zhè-jàn shì lèi-sǐ tāmen le.
 this-cl matter tired-dead them asp
 ‘This matter tired them to death.’
 (Adapted from Cheng et al., 1997, p. 201)

Causative RVCs are formed at different levels across Modern Chinese dialects, and there is a postverbal constraint on definiteness in causative RVCs. In causative RVCs in Cantonese and Mandarin, postverbal object NPs need to be definite (or more precisely, referential), yet in causative RVCs in Taiwanese, postverbal object NPs cannot be definite. A referential/definite object NP is base-generated in [Spec, VP] (sister to V’), so verb movement does not involve VP-shells (see the tree diagram in (3) below). As a consequence, the status of the NP position does not change, and the syntactic restriction of definite object NPs is always obeyed. However, a non-referential/indefinite object occurs within V’ as sister to V, hence the extension of VP domain in a VP-shell, which means postverbal definite NPs are not permitted. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that causative RVCs in Cantonese and Mandarin are

derived lexically via lexical incorporation, but those in Taiwanese are derived syntactically via verb movement in a VP shell structure (Huang, 1991, 1994; Cheng et al., 1997).

(3)



(Adapted from Cheng et al., 1997, p. 209)

The other option to form causation is realized through overt causative verbs. There are two categories of such causativity in Classical Chinese, namely lexical causatives and productive causatives, both of which encode two situations, i.e. a causig situation and a caused situation. Nevertheless, there are discrepancies between lexical and productive causatives in terms of 1) thematic role of the causee, 2) (lack of) overlap of the causing and caused situations, and 3) directness/indirectness of causation. First, the causee of a lexical causative is patientive, and the execution of the caused situation entirely relies on the causer's activities, whereas the causee of a productive causative is characterized by a certain level of autonomy and volition. Second, the causing and caused situations of lexical causatives have spatio-temporal overlap and hence the conceptualization of them being one situation, yet the causing and caused situations of productive causatives do not have to coincide spatio-temporarily and hence cannot be treated as one single situation. Third, the causation of lexical causatives can be regarded as direct, whereas that of productive causatives can be deemed indirect (Shibatani, 1976; Meisterernst, 2006).

According to Feng (2005, 2014, 2016, 2019), the causative verb 'to cause, to make' can be analyzed as a light verb. There was a covert light verb used in Archaic Chinese, and around the East Han dynasty (200 AD), phonetically realized light verbs started to appear. Causation structures with covert causative verbs can be analyzed on a par with covert light verb constructions. Although there are three alternative theories involving preposition omission, applicative structure, and light verb structure, none of them can be adopted. First, the proposal concerning preposition omission is ruled out due to four facts: 1) not all VO constructions involve null prepositions; 2) there is no one-to-one match between prepositions and VO constructions; 3) some prepositions did not exist until later periods, and 4) some prepositions were used in different ways during

different historical periods. Second, the approach concerning applicative structure has three shortcomings: 1) applicatives are identical to inner light verbs; 2) applicatives are limited; and 3) in terms of syntactic positions, oblique VO constructions in Archaic Chinese are not formed by applicative structures. Third, the theory of light verb structure cannot explain certain oblique VO constructions and it lacks theoretical motivation (Jiang, 2014; Tsai, 2017; Su & Feng, 2020).

In terms of verb classification in Chinese, there has been a range of theories since the pioneering work of Chao (1968), whose classification is based on parameters of action vs. status and transitivity vs. intransitivity. Following Chao, Li (1971) adopts these two parameters, yet his classification is also based on theta roles. Later on, the Chinese Knowledge Information Group propounds a system based on subcategorization in the sense of Lexical-Functional Grammar and Fillmore's (1968) case theory; the specific classification factors are number and type of arguments, as well as action vs. state opposition. As for Her's (1990) classification framework, it is based on a modified version of Lexical-Functional Grammar, or to be more specific, the subcategorisation frame of this variant version, thereby avoiding the shortcoming of forcing all verbs into oppositions. Based on Her's approach, Tsao (1996) simplifies the system and reduces the number of major verb classes. Additionally, Tsao's proposal discusses topic-raising predicates, lack of arguments in the surface structure of certain verbs, as well as the disparity between finite and non-finite clauses.

3 Two types of causation

There are two types of causation structures in Classical Chinese: one is realized via causative use of words with covert causative (light) verbs, and the other one employs overt causative (light) verbs. The former appeared earlier than the latter in history: the former predominantly appeared during the Warring States period, whereas the latter during the Han dynasty. Both types of causation structures can be further divided into agentive constructions and causative constructions. When (c)overt causative verbs are employed to express causation, they can form lexical or productive causatives.

3.1 Causation with covert causative verbs

According to traditional reviews, since Classical Chinese during the Warring States period is a concise language, it is common to employ transitive and intransitive verbs, adjectives and nouns in a causative sense to convey causation without visible causative verbs, and intransitive verbs and adjectives are more commonly used in this way than nouns and transitive verbs (see Wang, 1962, pp. 344–348; Yang, 1984, p. 43; and Norman, 1988, p. 87, 129; among many others).

Examples in (4a/b/c/d) show causative use of a transitive verb, two intransitive verbs, an adjective and a noun respectively during the Warring States period. 所 *suǒ* in (4d) is a functional morpheme that can be employed to relativise on a VP-internal element by means of binding a gap inside VP as a verbal functional head, and to nominalise an embedded clause, generating a reduced relative clause with a genitive subject (Aldridge, 2013).

- (4) a. 晉侯 飲 趙盾酒 (左傳•宣公二年; Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 8)

Jìn hóu yìn zhào dùn jiǔ

Jin marquis drink Zhao Dun wine

‘Marquis of Jin made Zhao Dun drink wine.’

- (4) b. 既 來 之, 則 安 之 (論語•季氏)¹

Jì lái zhī, zé ān zhī

already come 3.Obj then settle.down 3.Obj

‘(We) already made them come, then (we should) make them settle down.’

- (4) c. 匠人 斲 而 小 之

Jiàng rén zhuó ér xiǎo zhī

workman carve and small It

‘The carpenter carved it and made it small.’

(孟子•梁惠王下; adapted from Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 13)

- (4) d. 所謂 生死 而 肉 骨 也 (左傳•昭公二十二年)

Suǒ wèi shēng sǐ ér ròu gǔ yě

SUO call life the.dead Conj flesh bone Decl

‘This is the so-called ‘making the dead have life and bones have flesh’.’

The morphemes 來 *lái* and 安 *ān* in (4b) are intransitive verbs, because in the vast majority of data from Classical Chinese corpora, *lái* and *ān* display intransitivity, as in (5a-b). Following the same rationale, the canonical word classes of *xiǎo* (4c) and *shēng* and *ròu* (4d) are presumed to be adjective and noun respectively, as shown in (5c/d-e). The relativising 者 *zhě* in (5c) selects an adjective 遠 *yuǎn* and relativizes on the subject position.

¹ Apart from examples from literature, Classical Chinese data in this paper are from the Chinese Text Project (<https://ctext.org/>) which is an open-access digital corpus including more than 5 billion characters. Classical Chinese examples I have selected from this database cover a wide range of texts.

- (5) a. 醫 來 (孟子•公孫丑下)
 Yī lái
 doctor come
 'A doctor came.'
- (5) b. 吾 生 於 陵 而 安 於 陵 (莊子•達生)
 Wú sheng yú líng ér ān yú líng
 I be.born in mountain Conj settle.down in mountain
 'I was born in mountains and settled down in mountains.'
- (5) c. 此 不 為 遠 者 小 而 近 者 大 乎? (列子•湯問)
 Cǐ bù wéi yuǎn zhě xiǎo ér jìn zhě dà hū
 this not Cop faraway ZHE small Conj close ZHE big Q
 'Isn't this that the faraway are small yet the close are big?'
- (5) d. 物 有 生 死 (孟子•梁惠王上)
 Wù yǒu shēng sǐ
 Object have life death
 'Objects have life and death.'
- (5) e. 君 之 所 未 嘗 食 唯 人 肉 耳 (韓非子•十過)
 Jūn zhī suǒ wèi cháng shí wéi rén ròu ěr
 Your.Majesty ZHI SUO not.yet eat WEI human flesh Decl
 'It is only human flesh that Your Majesty has not eaten yet.'

Since there is not sufficient data concerning causative use of transitive verbs, hence the difficulty to form justifiable statements, in this paper I only investigate causative use of intransitive verbs, adjectives, and nouns in Classical Chinese.

Notably, predicate adjectives are regarded as verbs of quality/state in Chinese (see Ramsey, 1989, p. 72; Pulleyblank, 1995, p. 12; Fuller, 1999, p. 20; Wei, 2000; and Barnes et al., 2009, p. 4, among many others). Furthermore, in Classical Chinese adjectives are treated as intransitive verbs of quality and can take objects in a causative sense (Norman, 1988, p. 92). Therefore in this paper, I analyze predicative adjectives and intransitive verbs in a unified manner.

3.1.1 Agentive constructions

Causation structures with covert causative verbs can be divided into Agentive constructions and causative constructions. An Agentive construction takes an agent subject, indicating that certain activities of the agent results in a theme being in a certain state (Cheng & Huang, 1994; Cheng et al., 1997). In Classical Chinese,

intransitive verbs (predicative adjectives) can be used flexibly to form Agentive Constructions, indicating ‘to make V’ (Xu, 2006, p. 119), as shown in (6a) and (6b) (=4c).

- (6) a. 王 請 大 之! (孟子•梁惠王下; Xu, 2006, p. 119)

Wáng qǐng dà zhī!

King please enlarge it

‘You should make it something great.’

- (6) b. 匠人 斲 而 小 之

Jiàng rén zhuó ér xiǎo zhī

Workman carve and small it

‘The carpenter carved it and made it small.’

(孟子•梁惠王下; adapted from Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 13)

Before further exploring Agentive constructions, it is important to point out that although the surface SVO pattern in (6) might seem identical to that in (7a), 小 *xiǎo* ‘small’ in (6) and (7a) conveys disparate meanings in these two examples. In (7a), instead of indicating a causative sense, the verb (adjective), according to Norman (1988, p. 91) and Guo et al. (1999, p. 282), is used in a ‘putative’ sense, viz. ‘to consider X as Y’. Examples in (7b-c) show other verbs/adjectives used similarly. According to Wei (2019), this kind of ‘putative’ use should be treated as a subcategory of causative use, because both putative and causative constructions display [+Cause], and owing to similar word orders, their meanings are sometimes ambiguous. In this paper, I do not analyze verbs/adjectives employed in the putative sense.

- (7) a. 孔子 登 東山 而 小 魯, 登 泰山 而 小 天下

Kǒngzǐ dēng dōngshān ér xiǎo lǔ, dēng tàishān ér xiǎo tiānxià

Confucius ascend Dongshan then small Lu, ascend Taishan then small world

‘Confucius ascended Dongshan and thought the country of Lu was small; he ascended Taishan and thought the world was small’

(孟子•盡心上; adapted from Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 13)

- (7) b. 左 丘明 恥 之 (論語•公冶長)

Zuǒ qiūmíng chǐ zhī

Zuo Qiuming shameful 3.Obj

‘Zuo Qiuming found them shameful.’

- (7) c. 其 家 甚 智 其 子 (韓非子•說難)

Qí jiā shèn zhì qí zǐ

Gen family very intelligent Gen son

‘His family very much found their son intelligent.’

To further demonstrate Agentive constructions, I draw on examples concerning other intransitive verbs/adjectives. As shown in example (8a), the morpheme 勞 *láo* functions as an intransitive verb ‘to labor’; in a causative context (8b-c), it can mean ‘to make labor’. Similarly, (9a-b) involves an intransitive verb 苦 *kǔ* ‘to suffer’; in (9c), it is used causatively to express a meaning ‘to make suffer’. Note that in (9c), according to the context, the omitted subject ‘the Heaven’ is a personified agent of his autonomy and volition, and his deliberate action results in the suffering of the theme (Wei, 2019).

- (8) a. 勞 而 不 怨 (論語•里仁)

Láo ér bú yuàn

Labour Conj not complain

‘(One should) labour and not complain.’

- (8) b. 君子 信 而 後 勞 其 民 (論語•子張)

Jūnzǐ xìn ér hòu láo qí mín

gentleman upright Conj then labour Gen people

‘Gentlemen (should be) upright and then make their people labour.’

- (8) c. 勞 心 者 治 人, 勞 力 者 治 於 人

Láo xīn zhě zhì rén, láo lì zhě zhì yú rén

labour mind ZHE govern others labour strength ZHE govern Pass others

‘Those who make their mind labour govern others; those who make their strength labour are governed by others.’

(孟子•滕文公上)

- (9) a. 救 火 者 苦 而 無 賞 (韓非子•內儲說上)

Jiù huǒ zhě kǔ ér wú shǎng

fight fire Det suffer Conj not.have reward

‘Those who fight the fire suffer but do not have rewards.’

- (9) b. 民 苦 則 權 勢 起 (韓非子•備內)

Mín kǔ zé quánshì

people suffer then power

‘(If) people suffer, then power arises’

- (9) c. 必 先 苦 其 心 志 (孟子•告子下)

Bì xiān kǔ qí xīnzhì

must first suffer Gen mindset.aspiration

‘(The Heaven) must make his mindset and aspiration suffer first.’

As mentioned previously, since adjectives in Classical Chinese can be regarded as intransitive verbs of quality (Norman, 1988, p. 92), I treat predicative adjectives as

intransitive verbs in this paper. In canonical structures, adjectives function as intransitive verbs following subjects. In a non-causative context, the morphemes 善 *shàn*, 利 *lì*, 高 *gāo* and 亂 *luàn* appear in a predicate position following a subject (10a-d), which can be analyzed either as a predicative adjective or an intransitive verb. In a causative context, the subject functions as an agent, triggering a causative event (11). 善 *shàn*, 利 *lì*, 高 *gāo*, and 亂 *luàn* in (11a/b/c-d) adopt intransitive (predicative adjective) meanings, but they are used in a causative sense ‘to make good/sharp/high/turbulent’ respectively.

- (10) a. 人 之 將 死, 其 言 也 善 (論語•泰伯)

Rén zhī jiàng sǐ, qí yán yě shàn

person Part Fut die Gen word also good

‘(When) people are about to die, their words are good.’

- (10) b. 金 就 礪 則 利 (荀子•勸學)

Jīn jiù lì zé lì

weapon grind whetstone then sharp

‘Weapons become sharp after grinding on whetstones.’

- (10) c. 山 高 而 不 崩 (管子•形勢)

Shān gāo ér bù bēng

mountain tall Conj not collapse

‘A mountain is tall but does not collapse.’

- (10) d. 天 下 又 大 亂 (孟子•滕文公下)

Tiānxià yòu dà luàn

world then greatly turbulent

‘The world was then greatly turbulent.’

- (11) a. 工 欲 善 其 事, 必 先 利 其 器 (論語•衛靈公)

Gōng yù shàn qí shì, bì xiān lì qí qì

craftsman want good Gen work must first sharp Gen tool

‘(If) craftsmen want to make their work good, (they) must make their tools sharp first.’

- (11) b. 足 下 深 溝 高 壘, 堅 營 勿 與 戰

Zú xià shēn gōu gāo lěi, jiān yíng wù yǔ zhàn

foot below deep moat high rampart strong camp NEG participate battle

‘You should deepen the moats, make the ramparts higher, strengthen camps and not join them in a battle.’

(史記•淮陰侯列傳; Meisterernst, 2006, p. 435)

- (11) c. 亂 國 之 君, 亂 家 之 人
 Luàn guó zhī jūn, luàn jiā zhī rén
 turbulent country Gen sovereign turbulent household Gen person
 ‘Sovereigns who make countries turbulent and people who make households turbulent.’
 (荀子•解蔽)

- (11) d. 是 亂 天 下 也 (孟子•滕文公上; Xu, 2006, p. 124)
 Shì luàn tiānxià yě
 this bring-confusion world PART
 ‘It will only bring confusion to the Empire.’

In addition to intransitive verbs/adjectives, nouns can be employed in a causative sense in agentive constructions, indicating ‘to make N’.

- (12) a. 越 國 以 鄙 遠 (左傳•僖公三十年)
 Yuè guó yǐ bǐ yuǎn
 bypass country to border remote
 ‘Bypassing a country to make a remote (one) the border.’
- (12) b. 先 破 秦 入 咸 陽 者, 王 之
 Xiān pò qín rù xiányáng zhě, wàng zhī
 first break Qin enter Xianyang REL king him
 ‘The person who defeats Qin and enters Xianyang first will be regarded as/named king’
 (史記•項羽本紀; Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 15)
- (12) c. 桓 公 解 管 仲 之 束 縛 而 相 之
 Huán gōng jiě guǎn zhòng zhī shùfù ér xiàng zhī
 Huan Duke release Guan Zhong Gen manacles Conj minister 3.Obj
 ‘The Duke of Huan released Guan Zhong’s manacles and made him minister.’
 (韓非子•難一)

3.1.2 Causative constructions

Apart from agentive constructions, causation structures can be causative constructions, which, according to Cheng and Huang (1994) and Cheng et al. (1997), take inanimate causer subjects and indicate that causers bring about causees being in certain states. In Classical Chinese, causers of causative constructions do not have to be inanimate, but they do not have the autonomy or volition of an agent either. Since causative constructions in Classical Chinese do not entail overt causative verbs, the intransitive

verbs (adjectives) in causative constructions are used in a causative sense and convey the meaning of ‘to make V’.

In Classical Chinese during the Warring States period, causative constructions without overt causative verbs display two opposite word orders, viz. CAUSER-V-CAUSEE and CAUSEE-V-CAUSER. Although the former format is identical to that in agentive constructions, a discrepancy between agentive and causative constructions lies in that causers in the former are agents of their own volition and autonomy, yet those in the latter are not.

In example (13), the subject acts as the causer and the object the causee, so example (13) seems to be analogous to those agentive constructions discussed in Section 3.1.1. in terms of their shared word order CAUSER-V-CAUSEE. However, the causer ‘blood and *qi*’ in (13) does have the same kind of volition as the agent causers in agentive constructions (such as *gōng* ‘craftsman’ in (11a)). Therefore, agentive constructions and causative constructions sharing the CAUSER-V-CAUSEE order do not coincide with each other. Example (14) is drawn here to show that the morpheme 走 *zǒu* is an intransitive verb ‘to run away’ in canonical sentences, so in (13) it is used in a causative sense ‘to make someone run away’ (Xu, 2006, pp. 119–120), and thus its transitivity.

- (13) a. 秦 戰 勝 魏, 走 孟 卯
 Qín zhàn sheng Wèi, zǒu Mèng Mǎo
 Qin attack win Wei (make-)run Meng Mao
 ‘The state of Qin attacked and beat Wei, making Meng Mao run away.’
 (戰國縱橫家書; Xu, 2006, p. 119)

- (13) b. 則 血 氣 走 之 (黃帝內經•五味論)
 Zé xuè qì zǒu zhī
 then blood *qi* run 3.Obj
 ‘Then blood and *qi* make it run.’

- (14) 兵 刃 既 接, 棄 甲 曳 兵 而 走
 Bīng rèn jì jiē, Qì jiǎ yè bīng ér zǒu
 weapon blade already cross abandon armour trail weapon and flee
 ‘After weapons were crossed to the rolling of drums, some soldiers fled, abandoning their armour and trailing their weapons.’
 (孟子•梁惠王上; Xu, 2006, p. 119)

Apart from the CAUSER-V-CAUSEE format, causative constructions in Classical Chinese can adopt the order CAUSEE-V-CAUSER, as in (15) where causers are postverbal and inanimate. In (15a), the causer 其負 *qí fù* ‘their defeat’ following an intransitive verb makes the causee (subject) 弱者 *ruò zhě* ‘the weak’ sorrow. The

intransitive verb 哀 *āi* is used causatively as a transitive verb expressing ‘to make V’. Similarly, in (15b-c) the NP 藝 *yì* and the third person singular pronoun 之 *zhī* appear in a postverbal object position and they cause the null subjects to die/grieve.

- (15) a. 弱 者 哀 其 負 (鬼谷子•中經)

Ruò zhě āi qí Fù

weak Det sorrow Gen defeat

‘Their defeat makes the weak sorrow.’

- (15) b. 死 藝 (左傳•成公十六年)

Sǐ yì

die skill

‘The skill will make (you) die.’

- (15) c. 偏 傷 之 也 (荀子•不苟)

Biàn shāng zhī yě

generally grieve 3.Obj Decl

‘It generally makes (people) grieve.’

It is worth mentioning that the structure in (15) is not formed via omission of prepositions, though there are examples like (16) that indeed contain a preposition 於 *yú* ‘because of’. I argue that examples including 苦 *kǔ* and the preposition ‘because of’ are not the canonical, complete form of (15), otherwise it cannot be explained why the preposition can be omitted in one context but not the other, and there is no motivation to leave the preposition out. In Classical Chinese, omission of prepositions normally happens to 以 *yǐ* ‘with; for’. In line with Peyraube (1996, 1997), I treat 以 *yǐ* as a preposition and have found a range of examples that involve empty *yǐ*. Moreover, data containing null 於 *yú* is sparsely attested in Classical Chinese corpora, and whenever 於 *yú* is omitted in those examples, it always means ‘at; in’, rather than ‘because of’.

- (16) 苦 於 山林 之 勞 (莊子•徐無鬼)

Kǔ yú shānlín zhī láo

suffer because.of mountain.forest Gen labour

‘(You) suffer because of labour in mountains and forests.’

Although both agentive and causative constructions display an SVO order, their formats are distinct: the former displays a CAUSER-V-CAUSEE pattern (17), yet the latter a CAUSEE-V-CAUSER one (15). Furthermore, although both agentive and causative constructions have animate (or personified) subjects, their causers display disparate features: in agentive constructions, causers are agents of autonomy and volition, occupying a subject position (17), yet in causative constructions, causers are inanimate, occupying an object position (15).

- (17) a. 君子 信 而 後 勞 其 民 (論語•子張)
 Jūnzǐ xìn ér hòu láo qí mín
 gentleman upright Conj then labour Gen people
 'Gentlemen (should be) upright and then make their people labour'
- (17) b. 必 先 苦 其 心 志 (孟子•告子下)
 Bì xiān kǔ qí xīnzhì
 must first suffer Gen mindset.aspiration
 '(The Heaven) must make his mindset and aspiration suffer first.'

As propounded by Shibatani (1976) and Meisterernst (2006), when overt causative verbs are used to express causativity, there are two categories to indicate a situation of the causing and a caused situation: lexical causatives and productive causatives. The former has a patient causee and entails direct causation, yet the causee of the latter has volition and the causation is indirect. Additionally, the causing and caused situations of lexical causatives have spatio-temporal overlap and thus can be analyzed as one single situation, whereas the causing and caused situations of productive causatives do not have to coincide spatio-temporarily, so they cannot be deemed one situation.

I state that in Classical Chinese during the Warring States period, even when there is no overt causative verb, causative constructions can still be categorized into lexical causatives and productive causatives. In (18) (= (13)), for example, an intransitive verb 走 *zǒu* is used in a causative sense, intervening between a non-agent causer subject and a theme causee object, so (18) involves a causative construction with the CAUSER-V-CAUSEE order. Since the causation is direct and the causing and caused situations can be regarded as a unified situation, the causative construction in (18) is a lexical causative.

- (18) a. 秦 戰 勝 魏, 走 孟 卯
 Qín zhàn sheng Wèi, zǒu Mèng Mǎo
 Qin attack win Wei (make-)run Meng Mao
 'The state of Qin attacked and beat Wei, making Meng Mao run away.'
 (戰國縱橫家書; Xu, 2006, p. 119)
- (18) b. 則 血 氣 走 之 (黃帝內經•五味論)
 Zé xuè qì zǒu zhī
 then blood *qi* run 3.Obj
 'Then blood and *qi* make it run.'

As mentioned previously, another type of causative constructions in Classical Chinese adopts a CAUSEE-V-CAUSER pattern, so that means both lexical and productive causatives of this type demonstrate such an order.

Nonetheless, lexical and productive causatives in Classical Chinese display distinctions. The first distinction is that a lexical causative entails a causee without autonomy or volition, whereas a productive causative entails a causee of autonomy and volition. In example (19) (=15a)), although the causee subject is ‘the weak’, it cannot be analyzed as an agent, in that those people are trapped into the negative emotion passively, without showing intention to suffer from the defeat, so the execution of the caused situation entirely relies on the existence of the causer, viz. the defeat.

(19) 弱者哀其負 (鬼谷子•中經)

Ruò zhě āi qí fù

weak Det sorrow Gen defeat

‘Their defeat makes the weak sorrow.’

Productive causatives, however, entail causees that have their autonomy and volition. Consequently, the causees contribute to the causing and caused situations. I refer to examples with a CAUSEE-V-CAUSER in order to illustrate productive causatives (20). In (20a), 節 *jié* ‘integrity’ is a causer that triggers the caused event, viz. soldiers’ death. As for the causee that occupies a subject position, i.e. soldiers, they have decided to sacrifice their lives for integrity, so the causee indeed plays a part in the causativity. Similarly, the subject in (20b) does not bring about causativity, because it is a causee, but the subject demonstrates autonomy and volition, and thus contributes to the causing and caused events. Note that the morpheme 死 *sǐ* in example (20) is an intransitive verb because it is used intransitively in canonical sentences, as in (21).

(20) a. 故軍士死節 (商君書•君臣)

Gù jūnshì sǐ jié

so soldier die integrity

‘So soldiers die (for) integrity.’

(20) b. 召忽死之 (論語•憲問)

Shào hū sǐ zhī

Shao Hu die 3.Obj

‘Shao Hu died (for) him.’

- (21) a. 人 之 將 死, 其 言 也 善 (論語•泰伯)

Rén zhī jiāng sǐ, qí yán yě shàn

people ZHI Fut die Gen words also kind

‘(When) people are about to die, their words are also kind.’

- (21) b. 曾 皙 死 (孟子•離婁上)

Zēng xī sǐ

Zeng Xi die

‘Zeng Xi died.’

According to traditional theories, the structure in (20) is called 為動用法 *wèi-dòng yòngfǎ* that means ‘for-action use’, and when an intransitive verb is used in a *wèi-dòng* way, it indicates that the subject takes an action *for* the object (see Xiang et al., 1988, p. 130, among many others). Nevertheless, I argue that the traditional concept 為動用法 *wèi-dòng yòngfǎ* ‘for-action use’ cannot be employed to represent productive causatives owing to two reasons. First, the *wèi-dòng yòngfǎ* contains more than one category, so an overgeneralization problem arises if this terminology is employed to represent productive causatives. The ‘for-action use’ is comprised of two distinct constructions. The first type is the above-mentioned CAUSEE-V-CAUSER productive causatives that entail causees of their autonomy and volition. The other type of *wèi-dòng yòngfǎ* refers to a situation where the subject initiates action for the benefit of the object, and they both have autonomy and volition (22). Sentences in (22) contain transitive verbs, yet their direct objects are omitted; pronominal and nominal phrases appearing in the object position receive a beneficiary theta role, rather than a theme role. Constructions of the second type are disparate from productive causatives. Therefore, it can be seen that the terminology ‘for-action use’ only covers the second category, and cannot represent productive causatives. Second, for the second type of *wèi-dòng* constructions, the assumed null preposition ‘for’ cannot be recovered. That is to say, there is a lack of a presumed complete form of such constructions in a *Subj-for-Obj-VP format. As a consequence, I suggest that productive causatives should not be treated as the traditional ‘for-action use’ of verbs.

- (22) a. 夫人 將 啟 之 (左傳•隱公元年)

Fūren jiāng qǐ zhī

madam Fut open 3.Obj

‘The madam will open (the gate) (for) him.’

- (22) b. 邴 夏 御 齊 侯 (左傳•成公二年)

Bǐng xià yù qí hóu

Bing Xia drive Qi duke

‘Bing Xia drove (the chariot) (for) the Duke of Qi.’

Directness/indirectness of causation is another distinction between lexical and productive causatives: causation in the former is direct, yet that in the latter is indirect. In a lexical causative in (23a) (= (19)), the causer ‘their defeat’ directly brings about the suffering of people. In a productive causative in (23b) (= (20b)), the causer object is the master of the causee subject, and the causer did not directly kill the causee or order him to die/be killed; instead, the causee committed suicide to show his loyalty to the causer upon the causer’s death. It indicates that the causing event, i.e. the causer’s death, and the caused event, i.e. the causee’s suicide, are not directly linked.

(23) a. 弱者哀其 (鬼谷子•中經)

Ruò zhě āi qí fù

weak Det sorrow Gen defeat

‘Their defeat makes the weak sorrow.’

(23) b. 召忽死之 (論語•憲問)

Shào hū sǐ zhī

Shao Hu die 3.Obj

‘Shao Hu died (for) him.’

Additionally, the disparity between lexical and productive causatives also lies in whether there is any spatio-temporal overlap of the causing and caused situations, which, to some extent, is correlated with the directness/indirectness of causation. As mentioned earlier, the productive causative in (23b) involves a causing event (the causer’s death) and a caused event (the causee’s suicide) which are indirectly linked. Between the causing and caused events, there are time and space gaps, which means in productive causatives, the causing and caused situations do not coincide spatio-temporally and thus cannot be regarded as a unified single situation. On the contrary, in a lexical causative in (23a), the causer ‘their defeat’ and the causee ‘the weak’ must coexist in the same time and space and denote the same cohort, otherwise it is impossible for the defeat to bring about sorrow to the weak people. That is to say, lexical causatives require the causing and the caused situations to have spatio-temporal overlap, so that the two situations can be conceptualized as one.

3.2 Causation with overt causative verbs

The other approach to express causation in Classical Chinese is by the use of causative (light) verbs. In Classical Chinese during the Han dynasty, productive causatives express causative situations analytically employing causative verbs indicating ‘to make; to order’, e.g. 使 *shǐ*, 令 *lìng* and 命 *mìng*. Such constructions remain stable throughout the history of the Chinese language, and *shǐ* can still be used in this way in Modern

Mandarin (Norman, 1988, pp. 129–130; Chappell & Peyraube, 2006, p. 977; Meisterernst, 2006; Xu, 2006, pp. 124–125; Basciano, 2013).

Similar to causation structures with covert causative verbs, subjects in structures with overt causative verbs can also be divided into those with their own volition and those without. In other words, causation structures with causative verbs can also be categorized into agentive constructions and causative constructions.

3.2.1 Agentive constructions

In Classical Chinese during the Han dynasty, agentive constructions with overt causative (light) verbs can be further divided into lexical causatives and productive causatives.

Lexical causatives involving agent subjects entail direct causation, as well as spatio-temporal overlap of the causing and caused situations. Moreover, due to the patientive nature of causees in lexical causatives, the execution of the caused situation entirely depends on causers' activities. Lexical causatives display a pattern of CAUSER-V1-Obj1-V2-(Obj2), in which V1 denotes causative verbs 'to make' and V2 denotes lexical verbs (or predicative adjectives).

Examples in (24) exemplify lexical causatives. In both examples, subjects function as agent causers of their autonomy and volition. It can be observed that there is an overlap between causing and caused situations regarding time and space, or rather, these two situations can be perceived as a unified event. For instance, in (24a), there is only one event, namely, gods making people deferential and respectful. Consequently, it is reasonable to claim that the causativity in (24) is direct. There is no denying the fact that examples in (24) seem to violate the criterion that causees in lexical causatives should be patientive because the object 人 *rén* should be regarded as having autonomy and volition. I argue that this object causee does not demonstrate volition to interfere with the causer's intentional behavior, and consequently fails to affect the causativity. Therefore, the causee in (24) is patientive by nature.

- (24) a. 天 神 何 不 使 人 尊敬?
 Tiān shén hé bù shǐ rén zūnjìng?
 heaven ghost why NEG cause man honour
 'The heavenly ghosts are supposed to human beings deferential and respectful.'
 (Lit. 'The heavenly ghosts, why do they not make human beings deferential and respectful?')
 (論衡•書虛; Meisterernst, 2006, p. 452)

- (24) b. 使 人 怨 悲 (潛夫論•夢列)

Shǐ rén yuànbēi

make people wistful

‘(It) makes people wistful.’

- (24) c. 使 君 盛 怒 (國語•魯語上; Xu, 2006, p. 122)

Shǐ jūn shèng nù

make Your-Majesty greatly rage

‘(Our ruler) makes Your Majesty boil with rage.’

Additionally, it can be seen from (24) that in lexical causatives, V2 (lexical verbs) can be either transitive or intransitive verbs (predicative adjectives). In (24a), 尊敬 *zūnjìng* ‘to honor’ is transitive,² but its direct object is left out because the omitted element can be recovered from the previous context. (24b), however, involves an adjective (intransitive verb) 怨悲 *yuànbēi* ‘wistful’.

Example (25) shows that in addition to the causative verb 使 *shǐ*, 令 *lìng* is also attested in lexical causatives in Classical Chinese corpora.

- (25) a. 有 謀 人 之 心 而 令 人 知 之

Yǒu móu rén zhī xīn ér lìng rén zhī zhī

have plot people Gen intention Conj make people know 3.Obj

‘(If one) has intention to plot against people and make them know it.’

(戰國策•燕一)

- (25) b. 必 令 王 先 知 之 (戰縱; Xu, 2006, p. 126)

Bì lìng wáng xiān zhī zhī

surely order king first know it

‘I will certainly let Your Majesty know first.’

In terms of productive causatives, they also involve agent subjects as causers, but disparate from lexical causatives, causees in productive causatives have some level of volition. Moreover, productive causatives demonstrate indirect causation, and the causing and caused situations are separate. A productive causative contains a causative verb and a lexical verb. When the lexical verb is transitive, the productive causative adopts a format of CAUSER-V1-(Obj1)-V2-Obj2; when the lexical verb is intransitive, the

² The transitivity of 尊敬 *zūnjìng* ‘to honour’ can be illustrated by example (i).

- (i) 不 尊敬 社稷 (說苑•至公)

Bù zūnjìng shèjì

not honour state

‘Not honouring the state’

structure is CAUSER-V1-Obj-V2. In both patterns, V1 denotes causative verbs ‘to order’ and V2 denotes lexical verbs (or predicative adjectives).

Examples in (26) are productive causatives with the CAUSER-V1-(Obj1)-V2-Obj2 order. In (26a), there are two situations: a causing situation *shǐ rén* ‘(he) ordered someone’ and a caused situation *rén fǎng yú kǒngzǐ* ‘someone visited Confucius’. Since it is very likely that the causing event and the caused event would not happen at the same time or in the same place, or at least not simultaneously or in the same room, it can be assumed that these two events are indirectly linked. In terms of Obj1 *rén* intervening between the causative verb and the lexical verb, it acts as both the causee of the preceding causing situation and the agent of the following caused situation. As the causee, the argument *rén* has some level of volition, so it meets the criterion that causees of productive causatives entail a certain level of volition. This interpretation applies to (26b) as well.

- (26) a. 使 人 訪 於 孔 子 (孔子家語•公西赤問)
 Shǐ rén fǎng yú kǒngzǐ
 order someone visit Prep Confucius
 ‘(He) ordered someone to visit Confucius.’

- (26) b. 使 人 辱 之 (史記•項羽本紀; Xu, 2006, p. 125)
 Shǐ rén rǔ zhī
 send someone dishonour him
 ‘Make someone dishonour him.’

It is notable that the object following a causative verb, which acts as the causee and agent of the causing and caused situations simultaneously, can be omitted, as in (27a-b), the complete counterpart of which is (27c-d). That is to say, the *shǐ*-Obj1-V/Adj-Obj2 constructions in (27c-d) are the complete form of *shǐ*-V/Adj-Obj in (27a-b).

- (27) a. 乃 私 使 殺 之 (漢書•匈奴傳上)
 Nǎi sī shǐ shā zhī
 so secretly order kill 3.Obj
 ‘So (she) secretly ordered him to be killed.’

- (27) b. 欲 下 令 使 高 之
 Yù xià lìng shǐ gāo zhī
 wish below command cause high OBJ
 ‘(The king) wanted to give the order to have them made higher.’
 (史記•循吏列傳; adapted from Meisterernst, 2006, p. 438)

- (27) c. 太后 使 人 殺 之 (史記•呂太后本紀)

Tàihòu shǐ rén shā zhī

Queen.mother order someone kill 3.Obj

'The queen mother ordered him to be killed.'

- (27) d. 使 人 高 之 而 勿 罪 也

Shǐ rén gāo zhī ér wù zuì yě

order someone high 3.Obj Conj do.not blame Decl

'You have ordered it to be made higher, then do not blame others.'

(晏子春秋•景公登路寢臺不終不悅晏子諫)

For Obj1 that intervenes between the causative verb V1 and lexical verb V2, apart from being indefinite and simplex (e.g. 人 *rén* 'people; someone' in (24–25/26–27)) as well as pronominal (e.g. see 之 *zhī* in (28)), Obj1 can be definite, complex and non-pronominal, as in example (29).

- (28) 使 之 相 保 (中論•譴交)

Shǐ zhī xiāng bǎo

order 3.Obj reciprocally protect

'Order them to reciprocally protect (each other).'

- (29) a. 上 嘗 使 諸 數 家 射覆 (漢書•東方朔傳)

Shàng cháng shǐ zhū shù jiā shèfù

monarch Asp order many several Cl divine

'The monarch once ordered many people to divine.'

- (29) b. 天子 已 嘗 使 浞野 侯 攻 樓蘭

Tiānzǐ yǐ cháng shǐ zhuóyě hóu gōng lóulán

emperor already Asp order Zhuoye Marquis attack Loulan

'The emperor once already ordered the Marquis of Zhuoye to attack Loulan.'

(史記•齊悼惠王世家)

The other form of productive causatives adopts a CAUSER-V1-Obj-V2 order, in which the lexical verb V2 is intransitive, as in (30). Parallel to those with the CAUSER-V1-(Obj1)-V2-Obj2 pattern, a productive causative with an intransitive lexical verb also contains an object intervening between the causative verb and the lexical verb, and this object has volition, acting as both the causee of the causing situation and the agent of the caused situation.

- (30) a. 齊王初使之去者 (論衡•刺孟)

Qí wáng chū shǐ zhī qù zhě

Qì king initially order 3.Obj go Det

'The reason why King Qì initially ordered him to go.'

- (30) b. 王使人來曰 (孟子•公孫丑下; Xu, 2006, p. 121)

Wáng shǐ rén lái yuē

king send someone come say

'The king sent someone who said...'

Similarly, (31a/32a) and (31b/32b) also involve a transitive and intransitive verb respectively, yet different from (26–30) that contain the causative verb 使 *shǐ* 'to order', (31a-c) and (32a-b) contain the causative verbs 令 *lìng* and 命 *mìng* 'to order' respectively.

- (31) a. 令吏葬之 (說苑•辨物)

Lìng lì zàng zhī

order official bury 3.Obj

'(He) ordered officials to bury them.'

- (31) b. 必誨莫令人往 (新書•退讓)

Bì huì mò lìng rén wǎng

definitely tell do.not order people go

'(I would) definitely tell (you) not to order anyone to go.'

- (31) c. 而不能令狗無吠己 (戰國策•韓策; Xu, 2006, p. 121)

ér bù néng lìng gǒu wú fèi jǐ

and NEG can order dog NEG bark oneself

'You cannot order a dog not to bark at you.'

- (32) a. 宜命人毋持兵 (史記•朝鮮列傳)

Yí mìng rén wú chí bīng

had.better order people do.not hold weapon

'(He) had better order people not to hold weapons.'

- (32) b. 命之侑 (禮記•檀弓上)

Mìng zhī yòu

order 3.Obj entertain

'(He) ordered him to entertain.'

3.2.2 Causative constructions

Causative constructions with overt causative verbs, parallel to their counterparts with covert causative verbs, also contain non-agent inanimate subjects that function as causers and bring about causees being in certain states.

Nevertheless, different from causative constructions with covert causative verbs that allow causers to either precede or follow causees, causative constructions with overt causative verbs never permit causers to follow causees, and to be more specific, causers in these structures always occupy the subject position. Furthermore, causative constructions with covert causative verbs can be categorized into lexical and productive causatives, yet causative constructions with overt causative verbs always exhibit properties of lexical causatives.

In examples in (33), the subject causers assume a theme thematic role, so they contain causative constructions. These causative constructions adopt an order of CAUSER-V1-Obj1-V2-(Obj2), where V1 denotes the causative verb 使 *shǐ* ‘to make’ and V2 denotes a lexical verb (or a predicative adjective). Similarly, examples in (34) involve another causative verb 令 *lìng* that also means ‘to make’. Although this format seems to be identical to that in agentive constructions (lexical causatives), a discrepancy between agentive and causative constructions with overt causatives lies in that causers in the former are agents of their own volition and autonomy, yet those in the latter are not.

- (33) a. 登 高 使 人 欲 望 (說苑•談叢)

Dēng gāo shǐ rén yù wàng

ascend height make people want look.far

‘Ascending a height makes people want to look far.’

- (33) b. 登 高 望 下 使 人 心 悲 (說苑•指武)

Dēng gāo wàng xià shǐ rén xīnbēi

ascend height look down make people sorrowful

‘Ascending a height and looking down makes people sorrowful.’

- (33) c. 使 蕃 臣 不 自 安

Shǐ fān chén bù zì ān

cause all subject NEG self pacify

‘Caused all foreign vassals not (to be able) to keep peace for themselves.’

(史記•酷吏列傳; adapted from Meisterernst, 2006, p. 449)

(34) a. 誤 食 之, 令 人 狂亂 (金匱要略)

Wù shí zhī, lìng rén kuánguàn

accidentally eat 3.Obj make people manic

‘(If people) eat it accidentally, (it will) make people manic.’

(34) b. 令 人 墮怠 (焦氏易林•泰之)

Lìng rén duòdài

make people lazy

‘(It) makes people lazy.’

As can be summarised from section 3.2, causation with overt causative (light) verbs in Classical Chinese demonstrates robust features. When overt causative verbs are employed, causation structures can be categorized into agentive constructions and causative constructions. Agentive constructions can be either lexical or productive causatives, whereas causative constructions are always lexical causatives. One of the key distinctions between lexical and productive causatives is that the causee of the former is patientive, yet the causee of the latter has a certain level of volition. Consequently, causative verbs in lexical causatives indicate ‘to make’, because the causation does not have to rely on the patientive causee anyway; causative verbs in productive causatives, on the contrary, must indicate ‘to order’, because the causee needs to contribute to the causation. In Classical Chinese, the three causative verbs are inconsistent regarding their meanings: polysemous 使 *shǐ* and 令 *lìng* can mean ‘to make’ or ‘to order’, while 命 *mìng* always means ‘to order’. Such inconsistency accounts for the fact that productive causatives permit all three causative verbs, whereas lexical causatives allow 使 *shǐ* and 令 *lìng* only. Since causative constructions coincide with lexical causatives, it can also be said that agentive constructions allow all causative verbs, but 命 *mìng* is excluded from causative constructions.

4 A prosodic approach to causation

In this section, I take a prosodic approach to account for causation in Classical Chinese during the Warring States period and in the Han dynasty. Feng (1998, 2000, 2009) defines a minimal word as a single prosodic word in the prosodic-morphological system and a prosodically circumscribed domain. He formulates a templatic constraint for compounding that the VO-compound is a prosodic word, as well as a templatic constraint on categorical change that an auxiliary+verb form undergoes a process of category changing if it is a prosodic word. In Mandarin, only disyllabic V-O and Aux-V forms exhibit lexical properties and meet minimal word requirements, hence can be compounds, yet tri-/polysyllabic V-O and Aux-V forms are not qualified to be compounds, because they fail to meet the definition of a prosodic word. To be more specific, disyllabic VO compounds can take postverbal objects and aspect markers, and

they cannot be separated; tri-polysyllabic VO phrases, however, cannot take objects or aspect markers (in a way that VO verbs do), but they can be separated. As for Aux+V (*kě* +V) forms, only disyllabic or shorter ones can be modified by degree modifiers and undergo the process of changing into adjectives. This prosodic approach not only applies to active constructions but also to the compound passive (*bèi*-V) and phrasal passives (*bèi*-VP and *bèi*-NP-VP), both of which are constrained by prosody (Feng 1998, 2000, 2009).

In Classical Chinese during the Warring States period and the Han dynasty, both strategies to form causation structures, i.e. causative use of words and use of causative verbs, are compatible with a prosodic approach. In causation structures involving flexible use of nouns and intransitive verbs/adjectives, covert causative verbs and their sister nodes are binary, so causation structures with covert causative verbs exhibit properties of compounds (minimal words). In respect of causation structures with overt causative verbs, they are constituted of more than two syllables and hence are on a par with phrases.

Following Feng (2005, 2014, 2016, 2019), I treat causative verbs as light verbs; during the Warring States period, light verbs were covert, while in the Han dynasty, they became phonetically realized. Consequently, causation structures with covert causative verbs can be analyzed on a par with covert light verb constructions, instead of being accounted for by an approach of preposition omission, applicative structure or light verb structure (Su & Feng, 2020).

In this section, I discuss VO and VV causation in Classical Chinese, both of which can be accounted for by a prosodic theory.

I analyze VO causation first. To justify the compound nature of causation structures with covert causative verbs, as well as the phrasal nature of those with overt causative verbs, I refer to their (different) ability to take an ‘outer’ object and separability.

When a causation structure consists of a noun and a covert causative verb selecting it, the structure is disyllabic and it can take an ‘outer’ object. In (35), the causation structure contains two syllables, namely, (V)-O, with the causative verb being empty, which indicates that (V)-O forms construct minimal prosodic units. In (35c/d), the nouns 友 *yǒu* ‘friend’, 牛羊 *niú yáng* ‘cattle and sheep’ and 倉廩 *cāng lǐn* ‘granary’ are used transitively to indicate ‘to make friends’ and ‘to make (the parents possess) cattle/sheep/granaries’ respectively (Xu, 2006, p. 118). Nonetheless, when causative verbs are overt, such a phenomenon is never attested.

- (35) a. 桓 公 解 管 仲 之 束 縛 而 相 之
 Huán gōng jiě guǎn zhòng zhī shùfù ér xiàng zhī
 Huan Duke release Guan Zhong Gen manacles Conj minister 3.Obj
 'The Duke of Huan released Guan Zhong's manacles and made him minister.'
 (韓非子•難一)
- (35) b. 匿 怨 而 友 其 人 (論語•公冶長)
 Nì yuàn ér yǒu qí rén
 conceal resentment Conj friend Gen person
 'Concealing resentment and making this person a friend.'
- (35) c. 友 也 者, 友 其 德 也 (孟子•萬章下; Xu, 2006, p. 118)
 Yǒu yě zhě, yǒu qí dé yě
 befriend PART ZHE befriend his virtue PART
 'In making friends with someone you do so because of his virtue.'
- (35) d. 牛 羊 父 母, 倉 廩 父 母
 Niú yáng fù mǔ, cāng lǐn fù mǔ
 cattle sheep father mother granary cereal father mother
 'The cattle and sheep go to you, father and mother, and the granaries as well.'
 (孟子•萬章上; Xu, 2006, p. 118)

In terms of VV forms, causation structures with covert causative verbs are also prosodic words, parallel to their VO counterparts, and causation structures with overt causative verbs are also phrases, similar to their VO counterparts. To demonstrate the phrasal nature of VV causation structures, I refer to the possibility to insert an NP between two verbs (generating V1-NP1-V2-(NP2)), as well as their ability to take an adverbial modifier.

First, V-V forms involving overt causative verbs can be separated by NPs. When a causative verb is combined with a lexical verb to generate V-V causation, an NP can intervene between the two verbs and form V1-NP1-V2-(NP2). In example (36a) (=27a)), the causative verb 使 *shǐ* 'to order' precedes a lexical verb 殺 *shā* 'to kill', generating a V-V form. (36a) displays the canonical V-V form, whereas in (36b) (=27b)), an NP 人 *rén* occurs between the causative verb and the lexical verb. Similarly, a full DP can intervene between a causative verb and a lexical verb in (37). If the two verbs formed a minimal word, it would be impossible for any nominal element to separate them. That is to say, such a separability test justifies the phrasal nature of the V-V form.

- (36) a. 乃 私 使 殺 之 (漢書•匈奴傳上)
 Nǎi sī shǐ shā zhī
 so secretly order kill 3.Obj
 'So (she) secretly ordered him to be killed.'
- (36) b. 太后 使 人 殺 之 (史記•呂太后本紀)
 Tàihòu shǐ rén shā zhī
 Queen.mother order someone kill 3.Obj
 'The queen mother ordered him to be killed.'
- (37) a. 數 使 使 趣 齊 兵 (史記•項羽本紀)
 Shuò shǐ shǐ cù qí bīng
 several.times order messenger urge Qi soldier
 '(He) ordered messengers to urge Qi soldiers several times.'
- (37) b. 復 使 一 人 趣 之! (史記•滑稽列傳)
 Fù shǐ yī rén cù zhī!
 again order 1 person urge 3.Obj
 'Order someone to urge him again!'

Second, V-V causation with overt causative verbs can be separated by adverbials. When causation structures contain overt causative verbs, they can take modifying adverbials, which is a typical property of phrases. In (38), a causative construction has a CAUSER-V1-Obj-V2 format, where V1 is the causative verb 令 *lìng* 'to make' and V2 is a lexical verb 'to die'. An adverb can intervene between the object and lexical verb to modify this verb, which means structures in (38) are on a par with phrases because adverbs cannot be inserted into prosodic words as modifiers. Therefore, due to this separability test, it is safe to state that such VV causation in Classical Chinese is phrasal.

- (38) a. 令 人 暴 亡 (黃帝內經•刺法論)
 Lìng rén bào wáng
 make person suddenly die
 '(It) makes people suddenly die.'
- (38) b. 令 人 卒 亡 (黃帝內經•本病論)
 Lìng rén cù wáng
 make person suddenly die
 '(It) makes people suddenly die.'

It is worth mentioning that for causation structures that are analyzed as prosodic words, since their causative verbs are covert, it is impossible to apply the separability test to them.

To summarise, both VO and VV causation in Classical Chinese can be accounted for by a prosodic approach. Causation structures with covert causative verbs are prosodic words, whereas those with overt causative verbs are phrases.

The hypothesis that causation structures without overt causative verbs are prosodic words explains their transitivity: during the Warring States period, morphemes 使 *shǐ*, 令 *lìng* and 命 *mìng* were still predominantly employed as full verbs, before evolving into causative verbs. The vast majority of words that are used in a flexible manner (or rather, in combination with covert causative verbs) to indicate causation are nouns and intransitive verbs/adjectives because transitivity is the purpose of the causative process. This also accounts for the fact that using transitive verbs in a causative sense is very rare in Classical Chinese, though there are indeed a few examples attested in corpora, such as (39) (= (4a)).

- (39) 晉侯 飲 趙盾酒 (左傳•宣公二年; Choonharuangdej, 2008, p. 8)
 Jìn hóu yìn zhào dùn jiǔ
 Jin marquis drink Zhao Dun wine
 'Marquis of Jin made Zhao Dun drink wine.'

To reinforce the prosodic approach, I refer to an additional causation structure that did not appear until towards the end of Classical Chinese, namely, during the Han dynasty. This new causation structure consists of a transitive verb and an intransitive complement (a verb or an adjective) and it functions as a causative verb (Norman, 1988, p. 129). Such structures remain stable throughout the history of Chinese and still exist in Modern Mandarin (Wei, 2000). (40a-b) and (40c-d) demonstrate transitive and intransitive structures respectively. Note that the same structure 擊殺 *jī-shā* functions as a transitive verb in (40b) while an intransitive verb in (40c). (41a) and (41b) illustrate transitive and intransitive examples in Modern Mandarin.

- (40) a. 吳 攻破 楚 (論衡•順鼓)
 Wú gōng-pò chǔ
 Wu attack-crush Chu
 'Wu attacked and demolished Chu.'
- (40) b. 則 項梁 已 擊殺 之 (史記•李斯列傳)
 Zé xiàng liáng yǐ jī-shā zhī
 then Xiang Liang already strike-kill 3.Obj
 'Then Xiang Liang already struck and killed him.'

- (40) c. 以 勝 擊殺 (淮南子•天文訓)
 Yǐ shèng jī-shā
 use victory strike-kill
 'Using victory to strike and kill.'
- (40) d. 漢 擊破 (史記•齊悼惠王世家)
 Hàn jī-pò
 Han attack-crush
 'Han attacked and crushed.'
- (41) a. 他 打死 他們 了。 (Cheng et al., 1997, p. 201)
 Tā dǎ-sǐ tāmen le.
 he hit-dead them asp
 'He hit them dead.'
- (41) b. 他 累死 了。 (Cheng et al., 1997, p. 201)
 Tā lèi-sǐ le.
 He tired-dead asp
 'He is extremely tired.'

I argue that such VV structures construct minimal prosodic units, as no modifier can occur inside the VV forms. To be more specific, there is no attested example in Classical Chinese corpora with an adverb intervening between the two verbs in a VV structure as a modifier. Since this additional type of causation structure can also be explained by the prosodic approach, they reinforce the rationality of the prosodic theory for Classical Chinese.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated causation in Classical Chinese. There are two strategies to form causation: causative use of intransitive verbs/adjectives and nouns with covert causative (light) verbs, as well as employment of overt causative (light) verbs. Causation structures with and without causative verbs can be divided into agentive constructions and causative constructions: the former entails agent causers whereas causers of the latter do not have volition. Agentive constructions and causative constructions can be further categorized into lexical causatives and productive causatives, based on three discrepancies: 1) the thematic role of the causee, 2) (lack of) overlap of the causing and caused situations, and 3) directness/indirectness of causation (Shibatani, 1976; Meisterernst, 2006).

Within causation structures with covert causative verbs, agentive constructions involve intransitive verbs/adjectives as well as nouns, though the latter is less

frequently attested than the former in corpora. As for causative constructions with covert causative verbs, they display two opposite word orders, i.e. CAUSER-V-CAUSEE and CAUSEE-V-CAUSER. Although causative constructions adopting the former format seem identical to agentive constructions, causers of causative constructions are themes without volition, rather than agents.

Causation structures with overt causative verbs can also be categorized into agentive constructions and causative constructions; the former can be either lexical or productive causatives, yet the latter can only be lexical causatives. Causative verbs in lexical causatives mean 'to make', while those in productive causatives mean 'to order'. Given the fact that 使 *shǐ* and 令 *lìng* can mean 'to make' or 'to order', whereas 命 *mìng* always means 'to order', productive causatives permit all three causative verbs, whereas lexical causatives allow 使 *shǐ* and 令 *lìng* only. Consequently, all causative verbs are attested in agentive constructions, but 命 *mìng* is excluded from causative constructions.

In the last section, I follow Feng's (1998, 2000, 2009) prosodic approach and argue that both causation structures with overt causative verbs and those without can be explained by a prosodic theory. Having analyzed both VO and VV causation forms, I argue that causation structures involving covert causative verbs are prosodic words, whereas those involving overt causative verbs exhibit properties of phrases. To be more specific, VO forms with covert causative verbs can take 'outer' objects, but their counterparts with overt causative verbs cannot; a VV form with an overt causative verb can take an adverbial modifier, and an object can be inserted between two verbs, yet their counterpart with a covert causative verb does not display such phrasal properties. Additionally, I reinforce the prosodic approach by referring to a newly emerged V-V causation structure that does not allow any modifier between its two verbs and hence a minimal prosodic unit.

Of course, there are remaining issues concerning causation in Classical Chinese, such as the presence of opposite word orders in causative constructions with covert causative verbs, motivation for the appearance of new V-V causation structures during the Han dynasty, the disappearance of causation structures with covert causative verbs in Modern Mandarin, etc. These issues could be addressed in future research.

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RESEARCH NOTES (RESEARCH IN PROGRESS)

“I AM NOT PUNJABI, MY PARENTS ARE”: DEGRADATION OF THE LANGUAGE OF DOMINANT MAJORITY

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Abstract

Due to social and geographical mobility and globalization, many minority languages in the world are pushed to the periphery. Reasons for such a trend differ among languages. In the case of the Punjabi language, despite being spoken by a major portion of the population, the speakers are gradually disowning it. Considering this gradual shift, the present study explores the predicament of the Punjabi language. The study uses phenomenological design and collects data from Punjabi ethnic students in four different universities in Islamabad. The study uses semi-structured interviews, TV shows, and natural conversations. Findings reveal that the Punjabi speakers themselves disown their language as well as Punjabi identity due to social, economic, religious, and political reasons. Especially women avoid the language more, they do not speak Punjabi with their children, and they reject their Punjabi identity.

Keywords: language ideology; linguistic identity; linguisticide; ethnic identity; domain of use

Povzetek

Zaradi družbene in geografske mobilnosti in globalizacije so številni manjšinski jeziki na svetu potisnjeni na obrobje. Razlogi za to se razlikujejo. V primeru pandžabskega jezika se govorniki kljub temu, da jih govori večji del prebivalstva, pandžabščini postopoma odpovedujejo. Glede na ta postopni premik študija raziskuje težave pandžabskega jezika. Študija uporablja fenomenološko zasnovo in zbira podatke študentov pandžabskih narodnosti na štirih različnih univerzah v večjezičnem in večkulturnem glavnem mestu Islamabad. Študija uporablja pol strukturirane intervjuje, televizijske oddaje in naravne pogovore. Študija ugotavlja, da se govorniki pandžabščine sami odpovedujejo svojemu jeziku in pandžabski identiteti iz družbenih, ekonomskih, verskih in političnih razlogov. Še posebej ženske se jezika bolj izogibajo, s svojimi otroki ne govorijo v pandžabščini in zavračajo svojo pandžabsko identiteto.

Ključne besede: jezikovna ideologija; jezikovna identiteta; lingicid; etnična identiteta; domena uporabe



1 Introduction

At the global level, languages have been dying at a shocking rate for the past few decades (Abley, 2003; Crystal, 2000; Dalby, 2003; Gibbs, 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). According to some linguists, 60-90% of the world's total number of languages are likely to die out within present century, approximately at the rate of one language every two weeks (Crystal, 2000). The effect can be seen as trickling down to the level of individual countries, including Pakistan. Pakistan is a multilingual country (Rahman, 2010) with approximately 70 languages (Census, 2017). Unfortunately, most of these languages are facing the threat of extinction. According to the Ethnologue, 13 languages of Pakistan fall under the category of threatened languages or even lower according to the GID scale (Fishman, 1991).

The phenomenon of language death in Pakistan seems to have taken a political turn in the form of linguicide (Phillipson & Skutnabb, 1995). For instance, in Pakistan's linguistic scenario, Urdu and English are considered the languages of prestige; on the contrary, other regional languages are being marginalized and pushed to particular domains of use (Mansoor, 2004). Punjabi is the most spoken language being the language of 38.78% of the total population (Census, 2017). However, due to globalization, state policy and religious affiliation, the speakers of the Punjabi language are turning towards national and official languages, Urdu and English, respectively. The speakers of Punjabi have shrunk to 38.78% (Census, 2017) from 44.10% (Census, 1998). Urdu and English are spoken by a relatively small part of the population and used primarily for education. It is usually the majority language(s) that threatens the existence of minority languages (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). However, in our paper, we argue that the languages of a minor group, Urdu and English, are taking over the language of a majority group, Punjabi. In Pakistan, Urdu is used as the language of instruction in government schools, whereas in elite schools, the English language is used as the medium of instruction (Haidar, 2016, 2019; Rahman, 2010). Despite being spoken by a major part of the population, Punjabi is not given the equivalent status as Urdu or English. Mansoor (2004) argues that there are no educational programs initiated by the Higher education commission in which any subject identified with local or regional languages has been taught in schools. Moreover, according to Mansoor's study, students are kept ignorant of the significance of their local languages. However, the Sindh government has taken up several steps to promote their language through their educational institutes by declaring the Sindhi language as a compulsory subject in elementary schools.

This paper probes into the problem of decline in the usage of the Punjabi language among young generations and attempts to identify the causes leading to this degradation. Previous studies have explored the declining status of Punjabi language through the lens of colonization and Islamization (Jalal, 1995; Rammah, 2006; Zaidi, 2010), lack of governmental support (Mansoor, 2004), loss of intergenerational

transmission (Nazir, Aftab & Saeed, 2013), the issue of intellectual death (Khokhlova, 2014; Jaffrelot, 2002; Shafi, 2013), and the loss of lexicon (Din & Ghani, 2017). The current study explores the attitude of Punjabi speakers towards the language, which may lead to a decline in the usage of the Punjabi language. This study involves young people from the region of Islamabad, the capital city that offers a wide range of ethnic diversity compared to other cities. The study participants are young as it is argued that younger generations often avoids Punjabi as compared to older generations (Gillani & Mahmood, 2014; Romaine 1995). Therefore, we intend to approach the phenomenon from the perspective of young people.

This study argues that the relative positioning of languages in Pakistan per their status and prestige is leading to several issues. One such problem links with the status attached to Punjabi. Although it is one of the major languages of Pakistan, Punjabi is not given much attention. It is often used to induce humor in everyday conversations, whereas English and Urdu are seen as the languages of knowledge and power. This situation leads to the gradual dismissal of the Punjabi language by the Punjabi speakers. The mechanisms of abandonment restrain Punjabi to the domains of informal use only.

1.1 History of Pakistani Punjabi (West Punjabi)

The current situation of Punjabi in Pakistan cannot be detached from its historical progression. The notion that Punjabi is being marginalized even by its own speakers can be traced back to the history of the subcontinent (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh before 1947). Jalal (1995) traces the predicament of the Punjabi language by drawing an analogy between Punjabis and Heer of Waris Shah¹. Like Heer, Jalal argues, Punjabis were so lost in love for the new land and a place of belonging that they forgot or overlooked their ethnic ties. She further states that Punjabis adopted the slogan, “speak Urdu, read Urdu, write Urdu” (p. 84), at the prospect of recovering their lost identity through Pakistan. At the time of partition, the Punjabi community living in Pakistan collaborated with the Muhajirs to make Urdu a national language of the new country (Jalal, 1995).

Another factor that plays an important role in marginalizing Punjabi in Pakistan’s linguistic landscape is the association of anti-Islamic ideologies with the language. For example, the heroes celebrated by the Punjabis are usually against the Muslims, such as Dullah Bhatti and Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Moreover, the Punjabi language, being the language of the Sikh community, is also considered to be inappropriate for Muslim

¹ Heer Ranjha is a folk tale, retold in poetic form by renowned Punjabi poet, Waris Shah. The story traces the tragic romance between the protagonists, Heer and Ranjha, who belong to different castes but fall in love despite facing opposition from their relatives. The story ends with Heer being poisoned and Ranjha committing suicide by consuming the same poison.

religious practices. Therefore, when President Zia-ul- Haq started the process of Islamization in the country, he excluded the Sikh writers from the curriculum of Masters in Punjabi, which was offered at the Punjab University, Lahore, at the time. Moreover, a Punjabi language campaigner, Muhammad Masud (1916-85), once decided to offer prayers in Punjabi instead of Arabic. He was thrown out of the mosque by his fellow Punjabi worshippers (Zaidi, 2010). Lastly, the paradox of the Punjabi movement is also very significant. The motto of the Punjabi movement is not the promotion of their language, but only the concern about the cultural shame that is associated with the language. Punjabi speakers hide under the cloak of being in the majority and argue that if they promote their language to any status, other minority ethnic groups will fight back. An example of this would be an incident at the provincial assembly of Punjab when a Punjabi legislator, Fazal Hussain, insisted upon taking the oath in his mother tongue and it resulted in a linguistic riot despite all present there were Punjabis (Zaidi, 2010).

According to Khokhlova (2014), the languages which are at the risk of endangerment due to their lack of use by the speakers are known as dying languages. This abandonment of language could be due to reasons such as migration, globalization, state policies, pressure by majority language(s), political pressure, search for professional opportunities, and others. Being a language of a majority group, Punjabi has been faced with another kind of death/shift that is intellectual death. Nazir et al. (2013) have provided a few reasons for the intellectual death of the Punjabi language in Pakistan. According to them, Punjabi is not being passed on to younger generations because parents think that it lacks prestige, and Bourdieu (1991) states that social and economic prestige contributes to the survival of a language. Punjabi parents are of the view that their language does not have any economic benefits, which is why proficiency in Punjabi would lead nowhere in the job market, neither it would help their children ascend academically (Jaffrelot, 2002).

The stigma attached to the Punjabi language bans the speakers to own their language (Shafi, 2013). An informal term, "*paendo*," meaning a person of crude manners, is used for those who speak Punjabi (Shafi, 2013, p. 40). This term holds negative connotations and is usually intended as an insult for a person who even remotely displays Punjabi traditional ethnic behavior. The above-discussed dimensions dealing with chronological and social decline of Punjabi sum up the existing research in the field.

1.2 Goal of the current study

The current paper examines the decline in the usage of the Punjabi language among young generations. The focus of this study is to explore the contemporary factors responsible for the gradual decline in the usage of Punjabi among the youth. The study

includes interviews with young university students and audio-recordings of natural conversations with Punjabi families.

2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework follows the theories of linguicide (Phillipson & Skutnabb, 1995), symbolic power of language (Bourdieu, 1991), and sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010). The concepts of language death and linguicide look at the extinction of languages differently. The concept of language death is something natural and inevitable, whereas linguicide is a forceful act initiated by some kind of power. An example of such forceful act is an ideological division of linguistic groups. The process of linguicism is evident in the process of colonization. For instance, the colonial authorities stigmatized the use of indigenous languages in India (Viswanathan, 2014). Phillipson and Skutnabb (1995) argue that the agent involved in linguicide can be either active (making attempts at killing the language) or passive (letting the language die). These theoretical insights will be utilized to scrutinize the situation faced by the Punjabi language in the Pakistani context of usage.

Bourdieu's notion of the symbolic power of a language states that a dominant class imposes their language as the standard language on speakers of other languages, which further dominates them. Languages of dominated classes thus become valueless in formal situations and people need to acquire a dominant language for their survival in education and social life (Bourdieu, 1991). For instance, in the Pakistani context, the language of prestige is English, and all other languages are defined in relation to English (Haidar, 2019). In Pakistan, Urdu comes second, therefore, directly affecting the status of regional languages, which belong to even lower positions.

However, studies (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Dewey, 2007; Saxena & Omoniyi 2010) problematize the fact that Bourdieu's argument revolves around the static elements of prestige attached to a language, which cause the marginalization of other relatively situated languages. Therefore, we also consider Blommaert's (2010) theory on sociolinguistics of globalization. Blommaert's theory elaborates on the ever-changing nature of the notion of prestige. According to him, the prestige attached to one language is not upheld in the same manner in all contexts. This insight will help us to scrutinize the fluctuating status of Punjabi in differing contexts. The value of each language changes from location to location, context to context, and situation to situation. The oscillating nature of prestige, which gets affected by several factors, is charted out in the form of a scale that Blommaert calls the sociolinguistic scale and relates it to the concept of polycentricity.

The converging point of all the three theories is the role of language in upholding social dominance and people's acceptance of some languages while rejecting others. Henceforth, these theories help us to understand the power struggle among different

languages that results in the marginalization of the language of the majority (Punjabi) in Pakistan.

3 Methodology

The study uses the interpretivist paradigm. We collected data through qualitative interviews and observations in a natural environment to understand participants' perceptions of Punjabi (Sandberg, 2000). It is also a phenomenological study since we explored the phenomenon of degradation of the Punjabi language by getting to know participants' "lived experiences" (Creswell, 2012, p. 26). Finally, the phenomenological aspect of the study provides an insight into the meaning-making process regarding the youth's view of the Punjabi language (Creswell, 2012).

3.1 Data collection

Our data collection consists of semi-structured, open-ended, and informal interviews and their audio recordings. We also examined recorded natural conversations of Punjabi families.

3.2 Participants

Participants in interviews were students aged 18 to 22 from four universities in Islamabad as shown in Table 1. These universities were selected based on their popularity and for having students from different linguistic backgrounds. The medium of instruction in all four universities is English. The total number of participants is 60, and includes male and female participants, as elaborated in Table 2. The number of male participants was greater due to the reluctance of the female participants. Namely, several females rejected their participation due to their Punjabi identity, which we will elaborate further in the analysis part of the study. We selected 15 participants from each university with an uneven ratio of male and female participants, which is further clarified in the table below. Students having Punjabi ethnicity were purposively selected for the interviews. Participants for the natural conversation recordings were family members of 5 Punjabi households and were aged 5 to 60. The reason for selecting this age group was to explore the involvement of parents in the decline of Punjabi language usage among youth.

Table 1: Details of the universities where data was collected

University	No. of part.	Male/Female	Age limit
University A (A public sector university established and managed by the military)	15	14/1	18-21
University B (A public sector university established and managed by the military)	15	9/6	20-21
University C (A public sector international univ.)	15	7/8	19-22
University D (A public sector University)	15	12/3	18-22
Total	60	42/18	

Table 2: details of the study participants

Univ.	Participant	Gender	Age	Education Level	Language of Interview
University A	P1	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P2	M	20	Undergraduate	Punjabi/Urdu
	P3	M	19	Undergraduate	Punjabi/Urdu
	P4	M	21	Post-graduate	Punjabi/Urdu/English
	P5	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P6	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P7	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P8	M	18	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P9	M	18	Undergraduate	Punjabi
	P10	M	18	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P11	M	18	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P12	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P13	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P14	M	19	Undergraduate	Punjabi/English
	P15	F	19	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
University B	P16	M	21	Undergraduate	English
	P17	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P18	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P19	F	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P20	F	21	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P21	M	21	Undergraduate	Punjabi/English
	P22	F	20	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P23	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P24	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P25	M	20	Undergraduate	English
	P26	F	20	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P27	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P28	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P29	F	20	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P30	F	20	Undergraduate	English

Univ.	Participant	Gender	Age	Education Level	Language of Interview
University C	P31	F	21	Post-graduate	Urdu
	P32	F	22	Post-graduate	Urdu/English
	P33	F	22	Post-graduate	Urdu/English
	P34	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P35	F	19	Undergraduate	Punjabi/Urdu
	P36	F	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P37	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P38	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P39	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P40	F	19	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P41	M	19	Undergraduate	English
	P42	F	19	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P43	F	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P44	M	22	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P45	M	22	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
University D	P46	M	18	Undergraduate	English
	P47	M	22	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P48	F	21	Undergraduate	English
	P49	M	18	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P50	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P51	M	18	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P52	F	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P53	F	22	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P54	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P55	M	21	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P56	M	22	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P57	M	18	Undergraduate	English
	P58	M	20	Undergraduate	Urdu
	P59	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu/English
	P60	M	19	Undergraduate	Urdu

3.3 Interviews

We conducted 20-25 minutes long interviews with each participant. We had several questions pre-structured; however, we kept on adding other questions based on the participants' responses. The pre-structured questions revolved around the participants' ability to speak Punjabi, the general linguistic milieu of their households, the perceptions of other people towards Punjabi speakers, and others. The interview tool helps understand the meaning-making process of the participants regarding the

Punjabi language (Polkinghorne, 1989). We audio-recorded all the interviews and transcribed them for analysis purposes.

3.4 Recordings

Recordings of natural conversations were also collected from different Punjabi households. By natural conversation, we mean that some of the authors went to the Punjabi households and recorded the conversation among the family members with their permission. We recorded the conversations to improve the reliability of the data as well as to have an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Besides, it was made sure by asking them to speak Punjabi, and the authors also spoke Punjabi with them to make it easier for the researchers to observe the patterns of code-mixing and switching. The total duration of the recordings was 5 hours.

3.5 Data analysis

Analysis of interviews and recordings was done through coding with the help of Constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). Codes create a "skeleton" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47) of qualitative data. We assigned different codes to the transcribed data collected through interviews and recordings. Codes were words or phrases to represent the main idea in each line of the data. We coded each line of the data including interviews and recorded speech of the participants (Saldana, 2010). The data were coded inductively. Codes are the smallest units of analysis that capture interesting features of the data (potentially) relevant to the research question. We coded the data in a group instead of each individual working on it separately and assigned those codes on which we agreed. "Codes are the building blocks for themes, (larger) patterns of meaning, underpinned by a central organizing concept - a shared core idea" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). We selected the important codes based on their recurrent occurrence in the data, our theoretical framework and literature review. We selected those important codes that occurred at least in 60% of the participants' interview. We arranged these codes into categories based on their similarities and interrelatedness. A category is the most represented word or phrase that is used for the representation of a group of similar codes (Charmaz, 2014). We developed emerging categories into themes and findings inductively while relying on data mostly; the themes are discussed below. We also quoted from the data as evidence for elaboration of themes.

4 Findings

This part of the paper is divided thematically per the themes that emerged from the data using Constructivist Grounded Theory as shown in Figure 1.

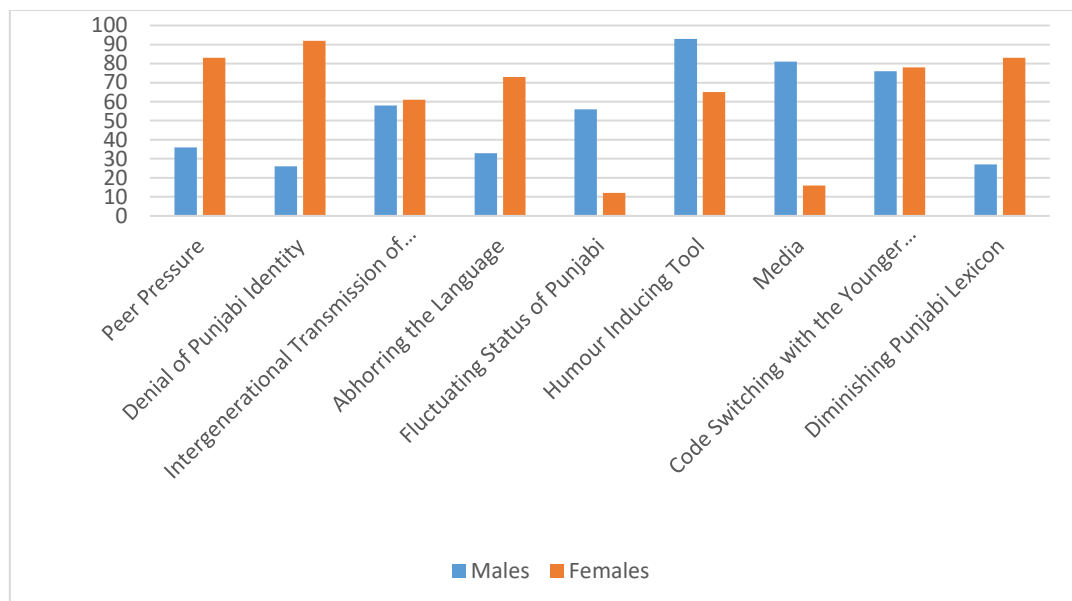


Figure 1: Percentage of the Males/Females contributing to individual themes

4.1 Peer pressure

The pressure of conforming to the values of one's social circle is a major driving force for teenagers' recurring behavioral patterns (Brown, 1982; Cheng & Warren, 2005). Scholars have established that peer pressure strongly affects the workings of language (Cheng & Warren, 2005; Cohen & Norst, 1989; Lefkowitz & Hedgcock, 2002; Walqui, 2000; Woodrow, 2006). In our educational institutions, where different classes and cultures clash, students get influenced by those who are considered superior. Abandoning a mother tongue as a result of peer pressure is also a common observation in such circumstances. The youngsters use stereotypical lens provided by society to look at these issues. One of the male participants narrated such an incident:

I was talking on the phone once in Punjabi and my friends, especially girls, they made fun of me (P28 (M). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

The sensitivity of women to the language of power is usually higher than that of men (Pavlenko, 2001). They are more inclined to switch to the dominant language and get rid of the stigma attached to the dominated language (Holmes, 1993; Kisselev, Brown & Brown, 2010; Pavlenko, 2001).

You can't speak Punjabi among your friends because if you do, you know you'd be made fun of (P54 (M). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Shaming of the use of indigenous languages is a threat to these languages, which ultimately leads to language shift and language death (Coronel-Molina, 1999; Liyanage & Canagarajah, 2019; McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006). Women are usually custodians of the local language(s) for being less exposed to a foreign or second language as they often keep the indigenous language, but once they adopt the dominant language the language shift becomes inevitable (Constantinidou, 1994; Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1994; McDonald, 1994; Pavlenko, 2001). We observed that girls were more resistant to the Punjabi language and even to their Punjabi identity. Below is one of the most common answers of our participants when asked about their perception of a Punjabi speaker.

Look at him/her, such an illiterate (paendo) (P52(F). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Such responses show that the lack of prestige and stereotypical views attached to the Punjabi language have been driving the Punjabis away from it. The term “paendo” (illiterate often linked with crude manners) is consistent with the societal patterns which ideologically operate to stigmatize the language and the respective linguistic group (Coronel-Molina, 1999; McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006). The linguicism (Phillipson & Skutnabb, 1995) against this language affects younger generations of Punjabi speakers as they associate their language with illiteracy and mediocrity because of societal behaviors. According to Bourdieu (1991), the education system uses certain types of language(s) and students are disciplined accordingly (Schubert, 2014). In this example, education system legitimizes Urdu and English and does not include other languages, which makes Punjabi unacceptable.

Although Punjabi speakers are dominant numerically in Pakistan and they have more power in the country, their language has been marginalized by English and Urdu. Bourdieu (1991) considers such a situation as symbolic violence since speakers now avoid using their mother tongue in the presence of their peers. Thus, linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2010) of the speakers of Punjabi are not only valueless but rather a cause of shame for them. This phenomenon is usually found with indigenous minority language speakers (Coronel-Molina, 1999; McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006) but is rare with the majority language speakers as in the case of Punjabi.

4.2 The self-denial of Punjabi identity

From our literature review and interaction with several Punjabis, we have observed that Punjabis themselves are responsible for the downfall of their language as they feel ashamed to own it. The Punjabis associate themselves with languages that give them social and

economical benefits. They consider themselves a part of the “imagined community” (Anderson, 2006; Kanno & Norton, 2003) of the self-proclaimed sophisticated elites of the country who mostly speak Urdu and English. These include civil and military bureaucracy and professionals in the country (Qadeer, 2006). They degrade the Punjabi language by calling it a language of illiterates, although the Punjabi language boasts rich heritage and literature. Likewise, the study participants and general public link the Punjabi language with illiteracy. A recurring phrase that we heard from many people, especially females, during the interviews, was “I am not Punjabi, my parents are” (P15(F). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu). Besides, some of the participants indicated a lack of emotional attachment to the language, and feel rather proud of their disassociation with it.

I don't feel a sense of belonging to the language as I have never spoken it (P59(M). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu.)

It has been becoming a trend that people feel proud of saying that they are not Punjabi because this language is insulting in nature (P9(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

It's not always that Punjabis deny their identity altogether, but when it comes to the language, it's a completely different story (P52(F). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

The above responses suggest that the Punjabi language has been marginalized by the Punjabis themselves. To associate themselves with the elites of the society, Punjabis have renounced their own linguistic identity. As already stated, the denial of linguistic identity has also been found in indigenous language speakers in other studies (Coronel-Molina, 1999; Liyanage & Canagarajah, 2019; McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006). Interestingly, such denial of Punjabi identity is happening only in the terms of a language while in cultural and social aspects Punjabi people feel proud of their identity.

Although politically and numerically dominant, Punjabi speakers adopt the state-supported minority languages, which are Urdu and English. This is happening due to the linguistic policy of the state and language ideology as, over the years, Pakistani state policy has promoted Urdu as the national language, and to some extent, English as the official language (Rahman, 1997). Moreover, the education system also plays an important role by neglecting native languages of the Pakistani population (Manan & David, 2013; Manan, David, & Dumanig, 2015).

4.3 Intergenerational transmission of stereotypes

Intergenerational transmission of the Punjabi language is diminishing because of parents' attitude towards the language as foul. As discussed in the literature review section, Punjabi was systematically reduced to a stigmatized status. The stereotypical

views regarding Punjabi are still been passed on to generation after generation. For instance, a few of the participants said the following.

Our parents never converse with us [in Punjabi], rather they consider talking in Punjabi as ill-mannered (P59(M). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Yes, sometimes we talk in Punjabi but only with our mother. Our father does not allow Punjabi at home (P2(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

My father is usually concerned about people’s remarks if we speak in Punjabi. He always asks us to talk in Urdu even with our mother, but my mother again switches back to Punjabi (P2(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Participants’ responses highlight how Punjabi parents are driving younger generations away from the language that provides the ethnic base for their identities. The implications of this act are clear. Due to almost no exposure to the Punjabi language, people from younger generations eventually move away from the language. Few other instances of the current theme are as follows.

It is not delivered to us, they (parents) speak Punjabi [among themselves or with other elderly people] (P23(M). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Our parents only converse in Punjabi among themselves and not with us (P33(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

I remember when I was young and tried to speak Punjabi at home, my parents’ immediate response would be, ‘where did you learn that word?’ And then they would tell me how it was not ‘nice’ (air quotes). I think that’s where it started and that’s why I never feel comfortable speaking the language (P38(M). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Growing up, our parents always focused on teaching us Urdu and English and Punjabi went somewhere in the background (P4(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

Therefore, it is apparent that the process of abandoning the Punjabi language operates at the family level. The family unit proves to be the substructure that triggers degradation processes of Punjabi by glorifying languages of relatively minor groups, such as English and Urdu² (Rahman, 1997), and stigmatizing their language. Contrary to this, speakers of other local languages such as Pashtu, Sindhi, Balochi, and others, pass their languages to next generations (Rahman, 1997).

² Urdu is the first language of 8% population and English is spoken by 1-2% elites of the country.

4.4 Abhorring the language

As concluded in the previous section, it is obvious that Punjabi speakers do not pass on their language to younger generations in the family. The process of abandoning Punjabi does not stop at the family level, rather it keeps on forming the communal psyche of Punjabi people. Similar to these participants, other people also continue to instill these notions of inferiority of Punjabi language into their compatriots' minds as well, thus leading to the attachment of shame with Punjabi. The notions instilled by parents and society lead to the point where Punjabis are humiliating the other Punjabis for speaking their ethnic language.

On one hand, some participants have supported the idea that Punjabi is not abhorred as a language.

Some people think it is such a sweet language and they would encourage you to talk in Punjabi (P32(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Said in English).

I always love to communicate in Punjabi with my fellow Punjabis (P29(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Said in English).

However, many of the participants responded in affirmation.

Punjabi himself degrades the other Punjabi (P20(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Society does not consider it [a] good [language] (P22(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

If we are sitting in a gathering and someone starts to speak in Punjabi, for sure, he will be made fun of in front of the whole group which might ironically be of all Punjabis (P14(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

The participants' responses show the way the language is being degraded at the social level and not merely at the family level as discussed in relation to the theme in the previous section. Punjabi also faces negligence by governmental authorities, which adds to its stigmatization by the public (Mansoor, 2004). Therefore, Punjabi is facing intellectual as well as cultural degradation, which is one important component of language death and language shift (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). As mentioned above, the communal psyche comes into play here.

The reason Punjabis and Punjabi language are degraded is that Punjabis themselves never bother to defend their language. For Pathans, it is their identity and they're proud of it. This is why you don't see them being made fun of because of their language. And even if someone does that, they shut him down. Punjabis don't retaliate or defend their language and that's why they are easy targets of such bullying (P32(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Said in English).

Yet at another level, the predicament of Punjabi is the result of Punjabi's relation to English and Urdu. English and Urdu, being made the languages of power and knowledge, are defining the fate of other languages, be it Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto, Sindhi, or any other regional language in Pakistan. Unlike Punjabi speakers, other regional languages are being fortified by their speakers. For example, in the case of the Sindhi language, it is being promoted and taught at the institutional level as a compulsory subject (Rahman, 1996). The symbolic value (Bourdieu, 1991) of English and Urdu can only be defined when in relation to other languages. As for Punjabi, it is not comparable (being institutionally denigrated), and that seems to be the source of its predicament in a particular linguistic context, such as Pakistani society.

4.5 Status of Punjabi in relation to geographical location

Interestingly, the value of the Punjabi language changes according to the change in geographical location. In some areas of Pakistan, according to participants' view, Punjabi is not treated as the language of lower domains of use as compared to the capital city where there are speakers from different languages, although Punjabi outnumbers the speakers of other languages in Islamabad, too. In cities with the Punjabi majority, the case is different.

We do not speak Punjabi at home, but whenever we visit our village we do speak in Punjabi with elder relatives (P2(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

When asked about the reason for this change of behavior, the participants responded in the following manner.

Because we are located in the Capital Territory (P48(F). Interview on March 14, 2019. Said in English).

I do not [feel comfortable] speak[ing] Punjabi in Islamabad. Yeah, I speak Punjabi whenever I visit Faisalabad (P32(F). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

In Lahore, even the officers with the highest ranks speak Punjabi (P3(M). Interview on March 20, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

The responses subtly refer to the changing symbolic value of Punjabi based on localities. According to the participants, the same person who refuses to use Punjabi in Islamabad declares himself bold enough to use it in other cities, such as Faisalabad, Lahore, or village areas.

Besides, there were responses according to which Punjabi maintains its status in every geographical context.

I don't think anything could ever affect the value of this language in my eyes. If I ever meet a Punjabi in any part of the country, I will greet him in my mother tongue (P18(M)). Interview on March 1, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

However, such responses were overruled by the majority of responses that argued otherwise.

I believe you would have heard that a certain renowned school issued an official notification banning the Punjabi language on its premises. Now that's the kind of institutionalized hatred Punjabis are facing, and it is even ingrained in our kids from a very young age (P46(M)). Interview on March 5, 2019. Said in English).

The theme about the importance of Punjabi depending on geographical location is particularly important concerning the current study because it limits the degradation of Punjabi within the geographical boundary of Islamabad. Therefore, it means that educated people and people in power are leaving Punjabi. It is rather becoming the language suitable in rural areas for everyday conversation, henceforth, it is considered a low-scale language used in limited circles (Blommaert, 2010). However, when the language speakers go out of that circle, they consider that language a stigma. As a result, the language is losing its value and its symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991).

4.6 Humor inducing tool

When asked about the usage of Punjabi in their daily discourse, participants spontaneously replied with the following statements.

Punjabi is used only to pull off a joke (P40(F)). Interview on March 5, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Something funny sounds even funnier in Punjabi (P11(M)). Interview on March 1, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

Similarly, when asked whether they speak Punjabi in their daily conversations, several participants responded with,

Occasionally, we speak in Punjabi to make a joke (P50(M)). Interview on March 14, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

The association of humor with Punjabi is seen as an inevitable connection. As seen previously, the value of Punjabi fluctuates from geographical territory to territory, its value also fluctuates depending on the context of use. Where in one context, Punjabi is preferred, it is avoided in another context of use. For instance, Punjabi enjoys sound status when used in informal domains such as humor. Whereas the more formal the setting, the less there is the use of Punjabi. Therefore, the Punjabi language is seen as getting compartmentalized to the domains of informal use only. Similar to the situation

described by Bourdieu (1991), as stated by the participants, this compartmentalization can eventually lead to the ultimate abandonment of the language by its speakers. Although Punjabi, being the dominant language, is very rich in literature in Pakistan and specifically in India, people apparently link it with humorous situations only. Compartmentalizing language to certain domains of use, especially avoiding its use for serious matters is one of the factors for language death (Reagan, 2019).

4.7 Language use in media

According to participants, media appear to be the reason for compartmentalization of Punjabi to informal domains of use. Time allocated to the Punjabi language on television is strategically divided between comedy shows, such as *Khabar Naak*³, *Mazaaq Raat*⁴, *Hasb-e-Haal*⁵, and others. Interestingly, in those shows, the host is usually disseminating intellectual thoughts in Urdu and occasionally in English, whereas sarcastic or humorous comments are always in Punjabi.

Punjabi is usually used in theatre (P3(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

You can see comedy shows even, what they talk about, and it is specifically in Punjabi (P7(M). Interview on February 26, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

We all know that different media channels always serve an agenda. In the case of Punjabi, the objective is to taint the image of the language by using it in vulgar discussions and stage shows etc (P57(M). Interview on March 14, 2019. Said in English).

The participants' responses also reflect the same reality about the media's role. Therefore, the notion of Punjabi as the language of pun and humor is held up in society through media. In such a way, the language is not only reduced to informal use but its status is sustained. Henceforth, the language is not considered valuable to be used for serious discussions. It is rather made suitable for lighter discussions.

The themes introduced in the following section are based on the observation of natural recordings of conversations from Punjabi households.

³ A satirical comedy show that is aired on one of the well-known news channels of Pakistan, Geo News. The show provides a satire on the political situation of the country.

⁴ A similar show that gets aired on Dunya News.

⁵ It is a comedy show that provides satire on the political situation of Pakistan. It is also aired on Dunya News.

4.8 Code-switching with the younger generation

Code-switching patterns were observed in the recordings of natural conversations from Punjabi households. It was observed that parents or elderly people frequently shifted the code to English or Urdu when talking to their children. One such incident is given below when the same person, who was worried about Punjabi's predicament, shifted from Punjabi to Urdu to talk to his son. He was talking in Punjabi to address his uncle.

'Uncle, there is a report of UNESCO that Punjabi will not be used in any household by the year 2030' (S16(M). Observation on April 13, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

No household permits the use of Punjabi with kids (S16(M). Observation on April 13, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

I had a course on Punjabi in my BS degree program (S16(M). Observation on April 13, 2019. Translated from Punjabi).

A few moments later, he switched to Urdu to address his son.

'(Child's name), come here. See what I have got. Drink this juice and place the glass on the table' (S16(M). Observation on April 13, 2019. Translated from Urdu).

The same individual who was fluently talking in Punjabi switched his code to Urdu when he had to address his child. Ironically, he was referring to the predicament of Punjabi at the hands of Punjabis themselves and he did the same thing subconsciously when it came to his situation. This also shows that parents avoid speaking Punjabi with children as they consider that it has a low market value (Bourdieu, 1991) and therefore they communicate in Urdu or English to develop the socially valued linguistic resources of their children (Blommaert, 2010). Henceforth, the case of Punjabi can be an interesting example of code-switching that leads to language change between generations (Backus, 2005). This theme strengthens the views of participants discussed above (see Intergenerational Transmission of Stereotypes). These code-switching patterns become the main cause of the gradual decrease in the usage of Punjabi by younger generations leading to the eventual death of language. As discussed by (Gillani & Mahmood, 2014; Romaine 1995) earlier research, our paper also highlights the diminishing use of the Punjabi language with the younger generation. As the language is not getting transmitted to the next generations, this situation is contributing to a gradual abandonment of the Punjabi language. Therefore, a gradual pattern of abandonment of the language is clear in the analysis, which will further get strengthened if the Punjabis do not start transmitting the language to their younger generations.

4.9 Diminishing Punjabi lexicon

Through the recordings and our general observations, we also noted that some words have become extinct in the Punjabi lexicon and were replaced by English or Urdu words (Backus, 2005). The list of such words is given below in Table-3. The intrusion is so subtle and subconscious that the users of language do not even recognize it as an intrusion. This intrusion of dominant languages into the linguistic scape of dominated languages might cause the dominated language to be replaced eventually. Similarly, the intrusion of Urdu and English causes the Punjabi lexicon to shrink and transform into the lexicon of Urdu and English, thus proving to be another cause behind the gradual shift of the language. The death of the language is subject to the gradual replacement of the Punjabi lexicon with the Lexicon of dominant languages. This conclusion supports the argument of the paper by further highlighting how the languages of relatively minor usage are influencing the lexicon of Punjabi.

Table 3: Words of Punjabi replaced by Urdu and English

Punjabi Equivalent	English replacement	Punjabi Equivalent	Urdu replacement
چولہ (cholah-backpack)	bag	کُری (kurri-girl)	لارکی (larki-girl)
منور (manno-accept)	accept	دیکھ (vekh-look)	دیکھ (dek-look)
چینٹا (chinta-tension)	tension	جیڈاں (jiddaan-for example)	جیسے (jese-for example)
ٹھیس (thais-hurt)	hurt	دوجا (duja-second)	دوسرا (dusra-second)
کھورا (khura-bathroom)	bathroom	چٹے (chatay-hair)	بال (baal-hair)
بٹھاک (baithak-drawing room)	drawing room	چول (choal-rice)	چاول (chawal-rice)
لیہاف (Lihaaf-blanket)	blanket	دروازہ (bu-a-door)	دروازہ (darwaza-door)

5 Discussion and conclusion

The Punjabi language has been disappearing from certain domains of use over the past few years (Jalal, 1995; Nazir, Aftab & Saeed, 2013; Rammah, 2006; Zaidi, 2010) and has now been limited for inducing humor in an otherwise serious conversation. Usually, in bilingual situations, the minority language or the language of the dominated group is facing challenges in which the speakers of language start using languages other than their native one in several domains and reduce the use of native language to few domains (Reagan, 2019). In our case, the Punjabi language is getting limited to the domain of humor and non-serious discussions. This shift is taking place due to official recognition of languages within the national context and non-linguistic factors such as economic opportunity or the lack thereof (García & Leiva, 2014; Piller, 2016; Simons & Fennig, 2018). This phenomenon has been quite common and yet neglected because of Punjabis’ dissociation with their language. Punjabi’s dissociation with their language is

caused by the influence of English and Urdu. The prestige attached to Urdu and English has successfully led these languages to infiltrate into the lexical territories of Punjabi. Moreover, this indicates the intellectual death of the Punjabi language (Khokhlova, 2014; Jaffrelot, 2002; Shafi, 2013) as it has only been used for very trivial purposes like making jokes or adding a sarcastic comment. It has become a tool of comic relief and people usually blame the media for it. Besides that, according to the participants' views, the stage shows have also played a significant role in side-lining Punjabi and in associating vulgarity and immodesty with it. Participants maintained that this is one of the major reasons that Punjabis feel ashamed of their language and even the ones who do speak it become a victim of peer pressure, mostly at the hands of their fellow Punjabis. However, this reduction of the Punjabi language to be used in a relatively vulgar context by media is a result of ideological and political factors that are at play. For instance, the ideological prestige attached to Urdu and its role in the state-building of Pakistan along with the global prestige of English based on the former predominance of the UK and the present predominance of the United States plays an important role.

Furthermore, the large-scale adoption of Urdu and English expressions in the Punjabi lexicon is also responsible for the downfall of the language. This adoption takes place due to the dominance of prestigious minority languages, Urdu and English, over Punjabi (Khokhlova, 2014). In fact, "in a living community, the (lexical) borrowing is asymmetrical: the [language] flow is mainly from the sociolinguistically dominant language to the other one" (Myers-Scotton, 1992, p. 34). In the case of Punjabi, the horizontally dominant language Punjabi is threatened by vertically dominant languages, such as Urdu and English. "Horizontally distributed languages are (vertically) defined as low-scale languages, local languages or languages used by individuals in the neighbourhood or at home, even if such languages are actually used by millions of people" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 12). The reason is Punjabi speakers' dissociation with the language that is hindering the Punjabi language from evolving further and causing the replacement of the Punjabi lexicon with Urdu and English. This replacement is a result of the speakers' insufficient knowledge of their language and the relatively higher status of English and Urdu (Backus, 2005). Moreover, the attitude of Pakistani society, the fluctuating nature of Punjabi's status, and the patterns of code-switching also contribute to the receding of Punjabi language from the formal contexts of usage. This compartmentalization of Punjabi to a few limited domains of use is leading to its eventual extinction in Pakistan. Moreover, the use of any language is determined by the education policies of the state (Collins, 2012), which, unfortunately, are the least supportive in the case of Punjabi in the Pakistani social context.

One important aspect that emerged during the study is that the females were more reluctant to accept their Punjabi identity. Most females were not even willing to be interviewed to avoid acknowledging their Punjabi identity. As apparent in the analysis, they do not consider Punjabi to be a legitimate language but rather prefer to present themselves as Urdu/English speakers. This situation can be better described as

symbolic (self) violence (Bourdieu, 1991) as these speakers abhor their ethnic identity and hate to be known as Punjabi. The speakers perceive the dominance of Urdu and English "to be legitimate, and thus think and act in their own best interest" to avoid revealing their ethnic identity (Schubert, 2014, p. 180). Usually, females are considered to be more inclined to native languages thus they are implied to be the preservers of these languages (Constantinidou, 1994; Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1994; McDonald, 1994; Pavlenko, 2001), however, in this study, females are more reluctant to acknowledge their Punjabi identity as explained above. Resultantly, it makes the transmission of the language to the coming generation more difficult as in Pakistan traditionally mother spends more time with the children. Henceforth, the shame felt by females regarding their Punjabi identity further threatens its existence in the future, especially in a multilingual city like Islamabad.

Other regional and local languages have also lost their market value due to the dominance of English and Urdu. Thus, people are turning towards English more and more (Haidar, 2019; Manan & David, 2013). The speakers of regional languages consider commercially accepted languages necessary for communication in multilingual cities (Haidar, 2016, 2019) and never feel ashamed of using them. They rather feel proud of their newly acquired linguistic identity and consider it a privilege to pass on their newly acquired language to the next generations (Khan, 2018; Rahman, 2010). The main causes of language shift are (i) socioeconomic: with the language losing its value in the market and (ii) socio-political: including language policies and stigmatization (Janse, 2003). However, the situation with Punjabi speakers is alarming and this happens as Punjabi speakers are lost in the love of the new land (Rammah, 2006); that new land appears to be Urdu and English given their market value as compared to Punjabi. Moreover, being a large segment of the population, Punjabis are politically dominant and assertive as opposed to other ethnic groups, but their linguistic and social identity is threatened without them being aware of it.

Generally, during language shift and language death, there is resistance from some of the native speakers who lament the loss of their language(s). However, the case is different when it comes to Punjabi. In the case of Punjabi, the native speakers are ashamed not only of their language but also of their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity plays a crucial role in the revitalization of a language (Janse, 2003), however, in this case, it plays a negative role. We, therefore, argue that Punjabi, although still the language of the majority, faces threats of extinction in the Pakistani context since its speakers have started hating the language. In other domains (cultural, social, political), they usually do not deny their Punjabi identity but in the case of the language they reach the level, "I am not Punjabi my parents are". They even deny their ethnic identity, as Punjabi is not only a linguistic identity but also one of the largest ethnic groups in India and Pakistan. However, this stigmatization of Punjabi identity is not prevalent in Indian Punjab. Thus, it can be concluded that the situation is rather of language shift in Pakistan only since the positive attitude of Indians towards Punjabi cannot lead to the

language death of the Punjabi language. This is an interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon where due to the negligence of state policies, education system, language ideology, and linguistic injustice (García & Leiva, 2014; Piller, 2016), the language of the dominant majority has lost its old dominant status. Punjabi in Pakistan is linked with Sikh identity while Urdu is presented as an Islamic language and thus people also disown Punjabi on religious grounds.

Therefore, we argue that along with other factors, speakers' consciousness plays an important role in the maintenance and survival of a language. This aspect is usually ignored by Bourdieu's (1991) theory, the theory of linguisticism by Phillipson & Skutnabb (1995), and Blommaert's (2010) sociolinguistics of globalization. Unlike other dominated languages, which are always in minority due to socio-economic pressure, colonialism, and globalization, the Punjabi ethnic group is a dominant majority group of Pakistani society. However, Punjabi speakers are overwhelmed with the idea of the new nation, new identity, and new language so much that they have ignored their language and ultimately their identity. This study, henceforth, contributes a new aspect, e.g., that the speakers' sensitivity about the threat to their identity and language can also play an important role in the survival of a language as is happening in the case of other regional languages of Pakistan. We can conclude that it is not only power but consciousness is also required for the survival of a language. Another such example is the conscious switch to Hebrew, a dead language for about 2000 years, in the first half of 20th century. It was done by Jewish speakers of Yiddish, Ladino, and other languages used by the Jewish community, with religion (Judaism) as a powerful driving force (Ben-Rafael, 1994). Moreover, the lack of threat to their dominance also plays an important role in diminishing the prestige of the Punjabi language. Other language speakers in Pakistan often feel threatened due to the political and social dominance of Punjabis in the country. This makes them sensitive to resist the dominance of Punjabis and of Urdu language. This helps the survival of their languages as they usually feel proud of their linguistic identity. Thus, the social attitudes of the speakers also play important role in the symbolic power or degradation of a language along with its social and economic status (Bourdieu, 1991).

Moreover, language ideology, especially religious sentiments also play a role in the degradation of Punjabi by associating Punjabi with Sikh identity and Urdu with Islamic identity (Abbas, Chohan, Ahmed & Kaleem, 2016; Murphy, 2018). However, this is not happening in the case of the English language due to the material and symbolic benefits attached to it. English was one of the most hated languages by Muslims due to British colonization in India (Rahman, 2005). The attitude towards English is still differing among people, but the educated youngsters have accepted it and feel safer to identify themselves with English rather than with Punjabi. Therefore, religious sentiments which play a negative role against Punjabi (Javid & Martin, 2020) do not affect students' perception of the prestige of the English language. This can be interpreted in the

following way, e.g., that the material and symbolic benefits attached to English surpass religious sentiments that play a negative role in the case of the Punjabi language.

The study thus adds to Bourdieu's (1991) theory of symbolic power of language that the dominance of language depends not only on the dominance of its speakers but also on their attitude towards their language. Punjabi speakers are in majority and are also dominant in Pakistan therefore the situation is described as a majority language death (Khokhlova, 2014). They ignore their language for not feeling any threat to their political dominance or identity, but they are losing their identity. In this regard, the state and global scenario also play an important role. In the Pakistani context, the language ideology, religious beliefs, and state policies (Blommaert, 2014) also play a crucial role in undermining the Punjabi language. It is described as linguicism that refers to "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined based on language" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, p. 13). Due to the interest of the elite class, the language beliefs and ideology do not play a negative role in the case of English as it represents the colonial era and Western dominance. This shows that speakers of the English language "have more power and material resources than their numbers would justify, simply because of being speakers of those languages and varieties" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p. 60). Building upon the insights of Blommaert, the paper concludes that the vertically dominant languages, English and Urdu, due to globalization and language ideology, have made the horizontally dominant language valueless.

The study adds to the theory of linguicide as it is argued that the minority language or the language of the dominated group is usually at risk of survival. However, in the case of Punjabi, the language of the dominant majority is threatened due to the negligence of its native speakers. The research in the field of language death and language shift usually claims that "majority languages expand at the expense of minority languages" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p. 60). The speakers of other regional and local languages in Pakistan also use English and Urdu for education and formal purposes but they switch to their mother tongue while speaking with the same language group. Moreover, parents usually transfer their language to the young generation while speaking that language with their children. However, even though the Punjabi parents speak Punjabi with each other, they switch to Urdu or English while speaking to their children. Henceforth, the youngsters are right in saying that their parents are Punjabi while they are not, as they feel ashamed of their linguistic identity.

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SURVEY ARTICLES

ON THE USE OF CORPORA IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION – CHINESE AS AN EXAMPLE

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Abstract

This paper aims to introduce the language corpora and the advantages of their use in the process of Chinese language acquisition. We provide practical examples of the corpora's direct and indirect use for teaching and learning Chinese as a second language. The exploratory approach towards Chinese by using various types of corpora is applicable for general language seminars as well as specialized translation seminars. The indirect use is mainly linked to the preparation of teaching materials and facilitates the curriculum design.

Keywords: Chinese; corpora; teaching methodology; second language acquisition; linguistic research

Povzetek

Članek predstavi jezikovne korpuse in prednosti njihove uporabe v procesu usvajanja kitajskega jezika ter ponudi številne praktične primere neposredne in posredne uporabe korpusov pri poučevanju in učenju kitajščine kot drugega jezika. Raziskovalni pristop do kitajščine s pomočjo različnih korpusov je primeren tako za splošne jezikovne vaje kitajščine kot drugega jezika kot za vaje prevajanja. Posredna uporaba korpusov pa je priporočljiva pri pripravi učnih gradiv in olajšuje oblikovanje učnega načrta.

Gljučne besede: kitajščina; korpusi; metodologija poučevanja; učenje drugega jezika; jezikoslovno raziskovanje



1 Introduction

The corpora play an important role in the teaching and learning of a second language and although their use in language analysis is regarded as a relatively new approach, we already perceive a dynamic relationship established between corpora and linguistic research (Casas-Pedrosa et al., 2013, p. 2). The increasing number of studies embedded in the field of corpus linguistics and numerous published articles reflect the rising interest in the use of corpora for second language acquisition and the study of a learner's interlanguage. The emergence of corpora and their use in language learning transforms the traditional teaching approaches and methods used for the compilation of teaching materials.

2 Direct use of corpora in second language acquisition

The direct use of corpora enhances the process of second language acquisition, however, specialized training in corpus analysis for teachers and students is necessary to ensure a successful application of corpora in classroom instruction. Apart from that, the direct use of corpora requires certain adjustments in the curriculum design, therefore its incorporation in classroom activities is more common at higher educational institutions such as universities (McEnery & Xiao, 2011, p. 374). The introduction to corpus linguistics and familiarity with the user interface of the selected corpus facilitates the interpretation of the query, therefore in cases when students are not familiar with the use of corpora, the practical preparatory sessions would improve the efficiency of the corpora's use in the instruction.

Following the development of teaching methodology of a second language, the teacher's focus shifts from a linguistic theory to a student, and the student's ability to work independently is emphasized. We may therefore expect students to have mastered learning strategies, and find corpora a valuable source of information about the target language. At such a level, the students are able to easily compare various characteristics between their mother tongue and the studied language (Benko et al., 2019, p. 14). From the learners' perspective, the direct use of corpora in classroom instruction is beneficial because of their limited exposure to the target language, and the teacher's guidance is crucial especially for elementary or intermediate learners due to their limited knowledge of the target language (Tsui, 2004, p. 40). The exploration of a large amount of language material compiled in a corpus creates a suitable environment for the so-called *learning as discovery* approach. In this way, we enhance learner's individual research interests and improve their language awareness (Bernardini, 2004, p. 22). The use of corpora in instruction is closely linked to the data-driven learning method (DDL). This method is based on student's independent work with language data to explore the regularities and patterns of the target language (the corpus is perceived as the core teaching material). We shift the learner's passive

position of receiving information into an active position of a researcher of the second language (e.g., by using the concordance search feature or keyword in context – KWIC) (Johns, 1991, pp. 9-13). The integration of corpora and language instruction leads to the active participation of students, which further enables them to discuss the difficulties and learning strategies among each other. Apart from that, it strengthens the learner's focus on the form and meaning as well as the relation between the two (Bernardini, 2004, p. 28).

Regarding the use of corpora with the objective to increase the learner's language proficiency, the study of collocations represents an efficient way for acquiring the prefabricated units that are necessary for achieving native-like language proficiency, because the number of acquired collocations facilitates language comprehension and determines the learner's language production (Cowie, 1994, p.3168). The perception of collocations differs among linguists and most linguists are convinced that the use of corpora to extract language data is the most reliable way of identifying collocations (Harris, 2006; Sinclair et al., 2004). The collocation boundaries are indistinct because collocations are either perceived as constructions composed of elements in direct proximity or in a broader sense, and the individual units are not necessarily followed one after another but they occur near the selected language unit (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 123). Therefore, great importance is placed on the knowledge of lexical units with their co-occurring items, including their position in a sentence, instead of on individual words (McEnery & Xiao, 2011, p. 368).

3 Direct use of Chinese corpora

The use of Chinese corpora for teaching and learning purposes is favorable because of their quantitative approach in language study (Xu, 2019, p. 49). The corpora are suitable for displaying positive examples in a given context when focusing on the structures that need to be acquired by the learners (Chen & Tao, 2019, p. 75). The teaching approaches which base on information mined from the corpus concentrate on explanations of commonly used language forms in Chinese, and therefore the instruction time is focused mainly on the most relevant knowledge (Zhao & Kang, 2017, p. 86). An example of direct use of a corpus in the instruction has been introduced by Gajdoš in *Chinese Legal Texts – Quantitative Description* (Gajdoš, 2017). The subcorpus of Chinese legal texts as an integral part of the *Hanku* corpus enables teachers to concentrate on a specific field of language instruction. One of the prerequisites for the successful inclusion of corpora in the instruction is the learner's knowledge of CQL query and regular expressions, which is necessary for the retrieval of the language data (Gajdoš, 2017, p. 86). The query functionalities and search options vary based on the user interface of a chosen corpus. Not only the knowledge of the use of corpora but also a refined knowledge of grammatical rules of the target language is an important

prerequisite that allows a corpus to be successfully included in the process of language learning.

Incorporation of corpora in the translation seminars requires revisions of the existing curricula and training of teachers in corpus linguistics focused on the acquisition of necessary skills related to software use, statistical analysis, and data interpretation (Hu, 2011, p. 184). The main purpose of the translation teaching methodology is the development of the learner's translation competence and translation awareness. The translation competence represents a student's ability to transfer meaning of the source language into meaning in the target language by employing suitable translation strategies. The translation awareness reflects the student's understanding of the nature of the translation subject, object, or receptor and the relation between them (Liu, 2003, p. 1). Corpora is a useful training tool for future translators because it enhances understanding of typical translation problems solved by experienced translators when working for instance with parallel corpora (Bernardini, 2004, pp. 20-21). Figure 1 (Hu, 2011, p. 148) displays a variation in the translation of the word *shehui* 社会 into English as a target language. Based on the fixed terms in Chinese, it is necessary to select an appropriate translation and the query in the corpus facilitates the decision-making process, especially in the case of inexperienced learners and novice translators.

由“社会”组成的术语	英语译名
社会事业	social undertakings
小康社会	a well-off society
社会秩序	public order
社会主义和谐社会	a harmonious socialist society
社会监督	public scrutiny
社会体育组织	mass sports organization
社会保障体系	social security system

Figure 1: Translation of word *shehui* 社会 in different contexts

As mentioned in the previous section, the study of collocations improves learner's language production and comprehension skills. In this way, corpora represent a powerful tool when getting acquainted with linguistic conventions in Chinese (Jing-Schmidt, 2019, p. 23). Collocation functionalities enable learners to extend their knowledge of prefabricated units and increase their ability to identify collocations in the context or to employ them in language production. Figure 2 displays a collocation of the verb *zuzhi* 组织 followed by a noun by using Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese accessible on <corpus.leeds.ac.uk/query-zh.html>. The corpus functionality

among other statistical data (MI, Dice, and LL score) provides a T score and offers the possibility to display the chosen expression in a context with all corresponding entries.

T score

Collocation	Joint Freq1	Freq2	T score	Concordance
组织 结构	15	463	3.81	Examples
组织 机构	7	207	2.60	Examples
组织 形式	7	269	2.59	Examples
组织 理论	7	344	2.57	Examples
组织 群众	4	293	1.92	Examples
组织 领导	4	382	1.90	Examples
组织 程度	3	208	1.67	Examples
组织 学生	3	469	1.58	Examples
组织 蛋白	2	8	1.41	Examples
组织 民兵	2	9	1.41	Examples
组织 人力	2	17	1.41	Examples
组织 城镇	2	22	1.41	Examples

Figure 2: Collocation of *zuzhi* 组织 followed by a noun

Corpora are useful for improving learner's knowledge of the general vocabulary, but it is also possible to concentrate on a specific field based on a learner's future specialization. Such specializations are mainly required for academic or any other professional purposes with the objective to achieve native speaker-like language proficiency in a particular field (Zhao & Zhang, 2015, p. 38). Monolingual, as well as parallel corpora, are useful reference sources. Figure 3 (Guan & Tao, 2017, p. 178) displays different translations of the word *tiaojie* 调解 into English. The provided information is extracted from the specialized legal corpora *Beida fabao falv fagui shujuku* 北大法宝法律法规数据库 and *Wanshi falv xinxi shujuku* 万事法律信息数据库 (Guan & Tao, 2017, p. 178). Its translation into the target language varies based on the context and particular use of the expression. In the case of an existing specialized corpus in the language combination of the learner's mother tongue and Chinese, the corpora in the Chinese – English language combination might be employed as a supplementary reference. Translation of this term in a general web-based dictionary of Chinese is *to mediate* and *to bring parties to an agreement, bring together to an agreement* (retrieved from <mdbg.net> and <www.chinese-dictionary.org>). Specialized legal dictionary – *Chinese-English/English-Chinese Pocket Legal Dictionary* (Chen, 2008, p.19) also provides the translation of *tiaojie* 调解 as *mediation, to mediate*. In comparison to entries in the dictionaries, the query in the corpora provides another possibility of a translation in English – *to conciliate, conciliation*.

“调解”的用法	英 译	解 释	一般用法
作为名词	Mediation		
作为动词	Mediate	强调第三方的调节作用。	Mediate + xx disputes/cases/complaints
	Conciliate	强调审判或仲裁前的调解。	Conciliate + xx disputes; 作不及物动词
调解书	Conciliation statement	在相关机构主持下双方达成和解的法律协议。	
	Mediation document	民事诉讼中双方当事人向有关部门申请, 调解书作为对双方均具有法律约束力的文件。	

Figure 3: Translation of *tiaojie* 调解

Apart from the use of parallel corpora in the field of translation didactics, we generally consider the parallel corpus useful for explaining studied expressions within the context, because it provides a conceptual framework for their understanding in the learner's native language as well as in their target language, Chinese in this case (Bluemel, 2019, pp. 85-86). Figure 4 displays query of *suzhi* 素质 extracted from *CCL Chinese-English parallel corpus* accessible on the website of Center for Chinese linguistics PKU (*Beijing daxue Zhongguo yuyanxue yanjiu zhongxin* 北京大学中国语言研究中心, <ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index_bi.jsp>). We selected the first ten entries to display the variability in the English translation. The prevailing translation is *quality*, but there are also two entries translated into English as *competence* and one entry translated as *consciousness*. The chosen expression reflects a specific term in Chinese, and the context, as well as several translation options, enhance its correct understanding by learners. In comparison to query in the parallel corpus, the translation of *suzhi* 素质 in the web-based dictionaries (<mdbg.net> and <chinese-dictionary.org>) is *inner quality* and *basic essence*. In this case, the use of corpora provides valuable guidance for the selection of an appropriate translation in the target language.

1	现在飞行事故多，当然这里面有部队训练不好、飞行员素质差、地面指挥水平低等问题，但是也要研究飞机质量方面的问题。	Airplane accidents are numerous nowadays, and of course some are attributable to the poor training of the men, the incompetence of the pilots or the deficiencies of the ground-control crews. But sometimes the fault may lie in the quality of the aircraft.
2	—在打仗，你根据什么来考验干部，用什么来提高干部，提高军队的素质，提高军队的战斗力？	But now that we are not at war, how are we to test our cadres, raise their level, and improve the quality and combat effectiveness of our troops?
3	通过学习、训练、演习，可以提高各级干部的素质。	The quality of cadres at different levels can be enhanced through study, camp and field training, and military exercises.
4	—要承认我们军队的人数虽多，但是素质比较差。	We must also admit that our army is not sufficiently capable of conducting modern warfare, and that although it is numerically strong, it is of relatively poor quality.
5	我们军队的素质在战争年代是挺好的，在抗美援朝时也是挺好的。	It was of very good quality during the war years and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea.
6	老实说，有那样的素质，就是现有的武器，也可以打仗，也可以学会适应现代化战争的条件。	Indeed, given the quality of that kind, our army could fight even with its present weapons and could learn to adapt itself to the conditions of modern warfare and defeat the powerful imperialists.
7	现在的问题是，由于遭受林彪、“四人帮”的干扰破坏，我们军队的素质确实不如以前了。	The point is that because of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, the quality of our army just isn't as good as before.
8	—七五年我们就提出要把训练提高到战略地位，因为不打仗，部队军事素质的提高就得靠训练。	In 1975 we proposed that training should be considered of strategic importance because, in the absence of war, it is the only way to improve the army's quality.
9	要大力加强政法、公安部门的建设和工作，提高这些部门人员的政治素质和业务素质。	Great effort should be made to strengthen the public security, procuratorial and judicial departments, improve their work and enhance the political quality and professional competence of their personnel.
10	—特点，摸索了现代条件下诸军兵种协同作战的经验，提高了部队军政素质和实战水平。	These exercises have given us an opportunity to assess our achievements in building modern, regularized armed forces, and have simulated modern warfare fairly well. They represent part of our effort to explore combined operations by the various services and arms under modern conditions, and have enhanced the political consciousness and military capability of our army, especially its capacity to fight actual battles.

Figure 4: translation of *suzhi* 素质

The incorporation of corpora in classroom instruction is not a trouble-free process. It is on a teacher to decide whether it is necessary to compile a new corpus corresponding to the requirements of the teaching objectives, or whether the existing one would fulfilling such prerequisites. Despite the fact that most of the commonly taught second languages already have several existing corpora, there are nevertheless cases when creating a new corpus is necessary. In such a case, a teacher has to deal with curriculum adjustments and would face general issues related to the creation of a corpus including the compilation procedure, representativeness, or source of language material (Casas-Pedrosa et al., 2013, p. 2). It is therefore necessary to create more corpora suitable for didactical use in the frame of their content and design to enhance their use in language instruction (McEnery & Xiao, 2011, pp. 374-375). The direct use of corpora in the instruction is still less frequent in comparison to its indirect implications, therefore it is necessary to increase the extent of the employed data-driven learning approaches in the process of Chinese language acquisition and start using more computer-assisted software tools that facilitate the learning process (Xu, 2019, p. 47). When working with corpora, it is important to keep in mind that the search results are restricted to the findings in that particular corpus, which is processed by different tools (e.g., the text is tokenized and annotated). These factors also have an impact on the results extracted from the corpus (Gajdoš, 2020, p. 122).

Based on the variety of introduced approaches aimed at a direct use of corpora, we expect that the use of different Chinese corpora becomes an inseparable part of a teaching and learning practice in the near future, especially with successive attempts to simplify procedures related to the creation of corpora thanks to fully automated or semi-automated processes.

4 Indirect use of Chinese corpora

The indirect use of corpora is often linked to the revision of an existing curriculum or to designing a new one, as well as the creation of teaching materials. The advantage of corpus-based teaching materials is that the examples reflect real language utterances.

We expect that learners improve their communication skills when using this kind of teaching materials because they get used to the language utterances of the native speakers and the distinction of specific nuances in Chinese becomes more evident (McEnery & Xiao, 2011, pp. 367-368). The traditional compilation of teaching materials used to be based mainly on the individual preference, language intuition, and teaching experience of the author. In comparison to the teaching materials created with the use of corpora, the research aimed at the content of the existing teaching materials compiled with the traditional method showed that in many cases, descriptions of words or expression utterances are inconsistent with the natural language usage (Luo, 2008, p. 48). The frequency lists of morphemes, expressions, and grammar structures are one of the main determining features of corpus-aided teaching materials. The textbook's difficulty level is easily controllable using corpus functionalities, and the arrangement of the content is considered more reasonable. We determine the textbook's difficulty level by the text's length, the core grammar structures to be acquired as well as by the ratio of the new vocabulary and the total word count. In addition, it is possible to adjust the occurrence rate of more common words or increase the reoccurrence rate of new words (Zhao & Kang, 2017, p. 85).

Chi-Editor (*Hanyu yuedu fenji zhinanzhen* 汉语阅读分级指难针) accessible on <langaugedata.net/editor> represents a useful tool for assessing the difficulty of the textual material chosen for the instruction practice. Its functionality enables a user to retrieve language material that is sorted out based on individual proficiency levels together with the vocabulary lists corresponding to the requirements of HSK, as well as Chinese syntactic and lexical structures (Jin et al., 2018). Figure 3 (Jin et al., 2018, p. 7) displays a sample text with different colors according to varying difficulty of the vocabulary. As the authors of *Chi-Editor* state, the proficiency levels are in accordance with *International Curriculum for Chinese Language Education* published by Confucius Institute Headquarters in 2015 (Jin et al., 2018). As revisions of the HSK exams have been announced, we expect certain adjustments and updates to follow. At this point, we consider *Chi-Editor* as a suitable tool for the regular preparation of teaching materials, and its use is not restricted by the potential absence of an update in the future.

the corpora which focus on the use of collocations and lexical bundles (Chen & Tao, 2019, p. 64).

The indirect use of corpora is also applicable in the field of lexicography, and numerous existing dictionaries compiled by the use of corpora continue to grow. One of the examples is *A frequency dictionary of Mandarin Chinese: Core vocabulary for learners* compiled by Xiao et al. (2009), *Frequency-based HSK vocabulary* by Yang Ying (2016), covering all six proficiency levels in the individual volumes, and the vocabulary is supplemented by example sentences.

The indirect use of corpora for the creation of teaching materials or frequency dictionaries not only spares the time needed for their compilation but also increases the relevance of the selected content. Corpora composed of teaching materials such as the one created at the Xiamen University, or the tool *Chi-Editor*, facilitate the selection of appropriate teaching materials. In case that the employed teaching materials are not identical with the processed textbooks in *Duiwai Hanyu jiaocai yuliao* 对外汉语教材语料库, it might serve as a suitable model for teachers who create corpora composed of their own teaching materials to facilitate the analysis.

5 Conclusion

The direct use of corpora in the instruction is beneficial to teachers and students because they are transformed into active participants of the instruction practice. Students learn how to work with corpora and its features and gain experience in interpreting the query results. As experienced corpus users, learners obtain the opportunity to improve their proficiency level based on the examples of native speakers reflecting the natural language production of Chinese. The corpora as a part of translation seminars enhance the students' translation skills and quality of translation. Corpora besides enables learners to concentrate on a specific field of Chinese and teach how to explore the regularities of the target language. The indirect use of corpora is mainly employed for the creation of teaching materials, dictionaries, and curricula, providing the students with a reliable source of native speaker-like language utterances. From the perspective of the authors of teaching materials, the processing time is relatively short and the contents are easily controlled using corpus functionalities with the objective to increase the efficiency of the acquisition process. Taking into consideration a limited number of teaching materials in the Slovak – Chinese language combination, the continuous development of the use of corpora (both direct and indirect) not only facilitates linguistic research but improves the instruction practice, and as such represents an important source for reference.

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Abbreviations

DDL Data Driven Learning
 KWIC Key Word in Context
 CQL Corpus Query Language
 HSK Hanyu shuiping kaoshi

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